

CERAMIC CORRELATIONS AND CULTURAL RELATIONS IN IVth MILLENNIUM EASTERN ANATOLIA AND SYRO-MESOPOTAMIA

by FRANCA TRUFELLI

In recent years there has been a significant rise in interest regarding cultural developments during the fourth millennium in the Upper Tigris and Euphrates valleys, as reflected in the many research projects that have been carried out or are now in progress. Because of this, the general picture has been progressively enriched by new data, which has lead to greater in depth research of the historic phenomena connected with the evolution of the northern societies towards early state political structures.

This study examines the cultural evolution of the period within a chronological framework, in which we have tried to identify various archaeological phases and to highlight the connections between the regional nuclei¹.

In Eastern Anatolia this period generally is indicated as Late Chalcolithic, whereas in the Syro-Mesopotamian regions it is referred to as either Late Chalcolithic, Gawra Period or Uruk Period.

¹ This article is the result of further study done on the subject of my Ph. D. thesis (Trufelli 1993) within the context of a research project on the ceramic sequences in Eastern Anatolia carried out at the Istituto per gli Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici and financed by a grant from the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.

I would like to thank those scholars who have offered advice and suggestions on the subjects dealt with in this study and who, on various occasions, have allowed me to examine ceramic materials from the sites they have investigated. I particularly refer to Prof. Ufuk Esin and Prof. Harald Hauptmann, thanks to whose courtesy I was able to study some material from Tepecik, Tülindepe and Norşuntepe, as also to Dr. Sevil Gülcür who specifically dealt with these contexts. My thanks also go to Guillermo Algaze who made it possible for me to see the pottery of Kurban Hüyük VI as well as the survey collections from several sites of the southern Turkish Euphrates area held in the Urfa Museum. Also to Linda and Robert J. Braidwood, with heartfelt gratitude for their solicitude in furthering my studies of 'Amuq F material at the Oriental Institute of Chicago and for the interesting and pleasant period of study I was able to engage in thanks of their help. Finally, I wish to thank Marcella Frangipane for the continuing support during the course of my studies and Raffaele Biscione for the valuable tips and suggestions given me recently.

Based on pottery evidence, we believe that three distinct phases can be identified if one separates from the central phase, which is characterized by the prevalence of the typical *Chaff-faced wares*, a more ancient phase in the earliest centuries, and a later one spanning the last centuries of the IVth millennium. In the earliest phase aspects deriving directly from the cultures of the Vth millennium can be seen, particularly as related to the Late Ubaid period, whereas in the latter phase one can observe the definite affirmation of the characters linked to the expansion of the Uruk culture of the Southern Mesopotamian societies. We will concentrate mainly on the first two phases².

We would note that, notwithstanding newly acquired data, the archaeological record is still rather incomplete and lacks homogeneity: complete sequences are rare, the soundings in many sites are very limited in extension and the results of much research are only known in a preliminary form. Also data from surveys often only have a purely indicative value for the chronology and specific characterization of the pottery assemblages.

The Earliest Phase

A problem common to all scholars is the approximate definition of the division between the Ubaid period and its successor, which we might place astride the Vth and the IVth millennium. This is due to the gradual transformation of the pottery assemblages and to the persistence of many traits of the Ubaid period during the first centuries of the IV millennium.

In Anatolia this transition is well documented at Norşuntepe ("West-hang" squares J/K 18/19: Hauptmann 1972, 1976, 1979, 1982) and at Sakçe Gözü IV (Du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1950), but there is evidence also at Korucutepe, in the oldest levels of the B period (Brandt 1978), and at Arslantepe, in a sounding recently carried out on the western slope of the hill (squares D5; period VIII: Frangipane 1993b). The material of Tepecik levels 14-20, grid-squares 8-0 (Esin 1972) seem to belong to the earliest phase of the Late Chalcolithic, as do those from levels 1-4 of the deep sounding at Tülindepe (Esin, Arsebük 1982), along with the data provided by the sounding in the site of Çayboyu (French *et al.* 1972: 58, pl. 34; id. 1974: 48-49) and that from the later levels of Fatmali-Kalecik (Whallon, Wright 1970: 70).

² This division of the period into phases was also adopted during a seminar held at the University of Istanbul in October 1995 in order to discuss and correlate the chronological sequence of the most important sites in the region of Malatya and Elazığ; present among others were Prof. Ufuk Esin, Prof. Harald Hauptmann and Dr. Marcella Frangipane.

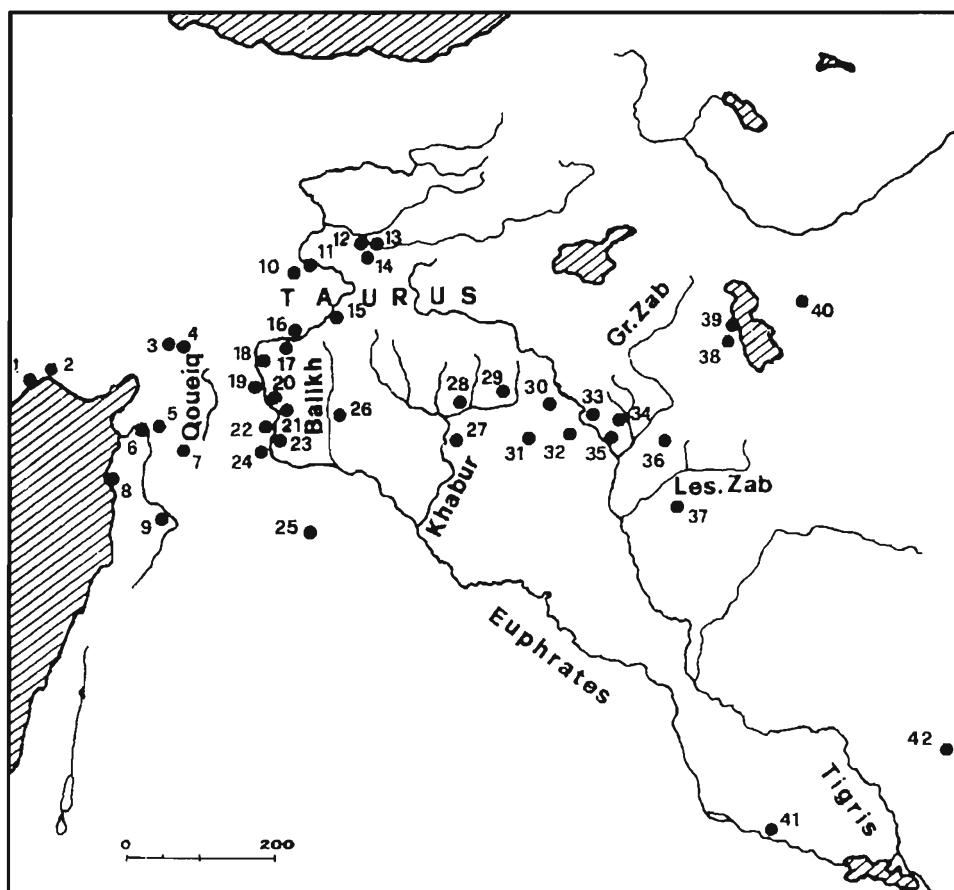


Fig. 1 – Map showing the location of the sites mentioned in the text (by A. Mancini): 1: Mersin; 2: Tarsus; 3: Gedikly Hüyük; 4: Sakçe Gözü; 5: Tell Judaiddah; 6: Tabara el Akrad; 7: Tell Afis; 8: Ras Shamra; 9: Hama; 10: Arslantepe; 11: Değirmentepe; 12: Tepecik; 13: Korucutepe; 14: Norşuntepe; 15: Hassuk Hüyük; 16: Samsat Hüyük; 17: Kurban Hüyük; 18: Hacinebi; 19: Carchemish; 20: Tell al 'Abr; 21: Tell Kosak Shamali; 22: Jebel Aruda; 23: Tell Sheikh Hasan; 24: Habuba Kabira-Tell Qannas; 25: El-Kowm; 26: Tell Hammam et-Turkman; 27: Umm Qseir; 28: Tell Brak; 29: Tell Leilan; 30: Tell al-Hawa; 31: Grey Resh; 32: Telul et-Thalathat; 33: Tell Mohammed 'Arab; 34: Tepe Gawra; 35: Ninive; 36: Tell Qalinq Agha; 37: Nuzi; 38: Geoy Tepe; 39: Tappeh Gijlar; 40: Yanik Tepe; 41: Uruk; 42: Susa.

The principal characteristics of this early horizon, shared to a great extent by Syro-Mesopotamian contexts, can be identified as follows: limited persistence of Ubaid-like painted pottery; introduction of grey ware, often slipped and burnished; development of ware with vegetal inclusions (*straw-tempered ware*); frequent surface treatment with light scraping, which leaves striated usually diagonal marks; early forms of standardization in manufacture and typological features; initial use of the slow wheel.

