

The Transition Between Two Opposing Forms of Power at Arslantepe (Malatya) at the Beginning of the 3rd Millenium

*M.Ö. 3.Bin Yıl Başlarında
Arslantepe'de (Malatya)
Ortaya Çıkan İki Karşıt
Erkin Yer Değiştirmesi*

***Marcella FRANGIPANE**

Keywords: Late Chalcolithic, Early Bronze Age, Eastern Anatolia, Early power systems, Royal tomb
Anahtar sözcükler: Son Kalkolitik, İlk Tunç Çağı, Doğu Anadolu, İlk toplumsal güç sistemleri, Kral mezarı

Son yıllarda Arslantepe'de, M.Ö. 4.Binyılın ilk yarısına, VII. Evreye tarihlenen, toplu kullanıma açık alanda yer alan tören amaçlı büyük bir yapının- içindeki yüzlerce seri olarak üretilmiş kaselerden ve birçok kil mühürden de anlaşıldığı gibi- malların paylaşılması ve mallar üzerinde idari kontrol için kullanıldığı belirlenmiştir. Doğu Toros silsilesinin kuzeyindeki Arslantepe, Son Uruk VIA Evresinden de tanıdığımız Mezopotamya modelinde olduğu gibi, üretimi denetleyen yerel merkezi bir örgütlenmeden geliştiğini iyi bir şekilde belgelemiştir. Gene son yıllarda yapılan Arslantepe kazıları, 3.Binyıl başlarında, bölgede, kısmen sistemin kendi içinde gelişen bir karmaşa, kısmen de Kuzeydoğu'dan gelen bir göçün neden olduğu kültür değişimini gösteren kanıtları ortaya çıkartmıştır. Bu değişimin en belirgin kanıtı, yerleşmenin terk edilmiş olan toplu kullanıma açık alanı kaplayan, yerel yapı geleneğine tümü ile aykırı olan, çamur sıvalı dal örgü kulübelere ile, Kura-Aras geleneğindeki el yapımı çift renkli, siyah-kırmızı (Karaz) çanak çömleğinin varlığıdır. M.Ö. 3. Binin ilk başlarına tarihlenen, geniş, yuvarlağımsı bir çukurun dibindeki görkemli taş-sanduka mezara, başta çeşitli silah ve madeni nesneler olmak üzere çok zengin ölü armağanları ve sandukanın üzerine bırakılmış, olasılıkla kurban edilmiş, dört erişkin ile birlikte gömülmüş bir yöneticinin mezarı da, bu görüşümüzü destekler niteliktedir. Bu mezara gömülmüş olan soylunun, devletleşme sürecindeki ekonomik gücü elinde tutan rahip-yönetici türü yerine, farklı bir toplumsal düzeni, olasılıkla çoban/göçmen bir toplumun silaha dayalı gücünü yansıttığı düşünülebilir. Yerel kültüre ek olarak yeni gelen bu ögenin, zaman içinde yerel toplumla özdeşleşerek, yeni siyasi ve ekonomik bir düzeni oluşturduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Bu yeni oluşumu, İlk Tunç Çağı'nın son dönemine tarihlenen höyüğün orta kesiminde, akropol ya da tahkim edilmiş iç kale olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz taş temelli yüksek kerpiç duvar ile çevrili, Uruk geleneğini yansıtan çark işi ince yapım ve saklı astar bezekli çanak çömleğin kullanıldığı kerpiç duvarlı yapıları olan yerleşim temsil etmektedir. Bu açıdan Malatya havzasını Anadolu ve Mezopotamya gelenekli, farklı kültür bölgelerinin arasında kalan, zaman zaman karşıt zaman zaman da bunların bütünleşmesi ile gerçekleşen farklı bir oluşum bölgesi olarak tanımlayabiliriz.

Excavations conducted at Arslantepe over the last twenty years have exposed a large public area from the end of the 4th millennium, with monumental buildings in which a variety of centralised activities (ceremonial/religious, economic, administrative and probably political) were performed. These buildings, all destroyed by violent fires, still contained a wealth of *in situ* materials that have provided significant information on the way this "early state" system operated, and on the historical roots of the phenomenon and the role of the site in the network of interregional relations linking all the regions of Greater Mesopotamia in Late Uruk times.

Arslantepe was the main centre in this period in the region north of the Anti-Taurus mountains and the originality of its public architecture, pictorial representations, pottery manufacture, and glyptics makes it one of the clearest examples of the autonomous development of centralised societies in the north, even though this occurred in the general framework of intensive relations between the northern and southern communities.

In recent years, Arslantepe has also revealed the best documentation available on the transition, at the beginning of the third millennium, to a completely new type of culture which was no longer linked to the Mesopotamian world or to the same earlier traditions of the Malatya region. This radical change was probably the effect of both a crisis within the old system and the appearance on the scene of a new component of north-eastern origin, which subsequently integrated with the local culture, giving rise to a new political and economic scenario as well as a new system of regional relations. The Malatya area thus appears to be a cultural borderland, which became the theatre of mutual rapprochement and the collision between two completely different cultural environments and types of society, which founded the distinct trajectories of the Mesopotamian and Anatolian civilisations.

The local roots of a Mesopotamian-type centralised society

The growth of local élites at Arslantepe has been documented by the discovery of monumental buildings belonging to the local Late Chalcolithic culture of period VII along the western edge of the höyük, where the highest part of the 4th millennium mound was located. The excavations have revealed two main élite areas with different functions, which appear to have maintained their use in the subsequent period VI A (Late Uruk). In the northern part of the excavated area, some years ago we brought to light a building – not yet completely exposed –, which had no traces of any administrative or cult activities but which was without doubt an élite structure (Fig.1) (Frangipane 1993) if we compare it to the contemporary small houses excavated at the base of the north-eastern edge of the mound (Palmieri 1978). This area may possibly have been used for élite residences, as is suggested by the presence in the same place of imposing structures without any recognisable remains of public activities in the subsequent Late Uruk period (VI A) (Fig.2).

