

MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL IDENTITY : THE EVIDENCE FOR A 4TH MILLENNIUM BC MESOPOTAMIAN URUK COLONY AT HACINEBI, TURKEY

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Abstract : Archaeological analyses of interaction between colonies and host communities require an understanding of the relationship between material culture and alternative forms of social identity. Foreign material culture assemblages in indigenous settlements may reflect exchange, emulation, or actual ethnic differences between colonizing groups and local host communities. Establishing the presence of colonies and reconstructing the organization of cross-cultural interaction is especially important for the Uruk expansion – which has been termed the world's earliest known colonial network. This paper presents a cross-culturally applicable definition of colonies, and suggests ways to distinguish between the archaeological signatures of trade, emulation, and colonization. Based on these criteria, the available evidence indicates that the Uruk Mesopotamian material culture at the site of Hacinebi in the Euphrates River valley of southeast Turkey results from the presence of an ethnically distinct colony inside the 4th millennium local Anatolian settlement.

Résumé : La prise en considération, dans les études archéologiques effectuées, des interactions possibles entre colonies et communautés locales nécessite de bien comprendre les rapports qui peuvent exister entre la culture matérielle et d'autres formes d'identité sociale. Les composantes de la culture matérielle trouvées dans des établissements indigènes peuvent être le reflet d'échanges, de l'émulation ou de différences ethniques entre les groupes colonisateurs et les communautés locales. Établir la présence de colonies et reconstruire l'organisation des interactions des cultures est particulièrement important en ce qui concerne l'expansion urukéenne qui est considérée comme étant le premier réseau colonial connu à travers le monde. Cet article présente une définition des colonies telle qu'elle peut se dessiner à travers le croisement des cultures en, par ailleurs, suggère des moyens de distinguer les signatures laissées par le commerce, l'émulation et la colonisation. En se fondant sur ces critères, les données recueillies dans la vallée de l'Euphrate sur le site de Hacinebi (SE de la Turquie) montrent que les objets mésopotamiens urukéens présents proviennent d'une colonie ethniquement distincte se trouvant à l'intérieur de l'établissement local anatolien.

Key-words : Uruk, Colonies, Hacinebi, Material Culture, Social Identity, Anatolia, Mesopotamia.
Mots clés : Uruk, Colonies, Hacinebi, Culture matérielle, Identité sociale, Asie Mineure, Mésopotamie.

INTRODUCTION

Recent archaeological research has shown a recurring cross-cultural pattern in which early state societies of both the Old and New Worlds established colonies, for a variety

of reasons, such as population re-settlement, military conquest/control, and most frequently as stations for resource acquisition through exchange¹. Although widespread as a

¹ I. ALGAE, 1993a; DYSON, 1985.

strategy of inter-regional interaction, the process of colonization and its socio-economic correlates remain poorly understood. There is surprisingly little agreement on what colonizers are, how they work, or what structures their relations with the indigenous societies in whose midst they are planned. This paper has three parts. The first section suggests a framework for the analysis of colonies in cross-cultural context. As part of this, I suggest a general definition of colonies, and outline ways to distinguish them archaeologically from other forms of cross-cultural interaction such as emulation or exchange. The second part presents an overview of Greater Mesopotamia and the Uruk expansion in the fourth millennium. The third part uses this analytical framework to evaluate the evidence for the presence of an Uruk trade colony at the site of Hacinebi, on the Euphrates river trade route in what is today southeast Turkey.

MODES OF INTER-REGIONAL INTERACTION: COLONIZATION, EMULATION, AND EXCHANGE

Inter-regional interaction can take a variety of often overlapping forms in which people, information, or physical materials move across the boundaries between polities. The most common of these are a) colonization, b) emulation, and c) exchange.

We can define a colony as an implanted settlement established by one society in either uninhabited territory or the territory of another society. The implanted settlement is established for long term residence by all or part of the population and is both spatially and socially distinguishable from the communities of a host society. The settlement at least starts off with a distinct formal corporate identity as a community with cultural/ritual, economic, military, or political ties to its homeland, but the homeland need not politically dominate the implanted settlement. The corporate nature of the foreign community and its formalized ties with its homeland (and with its host community) are elements that provide an important distinction between colonies and episodes of migration by individuals or families.

The identification of colonies in the archaeological record is surprisingly difficult, not least because it is closely related to the problematic issue of recognizing ethnicity through material culture.² In general, one can identify as colonies those settlements whose architecture, site plan, and material

culture assemblage are identical to those of another region, but are located as spatially discrete occupations surrounded by settlements of the local culture. One would expect colonies to be founded as completely new settlements on previously unoccupied land. Alternatively, if founded in a pre-existing settlement, a colony should show sharp architectural and artifactual discontinuities with earlier occupations. Artifactual similarities to the homeland should reflect a broad complex of material culture used in a variety of contexts, rather than being limited to a single category such as ceramics.

Santley and his colleagues argue that the ethnic identity of the inhabitants in a colonial enclave should be expressed in material culture connected with two different levels of social inclusiveness – the enclave as a whole, and the more restricted domestic level.³ At the enclave-wide level, the identity of the foreigners is expressed and reinforced through public rituals, often centered on a ceremonial structure whose architecture generally incorporates the style or symbolic elements of the homeland. Common language, styles of dress, the wearing of particular badges or emblems, and burial customs are also enclave-wide ways to express the foreigners' separate identity. These practices are especially common because they provide highly visible identification of a person's ethnicity by others both within and outside the group.