This period shows the beginning of the process which implies a decline in aesthetic interest in favour of speed of manufacture and quantity of products. In this regard the production of the Coba bowls is indicative: coarse moulded or wheel-thrown vessels made with methods and procedures that show the first signs of the mass production process³. Whereas at Coba Hüyük – Sakçe Gözü these vessels initially seem to have had a domestic use (Du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1950: 95-96, fig.16, 1, 2; fig.17, 5), at Norşuntepe already at level 10 of the squares J/K 18/19, datable to the end of the Ubaid period, they seem to be related to specialized functions, since an extremely large number of specimens was stacked in two small store-rooms of an architectural complex evidencing ceremonial functions and traces of specialized craft activities (Hauptmann 1982; Gülcür 1988).

Since the production of Coba and flint-scraped bowls continues throughout the IV millennium with a range of varieties diversified by time and location, it is not practical to place all known finds, especially those arising from surveys, within a specific timeframe. However, beyond a certain variability which can be noted in certain sites (e.g. Sakçe Gözü), it is possible to distinguish two varieties during this phase, based on typological features, which probably relate to differences in the specific type of manufacture. These varieties indicate a different geographical distribution.

The western variety (fig. 2,1) comprises rather deep bowls with slightly convex walls which generally exhibit a more or less pronounced scraping in the lower part. This has already been referred to in certain Late Ubaid contexts in Anatolia west of the Euphrates, in Cilicia and in the 'Amuq Plain such as Değirmentepe III, Arslantepe VIII, Gedikli Hüyük IV, Mersin XIII-XIIb, Tarsus, Tabara el Akrad VII-VI and Tell Esh Sheikh IV-I⁴, but it also figures in contemporary or slightly more recent assemblages of the Syrian area: at Tell Hammam et-Turkman VA, probably at Tell al 'Abr levels 2-3

³ Mellaart 1981: 153-4; Palmieri 1985: 193; Hakkermans 1988: 217.

⁴ Esin 1983: 182-184. Alkım, Alkım 1966: 39. Garstang 1953: 174, fig. 113. Mellink 1956: pl. 224, 17; pl. 340, I-J, 17. Hood 1951: type 3 fig. 6. For Tell Esh Sheikh (type 7) see Hood 1951: 125-26.

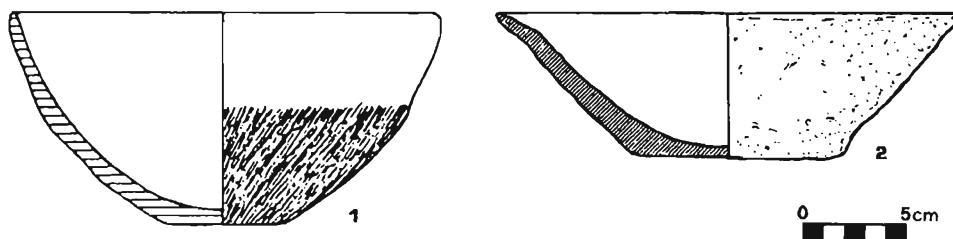


Fig. 2 – Earliest Phase: western (no. 1) and eastern (no. 2) variety of *Coba* bowls. No. 1 from Değirmen tepe (after Esin 1983); no. 2 from Norsuntepe (after Hauptmann 1982).

(lesser quantities already in levels 4-5), Tell Afis, Tell Kosak Shamali, in the Quoeiq basin and at Ras Shamra IIIB⁵.

The eastern variety instead, present in the Keban region, in the Khabur basin and in Assyria, is more open, shaped like a truncated cone with rectilinear walls and a large flat base (fig. 2,2). Evidence comes from Norsuntepe, Tepe Gawra, starting from level XII, Tell Arpachiya (Late Ubaid levels), Tell Qalinq Agha level IV and followings, Ninive 3, Thalathat II (VIIa and VIIb), Tell Brak (area CH, level XIII), Grey Resh VI-IX, Nuzi⁶.

With regard to other types of vessels, apart from the simplest and most common shapes (e.g. hole-mouthed jars and hemispherical or less carinated bowls with bead or everted rim), we again stress those elements that are most frequently or even exclusively found in certain areas.

A particular variety of incised pottery seems to have had a greater diffusion in the Anatolian area west of the Euphrates and in Cilicia. They are small containers made of generally dark fabric, with vegetable and mineral inclusions or, less frequently, semifine buff straw-tempered paste, decorated with crossed or parallel incised lines, chevrons, triangles and jabbed dots,

⁵ Akkermans 1988: nos. 24-27. Hammade, Yamazaki 1995: 5-6. Cecchini 1993: 10, fig. 1, 1; I wish to thank Prof. Stefania Mazzoni for having shown me some of these materials from Tell Afis. Matsutani, Nishiaki 1995: fig. 3, 16. Flint scraped plain bowls are present among the materials of Quoeiq phase E (Mellaart 1981:151), but also some phase F *Coba* bowls (*id.*: nos. 770-774) can be ascribed to this variety, since they appear typologically more ancient than the types commonly found during the middle phase of the period. De Contenson 1992: fig. 230, 1,3,5,7.

⁶ Hauptmann 1982: pl. 36, 1; pl. 37, 1-4; Gülcür 1988. Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXIV, 260, 261; pl. CXLI, 328, 330, 332; pl. CXLIII, 366; pl. CXLIV, 367-371; see also Rothman 1989: 286. Mallowan, Cruikshank 1935: fig. 39: 5, 6. Hijara 1973 pl. 14: 8, 10-13; pl. 15, 1; Abu al-Soof 1969: 8 and passim. Gut 1995: pl. 55, 819. Egami 1959: fig. 51, 1; fig. 53, 7. J. Oates 1987: fig. 3, 9. Lloyd 1940: 19. Starr 1939: pls. 49, E, 50, B.

which have been found at Arslantepe VIII, Coba IV, in the sites of the Elbistan Plain and at Mersin XIV-XIII (fig.3)⁷. We believe that this production, which probably was part of a definite trading circuit of items, is related to the painted and incised/impressed pottery, which appears already in the Late Ubaid horizon and has a wider distribution: Değirmentepe III, the area of Elbistan, Mersin XV-XIII, Tarsus, Ras Shamra IIIB, the 'Amuq plain (among material of the First Mixed Range), Samsat Hüyük and probably also Tülindepe⁸. We do not include in this group the incised pottery found in the Early Uruk levels of area CH at Tell Brak (Oates 1985: fig. 2, 38, pl. XXXI, b), since they consist of plates or bowls rather than of small jars and

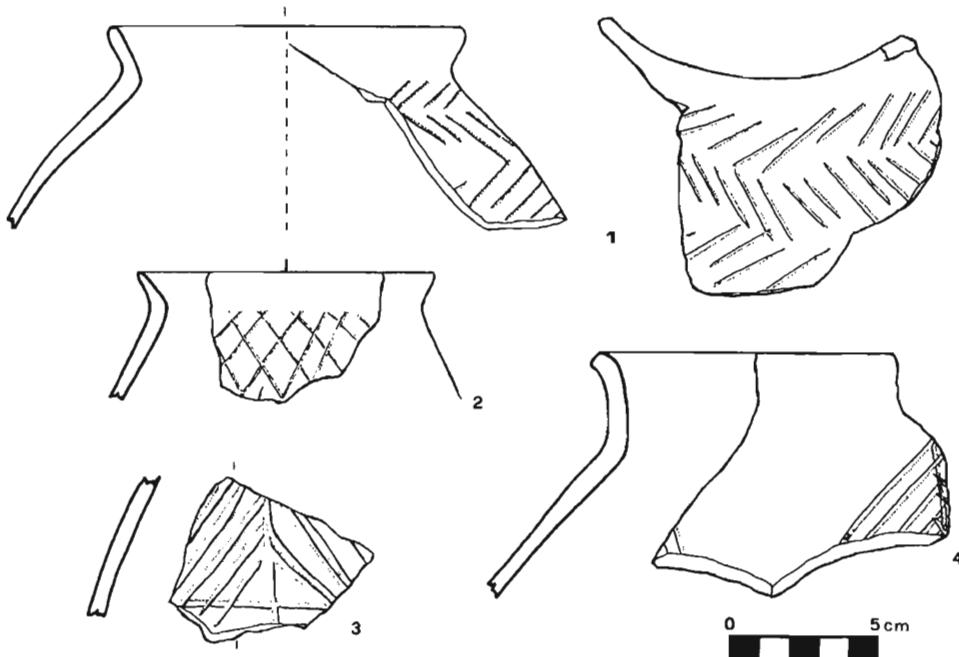


Fig. 3 – Earliest Phase: incised pottery from Arslantepe VIII.

⁷ Du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1950: fig. 17: 3-5; Brown 1967: 132, fig. 3, 10; Garstang 1953: figs. 104, 105.

