# LOCAL STEPS TOWARDS URBANISM IN EASTERN AND SOUTH-EASTERN ANATOLIA (3900-2600 BC)

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## Introduction

The beginning of the urbanisation process of the eastern and southeastern Anatolia regions consists of two phases; the Proto-Urban Period (5000-2600 BC) and the Early Urban Period (2600-1900 BC). The Proto-Urban Period is a formative time on the road towards urbanism and state societies in eastern and southeastern Anatolia. This period has been characterised by important social, economical and political organisations that are the first signs of nascent changes towards urbanism beyond the level of simple farming villages.

This paper presents an overview in order to understand the local aspects of development towards initial stages of urbanism in eastern and southeastern Anatolia in the Proto-Urban Period.

## THE BIRTH OF LOCAL URBANISTIC DYNAMICS

Starting in the Proto-Urban Period, characteristics unique to urban societies (also called complex societies) begin to appear in both regions. There are local societies without any sign of Mesopotamian influence and representing only local developments in these regions within the second phase of this period (the first phase of which is the Ubaid Period), dated to the first half of the fourth millennium (3900-3500 BC) and called the Local Late Chalcolithic Period or Pre-Contact Period in northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia.

In this phase, we have evidence from the settlements of Arslantepe VII, Norşuntepe, Tepecik, Korucutepe and Fatmalı-Kalecik in eastern Anatolia and from Hacınebi A-BI and Kenan Tepe in southeastern Anatolia (Fig. 1). The existence of public structures implying central authority has been found at Arslantepe VII, Norşuntepe and Hacınebi A-BI. In Arslantepe VII in the Malatya Plain a huge monumental public ceremonial building (Building XXIX) covering an area 390 m² was unearthed, standing on a raised platform and consisting of a tripartite plan¹ (Fig. 2). The hundreds of mass-produced bowls for food distribution and clay sealings uncovered in the building suggest that the main activity carried out here was redistribution in a ritualised or ceremonial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Frangipane 2002a: 124; 2003: 155.

manner involving corvée labour and administrative control over the accumulation of goods<sup>2</sup>. Therefore a centralised system based on redistribution and labour control appeared in a local context apart from the Mesopotamian culture in this period<sup>3</sup>.

Another site, Norşuntepe, covering a large area some 900x700 m, must have been the central establishment in the Altınova plain of Elazığ<sup>4</sup>. In a deep sondage in the eighth phase (levels XXXIV-XXXIII) of the site remains were found of very substantial walls with niches, that suggest monumental structures, possibly for administrative use<sup>5</sup>. Because the area exposed is so limited, however, it is difficult to say anything about the plan and funtions of these structures or to draw any definite conclusions.

Hacinebi A-BI in Urfa-Birecik were enclosed by quite impressive fortification walls three meters in width, niched and buttressed, and it is thought that there may have been some public structures or elite residences upon a monumental stone terrace and platform complex in the northeast corner of the settlement<sup>6</sup>.

The settlements of this period reveal craft specialisation and technological developments in metallurgy, ceramics and lithic technology. Metal working is the most important specialisation activity in the settlements. From levels XXXVI-XXXV at Norşuntepe many finds related to metallurgical activity were found, such as large amounts of copper ores, raw copper and slags, as well as crucibles, moulds, smelting pits, furnaces and ladles for outpouring molten metal inside houses, courtyards and streets, suggesting intense metallurgical activity performed by local smiths at the site<sup>7</sup>. Hauptmann asserts that this activity was undoubtedly centrally managed<sup>8</sup>. At Tepecik and Tülintepe slags, smelting pits and furnaces were found, indicating the melting of ores locally<sup>9</sup>. At Korucutepe, another site of Altinova, burial gifts of copper, silver and gold were recovered in two tombs at a cemetery near the settlement, and large copper ingots were found within the settlement itself, which confirm a high development of craftsmanship in metalworking 10. In a small hamlet of Fatmalı-Kalecik, we have evidence of silver, lead and copper production to a lesser extent, litharge and lead-silver and copper slags<sup>11</sup>. Specialisation in metalworking also appeared in the northeastern quarter of Arslantepe VII; here pins, small chisels, awls and smelting pits were uncovered<sup>12</sup>. Hacinebi A-BI in southeastern Anatolia is described by Stein as a small chiefdom overseeing and controlling access and production of copper 13. Evidence of highly evolved

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Frangipane 2001a: 3; 2001: 329; 2002a: 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Frangipane 2001: 329.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Hauptmann 1979: 56.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Frangipane 2002: 191; Harmankaya et al., 1998: Norşuntepe.

