



İnönü Üniversitesi ve Roma La Sapienza Üniversitesi İşbirliğiyle
With the Collaboration of İnönü University and Roma La Sapienza University

ARSLANTEPE

I. ULUSLARARASI ARKEOLOJİ SEMPOZYUMU BİLDİRİLERİ
I. INTERNATIONAL ARCHAEOLOGY SYMPOSIUM PROCEEDINGS

Yayına Hazırlayanlar / Edited by
Neslihan Durak - Marcella Frangipane



İNÖNÜ
ÜNİVERSİTESİ
YAYINEVİ



LAAS





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FOREWORD

İnönü University, one of the most reputable and established universities in Turkey, has given tens of thousands of qualified graduates who have proved themselves in the fields of education, science, philosophy, art, economy, medicine, and social sciences since 1975. Today, İnönü University goes on contributing to the bright future of our country with its high educational standards and increasing momentum of success.

Located in the Upper Euphrates Basin, Malatya (Melid) established important relationships with other cultures and civilizations that emerge in Pre-Asia during prehistoric and post-historical periods through its high mountains with gateways and river resources. Malatya is the home of a rich cultural heritage with hundreds of mounds, tumuli, necropolis and city ruins within its borders. In the consequence of the archaeological excavations and researches carried out in Malatya so far, important discoveries have been made about the transition to settled life and urbanization processes that have an important place in human history. Archaeological remains unearthed in Cafer Mound, where traces of the first settled life in Malatya were identified, date back to 10 thousand years ago. In the systematic archaeological excavations and investigations carried out at Arslantepe Mound, which also gave its name to the modern city of Malatya, the archaeological remains giving clues about urbanization processes, which take a very important place in terms of both regional and world history were unearthed.

It is our university's responsibility to the past and future generations to support all kinds of scientific studies to bring to light the historical and archaeological value of this geography where we live and whose cultural richness we have inherited. In this regard, 1st International Arslantepe Archeology Symposium was held by İnönü University in cooperation with La Sapienza University of Rome between 4-6 October 2018. This symposium enabled many distinguished scientists all around the world to examine and discuss archeological studies in the region, particularly in Arslantepe, which has been a real contribution to the city, archeology and cultural history.

I would like to express my sincere thanks to the symposium organizing committee, particularly to the symposium chairpersons Prof. Dr. Marcella FRANGIPANE and Prof. Dr. Neslihan DURAK, who made a great effort in organizing the 1st International Arslantepe Archeology Symposium, and to the valuable scientists who contributed with their papers, as well. I would also like to thank the Governor of Malatya Aydın Baruş, Mayor of Malatya Selahattin GÜRKAN, Mayor of Battalgazi Osman Güder and Mayor of Yeşilyurt Mehmet Çınar for their valuable contributions in the organization of the symposium and publication of the symposium book. I hope the symposium widens up the scientists' horizons.

*Prof. Dr. Ahmet KIZILAY
Rector of İnönü University*

SUNUŞ

Ülkemizin saygın ve köklü üniversiteleri arasında yer alan İnönü Üniversitesi, 1975 yılından günümüze kadar eğitim, bilim, düşünce, sanat, ekonomi, tıp ve sosyal alanlarda kendini ispat eden on binlerce nitelikli insan yetiştirmiştir. İnönü Üniversitesi bugün de yüksek eğitim olanakları ve giderek artan başarı ivmesiyle ülkemizin aydınlık geleceğine katkı sağlamaya devam etmektedir.

Malatya / Melid, Yukarı Fırat Havzası'nda, geçit veren yüksek dağları ve akarsu kaynakları nedeniyle tarih öncesi ve sonrası dönemlerde Ön Asya'da yükselen diğer kültür ve medeniyetlerle önemli münasebetler geliştirmiştir. Malatya sınırları içerisinde yer alan yüzlerce höyük, tümülüs, nekropol ve şehir kalıntıları ile zengin bir kültürel mirasa ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Malatya ilinde bugüne kadar yapılan arkeolojik kazı ve araştırmalar neticesinde, insanlık tarihinde önemli bir yer tutan yerleşik hayata geçiş, şehirleşme ve devletleşme süreçlerinin aydınlatılması konusunda önemli sonuçlar elde edilmiştir. Malatya'da ilk yerleşik hayata geçişin izlerinin saptandığı Cafer Höyük'te açığa çıkarılan arkeolojik kalıntılar günümüzden yaklaşık 10 bin yıl öncesine tarihlenmektedir. Modern Malatya şehrine de ismini veren, Arslantepe Höyüğü'nde gerçekleştirilen ve uzun bir dönemi kapsayan sistemli arkeolojik kazı ve araştırmalar, hem bölge hem de dünya tarihi açısından çok önemli bir yer tutan şehirleşme ve devletleşme süreçleri ile ilgili arkeolojik kalıntıların gün ışığına çıkarılmasını sağlamıştır.

Üniversitemiz, üzerinde yaşadığımız ve kültürel zenginliğini miras aldığımız bu coğrafyanın tarihi ve arkeolojik değerinin aydınlatılması için yapılacak olan her türlü bilimsel çalışmaları desteklemeyi, geçmiş ve gelecek kuşaklara karşı bir sorumluluk olarak görmektedir. Bu bağlamda İnönü Üniversitesi öncülüğünde ve Roma La Sapienza Üniversitesi işbirliği ile 4-6 Ekim 2018 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirmiş olduğumuz I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu'nda dünya bilim insanlarının geniş çaplı katılımı, Arslantepe özelinde, bölgede yapılan arkeolojik çalışmaların tüm boyutlarıyla ele alınıp tartışılması, üniversitemiz, şehrimiz, arkeoloji bilimi ve kültür tarihi açısından önemli bir başarı olmuştur.

I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu'nun gerçekleştirilmesinde büyük emek harcayan başta sempozyum başkanlarımız Prof. Dr. Marcella FRANGIPANE ve Prof. Dr. Neslihan DURAK olmak üzere, sempozyum düzenleme kuruluna ve bildirimleri ile katkıda bulunan değerli bilim insanlarına en içten teşekkürlerimi sunarım. Malatya Valisi Sayın Aydın Baruş, Malatya Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı Sayın Selahattin Gürkan, Battalgazi Belediye Başkanı Sayın Osman Güder ve Yeşilyurt Belediye Başkanı sayın Mehmet Çınar'a sempozyum organizasyonunda ve sempozyum kitabının yayınlanmasında, sundukları değerli katkılarından dolayı ayrıca teşekkür eder, sempozyumun bilim dünyasında yeni ufuklar açmasını temenni ederim.

Prof. Dr. Ahmet KIZILAY
İnönü Üniversitesi Rektörü



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Malatya Valisi
Malatya Governor

Having about a seven-thousand years of past, the Arslantepe Mound was a political, religious and cultural centre where the hierarchical society and one of the first states was born with the well-preserved wall paintings and decorations, the oldest palatial complex, swords and spears of the world and thousands of cretulaes used for the distribution and control of the food.

The Arslantepe Mound, where the first excavation works started in the 1930s, was inscribed into the UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List in 2014. Today, the concerned departments work at full steam to have Arslantepe inscribed into the UNESCO World Heritage List. Initially, the "Arslantepe Archaeological Site Management Plan" and the "Protection-Oriented Development Plan" had been prepared. An expert commissioned by the ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) came to Malatya in October 2019 to carry out some examinations and reviews in and around Arslantepe on-site. Subsequently, she submitted her report to the ICOMOS World Heritage Panel. The World Heritage Committee is expected to declare its final resolution in summer 2020 whether Arslantepe is inscribed into the List after ICOMOS forwards its recommendation to UNESCO.

I believe in that collecting the papers submitted at the 1st International Arslantepe Archaeology Symposium into a book will definitely contribute to publicizing Arslantepe. I extend my sincere thanks all those who made a great effort to organize this symposium, particularly to Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane, Rector of İnönü University Prof. Dr. Ahmet Kızılay, the members of Symposium Organization Committee and the distinguished academicians.



Aydın BARUŞ
Malatya Valisi
Malatya Governor

Yaklaşık 7000 yıllık bir geçmişe sahip olan Arslantepe Höyüğü; korunabilmiş duvar resimleri ve sıvalı süslemelerin yer aldığı dünyanın en eski saray kompleksi, dünyanın en eski kılıçları, ürünlerin kontrolü ve dağıtımında kullanılmış binlerce mühür baskısı ile bürokrasinin doğduğu ve ilk devlet şeklinin ortaya çıktığı resmi, dini ve kültürel bir merkezdir.

1930'lu yıllardan beri kazıların sürdürüldüğü Arslantepe Höyüğü, 2014 yılında UNESCO Dünya Kültür Mirası Geçici Listesi'ne alınmıştır. Günümüzde Arslantepe'nin UNESCO Dünya Kültür Mirası listesine dâhil edilebilmesi için yapılan çalışmalar, kurumlarımız tarafından tüm hızıyla devam ettirilmektedir. Öncelikle "Arslantepe Arkeolojik Sit Alanı Yönetim Planı" ve "Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı" hazırlanmıştır. ICOMOS'un (Uluslararası Anıtlar ve Sitler Konseyi) görevlendirdiği bir uzman 2019 Eylül ayında Malatya'ya gelerek Arslantepe'de yerinde incelemeler yapmış, raporunu ICOMOS Dünya Miras Paneli'ne sunmuştur. Bu sürecin ardından ICOMOS tavsiye kararını UNESCO'ya iletacaktır. Dünya Miras Komitesi'nin 2020 yılı yaz mevsiminde, Arslantepe'nin kalıcı liste ile ilgili kararını resmen açıklaması beklenmektedir.

I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu bildirilerinin bir araya getirilerek kitaplaştırılmasının, Arslantepe'nin tanıtımına büyük bir katkı sağlayacağını düşünmekteyim. Sempozyumun gerçekleştirilmesinde büyük emek harcayan başta Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane ve İnönü Üniversitesi Rektörü Prof. Dr. Ahmet Kızılay olmak üzere sempozyum düzenleme kuruluna ve değerli bilim insanlarına en kalbi teşekkürlerimi sunarım.

Luigi MATTIOLO
İtalya Büyükelçisi
Italian Ambassador to Turkey

*Dear Governor of the Malatya Province,
Dear Rector of İnönü University,
Dear Mayor of Malatya Metropolitan Municipality,
Dear Mayor of Battalgazi Municipality,
Dear professors, dear archaeologists, and dear students,*

I would like to congratulate Inonu University, Malatya's Governorship and Malatya's Municipalities for the organization of the first International Archeology Symposium of Arslantepe in cooperation with the Italian Expedition of Sapienza University, with the participation of many Professors and experts coming from all around Turkey and from abroad.

I would also like to address a warm welcome to Prof. Dr. Teodoro Valente, Deputy Rector of University Roma Sapienza, and to all the Italian professors who will participate in the Symposium. Their presence here is also possible thanks to the contribution of the Italian Institute of Culture of Istanbul, which I would like to acknowledge.

On this occasion, I would like to spend a few words on the importance attached by the Italian government to cultural cooperation with Turkey, especially in the field of archeology.

The presence of Italian archeological mission in Turkey is very ancient and dates back to the 50's. The excavation of University La Sapienza at Arslantepe is one of the oldest ones. It started in 1961 under the direction of Prof. Dr. Salvatore Puglisi, and then continued with Prof. Dr. Alba Palmieri. Since 1990 it has been carried out by Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane, also with the support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During my tenure as Ambassador of Italy to Turkey, I had several opportunities to appreciate the tireless commitment and the contagious enthusiasm of Prof. Dr. Frangipane while leading the archeological mission under her responsibility. I am happy to see to what extent my personal deep appreciation and gratitude for her is shared by all the Turkish



Luigi MATTIOLO
İtalya Büyükelçisi
Italian Ambassador to Turkey

Sayın Malatya Valisi,
Sayın İnönü Üniversitesi Rektörü,
Sayın Malatya Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı,
Sayın Battalgazi Belediye Başkanı,
Sayın Yetkililer, Sayın Akademisyenler, Sayın Öğrenciler,
İtalya Sapienza Üniversitesi heyetiyle işbirliği halinde ve Türkiye ve yurtdışından birçok akademisyenin ve uzmanın katılımıyla, 1. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumunu düzenleyen İnönü Üniversitesi, Malatya Valiliği ve Malatya belediyelerini kutluyorum.

Ayrıca Roma Sapienza Üniversitesi Rektör Yardımcısı Sayın Prof. Dr. Teodoro Valente ile sempozyuma katılan tüm İtalyan akademisyenlere hoş geldiniz diyorum. Profesörlerimiz İstanbul İtalyan Kültür Merkezinin katkıları sayesinde burada bulunuyorlar. Kültür Merkezine de teşekkür ediyorum.

Bu etkinlik vesilesiyle İtalyan devletinin, bilhassa arkeoloji alanında, Türkiye Cumhuriyetiyle kültürel işbirliğine verdiği öneme ilişkin birkaç cümle söylemek istiyorum.

Türkiye'deki İtalyan arkeoloji çalışmalarının varlığı çok eskilere, 1950'li yıllara kadar gidiyor. La Sapienza Üniversitesinin Arslantepe kazıları İtalyan arkeoloji kazıları arasında en eskilerden birisidir. Kazılar, 1961 yılında Prof. Dr. Salvatore Puglisi yönetiminde başlamış ve daha sonra Prof. Dr. Alba Palmieri ile devam etmiştir. Kazılar 1990 yılından bu yana Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane başkanlığında sürdürülmekte, kazılara İtalya Dışişleri Bakanlığı destek vermektedir. Türkiye'de İtalya Büyükelçisi olarak görev yaptığım süre içerisinde, Prof. Dr. Frangipane'nin sorumlusu olduğu arkeolojik araştırmaları yönetirken, yorulmak nedir bilmez özverisine ve heyecan dolu

authorities that cooperated with her in the last years, as it is shown by the many recognitions and awards Prof. Dr. Frangipane received in Turkey and abroad.

Thanks to the results and discoveries achieved in the recent years, the Archeological Mission of Arslantepe has received international fame and a lot of recognition, included many important awards such as the Vittorio de Sica award for science and the discovery award from the international Shanghai Archaeology Forum in 2015, or the Rotondi award to "art saviours" in 2017.

The Archeological Mission of Arslantepe is a perfect example of successful cooperation between Italy and Turkey, of which we are very proud.

This is not the only one. In 2018, the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs has contributed to the financing of 10 archaeological missions in Turkey, making Turkey the main beneficiary of Italian contributions in the archaeological sector.

Not only Turkey, but the Mediterranean region overall plays a crucial role for our cultural promotion. Italy contributes to the financing of 190 archaeological missions abroad, 90 of which are located in the MENA (Middle East and North Africa) region.

Dear Professors, dear Authorities, dear representatives of the Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism, I am firmly convinced that the action of the Italian archaeological missions in Turkey is beneficial to the enhancement of local cultural heritage; to the promotion of tourism and of socio-economic development of the sites; to the development of skills and technical competences; to the dissemination of scientific results in Turkey, in Italy and abroad, to which we actively contribute also through the organization of the annual symposium on archeology in Istanbul.

This is why I would like to stress once more the efforts made by the Italian Institutions in Turkey, here represented by the Embassy, the Consulates and the Istanbul Institute of Culture, in order to facilitate the implementation of all the bureaucratic procedures which make this positive and fruitful collaboration possible.

This year we have noticed the introduction of some rules on the management of foreign archaeological missions, such as the rule of 50+1% of local staff, which instead of contributing to the developing of local skills, as they were likely intended to, have prevented major excavation or restoration works due to the impossibility of finding local specialized personnel to match the expatriated staff.

In that regard, I would like to assure that we are ready to work together in order to identify practical solutions so that rules can be applied in a flexible manner that is not prejudicial to the work of our archeologists, while fully respecting the legitimate wish of the Turkish authorities to enhance domestic expertise.

While thanking you for your attention, I would like to convey my best wishes for the success of this symposium.

şevkine defalarca tanık olma fırsatını yakaladım. Kendisine karşı duyduğum kişisel derin takdir ve minnettarlık duygularımın son yıllarda Prof. Dr. Frangipane ile işbirliği halinde olan Türk resmi yetkililerince de paylaşıldığını görmekten mutluluk duyuyorum. Prof. Dr. Frangipane'nin Türkiye ve yurtdışında aldığı birçok ödül ve takdirler bunun göstergesidir.

Son yıllarda elde edilen sonuçlar ve keşifler sayesinde Arslantepe Arkeoloji Heyeti uluslararası şöhrete kavuşmuş, takdire layık görülmüştür ve birçok ödül almıştır. 2015 yılında verilen Vittorio De Sica Bilim Ödülü ile Uluslararası Şanghay Arkeoloji Forumunda verilen Keşif Ödülü ve 2017 yılında verilen Rotondi "Sanatın Kurtarıcıları" (Salvatoridell'Arte) ödülü gibi önemli ödüller bunlar arasındadır.

Arslantepe Arkeoloji Heyeti İtalya ve Türkiye arasında mükemmel bir işbirliği örneği olup, bu işbirliğinden gurur duyuyoruz.

İtalya ve Türkiye arasındaki işbirliği sadece bundan ibaret değildir. İtalyan Dışişleri Bakanlığı Türkiye'de 10 arkeolojik kazının finansmanına destek sağlamakta olup, bu durum Türkiye'yi İtalya'nın arkeolojiye sağladığı destekten en çok yararlanan ülke haline sokmuştur.

Sadece Türkiye değil genel hatlarıyla Akdeniz Bölgesi de kültürel tanıtımımızda çok önemli bir rol oynamaktadır. İtalya yurtdışında 190 arkeolojik kazıyı finanse ederken, bunların 90 tanesi MENA (Orta Doğu ve Kuzey Afrika) bölgesinde yer almaktadır.

Sayın Akademisyenler, Sayın Yetkililer, Türkiye Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nın Sayın Temsilcileri,

Türkiye'deki İtalyan arkeoloji kazı ekiplerinin yaptığı çalışmaların, yerel kültür mirasının geliştirilmesine, turizmin tanıtımına ve kazı yapılan yerlerin sosyoekonomik gelişimine, bu alandaki beceri ve teknik yeterliliklerin artırılmasına ve İtalya, Türkiye ve diğer ülkelerde bilimsel bilgilerin yayılması açısından yararlı olduğuna kesinkes inanıyorum. İstanbul'da yıllık düzenlenen arkeoloji sempozyumuyla da tüm bunlara etkin biçimde katkı sağlıyoruz.

Bu noktada, bu olumlu ve verimli işbirliğini mümkün kılan tüm bürokratik işlemlerin yerine getirilmesini kolaylaştırmak amacıyla, Türkiye'de İtalya'yı temsilen bulunan büyükelçilik ve konsoloslüğümüz ile İstanbul İtalyan Kültür Merkezinin gösterdiği çabaları bir kez daha vurgulamak istiyorum.

Bu yıl yabancı arkeolojik kazılara bazı düzenlemeler getirildiğini gördük. Örneğin kazılarda %50+1 yerli çalışanın görev yapması gibi. Bu düzenleme Türk çalışanların becerilerinin geliştirilmesini hedefliyordu ancak yerel düzeyde yabancı uzman sayısı kadar uzman bulmak imkânsız olduğundan düzenleme birçok büyük kazı ve restorasyon çalışmasına engel çıkardı.

Bu konuda, Türk makamlarının yurtiçindeki uzmanlığı geliştirmeyi amaçlayan haklı dileklerine tamamen saygı duyarken, kuralların arkeologlarımızın çalışmalarına zarar oluşturmayan esneklikte uygulanabilmesi için pratik çözümler getirme hususunda birlikte çalışmaya hazır olduğumuzun sözünü veriyorum.

Beni dikkatle dinlediğiniz için teşekkür ederken, sempozyumun başarılı geçmesi için en içten dileklerimi sunuyorum.

Selahattin GÜRKAN

Malatya Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı
Mayor of Malatya Metropolitan Municipality

Dear readers,

Malatya, which hosted many civilizations throughout the ages, has attracted the attention of the people due to the fact that it has a significant archeological potential with its geographical position and historical background. With reference to the findings obtained by Prof. Marcella Frangipane, who directed the last 30-year period of the excavation works, which first started in 1932, approaching 90 years of duration performed at the Arslantepe Mound, the information that Prof. Frangipane provided for the geographical location and historical background of Malatya clearly expresses this matter in a striking way. According to Frangipane: "the new culture intertwines with the local culture and this leads to new political and economic organization and new relationships. In this context Malatya needs to be seen as a cultural borderline where consensus and conflict are experienced in between two different cultural environments and societies."

The Arslantepe Mound is among the most important areas that Malatya has in this regard which is located in a very significant geographical location in terms of history. In the light of the information obtained in the studies conducted until today, Arslantepe, whose history goes way back to 5000 B.C., is a center where the aristocracy and the most ancient form of the state, as we know today, has emerged. Also, the obtained information indicates that the oldest forms of the bureaucracy and trade with official characteristics have started here.

The richness and variety of the cultural values of Anatolia are very important and proud in terms of the prestige of our country. However, the investigation, protection and evaluation of this richness also encumber great responsibilities upon us in the same manner. The studies made at Arslantepe have characteristics that shed light not only on the history of Malatya and the region, but also on the world history. The data obtained here in the consequence of the obtained findings allowed the emergence of new information regarding the history of humanity and they continue to do so.



Selahattin GÜRKAN

Malatya Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanı
Mayor of Malatya Metropolitan Municipality

Kıymetli okurlar,

Çağlar boyunca sayısız medeniyetlere ev sahipliği yapmış Malatya, coğrafi konumu ve tarihi geçmişi ile önemli bir arkeolojik potansiyele sahip olmasından dolayı, dikkatleri üzerine çekmektedir. İlk olarak 1932 yılında başlayan Arslantepe Höyüğü'nde yapılan 90 yıla yaklaşan kazı çalışmalarının son 30 yıllık bölümünü yöneten Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane'nin elde edilen bulgulardan hareketle, Malatya'nın coğrafi konumu ve tarihi geçmişi ile söyledikleri de bu konuyu oldukça çarpıcı olarak ifade etmektedir. Frangipane'ye göre "yeni kültür, yerel kültürle iç içe geçerek, yeni politik, ekonomik örgütlenmeye ve yeni ilişkilere yol açar. Bu bağlamda da Malatya'nın, uzlaşma ve çatışmanın farklı iki kültürel çevre ve toplum arasında yaşandığı kültürel bir sınır olarak görülmesi gerekir".

Tarihi açıdan son derece önemli bir coğrafya üzerinde yer alan Malatya'nın bu anlamda sahip olduğu en önemli alanların başında da "Arslantepe Höyüğü" gelmektedir. Günümüze kadar yapılan çalışmalarda elde edilen bilgiler ışığında geçmişi M.Ö. 5000 yıllarına kadar uzanan Arslantepe, aristokrasinin doğduğu ve günümüzde bilinen en eski devlet şeklinin ortaya çıktığı bir merkezdir. Yine elde edilen bilgiler, bürokrasinin ve resmi nitelikli ticaretin en eski uygulamalarının buradan başladığını göstermektedir.