The probable continuity in the planning of areas to be used for élite requirements is, however, better shown by the recent finding of imposing public architecture from period VII in the south-western area of the mound, which is well-known for the presence there of the huge complex of public buildings from period VI A (Fig.3). Here, at the western edge of the present mound, there stood a huge ceremonial building based on the typical Arslantepe bipartite plan (Building XXIX) on a stone and muck-brick platform, predating the construction of the VI A palatial complex (Figs.3 and 4),

The materials found *in situ* on the floor of this building, in addition to a few fragments of chaff-faced red slipped ware, almost exclusively consisted of hundreds of mass-produced bowls typical of a late phase

of period VII: flint-scraped and string-cut examples have both been found, together with items showing a mixed technique (traces of scraping applied at the bottom of wheel-made bowls showing the string-cut marks) (Fig. 5). These bowls were haphazardly scattered in large numbers over the floor of the main room (A 900), south, and around a large mud rectangular platform, table or altar, with a fireplace, located in the middle of the room (Fig. 6). The bowls, on the other hand, were piled in an orderly manner in rows in the smaller side-room (A 932) as if in readiness for use (Fig. 7). In this room numerous clay-sealings were also found, concentrated in the southern zone, some of them on the floor together with the bowls, and others in a superimposed dump, which also contained other bowls, as if they had been re-disposed or had fallen down from somewhere else (perhaps from the roof). These sealings show the impressions of stamps seals alone, some with geometric or plant elements, others with animals, whose style and iconography closely resemble the glyptics of the subsequent period VIA (Fig. 8). The impressions on the back sides of these sealings also indicate they had been used in the same way as in the VI A palatial complex (Ferioli, Fiandra 1983) and had closed the same types of containers, except for the door closings that are absent in this earlier context.

For the first time at Arslantepe we therefore have documentation of a huge public building from the first half of the 4th millennium, in which the main activity performed was redistribution, probably in a ritualised or ceremonial form, and in which administrative control was exercised over goods. This structure, which is the largest so far known in the whole of the region, has almost the same layout as the subsequent period VI A "temples", and is even larger and more impressive than any one of them taken individually (see Fig. 3).

There is also a very close similarity in the use of wall paintings in both contexts. The motifs are different and appear to be

less complex in Building XXIX, where an elongated object, probably a kind of vase, with linear elements springing from the mouth and surrounded by a sort of frame, was depicted in the north-eastern corner of the large room A 900, close to a niche (Fig. 9 a). The style, colours and painting technique, as well as the custom of re-painting the same surface several times are, however, very similar to period VI A paintings. It is worth noting that the colour used in the final painted layer in Building XXIX, which is only preserved in a small fragment to the left of the vase motif (Fig. 9 a), seems to be the same as the one used for the earliest picture represented in the store-room of the VI A palace (A 364) (Fig. 9 b).

Building XXIX belongs to a period marked by a local culture without any sign of Uruk influence. Both the formal/stylistic and the structural/organisational features which were later to characterise the period VI A society therefore seem to have been present at Arslantepe as early as the middle of the 4th millennium, before the so-called Uruk expansion towards the northern regions reached the areas north of the Taurus mountains.

The structure of the centralised organisation of society recognisable at Arslantepe at the end of the 4th millennium, and which we had previously attributed to southern influence over the local socio-economic system, is therefore "Mesopotamian" in nature, not because it denotes the adoption of an external model from the South, but rather as the result of having shared a similar development and traditional very close relations with all the communities which had occupied the territories along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, at least since the Ubaid period. In all these communities, although with varying degrees of centralisation of the economy and solidity of political power, central authority was exercised through the control of labour (bowls for distributing food to the workers) and certain crucial resources, using administrative methods and delegating power to a number of offi-

cial (the thousands of sealings found in the VI A palatial complex). The legitimisation of this power was strongly ideological (monumentality, paintings and symbolic representations) and based on the religious prerogatives of the chief (temples). All these features are clearly documented in the public buildings of Arslantepe, where even the architecture reveals both the multiplicity of the economic, administrative, and ceremonial activities and at the same their unity (store-rooms, clay-sealing discarding areas, temples, corridors and courtyard in one single architectural complex).

The crisis of the old power system and the development of new hierarchies

At the very end of the 4th millennium, the impressive apparatus based on the economic centralisation of labour and goods disappeared at Arslantepe. The monumental buildings were destroyed never to be reconstructed, and new groups of people, probably nomadic pastoralists of Transcaucasian origin, settled in the abandoned, previously public area. The foreign nature of the new settlers is evidenced from their wattle and daub structures, which are completely alien to the local architectural tradition, and their hand-made red-black pottery which closely resembles typical Kura-Araxes wares (Frangipane, Palmieri 1983b; Frangipane 1998 b). This settlement lasted a short time, even though it shows at least two phases of hut rebuilding. The area was subsequently occupied by a village with mud-brick houses and a resumption of wheel-made plain simple and reserved slip pottery, representing a later development, in the Upper Euphrates region, of the Late Uruk tradition. This EBI sequence, which covers the first two centuries of the 3rd millennium (Di Nocera 2000), has not been found anywhere else in the region and appears to be peculiar to Arslantepe, where the newly abandoned public area was a vacant place on which the nomads could build their huts. It reveals the presence of Transcaucasian pastoralists in the Malatya

plain, where they interacted with the local population, at the very beginning of the 3rd millennium, and supports the hypothesis that such contacts may already have occurred in the Late Uruk period at the end of the 4th millennium. This is suggested, for example, by the appearance of a red-black burnished ware in the repertoire of period VI A pottery, which though limited in this period to only a few forms of luxury vessels, exhibits technical and aesthetic characteristics that clearly resemble the subsequent Transcaucasian-like production (Fig. 10).

