

PROGRESS TOWARDS FIRST CITIES IN EASTERN AND SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA (2600-1900 BC): THE LOCAL DYNAMICS OF URBANISTIC DEVELOPMENT

DOĞU VE GÜNEYDOĞU ANADOLU
BÖLGELERİNDE İLK KENTLERE
DOĞRU (M.Ö. 2600-1900): KENTSEL
GELİŞMENİN YEREL DİNAMİKLERİ

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Yakın zamanlara kadar Doğu ve Güneydoğu Anadolu Bölgelerinde kentsel gelişimin Güney Mezopotamya kültürlerinin etkisiyle geliştiği ve başta bakır olmak üzere çeşitli madenler açısından zengin olan bu bölgelerin, tarımsal artı ürün açısından zengin ancak her türlü hammadde yönünden fakir bir bölge olan Güney Mezopotamya toplumlarının taşrası olduğu düşünülmekteydi. Ancak son yıllardaki arkeolojik kazılar her iki bölgenin de kentleşme sürecinin erken evrelerinden itibaren, Mezopotamya kültürü etkilerinin yanı sıra karmaşık toplumsal örgütlenmeleri gelişmiş yerel kültürlerin oluşturduğu kendine özgü, özgün bir kimliğinin olduğunu göstermektedir. Bu yazıda, her iki bölgenin de kentleşme sürecinin gerçek anlamda ilk kentlerin ortaya çıktığı Erken Kent Dönemi'nde (M.Ö. 2600-1900), kentleşmenin bölgelerin kendi kültürel çevrelerini oluşturan toplumsal, nüfus ve coğrafi yapıları ile tarihsel geçmişleri gibi iç dinamiklerinden kaynaklanan yerel bir süreç olduğu ve yakın bölgelerdeki çağdaş kültürlerden etkilenmekle birlikte yerel kültüre ve Anadolu'nun kentleşme geleneğine dayanan bir yerleşme düzeni ve farklı bir siyasi örgütlenme modeline sahip olduğu gösterilmeye çalışılacaktır

INTRODUCTION

The early phases of the urbanisation process of eastern and southeastern Anatolia consist of two phases as the Proto-Urban Period (5500-2600 BC) and the Early Urban Period (2600-1900 BC). The Early Urban Period is the time when first

real cities emerged. Within this period the settlements that can actually be characterised as urban or town begin to appear in both regions. This period comprises of EBA III (2400-2000 BC) for eastern Anatolia and EBA II-III (2600-1900

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BC) for southeastern Anatolia.

Starting from the Proto-Urban Period, that is the formative time on the road towards urbanism, characteristics formed by local societies unique to urban societies, also called complex societies, begin to appear in both 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 and called as Local Late Chalcolithic Period or Pre-Contac Period in the northern Mesopotamia and Anatolia, there are local societies without any sign of Mesopotamian influence and representing only local developments in these regions. These indigenous polities have a significant level of political and economical complexity from this time. They exhibit some key characteristics peculiar to complex societies among these two-level site-size hierarchies, a complex economy that consists of technological development and a high-degree of craft specialisation-most particularly in metallurgy-based on trade (Norşuntepe, Arslantepe VII, Korucutepe, Fatmalı-Kalecik, Hacinebi A-BI), monumental structures in administrative quality with stamped and sealed system based on stamp seal (Norşuntepe, Arslantepe VII, Hacinebi A-BI), the economic centralisation and redistribution system (Arslantepe VII), class stratification reflecting to the architecture (Norşuntepe, Arslantepe VII), mortuary evidence for hereditary elites (Korucutepe, Hacinebi A-BI) and mass-produced bowls for food distribution for unpaid workers (Arslantepe VII) and long-distance exchange (Norşuntepe, Hacinebi A-BI) (H. Hauptmann 1997, 2003; J. Yakar 1984, 1985, 1997, 2002; M. Frangipane 1993, 2001a, 2002, 2002a, 2003; M.N. Van Loon 1978; U. Esin 1997; K. Hess et al. 1998; G.J. Stein 1999, 2002; S. Harmankaya et al. 1998; A. Lupton 1996) (fig. 1).

The fourth phase of the Proto-Urban Period-the third phase of which is the Late Uruk Period or Contact Period-is EBI dated to the beginning of the third millennium BC. With this period, the urbanistic development formed by the local

societies continue to develop and the Anatolian settlement pattern with roots reaching back into Late Chalcolithic Period begins to emerge in both regions. This model consists of small settlements some of them with fortified, within one-or-two room rectangular mudbrick houses opening onto narrow streets reflecting to its own social structure based on the nucleus family (M. Frangipane 1996). It lacks of any evidence of public building and centralisation as the indicator of different political order. This new settlement pattern is reflected in Norşuntepe level 30, Tepecik, Arslantepe VIB2 and VIC, Zeytinli Bahçe, Lidar, Hassek and Horum (H. Hauptmann 1979, 2003; J. Yakar 1985; U. Esin 1997; M. Frangipane 1992, 1996, 2001a, 2002a, 2003b, 2003c; M. Frangipane et al. 2001, 2002; M. Frangipane, E. Bucak 2001; A. Tibet et al. 2000; M.R. Behm-Blancke 2003) (fig. 1). In addition, 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 (T. Efe 2003). These local EBI societies reveal some traces of high-level craft specialisation and technological advancement especially in metallurgy and ceramic production. The substantial amount of jewelry and weapons made of valuable metals such as gold, silver and copper discovered in the cemeteries or royal tombs in the settlements, albeit carry some Transcaucasian influences, have been produce entirely by local craftsmen. These societies were acting an intermediary role in trade between Syro-Mesopotamian and Transcaucasian polities in the resource-rich Anatolian Highlands (G. Algaze 1999). Centers that display evidence of advanced ceramics production carried out by well-trained local artisans as another craft specialisation are Tepecik, Hassek, Hacinebi, Lidar, Zeytinli Bahçe and Kurban VA (U. Esin 2003; S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2000; M. Frangipane et al 2002; G.J. Stein et al. 1997; Wilkinson 1990;

426). The art of ceramics and metal working appears to have been highly developed, adding new types to the repertory of this phase. In the graves of southeastern Anatolia, the most popular ceramics shape appears to be that of the wheelmade fruit stand, it is often referred to as a 'champagne glass', and the pins with animal-head terminals as very widespread metal artefact. These are fully local culture elements peculiar to this region within this period (K. Sertok, F. Kulakoğlu 2001; K. Sertok, R. Ergeç 1999; Sertok 2003).