Anadolu'nun kültürel değerlerinin zenginliği ve çeşitliliği, ülkemizin prestiji açısından son derece değerli ve onurludur. Ancak bu zenginliğin araştırılması, korunması ve değerlendirilmesi de bizlere aynı oranda büyük sorumluluk yüklemektedir. Arslantepe'de yapılan çalışmalar sadece Malatya ve bölge tarihine değil, dünya tarihine de ışık tutan özelliklere sahiptir. Burada elde edilen bulgular sonucunda ulaşılan veriler insanlık tarihi ile ilgili yeni bilgilerin ortaya çıkmasını sağlamıştır ve sağlamaya da devam etmektedir.

Besides the excavation works at Arslantepe, which is very important in terms of manifesting the values creating the building blocks of the human civilization, the scientific conferences, symposiums and workshops, where these works will be evaluated, will allow the value of the area to be understood even better. It is an undeniable fact that the obtained information will play an important and effective role in carrying Arslantepe into the international agenda and in its promotion.

The efforts deserve admiration, which the local and international scientists have made for the last 90 years, which may be deemed as a long time, in the matters of protection, evaluation and transfer of the historical and cultural heritage that Arslantepe has presented to our city. These efforts will make a contribution into the development of cultural tourism in our city and thusly into the brand value of the city of Malatya, and carry Arslantepe and Malatya to the place which they deserve in the international arena.

For these reasons, I thank the Office of the University President of the İnönü University, the Office of the University President of the La Sapienza University in Rome, Prof. Marcella Frangipane who is the chairperson of the board of excavations at Arslantepe and those who contributed into the studies.

İnsanlık medeniyetinin yapı taşlarını oluşturan değerleri ortaya koyması bakımından oldukça önem taşıyan Arslantepe'deki kazı çalışmalarının yanında, bu çalışmalarının değerlendirildiği bilimsel toplantılar, sempozyumlar ve çalıştaylar, alanın değerinin daha iyi anlaşılmasını sağlayacaktır. Elde edilen bilgilerin uluslararası gündeme taşınmasında ve Arslantepe'nin tanıtımında önemli ve etkin rol oynayacağı şüphe götürmez bir gerçektir.

Arslantepe'nin kentimize armağan ettiği tarihi ve kültürel mirasın korunması, değerlendirilmesi ve gelecek nesillere aktarılması hususunda yerli ve yabancı bilim insanlarının 90 yıl gibi uzun sayılabilecek bir süredir gösterdiği çabalar takdire şayandır. Bu çabalar kentimizde kültür turizminin gelişmesine, dolayısıyla da Malatya'nın marka değerine katkı sağlayacak, Arslantepe ve Malatya'yı uluslararası boyutta hak ettiği yere taşıyacaktır.

Bu nedenle I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Sempozyumunun ve kitabının hazırlanmasında emeği geçen İnönü Üniversitesi Rektörlüğüne, Roma La Sapienza Üniversitesi Rektörlüğüne, Arslantepe Kazı Heyeti Başkanı Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane'ye ve katkı sunan herkese çok teşekkür ediyorum.

Prof. Dr. Ahmet KIZILAY
İnönü Üniversitesi Rektörü
Rector of İnönü University

*Honourable Governor,
Honourable Metropolitan Mayor,
Distinguished Academicians and our guests,*

I am deeply honoured to be hosting the 1st International Arslantepe Archaeology Symposium. Very distinguished academicians from various countries of the world are attending this Symposium to discuss the archaeological significance and historical relations of Malatya and the region. "Sono onorato di darvi il benvenuto nella nostra università, Benvenuti!" ("I am honoured to welcome you to our university, Welcome!").

I am greeting all of you with respect and affection.

Archaeology is a discipline which examines the remains of the material culture produced by the Mankind from past to present. The customs, contradictions, chaos, social and economic dynamics of the societies, which are parts of the research field of archaeology and the milestones of development of the history of mankind, also harbour the secrets of the contemporary societies we live in now.

The fertile lands with rich soil and water and favorable climatic conditions, and especially the geography nurtured by the Euphrates and the Tigris have been the main source of life for agricultural societies who adopted a sedentary life. The developments experienced by societies who evolved from pottery production to metal manufacturing while sharing and using the resources involve various conflicts and contradictions.

Today, Turkey hosts remarkable archaeological remains and findings. The archaeological researches and excavations which are carried out in Turkey, and specifically in Malatya, have answered the most important questions about the development of history of mankind and civilization.

The Arslantepe Mound is the most remarkable archaeological site situated in the Malatya Plain thanks to not only its location and size but also the archaeological findings unearthed there. Louis Delaporte, a French archaeologist, initiated the first systematic excavations at Arslantepe in 1932. Following the death of Delaporte, another French archaeologist Claude Schaeffer took over the excavation works at Arslantepe in 1946. The Arslantepe excavations restarted in 1961 by the Italian Archaeology Mission in 1961. Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane, who is an academic member of Sapienza University of Rome, initially participated in the excavation team in 1976. And she has been leading the excavations since



Prof. Dr. Ahmet KIZILAY
İnönü Üniversitesi Rektörü
Rector of İnönü University

Sayın Valim,
Sayın Büyükşehir Belediye Başkanım,
Değerli bilim insanları ve kıymetli misafirlerimiz.

I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu vesilesiyle dünyanın birçok ülkesinden çok değerli bilim insanlarının katıldığı, Malatya'nın ve bölgenin arkeolojik önemi ve tarihsel ilişkilerinin tartışılacağı bu sempozyuma ev sahipliği yapmaktan büyük onur duymaktayım. "Sono onorato di darvi il benvenuto nella nostra università, Benvenuti!" ("Size üniversitemize hoş geldiniz demekten onur duyarım, hoş geldiniz!"). Sizleri sevgi, saygı ve muhabbetle selamlıyorum.

Arkeoloji disiplini geçmişten bugüne insan elinden çıkmış bütün maddi kültür kalıntılarını inceleyen bir bilim dalı olmuştur. Arkeolojinin araştırma alanı içerisinde yer alan, insanlık tarihinin gelişiminde kilometre taşı oluşturan toplumların alışkanlıkları, çelişkileri, karmaşası, sosyal ve ekonomik dinamikleri, şimdi içinde yaşadığımız toplumlara dair sırları da içinde barındırmaktadır.

Toprak, su ve iklim açısından verimli alanlar, özellikle Fırat ve Dicle'nin beslediği coğrafya, yerleşik hayata geçen tarım topluluklarının en önemli yaşam kaynağı olmuştur. Çanak-çömlek üretiminden maden üretim aşamasına geçen toplumların, kaynakların paylaşımı ve kullanımı sürecinde yaşadıkları gelişmeler kendi içerisinde birçok çelişki ve çatışmayı ihtiva etmektedir.

Bugün Türkiye, çok önemli arkeolojik buluntulara ev sahipliği yapmaktadır. Arkeolojik değer anlamında Türkiye'de onun da özelinde Malatya'da yapılan arkeolojik araştırmalar ve kazı çalışmaları insanlık tarihinin ve uygarlığın gelişimine ilişkin çok önemli sorulara cevap vermektedir.

1990. Numerous Turkish and international archaeologists have accompanied the 28th archaeological excavation works carried out this year under the directorship of Prof. Dr. Frangipane. We can suggest that the Arslantepe excavations are the most important archaeology laboratory of the region where many national and international archaeologists are trained.

The discipline of archaeology is like an art of asking questions to artefacts produced and left by ancient people human as the common heritage of mankind. The destruction of archaeological remains, which have become victims of political violence in countries such as Iraq and Syria due to the conflicts of the modern world, is unfortunately simply a systematic attack on the memory or common values of humankind. I believe that preserving, conserving and supporting the scientific works and studies will be the best response to all these sinister policies.

With all my sincere wishes, I hope that this symposium will be very productive for our university and our country. I once again welcome all our distinguished guests attending this opening ceremony.

Arslantepe Höyüğü gerek bulunduğu konum ve höyüğün ebatları, gerekse arkeolojik buluntulardan dolayı Malatya Ovası içerisinde yer alan en önemli arkeolojik yerleşim özelliğini taşımaktadır. Arslantepe’de ilk sistemli kazı çalışmaları 1932 yılında Fransız Arkeolog Louis Delaporte tarafından başlatılmıştır. Delaporte’un ölümü ile birlikte 1946 yılında kazı çalışmalarını Fransız Arkeolog Claude Schaeffer devralmıştır. 1961 yılında İtalyan Arkeoloji Misyonu tarafından tekrar başlatılan Arslantepe kazıları, 1990’dan itibaren Roma La Sapienza Üniversitesi Arkeoloji Bölümü Öğretim Üyesi Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane başkanlığında sürdürülmüştür. Prof. Dr. Frangipane başkanlığında, bu yıl 28. si gerçekleştirilen arkeolojik kazı çalışmalarına birçok yerli ve yabancı arkeolog eşlik etmektedir. Arslantepe kazılarını birçok yerli ve yabancı arkeoloğun yetiştigi, bölgenin en önemli arkeoloji laboratuvarı olarak kabul edebiliriz.

Arkeoloji disiplini, insanlığın ortak değerini oluşturan, insan eliyle üretilip geride bırakılanlara bir çeşit soru sorma sanatıdır. Günümüzde modern dünyanın engelleri nedeniyle Irak ve Suriye gibi ülkelerde politik şiddetin kurbanı haline gelen arkeolojik kalıntılar üzerindeki tahribat ne yazık ki insanlığın belleğine ya da ortak değerlerine sistemli bir saldırıdan başka bir şey değildir. Arkeolojik buluntuların korunması ve bilimsel çalışmaların teşviki tüm bu kötü politikalara en iyi cevap olabileceği kanaatindeyim.

Bu duygularla sempozyumun üniversitemize ve ülkemize hayırlı olmasını temenni ediyor, açılış törenimizi onurlandıran siz değerli konuklarımızı sevgiyle, saygıyla ve muhabbetle selamlıyorum.



Prof. Dr. Teodoro VALENTE

*Deputy Rector for Research Innovation and Technology Transfer Sapienza University of Rome
Roma La Sapienza Üniversitesi İnovasyon ve Teknoloji Transferi Araştırmalarından
Sorumlu Rektör Yardımcısı*

The Sapienza's University of Rome, more than 40 years ago, has undertaken a special program named "The Sapienza's Great Archaeological Excavations", which has been one of the most important scientific initiatives of our university. Thanks to the competences and scientific skills owned by colleagues working in this area, we have focused on this mission from the very beginning, with enthusiasm and very high-level results. The "Archeology" subject of La Sapienza is, in fact, positioned by the important international QS ranking as first in Italy and stable at the eleventh position in the world that is a position of absolute value.

Arslantepe has been one of the first project to be financed within this initiative and we are very proud to have supported this scientific project which has achieved such important results.

La Sapienza support the archaeological activities institutionally, in full synergy with the relevant Ministries (Cultural Heritage and Activities, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation), with the aim of extending and strengthening national and international collaboration. To date, there are more than 20 scientific missions running abroad, with the participation of professors, researchers and students, the involvement of four Departments (Sciences of Antiquity, Italian Institute of Oriental Studies, Earth Sciences, Environmental Biology) and two Faculties, with a broad territorial commitment, from Italy to the Near and Middle East, to East and Saharan Africa, over a time period ranging from Paleolithic to Middle Ages. Often in distant countries where research is a strong factor for dialogue between different cultures and peoples. The high importance

that Sapienza reserve to great archeological excavations which involve research, didactic and third mission aspects, due to the richness of this cultural heritage - which belongs to everyone - is also evidenced by an effective measure of central support, the Annual Great Excavation Internal Call, which in 2019 has reserved on the whole an amount of about one million euros to our researchers as co-financing for their activities.

Archeology contributes to transforming the landscape and enriching the cultural heritage. However, discovering, recovering and enhancing a site or an archaeological heritage does not just mean reviving historical memory. Studying and interpreting what remains of the past certainly stimulates the sharing of cultures and perspectives and play a social function of great importance in the present. The archaeological excavation is a practice of historical research that requires explaining the present also through the past, not by denial, but by discovering links. The history we have behind us is a responsibility for all of us, study and understanding the past is essential for understanding and orienting the present and thus addressing the future, without relying on short-term perspective. The educational function of cultural heritage must therefore be supported, implemented and put to good use.

To these brief considerations we must add another argument, that for a large University such as La Sapienza is mandatory: the absolute relevance of the scientific aspect. Archaeological excavations certainly represent an area that makes full use of the "scientific method", typically multidisciplinary and/or interdisciplinary, where a plurality of skills and competences can and must converge, in line with modern research trends, in an international panorama of knowledge sharing among researcher communities belonging to different countries.

Within this framework collaborations, now active for decades, between Turkish and Italian institutions within the archaeological sector are placed. The Italian archaeological mission of La Sapienza is present in the Arslantepe site, Malatya, with continuity since 1961, applying extensive systematic excavation strategies, stratigraphic and innovative research methods of an interdisciplinary nature. Research results have allowed to discover a millennial historical sequence that testifies the rich and complex history of the Region, thus reflecting that of the great near-eastern civilizations. The reconstructed history has in particular evidenced the presence, in the fourth millennium BC, of one of the oldest forms of state organization, based also on a system that, without writing, allowed control and management of economy issues, such as circulation of goods and work services. The large monumental complex is the oldest example of a palatial system. With the most recent discoveries, the complex, in an exceptional state of preservation, today protected and open to visitors, is waiting to be recognized as a UNESCO World Heritage Site. We all are confident that this important recognition will be granted, to honor the great commitment of the group of researchers of Sapienza, led by Prof. Marcella Frangipane, and all the Turkish colleagues with whom the fundamental collaborative activities were and are in place.

Thanks to all for having ideated and supported this formidable joint scientific work activity over the years and for the opportunities for studying and training in the field which our students can thus enjoy.

Osman GÜDER
Battalgazi Belediye Başkanı
Mayor of Battalgazi Municipality

Anatolia, which has moved the civilization forward step by step and bequeathed its legacy to further generations as a bridge between Asia and Europe, has nurtured various nations, states, cultures and civilizations since the olden days.

Malatya is one of the primeval cities of Anatolia that was called as 'a land where sun rises' in the ancient times thanks to its historic and cultural heritage cherishing many civilizations. Battalgazi (also called Old Malatya), which lies at the heart of Malatya, has some mounds such as İmamoğlu, Değirmentepe, Caferhöyük, Köşkerbaba and Pirod all of which feature like a laboratory of history where many authentic and archaeological materials and monuments were unearthed, and Arslantepe which is an archive of the heritage of the world thanks to its outstanding findings, artefacts and monuments.

As the Battalgazi Municipality, we believe in that we are obliged to protecting and preserving this common heritage of the Mankind and transferring it to the next generations. In this sense, the actions were started under the coordination of our municipality in 2014 so that Arslantepe may be inscribed into the UNESCO World Heritage List. The nomination process was completed and submitted to the UNESCO in 2019.

First International Arslantepe Archaeology Symposium between 4 and 6 October 2018 to raise awareness for Arslantepe worldwide in which the internationally renowned academicians and some bureaucrats attended.

I extend my thanks to all the distinguished persons who are honoured us participating in this symposium.



Osman GÜDER
Battalgazi Belediye Başkanı
Mayor of Battalgazi Municipality

Uygarlığı adım adım ileri taşıyarak sonraki nesillere miras bırakan, Asya ve Avrupa'nın köprüsü konumundaki Anadolu, tarihin ilk çağlarından itibaren kalbinde birçok millet, devlet, kültür ve medeniyeti barındırmıştır.

Antik çağlarda 'güneşin doğduğu yer' olarak adlandırılan Anadolu'nun kadim şehirlerinden biri olan Malatya, tarihi ve kültürel dokusuyla birçok uygarlığa ev sahipliği yapmıştır. Eski Malatya adıyla da anılan Battalgazi ilçemiz sınırlarında yer alan İmamoğlu, Değirmentepe, Caferhöyük, Köşkerbaba, Pirot gibi arkeolojik yerleşimlerde ele geçen, buluntular yaşadığımız toprakların 'zaman laboratuvarı' gibidir. Özgünlüğü ve arkeolojik önemiyle birçok eşsiz eser ve anıtın bulunduğu Arslantepe Höyüğü ise dünya kültürünün arşivi niteliğindedir.

Battalgazi Belediyesi olarak insanlığın ortak mirası Arslantepe'yi korumayı ve gelecek kuşaklara aktarmayı bir vazife sayıyoruz. Bu düşünceden hareketle, Arslantepe'nin UNESCO Dünya Kültür Mirası kalıcı listesine girebilmesi için 2014 yılında başlatılan çalışmaların koordinatörlüğünü üstlendik ve 2019 yılında başvuruyu tamamladık.

Arslantepe Höyüğü'nün dünya arkeoloji literatüründe bilinirliğini artırmak ve önemini ortaya koymak için 4-6 Ekim 2018 tarihleri arasında I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu düzenlenmiştir. Bu sempozyuma alanında söz sahibi ulusal ve uluslararası bilim insanları ile bürokratlar katılmıştır.

İlimizin bu değerine sahip çıkarak bizleri onurlandıran tüm katılımcılara teşekkür ederim.

Mehmet ÇINAR
Yeşilyurt Belediye Başkanı
Mayor of Yeşilyurt Municipality

The 1st International Arslantepe Archaeological Symposium, with the papers presented, has produced one of the most beautiful results of the Arslantepe excavations. With the cooperation of İnönü University and La Sapienza University in Rome; Italian Embassy, Malatya Metropolitan Municipality, Battalgazi Municipality and the Italian Cultural Center in Istanbul, the conference texts of the symposium were brought together and presented to the attention of scholars and history enthusiasts.

Human history is gaining new dimensions every day with the findings gained as a result of the current historical research. It's very exciting to see what we've been taught in history books are changing over time. The history is being rewritten every day. The Archaeological researches in Arslantepe and Malatya province set the best examples of this. As Yeşilyurt Municipality, we are proud to live in this geography with the awareness of the cultural richness of Malatya province. In this context, I would like to state that just as we protect the cultural assets left to us by the human communities that lived in the past, we have also carefully taken care of the monuments built in the period from recent history to the present.

I would like to thank to the İnönü University and La Sapienza University in Rome who had a greatest effort in organizing the First International Arslantepe Archaeological Symposium, the chairmen of the symposium, the symposium organizing committee and the esteemed scientists; I wish that archaeological studies will continue in our province in the future.



Mehmet ÇINAR
Yeşilyurt Belediye Başkanı
Mayor of Yeşilyurt Municipality

I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu, sunulan bildirimlerle, Arslantepe kazı çalışmalarının en güzel meyvelerinden birini vermiştir. İnönü Üniversitesi ve Roma Sapienza Üniversitesi işbirliği; İtalya Büyükelçiliği, Malatya Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Battalgazi Belediyesi ve İstanbul İtalyan Kültür Merkezi'nin katkılarıyla gerçekleşen sempozyumun konferans metinleri, bir araya getirilerek, bilim dünyası ve tarih meraklılarının dikkatine sunulmuştur.

İnsanlık tarihi, mevcut tarih araştırmaları neticesinde ulaşılan bulgularla, her geçen gün yeni boyutlar kazanmaktadır. Tarih kitaplarında bize öğretilenlerin zaman içerisinde değişiyor olduğunu görmek oldukça heyecan vericidir. Tarih, her geçen gün yeniden yazılmaktadır. Arslantepe ve Malatya ilinde yapılan arkeolojik araştırmalar bunun en güzel örneklerini oluşturmaktadır. Yeşilyurt Belediyesi olarak, Malatya ilinin kültürel zenginliklerinin bilinciyle bu coğrafyada yaşamaktan dolayı gurur duymaktayız. Bu bağlamda, üzerinde yaşadığımız bu topraklarda geçmişte yaşamış olan insan topluluklarının bize bıraktığı kültür varlıklarını koruduğumuz gibi, yakın tarihten günümüze uzanan zaman periyodunda inşa edilen eserlere de özenle sahip çıktığımızı belirtmek isterim.

I. Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumunun gerçekleştirilmesinde büyük emeği bulunan İnönü Üniversitesi ve Roma La Sapienza Üniversitesi başta olmak üzere, sempozyum başkanlarına, sempozyum düzenleme kuruluna, değerli bilim insanlarına ve tüm paydaşlara teşekkür eder; ilimizde, arkeolojik çalışmaların gelecekte de devam etmesini dilerim.



Prof. Dr. Giorgio PIRAS

*Director of the Department of Antiquities Sapienza University of Rome
Roma La Sapienza Üniversitesi Eskiçağ Kültürleri Bölüm Başkanı*

I am extremely glad and honored to express my regards and those of the Department of Antiquities of 'Sapienza' University of Rome to the Rector of the İnönü University and all professors and colleagues attending this relevant symposium, jointly organized by the University İnönü and 'Sapienza' University, which is aimed at highlighting the results obtained with many decades of archaeological excavations at Arslantepe. The importance of this excavation for the studies on the ancient Near East will be illustrated, and the history of the investigations, as well as its future, will be outlined and discussed, taking into account research, preservation and communication. The site played a crucial role for the establishment of an early State organization and the development of Greater Mesopotamian and Eastern Anatolian cultures, thanks to its geographical position, connected to the main political centers of the ancient world. Arslantepe is indeed a key-site for the history of the region in antiquity and will surely provide further significant elements for its comprehension.

The list of the speakers, coming from different nations, indicates the international nature of the initiative and its importance. Sapienza's commitment for the study of this area is stressed by the greetings of the Rector and by the presence of the pro-Rector, that I thank for the support and the personal participation.

The archaeological expedition at Arslantepe is one of our oldest and most prestigious ones. Moreover, our Department has always paid a special attention to excavations in Turkey: numerous archaeologists of the Department have been engaged and /or are currently engaged in excavations and research expeditions in the Anatolian region, [in addition to Arslantepe: we can mention, for instance, the activities at Elaiussa Sebaste and Hierapolis]. The interest for Anatolia and its millenarian cultures, including the

prehistoric, Hittite, Greek, Roman and later ones, also involves other research sectors of the Department, including the historical and philological-literary ones.

Several strong scientific, cultural and artistically relations indeed link us to this specific area and to Turkey in general. Our University aims at improving them, developing interactions even in other fields, such as modern literature and history.

I am therefore truly glad to bring you the regards of our Department, and I am looking forward to listening to the results of the studies that are going to be illustrated in these days, as well as to visiting the site with you. Let me thank the University İnönü and the local authorities for the invitation, for the hospitality, for the support given to this conference and in general to the research expedition.

Finally, I would like to thank the director of the archaeological project, our colleague and friend Marcella Frangipane, for her long-term commitment in the archeological excavation at Arslantepe, and all the other collaborators of the mission, including the students who come every year to learn and to expand their knowledge.

We wish that researches and teaching activities connected to this important site will continue, resulting in outcomes comparable to those obtained so far that are going to be illustrated during this conference.