⁸ Esin 1983: Abb. 8, 9 and 10. Brown 1967: fig. 4, 23, 24. Garstang 1953: fig. 101; fig. 103, 25-30. Mellink 1956: 230, a. De Contenson 1992: 180, fig. 226, 1, pl. CLX 1-4. Braudwood, Braudwood 1960: fig. 91, 1. Özdoğan 1977: pl. 86, 36, probably also 103 and 106. Esin, Arsebük 1982: pl. 93 lower part. Some sherds of this kind have also been found among material of the period VIII at Arslantepe.

seem to be of lesser quality both as regards the ware and the decoration itself⁹.

There are also a series of elements and characteristics that seem typical of the area east of the Euphrates and allow us to recognize a network of rather specific connections between the area of Keban, Assyria and some regions of Iranian Azerbaijan, in particular that of the Urmia plain, as shown by the comparisons which can be made with the complex of Geoy M (Burton Brown 1948), that of Tappeh Gijlar period C (Belgiorno, Biscione, Pecorella 1984: 240-99), and the material from the sites of the same period C revealed by surveys¹⁰. Connections can also, however, be established with the more recent part of the Chalcolithic deposit of Yanik Tepe (Burney 1962). We refer to ring-base vessels, spouted deep bowls, little, often minuscule, fruit-stands, open bowls with pinched or incurved rims beveled to the inside, which often have painted scallops, smears or drips, jars with short everted necks decorated with bands of crosshatched triangles on the shoulder and vertical lines on the interior of the rim (fig. 4)¹¹.

Particularly indicative is the simple decoration with smears or drips of paint, usually descending from the rim of open bowls, but sometimes also present on little jars (fig. 4, 2, 4), which is frequently found but never west of the Keban and Assyria. It is attested at Norşuntepe, Tepecik, Tülindepe, Korucutepe, Çayboyu, Çınaz Hüyük, Pulur XII – XIII, Thalathat levels I-V, Tepe Gawra XA, Ninive 3 (in the lower part of the deposit), Tell Qalinq liv. IV, Geoy M, Tappeh Gijlar XI-XVI¹².

⁹ In our opinion the small jars with herringbone pattern from Tepe Gawra XIII and Thalathat VIIb (Tobler pl. CXXXI, 217; Egami 1959: pl. LVI, 1; fig. 53, 3) belong to a distinct and locally developed variety, which can most likely be traced back to a widespread tradition in the Zab region during the Late Ubaid period (Starr 1939: pls. 41, R; 44, A; 45, B-C; 46).

¹⁰ Belgiorno, Biscione, Pecorella 1984: 179-213. The pottery from the survey collection of phase C is very similar to that from T. Gijlar levels XI-XVI; it includes small quantities of grey ware, which is also present at Geoy M (Biscione 1984: 304-8).

¹¹ Tepecik: Esin 1972: pls. 114-116. Tülindepe: Esin, Arsebüük 1974: pl. 120; *id.* 1982: fig. 93, 1-3. Korucutepe: Brandt 1973: pl. 103, 24. Norşuntepe: Hauptmann 1976: pl. 49, 1, 7; pl. 50, 8; *id.* 1979: pl. 30, 10; pl. 42, 5; *id.* 1982: pl. 38, 2, 8; pl. 39, 4, 9; Gülcür 1988. Tepe Gawra: Tobler 1950: pl. CXXXIII, 238; pl. CXXXIV, 248-250; pl. CXXXV, 270-71; pl. CXXXIX, 307; pl. CXLI, 340-341; pl. CXXXV, 270, 271; pl. CXLVI, 399, 401, 410. Thalathat II: Egami 1959: pl. LIX; fig. 52, 3; fig. 53, 8. Tell Qalinq Agha: Abu al-Soof 1969: tav. XVII, 2; Hijara 1973. Yanik Tepe: Burney 1962: 137-138, pl. XLIII, 1-3, 5, 6, 8. Geoy Tepe: Burton Brown 1948, figs. 4-7. Tappeh Gijlar XI-XVI: Belgiorno, Biscione, Pecorella 1984: figs. 77-85, Biscione 1984. See also Voigt and Dyson 1992: 177-78.

¹² Hauptmann 1972: pl. 71, 2, 4-7; *id.* 1982: pl. 39, 6. Esin 1972: pl. 114. Esin, Arsebüük 1974: pl. 120. Brandt 1978: pl. 103, 115. French *et al.* 1972: 34, fig. 13. Bahar 1988: fig. 4: 2, 3; fig. 7: 2, 3. Koşay 1976: 151-52, coloured plate 4, 1. Egami 1959: fig. 50, 2, 4; pl. LI, 3; pl.

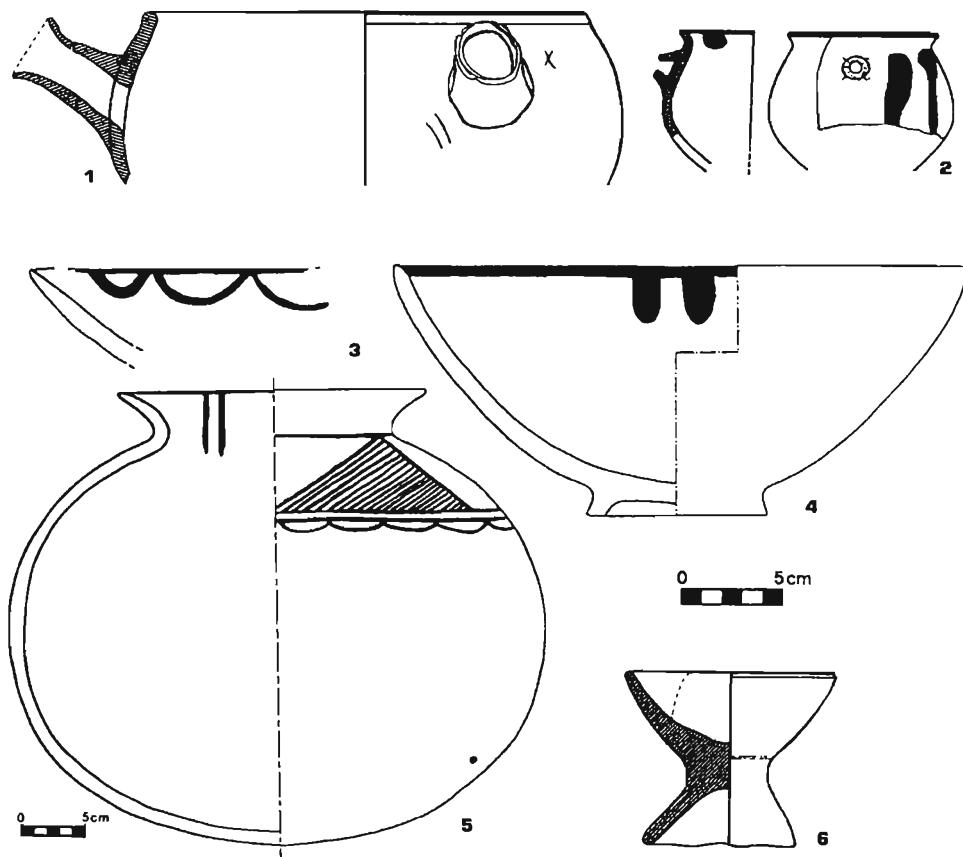


Fig. 4 – Earliest Phase: selected pottery typical of the eastern area. Nos. 1, 2 and 6 from Norşuntepe (after Hauptmann 1972, 1982); nos. 3-5 from Tappeh Gijlar (after Belgiorno, Biscione, Pecorella 1984).

Double rimmed jars, which are peculiar to Gawra XI-IX, Qalنج Agha IV-III and Tappeh Gijlar are also present at Tell Brak (area CH, level XIII)¹³, whereas in the sites of the Keban region necked jars with a sharp promi-

LIV, 2. Tobler 1950: pl. CXLIV, 375, 383; pl. CXLVII, 412. Gut 1995: pl. 53, 800-802; pl. 504, 803-805; see also Campbell Thompson, Mallowan 1933, pl. L, 15. Hijara 1973: pl. 15, 13. Burton Brown 1948, fig. 5, 634, 46. Belgiorno, Biscione, Pecorella 1984: fig. 78a: 8, 16, 23.

¹³ Tobler 1950: pl. CXLII, 346; pl. CXLVI, 405-407. Hijara 1973: pl. 21, 1-4; Abu al-Soof 1969: 25. Belgiorno, Biscione, Pecorella 1984: fig. 81: 41, 43, 44; fig. 82b: 103-105. J. Oates 1987: 194.

nence on the inside of the neck juncture are present (Brandt 1978: pl. 103, 17; Gülcür 1988).