Another indicator may be the radical change observable in the animal-breeding pattern in period VI A, when an enormous increase in sheep and goat, and a corresponding decline in cattle and pig, may have been related both to the possible intervention of centralised institutions in the management of this activity and to the inclusion of nomadic pastoralists moving around the region into the economy of the state. This sheep-based pattern in fact also characterised the subsequent period VI B (Frangipane, Siracusano 1998), when the centralised organisation seems to have collapsed, and the Transcaucasian component was even more evident in the Upper Euphrates valley. The relations which the nomadic groups probably established with the sedentary population in the valley during the Late Uruk period may also have involved the rural communities, and, when state mediation failed, in EBI, the pastoralists may have directly interacted with the local agriculturalists.

These mountain people continued to arrive in the area from the north-east during the first centuries of the 3rd millennium in successive waves, which are archaeologically clearly recognisable in both the Malatya and the Elazığ regions. The wattle and daub huts found at Taşkun Mevkii in EBI (Sagona 1994) and at Norşuntepe in EB II (Hauptmann 1982), seem to reflect varying modes of interaction with the local sedentary population, including the settlement of small groups in the villages side by

side with the agriculturalists' houses (this seems to be the case at Taşkun Mevkii). Architectural comparisons mainly link these groups to Georgian cultures, where the same type of wattle and daub houses have been found (Kushnareva, Chubinishvili 1970; Sagona 1993); but the appearance of a few round structures both at Arslantepe and Norşuntepe recalls the preference for round architecture manifested in the Early Bronze Age in Armenia and Azerbaijan (Shengavit, Kjultepe, Yanik Tepe) (Kurshnareva, Chubirnishvili 1970; Burney, Lang 1971). Ceramic parallels also point to both the northern and southern Transcaucasus. An interesting example of a necked jar in black burnished ware with a double row of incised triangles on the shoulder from Shengavit, which resembles Late Uruk shapes (Burney, Lang 1971, Fig. 36), confirms the relations that may have existed between the Transcaucasus and the Mesopotamian world, or more probably its northern part, in Late Uruk times.

This interaction, which may basically have involved groups of herders moving with their flocks, probably also brought more organised groups with some sort of hierarchical structure into contact with the Upper Euphrates populations. The existence of a degree of complexity in the organisation of the Kura-Araxes communities can be inferred on the one hand from the later growth, mainly in Armenia, of real towns, sometimes surrounded by walls, and on the other hand from the development of metallurgy which was practised by the Transcaucasian communities with considerable skill and technological know-how, producing a variety of valuable objects. The development of this handicraft was certainly due to the abundance in the area of metal ores, but it may also have required an internal organisation and an increasing demand for luxury objects and weapons. This demand might also have come from the Upper Euphrates élites, as evidenced by the similarities in the metallurgical production of both regions. Metals, however, probably also circulated within the Transcaucasian

populations themselves, as is shown by their rich production in the Early Bronze Age, also after the Late Uruk élites in the Upper Euphrate valley had collapsed. On the other hand, the hypothesised growth of hierarchies in the Transcaucasian communities may have been indirectly supported as a result of their relations with the early centralised societies of the Euphrates.

We do not know if these relations contributed to the collapse of the latter; but it is clear that after the fall of the Late Uruk centre at Arslantepe and a period of readjustment in the EBI, during which the local and foreign components visibly interacted, the communities of the Malatya and Elazığ regions underwent a radical and definitive transformation which changed the course of their history, and resulted in their sharing various traits with the Transcaucasian societies. In EB II the intensive relations with the South were in fact interrupted forever, and we observe a process in which the previously homogeneous cultural regions split into relatively independent small areas settled by communities with little political structure, probably in connection with the establishment of pastoral-oriented economy. The Gelincik culture of the Malatya area shows remarkable peculiarities with respect to the Aşvan and Altınova groups, each being well identified, among others, by their distinctive painted pottery (Marro 1997). At the same time the settlements appear to be very small: at Arslantepe, the settled area was only limited to the top of the mound in period VI C, where a large quadrangular house has been found, surrounded, along the slope of the hill, by a large number of pits; on the other hand Gelinciktepe, located at the base of hilly rocks in front of the mound, appears as a temporary, probably seasonal, station with a few houses built using various building techniques and floor-plans (Palmieri 1967).

Although the new "urban" settlements which arose in the Early Bronze III were not very large, they expanded their area more widely than in the previous period and

show a better town-planning (Hauptmann 1976; Esin 1982; Conti, Persiani 1993), sometimes with traces of town walls (Palmieri 1986, Fig.1). These settlements are evidence of the formation of new political entities in the second half of the 3rd millennium, based on "urbanism" but without any form of centralisation of economic activities. Central storage, represented by concentration of large containers without any traces of administration, such as in the Norşuntepe "palace" (Hauptmann 1976), seems to have had a function as a food supply for the élites, and possibly for the population in difficult periods, rather than being a surplus for reinvestment in élite activities. This system, which is definitely Anatolian in nature and also seems to have distinguished the southern Kura-Araxes regions (Sagona 1984, Fig. 133), is clear evidence of the political authority of the chiefs, but not of their economic function in the productive structure of the society.

This far reaching change suggests a possible solid organisation of the Transcaucasian communities which reached the Euphrates valley. For they were not absorbed into the urban centralised system with which they came into contact, as frequently happens in relations between nomads and sedentary people, but were able to exploit the crisis of the Late Uruk societies (or they may even have contributed to it) to the point that they eventually prevailed over them, markedly influencing the later developments in the region.

A "royal" tomb of 3000 B.C: a political/warrior versus economic/religious authority?