With the beginning of EB II, that is the last phase of the Proto-Urban Period of eastern Anatolia, the Transcaucasian cultural components penetrated into the local societies and the region revealed a culture that combined a local elaboration of East Anatolian/Trans-Caucasian cultural elements (M. Frangipane 1996, 2001, 2003a). The influences of Transcaucasia increase, but the local settlement model continue to develop. Fortifications walls, domestic architecture with disc hearths or horse-shoe hearths inside and settlement pattern reflect local tradition. This model is reflected in Tepecik, Arslantepe VIC and Tülintepe (U. Esin 1997; S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002; M. Frangipane 1992, 1996). This period confirms the high development of craftsmanship in metalworking at Arslantepe, Norşuntepe and Tepecik (M. Frangipane 1992; J. Yakar 1984; H. Hauptmann 2003; S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002).

All of these factors present that both regions had an advanced complex social organisation and a unique identity that had been created by developed local cultures from the Proto-Urban Period, beginning of initial stages of urbanism, besides some influences of Mesopotamian and Transcaucasian cultures.

THE EMERGENCE OF TOWNS IN EASTERN ANATOLIA

During the Early Urban Period, settlements were

transformed into towns which began to exhibit urban characteristics in eastern Anatolia. Within this period, a settlement pattern and a political structure based on entirely local culture and appropriate to the urbanisation tradition of Anatolia dominated in the region (M. Frangipane 1996).

Settlements of this period were more densely on the Malatya-Elazığ plains. The number of settlements increased and the population intensified in small towns, showing a considerable growth in size and a town-planning (M. Frangipane 1996, 2001, 2003b). According to identified but as yet not been investigated many mounds dating to this period in the Malatya Plain, a hierarchically - structured settlement pattern consisted of centers and satellite settlements have appeared in the region such as demonstrated the existence of different sizes of sites -large and small- (M. Frangipane 1993a, 1996, 2003b). The conical shape of the mounds suggests that all the EBaIII settlements had marked boundaries, surrounded by fortification walls (Ibid). Arslantepe VIDI was surrounded by a mud brick town wall with semi-circular towers on stone foundations (M. Frangipane 1993a, 1996). Of the Elazığ region, Tülintepe's 130-meter defence wall standing on a foundation 2 meters thick is evidence of a considerably large-scale settlement (S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). The walls of Tepecik are thought to have been located at a distance from the hillside slope (S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002).

The urban fabric of the settlements comprised quarters of mudbrick houses with one-or two large rooms rectangular in plan opening onto streets. The settlements were functionally predetermined and included areas of different function such as abodes, workshops and some of them with cultic areas. Arslantepe VIDI grew into a town with functionally planned urban layout, comprising areas of houses, workshops and worship, built on the terraced areas (M. Frangipane 1990, 1993b; A.M. Conti, C. Persiani 1993). It expanded its area down the slope of

the mound and disclosed an urban planning with large-scale terracing and channels to drain of rain-water (M. Frangipane 1993b, 1996). The well-planned settlement of this period are made up of large buildings with spacious multi-roomed with benches horse-shaped hearths inside, with a street passing through from north to south, the gradient of which follows the slope of the mound (M. Frangipane 1991, 1993a, 1996). At Tepecik a planned town settlement consists of neighbourhoods of one- and two-rooms mud brick dwellings with streets running perpendicular to each other, east-west and north-south (U. Esin 1974, 1997; S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002) (fig. 2). Norşuntepe level VIII has a main avenue 2 meters in wide that separates the settlement into north and south, and also has side streets which are surrounded by quarter, giving the appearance of a structurally well-planned township. The domiciles are one- and two-roomed mud brick with horse-shoe-shaped hearths inside (H. Hauptmann 1997) (fig. 3).

None of the settlements of the period exhibit a public structure and evidence of a central economy. Each town in the region was largely autonomous, as evidenced by the lack of any dominant political centers and the walls surrounding the settlements and the absence of any evidence of external conflicts are interpreted as an indication that there were local conflicts between towns in the region, and this must have prevented a central dominance of any one settlement over another (M. Frangipane 1993a, 1996; A.M. Conti, C. Persiani 1993). Even Arslantepe, which demonstrates a central position, did not have a political and economic control over the region (M. Frangipane 1993a, 1996). Although a different architecture has been appeared at Korucutepe, Köşkerbaba and İmamoglu, these are not administrative structures. In this period the only building that does point to a political center appeared on the acropolis of Norşuntepe. The structure in levels VIII-VI, characterised as a palace, does belong to local authority that had control over the agricultural surplus and the mineral beds of the

whole of the Altınova Region (H. Hauptmann 1976, 1999) (figs 3-4). Enlarging considerably at level VI, the building takes its final shape at 2700 m² and comprises two floors of adjacent rooms in the form of two L-shaped wings built around a central courtyard (fig. 4). On the higher level of the building, on the north wing, was found a palace-like building-pithos building-and on the lower south slope groups of rooms that were used as houses, kitchens, ateliers and storage spaces. This palace contained numerous granaries where approximately 200 tons of grains stored (G. Arsebük 1986; H. Hauptmann 1979a) was the political center of the region in charge of concentrating agricultural surplus. Because any of the administrative apparatus-sealing and mass-produced bowls-and of the variety of types and functions of different stores unique to complex centralised systems recovered here, Frangipane asserts that these granaries may have only been used to feed the élites, and possibly for the population in times of crisis, rather than being a surplus for reinvestment in élite activities (M. Frangipane 1996, 2001). So, Norşuntepe' palace had not a real economic intervention or powerful central political control of the territory, but a type of rule based on ensuring the security of the people (M. Frangipane 1996). This system, which is wholly unique to Anatolia, while on the one hand reflects of the political sovereignty of élites, on the other also indicates that they have any economic responsibility over the production (M. Frangipane 2003b). This political structure reflects own cultural environment of the region and local settlement tradition. These polities are defined as political entities or city-states based on urbanism without any form centralisation of economic activities (M. Frangipane 2001; J. Yakar 1985a).