At the domestic level, the members of an enclave generally live together in a geographically contiguous area, distinct from other parts of the host community. In the households of the foreign enclave, ethnicity will be expressed in culinary practices. Their food preferences, preparation procedures, and the material culture associated with these practices should both differ from local patterns in the host community while resembling the cultural practices of the homeland. In addition, the foreigners' distinctive ethnic identity will often be reflected by the use of raw materials or styles from the homeland in the ritual paraphernalia used for household rituals.⁴ Over time, one might expect to see a convergence between foreign and local cuisines and material culture, as part of the development of a distinctive, creole 'colonial' culture. The greater isolation of the colony from its homeland, the more one would expect this slow process of creolization to take place.

However, one cannot simply assume that the presence of foreign styles of material culture in the sites of a different culture automatically reflects the existence of a foreign colonial enclave. The use of multiple criteria combined with contrastive patterning between the foreign and local assem-

blages is necessary to distinguish the actual presence of foreign settlers from: a) the presence of exotic items as the result of inter-regional exchange; or b) emulation by groups of local elites who are simply adopting status-related aspects of foreign material culture (through either importation or imitation). Colonies, emulation, and exchange are by no means mutually exclusive; often two or even all three of these processes may be operating simultaneously in a given case of culture contact. However, these three processes are conceptually discrete, and each should leave recognizably different archaeological signatures.

Emulation is a process of social identity negotiation in which one group attempts to raise or reinforce its own status by adopting the behavioral, material, or ideological attributes of another group of equal or higher status.⁵ Emulation can take place within a society when lower ranked groups adopt markers of local elite status.⁶ Often, however, local elites in one area emulate the elites of other, higher status polities as a way to redefine or reinforce their status relative to competitors or lower ranked groups in their own society.⁷ This second form of emulation underlines prestige goods economies⁸ but is not limited to the actual acquisition of exotic prestige goods. Cross cultural emulation can also occur through the copying in local media or materials of foreign prestige markers.⁹ Cross-cultural emulation often involves transformations of meaning, so that the same item of material culture may have completely different meanings in its place of origin and in the emulating society.¹⁰ Finally, it is important to remind ourselves that cross-cultural emulation cannot be taken as evidence for the subordination of one society to another, since ideological, political, economic, and military power do not necessarily coincide.¹¹

Archaeological evidence for cross-cultural emulation would consist of local imitations of the architecture, iconography, and material culture associated with foreign elites. For portable items of material culture, one might also find genuine imported foreign prestige goods as well. These borrowings should be associated with the public buildings, residences, or burials of local elites. One would expect to see differences between local elites and commoners in the distribution of foreign or foreign-inspired material culture. Local elites would be expected to emulate foreign styles in those

items of material culture associated with the highly visible 'public' identity (e.g., architecture, personal ornamentation, clothing, or food serving and consumption), while continuing to use local styles of material culture in less public contexts (such as domestic activities, food preparation, child rearing, or subsistence). By contrast, commoners would be expected to retain the full range of local material culture for use in both 'public' contexts and in more circumscribed social spheres. This second expectation may not always apply. In some cases of complete emulation, where the local elites have completely taken on foreign material culture and behavioral patterns, it might become difficult if not impossible to distinguish colonies from fully acculturated local elites. Emulation or acculturation can work both ways. Thus, for example, the Old Assyrian trading colony or *karum* at Kültepe/Kanesh in Anatolia used entirely local styles of architecture and ceramics – so much so that the excavators were only able to identify it as a colony through the presence in the houses of cuneiform tablets representing the business archives and correspondence of the Mesopotamian families in this trade diaspora.¹²

The third and probably most common form of cross-cultural interaction is exchange. Exchange can be identified archaeologically in several ways. In a few fortunate instances, textual records document exchange activities, as was the case for Mesopotamian trade in the Akkadian empire¹³ and in the second millennium BC Assyrian trading colonies.¹⁴ In these cases, written evidence is particularly important for the identification of those perishable goods whose role in exchange would otherwise remain completely unknown.¹⁵ More often, however, the presence of goods made from exotic raw materials provides the main evidence for exchange, even if the actual source remains unknown. Chemical or optical characterization studies such as instrumental neutron activation analysis or petrography can show that an item is an exotic trade good (as with ceramics) and sometimes actually pinpoint its source (as has been done successfully with obsidian).¹⁶ Frequently, finished products are identified as exotic trade items based on either stylistic criteria or technology of manufacture; Greek, Roman, and imperial Chinese trade goods are often identified in this way, although such attributions are most secure when confirmed by chemical characterization studies. Finally, exchange – particularly export activities – can be

2. EMERLING, 1997.

3. SANTLEY *et al.* 1997: 87.

4. *Ibid.*, 1987: 87-88.

5. JONES, 1993; WELLS, 1992; WINTER, 1977.

6. PRUDOM, 1983.

7. FLANNERY, 1968; JONES, 1993.

8. E.G. KIRK and SCHWARTZ, 1989.

9. MACIS, 1990; 1990b; WINTER, 1977.

10. ROGERS 1990; SALTUS, 1990; THOMAS, 1991.

11. SCHWARTZ and URBAN, 1994: 402.

12. ÖZGÜC, 1963.