<sup>6</sup> Stein 1999: 124-125; 2002: 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Hauptmann 1982: 60-61; 1997: 1354; 2003: 22; Yakar 1984: 66; 2002: 18; Yener 2000: 41; Özbal and Turan 2001: 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Hauptmann 1979: 57.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Yakar 1984: 67; 1985; 385; 2002: 18; Yener 2000: 41; Özbal and Turan 2001: 60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Van Loon 1978: 61-63; 1981: 3; Yakar 2002: 16-17.

<sup>11</sup> Hess et al., 1998: 57-59, 65; Hauptmann et al., 2002: 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Frangipane 1993a: 147: 2002: 196.

<sup>13</sup> Stein 2002: 151.

copper production was found at the site such as smelting pits, casting moulds, crucible fragments, a multi-furnace metal workshop, slags and a tuyere or blowpipe used to heat the ore for smelting, as well as finished products like copper chisels and pins<sup>14</sup>.

These metallurgical activities carried out at sites show both the existence of highly skilled local metalsmiths and high technological advancement. Smelting of both oxide copper ores and polymetallic copper ores, which involve a multi-stage smelting operation, melting and refining, was widespread in this period<sup>15</sup>. At Norşuntepe, oxidized copper ores were smelted, which was the first such experiment in using a high amount of antimony and arsenic for an improved copper product<sup>16</sup>. At Tülintepe, the low iron content in the slag fragments indicates the smelting of oxidised copper ores<sup>17</sup>. At Tepecik, a slag fragment with low iron content also points to the use of oxidised copper ores<sup>18</sup>. Copper ore samples imply that at Arslantepe VII, copper was polymetallic in nature, containing arsenic, antimony, lead and nickel<sup>19</sup>. Polymetallic ore with high nickel content was also discovered at Hacinebi<sup>20</sup>.

During this period, specialisation can also be followed in pottery production. In the early phases of Arslantepe VII, it is seen that mass-produced bowls include flint-scraped bowls and conical bowls, frequently bearing potter's marks, were produced on a tournette or slow wheel whereas string-cut bowls (made again with potter's marks) were made in more standardised sizes on a fast wheel towards the end of this period<sup>21</sup>. In the latest level of the period, wheel-made small beakers that are standardised in shape and size appeared<sup>22</sup>. At Hacinebi A-BI, two types of ceramic manufacture were produced by both households and specialists<sup>23</sup>. Chaff-tempered storage vessels, casseroles and bowls were hand-made by households for their own use<sup>24</sup>, while fine wares, produced in small amounts, include small carinated serving bowls and jars which were wheel-made by specialists for local exchange and consumption, showing a high degree of standardisation<sup>25</sup>. Kenan Tepe, located on the north bank of the Tigris 15 km east of Bismil, was a large town with six hectares in this period, reveals a pottery production that reflects a local flavour<sup>26</sup>.

Other craft specialisations seen in this period are flint and obsidian tools at Norşuntepe, obsidian tools at Arslantepe VII and stone tool manufacture at Hacinebi A-