The traces of a high-degree of craft specialisation can be seen in the sites of this period. The most important fields of specialisation are the production of ceramics and metal artefacts. The hand-made, camel-colored mica-alloyed clay bowls-known as Altınova Painted Pottery-produced at a large number of settlements like

Norşuntepe, Tepecik, Tülintepe, Korucutepe, Han İbrahim Şah, Aşvan Kale, Arslantepe, Pirot, İmamoglu, Şemsiyetepe and Yeniköy, have human and animal motifs decorated with paint around the mouth of the bowl as well as geometrical patterns (M. Frangipane 2003b; Ö. Bilgi 2003; I. Baysan 1997). These well-baked bowls are completely unique to the region and have been produced by local master artisans (Ibid). Of these settlements, Tepecik is the region's most important ceramic production center with large scale ceramic production (U. Esin 2003). Metal artefact is another specialisation area in the region. Findings related to metal production are encountered at Arslantepe, Norşuntepe, Tepecik and Tülintepe. Evidence of this production at Arslantepe is a metal atelier, the flat axes, the carving-pen casting molds and the thick metal spirals uncovered here (M. Frangipane 1993a). At Norşuntepe, a two-piece casting mold for a axe and bronze rings and needles were discovered in the workshops of palace (H. Hauptmann 1976a). The casting molds and slags as well as the double-eyed and ring-headed copper needles and the long triangular-handled small dagger unearthed at Tepecik are all indicator of advanced metal technology (U. Esin 1982, 1997; S. Harmanakaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). At Tülintepe, the copper slags discovered in a well and the domed kiln used in melting copper found in a courtyard are indicators of metal production and a high degree of specialisation (U. Esin 1997a; S. Harmanakaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). In addition, the hoard of bronze weapons consisted of a short sword of bronze and five spearheads has revealed in the settlement, suggesting to advanced craftsmanship in metallurgy (U. Esin 1997; S. Harmanakaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). The most widespread metal artefacts of the period in terms of form and size are the standard, thick metal spirals were found in mass amounts at Norşuntepe, Arslantepe and Tepecik (M. Frangipane 2003b). The manufacture of obsidian, bone tools and the production of baked clay objects are another specialisations of the period. In Norşuntepe' palace, ateliers have been unveiled where obsidian tools were

produced. Also widespread is the manufacture of bone tools and small human and animal figurines made of unbaked clay (H. Hauptmann 1976a). The workshops of bone, horn artefacts and small clay statuettes were also recovered in Arslantepe (M. Frangipane 1990, 1993a). Numerous bone and weapons made from bone, horn, burnishing stones as well as of flintstone and obsidian, and also the production of animal and female figurines of baked clay were revealed in great numbers at Tepecik (U. Esin 1974, 1997, 2003).

Although the craft specialisation was on very advanced level, it was on local level and did not develop into a regional industry like previous period (J. Yakar 1985, 1985a). This implies that the societies in the region have a very closed social structure (M. Frangipane 2003b). The spare number of Syrian bottles found at Arslantepe and metallic ware recovered at Norşuntepe, Tepecik and Arslantepe, although imported, were not in the proportions that would change the closed societal structure of the region (M. Frangipane 2003b; H. Hauptmann 1976a, 1979).

THE MORE DEVELOPED SETTLEMENTS: SOUTHEASTERN ANATOLIA

The period following the Uruk period in the middle of the 3rd in northern Mesopotamia was the Secondary Urbanisation Period. During this period, settlements that can be considered real cities and the city-state system with a tribute system began to appear in the region such as Tell Leilan, Ebla, Mari, Tell Mozan, Tell Banat, Tell Brak, Tell Beydar, Tell Taya, Tell Chuera, Tell Sweyhat, Tell Hadidi, Tell al-Hawa and Tell Hamoukar, areas covering 40-100 hectares, surrounded by small towns and villages-a small city states system with regional capitals (T. Matney 2002; G.M. Schwartz 1994) (fig. 1). A similar development to the phenomenon experienced in the northern Mesopotamia region also undoubtedly emerged in southeastern Anatolia in the mid-late EBA. This is the time in which

truly urban state-level societies ruled by independent local kingdoms first appear in south-eastern Anatolia (G.J. Stein 1987; J. Yakar 2002; S. Harmankaya 2002; A. Archi 1988; G. Pettinato 1991; T.L. McClellan 1999). Under the influence of the Secondary Urbanisation Period, the region exhibits much larger and densely populated urban settlements and a regional settlement hierarchy composed of central settlement and smaller satellite towns and villages surrounding it as well as a regional economy controlled by a central settlement or capital with tribute system. The urban fabric of the settlements consists of areas serving different functions such as the upper town or acropolis, the lower town, the outer town and sometimes cemeteries due to the influences of this period. However, the urbanisation movement in the region did carry some local features. These are local polities with advanced complex social and economical organisations. Within this period, there are three areas of settlement in the region: the Karababa Basin, the Urfa Plain and the Gaziantep Area.