13. FOSTER, 1977.

14. LARSEN, 1987.

15. CARLSON, 1973.

16. ARNOLD *et al.*, 1991; BISHOP *et al.*, 1982; BLACKMAN, 1984.

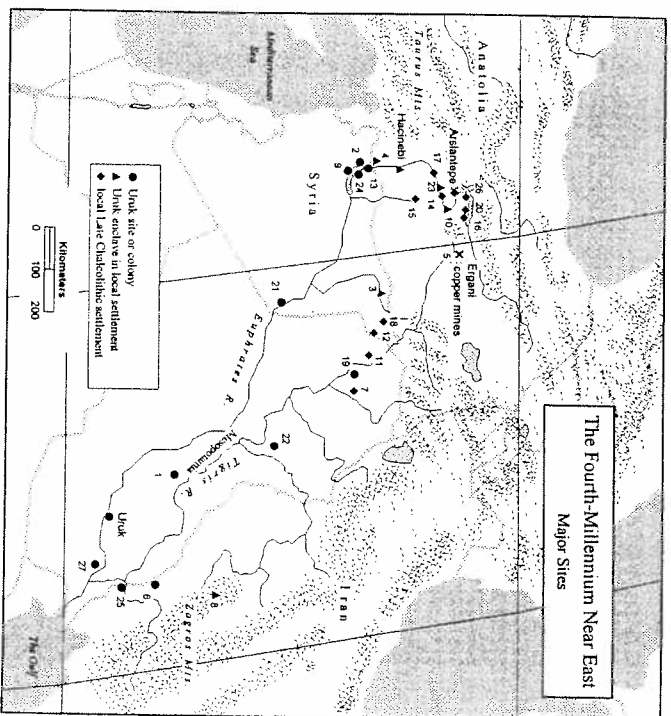


Fig. 1. Map of the fourth millennium BC Near East, showing Hamazi, Aslunep, Uruk, and other major fourth millennium sites: 1. Abu Salbihi; 2. Arad; 3. Birk; 4. Carchemish; 5. Ergon Copper mines; 6. Fankubad; 7. Gawra; 8. Godin; 9. Habuba Kabira; 10. Hassel; 11. Hama; 12. Hamun; 13. Jericho; 14. Kerkira; 15. Kuzne; 16. Kuzne; 17. Kurba; 18. Lailan; 19. Murevet; 20. Norgunep; 21. Qawa; 22. Rubeilhi; 23. Samat; 24. Shakh Hassan; 25. Sura; 26. Tereck; 27. Ur.

inferred archaeologically by comparing the ratio of industrial debris to finished products for a given craft item; thus, for example, disproportionate debitage of tool ratios have been used as evidence for inter-site exchange of stone tools in 4th millennium southern Mesopotamia.¹⁷

Although colonization, emulation, and exchange often occur, they are conceptually distinct as forms of interaction. Each has different implications for the way we reconstruct the political economy of relations between complex societies in situations of culture contact.

THE URUK EXPANSION: MESOPOTAMIAN COLONIES AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The Near East is an ideal area to investigate the organization of ancient colonization, culture contact, and their developmental impact on early complex societies. Urban centered state societies developed in southern Mesopotamia during the Uruk period in the mid-fourth millennium BC.¹⁸ Almost immediately, the Uruk politics extended their economic

sphere to form an extensive network of trade and implanted settlements connecting the cities of southern Mesopotamia with the resource-rich neighboring highlands: areas of the Zagros mountains, North Syria, and Southeast Anatolia, forming what is apparently the world's earliest known colonial network (Fig. 1).¹⁹ The Uruk expansion into Syria and Anatolia seems to have begun in the Middle Uruk period, probably ca. 3700 BC,²⁰ and reached its fullest extent in the Late Uruk.²¹ A number of sites in these latter areas have been identified as Uruk trading colonies, apparently established to control trade/communication routes while extracting raw materials such as metals and lumber from the resource-rich highland zones.

The south Mesopotamian colonies are quite distinctive as intrusive sites, established in the midst of local Iranian, Syrian, and southeast Anatolian cultures. Several different forms of Uruk material culture – notably ceramics, architecture, and administrative technology – occurring together, serve to identify the Mesopotamian colonies while distinguishing them from contemporaneous local settlements.²² One must use multiple criteria because ceramics in and of themselves are not a reliable indicator of ethnicity.²³

Sites identified as Uruk colonies have a full range of Mesopotamian ceramic forms representing a wide set of functions. By contrast, contemporaneous local sites in the Mesopotamian 'periphery' have only a limited range of Uruk ceramic types accompanying a larger and complete indigenous ceramic assemblage.²⁴ Sites identified as colonies also have distinctive Uruk domestic and public architecture. The south Mesopotamian form of the widespread 'mitreisa' house with keyhole shaped hearths and an associated courtyard characterizes implanted Uruk settlements.²⁵ Wall cone mosaic decoration is a second characteristic Uruk architectural element.²⁶ A third distinctive feature of the Uruk colonies is the presence of south Mesopotamian administrative technology such as cylinder seals, bullae, tokens, and clay tablets with numerical inscriptions used to monitor the mobilization, transportation, storage, and disbursement of goods.²⁷

Fourth millennium cross-cultural interaction between Mesopotamians and local societies in Syria, Iran and southeast Anatolia took three different and occasionally overlapping forms – exchange, emulation and the establishment of actual Uruk settlements in the territories of indigenous polities. The degree to which any one of these three kinds of relationships might have predominated in a given region probably varied depending on local conditions. In the areas closest to southern Mesopotamia proper, colonies such as Sheikh Hassan (in the Middle Uruk) and Habuba Kabira (in the Late Uruk) were large fortified settlements that apparently used coercion in a short-lived and ultimately unsuccessful effort to exert economic control over the local Syrian communities around them. In more distant regions, Uruk settlements such as Hamazi (in the Middle Uruk) and Godin V (in the Late Uruk) took the form of small 'outposts' located inside the pre-existing towns of local cultures. We have no evidence to suggest that the outposts dominated local economies through asymmetric exchange or coercion. Instead, the small numbers and vulnerable position of the Mesopotamians at Godin and other outposts meant that they could only survive by remaining on good terms with their more powerful indigenous neighbors.