New fundamental data shading light on the questions raised above has come from the finding, in the recent 1996 campaign at Arslantepe, of an extraordinary tomb dating from the very beginning of the 3rd millennium, which, due to its substantial construction and richness in metal objects (75 objects have been found, made of copper,

copper-arsenic, copper-silver, silver and gold), may be considered the earliest example known so far of a kind of "royal tomb" (Frangipane 1998). Even if the man buried it was not a king, he was certainly a chief.

The prestigious status of the person buried in this tomb was also emphasised by the ritual which had accompanied his burial with four people who were almost certainly sacrificed on the stone slabs covering his funeral chamber. The tomb itself was built of large stone slabs to form a cist placed at the bottom of a wide pseudo-circular pit 5 m in diameter (Fig. 11). We cannot say the original depth of the pit because the upper part had been removed by other pits and cuts made in Early Bronze II and III. The remains of four adolescents aged between 13 and 16-17 (Michael and Tyede Schultz: personal communication) were found lying on top of the cist in positions that suggest that they had probably been buried alive or thrown into the pit rather than actually laid out (Figs. 12 and 13). Two of them were females, without ornaments, buried at the western edge of the upper part of the cist, in the area corresponding to the feet zone of the underlying deceased chief. Two others, probably a male and a female, had been placed directly on the cover of the tomb (composed of two enormous stone slabs) facing each other. Each of them were wearing two silver hair spirals, two copper pins on their shoulders (Fig. 15), and a copper-silver alloy diadem with embossed dot decoration on their heads (Fig. 14), put on a veil or fine cloth, remains of which have also been found, which suggest that they were of a higher social status.

Inside the stone cist a fairly tall adult male (Michael and Tyede Schultz: personal communication) had been laid on his right side in a flexed position (Fig.16), with a large number of vessels mostly at his feet, and 7 spear-heads driven into the floor along the walls of the tomb around his head. One of these spear-heads was decorated with silver inlay on the butt, close to

the blade base, reproducing an identical triangular motif to the one found on three of the swords found in the previous VI A building (Fig. 17) (Frangipane, Palmieri 1983 a, Fig. 58-59, 62:1). There was a total of 65 metal objects deposited in the cist, most of them piled up as a kind of treasure behind the back of the deceased. They included not only weapons and arsenical copper vessels (Fig. 18) and silver and gold bracelets and ornamental spirals (Fig. 19), but also axes and working tools that were probably intended to represent wealth as such, if we consider that metal was still rare and valuable in this early period. The "lord" also had a copper-silver diadem with embossed decoration, very similar to the ones worn by the two individuals died on the tomb; he was not however wearing it on his head, as it had been folded and placed on the pile of objects behind his back, which, taken together, constituted the symbol of the attributes of power and wealth of the chief. The only ornaments worn by the deceased were two silver pins with four spirals (Fig. 20) and rock crystal, carnelian, silver and gold necklaces. In terms of the typologies and manufacturing techniques, these objects are strikingly similar to the metal objects belonging to period VI A. Identical spearheads, the identical composition of copper and arsenic, antimony and nickel (Hauptmann, Palmieri 1998; Palmieri, Di Nocera 2000), identical silver inlay decoration, the presence of gold and the abundant use of silver. The types of metal objects, including both the spear-heads and the pins with double or quadruple spirals and the diadems are also very similar indeed to Transcaucasian metallurgy, particularly in Georgia (Kurshnareva, Chubinishvili 1970, Figs. 42-43). It is therefore possible that the whole area of eastern Anatolia and Transcaucasia had important connections concerning metallurgical activities from as early as the end of the 4th millennium, and that metal objects have circulated more broadly in elite circles linking the hierarchies of the early urban world on the Euphrates to those of a different origin from the mountain communities of the

Transcaucasus. It is not unlikely that Mesopotamian societies proper also entered these circuits, which would have increased the demand and hence encouraged and extended production. It is also interesting to note that in the tomb there were Mesopotamian style wheel-made jars, sometimes with reserved slip decoration, together with hand-made red-black pottery which was clearly of Transcaucasian origin (Fig. 21). This association in the same context, the clearest example so far discovered, would confirm the hypothesis that there was strong interaction, at least at the level of the élites, between the two cultural environments, which raises new issues relating to the problem of relations between the people of Arslantepe and the nomadic pastoralists from the southern regions of the Caucasus at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd millennium. The hierarchies, which we can now assume to have existed even in the Transcaucasian communities, may have begun initially by co-operating with the Lake Uruk societies (or central authorities) and then probably started to compete and eventually replace the existing power structures, when, at the beginning of the 3rd millennium, these had gone into crisis, probably accelerating the explosion of the contradictions in the early state system.

Evidence at Arslantepe of a new settlement type and political system

The "lord" buried in the tomb at Arslantepe perhaps represented a different type of warrior power from that of the religious-administrative élites in the early state phase: the symbols of this power in fact appear to be weapons and metals, at least as far as their expression in funerary ideology is concerned. These two items had indeed also been significant features of the previous palatial hierarchies, but the formal and structural basic characteristics of the latter were economic dominance exercised through a sophisticated administrative system and religious/ceremonial legitimacy

recognisable in the architectural and artistic/symbolic representations of power. All these features unquestionably disappear at Arslantepe at the beginning of the 3rd millennium B.C.

But what happened to the 4th millennium élites? And were the new leaders who had been so little visible in the organisation of society recognisable in the 3rd millennium villages foreign sovereigns linked to a warrior pastoralist world of eastern Anatolian origin, or were they partly the successors of the local élites? Whatever the answers, a radical change took place. Between 3000 and 2800 B.C the situation was very fluid, and while the centralised-redistribution Mesopotamian-type structure disappeared, and the Late Uruk traditions on the contrary survived in pottery manufacture, new models of social organisation and the exercise of power were spreading.