SECTION 1
ARSLANTEPE: PAST AND FUTURE



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
International Arslantepe Archaeology Symposium
4-6 October 2018-Malatya / Turkey

TARİHÖNCESİ DÖNEMDE MALATYA
İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ PREHİSTORYA ANABİLİM DALI'NIN
BÖLGEDEKİ ARAŞTIRMALARA KATKILARI

MEHMET ÖZDOĞAN

İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Tarihöncesi Anabilim Dalı

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TARİHÖNCESİ DÖNEMDE MALATYA İSTANBUL ÜNİVERSİTESİ PREHİSTORYA ANABİLİM DALI'NIN BÖLGEDEKİ ARAŞTIRMALARA KATKILARI

MEHMET ÖZDOĞAN

Giriş

Günümüzden Kırk Yıl Öncesine Bir Bakış

İstanbul Üniversitesi Prehistorya Anabilim Dalı ilk olarak 1976 yılında Malatya'da alan çalışmaları yapmaya başlamış, daha sonra Protohistorya Anabilim Dalı da bu çalışmalara katılmış ve Karakaya baraj gölünün dolması ile arazideki çalışmalar 1986 yılında sonlandırılmıştır. Ancak İstanbul Üniversitesi ekiplerinin bölgeye olan ilgisi daha sonraki yıllarda da kısmen yayın hazırlığı kısmen de bölgeler arası kültürel ilişkilerin belirlenmesi bağlamında devam etmiştir. Bunun yanı sıra Malatya ve çevresinde yapılan araştırmalara ve özellikle Arslantepe kazılarına da her zaman destek verilmeye çalışılmıştır.

Malatya'nın tarihöncesi dönemleri ile ilgili bilgilerimizin bölgede ilk çalışmaya başladığımız yıllarda yok denecek kadar az olmasına karşın, aradan geçen zaman içinde gerek baraj kurtarma kazılarının gerekse Arslantepe ekibinin ortaya çıkarttığı sonuçlar Malatya çevresini ilgi odağı durumuna getirmiştir. Bu bağlamda ilginç bir rastlantı, daha sonraki yıllarda İstanbul Üniversitesi Prehistorya Anabilim Dalı'nın başkanı olan ünlü arkeolog Prof. Dr. Halet Çambel'in, 1936 yılında, daha öğrenci iken Arslantepe'de Delaporte'un kazısına staj için katılmış olmasıdır. Çambel Fransa'da öğrenci iken Atatürk'ün emri ile yaz ayları boyunca staj görmesi için ülkeye çağırılmış ve Delaporte'dan da onu ekibine alması emir değil, rica edilmiştir. 1979 yılında Malatya Değirmentepe kazılarına başladığımızda Arslantepe'den deneyimli bir işçi rica etmiştik, bizimle çalışmaya gelen Resül adlı yaşlı işçinin ilk sözü "eskiden Fransızlar ile çalışırken benim yanımda İstanbullu bir öğrenci vardı Halet Çambel adında, tanır mısınız?" sorusu olmuştu. Her ne kadar ileriki yıllarda Çambel, Malatya'da çalışma olanağı bulamamış ise de, her zaman gençlik yıllarında bulunduğu bölgeyi ve özellikle Orduzu'nu özlemle anlatırdı. 1985 yılında, kazı başkanı Alba Palmieri'nin çağrısı üzerine Arslantepe'ye geldiğinde gözleri dolarak yarım yüzyıl öncesine, öğrencilik yıllarına gittiğini görmek bizleri çok etkilemişti (Fig. 1).

İstanbul Üniversitesi Prehistorya Anabilim Dalı'nın arazi çalışmaları zaman içerisinde çeşitli nedenlere bağlı olarak Çukurova ile Diyarbakır - Urfa yöresinde yoğunlaşmıştı. Fırat üzerinde büyük bir barajın yapılacak olması bölgeyi iyi bilen Halet Çambel'i harekete geçirmiş, ilk olarak o sıralarda Tunceli Pertek'te Ortaçağ yapılarının belgelenmesi ve kurtarılması için çalışmalar yapmakta olan Cevat Erder ve daha sonra da Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi Rektörü Kemal Kurdaş ile görüşerek onları, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi

bünyesinde Keban baraj göl alanında kurtarma kazılarını düzenleyecek kapsamlı bir çalışmanın yapılması konusunda ikna etmişti. Uzun bir süre Maliye Bakanlığı yaptığı için bürokrasiyi çok iyi bilen Kurdaş, Çambel ve Erder'in yanı sıra o yıllarda Türkiye'de çalışmakta olan Robert Braidwood'u da yanına alarak Cumhurbaşkanı Cevdet Sunay'ı ziyaret ederek desteğini istemişti. Bu girişimin sonunda, amacı baraj göl alanının araştırılması ve su altında kalacak kültür varlıklarının belgelenecek kurtarılması olan kapsamlı, çok disiplinli bir çalışma grubu ortaya çıkmıştır (Özdoğan 2000a, 2000b, 2006a, 2013a, 2013b, 2015, 2018). Çok kısa bir süre içinde yapılan çalışmalar ile "Keban Projesi" olarak ün yapan, ülkemizin arkeolojisine yeni bir anlayışın gelmesini sağlayan bu çalışma grubu Çambel'in öngörüsü ile tümüyle Kurdaş'ın eseridir.

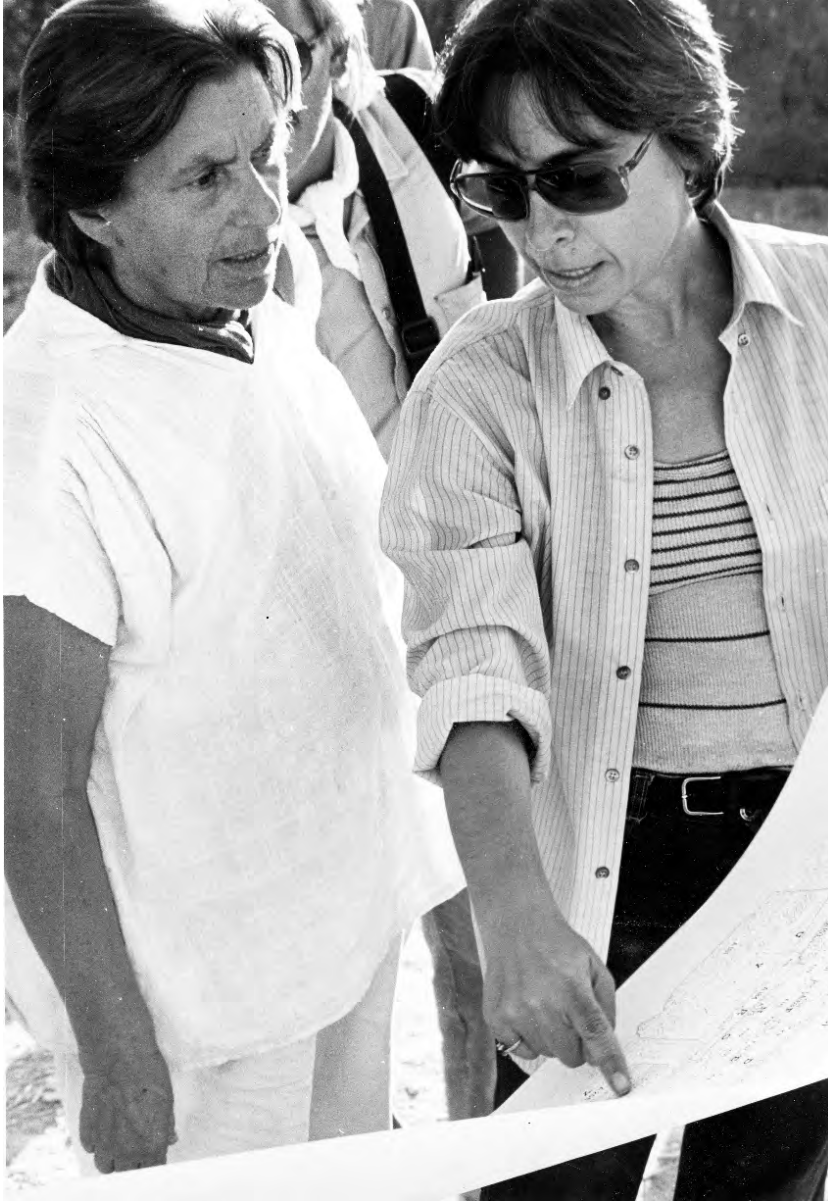


Fig. 1 - Halet Çambel'in 1985 yılı Arslantepe ziyaretinde Alba Palmieri bilgi verirken (Arslantepe Arşivi)



Keban Projesi'nin ilk ayağı olarak 1967 yılında İstanbul Üniversitesi Prehistorya Anabilim Dalı ile Chicago Oriental Institute'un birlikte oluşturduğu ekip, baraj göl alanında ayrıntılı bir tarama çalışması yapmıştır (Whallon 1979; Whallon, Kantman 1969, 1970). Hemen ertesi yıl da Elazığ-Tunceli illerinin baraj gölü altında kalacak kesimlerinde kazı çalışmaları başlatılmıştı. O yıllarda genel kanı Doğu Anadolu'da önemli bir kültür varlığının olmadığı şeklindeydi; bu konu üzerinde aşağıda daha ayrıntılı olarak durulacaktır. Keban bölgesindeki höyüklerde başlatılan kazılar daha ilk yılın sonunda, M.Ö. 3. bin yıla ait beklenmedik gelişkin bir kültürel yapının var olduğunu göstermekle kalmamış, havzanın Torosların güneyi, Suriye-Mezopotamya kültür bölgesi ile de canlı bir ilişki sergilediğini ortaya koymuştu (Whallon, Kantman 1969). Keban Projesi kazılarının en beklenmedik sonuçları arasında, Tepecik'te İlk Tunç Çağ katmanlarının altında Güney Mezopotamya Uruk mimari geleneğinde bir Son Kalkolitik dönem yapısının bulunması olmuştur (Fig. 2) (Esin 1982). O tarihe kadar Uruk kültürünün bu kadar kuzeye yayıldığı bilinmiyordu. Esas ilginç olan yapıda Uruk-Suriye malları (Fig. 3) ile birlikte Orta Anadolu geleneğini yansıtan kapların bir arada bulunmuş olmasıydı. Sonraki yıllarda Tülintepe'de de Ubeyd ve Halaf (Fig. 4) buluntu topluluklarına rastlanması Toros Dağlarının kültürel sınır olmadığını da ötesinde zengin doğal kaynakları ve çevre ortamı ile önemli bir kültürel odak olduğunu göstermişti.

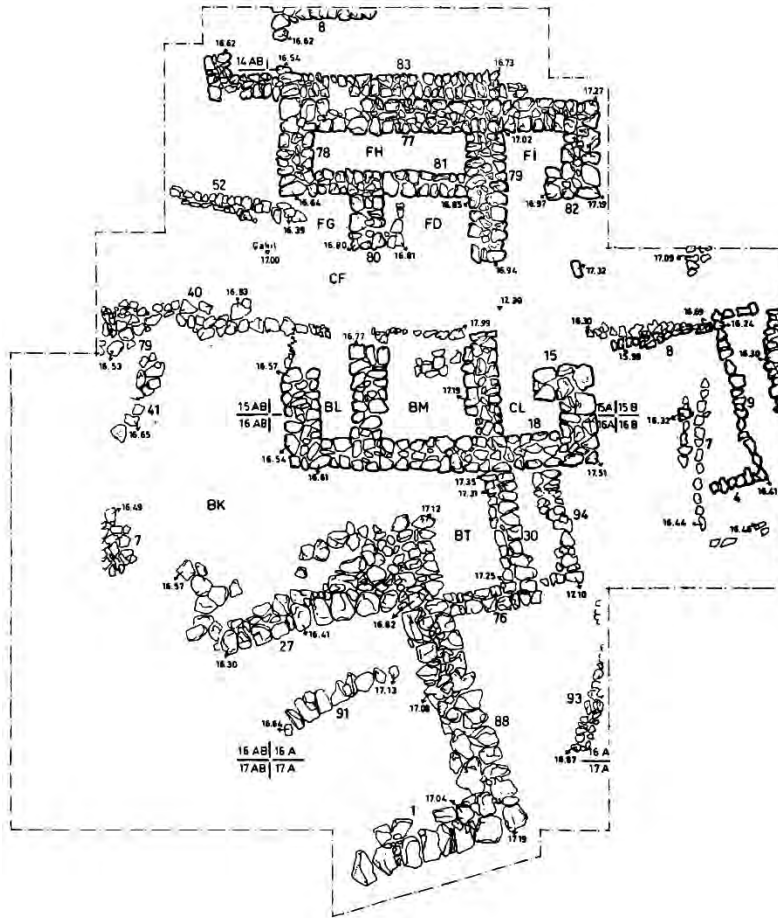


Fig.2 - Tepecik Uruk etkilerinin görüldüğü yapı (İstanbul Üniversitesi Arşivi)



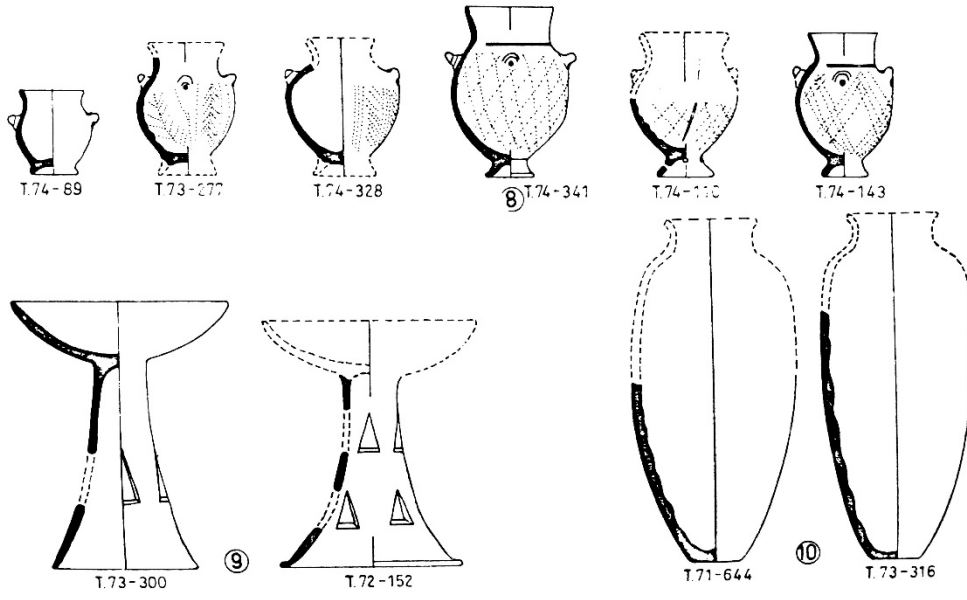


Fig. 3 - Tepecik, Uruk kültürü ile ilişkili kaplar (İstanbul Üniversitesi Arşivi)



Fig. 4 - Tülintepe Halaf türü çanak çömlek parçaları (İstanbul Üniversitesi Arşivi)



Keban baraj gölünün dolması ile 1974 yılında Elazığ bölgesinde çalışmalarımız sona ermiş, projenin Karakaya ve Atatürk baraj göllerine taşınması gündeme gelmişti. Ufuk Esin başkanlığındaki İstanbul Üniversitesi ekibi, çalışmalarını Malatya bölgesinde, Karakaya baraj göl alanında kalacak höyüklerde sürdürme kararı aldı. İlk olarak 1975 yılında Ankara Üniversitesi DTCF'den ekibe katılan meslektaşlarımız ile yörede kısa bir ön çalışma yaptıktan sonra 1977 yılında Malatya, Elazığ, Diyarbakır, Adıyaman ve Şanlıurfa illerinin Karakaya ile Atatürk baraj gölleri altında kalacak bölgeleri ayrıntılı bir şekilde taranarak belgelendi. İki büyük baraj gölünde su altında kalacak buluntu yerlerinin sayısı 580'i geçmekteydi. Barajın yapımının tamamlanmasına 9 yıl kadar kısa bir süre kaldığı ve bölgede çalışmak isteyen ekiplerin sayıca azlığı göz önüne alınınca, saptadığımız höyüklerin büyük bir kısmının hiç kazılmadan suların altında kalacağı belli olduğu için, yüzey araştırmasının yayınında buluntu yerlerini olabildiğince ayrıntılı olarak sunmaya çalıştık. Alan çalışmasının bitiminden üç ay gibi kısa bir süre sonra, iki dilli olarak basılan yüzey araştırması kitabında (Özdoğan 1977) elimizdeki olanaklar zorlanarak ayrıntılı haritaların yanı sıra, höyüklerde yaptığımız kesit ve krokiler ile birlikte topladığımız buluntuların çizimlerinin de eklendiği olabilecek en kapsamlı biçimde bir yayın çıkarmaya çalıştık (Fig. 5 - 6). 1977 Ekim ayında proje katılım çağırısına olumlu yanıt veren Türk ve yabancı ekiplere bölgedeki höyükler gezdirildi ve böylelikle çalışılacak yerler belirlendi. Malatya Bölgesindeki höyükleri çalışmak için İstanbul Üniversitesi'nden Prof.Dr. Ufuk Esin İmamoğlu köyü sınırları içindeki Kalkolitik döneme ait Değirmen-tepe Höyüğünü (Fig. 7), Prof. Dr. Önder Bilgi ise hemen Fırat kıyısındaki Köşkerbaba İlk Tunç Çağı yerleşimini seçti. Bu iki höyüğün yanı sıra, Malatya Müzesi'nin üstlendiği Pirot Höyük ile İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinin kazdığı İmamoğlu Höyüğü kazısına da İstanbul Üniversitesi öğrenci ve uzman desteği yaptı.

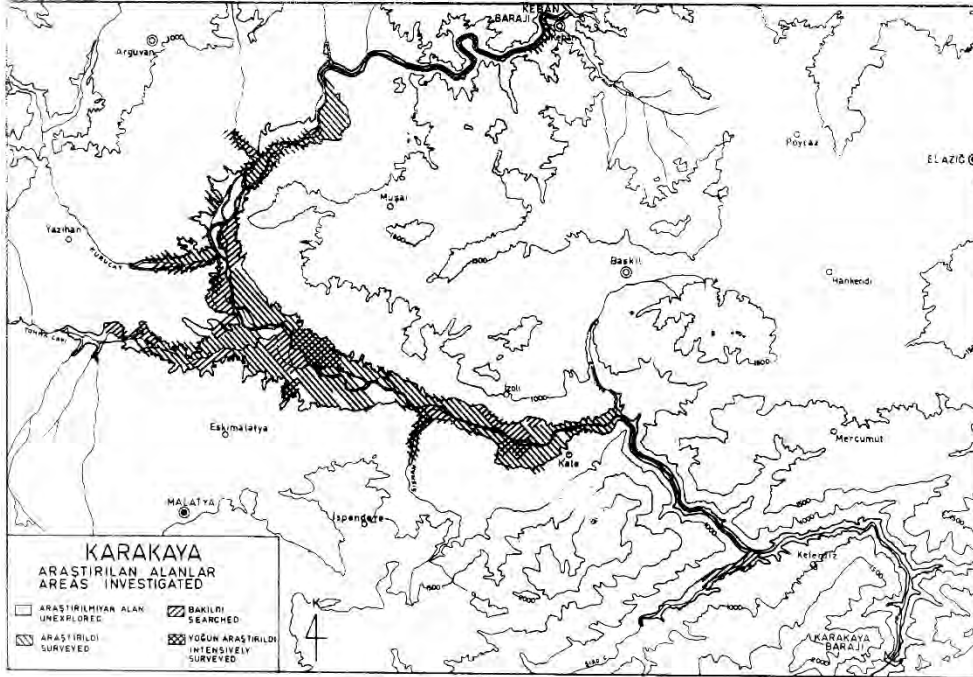


Fig. 5 – Karakaya Baraj Gölü alanı 1977 yılı araştırılan alanlar



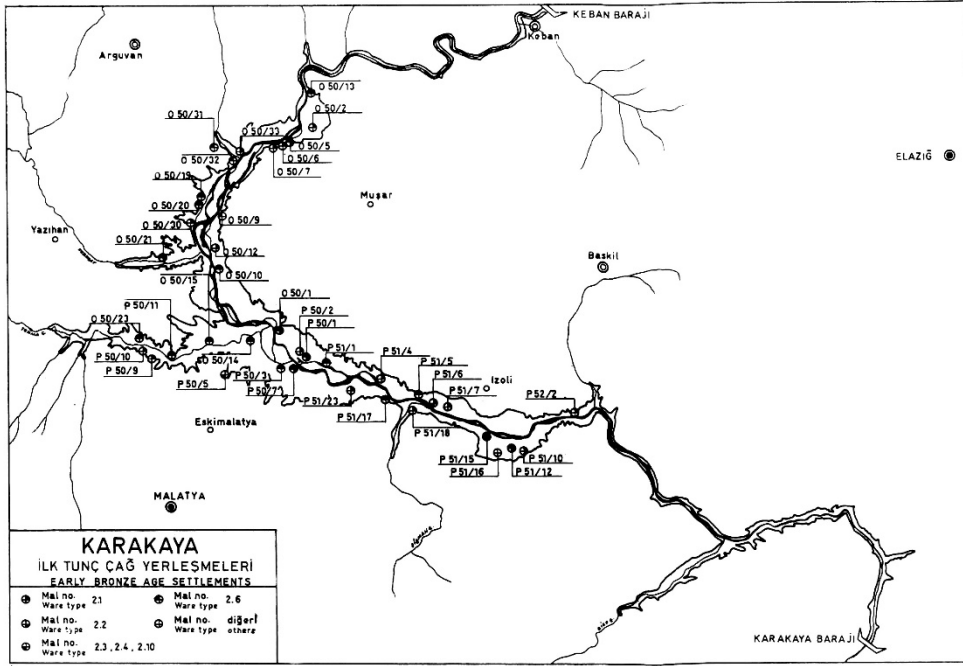


Fig. 6 - Karakaya Baraj Gölalını 1977 yılında saptanan arkeolojik merkezler



Fig. 7 – Değirmen-tepe Höyüğü, Doğudan (İstanbul Üniversitesi Arşivi)

Prehistorya Anabilim Dalı olarak seçtiğimiz Değirmen-tepe, her bakımdan Elazığ Tepecik ve Tülintepe höyüklerinde yaptığımız çalışmanın devamı, daha doğrusu tamamlayıcısı olarak düşünülmelidir (Esin 1983, 1989). Yukarıda kısaca değindiğimiz gibi Elazığ höyükleri, Güneydoğu Toros silsilesinin kuzeyinde kalan ovalar zincirinin yalnızca



Güneydoğu Anadolu ile değil, Suriye – Mezopotamya ile de ilişki olduğunu göstermiş; bu bağlamda Tülintepe’de, Halaf ve Halaf – Ubeyd geçiş dönemine ait kültür katlarının üzerinde gelişen büyük bir Ubeyd yerleşmesini ortaya çıkartmıştı. Tam aynı olmasa da Tepecik höyüğünde yapılan derin sondaj da höyükteki ilk yerleşimin Çanak Çömlekli Neolitik dönemde başladığını ve kesintisiz olarak Halaf, Ubeyd ile Uruk dönemleri boyunca sürdüğünü göstermişti. Bu bağlamda dönemi için anıtsal olarak tanımlayabileceğimiz Uruk yapısı Kalkolitik dönemin sonlarına doğru bölgenin kültürel bağlarının Basra Körfezi’ne kadar uzandığını ve giderek artan ticaretin izlerini vermişti. Elazığ ve Malatya bölgelerinde Ubeyd ile Uruk kültürlerinin oldukça güçlü izlerinin saptanması, bunun bir kolonizasyon mu, kültürel yayılım mı, yoksa tanımlayamadığımız bir süreci mi yansıttığı sorusunu, Değirmentepe kazısı ile kısmen yanıtlayabileceğimizi düşünmüştük. Elazığ Altınova’daki Tülintepe, 1966 yılında, kurtarma kazılarının başlamasından hemen önce Devlet Demiryolları tarafından yeni demiryolu hattına toprak çekmek için ova düzlemine kadar kazınarak tahrip edilmişti; bu tahribat sırasında kepeçeden dökülen Uruk kılıçları, burada da Arslantepe sarayı ile çağdaş bir merkezin olduğunu göstermişti (Yalçın, Yalçın 2008, 2009). Ubeyd kültür katı, ancak duvarların alt sırası olan çok ince bir dolgu ile günümüze ulaşabildiği için bu nedenle yapıların işlevini anlamamızı sağlayacak buluntular da korunmamıştı. Değirmentepe’nin ise Fırat’ın büyük bir seli tarafından tahrip edilmesi ve daha sonra da uzun bir süre yeniden iskân edilmemesi nedeniyle, yapıların duvarlarındaki Ubeyd dönemi resimleri ile birlikte çok iyi korunmuştu (Fig. 8-9).