The distribution of all these elements might indicate a set of relations probably also connected to the availability and trade of raw materials such as obsidian, metals and semiprecious stones available in the Anatolian and Iranian regions. One should not underestimate the metallurgical evidence found at Norşuntepe (Hauptmann 1982: 59–61) and the use of semiprecious stones at Tepe Gawra already in Late Ubaid level XIII. In the latter site, during the early phase of the period studied here, represented in levels XII–X, we already find a complexity which increases notably in the succeeding phases. This can confirm the function of *central place* which the site had over a long period as religious-ceremonial centre where administrative and craft activities were concentrated (Rothman 1989, 1993). This role of Gawra gave rise to a wide-flung net of relationships, as shown by the diffusion of certain rather fine vessels typical of levels XI–XA¹⁴, but which apparently can already be seen in level XII (Porada *et al.* 1992/1:93), such as the beakers with incised, applied and stamped decoration (Tobler 1950: pl. LXXIX, *a-d*; pl. LXXX, *a*; pl. CLII, 514–517, 519, 520) and the grey carinated bowls with high walls (*id.*: pl. CXLII, 343 – 344; pl. CXLV, 385–391) (fig. 5), found as imports and imitations in a wide range of sites: Norşuntepe (particularly in levels 7–8 of J/K 18/19), Tell Brak (area CH, levels 13–14), Tell al-Hawa, Sakçe Gözü IVB–C, Gedikli IV, Qalinq Agha III, Nuzi XA¹⁵.

Currently no sites comparable to Tepe Gawra are known, especially in relation to administration and templar architecture, but if the identification of religious buildings at Thalathat (C and B Period Layer Egami 1959: figs. 47, 57), Tell Qalinq level III (Al Soof 1969: pl. V–VI) and Tell Brak (in the Early Uruk levels of area CH; D. Oates 1987: 177, pl. XXXIa) is correct, we might be dealing with an area – between the Khabur and the Greater Zab – in which there is a stronger tendency towards the emergence of political and social hierarchies than can be observed in contemporary Syrian-Anatolian societies.

¹⁴ Rothman stated that these levels were part of the same main building phase (1989: 284).

¹⁵ Hauptmann 1976: pl. 49, 4, 6; pl. 50, 1–3; pl. 50, 4, 7; *id.* 1979: pl. 42, 8, 9. Oates 1985: fig. 2, 34, pl. XXXI, *b*; *id.* 1987: fig. 3, 6, 7. Ball *et al.* 1989: fig. 18, 19. Du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1950: fig. 18: 7–10. Alkim 1979: 86, fig. 5. Abu Al-Soof 1969: 22. One carinated bowl with long spout from Nuzi XA is strikingly similar to a specimen from Gawra XIA (Starr 1939: pl. 50, *H*; Tobler 1950: pl. CLXI, 342). At Ras Shamra IIIB one finds pottery with impressed patterns similar to those of Gawra (in particular De Contenson 1992: fig. 226, 2; pl. CLX, *I*), which however generally go along with painted decorations and are more closely connected to the “western” painted and incised/impressed ware described above.

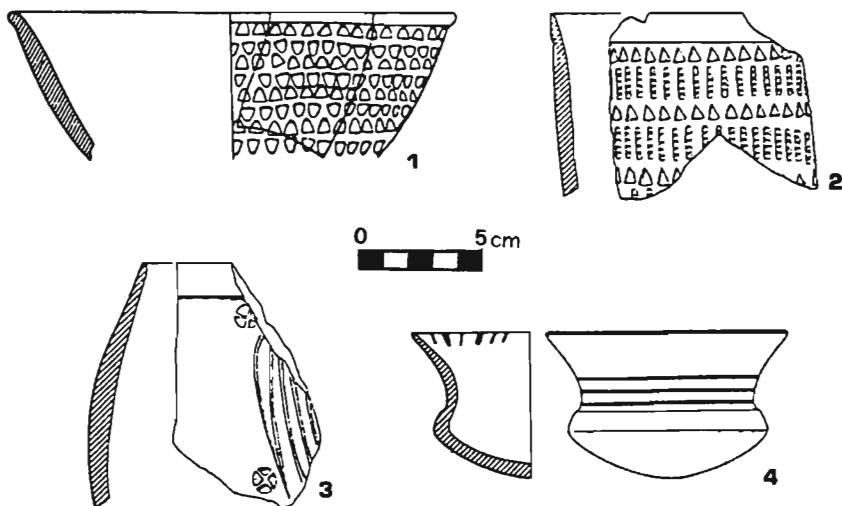


Fig. 5 – Earliest Phase: “Gawran” pottery from Norşuntepe
(after Hauptmann 1976, 1979).

To sum up, findings relating to the early phase of the period seem to indicate fairly consistent connections, apparently focussed on two principal circuits, one to the east and the other to the west of the Euphrates. We are, however, dealing with regional relationships, since no external influences of any importance can be noted.

The Middle Phase

Included in this phase are the developments between approximately 3700 and 3300 BC which, in terms of southern chronology, correspond to the Middle Uruk period and probably to the first part of the Late Uruk of Southern Mesopotamia, but certainly excluding the Late Uruk-Jemdet Nasr phase¹⁶.

¹⁶ In recent years one often finds the expression *Middle Uruk* used with reference to the Syro-Mesopotamian contexts. As regards the South, while in Susiana the tripartition of the period is basically accepted (Johnson 1973), in Babilonia it is more difficult to distinguish an intermediate phase of the period (see Adams, Nissen 1972). With regard to the Warka sequence, Nissen (1993) has recently confirmed the impossibility of distinguishing the Middle Uruk phase archaeologically, while Sürenhagen (1993), basing himself on a re-interpretation of the stratigraphical data, has emphasized the elements that would indicate a specific identity for this phase even though, as he admits, data is rather scarce before the Late Uruk; however, the dating he proposes for the entire period appears a bit late and brief.

The trend towards craft specialization and socio-economic differentiation already noted in the preceding phase is now far more pronounced. The considerable increase in the number of findings and sites indicates the establishment of a more complex settlement pattern and a greater territorial rooting of the population. Expansion of the productive base gives rise to new forms of management, especially in the larger centres, which imply the emergence of new institutions led by the groups which occupied the highest level of the social scale and involving a more marked hierarchical organization. New forms of work organization apparently arise, as shown by the character of pottery manufacture. The system of interregional relations which had been heretofore developing is soon affected by the Uruk expansion, which strongly influences and accelerates the evolution of local societies.

There is much debate on this subject, also due to the progressive intensification of research following the identification of sites with colonial character in the Syrian Middle-Euphrates area. The direct impact of these foreign influences on the local substratum, essentially recognizable by the introduction of southern ceramic types in the local assemblages, in this phase mainly concerns the area south of the Taurus along the principal fluvial basins, which probably also were the main routes for communication and trade. Only at a later date does it seem to extend to the areas of western Syria and the Anatolian plateau. The varying degree of influence which apparently applies to the various contexts, in relation to the more or less strategic location and the development and importance of individual sites, creates a wide diversity of situations, the understanding of which is complicated by chronological factors¹⁷.

Our problem in this case is to define precisely the limit with the succeeding phase, since evidence, although copious, is fragmentary. In addition, there is a pronounced continuity of ceramic types in the Uruk culture itself. We are, however, dealing with a long process, the culmination of which can be seen in the establishment of colonial settlements (Sürenhagen 1993), even if these do not appear to be completely contemporaneous (see C14 dates from Habuba Kabira and Jebel Aruda in Schwartz and Weiss 1992/2: 190), or to have had short duration, as the sequence from Tell Sheikh Hasan would indicate (Boese 1986-87, 1987-88). Thus, what frequently appears as a dichotomy between local sites and sites with Uruk traits in the same area, in

¹⁷ The bibliography on this argument is extremely abundant. We recall Algaze 1993, Frangipane 1996, Stein 1994, Sürenhagen 1986; see also references in Schwartz, Weiss 1992.

certain cases could instead be explained by the difficulty of identifying a succession of brief periods.

Our intention is to deal with the local aspects characterized by pottery assemblages, with a prevalence of chaff-faced wares showing specific technological and typological features and in which Uruk pottery sometimes makes its appearance. In the succeeding phase, instead, the continuity of chaff-faced ware seems very limited and no longer gives specific characterization to the assemblages¹⁸.

This local horizon, evidenced by the material from 'Amuq F (Braidwood, Braidwood 1960), represents a further development in the process of standardization and mass-production begun in the preceding period. The changes apply particularly to the scale of production which increases sharply and is principally oriented towards utilitarian requirements. Indications of the particular, specialized nature of production are the widespread use of the wheel and the recurrent presence of potter's marks (Palmieri 1985; Trufelli 1994). Furthermore, the typological inventory shows a marked standardization which causes a characteristic overlapping of wares and types, which no longer prevails in the succeeding period.

The mass-produced types are generally wheel-made open bowls and jars which often have a typical elaborated neck also due to the wheel-turned device; the rims are often beveled to the inside (fig. 6). Remarkable importance can be attached to the large jars which were extremely rare in earlier periods and are now found in considerable quantities, indicating the development of manufacturing skills as well as new storage and redistribution requirements.