At the outermost edges of the Uruk interaction network, Mesopotamian material culture at sites such as Tereck is so sparse that it becomes difficult to determine whether it reflects the actual presence of a Mesopotamian outpost or simply a process of emulation by a small subset of the local population.

These differences suggest that the organization of these settlements and the ways they interacted with their local neighbors varied markedly, depending on a number of factors, most notably: the distance from Mesopotamia, the size of the local population, and the degree of pre-existing social complexity in the indigenous polities.

Although the purpose of the Uruk enclaves remains the subject of continued debate, one of the most commonly held views sees them as trading colonies or way stations whose purpose was to insure South Mesopotamian access to highland resources such as copper and perhaps lumber in a prehistoric 'world system' where the Uruk colonies dominated local communities either informally through economic leverage,²⁸ or more formally through direct administration.²⁹ Although Uruk colonies in Syria and Anatolia have been excavated, we know almost nothing about the dynamics of Mesopotamian-Local interaction, the organization of the local host communities, or the impact of this trade system on the development of indigenous polities in southeast Anatolia.

²⁸ ALCAZAR, 1989: 1991.

²⁹ SURENHAGEN, 1986.

¹⁸ ADAMS, 1981: 71; JOHNSON, 1973; NISSEN, 1988; PULLOCK, 1992; WRIGHT and JOHNSON, 1975.

¹⁹ ALCAZAR, 1989b; ALLEN, 1992; FRANKENBERG and PALMER, 1987; PALMER, 1985a; SURENHAGEN, 1986a.

²⁰ BURESS, 1995; OATES and OATES 1997; STERN, BLANKEN, *et al.*, 1996.

²¹ SURENHAGEN, 1986: 9.

²² *Ibid.*, 1986: 9-13.

²³ FRANKENBERG, 1997; KAHN, 1977; SARTLEY *et al.*, 1987.

²⁴ ALCAZAR, 1989b; ALCAZAR *et al.*, 1991; PALMER, 1985.

²⁵ SURENHAGEN, 1986: 10.

²⁶ BLANKEN, 1989.

²⁷ NISSEN, 1983; SCHMADT-BESSERAT, 1978, 1981; VAN DRIE, 1982, 1983.

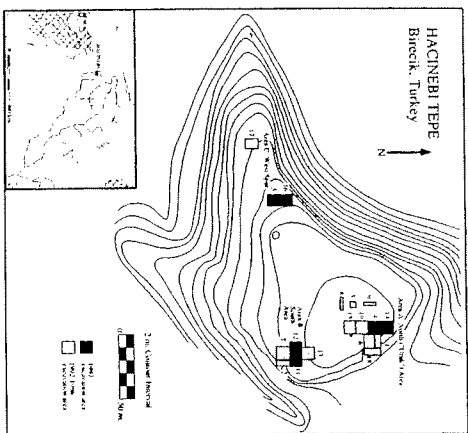


Fig. 2: Hacinebi – topographic map showing excavation areas.

HACINEBI TEPE, SOUTHEAST TURKEY

To investigate the political and economic relationships between the Mesopotamian colonies and the local inhabitants of southeast Anatolia, we have conducted six seasons of excavations at Hacinebi Tepe from 1992-1997 (fig. 2).³⁰ The site is a 3.3 ha. Local Late Chalcolithic settlement on the bluffs overlooking the Euphrates river trade route linking the resource rich highlands of eastern Anatolia with the urbanized alluvial plains of southern Mesopotamia, more than 1 000 km downstream.

The main occupation at Hacinebi dates to the fourth millennium BC. Stratigraphy and associated ceramics allow us to subdivide the Late Chalcolithic occupation into an earlier Phase A (ca. 4 100-3 800 BC), which has early forms of Local Anatolian Late Chalcolithic ceramics, and a later phase B. Phase B1 (ca. 3 800-3 700 ? BC) has late forms of Local Anatolian Late Chalcolithic ceramics, while phase B2 (ca. 3 700-3 300 ? BC) has both late Local ceramics and Mesopotamian Uruk style ceramics.³¹ Phases A and B1 at Hacinebi are often called respectively the "early pre-contact"

and "late pre-contact" phases, while B2 is termed the "contact phase" to emphasize the appearance of evidence for intensive interaction with southern Mesopotamia (fig. 3).

THE EVIDENCE FOR THE PRESENCE OF A MESOPOTAMIAN COLONY AT HACINEBI

The Hacinebi data indicate that in phase B2, a small Middle Uruk Mesopotamian trading enclave was established in the northeast corner of this local Anatolian town. Both Uruk and Anatolian artifacts are present in phase B2 contexts in markedly contrasting distributions. Mesopotamian artifacts are not just limited to ceramics, but rather represent the full range of Uruk material culture used in both public and domestic contexts. These different forms of Uruk material culture are found together and are spatially distinct from contemporaneous local Anatolian deposits. The South and West areas of the phase B2 settlement have predominantly Local Late Chalcolithic material culture. In stark contrast, Uruk material is highly localized within the North area. In this area, stratigraphically contemporaneous deposits showed clear spatial differences between the distributions of Local and Mesopotamian ceramics.