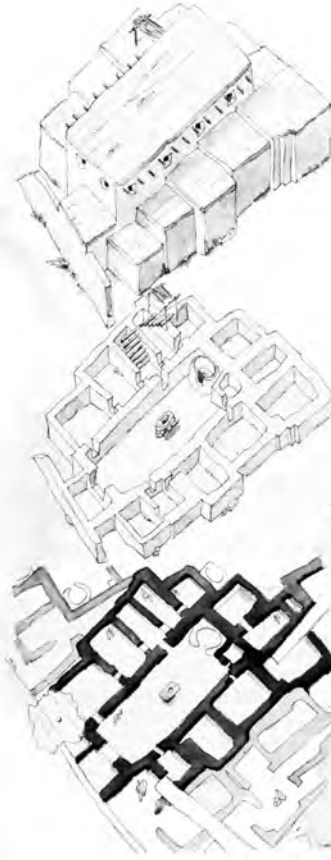


Fig. 8 – Değirmentepe Ubeyd tapınak plan ve canlandırma resmi





Fig. 9 – Değirmentepe Ubeyd tapınak duvarındaki boyalı resim (İstanbul Üniversitesi Arşivi)

Değirmentepe'deki en önemli buluntu ise çok sayıdaki Ubeyd dönemi mühür ve mühür baskılarıydı (Fig. 10a-c). Bunlar M.Ö. 4. bin yılda Arslantepe'de çok güçlü olarak temsil edilen ticari sistemin daha M.Ö. 5. bin yıl sonları gibi erken bir tarihte kurumsallaştığını ortaya çıkartmıştı. Her ne kadar Değirmentepe'de Ubeyd plan tipini yansıtan, oldukça anıtsal görünümü olan bir yapı (Esin 1998) bulunmuş olsa da, Değirmentepe Malatya ovasında bu süreci temsil eden tek yerleşim yeri değildi. Malatya Müzesi'nin kazısını üstlendiği Pirod ile İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzesi'nin üstlendiği İmamoğlu Höyüğü kazıları Değirmentepe'den çok daha büyük ve çok katmanlı höyüklerdi. Pirod, Halaf'tan Uruk dönemine kadar olan süreci yansıtan dönemin en seçkin buluntularını vermekteydi. Höyükte ne İmamoğlu'nda, ne Değirmentepe'de, ne de Tülintepe'de görmediğimiz, Güney Mezopotamya'nın yeşil renkli hamuru ile kolay ayırt edilen, bölgeye kuşkusuz ithal olarak gelen kapların parçalarına rastlanmıştı. Yapılan çalışmalarda elde edilen bu veriler için üzücü olan aradan 30 yıl geçmiş olmasına rağmen her iki kazının da halen yayınlanmamış olmasıdır. Değirmentepe kazısının sonlanmasına yakın, kazıda çalışan işçiler İkizhöyük adlı bir yerleşim yerinden, Tepecik Höyüğü'nün en alt katlarından tanıdığımız Neolitik kaplara benzeyen bazı parçalar getirip göstermişlerdi. Yüzey araştırmasında saptayamadığımız İkizhöyük yerleşimi Değirmentepe'nin doğusunda, Fırat'a yakın bir sekinin üzerindeydi. Ufuk Esin ve Savaş Harmankaya burada küçük bir sondaj yaptı. Bulunan malzeme yumrucuk bezemesi ile Tepecik ve Diyarbakır Yayvantepe'den bilinen Neolitik çanak çömlek ile tam olarak benzeşmekteydi. O yıllarda Malatya bölgesinde bu tür malzeme veren başka bir yerleşim yeri bilinmiyordu. Maalesef İkizhöyük de yalnızca kısa bir ön rapor ile tanıtılabilmişti (Esin, Harmankaya 1991).





Fig. 10a-c – Değirmentepe mühür baskıları (İstanbul Üniversitesi Arşivi)

Değirmentepe Höyüğü'ndeki çalışmalarımız Karakaya Barajı'nın su toplama başlması ve hızla höyüğün su altında kalmasıyla sonlandı. Günümüz uygarlığının temellerinin atılmasında çok önemli bir yere sahip olan Ubeyd ve ardılı olan Uruk kültürlerinin gelişim ve yayılımı ile bilgilerimiz de bu süreçte artmış ve özellikle Arslantepe Höyüğü'nde İtalyan meslektaşlarımızın sürdürdüğü kazı ve araştırmalarla çok daha sağlam temellere oturmuştur (Frangipane 2016, 2017). "Kent devrimi" olarak da adlandırılan Ubeyd ve özellikle Uruk dönemi, Mezopotamya'da kentlerin geliştiği, kurumların yeni bir yapılanma sürecine girerek devleti ortaya çıkartan örgütlenmenin alt yapısını kurduğu bir dönemdir (Balossi Restelli 2012; Frangipane 2002, 2003, 2018; Oates, Oates 2004). Bu yazıyla Güneydoğu Torosların kuzeyinde kalan bölgenin, Elazığ – Malatya yöresinin kent ve devlet oluşum sürecindeki önemi ve bu konuda İstanbul Üniversitesi kazılarının katkıları üzerinde kısaca durmaya çalıştık; ne yazık ki baraj kurtarma kazıları sona erdikten sonra ne Elazığ ne Malatya ne de Tunceli'de yeni hiçbir kazı çalışması olmamış, Arslantepe bölgede sürdürülen tek kazı yeri olarak kalmıştır. Oysaki bilgilerin sağlam temellere oturması için, elde edilen verilerin, yapılan yorumların mutlaka çevredeki başka kazılar ile karşılaştırılarak bütünleştirilmesi gerekmektedir.

Daha önce de değinildiği gibi bölgenin kültürel süreci ile ilgili bilgilerimiz oldukça düzensiz ve atlamalıdır. Başta Arslantepe, Gelinciktepe, Köşkerbaba ve Pirot kazıları ile M.Ö. 3. bin yılsonlarına kadar olan süreç oldukça iyi bir şekilde tanımlanabilmiş, Arslantepe Geç Hitit dönemini de görkemli kalıntıları ile yansıtmıştır. Ancak halen bölgenin 2. bin yılı ile ilgili bilgimiz yok denecek kadar azdır. Oysa bölgenin uzun bir süre Hitit İmparatorluğunun bir parçası olduğu bilinmektedir. Tohma Suyu'nun güney taraçası üzerindeki Yarımtepe Höyüğü bu döneme ait öne çıkan tek yerleşim yeridir. 1977 yılı yüzey araştırmasında saptamış olduğumuz Yarımtepe'nin çok önemli idari bir merkez olduğuna kuşkuğumuz yoktur. Yerleşimi çevreleyen anıtsal sur ve anıt yapıların yıkıntıları Hitit İmparatorluğu döneminde bölgenin başkentinin Yarımtepe olduğunu düşündürmektedir. 1979 yılında ünlü Hititolog Thomas Beran Yarımtepe kazısını üstlenmiş, ancak maalesef ani vefatı nedeni ile bu çalışma gerçekleşmemiştir.

Bir bölgenin önemi, ancak o bölgede yapılan kazılar ile anlaşılabilir; bir bölgenin stratejik coğrafi konumda olması, doğal kaynaklarının zenginliği, bilim dünyasına aktarılan somut veriler olmadıkça arka planda kalmak durumundadır. Malatya – Elazığ yöresi kanımızca bu durumun tanımlı bir örneği durumundadır. Bölge, Keban kurtarma kazıları yapıncaya kadar "kültür tarihi açısından önemsiz" olarak görülmüş, 1986 yılına kadar yapılan kazı çalışmaları bu görüşü önemli ölçüde değiştirebilmiştir. Ancak sonraları bölgede tek kazı yeri olarak kalan Arslantepe, temsil ettiği dönemleri tüm görkemi ile yansıtan buluntular vermeyi sürdürmüş ve hatta Son Kalkolitik ve İlk Tunç Çağ buluntuları ile Yakın Doğu kültür tarihi ile ilgili yorumları zorlamaya başlamıştır. Bu bağlamda bölgeye bakış açımızın zaman içinde nasıl değiştiğini aşağıda özetlemekte yarar görmekteyiz.



Zaman İçinde Değişen Yorumlar: Malatya Bölgesinin Kültür Tarihindeki Yeri

Yukarıda değinildiği gibi Prehistorya Anabilim Dalının Elazığ - Malatya bölge çalışmalarını başlattığı 1967 yılında, bölgenin tarihöncesi kültürleri ile ilgili hemen hiçbir veri olmadığı gibi, genel kanı da bu bölgeyi önemsizleştirmektedir. Keban ve Karakaya baraj göl alanlarında 1967 ile 1986 yılları arasında yapılan kazı çalışmalarının, söz konusu bölgenin uygarlık tarihi içindeki yeri ile ilgili görüş ve yorumların yanı sıra zaman içinde genel bakış açısını nasıl değiştirdiğini kısaca özetlemeye çalışacağız.

Doğu Anadolu bölgemizin genelinde olduğu gibi Malatya'da da arkeolojik araştırmalar oldukça yeni bir tarihte başlamış, bölgenin kültür tarihi içindeki yeri bu nedenle yakın zamanlara kadar gereğince anlaşılamamıştır. Araştırma eksikliğinin nedenleri arasında kuşkusuz bölgenin dağlık ve o dönemin koşullarında zor ulaşılabilir olmasının önemli bir yeri vardır; ancak yine de esas nedenin Türk Arkeolojisinde gelenekselleşmiş "Mezopotamya odaklı" bakış açısı olduğunu da söylemek gerekir. Geleneksel bakış açısına göre ilk uygarlıklar bölgemizin güneyinde, Irak-Suriye düzlüklerinde ortaya çıkmış ve uzun bir süre Anadolu'ya yayılmadan bulunduğu bölgede gelişerek varlığını sürdürmüştür. Bu bağlamda Suriye düzlüklerini kuzeyden çevreleyen Doğu Toros dağ sırası "eski uygarlıkların kuzey sınırı" olarak görülmüştür (Özdoğan 1995, 2003, 2004). Bu bakış açısı, ister istemez Güneydoğu Torosların kuzeyi boyunca uzanan ovalar zincirini, Malatya'dan Van Gölü havzasına kadar Elazığ-Palu-Muş ovalarını da ilk uygarlıkların gelişim sınırı dışında bırakmıştı. Dolayısıyla buralarda yapılacak araştırmalarda tarihöncesi dönemlere ait önemsenerek bir buluntuya rastlanması gibi bir beklenti de yoktu. Güneyde, Mezopotamya'da gelişen uygarlıkların Doğu Anadolu gibi dağlık bölgelerin sert iklim kuşaklarıyla baş edebilecek teknolojik ve kültürel düzeye erişebilmelerinin ancak M.Ö. 2. bin yılda gerçekleşeceği düşünülmektedir. Toros Dağlarının uygarlığın kuzey sınırı olarak düşünülmesi görüşü öylesine güçlüydü ki, 1968 yılında Keban Baraj göl alanında saptanmış olan 52 arkeolojik merkezde kurtarma kazıları için çağrı yapıldığında, yalnızca sekiz başvuru olmuştu ki bunların üçü daha önce hiç kazı başkanlığı yapmamış genç arkeologlardı. Bu "gençler" Ufuk Esin, Ümit Serdaroğlu ve Harald Hauptmann'dı. 1975 yılına kadar süren Keban projesi sürprizlerle dolu sonuçlar vermişti. Daha önce Kuzeydoğu Anadolu'da ve kısmen de Van'da yapılmış olan çalışmalar Kafkaslarda Kura-Aras, bizim bölgemizde de Karaz olarak tanımlanan "Dağlı" kültürün Fırat havzasına kadar indiğini göstermiştir. Dolayısıyla Keban havzasında da Karaz kültürüne ait basit yerleşimlerin bulunması, gerek Esin'in gerekse Hauptmann'ın beklentileri arasındaydı. Ne var ki daha ilk kazı mevsiminde ovada başlayan bütün kazılar İlk Tunç Çağı yerleşimlerinin düşünüldüğü gibi basit yerleşimler olmadığını, her ne kadar kuzey bölgelerinin Karaz kültürünün belirgin buluntu topluluğunu yansıtmaktaysa da, bölgenin Suriye Mezopotamya bölgesi ile canlı bir ilişkisi olduğunu da bütün hafirleri şaşırtacak şekilde ortaya çıkardı. Korucutepe kazısını üstlenen van Loon Suriye uzmanıydı; Suriye'deki kazısına Braidwood'un ricasını kıramayarak ara vermiş ve projeye katılmıştı. O sıralar bizim için yabancı olan ve kitaplardan resimlerine bakarak tanımlamaya çalıştığımız Suriye metalik malları, saklı astar bezemeli çark yapımı çanak çömleği ile bunun gibi güneye özgün sandığımız malzemeyi ayrıntılandırmamızda yadsınmaz desteği oldu. Esasen Toros Dağlarının kuzeyinin Suriye - Mezopotamya bölgesi ile bu kadar benzeşmesi van Loon'u da şaşırtmıştı. Çalışmaların daha ikinci yılında Hauptmann Norşuntepe'de İlk Tunç Çağı sarayını, van Loon da Korucutepe'de anıtsal at nalı biçimli kutsal ocağı ile görkemli kült binasını buldu. Norşuntepe sarayı hala Anadolu'da kazıyla açığa çıkmış en tanımlı İlk Tunç Çağı sarayı olma özelliğini korumaktadır. Bütün bunların ötesinde Keban hepimiz için sürprizlerle doluydu; aşağıda kısaca değinilecek olan Neolitik Halaf, Ubeyd, Uruk kültürlerine rastlanması bizleri heyecanlandırmış ve Ön Asya uygarlıklarının gelişim sürecini yeniden kurgulamanın gerekli olduğunu düşündürmeye başlamıştı. Keban'da ortaya çıkan bilgi beklenmedikti, çok kısa süre içinde çıktı, hızla



yayınlandı ancak bu bilginin bilim dünyasına sinmesi için zamana ihtiyaç bulunmaktaydı. Bunun eksikliğini aşağıda değineceğimiz gibi Elazığ'dan Malatya Ovası'na aktarılma sürecinde yaşamıştık. Keban Projesi'nin sonlandığı 1975 yılında, projenin Karakaya baraj göl alanında sürdürülmesi gündeme gelmiş ve baraj gölünün kaplayacağı Malatya ovasında önemsenecek bir kalıntı olup olmadığını belirlemek için Keban projesi tarafından görevlendirilmiştik. O yıllarda bölgenin kültür tarihine ve Keban'da ortaya çıkan bulgulara hala kuşkuyla bakılıyordu (Özdoğan 2005b). Oysaki bölgenin kültür tarihi ile ilgili veriler gezginler tarafından sınırlı ölçüde de olsa da aktarılmaktaydı.

Bölgeye 18. yüzyıldan itibaren gelmeye başlayan gezginler daha çok anıt yapıların en göze çarpan örneklerini belgelemiş, bölgedeki doğal geçitler ve tarihi yol kalıntıları hakkında bilgi vermiş ancak ilginç bir şekilde höyükleri gözlerinden kaçırmışlardır. Erken Cumhuriyet döneminde de bölgedeki belgeleme çalışmaları Selçuklu ve Beylikler dönemi yapıları üzerinde yoğunlaşmıştır. Bölgenin ön tarih dönemi ile ilgili ilk somut veri Delaporte'un 1932 - 1938 yılları arasında Arslantepe'de yaptığı kazılarda ortaya çıkan Geç Hitit ve Asur dönemlerine ait anıtsal kapı ve saray yapıları olmuştur (Delaporte 1933, 1940). Söz konusu buluntuların M.Ö. 1. bin yıla, Demir Çağı'na ait olması, bölgenin ancak geç dönemlerde önem kazandığı vurgusunu güçlendirmiş ve hatta höyüğün diğer kesimlerinden bulunmuş olan boya bezemeli İlk Tunç Çağı çanak çömleğinin de 1968 Keban Projesi çalışmalarına kadar Demir Çağı olarak tanımlanmasına neden olmuştur. 2. Dünya Savaşı'nın başlaması sebebiyle höyüğün tabakalanma sorunu tam olarak çözülemeden Delaporte'un Arslantepe kazıları kesintiye uğramıştır. Savaşın bitişinden hemen sonra, 1946 yılında Schaeffer Arslantepe Höyüğü'nde, gerek bölgenin kültürel katmanlarını, gerekse diğer bölgeler ile olan etkileşimini belirlemek için kısa süreli bir çalışma gerçekleştirmiştir.

O yıllarda Anadolu ve Yakın Doğu'da çalışma yapan arkeologlardan çok farklı ilgi alanları bulunan Schaeffer, esas olarak birbirinden farklı kültürel yapılanmaları olan büyük kültür bölgeleri arasındaki ilişkileri ve bu ilişkilere yol açan nedenleri belirlemeye çalışmıştır. Bu bağlamda deprem gibi doğal afetlerin bölgeler arası göç hareketine yol açtığı, bazı kültürel öğelerin de bu göçler ile yayıldığını ileri sürmekteydi (Schaeffer 1948a). Schaeffer Kafkaslar, Ön Asya ve Akdeniz kültürleri arasındaki ilişkileri görmek için Malatya Ovası'nın uygun bir konuma sahip olduğu öngörüsü ile savaştan hemen sonra, 1946 yılında Arslantepe Höyüğü'nde çalışmış, geniş alanlarda kazı yapmak yerine, buluntu topluluğunun zaman içinde değişimini görebilmek için höyüğün derinlerine inen sondajlar açmıştır (Schaeffer 1948b). Schaeffer'in çalışmaları ana toprağa kadar inmeden sona ermiştir. Schaeffer inebildiği en derin katmanda Halaf kültürüne ait birkaç parça bulmuş ancak, Malatya'dan Suriye'ye kadar olan bölgede bunları destekleyecek başka herhangi bir buluntu olmadığı için, Arslantepe parçalarının rastlantısal olarak Toros Dağları'nın kuzeyine gelmiş olabileceği olasılığı üzerinde durulmuştur. Benzer bir süreç de, obsidyen almak için güneyden gelen tüccarların konak yeri olduğu ileri sürülen, Van Gölü kenarındaki Halaf türü çanak çömleğin bulunmuş olduğu Tilkitepe Höyüğü'nde yaşanmıştır. Bu kültürün Elazığ-Malatya yöresinde ilk olarak Elazığ Korucutepe, Tepecik ve Tülintepe yerleşmelerinde saptanmış olması daha sonraları Malatya Ovası'nda Cano gibi höyüklerde de bulunması, kültürün Adıyaman dâhil bölgenin genelinde çok yaygın olarak var olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu nedenle, Schaeffer'in bulgularının rastlantısal değil, Arslantepe'nin henüz ulaşılmamış alt katlarından geldiğini söylemek doğru olacaktır. Her ne kadar Schaeffer Arslantepe Höyüğü'nün en alt katmanlarına kadar inememişse de, höyükte Demir Çağ'dan eski dönemlere ait çok kalın dolguların olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Yalnızca bu bilgi bile Doğu Anadolu arkeolojisine bakış açısının değiştirilmesini gerektirecek kadar önem taşımaktadır. 1962 yılında Arslantepe kazılarını üstlenen İtalyan meslektaşlarımızın, çalışmalarını höyükte Schaeffer'in sondajlarının bulunduğu alana kaydırmasıyla Malatya bölgesinin tarihöncesi dönemleri, özellikle 4. ve 3. bin yılları, görkemli kalıntıları ve zengin



buluntuları ile ortaya çıkmıştır (Di Nocera 1998, 2010; Frangipane 2011, 2012, 2015). İtalyan ekibin Arslantepe'nin yanı sıra Gelinciktepe'de yaptığı çalışma da yine bölgenin kültürel çeşitliliğini ortaya koymuştur (Palmieri 1967). Arslantepe kazıları ile hemen hemen aynı dönemde, Malatya Ovası'nın doğusunda oluşmakta olan Keban baraj göl alanında 1967 yılında başlayan arkeolojik belgeleme ve kazı çalışmaları Arslantepe Höyüğü'nde elde eden sonuçları desteklemiş ve böylelikle Toros Dağlarının kuzeyinde, Malatya, Elazığ yöresinde Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik dönem ile başlayan yerleşimlerin günümüze kadar kesintisiz olarak sürdüğünü ortaya çıkarmıştır.

Gerek Keban gerekse Arslantepe kazılarının Güneydoğu Toros Dağları'nın kuzeyi ile güneyinin Neolitik ve Kalkolitik dönem boyunca kültürel bütünlük sergilediğini, dağın her iki yanındaki toplulukların, özellikle Neolitik dönemde birbirleri ile çok canlı bir iletişim içinde olduğunu göstermesi oldukça ilginçtir. Bu bağlamda dağların iki yanı arasındaki bu kültürel bütünlük, daha önceleri bu coğrafya için düşündüğümüz bölgenin boş olduğu düşüncesini ortadan kaldırmış, yerini dağlık bölgenin Neolitik topluluklar tarafından yaşam alanı olarak yoğun bir biçimde kullanıldığını göstermiştir. Bölgedeki ilk Neolitik toplulukların yaşamlarını uzun bir süre av ve bitki toplayıcılığı ile sürdürdüklerini göz önüne aldığımızda, esasen dağların ovalara göre çok daha elverişli bir ortam sağlamış olduğu düşünülmelidir.