The Karababa Basin is located in the area between the Taurus Mountains and the northern Mesopotamian Plains (fig. 5). The settlements of the region are Titriş, Kurban and Lidar. Titriş was the largest settlement with 43 ha. in mid EB and 32.7 ha. in late EB while Lidar covering an area of 15 hectares was the second largest site, and Kurban was the third with 6 hectares (G. Algaze 1999; B. Verhaaren 1997). Titriş was the regional capital of a small indigenous city-state system that was situated on an important overland trade route in Syro-Anatolia (G. Algaze et al. 1995, 1996; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995). It acts an intermediary role between polities Mesopotamia and Anatolia for cross-cultural exchange (T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995). Having an estimated population ca. 5000-10.000 people, it was at the peak of a four-tier settlement hierarchy within satellite settlements in its environs. Centers surrounded by smaller dependent villages surrounding Titriş have been at Lidar (at 11.5 km distance), Tatar (at 10 km distance) and

Kurban (at 20 km distance) (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze et al. 1992). These sites were parts of a regional economy controlled by Titriş and this radius means that they developed within their own agricultural sustaining areas, but as far as their subsistence economy was concerned, they may be regarded as semi-autonomous (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze et al. 1992, 2001; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995; G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003). Storage facilities composed of storage pits and a very big silo, covered 2400 m² area, used to store surpluses derived from surrounding settlements were uncovered on the Lower Town and surface collections made from the regional survey yielded a higher proportion of large storage jars at Titriş than at smaller sites in the vicinity (G. Algaze et al. 1992; P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1998; T.J. Wilkinson 1994). This pattern indicates that surplus was transferred from hinterland to the center, so Titriş as the regional capital drew agricultural surpluses from nearby towns as tribute (P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1998; G. Algaze 1999; J. Yakar 2000; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995). Other tribute commodity sent to capital, Titriş, is animals. Wattenmaker explains that the absence of prime-aged animals at Kurban suggests that they may have sent to Titriş as tribute (P. Wattenmaker 1987, 1994, 1998, 2000; J. Yakar 1998, 2000).

The evidences of advanced urban planning and structurally planned a number of distinct quarters were found at sites of the region. Titriş was composed of a central acropolis 3.3 ha. surrounded by a much more extensive Lower City, about 35 hectares in extent, which is divided into a Lower Town, which surrounds the site's acropolis, and a more extensive Outer Town to the north (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze et al. 1996, 2001; G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995; T. Matney et al. 1997). Surrounding the settlement were several suburbs, specialised activity areas and an extramural cemetery (Ibid). At late EB, because the suburbs of site were abandoned, it contracted from 43 hectares to 32.7 hectares and eastern flank of the city was surrounded by a 3-3.5 m wide massive fortifica-

tion wall built mudbrick over stone foundations, buttresses on its interior face and associated moat system in the Outer Town (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003; G. Algaze et al. 2001). The settlement of late EBA consists of large courtyard houses arranged alongside streets in the Outer and Lower Town, that developed as a result of trade contacts with contemporary polities in the southern Mesopotamian contrary to the thesis to have been an Akkadian outpost, suggesting an evidence of urban planning (G. Algaze et al. 2001; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995; T. Matney 2002) (fig. 6). Although the structures and organisation of the settlement of mid EBA are difficult to characterise due to only limited exposures of those levels, they clearly represent compounds of massive size (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003). Other site Kurban IVB was a medium-sized town, which has over a thousand population, with a fortified inner quarter centered on the southern mound and unfortified outer town (L. Marfoe, G. Algaze 1990; B. Verharen 1997). The settlement yielded a number of distinct quarters, domestic and production areas, so there were large scale well-planned construction program over several sectors of the site (L. Marfoe, G. Algaze 1990; P. Wattenmaker 1994). The house plan of high-status inhabitants comprises of large building complexes, sometimes with a second story, included a series rooms with an entrance room and a courtyard lining the cobble streets while non-elite architecture is small with lesser room (P. Wattenmaker 1998).

As far as public architecture is concerned, it is seen that some settlements have these structures. Although the public building of Titriş is thought to have been within the Outer Town at mid EB, the information is scant on the plan and inner artefacts because it has been partially uncovered (G. Algaze et al. 2001; G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003). There is no public building at late EB, the regularity of the quarters exhibits, however, a level of labor mobilisation carried out by centralised administrators (G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003; G. Algaze et al. 2001; T. Matney,

G. Algaze 1995; T. Matney 2002) (fig. 6). At Kurban IVB was uncovered a carefully constructed administrative building or elite house contained a large storage jar and two clay door locks inside a walled inner quarter (L. Marfoe, G. Algaze 1990; P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1998). The common characteristics of these buildings are lack of the rich administrative apparatus—they have only small amount of them as a trait of Anatolia on the contrary those in northern Mesopotamia.

These indigenous societies point to a high-level social structure of different economic and social classes, even among the elites. Some elites houses recovered in the Lower Town at mid EB settlement of Titriş, most of the mud brick walls were massive nearly a meter in thickness, walls and floors of them were well replastered with well-built hearths areas (G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003; G. Algaze et al. 1995, 2001). In contrast, in the suburbs were uncovered modest and flimsily constructed structures (G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995; T. Matney et al. 1997). Another indicator of variability in social ranking comes from the extramural cemetery dating to mid EB, where there are many stone cist graves with or without dromos, only some contain burial gifts consist of jewelry in bronze, silver and shell, ceramic vessels and numerous imported stylized violin-shaped marble figurines generalised Aegean type (M.D. Honça, G. Algaze 1998; G. Algaze et al. 1995). Indicators of social differences were also encountered from graves at late EB of Titriş. While only vessels, several bronze pins were found as burial gifts in the graves of extramural cemeteries of this period, the burial offerings buried in the courtyards and the floors of the rooms of the houses in the Lower Town are much richer and rarer quality and the graves themselves are larger (T. Matney et al. 1997; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995; G. Algaze et al. 1992, 1996). Both substantial and elaborate as well as fairly modest and flimsily structures were also encountered in Kurban VIB (P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1994a). The houses of high-status families

demonstrate a much larger scale well-constructed of architecture, in additional second story, better quality workmanship, the plastered walls and floors, thicker walls, more rooms, richer and scarcer objects such as metals, shells, stamp seals, a greater proportion of wheel-made pottery and higher concentration of specialist-produced serving vessels, an uneven distribution of craft goods and variability in activities carried out by the residents of these buildings, compared to those in the lower-status families (P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1994a, 1998). An increased diversity in status of elites families have even existed at site (P. Wattenmaker 1998). Large chamber tombs discovered at the large town-sized site of Lidar contained much more diverse metal finds such as toggle-pins, dagger blades, rings, stone and shell pendants as well as vessels, suggesting that these tombs belong to the high status persons (H. Hauptmann 2003; E. Carter, A. Parker 1995; J. Yakar 1985a).