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<sup>14</sup> Stein et al., 1998: 189-190; 1999: 130, 137; 2002: 150; Özbal et al., 2000: 60.
<sup>15</sup> Özbal 1997: 141.
<sup>16</sup> Yakar 1984: 66; 1985: 385; 2002: 19.
<sup>17</sup> Yakar 2002: 18.
<sup>18</sup> Yakar, 2002: 18.
<sup>19</sup> Frangipane 2002: 196; Yakar 2002: 19.
<sup>20</sup> Özbal 1997: 141.
<sup>21</sup> Frangipane 1993a: 147; 2000: 442-443; 2002a: 125; Trufelli 1994: 245.
<sup>22</sup> Frangipane 1993a: 147; 2000: 443; 2002a: 125.
<sup>23</sup> Stein 1999: 134.
<sup>24</sup> Stein 1999: 134; 2002: 150.
<sup>25</sup> Stein 1999: 134; 2002: 150.
<sup>26</sup> Parker et al., 2002: 7: 2003: 132.
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BI. At Norşuntepe levels XXXVI-XXXV, flint and obsidian tools were witnessed in the workshops where an astonishing number of arrowheads made of obsidian and knives from obsidian and flint were under production<sup>27</sup>. At Arslantepe VII, several dozen obsidian arrowheads, together with a large amount of ochre, were found in a complex of three long adjacent rooms behind the ceremonial building<sup>28</sup>. Chipped stone tools were manufactured by both households and small-scale specialists in Hacinebi A-BI<sup>29</sup>. Flake tools were manufactured by households while Canaanite and simple blades were produced by specialists on a small scale for local exchange and consumption<sup>30</sup>.

Evidence of a long distance trade and exchange system was also found in this period. The intensity of metalworking in the settlements clearly indicates that these activities were carried out for trade and export beyond the individual needs<sup>31</sup>. Stamp seals were found in levels XXXVI-XXXV at Norşuntepe, i.e. the levels where metallurgical activities were most concentrated. Metallurgical and administrative artifacts were discovered in the warehouse of Hacinebi A-BI, in particular the clay sealings in one of the three long parallel rooms used for storage of handicraft products of Arslantepe VII<sup>32</sup>. All of this suggests that these products were aimed for trade and exchange.

These polities had interregional exchange networks for procuring raw materials. The metalsmiths of the Altınova and Arslantepe VII inhabitants could have supplied their needs of copper from several different kinds of sources, even from distant ones instead of the Keban and Ergani copper mines that were very near to these sites<sup>33</sup>. At Hacınebi A-BI, metallurgical data also confirms that copper and silver were obtained by long-distance exchange. Evidence of long-distance ore trade can be seen in the copper obtained from the Ergani copper deposits and the silver, but it is not known whether it was produced on site or imported as a finished product, originating from the Amanos Mountain Range<sup>34</sup>. Further indication of such metal commerce includes both raw material and finished products, Anatolian in origin, that were found in graves at Tell Qalinj Agha and Tepe Gawra as funerary gifts of gold, silver, copper and of obsidian from Anatolia<sup>35</sup>. Other evidence of foreign trade includes obsidian from the area of Bingöl Mountain and flint from the southern Taurus range found at Norşuntepe, as well as marine shells from the Mediterranean and both bowls and necklaces of chlorite from the region of Diyarbakır, all found in the Hacınebi A-BI settlement<sup>36</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Hauptmann 1976: 55; 2003: 22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Frangipane 2001: 329; 2002a: 125; 2003: 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Stein 1999: 134.

<sup>30</sup> Stein 1999: 136.

<sup>31</sup> Hauptmann 1976: 56-57; Yakar 1985: 385.

<sup>32</sup> Hauptmann 1997: 1354; Stein 1999: 122; 2002: 150; Frangipane 2001: 329; 2002a: 125; 2003: 156.

<sup>33</sup> Yakar 1984: 67; 1985: 385; 2002: 18; Frangipane 2002: 196.

<sup>34</sup> Stein 1999: 130; 2002: 150.

<sup>35</sup> Lupton, 1996: 35-36; Abu Al-Soof 1969: 5; Abu Al-Soof and Es-Siwwani 1967: 72; Rothman 2001: 379; 2002: 91, 149.

<sup>36</sup> Hauptmann 2003: 22; Stein 1999: 128-129; 2002: 150.