Büyük bir olasılıkla yabani koyun ve keçinin evcilleşmesi de dağlık bölge içinde gerçekleşmiştir. Halaf dönemi boyunca da dağların iki yakası arasında kültürel bütünlük devam etmiştir. Ubeyd döneminden itibaren iki bölgenin yapılanmalarında, sosyo-ekonomik düzenlerinde belirgin farklılıklar ortaya çıkmaya başlamış, güneyin görece olarak kurak ve yarı kurak ortamı sulu tarımı zorunlu duruma getirmiş (Sürenhagen 1986) ve kuraklığın yol açtığı sorunlar sulama kanalları ile giderilmiştir. Anadolu'nun güneyinde, Fırat ile Dicle'nin Suriye - Irak düzlüklerinden geçtiği bölgede nehirlerin su rejimi ve arazinin eğimi de sulama kanalları yapılmasına çok uygundur. Sulu tarım kuraklık riskini ortadan kaldırdığı gibi, alan birimindeki verimi de en az altı kat arttırır ve bir ailenin tüketebileceğinden çok fazla ürün almasını sağlar, dolayısı ile ister istemez "artı ürün" oluşturmaktadır. Buna karşılık sulama kanallarının açılması ve bakımı mevsimlik olarak artan bir işgücünü gerektirmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu iş gücü kadar bunu sağlayacak, sürdürecektir bir yönetim erki ihtiyacını da beraberinde gerektirmektedir.

Kuzey bölgelerinde, Anadolu platosunda kuraklık riski çok düşüktür, zaten arazinin yapısı kadar akarsuların rejimi de örgün su kanalı yapımına uygun değildir. Bu durum, güneyde artı ürüne dayalı bir ekonomik sistemi geliştirirken, doğal çevrenin sunduğu olanakların getirdiği rahatlıkla Anadolu platosunda geleneksel kırsal yaşam bir süre daha devam etmiş, güneye komşu olan Malatya ile Elazığ gibi bölgelerde ise farklı bir ara model gelişmiştir. Artı ürünün olduğu güney bölgeleri her türlü hammadde, kayaç ve orman örtüsünden yoksun, çevre koşulları çiftlik hayvanlarının yaşamına uygun olmayan bölgelerdir; bu bölgede artı ürün artı değere dönüşmüş ve ticaret yolu ile kendilerinde olmayanın elde edilmesini sağlamıştır.

Zorunlu olarak bölgeye getirilen ya da gelen tarım işçilerinin çalıştırılması, düzeni bozmalarının engellenmesi, ücretlerinin ödenmesi, Fırat - Dicle havzasını bir ağ gibi saran sulama kanallarının yapımı, bakımı ve suyun paylaşımı yönetim erkini hızla geliştirmiş ve paydaşların artmasına neden olmuştur. Ortaya çıkan ilk belirgin paydaş tüccar sınıfı olmuş, ticaret kurumsallaşmıştır. Güneyde yönetim erkini artı ürünü artı değere dönüştürmesi ise daha önceden olmayan bir tüccar sınıfı ile sistemin düzenli işlemesi için kuralları koyan, denetleyen, kaydını tutan bürokrat sınıfını ve bütün bunların korunması için de gereken askeri gücün oluşmasına yol açmıştır.

Suriye - Mezopotamya ekseninde yönetim erki uzun bir süre tapınak ve tapınağı yöneten ruhban sınıfının elinde kalmıştır. Ancak sistemin nasıl çalışacağı, düzeni, kural ve



yaptırımları yeni ortaya çıkan bürokrat sınıf tarafından sahiplenilmiş yönetim erki de dâhil bu sistemin bütün paydaşlarının her türlü eylemlerinin belirli kurallara bağlandığı görülmektedir. Bürokratların bu görünmez hâkimiyeti devleti ve tapınak ekonomisini getirmiştir. Buna karşılık kuraklık riskinin olmadığı Doğu Torosların güney eşik bölgesi de dâhil olmak üzere Anadolu platosunda, artı ürün oluşmadığından ve esasen artı ürüne gerek de duyulmadığından, artı değere dayalı bir ekonomik sistem ortaya çıkmamıştır. Buna karşılık kuzey bölgeleri çevrelerinde yalnızca madenler değil, her türlü kayaç ve mineral ile ham maddeleri birlikte bitki ve çiftlik hayvanlarını da değerlendiren farklı bir sistem oluşturmuştur; bu aşağıda kısaca değineceğimiz tapınağa değil saraya bağlı bir sistemdir.

Güney bölgelerinin Ubeyd döneminden itibaren elde ettikleri artı ürünü bölgelerinde olmayan hammaddeleri elde etmek için kullanmaya başladığı, sayısı giderek artan Malatya'daki Değirmentepe gibi ticaret koloni yerleşimlerinden anlaşılmaktadır (Esin 1986; Esin vd. 1987). Ancak bunlar bir askeri gücün yansıması olarak görülmemelidir, doğrudan ticaretin sağladığı itici gücün sonucudur. Güneyde sosyoekonomik sistem tapınağın denetim ve desteği altında geliştiği için, tapınak yalnızca kutsal törenlerin yapıldığı mekân olmaktan çıkmış, değerli maddelerin üretimi, depolanması ve her türlü ticari hareket ile ilgili belgelerin saklanması gibi işler için ayrılan yerleri de kapsayan külliyelere dönüşmüştür. Artan güç ve biriken artı değer beğeni eşyaları yapan usta zanaatkâr sınıfını da güçlendirmiş, özellikle kuyumculuk ve maden işçiliği hızla gelişmiştir.

Yakın zamana kadar Ubeyd kültür bölgesinin kuzey ile olan ilişkisi bir tür sömürüye dayalı kolonizasyon olarak görülmekteydi. Ancak özellikle Arslantepe kazıları kuzeyde, güneyden farklı olarak tapınağa değil krala, saraya bağlı bir yönetim sisteminin geliştiğini göstermiştir (Frangipane 2011; Palmieri 1989). Malatya ve Elazığ bölgesinde Neolitik dönemde başlayan ve tüm Kalkolitik dönem boyunca gelişerek süren bu kültürel yapının, olasılıkla Suriye – Mezopotamya'nın artan talebi karşısında çevrelerindeki doğal kaynakların değerlendirilmesine dayalı farklı bir sistem oluşturduğu anlaşılmaktadır (Palmieri 1986). Kuzey bölgelerde gelişen yönetim erki, yalnızca Güneydoğu Torosların değil, Doğu Anadolu genelinde var olan madenlerden yararlanılacak teknolojinin geliştirilmesi, özellikle Arslantepe sarayında bulunan arsenli bakırdan yapılan tunç kılıçlardan anlaşılmaktadır.

Elazığ Tülintepe'nin toprak çekilerek tahrip edilmesi sırasında da, kalaylı alaşımların kullanıldığını gösteren benzer buluntulara rastlanmış olması (Yalçın, Yalçın 2008, 2009), bu gelişkin teknolojinin her iki bölgede de var olduğunu göstermiştir (Di Nocera 2010; Frangipane 2010; Hauptmann vd. 2000; Palmieri vd. 1993, 1999). Eldeki veriler ve özellikle Arslantepe buluntuları, başta maden olmak üzere her türlü hammadde ve doğal zenginliği elinde tutan kuzeyin yönetim erki Ubeyd ve bunu izleyen M.Ö. 4. bin yıl Uruk kültür evresinde, Orta Anadolu'dan Güney Mezopotamya'ya kadar olan geniş bir coğrafya ile çok canlı bir ticari ilişki içinde bulunduğunu yansıtmaktadır. Yukarıda da özetlemeye çalıştığımız gibi İstanbul Üniversitesi'nin Elazığ Altınova'daki Tepecik ve Tülintepe kazıları ile İtalyan meslektaşlarımızın Malatya Arslantepe'de ortaya çıkarttığı zengin bulgular bu süreci çok açık bir şekilde ortaya koymuştur (Özdoğan 2005a).

Kalabalık işçi topluluklarını barındıran büyük kentlerin olmadığı kuzeyde; bürokrasi ve bürokrasinin göstergesi olan yazının yerini mühürler almıştır. Depoların kapılarının her açılıp kapatılmasında, kapı kanatlarını bağlayan ipler kil topanları ile sabitlenip üzerine açan ya da kapatanın mührü basılmış, işi biten "bulle" olarak adlandırılan mühür baskılı topanlar özenle biriktirilerek saklanmıştır (Esin 1990; Frangipane vd. 2007). Arslantepe ve kısmen Tülintepe'den tanıdığımız bu yerleşim modeli, kalabalık nüfusları barındırmayan farklı bir yerleşim modelini ortaya çıkartmıştır; "Anadolu Kent Modeli" olarak tanımladığımız bu tür yerleşimler (Özdoğan 2006b), surları, anıtsal giriş kapıları ile dışa karşı gösterişlidir. Sur içinde genellikle ne fazla nüfus ne de Mezopotamya kentlerinde olduğu gibi görkemli yapılar bulunur;



bu bağlamda bunları yönetim erkini simgeleyen sembolik kentler olarak da tanımlamak doğru olur. Batı Anadolu ve Ege havzasında İlk Tunç Çağı'nın ilk yarısında hâkim olarak görülen bu kent modeli, büyük bir olasılıkla Arslantepe'de saray yapısı ile belirginleşen yerleşim türünden gelişmiş olmalıdır.

Bitirirken

Bu yazının amacı, esas olarak İstanbul Üniversitesi'nin Malatya' da gerçekleştirmiş olduğu çalışmaları ve bölgenin kültür tarihine yapmış olduğu katkıları anımsatmaktır. Aradan geçen çeyrek yüzyılı aşkın bir süre içinde hem bölgeye yönelik bakış açımız, hem de kültürlerin gelişimi ile ilgili bilgilerimiz önemli ölçüde değişerek yeniden biçimlenmiştir. Keban Projesi'nin başlangıcı ile Karakaya baraj alanı çalışmasının sonlanması arasındaki 20 yıl gibi kısa bir zaman aralığında ortaya çıkartılan bilgi yoğunluğu her anlamda şaşırtıcıdır. Keban'da başladığımız yıllardaki bakış açısı "bölgede eski kültür yoktur" düzeyinde olmasına karşın, bugün bölgenin kültürel yapılanmasının etki alanlarını tartışır duruma gelmiş bulunuyoruz (Özdoğan 2010).

Yapılan çalışmalarla ortaya çıkan bir diğer önemli sonuç da, Elazığ ve Malatya bölgelerinin Neolitik dönemin başlangıcından 3. bin yıl sonlarına kadar birlikte gelişmiş olduğu ve benzer süreçleri yaşadığıdır. Şimdilik Elazığ ve Malatya bölgelerinden tanıdığımız bu sosyoekonomik modelin Güneydoğu Anadolu maden kaynaklarına yakınlığı nedeni ile yalnızca buralarda mı geliştiği, yoksa daha yaygın olarak Doğu Anadolu'nun diğer yerlerinde de olup olmadığını söyleyecek durumda değiliz. Özgün bir kazı olarak süren Arslantepe dışında araştırmaların baraj kurtarma kazıları ile sınırlı kalmış olması da, bu tür genellemeleri yapmamızı engellemektedir. Keban ve Karakaya barajlarının tamamlanmasından sonra da bölgede maalesef yeni hiçbir çalışma yapılmamış, kazı çalışmaları yeniden Toros dağlık silsilesinin güneyine kaymıştır. Daha önce de vurguladığımız gibi, bir bölgenin kültürel sürecine yönelik bakış açısı, o bölgede ortaya çıkan somut veriler ile bağlantılıdır (Fig. 11). Eğer bugün bölgeye bakış açısı 1950'li yıllarda olduğu gibi "Torosların kuzeyinde önemli bir kültürel varlık yoktur" çizgisine gerilememiş ise, bunu halen Arslantepe'de sürmekte olan İtalyan meslektaşlarımızın yapmış olduğu çalışmalara borçlu olduğumuz unutulmamalıdır. Arslantepe ekibi, yalnızca en yeni yöntemleri kullanarak kapsamlı kazılar sürdürmekle kalmamış, elde ettikleri sonuçları kültür tarihi içinde değerlendirerek Mezopotamya odaklı bakış açısına alternatif bir Anadolu modelini de başarı ile sunarak bilim dünyasına kabul ettirmişlerdir. İleriki yıllarda bu tür çalışmaların artarak bölgenin kültürel sürecini anlamamız ve bölgeye bakış açımızın gelişmesine katkıda bulunacağını umut etmekteyiz.

Dönem	Kazısı Yapılmış Höyükler	Kazılmamış Önemli Höyükler
Demir Çağı	Arslantepe, Değirmentepe	
Orta- Son Tunç Çağı		Yarıntepe
İlk Tunç Çağı	Arslantepe, Köşkerbaba, Pirot, Gelinciktepe	
Uruk	Arslantepe	
Ubeyd	Arslantepe, Değirmentepe	
Halaf	Arslantepe, Pirot	Cano
Çanak Çömlekli Neolitik	Pirot, Caferhöyük, İkizhöyük	
Çanak Çömleksiz Neolitik	Caferhöyük	
Paleolitik	?	

Fig. 11 – Malatya Bölgesi başlıca buluntu yerleri ve zaman çizelgesi içindeki dağılımı



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ONCE UPON A TIME AT ARSLANTEPE. A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

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ONCE UPON A TIME AT ARSLANTEPE. A PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

ISABELLA CANEVA

Arslantepe was already well known in the archaeological literature when I was still a student more than fifty years ago, its Hittite stone statues and relief sculptures having been long before discovered (Delaporte 1940)(Fig. 1) and put on display in the Archaeological Museum of Anatolian Civilization in Ankara years earlier. It is amazing how the site, far from being exhausted by those early discoveries and by the long period of intensive research that followed, has ever since been an unceasing and expanding source of new discoveries that continue to feed the scientific debate with unexpected revelations. I am therefore particularly honored to give my small, personal contribution to this celebration of the archaeological researches carried out at such an extraordinary site.



Fig. 1. The Hittite stone lions being brought to light.

The aim of this contribution is to go back to the very beginnings of the Italian expedition at Arslantepe and briefly open a window on the spirit of those very early field campaigns. In particular, I will focus on the campaigns carried out in the late 1960s and early 1970s, of which I had direct experience as a member of the team.

Although a number of archaeological excavations had been conducted before, systematic investigations at many sites in Turkey, by both Turkish and foreign teams, only started in the early 1930s, in concomitance with the founding of the most prestigious historical and archaeological scientific institutions of the young Turkish Republic. Arslantepe was among these sites. As was the case in many other archaeological excavations in Turkey and in the Near East, archaeological interest in Arslantepe at that time was largely due to the proto-historic reputation of the site due to its famous stone lion sculptures, which were already known to scholars and travelers.

After the monumental discoveries of Louis Delaporte in the Hittite levels in the 1930s (1932-39), and the brief investigations conducted by Claude F.A. Schaeffer in the 1940s (1946-50), it was the Hittitologist Piero Meriggi who took charge for some years of the explorations at Arslantepe and its surroundings in 1961. The Italian expedition directed by Meriggi was conceived from the outset as a multi-target mission, with two complementary and contemporary archaeological investigations: excavations at the site, which were directed by Salvatore Puglisi, and surface surveys, aimed at the identification and characterization of the protohistoric höyük and other archaeological evidence (primarily of Hittite age) over a wide area lying between the Malatya region and the Central Anatolian plateau, which were directed by Meriggi (Meriggi 1962, 1963, 1965, 1966, 1967)(Fig. 2).



Fig. 2. The beginning of excavation in 1961: the first blow.

As the excavation progressed, it became increasingly clear that, besides being an outstanding Hittite center in south-eastern Anatolia, Arslantepe was also a promising prehistoric site. Salvatore Puglisi and his team reached the prehistoric levels at Arslantepe by the third campaign, in 1963 (Puglisi 1964). In addition to the first deep soundings (Fig. 3), investigations also focused on the archaeological characterization of the region immediately surrounding Arslantepe, with repeated prehistory-oriented surveys (Puglisi



1964). In 1966, a small scale excavation was carried out by Alba Palmieri at the site of Gelinciktepe, about 2 km east of Arslantepe, in order to acquire materials for a comparative study with Arslantepe as well as to gather information on the ethnic-cultural components that interacted with the people inhabiting Arslantepe during its long occupation (Puglisi, Palmieri 1967:310). Gelinciktepe was a small settlement with simple housing installations on natural rock spurs, which had been adapted and cut for this purpose, on the slope of the mountain. The site appeared to have been seasonally re-occupied by agro-pastoral groups for a long period between the 6th and 4th millennia.



Fig. 3. The first deep prehistoric sounding.

These preliminary researches contributed to the composition of a chronological and cultural framework within which the investigations in the long prehistoric sequence at Arslantepe were subsequently to acquire a comprehensive meaning.



As a student of Prof. Puglisi, who specialized in Near Eastern prehistory at La Sapienza University of Rome, I had the opportunity to participate in some of the earliest excavation campaigns at Arslantepe, from 1968 to 1975, at the very beginning of the extensive period of prehistoric research conducted at the site. This coincided with the beginning of my own engagement with prehistoric archaeology. My whole life was to be permanently conditioned by the field experience at Arslantepe, with Turkey becoming, in the years to come and following excavations at many other sites, my primary field of research as well as my second country of residence.

I arrived at Arslantepe in July 1968, with my husband Alberto Palmieri, who was in charge of investigating the geomorphological location of the site and of conducting the sedimentological analyses of the archaeological deposits (Fig. 4). He was also responsible for the compositional analyses of the artefacts from the excavation and for the identification of the sources of the main raw materials, such as clay and flint outcrops and metal ores, in the territory surrounding the site. A different type of survey program, which was to last for decades and was aimed at gaining an insight into the geology of the territory, as well as into the location of the possible access routes to natural resources and mines, was started in those years.

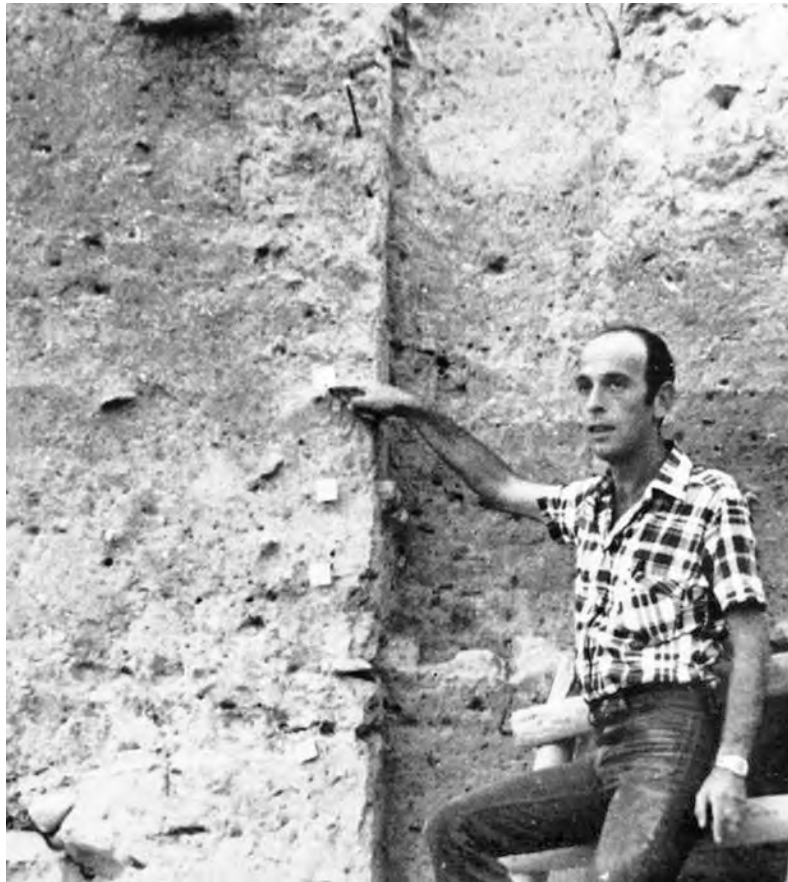


Fig. 4. Alberto Palmieri sampling the sedimentological series of the deep sounding.

The dighouse was at that time a small mud-brick building, with a flat roof, located at the foot of the mound (Fig. 5). It consisted of a few large rooms that were used as laboratories for study, recording, drawing and restoration purposes. A wide courtyard and a large garden in



front of it were used for the first intervention on the archaeological materials excavated at the site: washing and labelling stone, bone and clay artefacts, soil flotation, piecing together of pottery fragments and preliminary vessel restoration (Fig. 6). This first nucleus of the Arslantepe dighouse underwent many changes in form and function in the following decades. Numerous extensions and architectural interventions were made over the years, first by constructing storage areas for archaeological artefacts on the flat roof of the original house, then by subdividing the large rooms into functionally differentiated small study rooms, and lastly by building several other mud-brick constructions on the edges of the garden to accommodate the members of the team. In spite of these changes, that initial, very special, small “scientific village” atmosphere that respected both the local architectural traditions and the ancient mud-brick architecture stratified in the mound behind it, was not lost but became, on the contrary, even more intense.



Fig. 5. The dighouse being built at the foot of the mound.



Fig. 6. The 'ceramic garden'.



In the early years, the team members stayed in lovely mud-brick private houses, in the quiet village, which surrounded the site (Fig. 7). Storks could be seen nesting on the roofs of the houses or on top of dry trees until autumn came and 'other seasonal migrants' would frequently be encountered on the roads nearby as they travelled through the region with their dromedaries laden with all kinds of wares.



Fig. 7. Mud brick houses in the Orduzu village in the late 60's.

The construction of the first dam on the Euphrates river had only just started (1966) in the Keban district. The emotion I felt, as a young student of Mesopotamian civilizations, by walking along the dry bed of the temporarily deviated Euphrates River, was unforgettable! But even more important and unexpected was the bulk of new archaeological information that I was about to acquire from this project. Indeed, the area of the reservoir, which was due to be flooded a few years later (1974), was rich not only in unpublished but even in unexplored ancient settlements, many of which started to be intensively excavated in those very years. The Arslantepe team constantly visited ongoing excavations, carried out within the International Keban Rescue Project that had started in concomitance with the construction of the dam. A huge leap forward was made in the archaeological knowledge of eastern Turkey in those few years thanks to the new excavations. In particular, we would visit the largest höyük in the Altınova plain (Elazığ province), such as Tepecik and Norşuntepe, where important levels that were contemporary with those being excavated at Arslantepe had appeared. Here, eminent archaeologists, such as Ufuk Esin, Güven Arsebük, the very young Mehmet Özdoğan and Harald Hauptmann, were at that time working intensively (Fig. 8-9).





Fig. 8. Ufuk Esin and Mehmet Özdoğan at Tepecik in 1970 (photo courtesy M. Özdoğan)

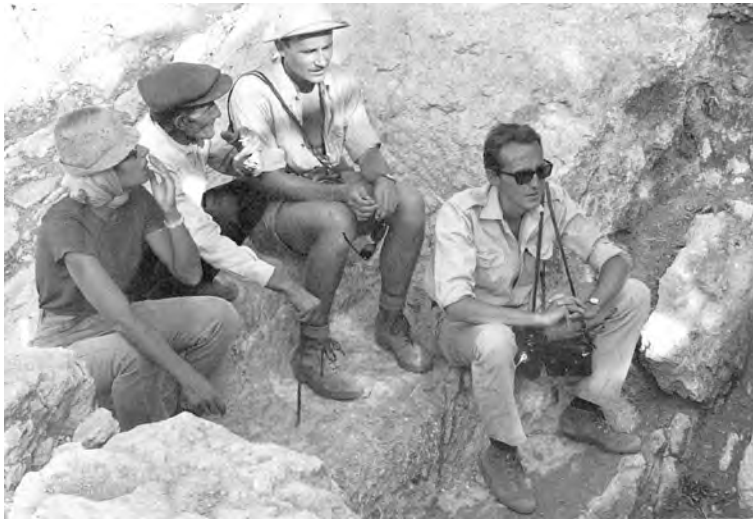


Fig. 9. Harald Hauptmann at Keban in 1968 (photo courtesy M. Özdoğan)

Visits would be returned by those scholars (Fig. 10), as well as by other teams who worked even farther away from Arslantepe at sites such as Çayönü Tepesi (Diyarbakır province), which was directed by Halet Çambel together with Robert and Linda Braidwood (Fig. 11-12).