They have a complex economy based on a high-degree large-scale craft specialisation carried out for export rather than local consumption as well as extensive import, which was an important component of the economies of the settlements. At mid EB Titriş, at the workshops in the suburbs the large scale mass-production of Canaanian blades were revealed-highly standardised in their thickness and width-manufactured for export (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003; G. Algaze et al. 1999, 2001; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995). Other specialised production undertaken at these ateliers were flint blade, lithic artefacts and metal production (G. Algaze et al. 1995, 1996; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995; S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). But specialised production at late EB site differs from that in mid EB, in that it took place within the houses (G. Algaze 1999; T. Matney et al. 1997). Commonly recovered within rooms or courtyard in almost all of the houses are oval plastered basins served to process grapes, possibly in connection with wine production which is a household industry at site especially in the Outer Town (G. Algaze et al. 1995). Loom weights and

spindle whorls associated with textile production are also common within each of the houses as well as within the houses are a fair number of Canaanian blades (G. Algaze 1999; T. Matney et al. 1997). There are trade contacts with external regions at site in mid-late EB. This is demonstrated by the Mediterranean shells, the Karaz ware vessels unique to eastern Anatolia and Caucasus, the large amounts of copper and silver from central and eastern Anatolia, numerous stylized marble violin-shaped figurines generalised Aegean type, two-handled depas in west Anatolian type, a 1-mana stone weight inscribed in Old Akkadian and several imported southern Mesopotamian cylinder seals, used them as burial gifts (G. Algaze et al. 1992, 1995; T. Matney 2002; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995). At Kurban IVB, the pottery production was chiefly craft specialisation and found two groups ceramics-produced on fast wheel by specialists and highly standardised, and the other hand-made ceramics produced by household (P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1994a, 1998). The potter's marks on particular pottery types suggest the development of centralised ceramic production for regional distribution (L. Marfoe, G. Algaze 1990). That the ceramic assemblage from Palace G of Ebla is similar to that of Kurban IV indicate that Ebla had exchange relations with sites in the Euphrates Valley (P. Wattenmaker 1994a; G. Algaze 1990). Other craft specialisation is metallurgy. Metal objects are rare and associated with more elaborate houses and exclusively high-ranking families involved in metal working, suggesting metallurgy was administered by socio-economically dominant families at site (P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1994a, 1998). The low density of spindle whorls shows that textile production is not a major activity at site and even non-elite households may have been relied on specialised weavers, so textiles may have been imported into site as a evidence of import (P. Wattenmaker 1994a, 1998). Stone tools are another craft specialisation and especially large prismatic blades, which are standardised in appearance, were manufactured by specialists (P. Wattenmaker 1994a). But Canaanian blades

discovered at site were imported because there was any evidence for local production (G. Algaze 1999). And the majority of marine shells at site indicates the strength of trade relationships (L. Marfoe, G. Algaze 1990). Other site Lidar was a large-scale mass-produced ceramic production center for the Upper Euphrates Basin in this period (H. Hauptmann 1982, 1984, 1999; J. Yakar 1985a). 19 kilns in various types were encountered at the potters' quarter indicate to industrial area, separated from the main residential area (H. Hauptmann 1982, 1984, 1999; J. Yakar 1985a). There are pottery production for different purposes indicating a variety of mid-late EBA wares and types were being produced for regional distribution (H. Hauptmann 1982; G. Algaze 1999; J. Yakar 1985a). It is seen potters' marks especially on painted ware, suggesting that these wares were produced by specialists (H. Hauptmann 2003). The striped or spiral decorated vessels uncovered in Lidar's tombs have also discovered in the tombs at Tell Hadidi, Hawa, Şemseddin, Tawi and Wreide (H. Hauptmann 1997b), this manner may have been an indication of the commercial ties of the ceramic production at site. So, specialist-produced ceramic vessels at Lidar and Kurban were important in Syro-Mesopotamian exchange systems.

The second area in the regional settlement hierarchy is the Urfa Plain. Kazane and Harran are to be found here (fig. 5). Kazane, believed by researchers could be ancient Abarsal-reached size of 100 hectares-was the largest settlement in southeastern Anatolia (T.J. Wilkinson 1994; T.L. McClellan 1999; G. Algaze, J. Poumelle 2003; P. Wattenmaker 2000). Nestled in the mountains between northern Mesopotamia and southeastern Anatolia, it was located in a narrow valley which was a commercial route, only ca. 40 kilometers of Tırtı (S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002; P. Wattenmaker 1994). It is surrounded by a substantial city wall of sun-dried brick, 45 m. wide and 8 m. high, and made up of three main areas-an acropolis at a height of 20 m, a Lower Town and an Outer Town (P. Wattenmaker 2000, 2003; P. Wattenmaker, A. Mısı 1993; S.

Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). At site two public structures were recovered. One of them, a monumental building complex of stone and mudbrick, comprises of two architectural components; a massive outer stone wall over 5 m thick with three large rectangular blocks of stone served as tower bases and an inner mudbrick complex, identified as a palace, is located in the Lower Town and the other one with a storage room containing a large quantity of vessels and several pieces of clay sealings was found in the Outer Town beside the city wall (P. Wattenmaker 1996, 2000, 2003; M.H. Gates 1997). An industrial quarter, including textile and pottery production, associated with this massive building unearthed in the Outer Town (P. Wattenmaker 1996, 1998, 2003). In this area, was found a large number of weaving tools composed of copper and bronze needles as well as large spindle whorls as indicator of large scale textile production and the great amount of ceramic pile appeared in a large pottery kiln as evidence that significant amounts of ceramic production did take place here (P. Wattenmaker 1996, 1998, 2003). The numerous painted-decorated vessels here were produced by specialised local ceramic craftsmen (S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). In addition, the massive stone foundations 2 m. in wide in this sector indicate that this section is inhabited by high-status groups of the settlement (P. Wattenmaker 2003). That the workshop area was close by the public structure, numerous samples of sealing clay collected from this plot and elite residents here demonstrates that production and exchange were carried out by attached specialists administered by the political elites in the settlement (P. Wattenmaker 1994, 1994a, 1998). So, Kazane was the large major political center with public architectures in administrative quality and a highly economic specialisation in this period.