The full range of Uruk ceramic forms and decorative techniques is present at Hacinebi. Ceramic vessel form classes reflect a wide variety of activities, including food preparation, serving, and storage (fig. 4, 5, 6). Ware types (e.g. sand tempered pastes), manufacturing techniques (e.g. the use of a fast wheel, throwing "from the hump", string cut bases, knife trimming), and decorative motifs are all closely consistent with southern Mesopotamian practices in the later part of the Middle Uruk period. Finds of Uruk style kiln wasters and the preliminary results of neutron activation analysis all indicate that the Uruk style ceramics were manufactured on-site: the production of Uruk ceramics was contemporaneous with, but stylistically and technologically distinct from, the manufacture of the local Anatolian ceramic forms.

Other forms of Mesopotamian material culture occur as well. Uruk architecture is attested – albeit indirectly – at Hacinebi through the presence of ceramic wall cones, the uniquely Mesopotamian form of building decoration (fig. 7: A-D), in secondary (trash) deposits at the site. Excavations in Mesopotamia proper and at colonies such as Habuba Kabira, Jebel Aruda, and Hassak Hüyük have shown that this architectural decoration was used on both public and domestic buildings in the Uruk period.³²

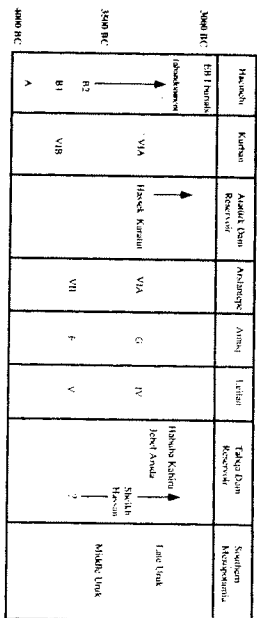


Fig. 3: Hacinebi fourth millennium chronology.

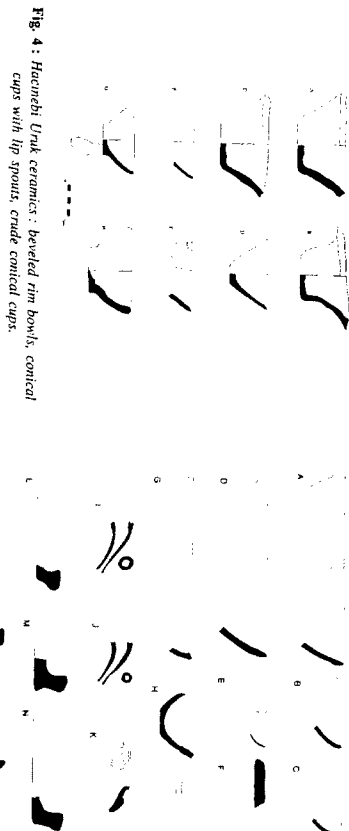


Fig. 4: Hacinebi Uruk ceramics: beveled rim bowls, conical cups with lip spouts, crude conical cups.

Fig. 6: Hacinebi Uruk beveled rim bowls, lids, ladle, spout, move lid, and tray.

An additional form of distinctively Mesopotamian material culture at Hacinebi is bitumen. Bitumen sources are common in Southern Mesopotamia, where in the Uruk period this material was ubiquitous as a construction material, sealant and raw material for a variety of functional or decorative objects. Bitumen has also been identified at Uruk colonies in Syria.³³ Large amounts of bitumen have also been found

33. PETERSENBERG *et al.*, 1996.

30. STEIN, BARNACK *et al.*, 1996; STEIN, BODEN *et al.*, 1997; STEIN, EPPS *et al.*, 1996; STEIN, EPPS *et al.*, 1998; STEIN and MISIR, 1994.
31. STEIN, EPPS *et al.*, 1996: 96-97.

32. BEHM-BLANCKE, 1989.

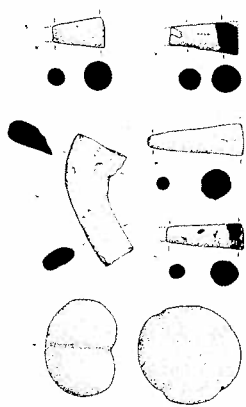


Fig. 7: Hacinebi Uruk wall cones (A-D), baked clay sickle (E), and cruciform-grooved stone weight (F).

concentrated in phase B2 deposits associated with Uruk ceramics. The bitumen at Hacinebi matches the chemical composition of the bitumen sources at Hit in southern Mesopotamia and seeps in Khuzistan³⁴, suggesting that this material was either a trade good exported from Mesopotamia to southeast Anatolia, or else the packaging within which some other trade good was transported.

Other distinctively Mesopotamian forms of material culture found at Hacinebi include personal ornaments, artifacts associated with commercial activities, and subsistence-related technology. A conical headed copper pin found in Uruk deposits at Hacinebi has exact parallels in the Uruk colony at Tell Sheikh Hassan and at southern sites such as Tello and Susa, where these pins are found in abundance.³⁵ Cruciform grooved stone weights, known from Susa Acropole 1:18, Habuba Kabira and Sheikh Hassan³⁶, are also present at Hacinebi (fig. 7: F). Finally, two examples of high fired clay sickles have been found at Hacinebi (fig. 7: E). These tools are characteristic of southern Mesopotamia in the Ubaid, Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods³⁷, and are virtually unknown in Local Late Chalcolithic settlements in Syria or southeast Anatolia.