The presence of socio-economic differentiation demonstrated in this period is another important urban characteristic, reflected in the domestic architecture, burial gifts, seals and labour organisation. From level XVIII at Norşuntepe a large rectangular building with one-room was found and one of its walls was decorated with niches and a painting of a stylized representation of a deer<sup>37</sup>. This building may have belonged to a person or family of high status<sup>38</sup>. At Arslantepe VII there was a huge monumental structure of sun-dried mudbrick, its walls reaching 1.20 m thick except for an ordinary residential area in the north-eastern part of the settlement<sup>39</sup>. The structure consists of four rooms side-by-side with almost every wall decorated with wall paintings on white plaster and with plastered mudbrick columns for decorative purposes that ran along the walls of each room<sup>40</sup>. This structure did not contain objects of cultic and administrative significance, and might well represent the residence of a privileged family<sup>41</sup>.

Burials at settlements of this phase also highlight social and economic class distinction. Funerary gifts were found in two graves of sun-dried mudbrick at Korucutepe. Gifts included weapons and agate jewellery made of precious metals such as gold, silver and copper<sup>42</sup>, indicating that these persons belonged to the upper class. A child's burial in the Hacinebi A-BI also emphasises class distinction. Whereas most children were simply interred in jars without any gifts beneath the floors of the dwellings, the jar in which this particular child was found contained some grave goods including prestige items – a miniature ceramic vessel, one copper ring and two silver earrings – that are obviously evidence for social stratification in the society<sup>43</sup>. Further evidence for the presence of high status persons in Hacinebi A-BI comes from seals, particularly their quality and designs<sup>44</sup>. The variation in the seal designs on seal impressions indicates the relative status of the seal users<sup>45</sup>.

Social and economic inequality is also seen in labour organisation in this period. The mass-produced bowls in Arslantepe VII are related to the food distribution of an unpaid labour force of corvée labourers, persons working for high-ranking families or central institutions, and receiving mass-produced bowls such as the so-called Coba bowls in the Late Ubaid<sup>46</sup>. In addition, these bowls are the other indicator of the presence of an elite class, in other words administrators, who monopolised resources and redistributed food<sup>47</sup>.

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37 Hauptman 1976: 54; 1997: 1354; 2003: 22.
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<sup>38</sup> Lupton 1996: 36; Frangipane 1993a: 135; Yakar 1997: 367.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Frangipane 1993a: 135, 139; 2002: 192-194; 2002a: 124.

<sup>40</sup> Frangipane 1993a: 139-141; 2002: 192-194; 2002a: 124.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Frangipane 2002a: 124.

<sup>42</sup> Van Loon 1978: 61-63.

<sup>43</sup> Stein 1999: 125-126; 2002: 150.

<sup>44</sup> Stein 1999: 128.

<sup>45</sup> Stein 1999: 128; 2002: 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Frangipane 2003: 156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Frangipane 2002a: 127.

#### INDIGENOUS URBANISTIC TENDENCIES IN THE PERIOD OF URUK EXPANSION

Within the second half of the fourth millennium, called the Late Uruk Period in the south, but often termed the Contact Period in the northern regions, both regions fell under the influence of southern Mesopotamia with the Uruk culture spreading into the neighbouring areas of Iran, northern Syria and Mesopotamia and Anatolia. This period saw establishing strategically large urban-sized enclaves at focal nodes of the lines of communication across the plains of northern Mesopotamia, much smaller stations along the principal routes from the alluvium to the enclaves, and small outposts deep in the surrounding highlands<sup>48</sup>.

Enclaves, stations and outposts reflecting the typical Uruk settlement plan have been located in Anatolia, showing an organised trade network of Uruk merchants at sites such as Carchemish, Samsat, Şadi Tepe, Tiladir Tepe, Komeçli, Kum Ocağı, Hacınebi B2, Hassek Höyük and Tepecik<sup>49</sup>. There are, however, some local settlements that were influenced by the Uruk enclaves or Uruk elements that had penetrated to the local contexts, such as Arslantepe VIA and Kurban in this period<sup>50</sup>. In this period, the only local settlement that is not affected by Uruk elements, although it lived together with an Uruk colony, appears at Hacınebi B2.

Arslantepe VIA was a well-organised regional center or a local city-state controlling the surrounding population, affected somewhat by the Mesopotamian system through direct or indirect relations with Uruk groups, but based on the growth of local organisational structures by the local elites in the Late Chalcolithic<sup>51</sup>. This coexistence of local Late Chalcolithic and southern Mesopotamian artifacts at the site was also seen in the architecture, glyptics and ceramic production<sup>52</sup>.