The other settlement in the Urfa Plain is Harran or Hara-an ki, only 38 km south of Kazane, mentioned frequently at Ebla tablets as the word meaning "road". Unfortunate that although it is very important for the urbanisation process of

the region, all information about it has been gathered from the Ebla tablets rather than from archeological data (S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002; A. Archi 1988). Tablets tell us that the site during this period was surrounded by a wall and it was a major regional political and economical center with its own temple and palace (S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002; P. Wattenmaker 1998). It was an independent city, ruled by a local queen, Zugalum, but that along with her, there was also a king, or representative of a king called "badalum" who shared this rule (A. Archi 1988; S. Harmankaya, B. Erdoğan 2002). The tablets reveal that there were economic and political ties between Ebla and Harran. Gifts of valuable metals and fabrics were sent to the queen of Harran and Badalum from Ebla and in the same way, metals and textiles were sent as gifts from Harran to Ebla (A. Archi 1988; G. Pettinato 1991). The fact that Harran was located on the main route just south of Keban is an important archaeological evidence pointing to the metal trade between Ebla and Keban (A. Yener 1982, 1983). In addition, Harran provided Ebla with livestock, especially sheep, and imported sheep from Harran were allocated not only for Ebla itself but for vassal states (G. Pettinato 1991; Astour 1988). And other trade commodity between Harran and Ebla is textile. Harran involved in the exchange with Ebla textiles like evident from the text (A. Yener 1982).

Within this period, the third area of the region is the Gaziantep area. Here the only site Tilbeşar has a massive stepped mudbrick high terrace or citadel in EB II (A.M. Greaves, B. Helwing 2001). In EB III, the city has expanded both the northern and the southern sectors of the Lower Town, the citadel surrounded by an enclosure wall and the Lower City covered about sixty hectares and it became a large city during Early and Middle Bronze (A.M. Greaves, B. Helwing 2001; C. Kepinski-Lecomte 2001; Kepinski-Lecomte, Ergeç 1999, 2000). The other settlements in area such as Oylum, Tilmen, Carchemish, Zincirli and Gedikli/Karahöyük,

although exhibiting in their layers evidence of being very important parts of the urbanisation process in southeastern Anatolia, relatively little is known of their actual fabric due to the small area in which archeological studies have been carried out. It can be said, however, that these large and important cities had a walled citadel-known as the upper town-as well as a lower town expanded on the terraces of the sites and they were city-states which were ruled over by aristocratic elite class (J. Yakar 1985a; S. Harmankaya 2002).

At the end of third millennium between 2200-1900 BC-the EB/MB transition which is the ending of the Early Urban Period of the region-northern Mesopotamia have suffered a climatic deterioration, aridification, that caused to an end the urbanism in the Syro-Mesopotamian plains (G. Algaze 1999; J. Yakar 1996). At the same period, a collapse of urbanism has also appeared in the Karababa Basin due to severe draught, but there was no demographic collapse, hiatus, even if the settlements size shrank (G. Algaze 1999). The urbanised population in the region was dispersed into self-sufficient subsistence communities, villages and hamlets to adapt themselves to the changing climatic conditions. At Titriş, the Lower and Outer Towns as well as the sububs were abandoned in this period and occupation continued in the high mound, so it ruralised (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze et al. 2001; T. Matney, G. Algaze 1995). At Kurban have also encountered a contract and it retrenched from 6 to 1.20 ha in Period III dated to this period as well as Kazane contracted, but not abandoned (G. Algaze 1990; J. Yakar 1998; P. Wattenmaker 1998). But ruralisation did not take place in the other area of the region, the Zeugma-Carchemish area, because this is a partial decline. Here, the number of site, on the contrary, increased in this transition period and a settlement hierarchy centered at Carchemish (40 ha extent)-the capital of a city-state system on the Euphrates-emerged (G. Algaze 1999; G. Algaze et al. 1994).

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing presents a picture of what we know about local aspects of urbanisation in the Early Urban Period that is the time when first real cities/towns emerged in eastern and south-eastern Anatolia. As pointed out above, this period exhibits localized urban growth in both regions. The urbanisation here is clearly a local process formed by indigenous cultures with advanced complex social-political and economical organisation, besides being some affected by the Syro-Mesopotamian cultures, from beginning of initial stages of urbanism. This local formation derived from the internal socio-economic dynamics of their cultural environs such as their own social, demographic structures and historical backgrounds. And both regions have their own settlement pattern based on entirely local culture and appropriate to the urbanisation tradition of Anatolia with a different type of socio-political organisation. So, the Anatolian

town/city model is quite different from that of Syro-Mesopotamian and it does carry some local characteristics as well as a number of common traits with other regions of Anatolia (U. Esin 1998; M. Özdoğan 2000; M. Frangipane 1996). The most prominent diversities among them are its smallness in size and without any form of economic centralisation. Especially the lack of economic centralisation is the most important trait that separates both regions from Syro-Mesopotamia. Although some settlements have monumental public structures and little administrative artefacts, there is no evidence of the centralisation of the economic activities. So, these regions have a unique identity created by local cultures played unique role in the development of the first cities, contrary to the thesis that urbanism in both regions flourished under the influences of the Syro-Mesopotamian cultures.

