

A 4th-millennium temple/palace complex at Arslantepe-Malatya.
North-South relations and the formation of early state societies
in the Northern regions of Greater Mesopotamia.

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Abstract

This article reconsiders the nature of relations between the southern and northern communities of "Greater Mesopotamia " during the Late Uruk period and- the effects that the so-called, expansion of southern groups had on the formation of the first state societies in the northern regions of Syria and Eastern Anatolia. The author stresses the earlier historical roots of the unity of Greater Mesopotamia as well as the importance of local components in the development of new centralised political structures. The changes in interregional and intersite relations during this time also seem to be mainly a result of structural changes which took place in the individual societies both in the north and, in the south. The analysis is based on the emblematic case of Arslantepe (Malatya), where the wealth of data from a large public area has made it possible to reconstruct an early "State" system strongly interacting with the southern societies, but based on the growth of local organisational structures.

Résumé

Nouvelle étude de la nature des rapports entretenus entre les communautés du Nord, et du Sud de la, « Greater Mesopotamia » au cours de l'Uruk récent, plus particulièrement de l'influence que l'expansion de groupes venant du Sud a pu avoir, dans les régions septentrionales de la Syrie et de l'Anatolie orientale, sur la naissance et l'évolution des premières formes de l'État. Sont mises en évidence aussi bien les racines historiques de l'unité culturelle qui caractérise la « Greater Mesopotamia » que l'importance des composantes locales et, le rôle que les unes et les autres jouèrent dans le développement d'organisations politiques centralisées. Les changements observés tant au niveau inter-régional qu 'au niveau des sites à cette époque sont dus principalement aux changements structuraux qui prirent place, et dans les sociétés du nord et dans celles du sud. Cette analyse est fondée sur le cas exemplaire que nous offre le site d'Arslan Tepe (Malatya) où la richesse des données provenant d'une vaste zone d'édifices publics a permis de proposer une reconstruction d'une proto-organisation d'un État avant de fortes interactions avec les sociétés du Sud, mais qui, en même temps, reposait sur le développement de structures tout à fait locales.

A 4th-MILLENNIUM TEMPLE/PALACE COMPLEX AT ARSLANTEPE-MALATYA. NORTH-SOUTH RELATIONS AND THE FORMATION OF EARLY STATE SOCIETIES IN THE NORTHERN REGIONS OF GREATER MESOPOTAMIA

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Key-words : *Eastern Anatolia, Arslantepe, Late Uruk, public architecture, State formation, core-periphery relations.*

Mots clefs : *Anatolie Orientale, Arslantepe, Architecture publique, Formation de l'État, Relations zone nucléaire et périphérie.*

The great amount of archaeological activity that has concentrated in recent years in the Upper Mesopotamian and the Syro-Anatolian regions has focused interest in the features of the first urbanisation and State formation in these areas.

Nevertheless, the North has continued to be considered marginal in comparison with the primary nucleus of southern alluvial Mesopotamia. This is certainly partly due, quite rightly, to the different dimension of the phenomenon in the two

regions, infinitely more important and involving every aspect of social and economic life in lower Mesopotamia, where it was consequently more stable. But it is also partly due to the fact that so little is known about the Early Uruk Period (Late Chalcolithic in the North), with two main results : firstly the growth in the socio-political, and perhaps also the economic complexity of the northern communities in the first half of the 4th millennium has been underestimated; and secondly the separation between different areas making up greater Mesopotamia has been overemphasised, making the later far-reaching diffusion of Late Uruk elements in the north appear as a one-way expansion phenomenon. One of the elements that has contributed to creating the impression of a split in Early-Uruk/Late Chalcolithic in that process of cultural unification of the whole area lying between the Tigris and the Euphrates, which had already been given a powerful impetus in the mature phase of the Ubaid period, was precisely the radical change that occurred between the end of the 5th and the first half of the 4th millennium in pottery manufacture. Pottery ceased to be an object also used to bear symbolic and identifying meanings that was typical of the painted wares of the Late Neolithic, Halaf and Ubaid. And since it was no longer designed to circulate, as they were, it was made exclusively for everyday use and therefore acquired local features that create the impression of a fragmentation of cultural areas and a break in the close north-south relations. During the first half of the 4th millennium, however, despite the specific differences that certainly did exist between the northern and the southern societies, and which were the result of the particular histories of each of these two major regions and of the influence exercised on their development by different environmental and social contexts, one finds various elements that suggest parallel developmental trajectories and the parallel formation of new similar social and economic needs. These are very evident archaeologically, precisely through the changes in the general features of pottery production. In both areas one finds the development of the mass-production of bowls and hastily made coarse vessels, with the consequent loss of interest in the aesthetic aspects, suggesting a new similar type of demand and similar technological and organisational responses. Furthermore, the cultural regionalisation which certainly existed in that period might indicate the formation of embryonic political structures with a territorial basis, and hence more rigid in terms of the definition of the areas to which people belonged and lesser flexibility in the circulation of persons and goods. This also marked a major structural change in the societies, and was an essential precondition for the spread of Early State models

in the Late Uruk period. It is a process that seems to have taken place both in the north and in the south, even though in the south there were already signs of substantial urbanisation that was without parallel in the northern areas.

We are therefore faced with parallel developments that are partly ascribable to their common Ubaid roots but which probably also conceal a persistence of inter-regional relations. All of this forms an essential background for analysing the Late Uruk phenomenon. In my opinion, it is precisely due to a failure to take proper account of these links, encouraged by the changed nature of the archaeological indicators, that the cultural *koinè* created in the Late Uruk period has been considered to be something fundamentally new, forgetting its deep historical roots and emphasising the tendency to view the spread of the southern culture and social models throughout the whole of the Greater Mesopotamia as a form of expansionism and even "imperialism" in some cases.

THE LATE URUK PHENOMENON IN THE NORTH : LOCAL CULTURES AND SOUTHERN IMPACT

The most elaborate Mesopotamo-centric theory interpreting the Late Uruk spread as the outcome of demands and pressures exerted by the alluvium societies on the northern communities in order to obtain raw materials is the one proposed by G. Algaze¹. Interpreting the interregional relations of 4th millennium society as a "world system"², he views the formation of a network of colonial sites along the northern basins of the Tigris, Khabour and Euphrates, under the pressure of the southern centres, as having the function of brokering trade between the northern areas (the periphery) and Lower Mesopotamia (the core). Algaze's hypothesis has the merit of identifying the complexity and the variety of recognisable situations in the different types of peripheral sites, as well as the importance of the procurement of raw materials in this formative phase of the Early State societies. However, it is questionable both in theoretical terms and as far as the interpretation of available archaeological data is concerned. As far as the theory is concerned, I do not personally consider that Mesopotamian society at the end of the 4th millennium had any economic and political institutions able to stably and regularly control the flow of goods on such

1. ALGAZE, 1989 a; 1993.

2. WALLERSTEIN, 1974; CHAMPION, 1989; GUNDER FRANK and GILLS, 1993.

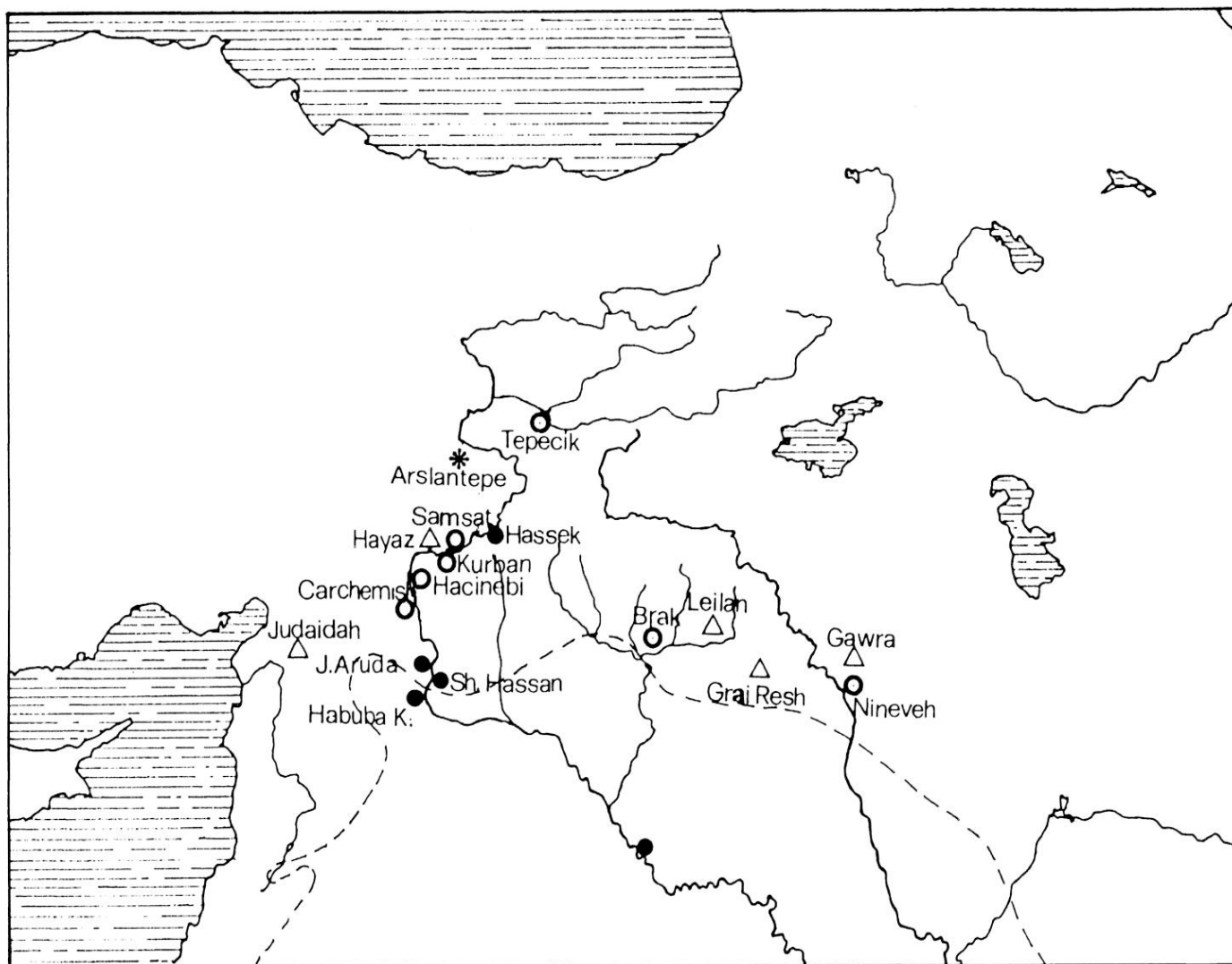


Fig. 1 : Distribution of the main excavated sites of the second half of the 4th millennium in the northern regions of Greater Mesopotamia.
● Southern « colonies »; ○ local sites with strong southern contacts; △ local sites without or with little evidence of contacts; * local centre with a southern-influenced culture.

a vast geographic scale. For one thing, there are no indications of any capacity on the part of the central structures of these first urban communities to extend their territorial control beyond the area immediately adjacent to the site. Secondly, the so-called colonial settlements show no evidence of having a preeminently commercial function, but rather seem to be the result of the transfer to other territories of whole communities with all their members, and there is no trace in the local peripheral centres of any specialisation for producing and trading in export goods.

Recent excavations in Syria and southeastern Anatolia have shown the wide variety of different Late Uruk sites, revealing different ways in which the southern groups were present and

the different responses of the local sites (fig. 1). In my opinion, the only real colonial settlements that we know of so far are the ones running along the Syro-Anatolian Middle Euphrates valley as far as the Anti-Taurus. Even though, at a certain point in their history, sites like Tell Brak and Nineveh reveal considerable evidence of what are obviously southern materials there³, these must have been large local centres in which there was neither the physical nor the political space for an alien settlement, but in which it was perhaps possible for the indigenous élites to have strong

3. CAMPBELL-THOMPSON and MALLOWAN, 1933; OATES and OATES, 1993; GUL, 1995.

relations with the southern components which had settled in the region, who perhaps substantially interfered in the power structures⁴. The gradual nature of this interference is clearly evidenced from the Brak sequence, where the combination of the stratigraphies in CH and TW reveal at least three phases : one characterized by a local Late Chalcolithic culture (CH 13-14), one with a local culture in which, at least in the TW area, there is an interference by foreign elements in a period (Middle Uruk) considered to be prior to the great colonial impact at the end of the 4th millennium (CH 12-9 and TW 16-13), and a third phase in which the material culture of southern origin is distinctly dominant in one area of the site (TW 12)⁵ but in which the presence of the great Eye Temple shows the persistence of features demonstrating cultural autonomy⁶.