Fig. 10. Harald Hauptmann and Alba Palmieri at Arslantepe in 1983

Fig. 11. Alba Palmieri and Halet Cambel at Arslantepe in 1975.



Fig. 12. Robert and Linda Braidwood at Arslantepe in 1975.

Excavations at Arslantepe were from the very beginning thus included in a closely interacting regional context of research. This extraordinary dynamism generated a widely shared sentiment of enthusiasm and curiosity and was extremely enriching, particularly for the younger participants at the excavation. Indeed, in addition to being offered a role in an important excavation, which was already in itself a gratifying and prestigious experience,



becoming a member of the Arslantepe team was also a sort of unpredictable, wide-ranging internship in archaeology that was repeated every year.

The area was at that time quite new to archaeological research because it had, until then been given little consideration owing to the fact that it was largely foreign to the classical civilizations and that its location was quite peripheral in relation to Anatolia and Mesopotamia. Any discovery was thus new and exciting, and that pioneer group of archaeologists established, by eagerly exchanging new data, ideas and information, an unprecedented basis of scientific collaboration. This collaboration in turn generated an equally solid personal relationship and friendship, which was to last forever for most of them.

It is within this comprehensive, quite unusual context, which was equally dedicated to scientific and human commitment, that Ufuk Hanım, Güven Bey, Harald Hauptmann, Mehmet Özdoğan, Alba Palmieri and Salvatore Puglisi accompanied me in different ways throughout a life I had the privilege of dedicating to the study of Anatolian prehistory.

As is often the case in multicomponent sites, excavations at Arslantepe were carried out simultaneously in different trenches at varying elevations, which meant dealing with different cultural phases at the same time. Thus, despite being relatively small, the Arslantepe team included experts on different periods. In addition to the archaeologists, there were always a geologist, an archaeozoologist, a topographer, a draftsman, a photographer, a restorer and a few students, besides the director and the state representative, which meant a total of about 15 people (Fig. 13). The participation of students from Italy was uncommon at that time both because air tickets were still relatively expensive and because the extent to which students travelled abroad, which was to increase greatly in the subsequent generations, was then limited. What's more, the perception of archaeological excavations carried out abroad back then was different: they were considered as true "missions" of pure, highly specialized research that could only be carried out by experienced specialists owing to the archaeological specificity of the local cultures involved and to the peculiar digging methods and techniques required to excavate a höyük, a type of complex archaeological deposit that was unknown in Italy, particularly when the höyük contained mud-brick architecture.



Fig. 13. The 1968 Arslantepe team.

In such a small group, everybody worked in close proximity of one another in the small dig-house at the foot of the mound. Opinion, data and comments were therefore



commonly exchanged between the various specialists involved on a daily basis. This sharing of interdisciplinary knowledge was another extraordinary form of enrichment that occurs to a far lesser extent nowadays owing to rapid technological changes in present-day excavations, for which sophisticated analyses and computer elaborations are widely used. The field and recording technologies available at that time were quite simple.

The perception of an archaeological mission as a coherent and solid group of people who shared the same interests and goals was pervasive. It ranged from the simplest everyday activities to the more general social behavior and, above all, to the scientific perspective that formed the basis of our presence there: all the archaeological periods represented at the site were equally important insofar as they belonged to the same historical development, as were the archaeozoological, archaeobotanical, geological, lithic and ceramic analyses and the documentary techniques with all these specialties, which interacted with one another, were combined to fully reconstruct the history of the site. This may be a commonly shared archaeological idea nowadays but was far from obvious more than 50 years ago!

This perspective closely reflected the essence of Puglisi's personality as regards both the way in which he practiced archaeology and his behavior as a person, based on multiple interwoven levels of information and interpretation within a broad, articulated vision of the human horizons, whether he was dealing with the past or the present. Starting from the contingency of the data carefully brought to light by the archaeological record, his scientific approach to archaeology was invariably far reaching and encompassed the vast themes of human history. One of these themes was the urbanization process. He pursued this theme for most of his life through researches in different parts of the world, from the Near East to southern Italy, to the Nile valley and northern Africa. I had the opportunity to be involved in some of these projects, and was captivated by his boundless curiosity, by his love for research and by how much he cared for those who accompanied him on his physical and intellectual journeys, whether they were colleagues, technicians or workers in the field, all of whom he would interact with and treat as equals, with no hint of hierarchy or discrimination in his behavior (Fig. 14).



Fig. 14. Salvatore Puglisi with the workers in the early 60's.

Everyday work and life at Arslantepe was dominated by the personalities of Salvatore Puglisi and Alba Palmieri (Fig. 15). Although they shared the same fundamental scientific



approaches, they represented the challenge between two generations whose scientific knowledge and intellectual insight were equally rich and bright but with different approaches to archaeology, that confronted each other in an unavoidable though positive and productive conflict. What fascinated me from the very beginning was the spirit of discussion on all aspects of archaeology that permeated the everyday life at Arslantepe. No action was considered neutral, be it related to the excavation strategy, to the choice of classification methods or to the graphic representation codes; everything was instead consciously incorporated into a specific theoretical approach. I felt as if I was attending a perpetual, interactive symposium on the foundation of archaeology as a science!



Fig. 15. Alba Palmieri explaining her ideas to a skeptical Salvatore Puglisi, 1965.

It should not be forgotten that those decades were characterized by an intense, pervasive debate between all archaeologists, that ranged from the technical and analytical methods to the theoretical approach in archaeological practice and interpretation. Nothing was left unquestioned. Many ideas had been imported from other disciplines and had to be incorporated, often using questionable methods, into archaeology. In addition, although traditionally used ethnographical documentation could provide a bulk of comparative material in the debate on the social organization of hunter-gatherers or on the causes of the origin of agriculture, no ethnographic parallel existed for more sophisticated processes, such as the one that led to the rise of complex societies, to which the scientific debate had all of sudden to be extended. The questions quickly outnumbered the answers.

It is impossible to describe those discussions at Arslantepe in detail. They may be defined as a conflict between the extensive experience and the solid socio-economic perspective acquired by Puglisi during his frequentations with Gordon Childe in London and the wider-reaching intellectual curiosity for alternative explanations displayed by a young Alba Palmieri. There was also a marked difference in their personalities, with Puglisi's intuitive and forward-looking approach contrasting with the more rigorous and cautious approach adopted by Alba, whose desire was to investigate new reading perspectives and to scrupulously combine the most varied range of archaeological data before advancing any kind of interpretation.

If we look beyond the differences in their personalities and their heated discussions, the goal that both Puglisi and Alba shared and pursued was fundamentally the same: how to conduct archaeology well by trying to overcome the disjunction between theoretical



arguments, field research and the analysis of material culture, as well as by trying to understand human relations both within and between different social systems.

I am proud to have been part of this school at Arslantepe, where the feeling of being privileged was widespread and where we dealt with disciplines that were technically and intellectually highly specialized without being elitist, insofar as they were linked to the life, society and politics from both the past and modern times. I thus felt that it was possible in Arslantepe to learn how to work and think, as well as how to enjoy life and experience, and be happy (Fig.16-17)



Fig. 16. Workers dancing in the courtyard of the dighouse, 1970.



Fig. 17. Marcella Frangipane, Alba Palmieri and Isabella Caneva laughing cheerfully at the dinner for the 1988 Marcella's birthday.



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ARSLANTEPE'NİN GÜNÜMÜZ VE GELECEK GÖRÜNÜMÜ:
DİSİPLİNLERARASI ARAŞTIRMALAR, YERLEŞİMİN KORUNMASI,
MÜZELEŞTİRİLMESİ VE İLETİŞİM

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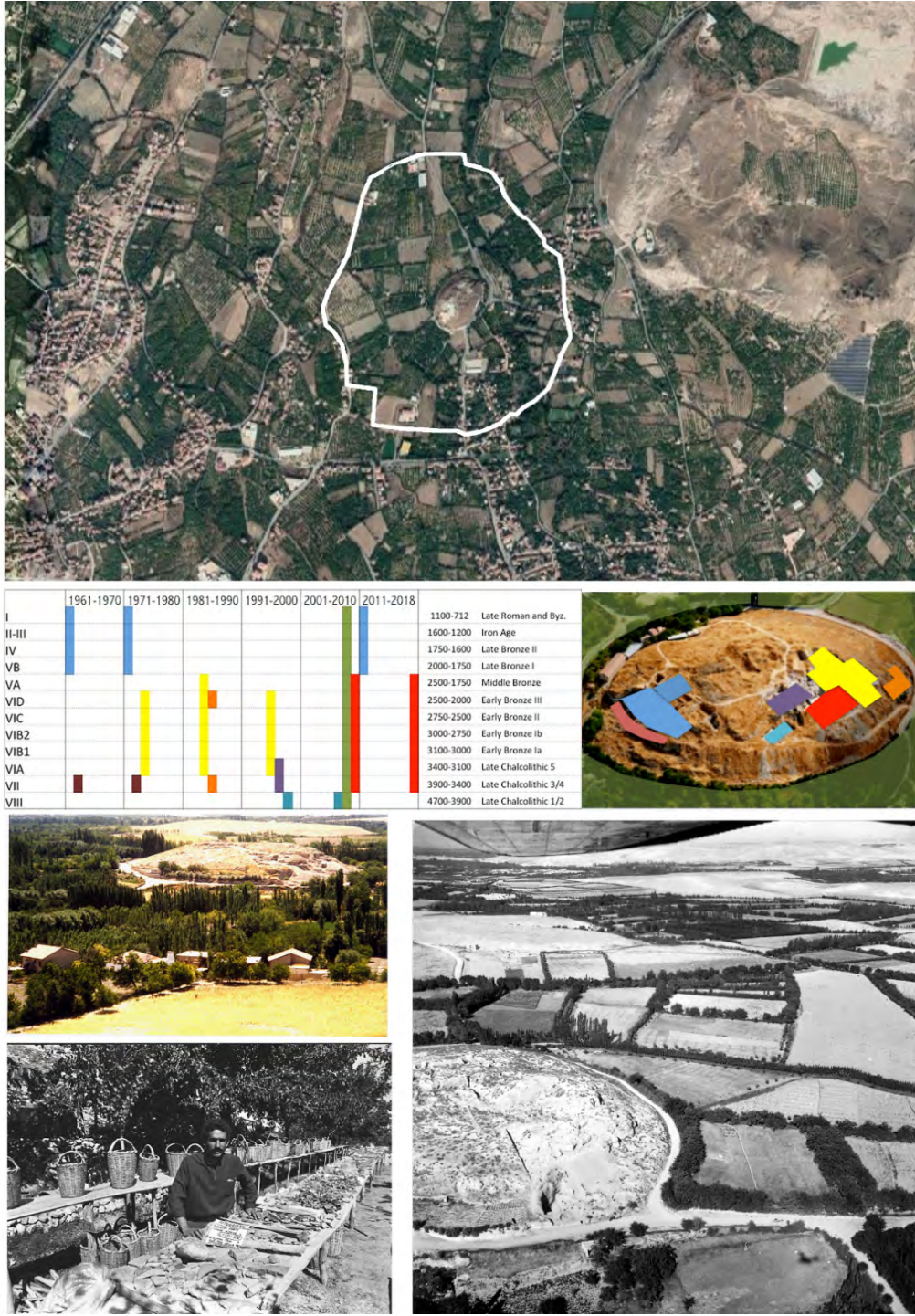
Giriş

Birkaç kuşak boyunca, arkeologlar ve diğer araştırmacılar Arslantepe'ye yaşamlarını vakfetmiş, bazıları burada büyümüşlerdir. Tam da bu yolla, Arslantepe'nin çevresinde yaşayanlar ve Orduzulu aileler yıllar boyu aynı şeyi yaptılar. Yerleşmede çalışan işçilerimiz, onlardan önce burada çalışan büyükbaba ve büyükannelere sahiptirler. Daha burada arkeologlar çalışmadan önce, 1934'te ülkeye tanıtılmadan önce, bu ailelerden biri soyadı olarak Arslantepe'yi seçti. Bölgedeki arkeolojik kazılar ve araştırmalar, Orduzu Köyü'ndeki dönüşümlerle birlikte nesiller boyunca birlikte değişmiştir. Bu, projeye arkeolojik ve tarihsel bir girişimden çok daha önemli kılan eşsiz bir sinerji ve bağ oluşturmuş; büyük bir insani, kültürel ve toplumsal anlam kazandırmıştır.

Bu yıl geldiğimizde, arkeolojiye oldukça uzak bir olay ile şaşkınlığa uğradık; kazı sezonumuz esnasında, 19 Ağustos çekilişi için Milli Piyango biletleri Arslantepe'ye adanmıştır. Bu olay bizim için çok önemli bir sonuçtur ve günümüzde ülkeniz için Arslantepe'nin ne anlama geldiğine dair bir fikir vermektedir. Bunu belirttikten sonra, şimdi Arslantepe'de ki Arkeolojik çalışmalar dâhilinde gerçekleştirilen bazı faaliyetlere ve çalışmalara odaklanmalıyım. Dünyada başka uzun süren deneyimler, İtalya'daki Roma Forum'u, Collesium'u ya da Pompei örneklerinde olduğu gibi Arslantepe Projesi'nin, yıllarca sürececek bir proje olduğuna dikkat çekmek istiyorum.

Kazıların Geçmişi

Güncel ve gelecek perspektifleri anlatmak amacıyla, kazılardan, Arslantepe'nin ününün kaynağı olan yerleşimde yapılanlardan başlamalıyım. Arslantepe'de 1961 yılındaki planlı İtalyan kazıları, 1930'lardaki Fransız araştırmalarından bilindiği için, yerleşimin Demir Çağ, Yeni Hitit tabakalarını araştırmak amacıyla başlamıştır (Delaporte 1940; Shaeffer 1948; Weidner 1952-3). Meriggi, Puglisi ve Pecorella tepeyi kuzeydoğudan sınırlayan ve Geç Tunç Çağı ve Demir Çağı yerleşim tabakalarıyla karşılaştıkları bir kazı alanı açmışlardır (Puglisi ve Meriggi 1964; Equini Schneider 1970).



*Levha 1 – Arslantepe: Höyük ve Kronolojisi.
Arslantepe'nin uydu görüntüsü ve konumu; tampon bölgesi beyaz renkte gösterilir.
Kronolojik tablo ve farklı aşamaların kazıldığı açmaların gösterimi.
1960 yıllarda Arslantepe*



Arslantepe'de ki yerleşimlerin tabakalanması, 100'den daha fazla C¹⁴ analizine dayalı kesin tarihlemeyle bilmekteyiz. Elbette, hala keşfedilmemiş olanlar da bulunmaktadır. On yıldan daha fazla bir zaman, bu araştırmaya adanmıştır (Di Nocera 2000; Vignola ve ark. 2018). Puglisi, Alba Palmieri ile beraber, daha erken iskân tabakaları ile ilgilendikleri için, Erken Tunç Çağı ve Geç Kalkolitik tabakalarına ulaşmak niyetiyle 1968 yılında çalışılan açmaların Kuzeyini aşağıya indirmişlerdir (Palmieri 1969).

Ana toprağa ulaştıklarında, daha iyi bir araştırma için yeni ve daha geniş alana gerek duyduklarından 1971 yılında, Güneybatıda çok daha geniş bir alan açılmıştır. Bu alan 30 yıldan daha fazladır esas kazı alanımız olmuştur. Hala günümüze kadar, daha yatay düzlemde, daha geniş alanlara sahip olmak için alanı büyültmeye ve genişlemeye çalışıyoruz. Burası, yavaşça gün ışığına çıkartılan, Geç Kalkolitik-5 dönemine tarihlendirilen saray kompleksinin bulunduğu yerdir (Frangipane, Palmieri 1983; Frangipane 2012, 2016). Daha erken seviyelere ulaşmanın arzusundan dolayı, bu sefer 1983'te yeni bir kazı alanı açılmıştır (Palmieri 1985).

2003-2005 yılları arasında ovada yüzey araştırması yapılmış ve Arslantepe ve çevresinin ilişkilendirilmesinde çok önemli bir rol üstlenmiştir (Frangipane ve Di Nocera 2012). Arslantepe materyal kültürünün olağanüstü ayrıcalıklarla eksiksiz kronolojik kılavuzundan yararlanmış, Arslantepe'nin çevresinin birkaç bin yıl boyunca politik, ekonomik ve sosyal dinamiklerinin kurgulanmasına olanak sağlanmıştır. Son yirmi yıl, alandaki her bir yerleşim katmanı üzerine bilgimizi derinleştirme, dönüştürme ve pekiştirmeye ayrılmıştır ve zaman zaman yeni buluntular o zamana dek süren düşüncelerimizi kökten değiştirecek güce sahip olmuştur. Geç Tunç Çağı ve Demir Çağı seviyelerindeki kazılar 2008'de başlamıştır ve o zamandan bu yana devam etmektedir (Liverani 2012; Manuelli 2013).

Elli sekiz kazı sezonunda, toprak hafriyatı ve yerleşim katmanlarının açığa çıkarılması, sizin de çok iyi anladığınız üzere oldukça geniş kapsamlıydı. 7500 m² yüzeyde ve 9 metreye ulaşan derinlikte bir alan üzerinde araştırma gerçekleştirildi ve toplamda tahmini 33.750 m³ toprak çıkarıldı. Yerleşim seviyelerinin düzeni, ileriki günlerde sizler için de daha açık bir hale geleceği üzere, oldukça iyi anlaşılmıştır. Bu geniş yatay açmalar ve derin çukurların olmaması bize EBA 1b'de veya saray kompleksinde olduğu gibi, köylerin geniş kısımlarını açığa çıkarma imkânı vermiştir; aynı zamanda bu sayede bu tür mimari buluntularla temsil edilen, geçmiş dönemlerin sosyoekonomik açıdan kurgulanmasında mekânın kullanımı ve farklı alanların işlevleri üzerine detaylı analizler yapma olanağı sunmuştur (Frangipane 2010; Piccione ve Lemorini 2012; Piccione ve ark. 2015).

Bugünkü Kazı Sezonları

Yine de, geriye yapılacak çok şey kalmıştır. Hala, içerisinde az bildiğimiz tabakaları bulmayı umut ettiğimiz en az 9 metrelik toprak bizi, etrafındaki ovadan ve ana topraktan ayırmaktadır. Yüzey buluntuları, erken Kalkolitik ve muhtemelen Neolitik'in de yerleşmede bulunduğunu göstermektedir. Bu konu üzerine gelecek yıllarda gerçekleştirilecek alan araştırmalarına yoğunlaşmalıyız. Benzer şekilde, bütün bulguların şehir duvarları, kapıları ve çevre yapılarına yoğunlaşılması sebebiyle, Geç Tunç Çağı'nın en geç evresi ve Demir Çağı'na ait yerleşim alanı daha az bilinmektedir. Dolayısıyla, bunlar gelecek yıllardaki araştırma konuları olabilir.

Her bir kazı sezonuna Türk, İtalyan ve yanı sıra bugünlerde Avrupa ve Amerika üniversitelerinden gelen çeşitli öğrencilerin ve uzmanların katılımına tanıklık etmekteyiz. Burada en az 280 öğrencinin çalışmış olduğunu tahmin ediyoruz ve bu öğrencilerden birçoğu şu anda arkeolog olarak, Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı'nda, müzelerde veya yerel kuruluşlarda memur veya üniversitelerde profesör olarak görev yapmaktadır. Arslantepe'nin bunlar gibi her bir yeterliliğin oluşturmasında katkıda bulunduğunu düşünmekten son derece hoşnutuz.





*Levha 2 - Geç Kalkolitik Sarayı Kapsayan Çatı Yapısının İçi
Temelsiz ve çimento esaslı dikey direkler, geleneksel konutların hatırlatan ahşap tavan, turistik panolar.*

Arslantepe’de ki araştırmalarda görev alan meslek grupları en az 7 bilim dalı ve 18 uzmanlıktan gelmektedir. Bunların yalnızca bir kaçından bahsetmek gerekirse bu yelpaze arkeo-metalurjiden arkeometriye, eser incelemeden kıyafet analizlerine, fitolit tanımlamasından organik kalıntıların tanımlanmasına, izotop analizlerinden DNA analizlerine dek uzanmaktadır. Bu tür çalışmaların en son yayınlanan sonuçları jeokimyacılar, botanistler, zoologlar ve arkeologları içeren son derece disiplinler arası yürütülmüş bir araştırmaya aittir ve söz konusu araştırmada, arazinin paleo-iklimsel yeniden inşasında detaylı bir biçimde sunulmuştur (Arikan ve ark. 2016; Vignola ve ark. 2017, 2018).



Bu ekibin gücü elbette çeşitli ülkelerden bilim insanlarını kültürler-arası bir çalışmada bir araya getiren uluslararası bileşiminde yatmaktadır. Tüm bileşenler arasında süregelen tartışmalar ve karşılaşmalar amaçlar ve sonuçlara zenginlik katmaktadır. Bilimsel yayınların sayısı da, yoğun çalışmanın ve Arslantepe etrafında yer alan bilimsel birlikteliğin açıklayıcısı olmaktadır. Tüm bu çalışmalar sayesinde Marcella Frangipane'nin son yıllardaki uluslararası tanınırlığı kelimenin gerçek anlamıyla ödüllendirici oldu; kendisi MAIAO'nun yürütücüsü olarak yalnızca kendi ülkesi olan İtalya'dan ve fahri vatandaşı olduğu Türkiye'den değil, aynı zamanda diğer uluslararası prestijli akademik kurullardan da ödüller almaya layık görülmüştür. Aynı sebepten dolayı Arslantepe yerleşiminin eşsizliği ve değeri ile dikkati çekmiş ve UNESCO Geçici Dünya Mirası Listesi'ne eklenmiştir.