During the last excavation campaign the unexpected discovery on the top of the tell of an enormous mud brick wall on a stone base about 6 m wide, standing on top of the monumental buildings from the 4th millennium and dating back to Early Bronze I (period VI B2) (Fig.22), suggests that at the beginning of the third millennium and therefore contemporarily to or immediately after the construction of the "royal" tomb, a sort of *acropolis* or fortified citadel was established there, with the village from period VI B2, which has already been widely excavated, lying around and below it (Fig.23). Too little of the wall, which has enormous dimensions, has been unearthed so far to be able to know where it leads. But the presence of a kind of burned-out room along its northern edge with the southern side hewn into the wall and the other three sides striking out towards the north, suggests, that the fortified area must have extended towards the north and therefore coincided with the top of the tell.

Even though we do not know anything about the features of what we are assuming to be a "citadel", and which we hope to be

able to identify in the forthcoming excavation campaigns, we can already say that, after the collapse of the Late Uruk system, Arslantepe did not regress and there was no power vacuum, as we might have been led to believe until only a few years ago. A new kind of political organisation emerged that was completely different from the previous Mesopotamian type. On the basis of data which are discovered so far, we have grounds for suggesting that this new society perhaps emerged as a result of the merging of the Transcaucasian world with the cultures of the Anatolian Euphrates, completely overturning their internal and external relations. For, from this time onwards, the external relations of the community at Arslantepe radically and irreversibly changed direction moving unmistakably towards the Anatolian world.

Arslantepe is therefore a place where two different forms of power which characterised antithetic development trajectories in the history of the ancient world, met and collided at a very early date. These two differently-based types of power had their roots in different economic relations in the societies they controlled as well as in the varying degree of economic interpenetration of the élites and the rest of population. In the case of a Mesopotamian-like system, power was based on the direct participation of the central institutions in a large number of economic activities, including both staple and luxury productions. Such a dominant economic role usually required strong ideological legitimation, which found its most effective answer in the religious function of the élites. Hierarchies that arise among the pastoralists, or other populations for which the settlement of conflicts with other groups is a crucial matter, usually have very little involvement in the base economy of their communities, and their role is mainly that of protecting their groups, settling conflicts to guarantee security and free movement throughout vast territories (which are needed by the pastoralists) and organising wars and raids whenever necessary. This kind of power, which

is also often formally expressed through warrior characteristics, is linked to the peculiar needs of pastoral economies, where the means of production are mobile (the flocks) and the territories need to be vast and flexible. The legitimation of power is implicit in its social function and it therefore does not usually need any strongly marked religious connotation.

The discovery of the so-called "royal" tomb at Arslantepe may refer to such a type of political power and at any rate marks an irreversible change in the history of the site. It makes the Upper Euphrates region the place where the two systems of political power interacted at a formative stage, underlining its role as a cultural borderland between two worlds.

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Fig.1: Arslantepe. General view, from the east of the column building from period VII.



Fig.2a: Arslantepe. View from the west of the period VIA complex of "private" monumental buildings.

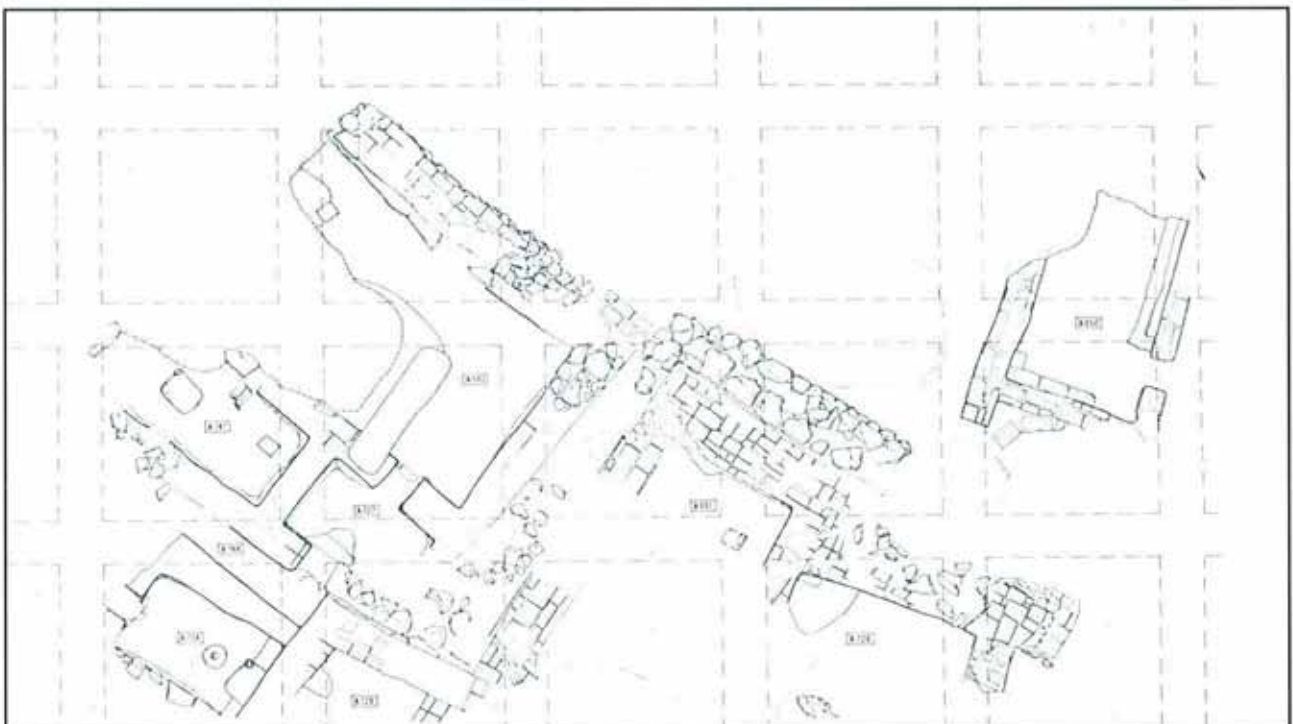


Fig.2b: Plan of the VIA complex of "private" buildings. The grid is made of 4 m. squares.