On the other hand, the presence of southern communities and the way they interacted with the local groups were extremely varied not only in relation to the geographical area as such, but also in terms of the dimensions and the features of the individual sites. For example, in the easternmost regions of Khabour and Tigris there seem to be essentially a few major sites that exhibit very close links with the Uruk groups (perhaps due to relations at the level of the élites?), whereas in the minor sites these relations are either marginal or completely absent, as at Tepe Gawra; in the Euphrates Valley, signs of the presence of people of southern origin are not only much more widespread, but they take a variety of different forms with both large centres having strong southern Mesopotamian characterisation (probably Samsat and Carchemish) and sites of different sizes and importance in which this influence varies (Kurban⁷, Hayaz⁸), and even the settlement of small alien groups on small sites simultaneously occupied or otherwise by the local communities (Hacinebi⁹, Hassek¹⁰). This encroachment into the northern areas now appears to have taken place gradually, perhaps even in waves,

over a long period which certainly covers the whole of the latter half of the 4th millennium (Middle and Late Uruk)¹¹.

The different ways of interacting – which suggest that there was a substantial readiness on the part of the local communities to welcome these outsiders, even though there may have been conflicts as evidenced from the frequent construction of town walls in the colonial settlements – were perhaps only possible because there already existed a tradition of contacts and a common history, to a certain extent. It was this common history which, as already mentioned, also involved structural parallelisms, that made it possible for the political and organisational structures of the local communities to undergo far-reaching changes, producing an outcome of great historical importance to a phenomenon which initially may not have had a great impact in terms of geographical extension or widespread involvement of the local populations.

This interpretation, which sheds some doubt on the expansionist approach in terms of the role and the number of parties involved, but which certainly does not belittle the radical effects of the interference of groups of southern origin on the lives of the northern communities, is also supported by the fact that the impact of the new political and economic organisational models produced an even more marked effect in an area bordering with the regions in which the southern populations settled, but not directly affected by them : the area of Malatya, north of the Taurus chain. If the interest of the Mesopotamians in establishing relations with this region was generally the abundance of raw materials, particularly metals, in which the whole of the mountainous part of Eastern Anatolia abounds, the possibility of establishing structured and easily governable relations was certainly due to the fact that on the Malatya Plain there was a well-organised regional centre, capable of controlling the surrounding populations, such as Arslantepe.

4. The surveys carried out by Algaze in the Euphrates Valley (Birecik-Carchemish) and the Tigris Valley (Batman, Bothan, Cizre), in which numerous Late Uruk sites have been identified along the Euphrates and very few signs of southern materials in the areas around the Tigris, would support this theory that the groups that are assumed to have been southern Mesopotamian preferred to frequent the course of the Middle Euphrates (ALGAZE, 1989b; ALGAZE *et al.*, 1994).

5. OATES, 1986; OATES and OATES, 1993; 1994.

6. MALLOWAN, 1947.

7. ALGAZE (ed.), 1990.

8. THISSEN, 1985.

9. STEIN and MISIR, 1994; STEIN *et al.*, 1996 a; 1996 b.

10. BEHM-BLANCKE (ed.), 1981; 1984.

11. The material found in such sites as Sheikh Hassan (BOESI, 1995), Hacinebi and Tell Brak TW 16-13 shows typological features which, in the development of Uruk pottery production seems to typify a comparatively ancient period which we might call Middle Uruk for ease of classification. However, I believe that there is not sufficient evidence to define a real Middle Uruk phase, as a distinct complex of cultural, settlement, architectural and socio-economic features, whether in the north or in the south.

A LARGE MULTI-FUNCTIONAL MONUMENTAL COMPLEX AT ARSLANTEPE : THE EMERGENCE OF AN EARLY STATE CENTRE IN THE NORTHERN PERIPHERY OF GREATER MESOPOTAMIA

Arslantepe's presumably paramount function in the region as early as the Late Chalcolithic (period VII in the site sequence) is shown by the presence of a monumental area with a huge mud-brick building standing on what must have been the top of the ancient mound¹². This building, which originally comprised a large room with walls decorated with paintings and mud columns along the walls, does not seem to have been religious or administrative in character. Yet its monumental nature, which stands out in comparison with the houses that have been excavated on the northeastern edge of the tell, and its position suggest that it was used by the élites. The use of the top of the mound as a residence for the élites or for buildings in some way used for officialdom, has also been found in the later period (VI A) corresponding to the last few centuries of the 4th millennium. This is when monumental complexes were built on the period VII building, arranged on several terraces whose architectural features and contents do not clearly mark them out as having been for ceremonial use or for central economic/administrative activities, but rather as residential buildings for the élites¹³.

In this period, when for the first time there is significant evidence of the presence of Late Uruk culture, the new and most important fact has been the discovery of a large public area with monumental buildings running to the south of the residential zone along the south-western slope of the mound, covering such a vast area that it encroaches on a substantial part of the site (fig. 2a). The residential area of the ordinary people has not yet been found in the course of the excavation, but if it does exist on the mound it must have been small in comparison with a public centre of such vast proportions¹⁴. The lack of a real concentration of population in the main political-administrative centre is one of the most prominent features of the type of centralised society found in the Malatya Plain, distinguishing it from the classical Mesopotamian mo-

del and evidencing a form of Early State without "urbanisation"¹⁵.

At Arslantepe there are essentially four public buildings from the Late Uruk period, built on several terraces and subsequently rebuilt and modified various times (fig. 2a and b). Taken together they make up a unitary complex except for one of them, Building I or Temple A¹⁶, which was built at a slightly later stage on a terrace on the western edge of the tell, even though in view of the horizontal stratigraphic situation it may also have been in use at the same time as at least part of the other structures. Each of these buildings seems to have had a variety of different religious, economic and administrative functions, even though the main formal feature is often that of a place of worship. Unlike the case of the large contemporary public architecture in Mesopotamian towns, the buildings were architecturally divided into different sectors with clearly recognisable formal features for each of these many different functions. Furthermore, the buildings are not physically isolated from one another but, following a more typically Anatolian tradition, together form one single agglutinated complex, where the parts are only separated by the lack of any direct communication, often emphasised by a different altitude of the terraces. Some of the buildings may have been linked by the roofs, as in the case of the passage linking the area of Temple B to that of

15. FRANGIPANE and PALMIERI, 1988-89; FRANGIPANE, 1996.

16. The religious function of this kind of building has recently been disputed, with regard in particular to Ubaid architecture, on the basis of the similarity between their layout and the tripartite plan of the houses, the lack of representations of supernatural images and the considerable number of openings which have been considered more suitable for receiving people for élite audiences or feasts rather than for cult activities, thought to be quite closed and formally undistinguished in early times (AURENCHIE, 1981; FOREST, 1987). However, the plan of the so-called temples is significantly modified compared with that of the houses, with a higher degree of standardization and a stress on the central room to the detriment of the side rooms, which become so small they make the structure unsuitable as a "chief house". On the other hand the lack of sacred images could be due both to their disappearance, if they were made of perishable materials, or to the fact they were not necessarily required for any type of ritual. Finally it must be stressed that in the majority of rank or stratified archaic societies the prominent social and political position of the élites is ideologically linked to their assumed closeness to the gods and their duties included that of performing the rituals. The merger of religious power, social and economic functions and political authority is one of the outstanding traits of early centralised societies, and the function which is usually recognised and formally expressed is precisely the religious one which ideologically comprises the others. The architectural expression of this function is attested from the Prepottery Neolithic, whereas it was the political power that only had its own distinct places later. We have no real proof that cult activities were actually performed in the Arslantepe buildings A and B, except for the indications of some of the features such as the high platform or basin against the back wall, their connection with high-stemmed bowls, and small clay tables. But we prefer to call these structures "temples" using the traditional terminology because it underlines their public functions, and we assume that the probably multivarious activities which took place there may have been formally characterised by acts of worship.

12. FRANGIPANE, 1993 a.

13. FRANGIPANE, 1993 b.

14. Even if there does exist a period VI A settlement, it does not reach as far as the northeastern edge of the mound, which was investigated in the Sixties, where well-preserved remains have been found of period VII dwellings on several levels, but only scattered pottery sherds belonging to period VI A.

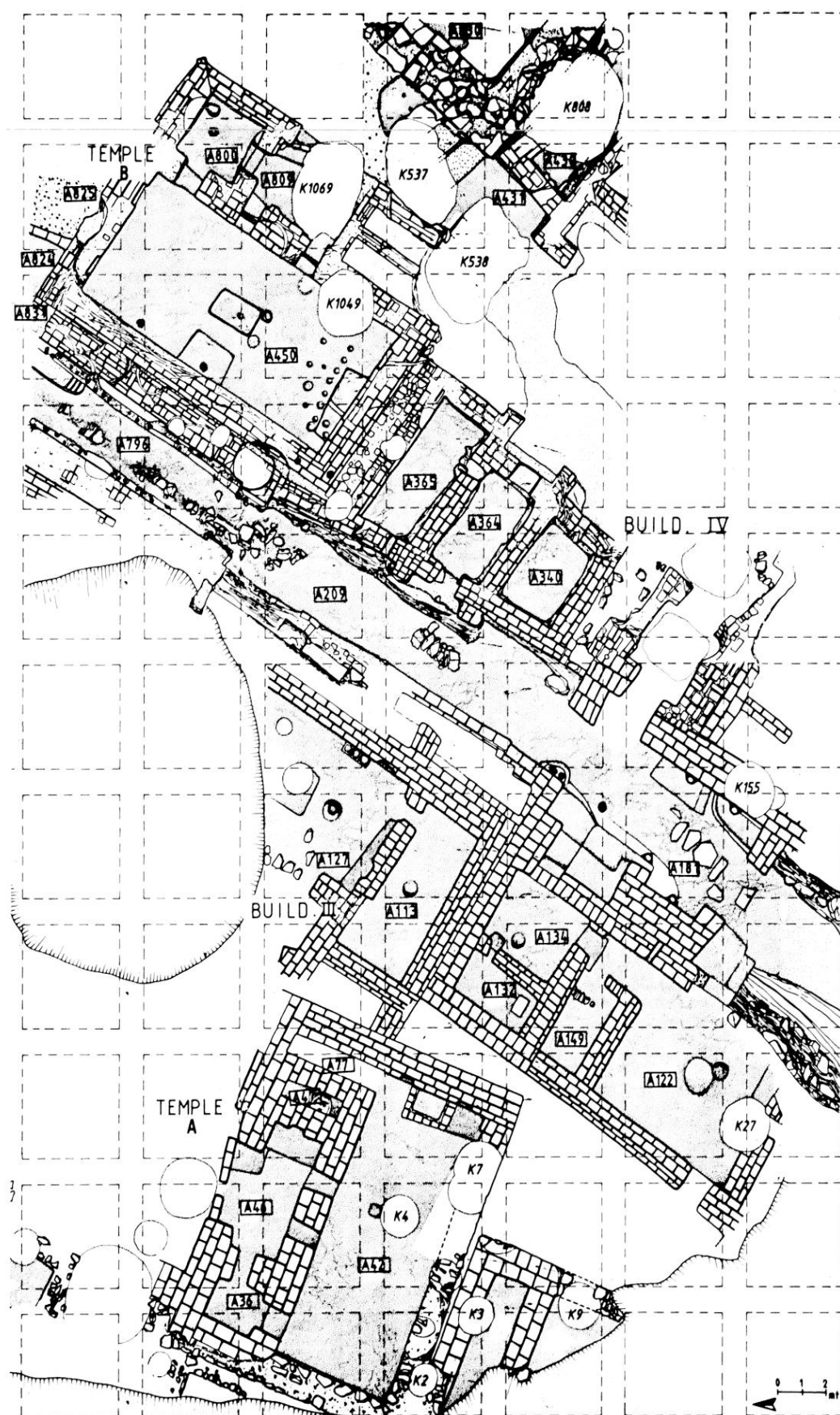


Fig. 2 a : Arslantepe, Malatya. Plan of the monumental public buildings of Period VI A.