This horizon is well represented in Eastern Anatolia at Arslantepe by material of period VII, which forms part of a long and widely explored sequence (Palmieri 1978; Frangipane 1993a; Trufelli 1994). Among the architectural remains a monumental building stands out with wall painting and mud-brick columns in which much material has been found relating to storing and processing activities.

The numerous coarse flint scraped bowls are the most characteristic type found at Arslantepe VII (fig. 7, 1); in the later part of the sequence they are associated with the conical bowls with string-cut base which almost entirely replace them towards the end of the period (fig. 7, 2)¹⁹. Apart from this

¹⁸ We believe that mass-produced coarse bowls of either local or southern type, which have been found throughout the IV millennium, are not to be properly considered among Chaff-faced material.

¹⁹ Chaff coarse bowls are widespread in all contemporary contexts even though there are marked variations in their proportion within the assemblages and their specifical features; for instance in the 'Amuq F the most common type of coarse bowls has outrolled

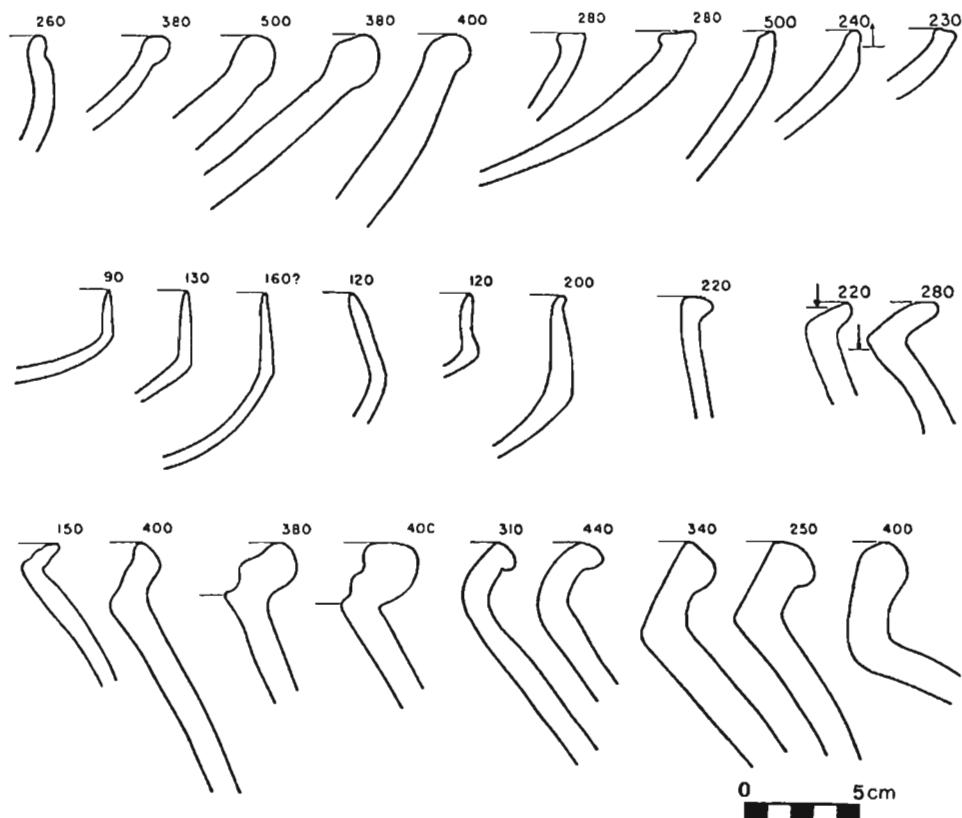


Fig. 6 – Middle Phase: typical 'Amuq F' profiles (after Braidwood, Braidwood 1960).

pottery with a rough surface, it is very common at Arslantepe another ware, very similar in the composition of the paste including chaff temper but usually less coarse, which comprises vessels with smooth surface often covered by a red-orange slip and frequently burnished. This ware, like the preceding type, is characteristic of all more or less contemporary contexts of the Anatolian and Syro-Mesopotamian area, but the presence of the red-orange slip appears more frequently in sites of the Anatolian plateau and in Syro-Cilicia²⁰. In the area south of the Taurus stretching from the Euphrates to the

rim (Braidwood, Braidwood 1960: fig. 174: 9-12). However, those with inner ledge rim, typical of Arslantepe VII, are very frequent (*id.* fig. 174: 13 – 14).

²⁰ For instance at Korucutepe B (Brandt 1878: 58), in the sites recognized by C. Burney's surveys (Russell 1980 – group H), at Coba Hüyük-Sakçe Gözü from level IVC to VB

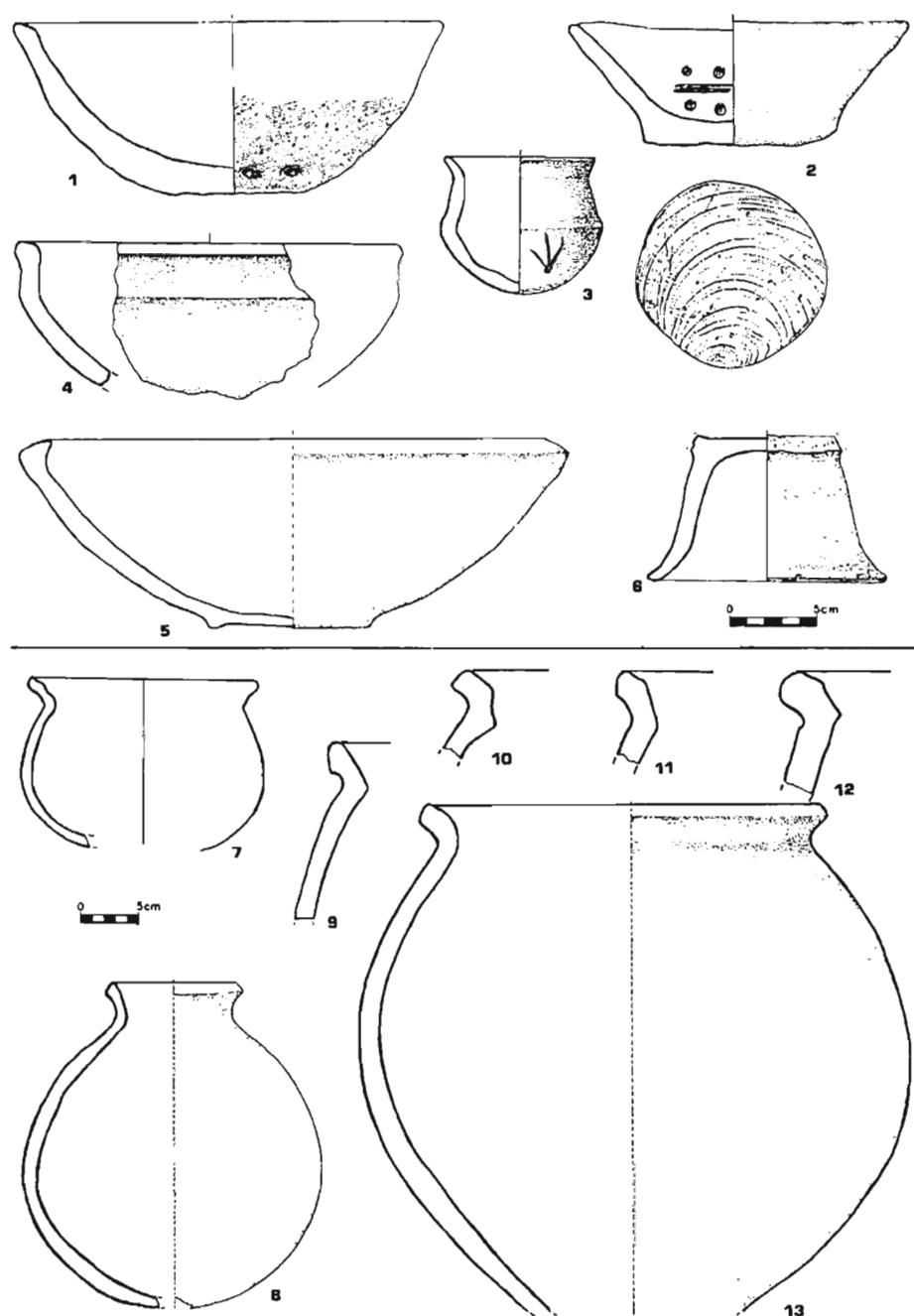


Fig. 7 – Middle Phase: pottery types from Arslantepe VII.

Tigris, in fact, chaff-faced red-slip ware is not recorded in high proportions in complexes such as Hacinebi, Tell Kosak Shamali, Tell Hammam et-Turkman VA, Tell Brak and Grey Resh IV-II²¹, while in others such as Kurban Hüyük VI and Tell Leilan V-IV it is infrequent or totally absent (Algaze 1990; Schwartz 1988a). It is possible that the red slip survived for a shorter period in certain areas because of strong external pressure connected with the Uruk expansion which may have determined changes in the local production. In effect the Kurban VI and Leilan V-IV assemblages can apparently be dated to a late phase of the sequence and show a distinct characterization as we soon shall see.