The huge public area at the site, covering at least 2600 m<sup>2</sup>, comprised a variety of buildings with different public functions, both religious and administrative<sup>53</sup>. There are two temples in bipartite plan and a complex of store-rooms identified as a palace-like building because of its multi-functional character (Fig. 3). Their layout as well as their architectural features and the wall paintings in the palace passages carry entirely local characteristics, albeit reflecting a number of southern elements<sup>54</sup>. The socio-economic organisation consisted of economic centralisation, redistribution and widespread administrative control by these central institutions which controlled their own people, territories and labour, as well as accumulation of both agricultural surplus and raw materials. This was based on the Mesopotamian model rather than the local socio-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Algaze 1989: 571; 1993: 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Algaze 1989: 577; 1993: 29, 32-34, 50; 1999: 540; Stein 1999: 96, 100; Stein and Mısır 1994: 148; Frangipane 2003a: 26.

<sup>50</sup> Schwartz 1988: 11; Stein and Misir 1994: 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Frangipane 1996: 61-62; 1997: 45; 1998: 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Frangipane 1998: 197; 2001: 332-333; 2002a: 128.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Frangipane 1996: 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Frangipane 1996: 62; 1998: 197; 2001: 332-333, 337; 2002a: 127; 2003: 154.

economic system before Uruk expansion<sup>55</sup>. The vast majority of stamp seals and the mass-produced bowls, without any evidence of bevelled-rim bowls, indicate local roots of centralisation here<sup>56</sup>. But it is more pronounced due to southern effects, which is unlike Arslantepe VII<sup>57</sup>.

As far as craft products at the site were concerned, metalworking was conducted locally and carried strong local traditions, whereas pottery production was strongly influenced by Uruk culture<sup>58</sup>. The weapons, consisting of spearheads and swords, do imply a highly skilled craftmanship and technology in the metallurgy by local metal smiths. In ceramic production, a large proportion of Uruk wares represent local imitations with some local taste and traditional manufacturing techniques, while some pottery types were completely in Uruk type<sup>59</sup>. The glyptics mainly comprise of stamp seals that were of local production as well as a very small percentage of locally made copies of Uruk style cylinder seals and their iconography<sup>60</sup>.

Another type of settlement that carried only local urbanistic traits is encountered at Hacinebi B2. In the south area of site a local occupation was found together with an Uruk enclave located in the north part of the site<sup>61</sup>. Here both societies were independent from each other socially, economically and politically, that is, neither of them dominated the other<sup>62</sup>. The local polity was contemporary with the Uruk colony at the site and had a high-degree of politic and economic complexity, as witnessed not only in the administrative system of both elaborate and simpler stamp seals as well as uncarved seal blanks, but also in the production of blades, bladelets, ceramics, metals and weaving<sup>63</sup>.

## THE APPEARANCE OF LOCAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN

At the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C., some radical structural changes took place in the political and socio-economic systems of both regions. In this period, the Uruk trade network, colonial system, and the centralised Mesopotamian-type early state system collapsed and public buildings of the Late Uruk Period at the sites of Arslantepe VIA, Hassek Höyük and Hacınebi were destroyed by fire<sup>64</sup>. This collapse is attributed to the nomadic groups of Trans-Caucasian origin (the Kura-Arax peoples) that spread over the expansive area of eastern Anatolia, northeastern Iran, Syria, Palestine and the south of Israel at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium B.C. and the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium.

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<sup>55</sup> Frangipane 1996: 62; 1998: 198; 2001: 333, 336; 2001a: 3; 2002a: 124.
<sup>56</sup> Frangipane 2003: 154.
<sup>57</sup> Frangipane 1997: 67; 2001a: 329, 333, 336; 2002: 124, 126-127; Algaze 1999: 538.
<sup>58</sup> Frangipane 1998: 198; 2002a: 126, 129; Burney 1993: 314.
<sup>59</sup> Algaze 1993: 67; 1999: 542; Frangipane 1997: 56; 1998: 197; 2002a: 128.
<sup>60</sup> Frangipane 1997: 67; 2001: 337; Algaze 1993: 67; 1999: 542.
<sup>61</sup> Stein 2002: 151.
<sup>62</sup> Stein 1999: 5; 2002: 153.
<sup>63</sup> Stein 1999: 153: 2002: 151-153.
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64 Frangipane 1996: 65-66; Stein 1997: 192; Behm-Blancke 1997: 765.