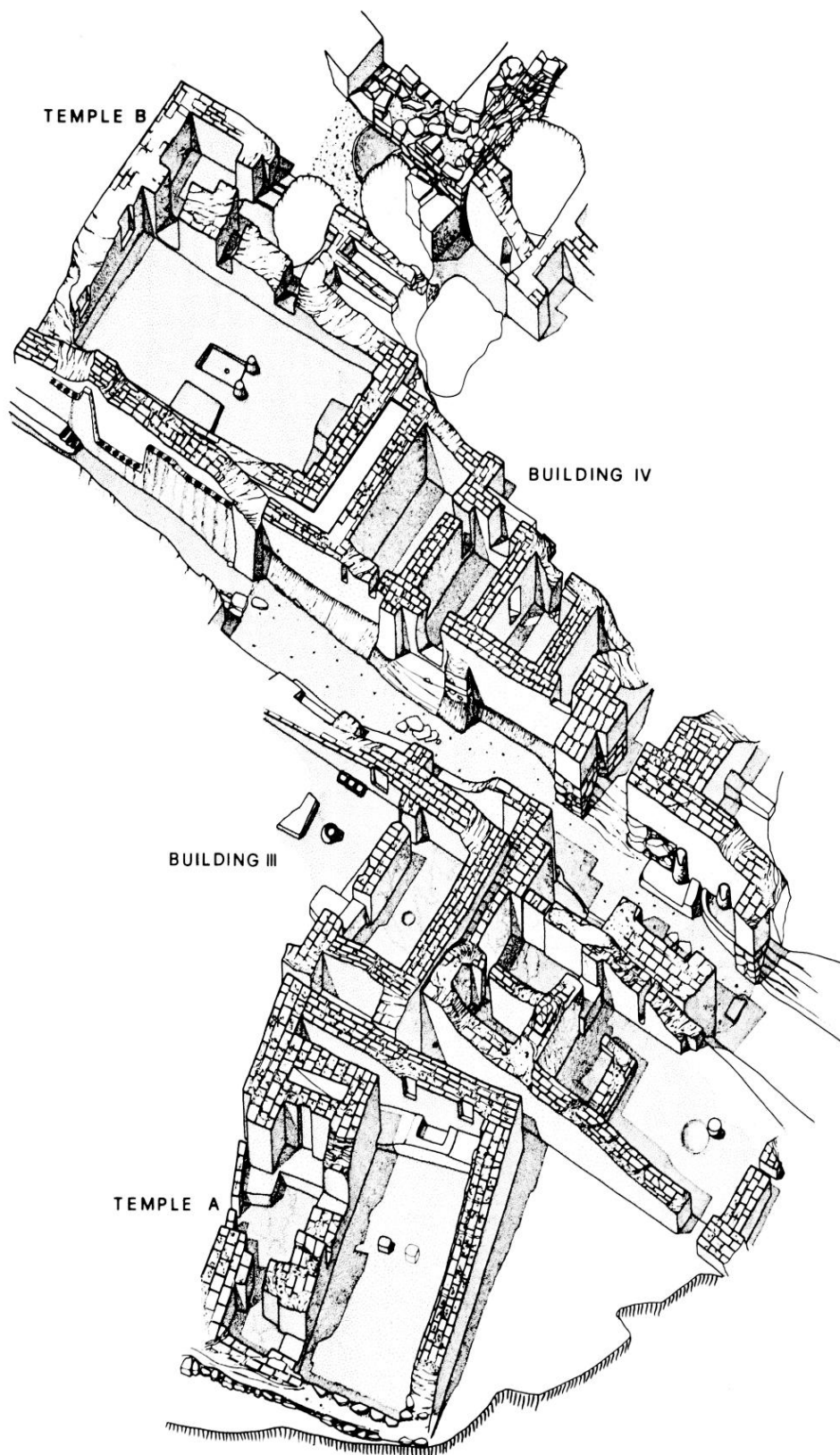


Fig. 2 b : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Isometric view of the public buildings of Period VI A.*

Building III, separated by a large corridor (A 209-A 796) on a much lower level and, in the section adjacent to the Temple, covered with a wood and mud structure which might have been an upper floor or an open-air walk-way. For the corridor must have alternated with covered zones (Gate A 181 and the more internal part A 796) which are recognisable from the type of collapsed materials and the abundance of carbonised beams, with open-air zones to allow light and air to enter (A 209). The possibility that there was direct aerial communication between the eastern and western zones in the complex might be confirmed by the fact that a small area (A 206) hewn into the huge terracing wall bordering the large corridor to the west had been filled with clay-sealings, some bearing the imprints of seals that are also shown on the sealings found in Temple B. This association indicates that both areas were used by the same administrative units, underlined by the fact that in the other clay sealing dumping places in the public area, the seal designs were generally different in each dump.

While all the buildings constitute a highly inter-related complex from the point of view of construction and layout, and were used for a variety of different functions, this multi-functional feature within an architectural unit is even more evident in Building IV. This building, which seems to have been exceptionally large, to the extent that despite the considerable area already excavated it has not yet been brought entirely to light, appears to have been more like a set of linked structures built on two terraces (fig. 2b and 3). The higher one, to the north, comprises the most important buildings: a bipartite temple, Temple B, and another structure of extraordinary monumental proportions, of which for the moment we have only come across one corner (A 830); the lower zone to the south was a court-yard around whose sides were a complex of rooms, of which the rooms to the west (A 365-A 340) were certainly used for storing food. The whole complex was bordered to the west by the large corridor running SW-NE to which entry was through a monumental gate (A 181) and which linked the two terraces on the slope of the old mound. The corridor, which ran along the cutting of another terrace on the western side on which Building III stood, led initially to the store sector and, through this zone, at least originally to the central court-yard. It then continued to the north towards an unexcavated area which should have been important to the whole architectural complex, judging by the fact that the walls in this northern section (A 796) were almost entirely covered with both plastic and painted decorations. But it is not unlikely that at least one of the areas to which the corridor led was also Temple B. In fact



Fig. 3 : Arslantepe, Malatya. Building IV from the south.

there was a passage (A 831) opened up on the eastern wall preceded by a short mud stair-way which theoretically might have led to the entrance on the eastern side of the temple, going round behind it.

The layout of the functional sectors in formally and architecturally distinct parts, also thanks to the careful use of terracing, makes this structure a unique complex, and perhaps the earliest ever example of a multi-functional building which, on account of this feature and the strong ideological/religious connotations of the main parts of it, might be defined as a temple-palace complex. For not only do we find the association typical of Early State Near Eastern societies of religious/worship and economic/administrative activities combined, but for the first time they occupy different spaces that are specifically set aside for those activities. These spaces were difficult to communicate between, because of the terraces, and this fits in with the general view of protecting and



Fig. 4 : Arslantepe, Malatya. Temple B and Building IV from the north.

controlling the entries to buildings which runs throughout all the architecture in the Arslantepe VIA period; this is a further element of originality and diversity compared with the Mesopotamian public architectural models which, in the majority of cases, were wide open towards the outside.

TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE : TEMPLE B

The combination of elements of a Mesopotamian origin, probably acquired through a long tradition of culture relations, and of original aspects typical to Arslantepe can be found even more clearly in the two temples that have been unearthed, the first many years ago on the western edge of the public area (Temple A)¹⁷ and the second in the 1994 campaign within the complex of Building IV (Temple B) (fig. 2 a, 2 b and 4). These two structures which, as we have already said, were perhaps built at slightly different times, show in their dimensions, floor plan and architectural elements very close analogies, revealing the existence of a temple typology that was typical of Arslantepe. This is the result of an original re-elaboration of the basic Mesopotamian religious architectural pattern which was evidently adapted to the traditions and demands of local worship. The layout is bipartite, instead of being tripartite, with a large *cella* for worship almost 12 metres long, and a row of little rooms lined up along one of

the long sides, three in Temple B, only two in Temple A. The central room was the entrance to the building, but not to the *cella* with which communication was only possible through two windows. To enter the large room it was necessary to pass through the little side room on the corner where other activities were performed, so that this entrance must have been reserved only to a few people. The area corresponding to the third room on the opposite corner in both temples must have been used to house a staircase up to a higher floor, even though the structural solutions differed between them. The solution adopted in Temple B is the classic solution of all Mesopotamian temples in which one narrow longitudinal wall divides a small rectangular room through the centre, providing a support for the stairway. In this room there was not really a floor but merely a level covered with a layer of pottery fragments, some of them of large dimensions, not smashed *in situ*, because it has not been possible to reconstruct even one single vessel. It must therefore have been a kind of loose foundation level at the bottom of the hypothesised staircase.

The possible existence of an upper floor is also suggested for Temple B by the huge blocks of wall which fell in their entirety inside the structure, making it possible to reconstruct the original walls as being at least 5-6 metres high. Underneath these, the remains of the ceiling that had collapsed onto the floor provide important information on the type of cover used, made up of large wooden beams and intertwined plants covered with mud.

The floor contained a great deal of material that has remained there under the collapsed ceiling and architectural features in a good state of preservation (fig. 5 a and 5 b). These features differed very slightly from those found in Temple A. The *cella*, which like the other temple had two simple niches on each of the short sides, nevertheless had multiple niches on the long side facing the entry and contained two platforms. One was high, with a slightly concave surface, flanked by a low bench, forming an altar in the centre of the end wall. The other was larger and lower, and backed on to the long wall in front of the windows, and contained a large hole with wood inside, probably a wooden feature inserted into it rather than a pole to support the roof. In the centre of the room were two podiums with a slightly concave top, arranged on the edge of a low rectangular hearth, slightly sunken into the floor. There were also a number of moveable elements such as small offering tables made of clay with raised sides and coated in white plaster, two of them broken near the side platform, with a third still intact on the floor near the short side facing the altar between the two niches.

17. PALMIERI, 1973.

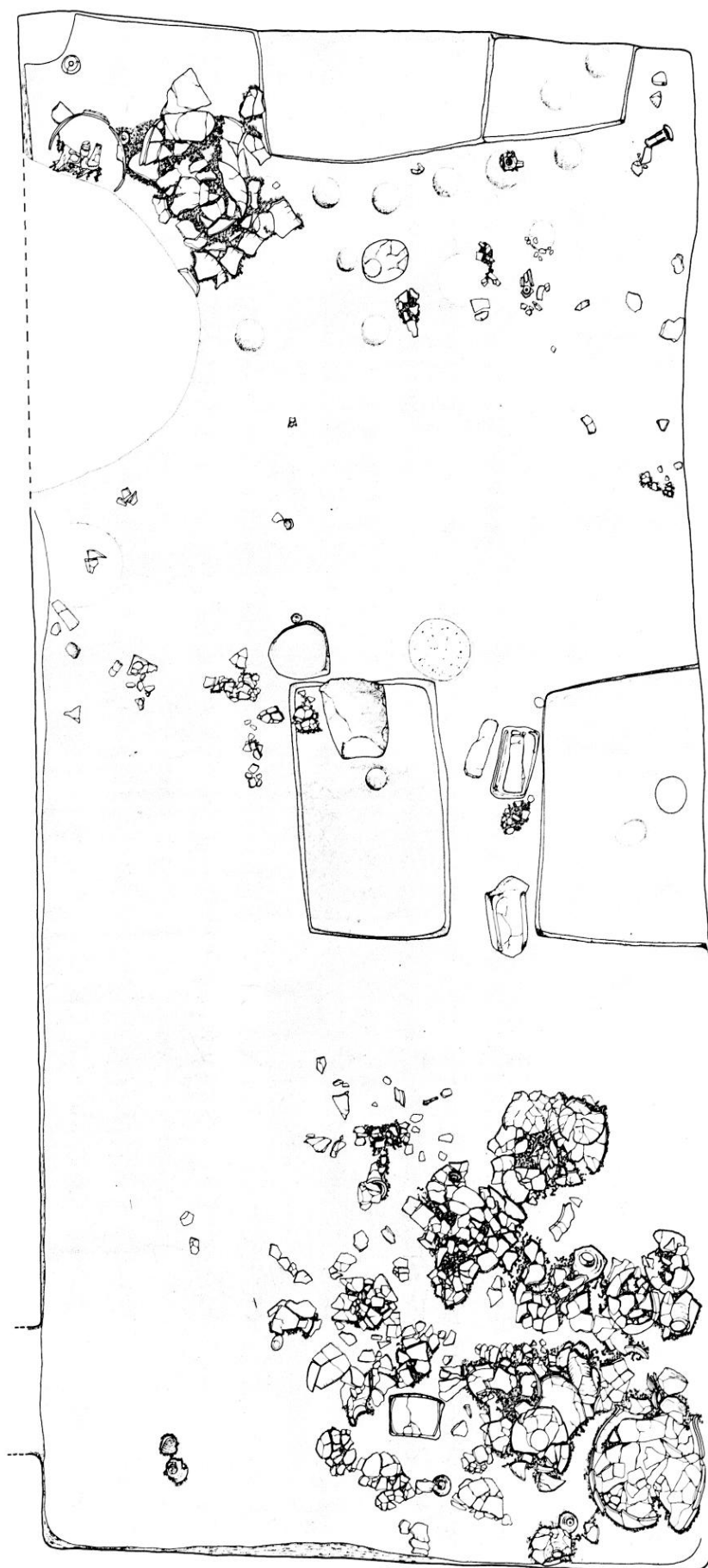




Fig. 5 b : *Arslantepe, Malatya. The Temple B cella A 450.*

In the two temples at Arslantepe, which are almost identical in their plan, there were therefore a number of small differences in the elements for worship, but even greater differences in the distribution of the materials found there and hence in the type of activity performed in them. This may have been due to the fact that whereas Temple A seems to have been a complete building in itself, and therefore a place where many of the functions performed by the central institutions were carried out, Temple B formed part of a large multi-functional structure, in which every part specialised in specific activities. Thus whereas in Temple A most of the vases were found in the two side rooms, which must have been stores, one for actual storage and the other for distribution, and there was even a small room for dumping clay sealings (figs. 6-7)¹⁸, these same functions in Building IV were performed elsewhere, so that the activities carried out inside Temple B seem to have been more specifically linked to worship.