Most importantly, the North area of Hacinebi has yielded evidence for both Mesopotamian and Anatolian forms of administrative (sealing) technology. Mesopotamian record

keeping technology is easily recognizable in its use of cylinder seals as opposed to the Anatolian use of stamp seal technology. Local Anatolian style stamp seals and seal impressions are present at Hacinebi in the pre-contact phases A and B1 and continue in use in the contact phase B2. However, contact phase deposits in the northeast area of Hacinebi have also yielded an almost complete range of standard Uruk administrative artifacts including jar sealings, jar stoppers, a hollow clay ball/bulla filled with tokens (fig. 8), and a clay slab or tablet – all bearing Uruk cylinder seal impressions, and found in association with Uruk ceramics³⁸. These record-keeping devices are common at southern Mesopotamian urban sites such as Uruk and are common at Uruk colonies such as Habuba Kabira, Jebel Aruda, Tell Sheikh Hassan, and Hassek Hoyuk.

At Hacinebi, the Uruk administrative technology co-exists with, but is separate from, the local stamp seals and sealings. Seal-impressed administrative artifacts and unused sealings are found in both Uruk and Local Anatolian deposits, confirming that each group monitored the movement of commodities. The two sealing systems differ in technology, iconography, function and pathways of economic circulation. In contrast with the Uruk use of cylinder seal technology, the Anatolian system consisted of rectangular, round or kidney shaped stamp seals that created a single image each time the seal was pressed into the wet clay lumps affixed to the container closures. Phase B2 Anatolian seals commonly depicted lions and caprids in chase or hunt scenes³⁹. Unlike the Uruk glyptic, Anatolian stamp seal impressions at Hacinebi are found on sealings affixed to wooden boxes, packets of reed matting, leather bags and cloth sacks; they never appear on ceramic vessels, tablets, jar stoppers, bullae or hollow clay balls.

Finally, behavioral patterning at Hacinebi is consistent with the artifacts in matching the expected profile of a Mesopotamian colony. Chipped stone tools show significant differences between Uruk and local deposits. Since the same tool forms are present in both types of deposits, the differences appear to be due to ethnic differences in cultural style, rather than simple functional differences⁴⁰.

Animal bone remains also provide particularly strong behavioral evidence for the presence of a Mesopotamian enclave at Hacinebi, since food preferences and food preparation

38. Jar stoppers and seal impressed tablet – see STEIN and MORGAN, 1994, figure 6; STEIN, 1997, fig. 4; seal impressions – see STEIN, EMERY *et al.*, 1996, fig. 16.
39. PITTMAN, 1996b.
40. EMERY, 1998.

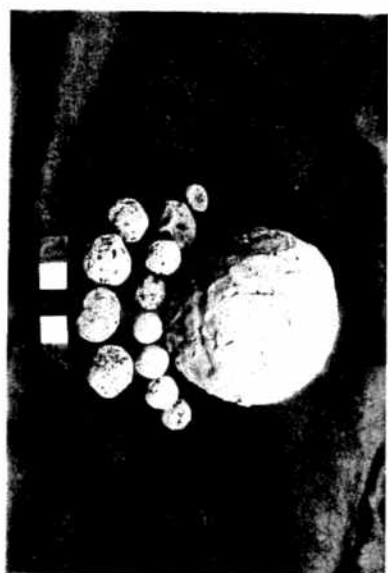


Fig. 8: Hacinebi cylinder seal impressed hollow clay ball with tokens.

procedures are often very culture-specific. The presence of such an enclave should be reflected by clear differences in food preferences, food preparation procedures, and possibly in butchery practices as well. Preliminary analyses show that major differences exist in the relative abundances of different animal species between those parts of Hacinebi with Uruk material culture and those where the local Anatolian assemblage predominates. The faunal remains associated with Uruk artifacts at Hacinebi match closely with known Mesopotamian food preferences and differ markedly from the animal bones associated with Anatolian contexts⁴¹.

COLONIZATION OR EMULATION?

Taken together, the distinctively Mesopotamian ceramic, architectural, administrative and other forms of material culture used in both public and domestic contexts at Hacinebi are completely consistent with both the general criteria for the identification of colonies in the archaeological record⁴², and with the specific complex of material characteristics of Uruk colonies and settlements in the southern Mesopotamian homeland. At Hacinebi we appear to have evidence for Mesopotamian colonization and exchange. This exchange ap-

pears to have taken place between two encapsulated communities that retained their distinctive social identities, with little or no emulation or transculturation⁴³.

The Hacinebi phase B2 data do not fit the patterning to be expected if the presence of Mesopotamian artifacts were simply due to Anatolian emulation of prestigious, exotic Uruk styles. There is almost no evidence for transformations of local identity in either the elite or commoner social spheres. Anatolian and Mesopotamian styles of material culture co-existed in parallel but separate spheres for at least 100 and quite possibly as long as 200 years. In our analyses to date, local forms of architecture, ceramics, and lithics show virtually no signs of emulation or replacement by intrusive Mesopotamian styles. The local people seem to have appropriated only one bowl form (the beveled rim bowl) out of the entire Mesopotamian repertoire.

If the local elites were either emulating Mesopotamian ideologies or taking on Mesopotamian identities completely, then we would expect to see this reflected in the iconography, form, and function of the elite administrative or record keeping technology. Seals, as individually crafted markers of ownership, status and administrative control are almost ideal material representations of ideology and social identity. If local elite identities had been transformed to match those of Mesopotamian elites, then they would have abandoned the

41. STEIN and NICOLE, 1996; STEIN, 1998.
42. SARTER *et al.*, 1987.

43. DRAGON, 1998.

local style of stamp seals and replaced it with the standard Mesopotamian style of cylinder seal. This does not happen. If anything, the opposite appears to be the case: administrative artifacts – presumably associated with local elites – retain local Anatolian stamp seal technology and animal iconography, rather than imitating Urnk forms, as one would expect in a situation of emulation.