At Arslantepe various types of this ware were mass-produced, as shown by their number, the standardization of profiles and the high recurrence of potter's marks found on them (Trufelli 1994), particularly the characteristic carinated beakers (fig. 7, 3) and the jars with grooved necks or with simple outflaring necks and rims beveled to the outside (fig. 7, 7-13). Finer types are represented by ring-based or high-footed vessels and shallow carinated bowls (fig. 7, 4-6), which are common in the recent levels of the Arslantepe VII deposit and have comparisons in other sites of the western area: Coba V, Gedikli IIIj-k, Tabara VI-V, 'Amuq F, Tarsus, Qoueqi F, Hama K7-8 (Fugman 1958: fig. 37)²². In these contexts, as well as at Arslantepe VII, these vessels usually present a red-slipped surface, but were often manufactured in rather fine wares (such as the Smooth-faced Wares from 'Amuq F and Tarsus), which are recorded in almost all sites south of the Taurus, but are practically absent at Arslantepe. Painted pottery is also extremely rare at Arslantepe and limited to a few beakers and small fruitstands with vertical stripes and rows of dots, that typologically date to the latest phase of the sequence (fig. 8, 1, 2). Striped or chevron-painted and reserved-spiral decoration wares are, instead, characteristic of 'Amuq F and Tarsus, and thus represent a regional feature of the Antiochia and Cilician plains (fig. 8, 3-8)²³.

(Du Plat Taylor *et al.* 1950), at Tarsus Late-Chalcolithic in levels 27-30 (Mellink 1956), at Tabara el Akrad VI-V (Hood 1951), in the sites of 'Amuq F (Braidwood, Braidwood 1960) and Qoueqi F (Mellaart 1981).

²¹ Pollock, Coursey 1995; Matsutani, Nishiaki 1995; Akkermans 1988b; Fielden 1981; J. Oates 1987:194; *id.* 1993: 184; Lloyd 1940.

²² At Tarsus, chaff-faced ware is also present in lesser quantities in the levels of EBI, in which flaring pedestal bases appear (Mellink 1956: 93, fig. 334: AV-BB). Chaff footed plates have also been found at Tell Brak (Oates, Oates 1993: fig. 52: 45-46) (fig. 10, 3) and at Grey Resh II-IV (Lloyd 1940: fig. 7, 6).

²³ Some rare sherds of Smooth-faced chevron-painted and reserved-spiral decoration wares found at Arslantepe were probably imported, as perhaps was also one sherd of a small cup with chevron decoration from Korucutepe (Brandt 1978: pl. 107, 15).

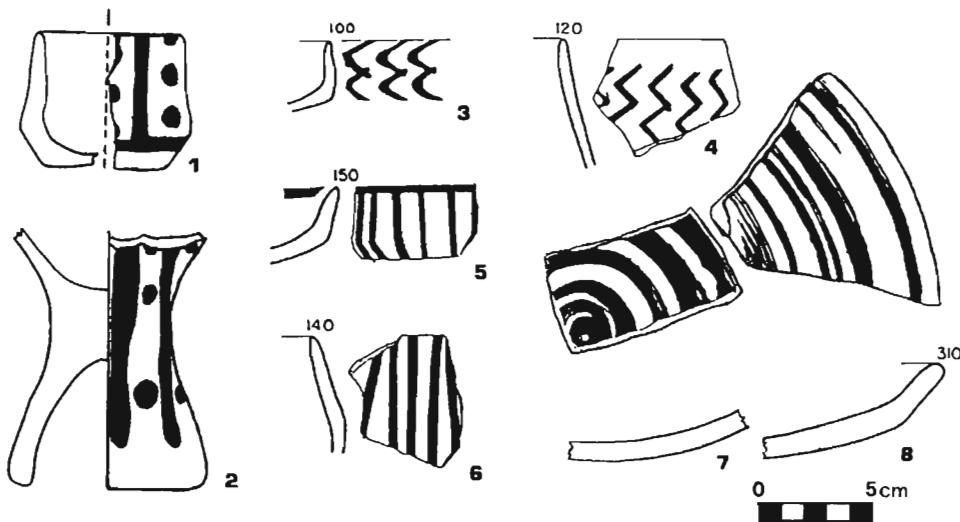


Fig. 8 – Middle Phase: Decorated pottery from Arslantepe (nos. 1-2) and 'Amuq F (nos. 3-7; after Braidwood, Braidwood 1960).

The connections which we have just outlined are sufficient to reveal distinct but strongly related regional nuclei in the western area, similar to those noted during the preceding phase.

In the southern Turkish Euphrates area finds relate in large measure to the phase of transition from the local horizon to that of Uruk influence, thus presenting a particularly critical area as regards the interaction between locals and intruders. Further south, in the Syrian Middle-Euphrates area, which seems to have been a primary area of penetration, or Uruk *enclave* (Algaze 1993), there is a notable absence of local sites of any importance. Indeed, to date we can only identify a Late Chalcolithic local component at Tell Kosak Shamali in the post-Ubaid levels, where, along with earlier elements, there is the presence of chaff ware, sometimes with reddish wash, including bowls with incurved rim, casseroles and typical large jars with short neck and rim beveled to the outside (Matsutani, Nishiaki 1995: fig. 4, 4-8). There is no trace here of Uruk material, which is instead common in the nearby site of Tell al 'Abr (Hammade, Yamazaki 1993) and, in our opinion, these significant differences are due, at least in part, to chronological factors.

We can attribute to this middle phase the materials of Kurban Hüyük VIB and those from phases A and B1 of Hacinebi Tepe, which currently represent the best known sites of the Euphrates area in southern Turkey (Algaze 1990; Stein *et al.* 1996). They show a clearly identifiable and little varied

inventory of pottery types with a prevalence of open shapes consisting mainly of casseroles and hammer-head or incurved ledge rims bowls (fig. 9, 2, 4, 5), which leads one to think of a specialized character of the contexts and of their connection to a particular moment of the sequence.

We know very little regarding the larger mounds of the same area. We can only surmise that this horizon was represented at Carchemish, while at Samsat Hüyük the Uruk sequence brought to light in the sounding on the eastern slope (grid q-r/14-15, levels XX-XXVII), includes chaff-faced pottery which appears to have prevailed in the oldest levels. Jars with short channelled collar and potter's mark, carinated bowls, casseroles and incurved ledge rims bowls have been recorded, but there is no evidence of true hammer-head bowls (Özgürç 1992: figs. 7 and 8).

Hammerhead bowls and casseroles are common in such Khabur area sites as Tell Brak (Fielden 1981: fig. 2, 1-4; Oates, Oates 1993: nos. 25, 43, 44, 69, 70) and Tell Leilan V-IV (Schwartz 1988a: fig. 52, 5-8, fig. 54, 1-3, fig. 57, 1-4, fig. 59), the latter denoting an assemblage very similar to those of Kurban Hüyük and Hacinebi. Jars with finely corrugated neck interiors (fig. 9, 3; fig. 10, 6) also appear to be typical both of the southern Turkish Euphrates area and of the Khabur basin (Algaze 1990: pl. 27, M; pl. 33, H and J.

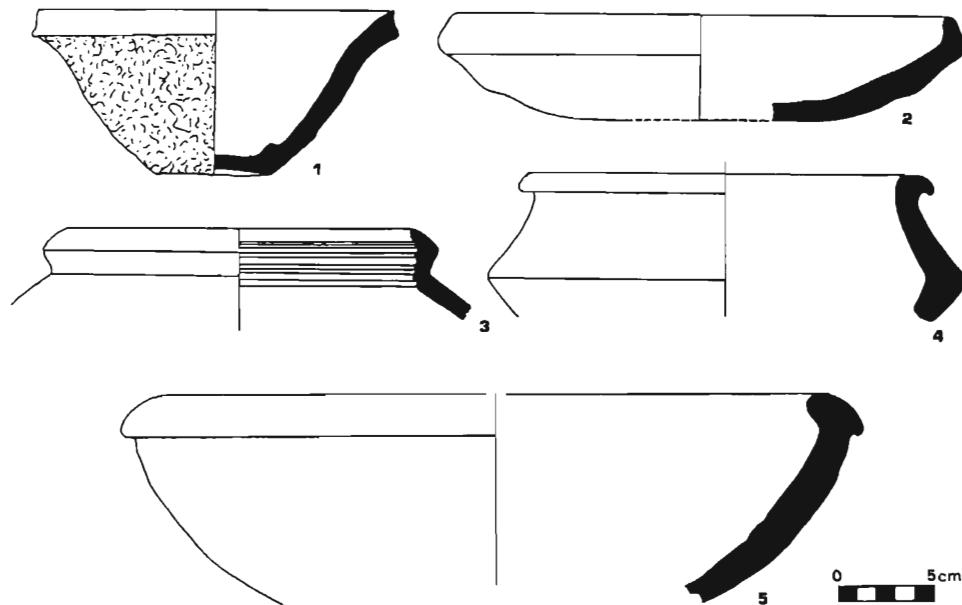


Fig. 9 – Middle Phase: pottery types from Kurban Hüyük VI (after Algaze 1990).