Virtually all the pottery was found in the *cella* of Temple B and contained goods perhaps offerings that had just been placed there shortly before the destruction of the building. Most of the pots were in the northwest corner of the large room opposite the main altar and facing the entry (fig. 7). They comprise 17 large and medium-sized vessels, of which three were hand-made pithoi of varying sizes (fig. 8 : 1, 4), two cooking pots (fig. 8 : 2-3) and 9 wheel-made or wheel-finished necked jars, four of the usual type, often with reserved slip decoration (fig. 9 : 5-8), and five made of a unique chaff-tempered reddish ware, which were evidently reminiscent of the pottery of the previous Late Chalcolithic period (fig. 9 : 1-4). This particular type of production of a more ancient tradition, which had never been found in the rest of the public area in the past, indicates that there still remained, albeit to a small degree, local manufacturing techniques and perhaps production methods which could have continued in rural environments, or at least a context outside that of production commissioned by the central institutions.

For completely different reasons, three other vessels in this northwestern group stand out, unique so far in the pottery repertoire of Arslantepe : two are characteristic elongated vases, probably to hold liquids (fig. 10 a and b), and one was a red-slipped small jar with high shoulder (fig. 11 a and b), which were very accurate examples of highly typical Mesopotamian articles. The first are exactly matched by findings at Susa in layer 17B in the Acropolis, at Uruk in the Riemchengebaude, and at Habuba Kabira, Brak TW12

and Hassek¹⁹. The red-slipped jar is almost identical to others found at Hassek, Habuba Kabira and Brak TW 12 if one excludes the absence of lugs²⁰. The analysis of the clay which is still continuing at the present time has shown as a preliminary finding that whereas the paste of the elongated high vessels are similar to fine local products, even though they do not coincide wholly with them, the clay used for the small red jar seems to be different from the other fabrics of Arslantepe VI A, particularly if it is compared with the other productions in Temple B, suggesting that it was probably imported. A typical Late Uruk spouted bottle found in Temple A²¹ was also different from local production. Generally speaking the spouted bottles are very rare on the site and apart from the one found in Temple A and another in a ceremonial room within the "residential" area, all of them were in one of the two stores in Building IV (A 365)²². Of these, only one was of a clearly Mesopotamian type, while the others appear to be reproductions of that shape, adapted to local taste.

We are therefore faced with products for specific purposes. In some cases they are imports of foreign materials, and in others they were probably made locally, with very special shapes reproducing well-known Mesopotamian profiles. Even in these cases, they are extremely rare and the product is sometimes absolutely identical to the one which is copied. This might indicate the presence of foreign craftsmen who worked locally under special circumstances. What is interesting about this is that these objects which do not form part of the local production were almost exclusively concentrated in the two temple buildings. The presence of non-local, rare manufactures that were concentrated only in particular worship/elite contexts, probably among the "offerings" at the temple, whether imported or made by foreign craftsmen locally, is an important clue that suggest that there were strong connections with southern groups at the level of relations between the élites. The circulation of elements of foreign origin on the premises of the central institutions, coupled by the general influence of southern models on the organisation and on local pottery production itself, opens once again the whole problem as to the nature and origin of the dominant class in this very ancient Early State society.

19. LE BRUN, 1978 : fig. 29 : 5; LENZEN, 1958 : pl. 48-50; SØRENHAGEN, 1974-75, pl. 15 : 91; OATES and OATES, 1993 : fig. 49 : 4; BEHM-BLANCKE, 1984 : fig. 14 : 5.

20. BEHM-BLANCKE, 1984 : fig. 12 : 4; SØRENHAGEN, 1974-75 : pl. 11 : 74; OATES and OATES, 1993 : fig. 50 : 12.

21. FRANGIPANE and PALMIERI, 1983 : fig. 33 : 7.

22. FRANGIPANE and PALMIERI, 1988-89 : 541-546, fig. 4 : 5, 11; PALMIERI, 1989 : fig. 3 : 4-7.

18. FRANGIPANE and PALMIERI, 1983 : 315-325.

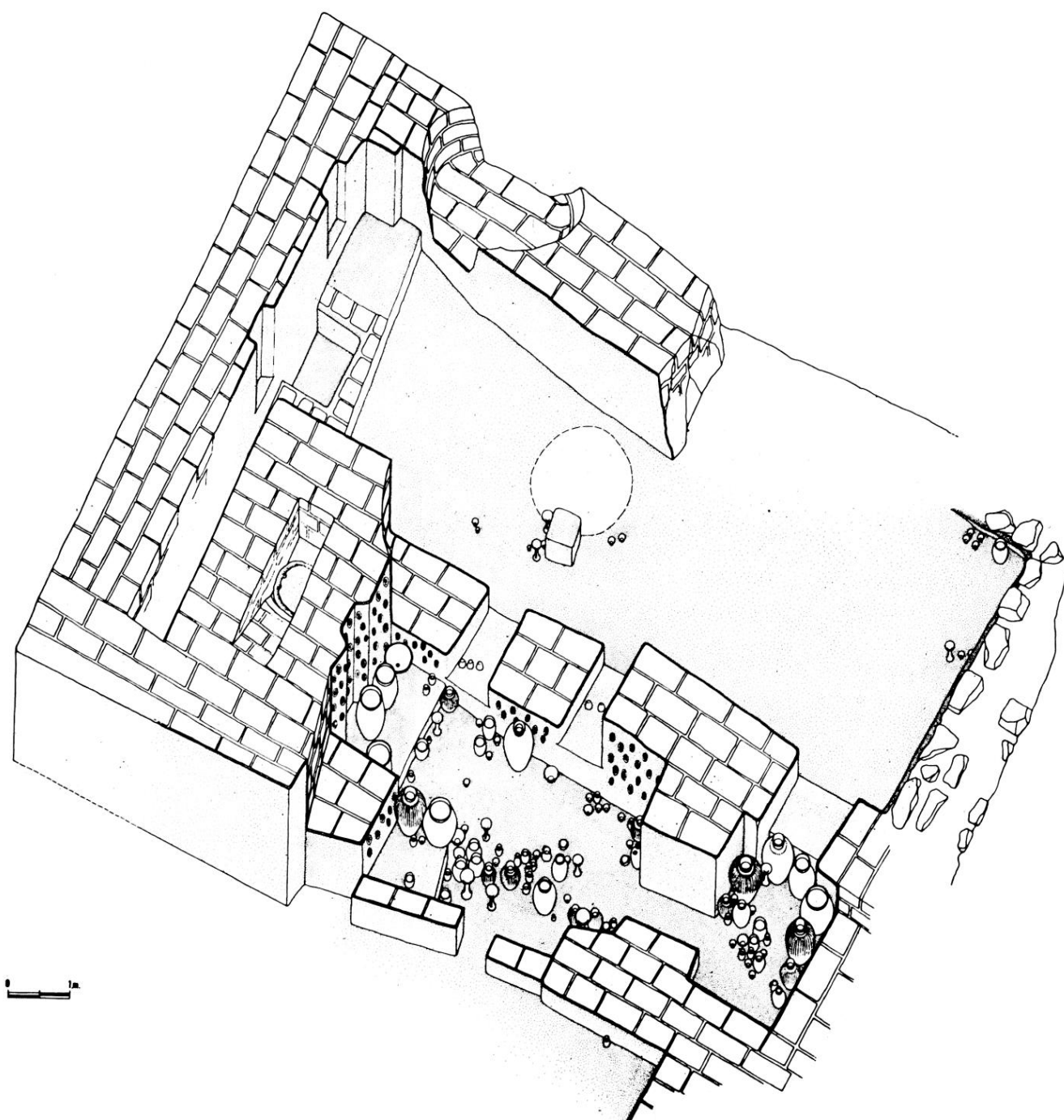


Fig. 6 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Reconstruction of the original position of pottery in Temple A.*

The pottery which is most directly connected with worship consisted of typical local forms. They were high-stemmed bowls, often with cut-out decoration on the stem, almost always found directly in connection with podiums, altars and basins for libations. In Temple B, among the few vessels found in the southern half of the large room, close to the altar there were three of these high-stemmed bowls that

seemed to be related to the low bench to the side of the altar itself (fig. 12 : 1, 7-8; fig. 13). To the east of the altar were three large containers : a necked jar, a small pithos in the usual kitchen ware and a large pithos in red-black burnished ware which is also a unique example, at least as a wholly reconstructed vessel, in the VI A repertoire (fig. 18 : 5). Two rows of low pseudo-circular depressions in the floor in front

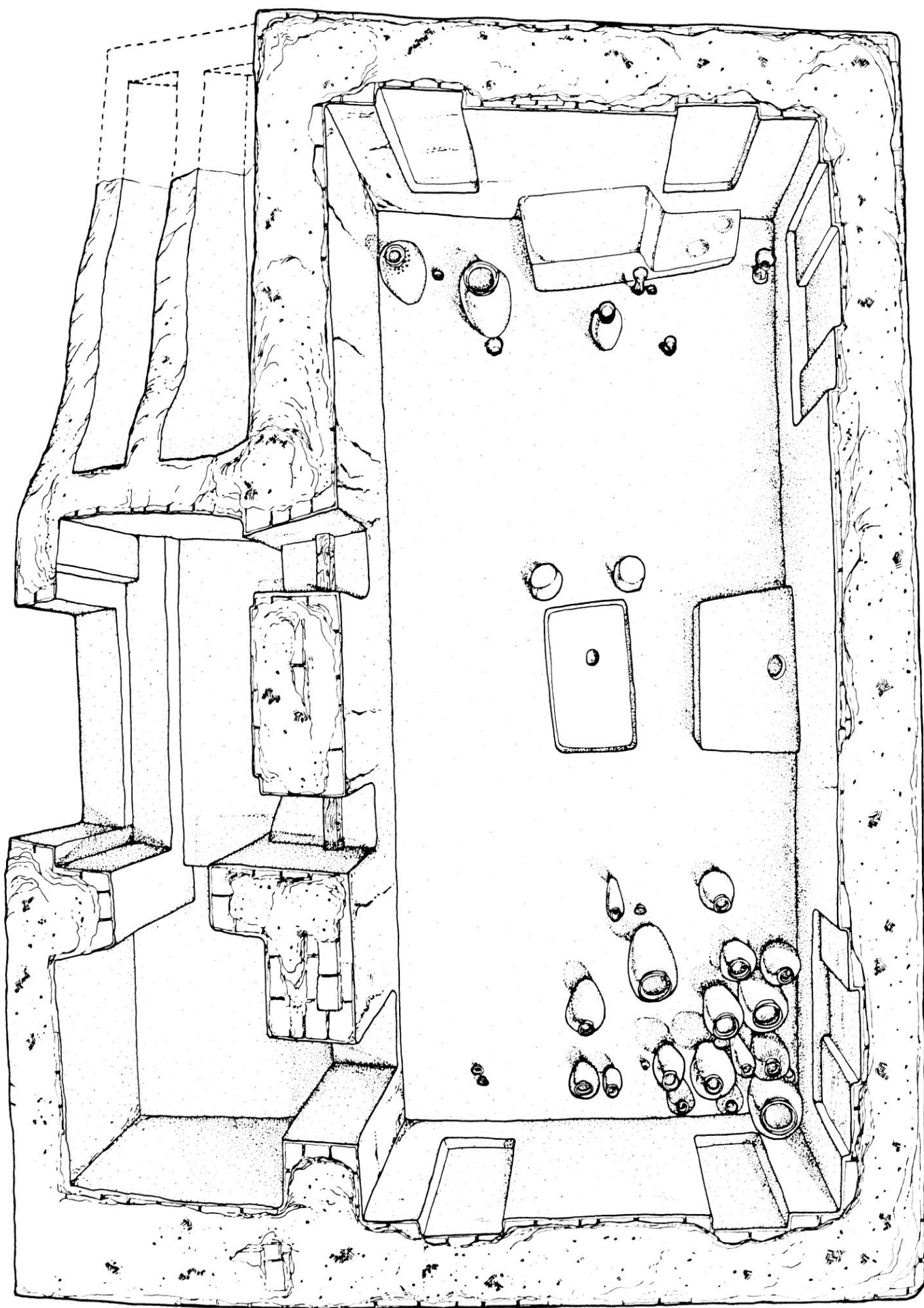


Fig. 7 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Reconstruction of the original position of pottery in Temple B.*