The available evidence clearly indicates that there was an Urnk colonial enclave at Hacinebi; however, this enclave appears to have had little or no power over the local polity. The foreign group was numerically small, and more than 1,000 km away from its homeland. The Mesopotamians were dealing with a local polity that was already complex⁴⁴, and whose elite structure and ideology remained intact over the course of centuries of colonial-local interaction. The archaeological record at Hacinebi indicates that the combination of distance from homeland and local complexity led to an essential parity in power relations so that the Mesopotamians could not exercise political, military, economic, or even ideological dominance over the Anatolian host community. As a small minority under these conditions, the Mesopotamian trade diaspora was only able to survive at Hacinebi because the local rulers permitted it to do so. The colonists were certainly in no position to impose foreign ideologies on the local people. Nor is there any *a priori* reason for Mesopotamian culture to have been irresistibly attractive to the Anatolians as an object of voluntary emulation. The Anatolians did not need to appropriate Mesopotamian identities for economic reasons. The foreigners had to approach the Anatolians for access to vital resources such as copper, rather than vice versa. Local elite and commoner ideologies were already functioning quite effectively and had no real reason to change.

EXCHANGE

The phase B2 economic evidence suggests that the Mesopotamians were engaged in the working of copper obtained through exchange⁴⁵ – most likely with the local elites at Hacinebi, or possibly more directly with Anatolian traders who might have come to the site from the upstream copper source areas. Although there is no direct evidence from Hacinebi, we can suggest from natural resource distributions that the Mesopotamians may also have been procuring Ana-

tolian lumber, gold and semi-precious stones for shipment downstream to the Urnk heartland. The intensive use of bows and bitumen in Urnk deposits at Hacinebi may also have been related to exchange activities if the latter material was being used (or recycled from use) as a sealant inside containers for liquid storage/transport. Unfortunately, the paucity of the available evidence makes it difficult to determine if this was, in fact, the case.

We do not know what goods the Mesopotamians traded in return for these items. The economies of upstream transport would almost certainly have limited Mesopotamian exports to prestige items or other goods with a high ratio of value to weight (or bulk). Based on analogies with the textual record of Mesopotamian exchange and colonial networks in the third and second millennia BC, researchers have suggested that these items may have been high quality wool textiles, oils or aromatics, or some other distinctively Mesopotamian prestige good⁴⁶. Although wine was apparently a fourth millennium trade item, residue analyses of ceramic vessels from the city of Urnk suggest that this consumable prestige good was imported to Mesopotamia from the grape-growing regions of southeast Anatolia, Syria, and the Zagros⁴⁷ rather than being an Urnk export to these latter areas. Unfortunately, these hypothesized Urnk trade goods must remain speculative, since these are "invisible exports"⁴⁸ that are almost never preserved in the archaeological record. The Urnk merchants may also have served as middlemen, transshipping non-Mesopotamian goods to the local elites at Hacinebi, on analogy with the Old Assyrian colonial trading network of the early second millennium BC, where the Mesopotamians both exported Assyrian woolen textiles and transshipped tin (apparently acquired from Afghanistan) to local Anatolian polities⁴⁹. If this was indeed the case in the Late Chalcolithic period as well, then even non-perishable items would be very difficult to identify as trade goods brought by the Urnk merchants to Hacinebi.

Although engaged in exchange, the Urnk enclave at Hacinebi was also economically autonomous in the sense that it produced its own crops, pastoral products and crafts⁵⁰. The Mesopotamians appear to have been able to survive as a distinct social group with its own identity, while maintaining both economic autonomy and peaceful relations with the elites of the local polity for an extended period of time. In the

absence of any evidence for political, military, or economic domination, the most reasonable conclusion is that the foreigners were able to survive and flourish only at the sufferance of the local rulers, most likely by forging strategic alliances with them through marriage or exchange relations⁵¹.

CONCLUSIONS

The Hacinebi data provide a rare opportunity to examine the organization of interaction between a Mesopotamian colony and its indigenous host community during the fourth millennium BC Urnk expansion. The form and dynamics of Mesopotamia's interaction with its trading partners no doubt varied considerably in time and space, depending on such factors as geographic distance, demographic balances, and the degree of indigenous social complexity. Towards the end of the Middle Urnk period, ca. 3700 BC, Mesopotamians apparently came to Hacinebi in order to participate in the pre-existing metals trade that had linked this site with the copper source areas in the upper Euphrates since the early fourth millennium⁵². The available evidence for long term peaceful relations between this trade diaspora and its hosts suggests that the foreigners established a small trading colony at Hacinebi with the permission of the indigenous elites at the site. The existence at Hacinebi of a small foreign enclave in one part of a pre-existing indigenous community has its closest parallel in the site of Godin V. Although the two groups maintained peaceful social relations, and presumably profitable exchange relations, they remained socially encapsulated. Each group appears to have retained its own social identity, with little evidence so far for either Mesopotamian assimilation into the local Anatolian culture, or Anatolian elite emulation of Mesopotamian styles and symbolic forms.