While Trans-Caucasian cultural elements – characterised by wattle-and-daub and post-hole structures, round structures, rectangular structures with rounded corners, mould-made portable hearths, handmade red-black burnished pottery and stone-cist graves with rich funerary gifts – were seen in concentration in eastern Anatolian in the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium while only the tradition of stone-cist graves is seen as part of this culture in southeastern Anatolia.

This period completely differs from the Mesopotamian model in terms of urban development and political and economic organisation. Within this period, in both regions local urbanistic elements are prevalent although there is intense influence of Trans-Caucasian culture on the settlement pattern of eastern Anatolian. In Early Bronze Age II, eastern Anatolia revealed a culture that combined a local elaboration of East Anatolian/Trans-Caucasian cultural elements<sup>65</sup>. An indication of the different political organisations in the two regions during this period is that there are no administrative public buildings and administrative apparatus. These socio-political and economic differences may have come about because of the intense interaction between the Transcausian world and Anatolia<sup>66</sup>.

At one of the settlements of eastern Anatolia, Norşuntepe level XXX, the occupation of Early Bronze Age IB is enclosed by a fortification wall 3-4 m. thick, with a saw-toothed outer façade of sundried brick on a foundation of stone<sup>67</sup>. Inside the enclosure wall rectangular dwellings of one or two rooms made of *kerpiç* stood independent of one another with disc hearths along paved alleys or streets<sup>68</sup>. This domestic architecture and settlement pattern are clearly a continuation of the local tradition followed in the Late Chalcolithic Period<sup>69</sup>. In Tepecik, another settlement in the region, the settlement of Early Bronze Age I-II was surrounded by a defence wall with towers of mudbrick on stone foundations and inside was a settlement of one- or two-room mudbrick houses rectangular in plan with disc hearths inside<sup>70</sup>. Tülintepe is another settlement with fortification wall in the Altınova Plain. The settlement of Early Bronze Age II exhibits pieces of a partially bevelled wall on a foundation of a diameter of 130 m, 2 m. thick, pointing to a considerably large-scale settlement for the period<sup>71</sup>.

In Arslantepe VIB2, dated to Early Bronze Age IB period, a small village was established on an area of huts left behind after the Trans-Caucasian communities abandoned the settlement, which reflects the traditional settlement model of the Chalcolithic Period<sup>72</sup>. The settlement has been arranged functionally with a housing area,

<sup>65</sup> Frangipane 1992: 214; 1996: 67; 2003: 49; Frangipane et al. 2001: 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Frangipane 2001a: 8; 2003a: 21.

<sup>67</sup> Hauptmann 1979: 58.

<sup>68</sup> Hauptmann 1979: 58: 2003: 24: Yakar 1985: 274.

<sup>69</sup> Yakar 1985: 274.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Esin 1997: 1761.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Harmankaya and Erdoğu 2002: Tülintepe.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Frangipane 1996: 66; 2000: 449; 2003a: 21.

storage structures and specialised production areas<sup>73</sup>. The domiciles in the settlement have been built on narrow and perpendicular streets and reflect the local tradition with one- or two-room rectangular units with sundried brick walls on stone foundations (Fig. 4). A fortification wall 6 m. wide, on a stone foundation and made of sundried brick, in the upper region of the village is a sort of acropolis or fortified citadel<sup>74</sup> (Fig. 4). This wall is completely different from the Mesopotamian type and points to a new political strength and a different relationship between the elites and the common people<sup>75</sup>.