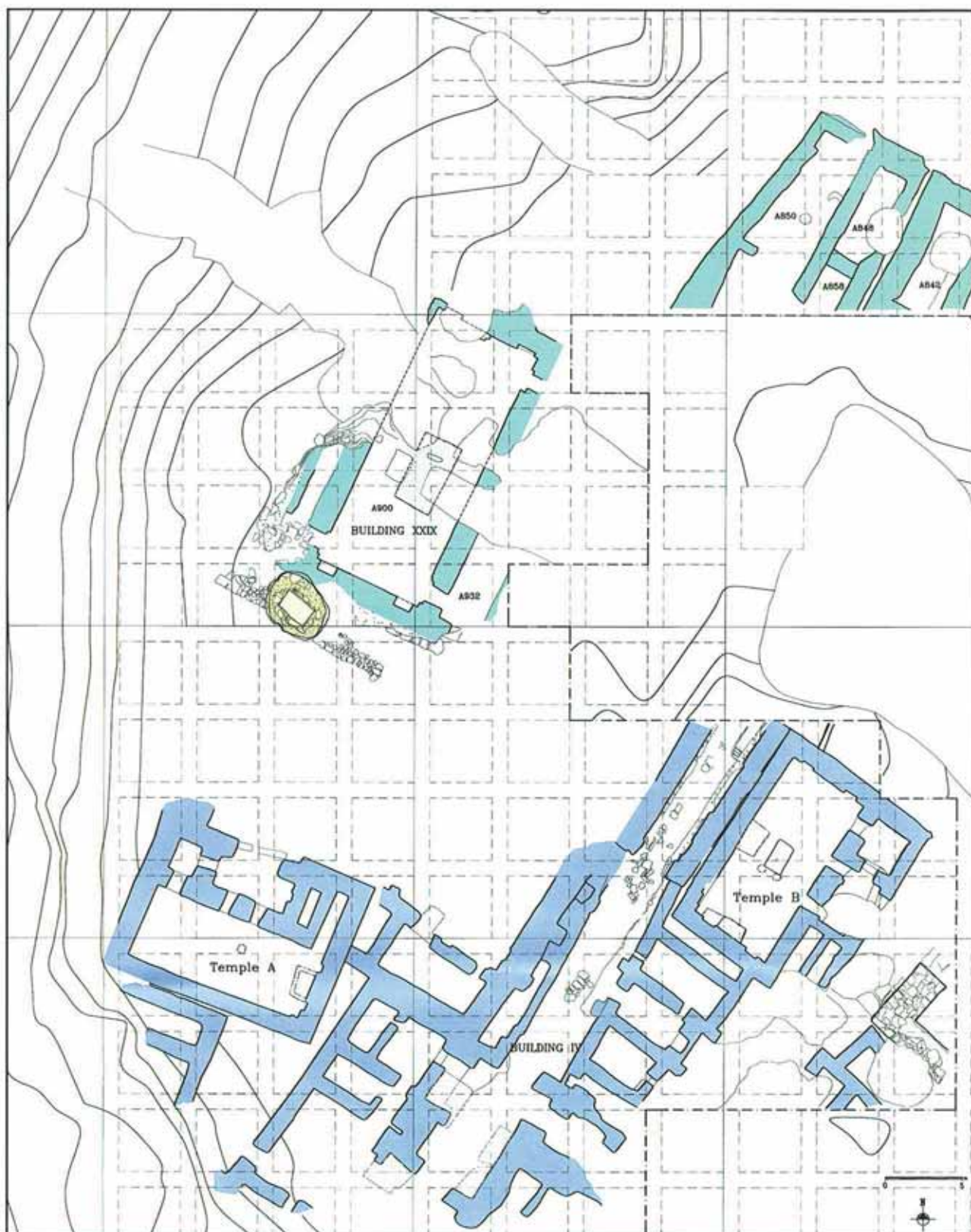


Fig.3: Arslantepe. General plan of 4th millenium monumental public buildings. In blue: the VIA "palatial" complex with the two temples, A and B. In light green: the ceremonial building (XXIX) and a group of long rooms from late period VII. The yellow oval structure is the VIB "royal" tomb cut into the Late Chalcolithic building.



Fig.4: Arslantepe. View from the south of the late period VII ceremonial building (Build.XXIX). In the foreground the intrusive "royal" tomb from period VIB.



Fig.5: Arslantepe. Mass-produced bowls from Building XXIX, late period VII.



Fig.6: Arslantepe. Bowls *in situ* in the large room (A 900) of Building XXIX.



Fig.7: Arslantepe. Bowls *in situ* in the side room (A 932) in Building XXIX.



Fig.8: Arslantepe. Clay sealings from A 932 (Building XXIX).



Fig.9a: Arslantepe. Wall painting in the north-eastern corner of room A 900 (late periodVII).



Fig.9b: Superimposed painting layers in room A 364 from the palatial building (period VIA).



Fig.10: Arslantepe. Red-black pottery from period VIA.



Fig.11: Arslantepe. The empty structure of the "royal" tomb (T 1) from period VIB.



Fig 12: Arslantepe. The four skeletons on the stone slabs covering the cist grave (T 1).