How did this ethnically distinct foreign community survive and perpetuate itself as a distinct social entity for such an extended period of time? The long-term persistence of the Urnk enclave at Hacinebi (and presumably at other sites such as Godin) is hardly unusual in either the historical or the archaeological record. For example, at the major urban center of Teotihuacan in Classic period highland Mesoamerica, the "Merchants Barrio" of foreigners from Veracruz area of the Mexican Gulf Coast flourished for 350 years, while the Zapotec inhabitants of the "Oaxaca Barrio" maintained their

distinctive ethnic identity for up to 550 years⁵³. Both the Oaxaca barrio and the Merchants' barrio were small, spatially and socially bounded communities, vastly outnumbered by the large urban population of Teotihuacan. A number of researchers have noted that a foreign diaspora enclave – even a small one – will persist when its ethnic identity secures access to some strategic economic resource⁵⁴. It is therefore reasonable to expect that the Mesopotamian identity of the traders at Hacinebi and other sites would have given them preferred access to trade goods from their southern homeland.

The small Urnk enclave at Hacinebi would have been able to retain its viability and social identity by remaining in contact with its trading partners in both the south Mesopotamian homeland and in other Urnk colonies such as Sadi Tepe and Sheikh Hassan. The existence of long-term connections along the length of the Euphrates from southeast Anatolia down to Warka can be seen by the fact that ceramic and material culture styles in the Urnk colonies show a parallel evolution from Middle to Late Urnk forms in both the southern heartland and in Syro-Anatolia. If the colonies had been truly isolated, we would instead have seen a gradual divergence of northern and southern Urnk styles. The consistent, small, but steady stream of traders coming from southern Mesopotamia and nearby enclaves would have provided both cultural continuity in identity, and a replenishment of the Urnk character of the enclave's population, thereby offsetting the potential for assimilation through intermarriage with the local population. The key factor to remember here is that ethnicity is not a biological phenomenon, but is instead a social construct that is created and maintained through a variety of conscious and unconscious behaviors – such as the use of specific styles of material culture. These linkages between style, social identity and the political economy of exchange can help us to understand the organization of the Mesopotamian enclave at Hacinebi, and in other areas affected by the Urnk expansion.

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44. STEIN, EUBANK *et al.*, 1996.

45. ÖZBAK, 1997; ÖZBAK, ERLI, and ADAMSON, 1998.

46. ALCOCK, 1993b: 74-75.

47. See *e.g.* BACON *et al.*, 1996.

48. CRAWFORD, 1973.

49. LARSEN, 1970; VESPERBERG, 1972.

50. STEIN, 1998: 236-240.

51. STEIN, 1997.

52. ÖZBAK *et al.*, 1998.

53. SPENCE, 1996: 378, 379.

54. CRIBB, 1969; HARRISON, 1979; SPENCE, 1996.

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THE CHIPPED STONE INDUSTRY AT HACINEBI : TECHNOLOGICAL STYLES AND SOCIAL IDENTITY

C. EDENS

Abstract : *The presence of artifacts belonging to the Urnk culture in northern Mesopotamia and eastern Turkey may denote the presence of southern Mesopotamians in these northern areas. Pottery, architectural details and glyptic are the most frequently studied aspects of this phenomenon but often do not unambiguously demonstrate the co-existence of two distinct cultures at a given site. The technological style of the chipped stone assemblage from Hacinebi offers a different perspective on the problem. The Hacinebi lithic industry includes three distinct components, a flake technology and two separate blade technologies, that are all found associated with both local and Urnk pottery. Subtle differences among the blades, and especially the glossed blades distinguish Urnk and local lithic assemblages. These divergent technological styles umark cultural difference among the two broadly similar lithic assemblages, and confirm the presence of two distinct groups at the site.*

Résumé : *La présence en Mésopotamie septentrionale et en Turquie orientale d'objets appartenant à la culture d'Urnk peut signifier la présence de mésopotamiens du Sud dans les régions du Nord. La poterie, des détails architecturaux et la glyptique sont les aspects les plus fréquemment étudiés de ce phénomène mais souvent ils ne sont pas la preuve – dans un site donné – de la co-existence de deux cultures distinctes. Le style technologique de l'assemblage lithique d'Hacinebi autorise une perspective différente du problème. Son présentis un déblage à éclats et deux sortes de déblage laminaire, ces trois technologies étant les unes et les autres associées à la fois à la poterie locale et à la poterie urnkém. Des différences subtiles parmi les lames, et en particulier les lames lustrées, permettent toutefois de différencier les assemblages locaux de ceux urnkéens. Les divergences constatées dans la technologie mettent en lumière des différences culturelles parmi des assemblages qui paraissent au premier abord très semblables; elles confirment la présence de deux groupes distincts sur le site.*

Key-words : *Urnk expansion, Technological style, Blade technologies, Hacinebi, Glossed blades.*

Mots clés : *Expansion urnkém, Style technologique, Technologies laminaires, Hacinebi, Lames lustrées.*

The "Urnk expansion" refers to the appearance of southern Mesopotamian material culture across Syro-Mesopotamia and into adjacent mountain uplands during the middle and later portions of the 4th millennium BC. This "expansion" manifests itself in various guises, ranging from newly founded Urnk towns to traces of southern material culture in otherwise indigenous settings. Despite the past several decades of archaeological attention disagreement still persists about even the basic features of the Urnk expansion. While most scholars are willing to assume movement of southern Mesopotamians

to northern sites in pursuit of raw material unavailable in the southern alluvium, others are more inclined to see the 'expansion' as northern elite emulation of southern styles rather than actual movement of foreigners into the north¹. This uncertainty arises from the nature of material culture as archaeological evidence, and especially from the use of style as a social marker. Processual archaeology rejected equations

¹ CONNOLLY & ALLEN, 1993b; SÖRENSEN, 1986; CATTE, 1993 with e.g. POLLOCK, 1992; HELLMIG, in press for these different views.