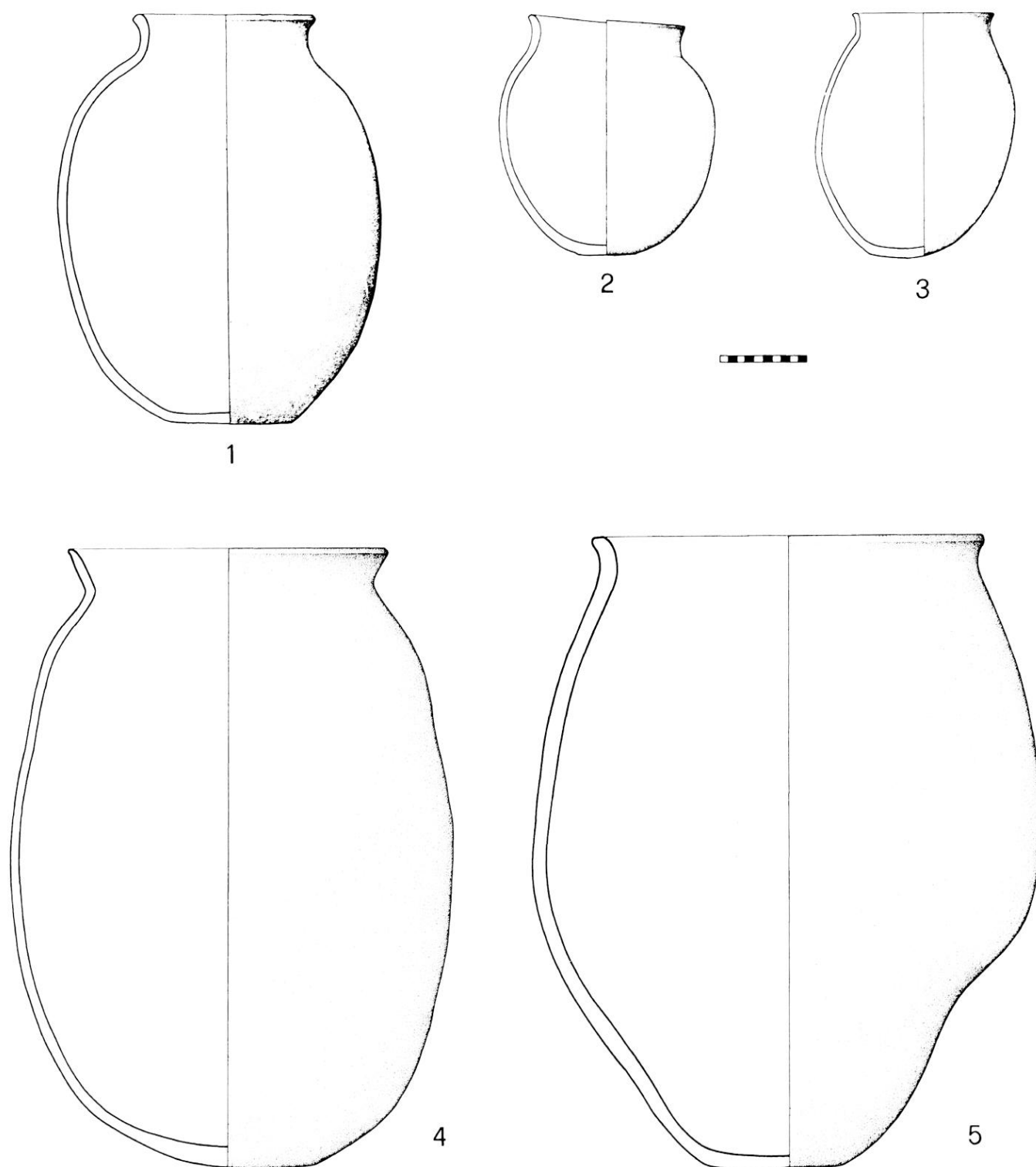


Fig. 8 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Hand-made pottery from room A 450 in Temple B. 1-4 : Kitchen ware; 5 : Red-black pithos.*

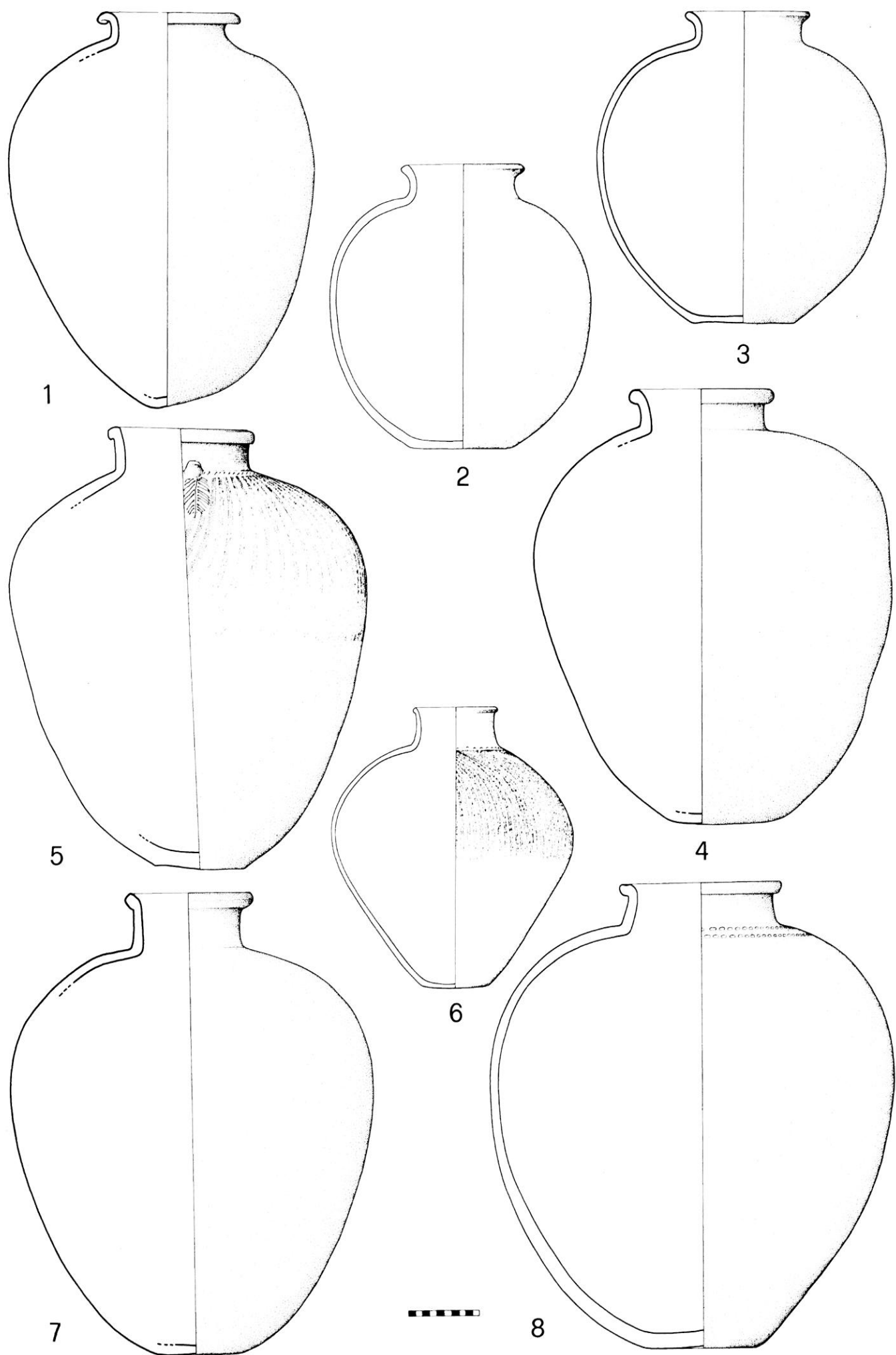


Fig. 9: Arslantepe, Malatya. Jars from room A 450 in Temple B. 1-4 : Reddish ware of local Late Chalcolithic tradition ; 5-8 : wheel-finished light-coloured jars.

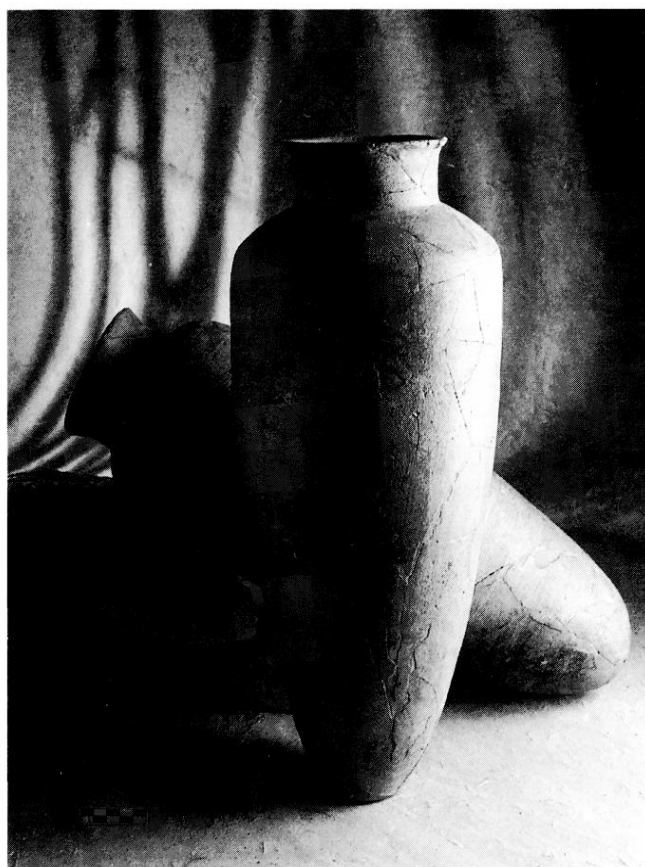
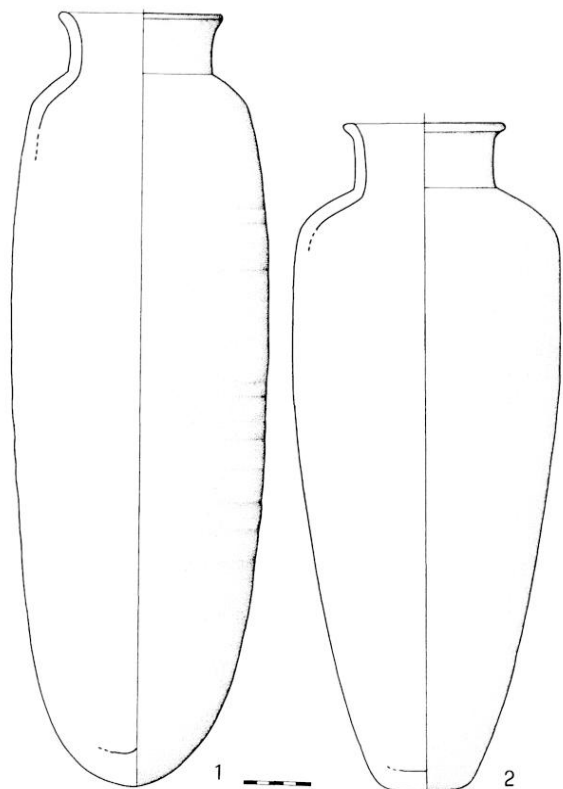


Fig. 10 a and b : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Two elongated vessels from room A 450.*