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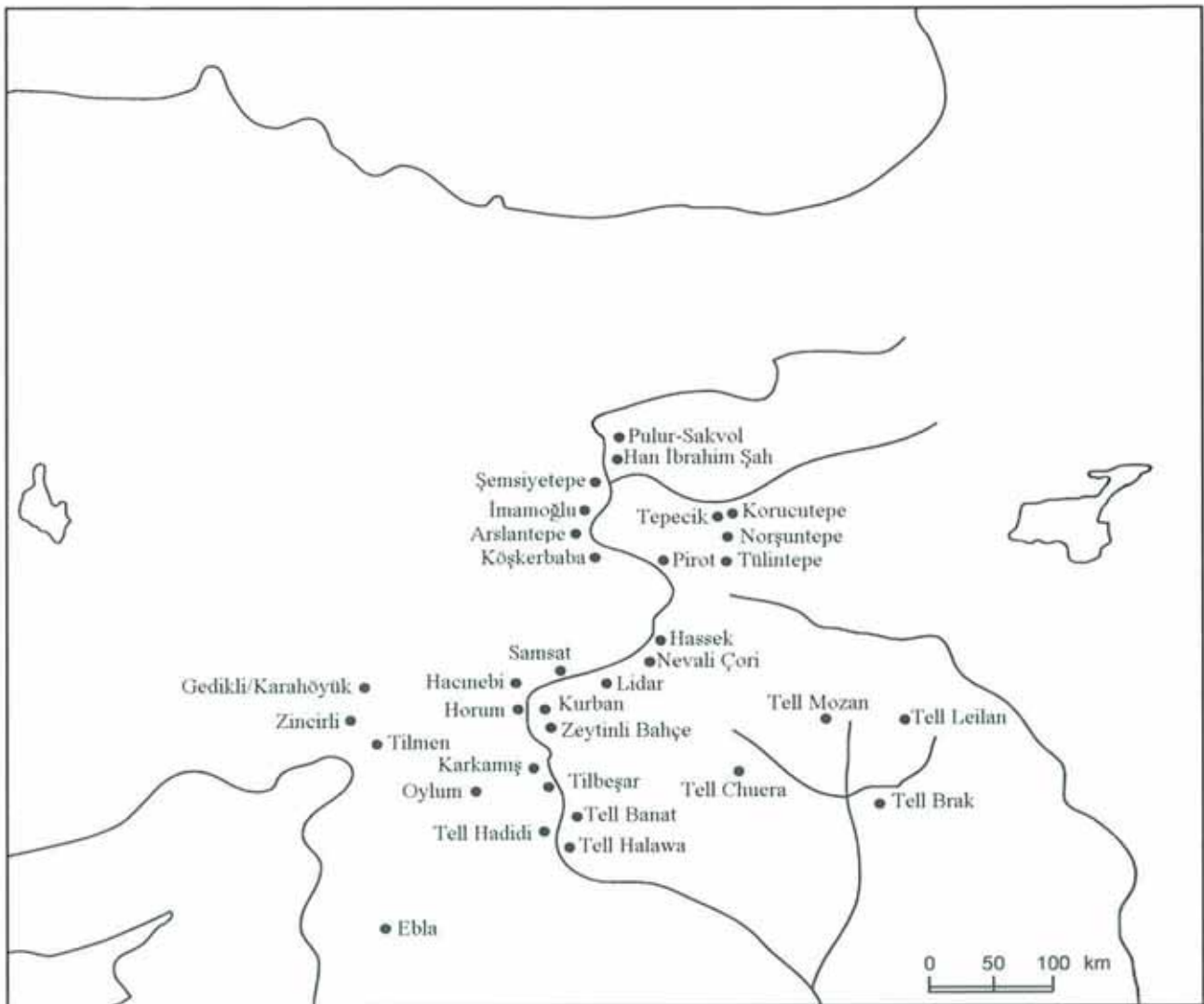


Fig. 1: Sites mentioned in the text. After Frangipane 2003b.

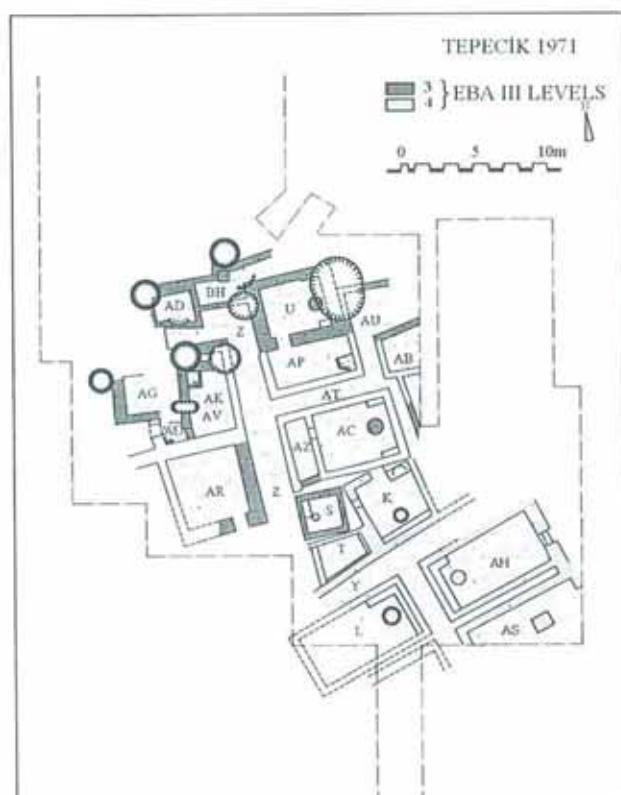


Fig. 2: Tepecik. After Esin 1974.