Arslantepe VIC, dated to Early Bronze Age II, is made up of large well-planned mudbrick abodes with several spacious rooms with horse-shoe hearths in some<sup>76</sup>. In this period, Pulur-Sakyol displays a settlement pattern that will later be the characteristic form of Anatolian Early Bronze Age architecture. Named the "Anatolian Settlement Scheme", this plan is made up of adjacent houses, each with two rectangular rooms with horse-shoe hearths, standing on a stone foundation and with mudbrick walls, arranged radially around a wide courtyard (Fig. 5). Outside of these houses are wall fragments on stone foundations that are believed to be part of a fortification wall<sup>77</sup>.

In southeastern Anatolia, where Trans-Caucasian influence is considerably weaker, a completely local settlement pattern is seen during this period. One of the settlements with such a totally local concept, Zeytinli Bahce, has carefully constructed mudbrick masonary and plastered large rectangular dwellings that are separated from one another by streets <sup>78</sup> (Fig. 6). There is a tendency towards standardisation in the plans of houses and in building techniques, revealing a pre-determined urban plan of a significant degree at the site<sup>79</sup>. The settlement of Lidar Höyük, enclosed by a two-meter-thick mudbrick fortification wall, consists of one- or two-room houses of mudbrick with disc hearths inside<sup>80</sup>, reflecting local settlement pattern. Likewise at Hassek Höyük, a local model of a fortification wall surrounding rectangular mudbrick houses that open onto narrow streets<sup>81</sup> can be seen. The contemporary settlement at Horum Höyük, also reflecting a local scheme, comprises well-built, spacious and rectangular one-room abodes with paved stone floors of mudbrick upon stone foundations. The level of architecture at the site is advanced<sup>82</sup>. The other site in the region, at Kenan Tepe, had two large fortification or retaining walls with stone foundations over a meter in diameter, dating to Late Chalcolithic 5 to Early Bronze Age I Period, around 3000 BC<sup>83</sup>.

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<sup>73</sup> Frangipane 1992: 212-213; 1996: 66.
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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Frangipane 2001a: 8; Frangipane 2003c: 49; Frangipane et al., 2001: 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Frangipane et al, 2001: 136.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Frangipane 1992: 214; 1996: 67.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Harmankaya and Erdoğu 2002: Pulur-Sakyol.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Frangipane 2002b: 147; 2003b: 56; Frangipane and Bucak 2001; 44; 2002; 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Frangipane 2003b: 56-57.

<sup>80</sup> Hauptmann 2003: 61.

<sup>81</sup> Behm-Blancke 2003: 27.

<sup>82</sup> Tibet et al., 2000: 140.

<sup>83</sup> Parker and Dodd 2003: 473.

#### CONCLUSION

The evidence presents a picture of local components in the development of initial stages of urbanism in eastern and southeastern Anatolia in the Proto-Urban Period. As pointed out above, urbanisation in both regions clearly has some local developments formed by local cultures with advanced complex social organisations, albeit some being affected by the Syro-Mesopotamian and Trans-Caucasian cultures since the initial stages of urbanism.

These local societies have a significant level of political and economical complexity from the first half of the 4<sup>th</sup> millennium onwards. They exhibit some key characteristics peculiar to complex societies, among these two-level site-size hierarchies, a complex economy that consists of highly technological development and a high-degree of specialisation, monumental administrative structures with sealed systems based on the stamp seal, economic centralisation and a redistribution system, class stratification reflected in the architecture, mortuary practice and mass-produced bowls for food distribution for unpaid workers - the control of labour - and long-distance exchange. The public building at Arslantepe VII suggests that the centralised society based on corvée labour and redistribution has already emerged in an entirely local cultural context in eastern Anatolia earlier than the spread of Uruk culture. In the Uruk Period, these local polities continue to show some local developments with some being affected by Mesopotamian culture. At Arslantepe VIA, the socio-economic organisation was based on the Mesopotamian system rather than the local organisational structures formed by the local elites in the Late Chalcolithic Period. Similarly, local features appear not only in structural organisation but also in the architecture, glyptics and craft production at the site. Hacinebi B2 carries entirely local characteristics although it lived with an Uruk enclave. At the beginning of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium B.C., however, in addition to the effects of Trans-Caucasian culture, both regions display local urban development and settlement patterns that reflect their own unique identities created through their own social, geographic and demographic structures as well as by the internal dynamics of their cultural environs that reach back into the Late Chalcolithic Period. This settlement pattern, which reflects a political organisation model, lacks public buildings of administrative character and a sealing system, and consists of small settlements, some of them fortified, with one- or two-room rectangular mudbrick houses opening onto narrow streets. It displays its own social structure based on the nuclear family.