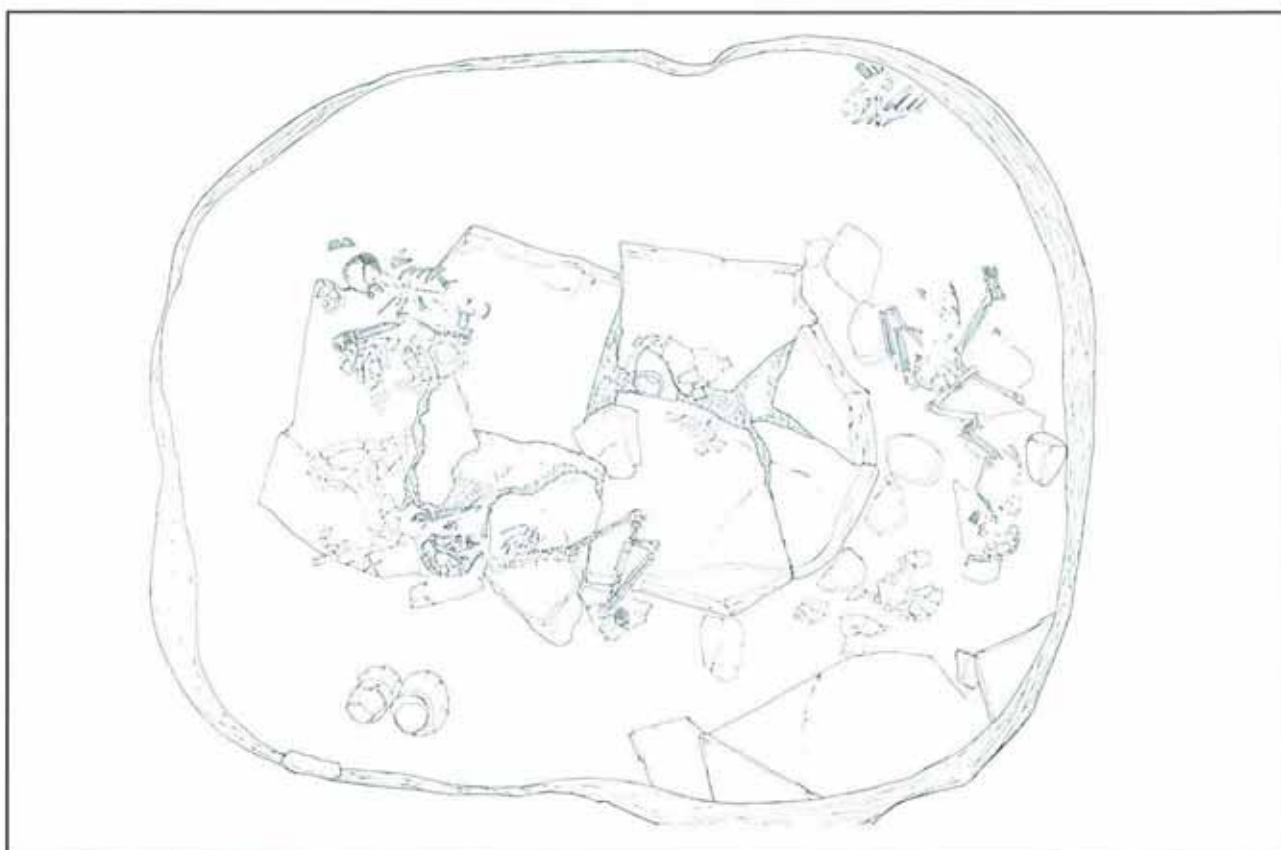


Fig. 13: Arslantepe. Plan of the upper part of the "royal" tomb T 1 with the four skeletons *in situ*.



Fig.14: Arslantepe. Diadem in copper-silver alloy from the "royal" tomb T 1.



Fig.15: Arslantepe. T 1: Copper and copper-silver personal ornaments of one of the persons laying on the cist stone cover.



Fig.16a: Arslantepe. T 1: The interior of the cist.



Fig 20: Arslantepe. T 1: Silver quadruple spiral pins found near the shoulder of the main personage inside the cist.



Fig. 21: Arslantepe. Wheel-made reserved slip jars and hand- made red-black vessels from the royal tomb T 1.