Pollock, Coursey 1995: fig. 8, I. Schwartz 1988a: fig. 60, 5. Fielden 1981: fig. 1, 14-15; Oates, Oates 1993: fig. 51: 19, 10, fig. 53, 57)²⁴.

It is strange that this evident affinity between the two regions is not shared by the site of Tell Hammam et-Turkman, in the Balikh valley, which is located between the two. The period V complex of Tell Hammam, in fact, only evidences limited and generically comparable elements and in its whole retains its own connotation with a high degree of continuity from the preceding period. After phase VA, which probably relates to the earliest phase, the orange or red slipped burnished pottery and the Coba bowls disappear, to be replaced by a grit-tempered grey burnished ware and an assortment of shapes including hole mouth pots and several types of bowls with bead or beveled interior rim, and corrugated bowls. Uruk pottery is totally absent (Hakkermans 1988). The impression given is that the more advanced stage of the period is not represented here and that we are dealing with a somewhat isolated and marginal area, notwithstanding the presence of a probably templar building with buttresses, destroyed by fire at the end of the period V sequence.

At Tell Brak, which is one of the key-sites in understanding the dynamics of contact between local and foreign components, the Uruk influence tends to increase gradually during this phase. The *Northern Middle Uruk* phase recently investigated in area TW (phases 14-16), which appears a substantial local horizon²⁵, is marked by a rather varied and articulated pottery assemblage, both as regards Chaff-ware inventory as also in regard to finer wares "at times approaching eggshell quality" (Oates, Oates 1993: 172) (fig. 10). The difference from other mentioned contexts is evident and certainly due to the functional character of the site, Tell Brak being an important local centre as witnessed by evidence of its administrative character and probably the development of religious architecture (Oates, Oates 1994: 170). So it is not surprising to find here differentiated types of pottery for representational, storage (significant presence of storage jars with potter's marks) and redistribution (coarse open bowls) uses.

In the Iraqi area current documentation is rather fragmentary. At Tell al-Hawa, which was probably an important site during this period (Wilkinson

²⁴ We are waiting for greater details on the results of recent excavations at Tell Mashnaqa, which must have been an important centre in the Khabur basin throughout the IV millennium (see in particular Beyer 1995).

²⁵ These levels are approximately contemporary with levels 9-10 of area CH (Oates, Oates 1993: 182; *id.* 1994: 168). In 1994 excavations in area HS1, *Northern Middle Uruk* levels were brought to light, which seem to belong to a slightly earlier period, in which beveled rim bowls are absent (Matthews *et al.* 1994: 179).

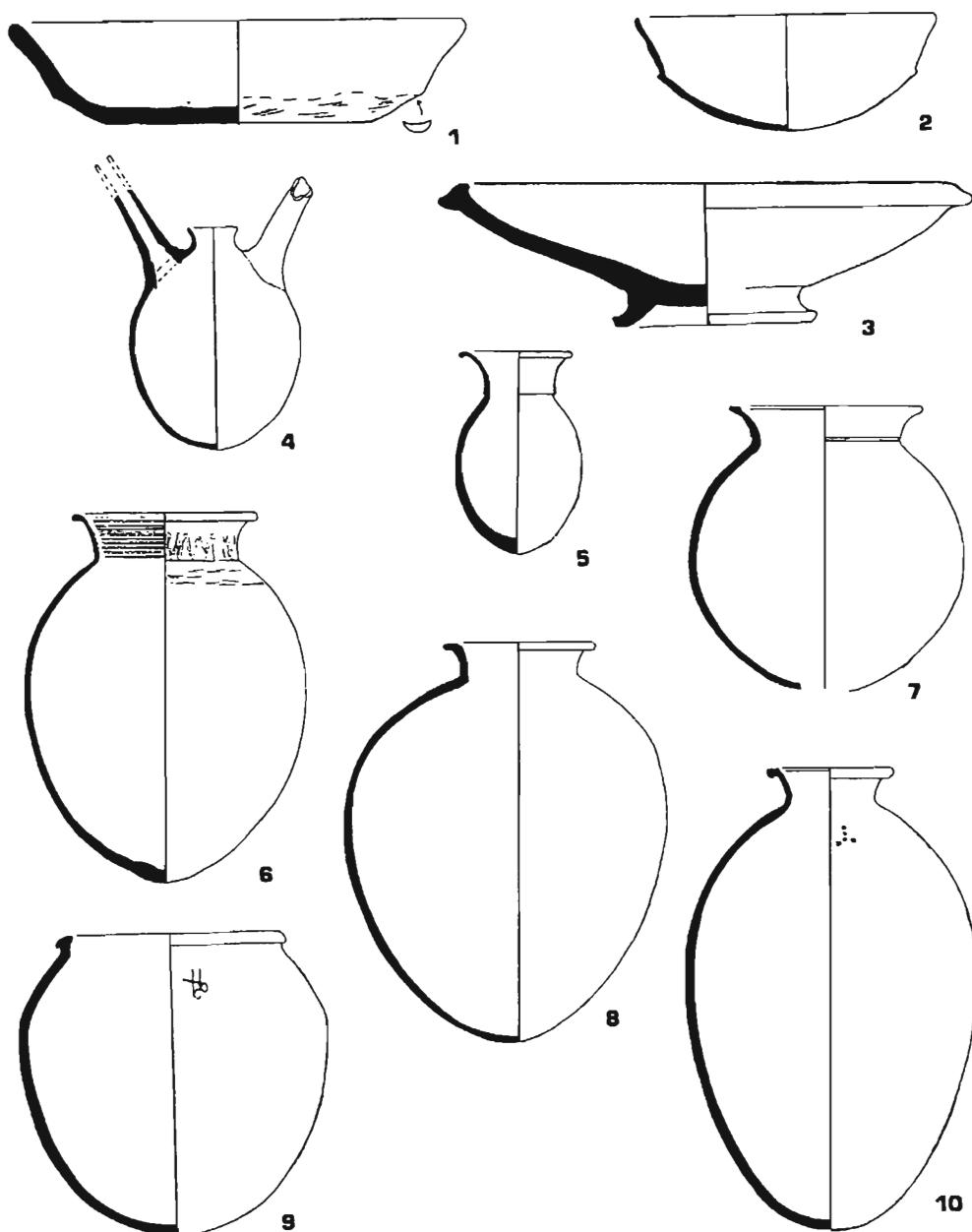


Fig. 10 – Middle Phase: Northern Middle Uruk pottery from Tell Brak, area TW phase 16
(after Oates, Oates 1993); nos. 1-7: scale 1:4; nos. 8-10: scale 1:10.

1990: 56), the surface material appears very similar to that at Tell Brak (Ball *et al.* 1989: figs. 18-21). At Tell Qalinq Agha chaff ware and profiles comparable to 'Amuq F have been recorded (Hijara 1973: pl. 23) while at Ninive, Uruk material, which begins to be noted already in the upper part of period 3 deposit, appears to predominate in period 4 (Gut 1995; Campbell Thompson, Mallowan 1933). At Tepe Gawra a specifically local characterization prevails. The start of the new phase in Gawra can be traced to level IX, which reveals the introduction of the fast wheel in place of the tournette and the disappearance of a major part of the wares and elements typical of the preceding phase (Tobler 1950: 154; Porada *et al.* 1992/1: 95). Also level VIIIC can be seen as pertaining to this phase: here one notes further growth of the complexity of the site, particularly evident in the rich goods of the mud-bricks tombs. To date too little is known about the pottery of these and of the succeeding levels to pass sure judgement on the apparent cultural isolation of this site. Beveled rim bowls, which have been recorded from Ninive 3 and 4, Grey Resh, Gerdi Resh II-IV and Nuzi IX-VIII, also seem to be absent at Gawra (Porada *et al.* 1992/1: 95 with references).

Lastly we must remember that sites with 'Amuq F material with or without Uruk pottery (essentially beveled rim bowls) have also been identified in the northernmost part of the Tigris basin during surveys on Turkish territory (Algaze *et al.* 1991: 195-96).

A question remains regarding the configuration of the easternmost area comprising the Iranian Azerbaijan and particularly the Urmia plain, which in the preceding phase showed cultural aspects closely correlating to those of Assyria and Keban. The scarcity of data only gives rise to the supposition that either we are faced with a persistence of cultural aspects of the earliest phase or that the area was involved in the earliest development of the trans-caucasian Kura-Aras culture at an early stage. Perhaps we would have a better basis for judgement if we knew more about the pottery from Gawra IX-VIII along with the situation in the easternmost Anatolian area, where evidence is extremely scarce²⁶. Nor have levels surely attributable to this phase been investigated in certain sites of the Keban area such as Norşuntepe and Tepecik.