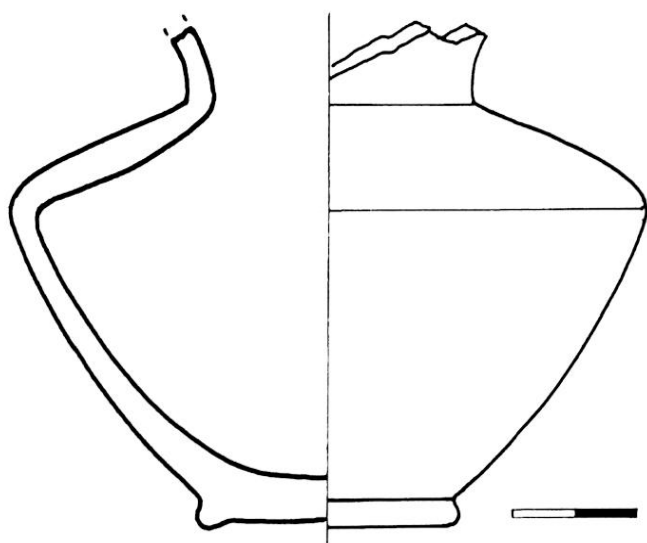


Fig. 11 a and b : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Red-slipped small jar from room A 450.*

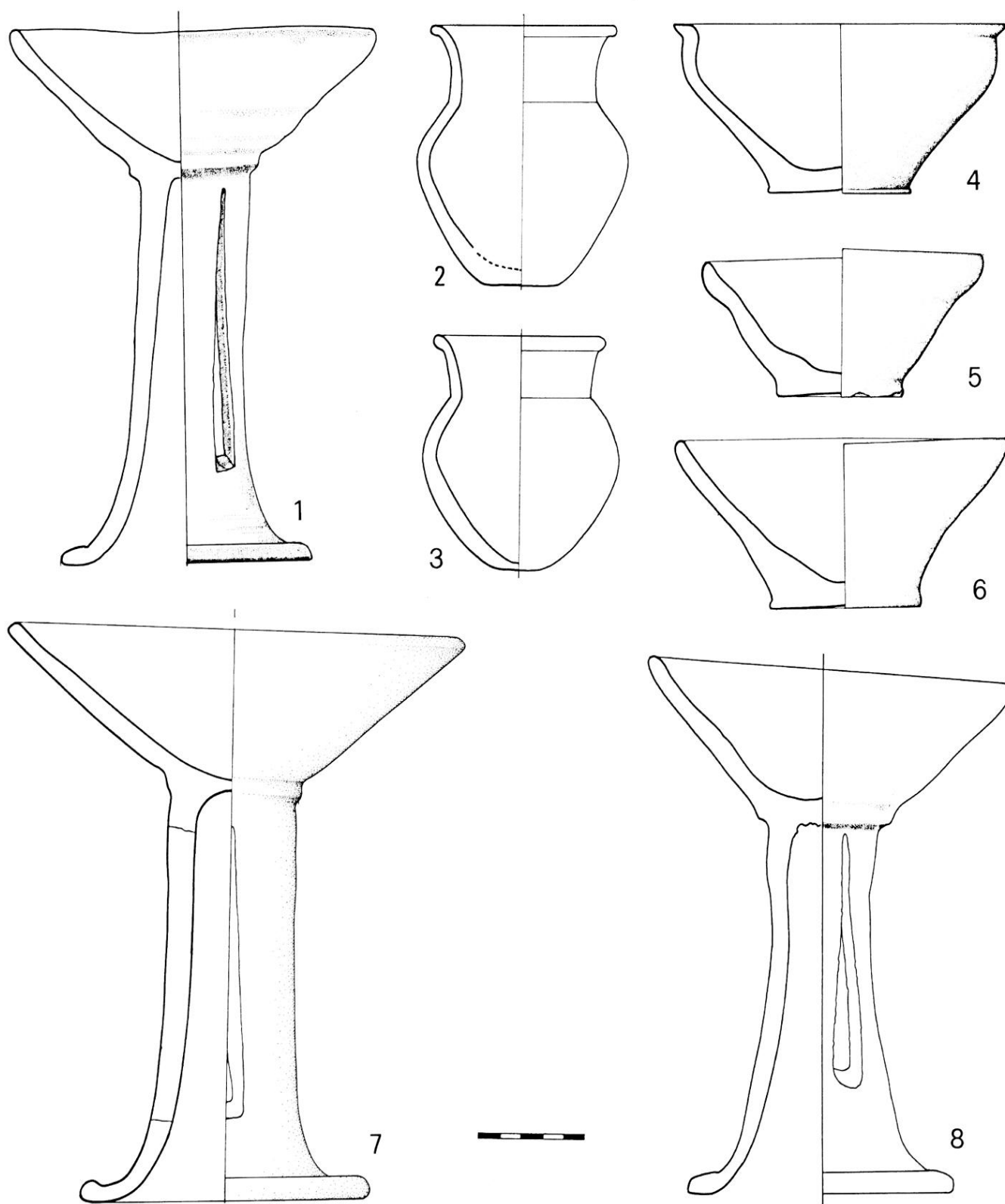


Fig. 12 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Wheel-made vessels of the local VI A repertoire from room A 450.*



Fig. 13 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. The three high-stemmed bowls from room A 450.*

of the altar seem to indicate that provision was made for round-bottomed vessels to be placed there.

The small side rooms in Temple B, in contrast to those in Temple A, contained virtually no vases and very few materials at all. The small square corner room giving access to the *cella* contained a large millstone and a mortar set into the floor together with a few stones used as pestles or mullers, and indicated that they were probably used to prepare food to be consumed in connection with temple activities.

Evidence is also found in the case of Temple B of the connection between worship and the administration of goods

circulating within the temple, even though there are no real forms of storage here (which as we have seen are found in other areas that are specifically set aside for the purpose in the building) and neither are there any concentrations of discarded clay sealings. In the temple about 50 clay sealings were found : two of them, bearing numerous stamps from the same seal, were found on the floor of the *cella* (one of them still intact) near the pots which they had sealed at the moment the building was destroyed. All the others were found in two groups in the entrance room A809 near the window sill of one of the two windows, where they had probably fallen from

a shelf or from a higher floor, probably inside containers of perishable materials (perhaps sacks) in which they had been kept. These clay-sealings bear the stamp of different seals, of which at least two are also documented on the sealings discarded in the small room A 206, one in the lower layers and one in the higher part of the stratigraphy. This indicates that A 206 was filled up quite quickly, confirming the idea that the dumping took place continually over a very short time and that it related therefore to highly intensive operations. At the same time it suggests the unitary management of the temple/palace complex, and a linkage between the different activities performed there.

In the small lateral rooms are traces of decoration on the walls both painted in red and impressed with rows of concentric lozenges obtained with a stamp, similar to the decorations found on the inner-most section of the corridor giving access to the palace. A very similar plastic decoration, in this case with concentric ovals, has been found in the side room forming the entry to Temple A, emphasising the similarity between both structures. The presence of wall decorations in the rooms leading to the large sacred room, and yet not inside it, emphasises the feature of "secrecy" of the worship that is already suggested by the low degree of accessibility to the *cella* in contrast to the free circulation suggested by the floor plans and layouts of the Mesopotamian temples which were well-endowed with entrances. However this custom of decorating the areas leading to internal rooms fits in with the general pattern throughout the Building IV complex where the wall decorations were almost exclusively found around the doors and passage-ways.

THE IDEOLOGY OF POWER

The custom of placing wall paintings in the most evident places along the access areas to the building is particularly significant when one thinks that the paintings, where they have been preserved, were not decorations pure and simple but represented figurative motifs with a symbolic/narrative content, and therefore gave ideological messages to the visitor. The figures, which are exceptionally well-preserved in two areas of the palace complex – the access room to the stores and to the internal court-yard, and the northern-most section of the corridor – where they had been obliterated in a final phase in the building's use by being covered with plaster or even by a new wall, have revealed images schematic in style but very complex and codified in their content and in the form of representation.

In the store access room (A 364) the paintings are close to a door, which was later closed, leading to the internal court-yard of the palace. These paintings were of a stylised human or at least anthropomorphic figure in a hieratic position and with highly standardised attributes, which had been repeatedly represented both on the two sides of the door and on the southern wall²³. The two best preserved figures were behind a kind of table with raised edges, perhaps an "altar", and over them was a rich canopy with fringes and scrolls, which almost entirely disappeared in the figures south of the door (fig. 14).

The paintings that have been brought to light so far on the eastern wall of the inner-most section of the corridor (A 796) were lined up in the lower part of the wall and in the upper part there was a band of plastic concentric lozenge decoration in rows identical to the ones decorating the walls in the side rooms of the temple. All the decoration had been covered by layers of white undecorated plaster in a second phase of use of the corridor, and subsequently by a wood and mud-brick superstructure, probably designed to support or simply strengthen the upper floor. The painting, in red and black using the same technique and the same style as found in room A 364, covered a larger surface area and depicted a narrative scene with a repetition of some decorative/symbolic elements found in the other paintings (fig. 15). The part that has been restored so far has revealed two figures of stylised bulls facing one another, surrounded with a rich decoration of red and black concentric triangles which seem to be pulling what appears to be a monumental cart driven by a coachman who is depicted in a completely different way from the human figures painted in the room leading into the stores: a small figure, in profile, without clothing or hair. On the bulls' horns are attached the reins which end in a ring held by the coachman, while a standing rod ending in a T-shape and lying between the two bulls might represent a kind of standard or vegetable symbolic element. Overhanging the whole scene is a canopy, identical in the part that remains to the one which stood over the two figures in A 364. The scene, which continues northwards, might be even more complex, but the elements that have been uncovered so far are very similar to the depiction of the transport of an eminent personage on a sledge car covered by a canopy, which is found on a cylinder seal, particular in the context of Arslantepe's glyptic, which was impressed on three sealings in room A 206 (fig. 16 : 1). This seal repeats the iconographic elements of an Uruk seal

23. FRANGIPANE, 1992.

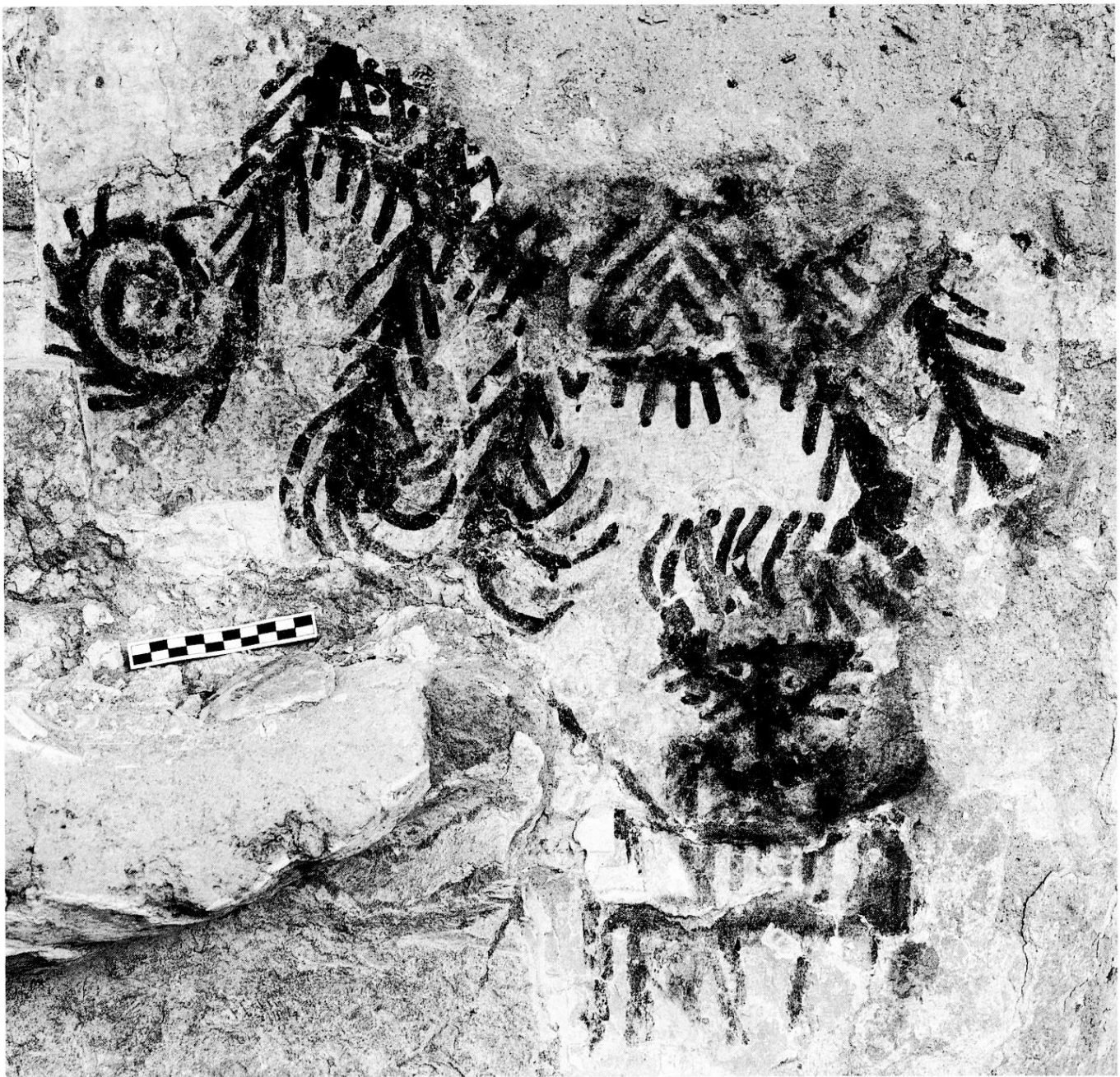


Fig. 14 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Wall painting in room A 364 in Building IV.*

(fig. 16 : 2), interpreted as a ritual threshing scene²⁴, emphasising the ideological reference by the Arslantepe élites to images of power expressed in a Mesopotamian environment. The concentric lozenge decoration is also very similar to another decoration found in an Uruk III building²⁵.