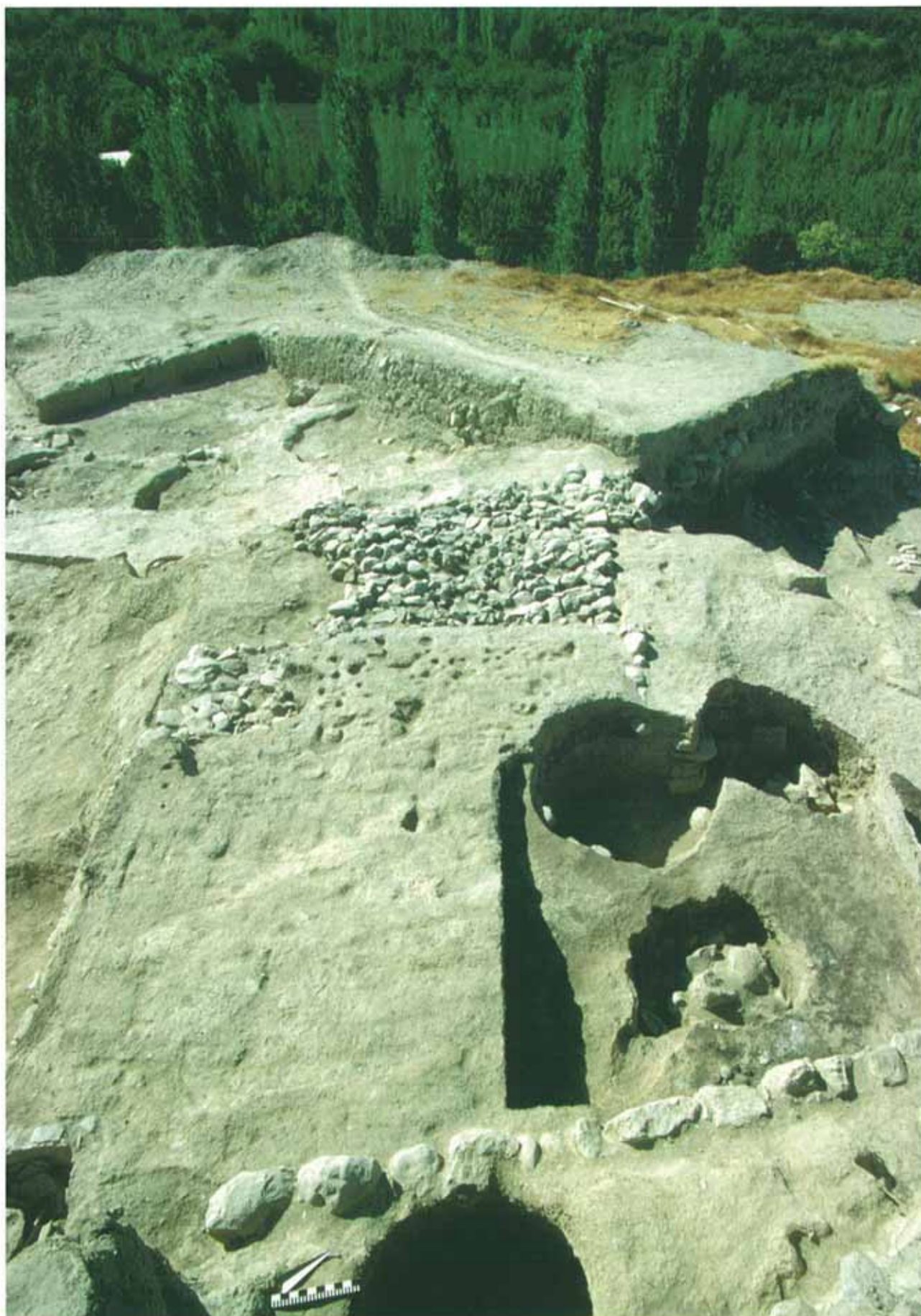


Fig.22: Arslantepe. The huge wall from period VI B2 (Early Bronze I) found on the top of the mound.

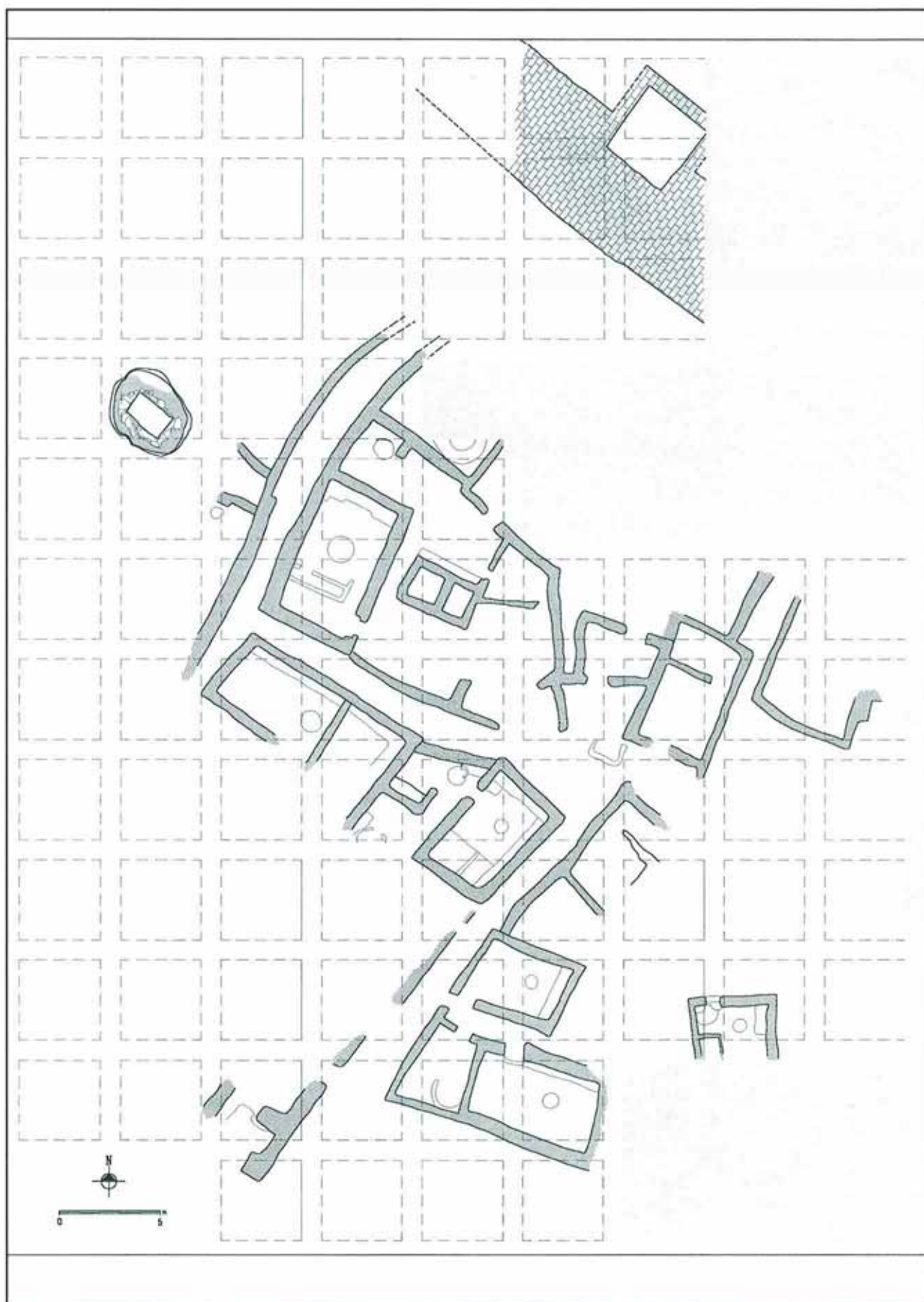


Fig.23: Arslantepe. Schematic plan of the village and large wall from period VI B2. On the western side is indicated the position of the royal tomb T 1, which probably preceded the VI B2 settlement.