Koruma ve Sergi

Tüm bu çalışmanın bir diğer yanı, MAIAO'nun temel görevlerinden biri olan, M.Ö 3300 dönemine ait saray kompleksinin anıtsal kalıntılarının ortaya çıkarılmasıyla artırılmış olsa da, başından bu yana devam eden koruma ve konservasyona ilişkindir. Gerçekten, 30 yıldan fazla bir zaman, gerçekten tehlikeli ajanlar olan su ve yağmuru kerpiçten uzak tutmak adına, kerpiçin geçici bir çatı muhafazası ile hemen, ardından daimi olarak korunmasına adanmıştır (Frangipane ve Fazio 2014). Nihayet 2011'de uzun, vakit alan çalışmalar ve denemeler sonucunda, Malatya Valiliği'nin de finansal desteği ile kalıcı bir çatı inşa edilmiştir. Söz konusu çatı, kompleksin açık ve kapalı alanları ile bunların var sayımsal yüksekliklerini yansıtacak şekilde üretilmiştir (Frangipane ve Mangano 2010). İç kısımdaki dikey kolonlar, duvarların konumunu anımsatacak şekilde ayarlanmıştır. Bunlar eski duvarların ağırlığını artırmamış ve temellerin altında yatan daha eski arkeolojik katmanların içine de gömülmemiştir. Çatı örtü sistemi, arkeolojik katman üzerindeki etkiyi en aza indirmek için basitçe saray kompleksinin zeminine oturmaktadır. Diğer bir yandan duvarlar, sıvalar ve duvar boyaları üzerinde İtalyan Restorasyon Merkezi'nden uzmanlar tarafından yapılan yıllık gözlemlere dayanarak koruma ve konservasyon gerçekleştirilmemiştir. Şimdiye kadar herhangi bir yeniden inşa işlemi yapılmamıştır (Frangipane ve Fazio 2013).

İnsitu eserlerin bol olması sebebiyle, restorasyon faaliyetleri, çanak-çömlek rekonstrüksiyonuna özel olarak dikkat edildiği halde, tüm buluntuları içermektedir. Bugün itibarıyla, Arslantepe'den ele geçen 4478 eser Malatya Müzesi depolarını doldurmaktadır ve umarım bunlar yakın bir zamanda genişletilmiş yeni bir arkeoloji müzesinde sergilenecektir.

Yeni müze, proje aşamasında olduğu halde höyük, açık hava müzesi olarak halka açık hale getirilmiştir. Yerleşimin açık hava müzesi haline dönüştürülmesi MAIAO tarafından detaylı bir şekilde çalışılmıştır, ancak, bu iş Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı tarafından yönetilmekte ve uygulanmaktadır. Tabelalar üç dilde hazırlanmıştır ve bunlar saray kompleksi ve höyük etrafında ziyaretçilere eşlik etmektedir. Dört dilde sesli rehber ve bir web sitesi Gelecek Turizmde adlı program bünyesinde ve Battalgazi Belediyesi ve işbirliği içerisinde yürütülen bir proje sayesinde hazırlanmıştır.





Levha 3 - Site de Turist Yolunun Dış Görünümü.
Panolar.





Levha 4 - MAIAO ve Malatya Belediye Meclisi Tarafından Düzenlenen Okul Çocukları İçin Turlar ve Atölye Çalışmaları



Farkındalığın ve Toplumun Katılımının Artması

Aynı proje kapsamında, bölge halkının farkındalığını artırmak için çalıştık ve bu amacı hedefteki okullar ve arkeoloji müzeleri ile gerçekleştirdik. Malatya'nın ilkokul ve lise öğretmenlerine, müze bekçileri ve memurlarına konferans ve seminerler verdik. İlkokul öğrencileri ve öğretmenleri ile atölyeler düzenlendi. Yerleşmedeki her bir gruba, MAIAO arkeologları eşlik etti. Şimdiye dek, projenin "Toplum Arslantepe'yi sahipleniyor" sloganı çerçevesinde barındırdığı amaç doğrultusunda çalıştık. Arslantepe'ye dair bilgilerin bilim dünyasının dışına yayılması, yıllar içerisinde Türkiye'de ve aynı zamanda yurtdışındaki popüler dergilerde makalelerin yayınlanması vasıtasıyla, MAIAO aracılığıyla gerçekleştirilmiştir. Dahası, Arslantepe'den ele geçen orijinal eserler ve fotoğraflarla düzenlenen sergiler, bu amaca hizmet etmiştir. Tüm bunların bir sonucu olarak Arslantepe'nin yankısı giderek artmıştır. Bu durum 2015 yılında Milano'da gerçekleştirilmiş olan, en son Dünya Fuarı esnasında Türkiye sergisinde, Arslantepe'nin en önemli miras alanları arasına girmesine sebep olmuştur. Benzer şekilde anlamlı olan, yerleşmeyi konu alan çok sayıda video ve belgesellerin mevcut olmasıdır. Bu çok yönlü çalışma ve bölgeye dair giderek artan ilgi ve farkındalık; amaçlar ve ilgilerin ortak bir noktada buluşması sonucunda yerel yönetimler olan Battalgazi ve Malatya Belediyeleri, Kültür Müdürlüğü ve son dönemlerde Malatya İnönü Üniversitesi ile önemli iş birliklerini doğurmuştur.

Görmüş olduğunuz üzere, Arslantepe'nin ve MAIAO'nun mevcut durumu çok yönlüdür. Umuyoruz ki arkeolojik araştırmalara uzun yıllar daha devam edeceğiz. Fakat aynı zamanda, alanın korunmasına yönelik farkındalık ve katılımın artırılması amacıyla yerel ve diğer paydaşlarla iletişim kurulmasına yönelik ciddi bir özen gösterilecektir. Bütün bu konular üzerine çalışan ekip, gitgide genişleyen bir hal almıştır. Bugünkü sempozyum, tüm bu farklı paydaşların bir araya gelmesi ve kurdukları diyalogdan ileri gelmektedir.

Teşekkürler

Teşekkür etmek istediğim ilk insanlar, tüm bu çalışmalara ilk elden katkıda bulunan Orduzulu ailelerdir. Muharrem Perçin başta olmak üzere, onlar olmadan bunların hiçbiri olamayacaktı Malatya Arkeoloji Müzesi'ne, Malatya İl Kültür Müdürlüğü'ne, Battalgazi Belediyesi'ne ve hepsinden önemlisi Arslantepe'de ki çalışmalarımızdan heyecan duyan Sayın Selahattin Gürkan'a teşekkür ediyoruz. Bu maceraya başlayan Salvatore Maria Puglisi, yaşamlarını bu eşsiz projeye adayan Alba Palmieri ve Marcella Frangipane tutkularını ve projeye olan bağlılıklarını genç nesillere aktardılar. Ankara'da Kültür Varlıkları ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü'nün öngörüsü, 58 yıl boyunca projeye güveni ve paydaşlığı sayesinde, arkeolojinin uzun yıllara dayanan bir araştırma olduğunu göstermememize yardımcı oldu. Son olarak hepimizin ikinci evi olarak düşündüğümüz bu topraklara, Malatya'ya ve Malatya halkına teşekkürü borç biliyoruz.



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FROM TRADITIONAL TOOLS TO DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY:
DOCUMENTING AND ANALYSING THE FOURTH
MILLENNIUM ARCHITECTURE AT ARSLANTEPE

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FROM TRADITIONAL TOOLS TO DIGITAL TECHNOLOGY: DOCUMENTING AND ANALYSING THE FOURTH MILLENNIUM ARCHITECTURE AT ARSLANTEPE

CORRADO ALVARO-GIOVANNA LIBEROTTI

Introduction

This paper illustrates the evolution of the graphic documentation system and the architectural analysis at Arslantepe during more than 50 years of activity. The continuous development of tools for data acquisition and processing enabled the transition from direct measurement to digital data and from manual management of graphic data to a fully computerized one. Advanced measurement technologies depict the shape of an object as it is, overcoming interpretative ambiguities, which are implicit in the discretionary view of the researcher. From this point of view, the potential of laser scanning technology is remarkable, especially when dealing with earthen buildings made up with extremely inhomogeneous and plastic materials such as mud-bricks and mud plaster that generate irregular and deformed walls. A good measured survey of the ancient buildings is fundamental for the architectural analysis and for the reconstruction of their shape and meaning within the anthropic context. According to Sally Foster (1989), who recalls from Structuration Theory (Giddens 1984), “space is both produced by, and in turn produces and reproduces social relations. Thus architecture is seen as culturally meaningful, and not just as a response to certain environmental needs”. Although it is not clear to what extent social information might be inferred from the analysis of archaeological buildings, yet the variations in architectural form and space arrangement do contribute to appreciate the space as actively inhabited and to widen the understanding of human experience. This is even more evident if something is already known of the relevant social structure, which is the case of Arslantepe. Without claiming here any completeness on spatial analysis and social theory (Ashmore 2002), we believe that our work is an opportunity to underline the importance of knowing how to use and optimize detailed surveys and metric analysis of archaeological buildings, to contribute and interpret correctly the available archaeological data.

Our architectural analysis focuses on the periods VII and VI A earthen buildings of the Arslantepe sequence, spanning the second half of the fourth millennium BCE, namely when Mesopotamian urban societies emerged along the Euphrates and Tigris banks providing the first evidence of flourishing economic, political, religious, and administrative centres (Frangipane 2010). The architectural remains of period VII consist of domestic quarters, elite residences and monumental temple-like buildings. All structures composing this occupation phase show an intricate sequence of building activity, modification and re-use

that suggests continuous and multiple alterations possibly due to ever-changing conditions of the settlement. The transition from period VII to period VI A was gradual. Archaeologists excavated a group of buildings planned as a single whole on a surface of about 2.000 m² along the southwestern side of the mound (fig. 1) and including two temples, storage rooms, courtyards, corridors, representative buildings, administrative areas, and elite residences (fig. 2: 1) where religious, economic and political activities were performed (Alvaro 2010). Pottery, metal weapons, and thousands of seal impressions provided documentary evidence of the first known example of a palatial complex and the birth of an early state system (Frangipane 2017). At the end of the fourth millennium BCE, this system collapsed due to a violent fire (or fires) which destroyed the palace and submerged its content creating a sort of “time capsule” of exceptional decorated small finds and rooms, and providing a complete picture of prehistoric life (Frangipane 2012).



Figure 1 - Plan of Arslantepe within the mound: period VI A buildings in dark grey.



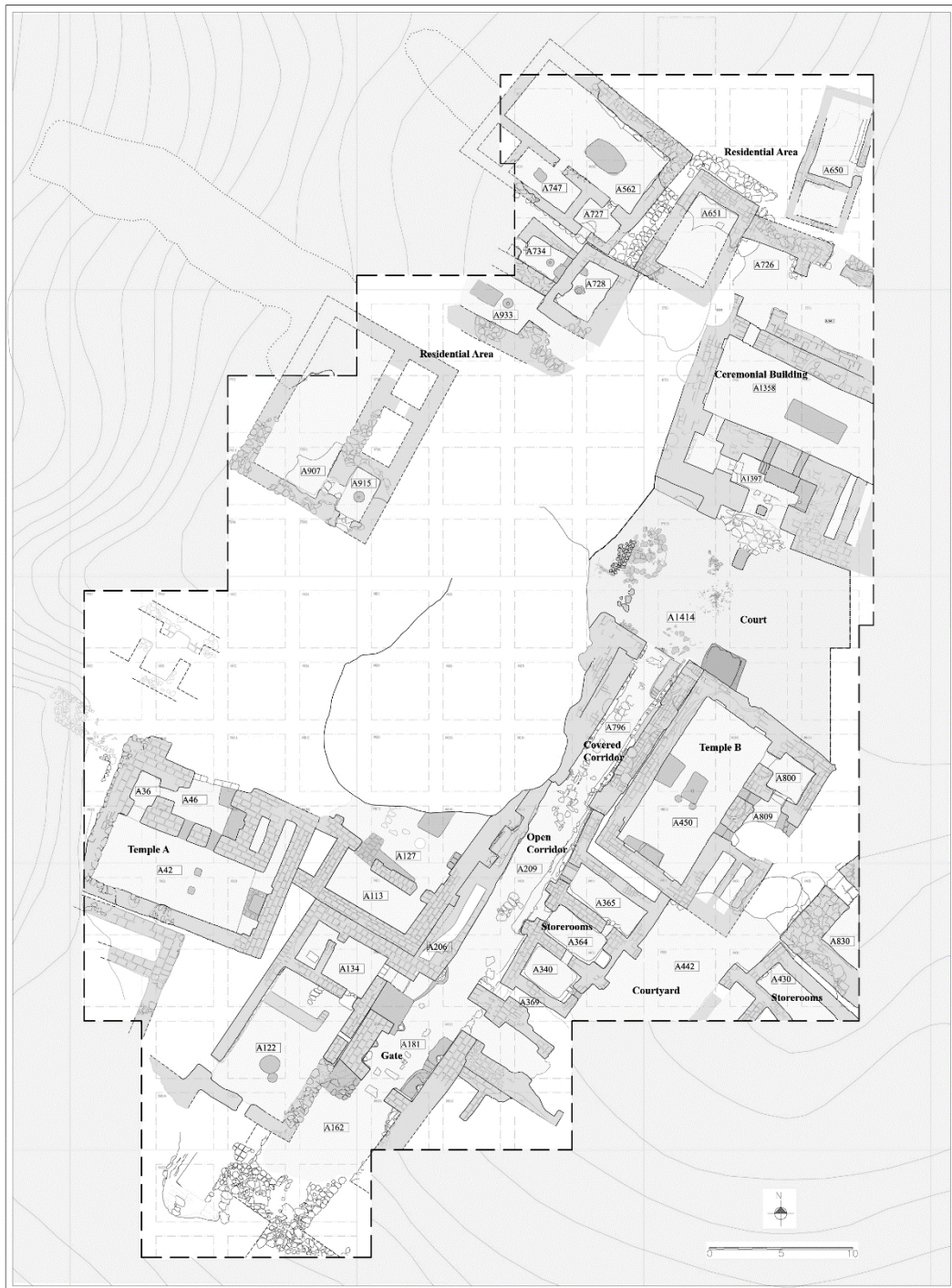


Figure 2: 1 – Plan of the palatial complex showing the main groups of rooms and their functions.



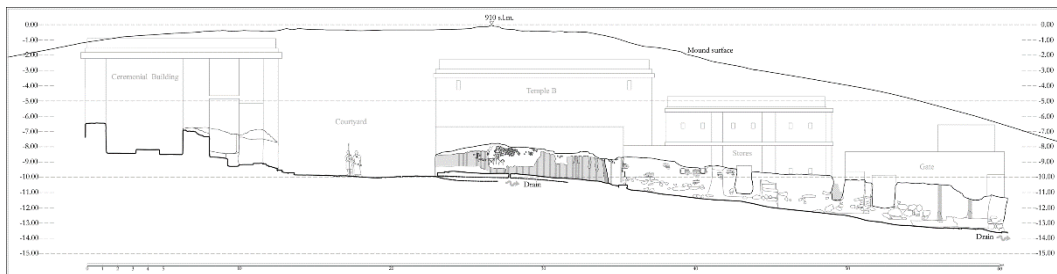


Figure 2: 2 – North-south cross-section of the palatial complex cutting the inner courtyard (north) and the connecting corridor (south). North of the courtyard, you can see Building 37, here named as “ceremonial building”.

Methods and Procedures

We carried out topographic surveys by using a closed traverse with computed station positions that were later georeferentiated through a differential GPS. A contour map has been created to read the shape of the mound. We graphically record the archaeological evidence unearthed during the excavation of Arslantepe and we analyse buildings, inner equipment, construction techniques and building materials. To elaborate handmade drawings executed on the field we use AutoCAD, a computer-aided design program that combines into one single drawing data from different gathered sources. Various types of information can be stored on separate layers, using different colours, symbols and line types (fig. 3). The material can be retained in its digital format or it can be plotted for filing and publication. A 3D reconstruction of the materials found in situ can be also added to show their exact location within the rooms.

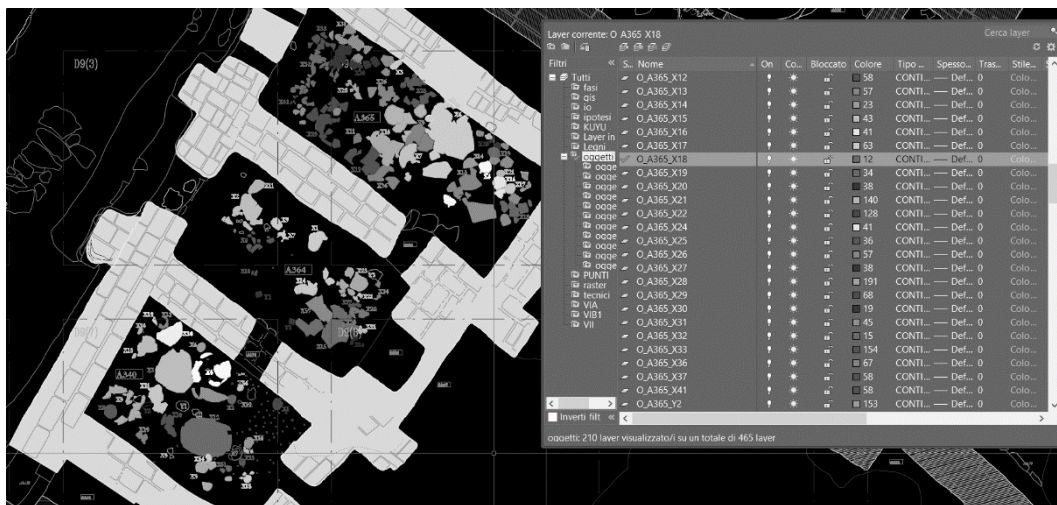


Figure 3 – Screenshot from AutoCAD illustrating the collection of different types of data into one single drawing, stored on separate layers, using different colors, symbols and line types.

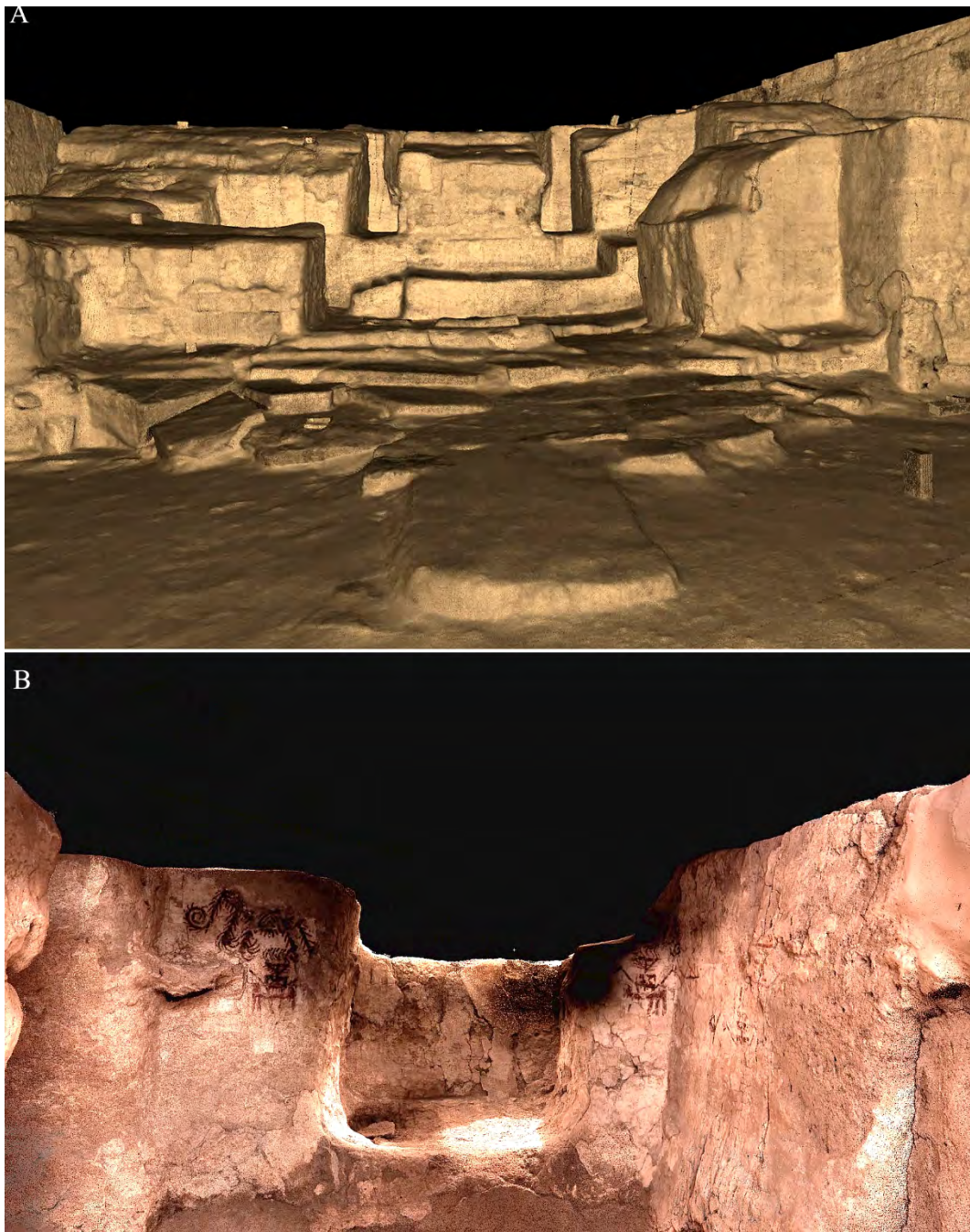
Laser scanning enables to collect a large quantity of three-dimensional measurements quickly and with meaningful accuracy values. Over recent years, we have been able to use this active, fast and automatic acquisition technique to measure 3D coordinates of points by laser light, without any contact and in a dense regular pattern (Alvaro et alii 2016). Laser scanning equipment sees considerable advances every year, with improvements in the speed and quality of data collection. Literature on this topic is vast (Historic England 2018) and the technology is continuously



updating with new projects in many archaeological sites around the world. To analyse surface and shape of the main structures in Arslantepe, we used Leica ScanStation P20, a time-of-flight laser scanner enhanced with Waveform Digitizing Technology (WDT). A built-in high-resolution digital camera measures 1.000.000 points per second and captures point clouds with pinpoint accuracy throughout the entire measurement range, up to 120 m. This technology allows acquiring data even in the presence of massive dust, as occurs in earthen sites like Arslantepe. 108 point clouds have been captured and over 3.000.000 points have been acquired with a medium-quality scan density of 3,1mm at 10 m. We scanned the palatial complex from 57 different positions and the rest of the mound from other 51 positions. Once the fieldwork was completed, we imported 100% sampling data via Cyclone software. The resulting product of each scan is a point cloud where each point yields the reflection intensity and spectral colour information for the represented material. During the post-processing of the scan data, all point-clouds were registered and merged together via visual alignment, creating the base for a complete surface reconstruction.

After the scan alignment, we checked out the motion media editors in three different ways. First, the navigation via motion tracking, which provides a birds' eye view of all the point clouds without any other editing and in intensity map color-mode. The second video was created after manual editing that eliminates the erroneous points or "noise" recorded when measuring near the silhouette of the objects. It was made to reconstruct the archaeological evidence as seen during the excavation, when a fascinating path was unearthed throughout the connecting corridor within the palatial complex that once led from the monumental south gate to the large court and in front of the ceremonial building, to the north (fig. 4, a). We decided for a monochromatic visualisation because of the difficulty of photomosaicing the archaeological evidence, given the concentration of modern structures in the excavation area. Due to the inhomogeneity and plasticity of earthen building materials and the irregularity and deformation of mud-brick walls, which are extremely subjected to earthquakes and pressure of soils accumulated for millennia on top of them, lines and points are not obvious and the use of a laser beam for data capture is particularly suited. The last video is about a very well-known context, storeroom A364, accessible from the east side of the corridor flanking Temple B. The inner walls of storeroom A364 show remarkable red paintings and decorations of considerable historical interest. Due to the limited size of the subject to be represented, in this occasion we have been able to add coloured images to the video (fig. 4, b). An important outcome is the representation of the smallest detail of an extremely plastic element such as mud plaster coating, very often consisting of several superimposed layers. The sub-millimetre precision of laser technology allows documenting its characteristics and long lasting maintenance in the best way possible. In fact, mud plaster is a plastic element, a clay-based mortar with natural binder lying on supports (walls) full of hollows, fractures and false floors. The overlapping layers of mud plaster tell about the monument life highlighting the importance of maintenance, which has to be made on a regular basis just like people living in earthen houses do today.