In conclusion, although we can identify some regional nuclei which are interconnected in various ways, the general picture appears rather complex and diversified. While certain aspects are common to the same general pat-

²⁶ The material of some small sites in the Muş and Van region, identified during the survey conducted by C. Burney can not be ascribed specifically to this phase with any certainty (Russel 1980: 48, 50; sites nos. 239, 243, 246, 204).

tern of pottery production, there are also very distinct situations which sometimes coexist in the same geographical areas and appear to relate both to time-sequence factors and also to different needs and cultural or organizational solutions of the local populations. That very Uruk penetration, which constitutes a primary interference factor in the development of Syro-Mesopotamian societies, seems to give rise to different local responses. It seems that, initially, Uruk groups infiltrated the territory using and profiting from the local system of interregional relations based on the major settlements, but at the same time laid the base of a radical change in the system itself.

The Late Phase

During this phase, the later centuries of the IV millennium, it is no longer possible to distinguish between local and foreign components since the Uruk influence appears to have penetrated the social context, both by direct infiltration of population and by cultural assimilation. Thus the élites which held power in the major centres could comprise both local as well as foreign elements but political and symbolic connotations of a southern type developed (Frangipane 1996: 228).

The break with the preceding period is not particularly evident in certain contexts, especially those located in the southern part of the Turkish Euphrates, where, however, the transitional phase is well represented. There is, in fact, a continuity in the appearance of various shapes and in the use of Chaff ware²⁷, even if the grit-tempered wares are now most frequent and the Uruk types are becoming far more common. However, while awaiting new data and more exact dating which would enable us to establish a more detailed chronological sequence, we believe that it is advisable to assign to this phase the Kurban VIA and Hacinebi B2 assemblages, the upper levels attributed to the Uruk period at Samsat Hüyük (grid q-r/14-15), the materials from Karatut Mevkii (Schwartz 1988b, 1989:283) and from other sites known from surveys in the same area (Şadi, Tiladir, Kum Ocağı, Komeçli), in which the chaff component is rarely present (Algaze *et al.* 1991: 203). Evidence relative to this time-frame is also found at Carchemish (Woolley, Barnett 1952: 214) and a little further south at Tell al 'Abr (Hammade, Yamazaki 1993).

²⁷ The very fact of finding types manufactured either in chaff or in grit tempered ware is particularly interesting.

TAB. 1

	Late Ubaid	Late Chalc. I (Earliest Phase)	Late Chalc. II (Middle Phase)	Late Chalc. III (Late Phase)	
ARSLANTEPE		VIII	VII	VIA	
NORŞUNTEPE (J/K 12)	10	9 – 7			
TEPECIK (8-0) (A/B 14-17)		20 – 14		3	
SAKÇE GÖZÜ	IVA	IVB IVC	VA VB		
TARSUS	-30,50 -30 M.		-30 -27 M.	-27 -19 M.	
JUDAIDAH ('AMUQ)		(First Mixed Range)	(F) 22 – 21	(G) 20 – 18	
KURBAN H.			VIB	VIA	
HACINEBI H.			A – B1	B2	
T.HAMMAM ET-TURKMAN	IVC IVD	VA	VB		
T.BRAK (CH) (TW)	22 – 20	14 – 13	12 – 9 16-14 13 12	7 – 6 11-10	
NINIVE		III	IV	(M. 'Arab)	
T.GAWRA	XIII	XII – X	IX – VIIIC	VIIIB-A	
	4,500 BC	4,000 BC	3,700 BC	3,300 BC	3,000 BC

On the Anatolian plateau and in Syro-Cilicia the gradual nature of the transformation is hardly evident. Apart from Tarsus EBI, where small quantities of chaff-faced pottery are present, perhaps owing to a delay given the marginality of the area with respect to the major contact routes along the Euphrates and Tigris basins²⁸, the change from the preceding phase is radical at Arslantepe and in the 'Amuq G sites. However, also sites like Hassek Hüyük 5 (Hoh *apud* Behm Blancke 1981; *id.* 1984) and Tepecik 3 (Esin 1976, 1979, 1982) present pottery assemblages which are clearly differentiated from the typical middle phase contexts.

²⁸ From this moment on there is a parting of the ways between the area of Antakya and Cilicia, where western influences start to be seen (Mellink 1992: 214-15).

What is most important is that the general character of these sites appears to have been changed significantly by the strong impact of Uruk culture on these regions, which had previously been only indirectly involved in contacts with Mesopotamians, and now stimulated the reproduction of the centralized organizational model of the southern societies. These sites are not the same in size and probably also differed in the type and quantity of their functions, with the differences perhaps due to the degree of previous development and, therefore, to the capacity of local institutions of adopting and eventually re-adapting foreign elements. Arslantepe, which in the middle phase appeared as a large local centre, is now an important protostatal site as demonstrated by the presence of a large templar-palatial complex with evidence of intense administrative and redistributive activities (Frangipane, Palmieri 1983; Frangipane 1996: 234-53). However, although the system's structures and particularly the emphasis upon administration are clearly of southern origin, various aspects indicating an autonomous development which takes into account local tradition have been stressed (Palmieri 1983: 659; *id.* 1985: 200; Sürenhagen 1986: 26).

It is worth noting that in these contexts, the Kura-Aras Transcaucasian pottery first appears, alongside the coarse varieties of mass-produced bowls, fine and semifine grit-tempered wares and cooking-pot wares²⁹. This diffusion of Transcaucasian ware, which will grow in importance in the following centuries and now only concerns the regions of eastern Anatolia and western Syria, again enable us to recognize certain links with sites of Iranian Azerbaijan (see Voigt, Dyson 1992: 178) and sheds light on the capacity for integration of the various cultural and perhaps also ethnic components evidenced by these Anatolian centres³⁰. Also the Central Anatolian connections which have been noted in the pottery assemblages of Tepecik 3 and Arslantepe VIA can be traced to this capacity (Esin 1982: 112, pl. 73; Frangipane, Palmieri 1983: 355-361, fig. 34, 1,2,4, figs. 35, 36).

As regards the Tigris area, we may insert in this horizon the "Mohammed 'Arab Late Uruk" pottery found at Ninive and in some other sites of the Eski Mosul district, which represents a local variant of the Uruk tradi-

²⁹ The disappearance of potter's marks is a clear indication of the profound change in the organization of pottery production. The marks live on in 'Amuq G, but exclusively on varieties of cooking-pots, the production of which is evidently still run in a "traditional" manner (Trufelli 1994: 276).

³⁰ This ware is present in Hassek Hüyük 5 but not in Kurban Hüyük VIA nor in the other sites on the Euphrates south of the Taurus listed previously, as though Hassek were the southern limit of this distribution. However, it is also possible that these contexts are not strictly contemporary.

tion³¹. But at Tepe Gawa VIIIb-a once again a local aspect seems to prevail, even though, as we have said, data is insufficient for a re-examination of this apparent contrast.

In the Syrian Jezirah recent research enables certain hypotheses and considerations to be made. It appears as though, in line with the abandonment of the colonial settlements on the Middle Euphrates, the Uruk influence begins to dominate and settlements become more numerous, concentrating not only in areas which had already been consistently occupied, but also in previously mainly unsettled areas. I refer here particularly to the material brought to light in the excavations of El-Kowm 2-Caracol (Cauvin, Stordeur 1985) and to data of the survey in the area of *wadi* 'Ağig (Bernbeck 1994), particularly arid areas in which small settlements have been found of an apparently seasonal nature. These are comparable to the sites of Umm Qseir and Jerablus Tahtani, respectively in the Khabur and Euphrates basins, which were probably encampments used for barter or exchange (Hole, Johnson 1986-87) or for specific exploitation (see the remains of bitumen extraction and processing at Jerablus Tahtani: Peltenburg 1995).

We can surmise, therefore, that the colonial functions were now performed by those settlements which earlier had been the local Late Chalcolithic centres and had now been "Urukized", and that control over the territory and its resources was enforced by means of small settlements, often of a semipermanent character, in direct contact with populations of sparse semi-nomadic and pastoral groups.

The expansionary push of these southern alluvial societies (in which we also include that of Susiana) now develops into a capillary spreading process and fully embraces also the Zagros area, particularly Central Western Iran.

The Uruk expansion in the northern regions ends around 3000 BC and a new phase of regionalization follows after the breakdown of the network of wide ranging relations and the collapse of the early state centres of Eastern Anatolia. This is also where our discussion ends.

*Franca Trufelli
Via Flaminia, 443/a
I - 00196 Roma*

³¹ See Gut 1995, in particular tab. 28 and pages 266-67 with references.

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