24. LITTAUER and CROWELL, 1990.

25. SURENHAGEN, 1985.

Both the pictorial representations and those in the glyptics adopt a local style which refers to well-rooted traditions. They are therefore one of the most clear indications of the re-elaboration of a number of elements of southern origin, particularly those with the greatest symbolic significance referring to power, used by a local élite with its own forms of expression and employing craftsmen well-grounded in local tradition. In this particular moment in their history they probably needed to refer to a number of values that were specific to



Fig. 15 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Wall painting and plastic decoration on the eastern wall of the corridor A 796.*

powerful foreign élites with which they strengthened their links and which clearly reinforced the legitimation of their power.

THE ECONOMIC BASIS OF THE ELITE POWER

One of the best documented central activities in the public area is storage and the administrative management of goods, particularly foodstuffs. The complex organisation of the activities connected with storage is emphasised by the diversity of the materials found *in situ* in the two store-rooms, suggesting that they were used for quite different functions²⁶.

The northern room A 365 seems to have been an actual storage area, while the southern room A 340 was a distribution store-room. For in the latter room over 100 mass-produced conical bowls of a flower-pot type have been found, probably as containers for distributing meals, and 130 clay-sealings bearing the impression of 30 different seals which were found both close to the pots and grouped together in one corner of the room where they had probably been temporarily kept before being finally discarded²⁷.

The most outstanding documentation used to reconstruct the administrative procedures and their magnitude comes from the thousands of clay-sealings (5,000 fragments, of which

26. FRANGIPANE and PALMIERI, 1988-89.

27. FRANGIPANE, 1994.

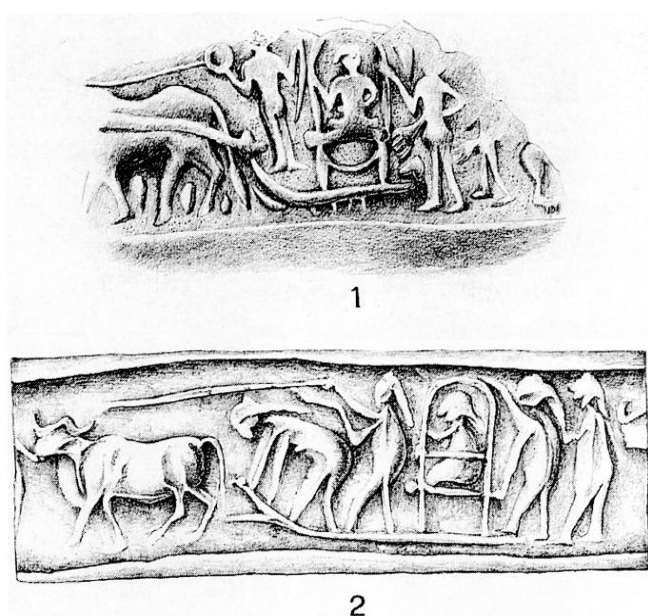


Fig. 16 : Seal designs with the transport of a preminent personage on a sledge car. 1 : from Arslantepe ; 2 : from Uruk (drawn from an illustration in Littauer, Crouwel 1990).

1,800 still bear the impressions of 124 different seals) all concentrated in the small rectangular area (A 206) dug into the wall of the corridor facing the stores where they had been piled up in successive thin layers of refuse as discarded administrative material²⁸. The evidence there suggests that the material had been previously ordered because the sealings were grouped together in the different layers by type of operation (the same type of sealed containers) and by the individual officials performing the operations (sealings bearing the same seals) suggesting that they were used as documents for accounting and recording the transactions, even in the absence of writing. It is interesting to note that none of the seals placed on the sealings in A 206 were found on the sealings in store-room A 340, indicating that the clay sealings that had been discarded came from another administrative sector in which some officials may well have worked in the environment of Temple B, as we have already shown. The sealing operations must all have taken place within the palace, suggested by both the number of deformed sealings, which means that they were removed after less than 24 hours of having been placed on the containers²⁹, and also the homogeneous nature of the clay used, which was probably local

in every instance³⁰. The very large number of seals is therefore indicative of the extraordinary size of the bureaucratic/administrative apparatus which must have involved the delegation of a large amount of tasks and responsibilities.

While the system appears to be wholly similar to the Mesopotamian one, the glyptics reveal a rich and original local production, mainly consisting of stamp seals which refer if anything to the northern tradition dating back to the Ubaid period, and with a tiny percentage of cylinders.

In addition to the main dump in A 206, others have also been found with a smaller number of clay-sealings, all of them in specifically set-aside places within the buildings, often in small rooms or spaces that had been reused (fig. 17). One of these dumps, set into one of the rooms to the east of the courtyard (A 430), which had been reused to discard administrative materials after bricking up the entrance door, had a repertoire of seals impressed on the sealings which differed from the usual one, showing a larger quantity, in proportional terms, of cylinder seal impressions and bearing classical Late Uruk motifs of a Mesopotamian type found in no other spot. One outstanding seal bore the impression of intertwined snakes (fig. 18 : 1), almost forming a geometrical decorative pattern with evident similarities to Uruk and Susa³¹, and one with a row of vases in carrying devices with a sort of tassels springing from them (fig. 18 : 3), almost identical to a highly typical motif found in both the south, at Uruk and Susa³², as well as in the colonial site at Jebel Aruda³³. If, as it seems, each of these dumps was used for one particular administrative sector, or at least represented a homogeneous set of activities, we must infer that one group of officials working in one of these particular sectors must have had closer links than the others with the Mesopotamian environment, and may even have been foreign in origin themselves.

This recalls both the sporadic presence, in particular places within the public area, of vessels of Mesopotamian origin in a context of local production, even though mostly southern-influenced, and the finding of extremely rare objects with very close southern connections, such as the small frit porcupine found in room A 340 (fig. 19) which is identical to a

30. Over 100 neutron activation analyses have been carried out in the laboratory at the Smithsonian Institution (Washington D.C.) by J. Blackman, and other samples have been analysed by using ICP spectrometry in the laboratory at the Institute of Technologies Applied to Cultural Heritage of CNR (Rome) by A.M. Palmieri. The results are still awaiting publication.

31. BRANDES, 1979 : pl. 23 ; AMIET, 1972 : pl. 6 : 484.

32. LENZEN, 1959 : pl. 30 f. g. 31a-c ; AMIET, 1972 : pl. 16 : 629, 632, 633.

33. VAN DRIEL, 1983 : fig. 24.

28. FRANGIPANE and PALMIERI, 1983 : 414-448 ; FERIOLI and FIANDRA, 1983 : 1994.

29. FERIOLI and FIANDRA, 1983.

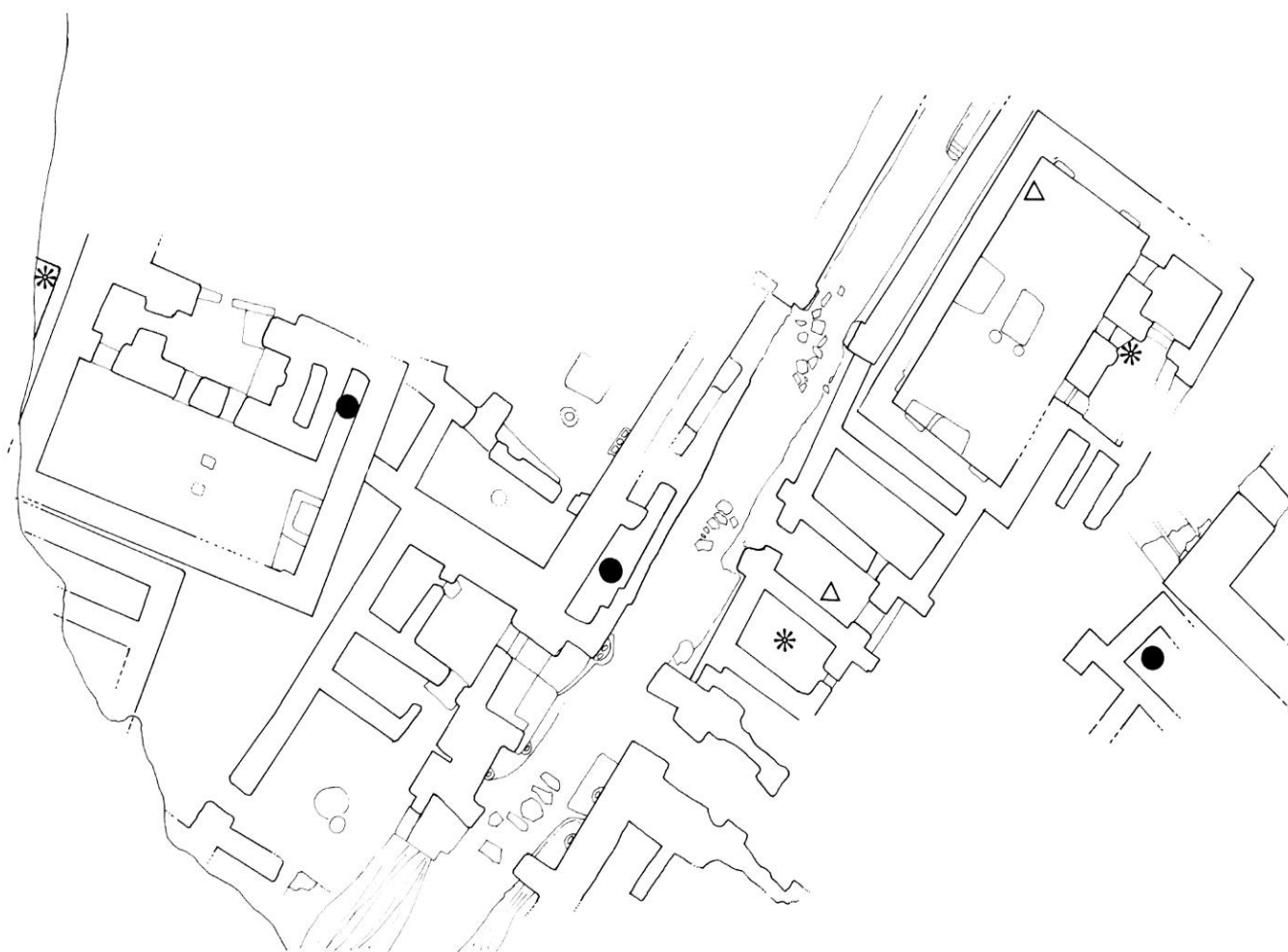


Fig. 17 : *Arslantepe, Malatya. Schematic plan of the public buildings of period VI A with the distribution of clay sealings in situ.*
 ● concentrations in dumping places; * substantial presences on the floors; △ sporadic presences.

specimen found at Susa 17 B³⁴. This phenomenon when applied to the glyptics raises the problem of the relations between the local élites and the Late Uruk groups of southern origin in a sphere which was more directly connected with the administrative management of central economic activities. It therefore not only reveals aspects of imitation and of ideological/formal reference to a foreign system of values or the direct import of certain goods but also suggests that transactions were carried out by officials who either did not belong to the local administrative apparatus, or for some reason wanted to stress their diversity by commissioning seals bearing foreign motifs.