Therefore both regions have their own settlement pattern based on local culture and appropriate to the urbanisation tradition of Anatolia with different types of political organisation. These regions had a unique identity created by local cultures and processes and played a unique role in the development of urbanism in Anatolia.

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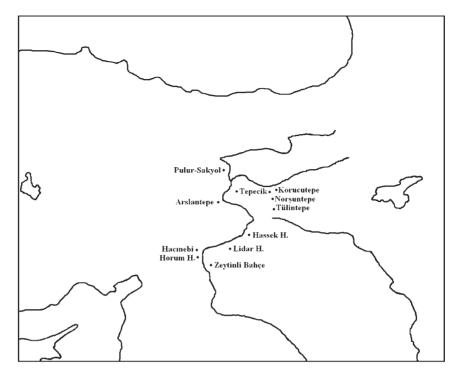


Fig. 1. Sites mentioned in the text.

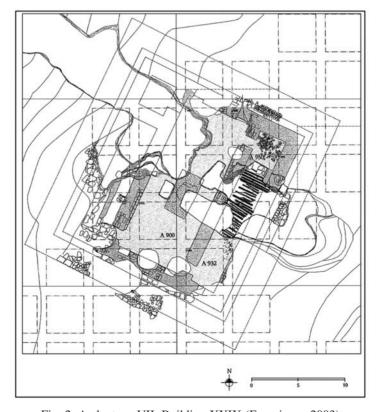


Fig. 2. Arslantepe VII. Building XXIX (Frangipane 2003).

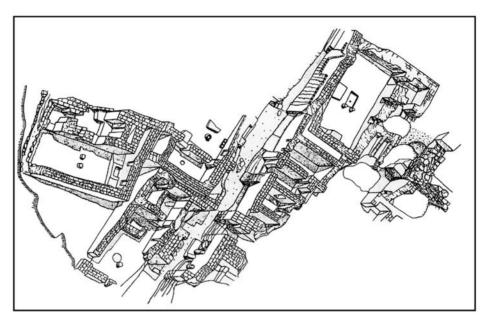


Fig. 3. Arslantepe VIA. Temple-Palace Complex (Frangipane 1997).

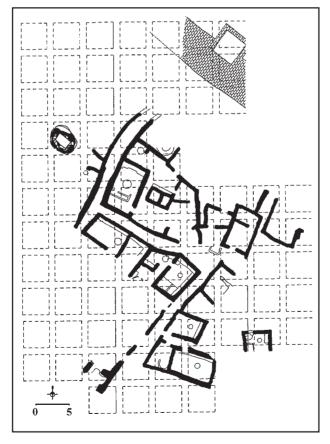


Fig. 4. Arslantepe VIB2 (Frangipane 2001a).

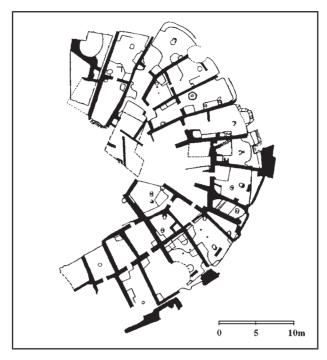


Fig. 5. Pulur-Sakyol (Yakar 1985).

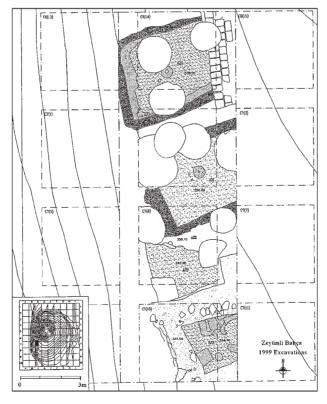


Fig. 6. Zeytinli Bahçe (Frangipane and Bucak 2001).