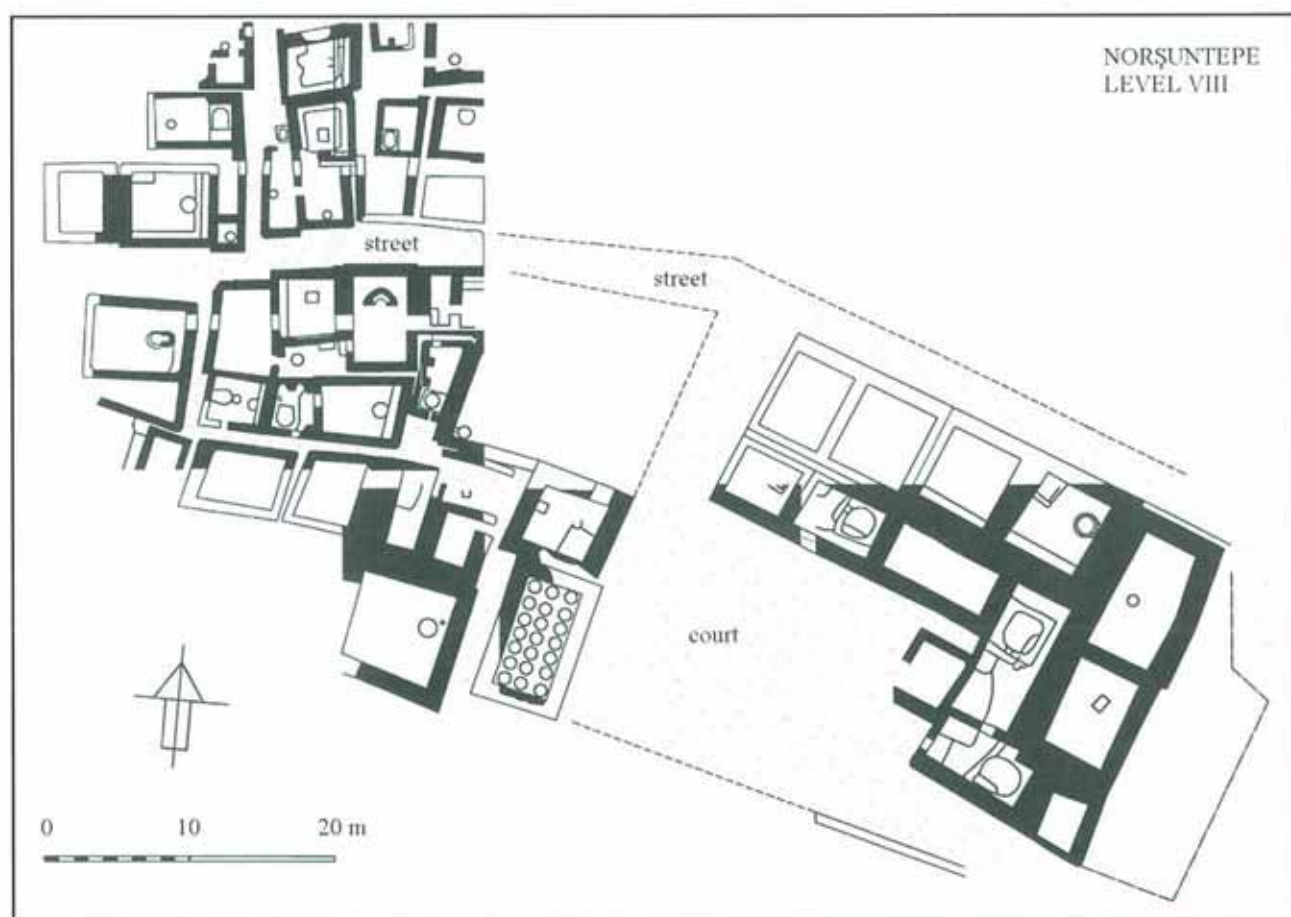


Fig. 3: Norşuntepe Level VIII. After Hauptmann 1976.



Fig. 4: Norşuntepe Level VI. After Hauptmann 1976.

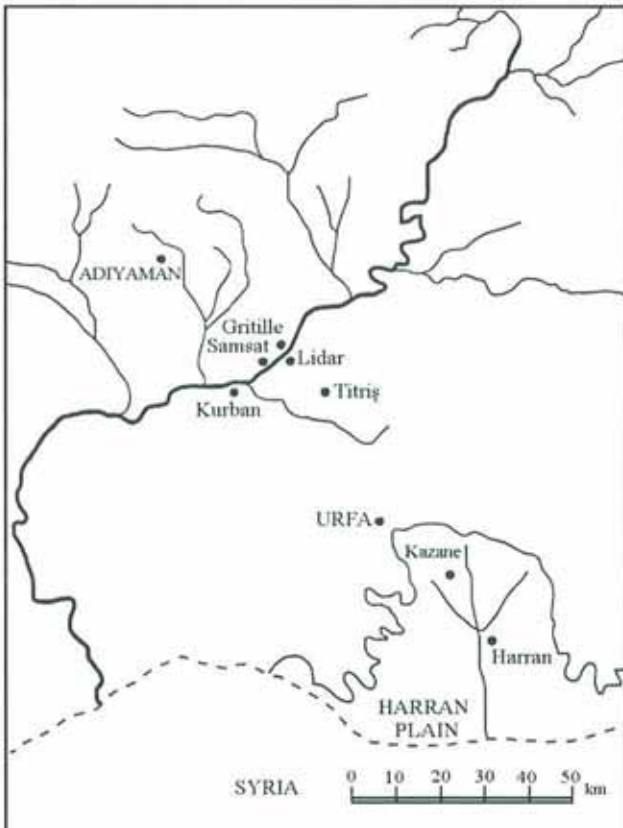


Fig. 5: Areas of the Karababa Basin and the Urfa Plain. After Wattenmaker 1994a.

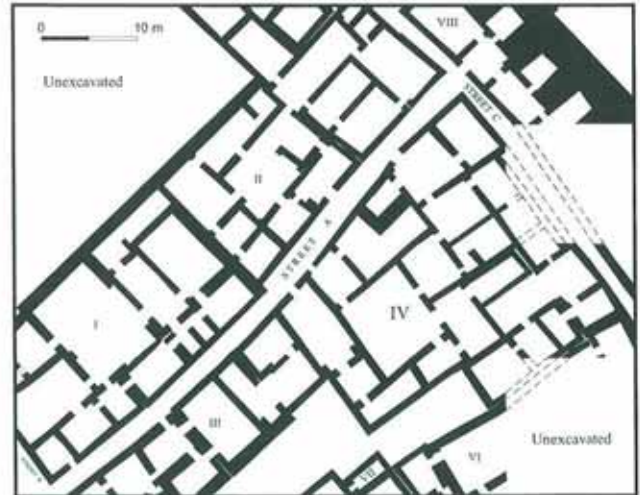


Fig. 6: Titriş Höyük. The Outer Town. After Algaze and Pomelle 2003.