The possibility of finding an explanation for this phenomenon is related to the problem of the type and the scale of the intervention of the central institutions in the regional

economy. As far as the primary economy is concerned, in the period VI A there must have been some central influence on livestock-rearing, if this shows a radical change from period VII, with a remarkable decrease in the more domestic rearing of pigs in proportion to an extraordinary increase in sheep and goats, which reached 82% of the total domestic fauna, with a pronounced majority of sheep over goats³⁵. This change is probably related to some "State" intervention which encouraged specialisation in one species which made it easy to manage the quantity of livestock, while at the same time producing important secondary products such as dairy products and wool. What the archeological data does not tell us is whether this was the result of any direct control on the part of the central institutions over at least some of the herdsmen, or whether it was due to an increasing demand

34. LE BRUN, 1978 : fig. 41 : 17, pl. 21 : 2.

35. BÖKÖNYI, 1983.

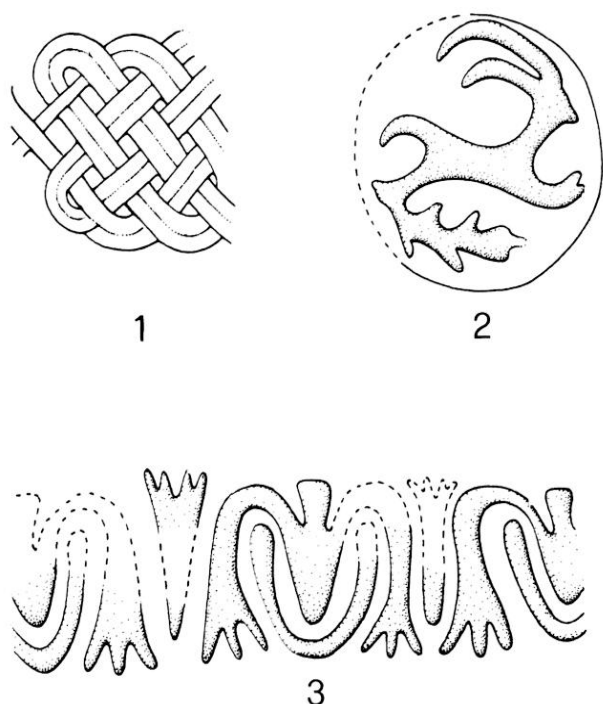


Fig. 18 : Arslantepe, Malatya. Seal designs from clay sealings in A 430.

made on the livestock farmers, or whether the State had taken in nomadic pastoralists probably of Trans-Caucasian origin. This latter hypothesis would be supported by the fact that in Period VI A for the first time one finds a class of handmade red-black burnished ware which seems to show in its fabric, manufacturing techniques and also partly in the shapes, links with a typically Trans-Caucasian pottery production which was to become established on the site immediately after the collapse of the Late Uruk system. Signs of contacts with the Trans-Caucasian environment are also to be seen in the metallurgy in this period which, in addition to developing substantially, produced copper objects with high arsenic content and significant presence of other elements such as nickel and antimony which may suggest a connection with the typical metallurgy in those areas³⁶. In addition to this, formal similarities can also be found in some metal objects, such as the butted spearheads found in Building III³⁷.

As far as agricultural production is concerned, on the other hand, there is no evidence of any possible direct influence on the part of the political élites. We know that agriculture, in addition to cereals (wheat and barley) probably developed specialised cultivations such as the vine growing, of which

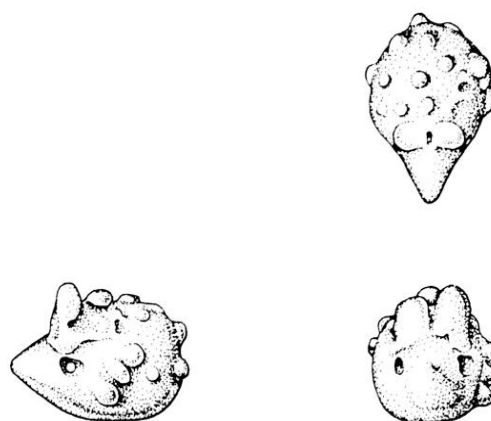


Fig. 19 : Arslantepe, Malatya. Frit porcupine from the store-room A 340.

there is very little evidence in terms of quantity but very clear documentation from the botanical point of view in store-room A 340, and which seems to have been well-established in the later VI B2 period³⁸. But this tells us nothing about the way in which the agricultural economy was managed. What can be said, however, is that there is no evidence in Arslantepe of any large concentrations of surpluses in the public areas. The stores were small and were constantly being filled and emptied. This reveals that there was a great deal of withdrawal rather than large accumulations of foodstocks. Furthermore no charred grains were found and one must assume, in view of the destruction by fire of the buildings, that they were not stored there. One can suggest that the goods which entered and were withdrawn from these stores were processed foods (liquids, flour and meal, etc.).

The mass-produced conical bowls found in large quantities throughout the complex, when they were still *in situ* were distributed in a very revealing manner. Hundreds of them were found concentrated in the distribution store-room A 340 in Building IV, and quite a large number were also found in the small central room by the side of the *cella* in Temple A which was probably also used for food distribution. This function was also suggested by the fact that three of these bowls were found upside down on each of the window sills of the two windows communicating with the large room, where they were ready for use (fig. 6). Another type of positioning of the conical bowls was close to the large vessels (pithoi or large jars) perhaps because they were used to withdraw goods from the containers. The mass-production of bowls therefore seems to be more closely linked to the need to issue goods than to receive them.

36. PALMIERI *et al.*, 1995.

37. FRANGIPANE and PALMIERI, 1983 : fig. 58-61.

38. FOLLIERI and COCCOLINI, 1983; BELISARIO, FOLLIERI and SADORI, 1994.

From all these elements it may be inferred that the main feature of the economic centralisation that one finds at Arslantepe was to control the work of certain categories of individuals. The centralisation of foodstuffs, which is also evidenced here (and we do not know whether it was based upon the collection of "taxes" or the direct control of means of production such as the land and the livestock) must have resulted in the reinvestment of these resources in the form of remuneration for work and services rendered as part of the activities managed by the élites.

It is much more difficult to envisage the type of activities that were centralised. From what we know indirectly as a result of studying the finished products, there must have been a considerable change in pottery production. The repertoire at Arslantepe VI A appears to be completely new in comparison with Period VII, with a powerful Mesopotamian influence over the shapes and the fabrics, with widespread wheel-made light-coloured fine or semi-fine wares, necked jars with reserved slip decoration, and, as we have already mentioned, the mass-production of conical bowls, even though in reality the latter is the development of a production that had already started in Period VII. But on the one hand, the inventory of the shapes is much smaller than the inventory of Late Uruk ceramic assemblages proper, for very many typical Mesopotamian profiles and vessel categories are lacking, including the extremely widely used bevelled rim bowls³⁹. Furthermore, the shapes of southern origin were made according to the local taste, which can be recognised in the details, while a number of other completely original and typical Arslantepe shapes were produced using the same new fabrics; these include the "fruitstands" with cut-out high stems, beaked bowls and necked small jars with a peculiar profile. However the wheel-made pottery was only one of the areas of production of this period because it was produced together with kitchen pottery and red-black burnished ware, both handmade, which were almost certainly manufactured by different craft sectors. The wheel-made ware may therefore have circulated above all within the environment of the palace, even though this cannot be stated with any certainty until the dwelling areas proper have been found. In any event it does show the signs either of possible centralisation of the manufacture or of a highly codified demand on the part of the customer. For there is a marked standardisation in the shapes, a tendency towards mass-production in the case of

certain items, accompanied by much greater care regarding the quality of the products, and therefore a much more accurate use of the craftsmen's technological skills. At the same time the potters' marks which were frequent in Period VII disappeared, emphasising a loss of importance of the individuality of the craftsman.

The same uncertainty regarding the exact role of the central institutions, but evidence of a powerful influence which they exerted at all events, comes from the considerable development of metallurgy in this period. This influence was not probably the result of any direct intervention in production, as might be suggested by the similarity between the type of ores used and the smelting techniques with the metallurgy of period VII, but it was the outcome of conditioning and directing the activities of the craftsmen by increasing the demand in terms of the quantity and the type of products required⁴⁰.

The probable autonomy of at least most of the craftsmen producing wheel-made pottery and metals is indirectly confirmed by the fact that at the beginning of the 3rd millennium after the collapse of the Late Uruk centralised system (Period VI B) the general typological and technological features of these two productions remained virtually unchanged⁴¹.

CONCLUSIONS

The features of this Early State system which can be recognised in Arslantepe, its late emergence at the end of the Late Uruk period⁴², the type of relations that it entertained with the communities of southern origin, make it possible to make some remarks on the general nature of the establishment of the Late Uruk organisational models and culture in the north. The transformation that occurred at Arslantepe as it moved from Period VII to Period VI A seems to have been due on the one hand to increased political and economic power on the part of the local élites, and secondly by the stimulus exerted by a powerful interaction with the southern communities that had settled in the territory of the Upper Euphrates Valley over a long period of time with very differing forms and modalities. This meant that the local centre

39. In reality three specimens have been found, plus a few other fragments, almost all of them in the filling layers. In view of the fact that these bowls were mass-produced, this occurrence would seem to be negligible in the context of period VI A pottery production.

40. CANEVA and PALMIERI, 1983; PALMIERI *et al.*, 1995.

41. The recent discovery in the 1996 excavation campaign of a sort of "royal" tomb, which dates back to immediately after the abandonment of the Late Uruk public area, in which a very rich assemblage of metal objects has been found, supports this statement in relation to metallurgy.

42. All comparisons with the materials date it unmistakably to the Late Uruk period.

adopted similar organisational patterns to those of the Mesopotamian societies, but that these patterns were certainly also in line with the features of their own socio-economic structure which shared with the southern one some of the basic elements as a result of earlier historical interactions between these regions. One only has to think of the development of pottery mass-production and that of glyptics and sealing systems in the north from very early times.

It is certainly probable that the interest in interacting with the Malatya area by the more southern groups was above all due to the need for raw materials in which Eastern Anatolia is well-endowed. But even though trade must have been a traditionally important activity among the communities in the Syro-Anatolian regions, a real impetus to trade must only have emerged when the central institutions had developed a sufficiently high level of political and administrative control over their own territory, making them able to exploit the people who were engaged on trade. It is possible that the local élites took advantage of their supremacy over the territory in order to manage as external partners privileged relations with the southern groups and that the management or coordination of trade then stimulated them to invest resources and broaden the range of their activities, with a feedback effect that strengthened the Early State structures. And it is equally probable that the southern or southern-related settlements in the Middle and Upper Euphrates Valley sought and acquired raw materials from the northernmost regions. However the main purposes and the types of the interaction do not appear to have been of a commercial nature.

The outcome in the different regional and cultural contexts in the north vary considerably depending on the type of interrelationship which was created with each individual site and the degree of penetration of the people with a southern culture into the local contexts. But we can broadly distinguish between two clearly separate situations : the interaction model or models that became established in the areas south of the Taurus and those that are recognisable north of it. The importance and the depth of the changes that took place in both these areas demonstrate the considerable weight of the local socio-political and economical organisation on bringing about these changes. For faced with very different stimuli in terms of intensity and form, the results were likewise significant.

Even though Archaic States of this type encouraged the development of trading relations over long distances and the craft activities connected with them, their economic base continued to be agricultural products and labour. Despite the considerable development of such centres as Arslantepe, the expansion capacity of the Early State system in the north

seems to have been limited by internal structural factors : the agriculture was unable to produce surpluses beyond a certain limit, the social structure was probably based on small family groups and not on large clan-based families, which conversely seemed to characterise Mesopotamian society from at least the Ubaid period, and which constituted the basis for developing a kind of aristocracy in the south⁴³. It is, in my opinion, this profound structural difference rather than the presumed collapse of the colonial system which lay at the basis of the crisis in the centralised systems of the north, which were no longer able to grow beyond a certain point in that phase of their development, and which underwent a regression everywhere at the beginning of the 3rd millenium, albeit to different degrees and in different measure.

This crisis at Arslantepe took on dramatic proportions and ended with the total breakup of the Early State experiment and the complete abandonment of the whole of the public and monumental area, which was subsequently occupied by huts of groups with a culture of eastern Anatolian/Trans-Caucasian origin. The presence in the areas north of the Anti-Taurus of the Trans-Caucasian component, which took over at Arslantepe only after the collapse of the state organisation, may have been a factor of instability, contributing itself to the collapse of the system. However this was possible because the organisation of the Archaic State had probably not yet modified the basic social structure of the community and relations regarding the ownership of the means of subsistence. Where this did occur, as is likely in the Mesopotamian alluvium, the society moved towards mature forms of the State which did not undergo regression or crisis, but on the contrary continued to expand without interruption.

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