*Figure 4 - Palatial Complex, frame extraction from the point cloud during motion media editing
a) monochromatic video of the archaeological evidence as seen after the excavation;
b) coloured video of storeroom A364, with its remarkable paintings.*



Regarding the static outcomes, one was soon achieved by virtually releasing from the archaeological buildings the wooden roof installed in 2011 (Liberotti, Alvaro 2017) to create an open-air archaeological museum that protects the palatial complex from climatic stress and enables visitors to explore monuments through specifically built paths (Mangano 2012). The fact that point clouds hold 3D information of each single point makes it easy to measure every element of the building. A simple yet effective way to share online 3D data via Internet Explorer is Truview plug-in, which allows making quick measurements and extracting the real 3D coordinates or entering mark-ups that give information in txt or jpg format. The possibility to generate 2D drawings from the 3D point clouds allows producing useful plans, elevations and cross-sections that respect the traditional way of documenting archaeological evidence and, at the same time, can be used also in GIS or CAD packages. We obtained a series of orthographic projections of the storerooms with plane cutting horizontally through the building at different elevations, showing the parts of the building underneath this plane as seen when we view the picture plane from above. We also produced another series of planes cutting horizontally through the whole palatial complex but from an auxiliary view (fig. 5). Mainstream software for CAD, GIS or 3D modelling makes use of additional applications or plug-ins (Leica CloudWorx for AutoCAD in this case) to handle the large datasets generated by laser scanning that access only data to be displayed (fig. 6), and use “levels of detail” protocols to improve the performance of the mainstream CAD tools.

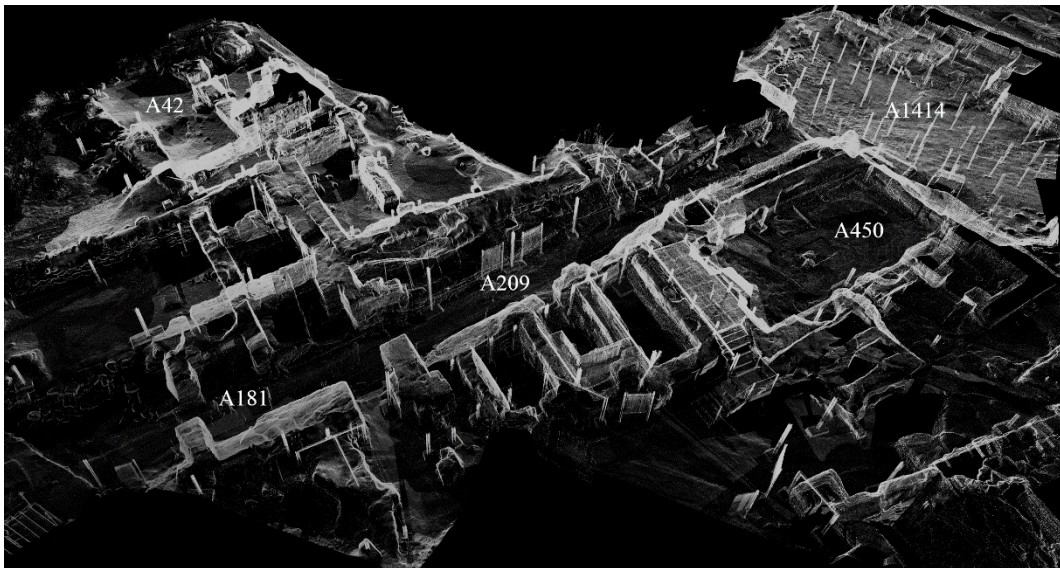


Figure 5 – Palatial complex, auxiliary view of the public area, south of the residential area, as from plane cut of the laser scanning survey, indicating the inner court (A1414), Temple B (A450+), the central portion of the connecting corridor (A209), the south gate (A181) and Temple A (A42+).



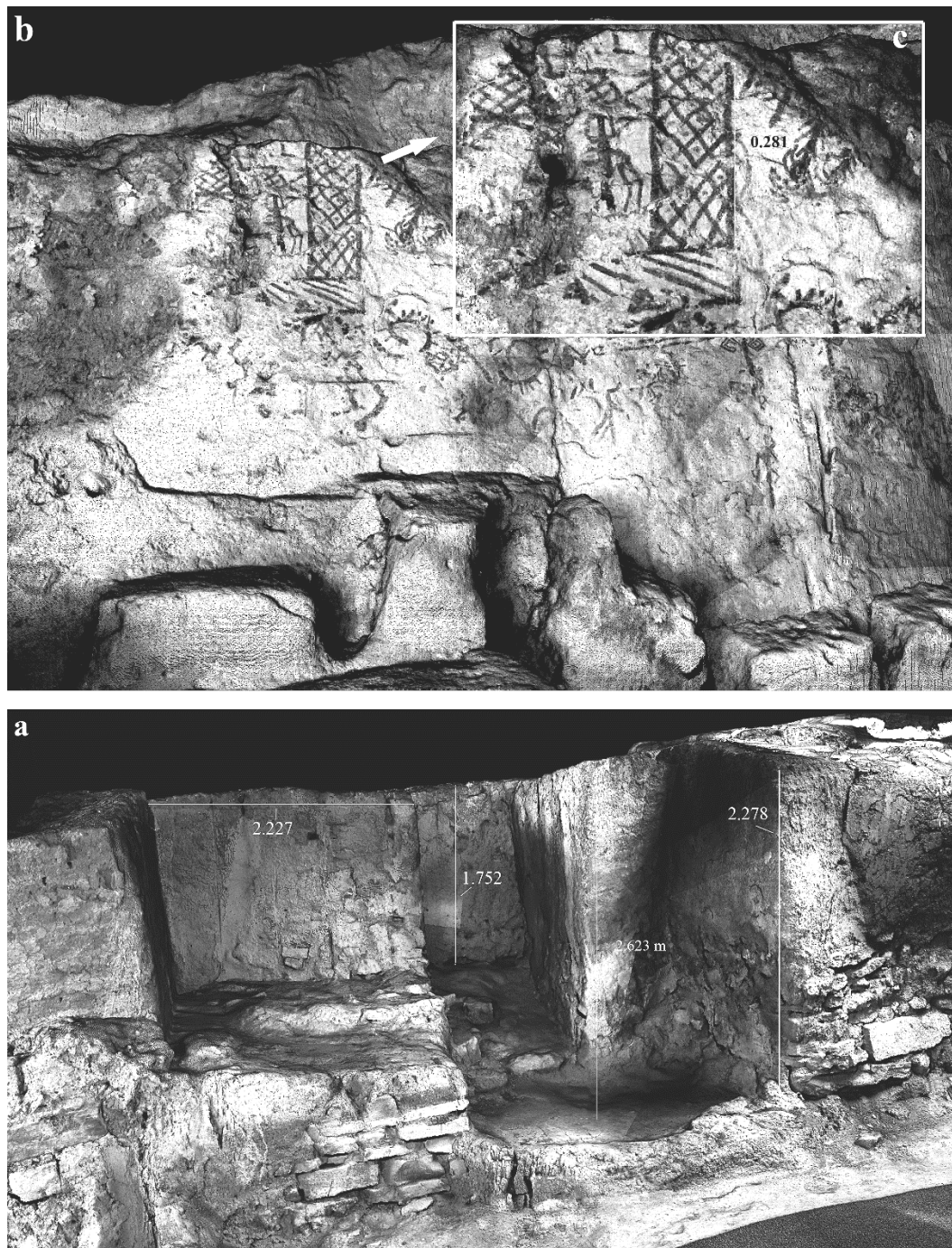


Figure 6 – Palatial complex, detailed measurements and extraction of information through Cyclone software in
 a) the niches of the south gate and
 b) in the wall paintings of the connecting corridor, with a
 c) zoom-in on one of the most significant scenes.



Architectural Analysis

A comparison between handmade drawings previously executed by archaeologists and the orthographic projection of the point clouds produces useful crosschecking strategy activities. Measurements, archaeological survey and data processing described above form the base for a comprehensive architectural investigation, which must be done in association with the study of the archaeological context, the characterization of building materials in the lab, the analysis of construction techniques and the comparison with traditional architecture, the latter limited to certain technological aspects. Some mineralogical and physical tests on building material samples collected in Arslantepe and its surroundings were performed and are currently ongoing to identify properties and behavior of materials and further expand our knowledge of the technological know-how and planning skills owned by the ancient architects. By following a branch of study on earthen architecture embarked long time ago, scholars of Arslantepe collected fragments of wall painting (Fazio 1992), mud plaster and mud-brick (Liberotti, Quaresima 2010) from the buildings of the palatial complex and studied them in the laboratories. According to one of the most recent investigations (Liberotti et al 2016), mud-bricks from residential and public buildings within the palatial complex show coherent response to compression and give no dispersion, hence having a greater load bearing capacity if compared with building materials from other periods within the site. The analysis of the brickwork, which demonstrates a more homogeneous size of the palatial complex mud-bricks with respect to the other periods (Liberotti, Quaresima 2012), confirmed the increasing standardization in the mud-brick manufacture and the improvement in the construction techniques at the end of the fourth millennium BCE. Moreover, Anatolia is rich of rural architectural contexts that have not changed that much across the time (Yalman 2013). Their remarkable state of preservation makes it possible to check and verify constructive systems and theories that can be applied to the hypothetical reconstruction of prehistoric architecture. In the following paragraphs, we describe some examples of architectural analysis and 3D reconstruction of period VII and VI A buildings.

As mentioned above, period VII consists of a large stratification of building levels at the end of which an imposing structure named as Temple C has been unearthed with no trace of fire, thus possibly abandoned. It is a 400 m² tripartite structure, northeast-southwest oriented like the other main buildings of Arslantepe, with very thick load-bearing mud-brick walls and a vast central hall with a platform podium flanked by smaller rooms (fig. 7: 1). The niched walls of the central hall had four entrance doors while the access from outside was by the southeast corner and perhaps also by the northwest side. From an engineering point of view, Temple C is a unique example among the preserved monuments. Walls have no foundation but lay on a large stone platform (fig. 7: 2, a), which is supported by a wooden beam-frame (fig. 7: 2, b) that aimed at distribute the weight of the platform and the overlying walls. Based on those and further observation and data, we propose here a hypothetical reconstruction of Temple C illustrated by plans, sections and three-dimensional views. The first three-dimensional view highlights that Temple C was probably a two-storey building (fig. 8: 1). This may be attested either by the pottery found above the side-room infill, and perhaps fallen from an upper storey, and by the remains of a staircase in the northwest corner. In the second three-dimensional half-section view (fig. 8: 2), the upper terrace and the roofing system are shown, with the volume of the central hall and two of the four inner doors. In the foreground, the status quo of the building as found when excavated. A specific technical analysis has been carried out on two bearing walls of Temple C to define the brickwork. Different colours and temper in the mud-bricks, at least in the northeast walls, suggest two brickyards and maybe two building stages (fig.



9). At the end of period VII, Temple C and the recently unearthed Temple D (fig. 10, in dark grey on the left) may represent only a portion of a potentially much larger monumental area within the settlement.



Figure 7: 1 – Plan of Temple C with preserved mud-bricks in dark grey. Black arrows indicate one entrance unearthed in the southeast room and one possible access hypothesised in the northwest room.





*Figure 7: 2 – Temple C, pictures taken during the excavation:
a) large stone platform that sustained the walls;
b) wooden beam-frame underneath the stone platform.*



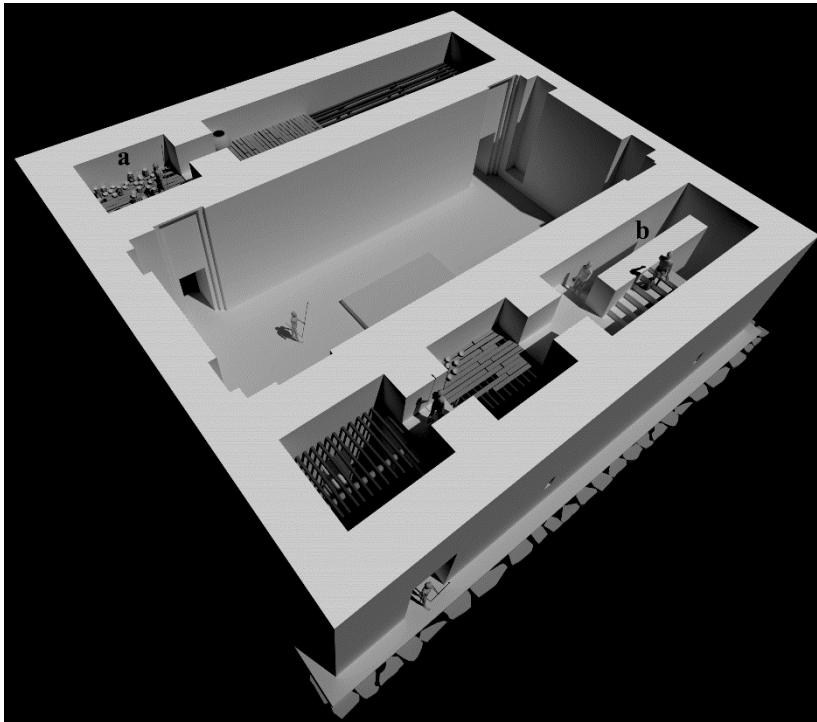


Figure 8: 1 - Temple C, three-dimensional view highlighting a possible upper storey attested either by a) the pottery found above the east side-room infill and b) by the remains of a staircase in the northwest corner.

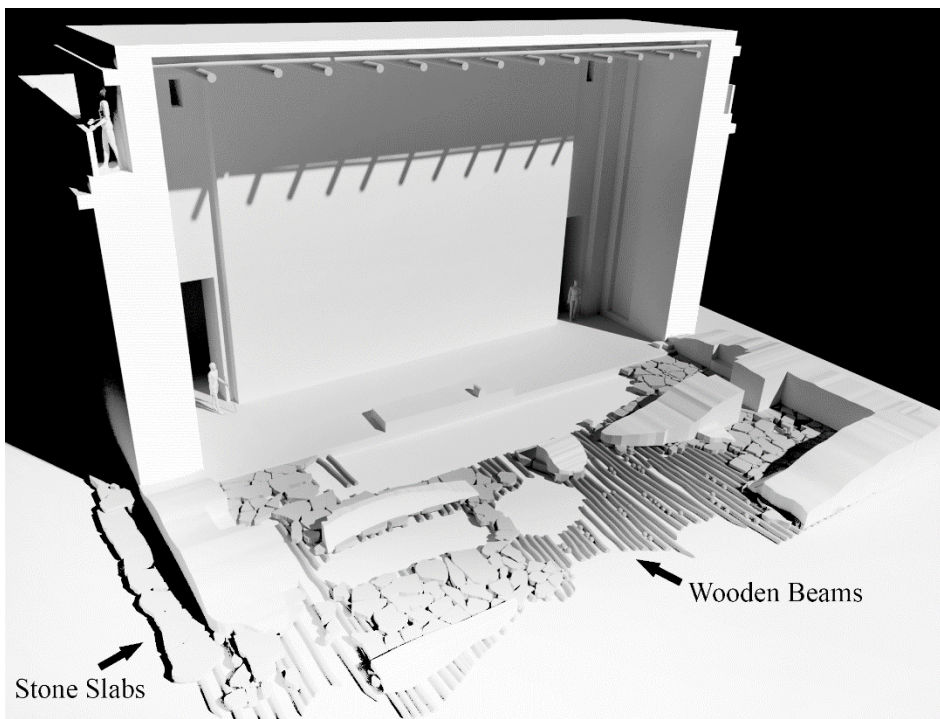


Figure 8: 2 - Temple C, three-dimensional half-section view showing the upper storey and the roofing system together with the volume of the central hall. In the foreground, the status quo of the building as found when excavated.



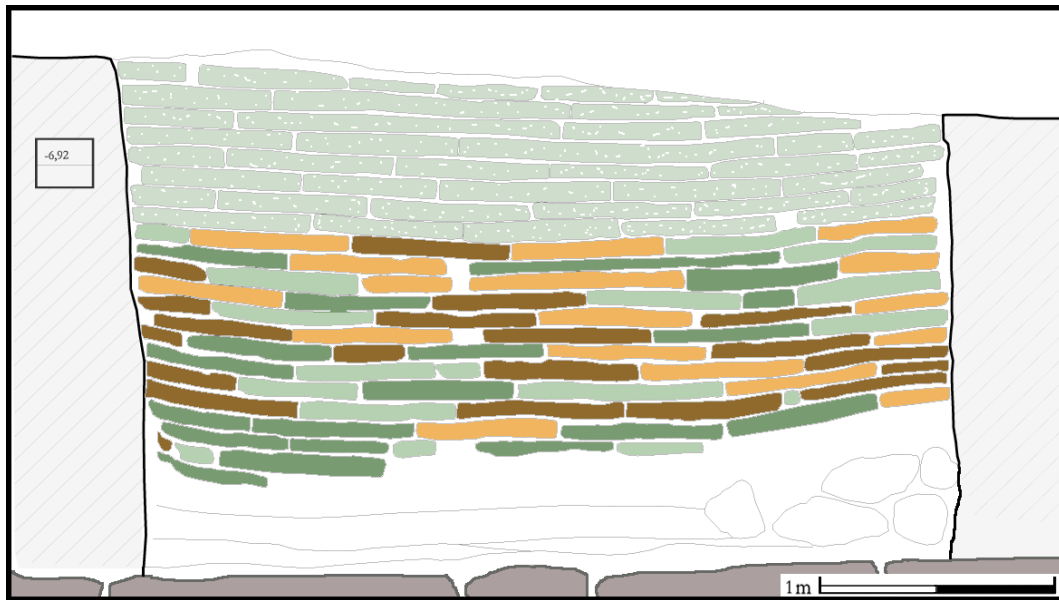


Figure 9 – Temple C, brickwork analysis of the northeast perimeter walls with variation of mud-brick colours and temper suggesting at least two brickyards and maybe two building stages.

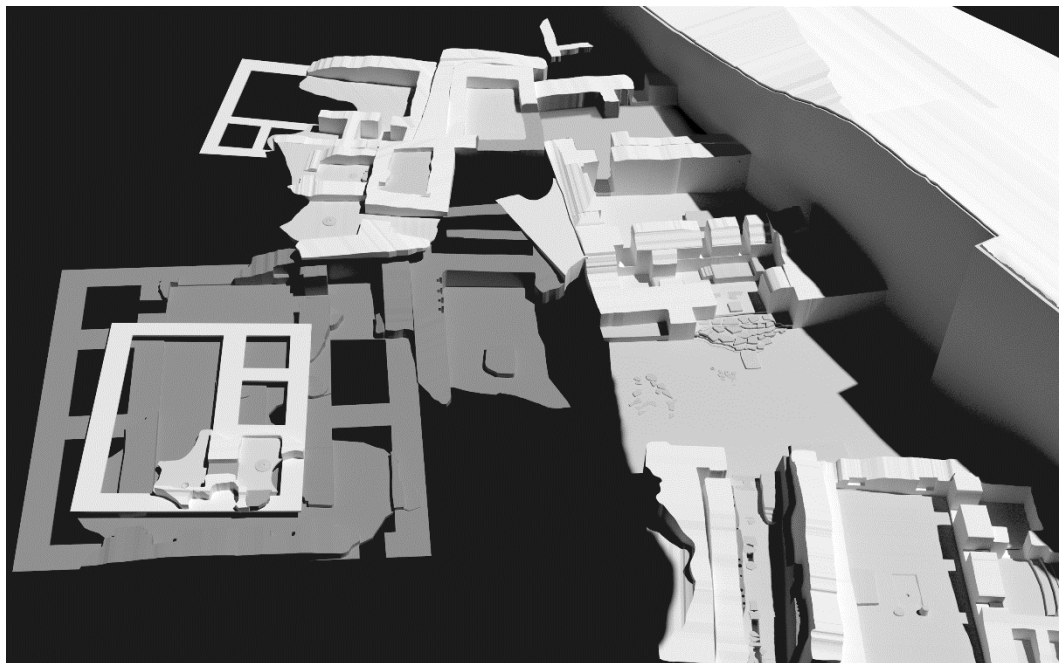


Figure 10 – three-dimensional overlapping of Temple C and Temple D (period VII, dark grey on the left) with the palatial complex (period VI A, light grey on the right).



In the subsequent period VI A, a new complex of buildings develops uniformly and in a well-planned way above the area previously occupied by the period VII temples (fig. 10, in light grey on the right). The palatial complex so far best represents the history of the construction activities at Arslantepe. It was brought to light in an extraordinary state of preservation, with mud-brick walls over 2 m high and between 85 and 220 cm thick, and with original white mud plaster and red and black wall paintings. Given the extreme perishability of the material used to build (mud-bricks and mud plaster), the 3D laser scanning enables creating a digital archive with all data useful to precisely describe structures, objects and pictorial decorations. As already mentioned, the accuracy in terms of distance between points as well as the repeatability of the measurements guaranteed by the laser scanning cannot be compared with traditional surveys. The palatial complex was built in successive building phases, as a sort of progressive enlargement. The earliest core was in the northern and higher part of the complex, characterized by the presence of a large inner court, a decorated entrance corridor, a relatively small temple (Temple B), and an imposing ceremonial building (Building 37) communicating with both the court and the residential area (see fig. 2: 1). Successive additions greatly widened the public space and deeply transformed it according to the need of more space for the authority to perform a growing number of activities. The residential area to the north and the public area to the south create a bipartition of the space that pivots on the large paved inner court (180 m², partially excavated). North of it, the 212-m² Building 37, the largest of the entire complex excavated so far, acts as an interface between the two areas. The architectural trademark of this period is the bipartite layout clearly attested in almost all main buildings: Temple A, Temple B, Building 37 and some residential houses. A 37 m long connecting corridor leads from the monumental gate in the south area to the inner court (fig. 2: 2). Although the post-processing of the laser scanning data is still in progress, we already achieved excellent results to understand the shape of the buildings. We extrapolated from the point clouds a 60 m long north-south profile cutting the connecting corridor, the inner court and Building 37 that would be very difficult to obtain on the field without laser scanning technology. The connecting corridor, which covers an underground drainage system, has a 10% slope. A stone terracing system is extensively attested in the palatial complex as well as a continuous massive stone footing underneath the mud-brick walls. A 3D perspective view of the status-quo shows at a glance the last building stage of the whole complex before the final destruction, and represents the starting point for a comprehensive reconstruction (fig 11: 1). It was made through AutoCAD according on data collected in the archaeological excavation and based on plans, sections and elevation drawings. It shows very accurate details and, in the background, the shape of the mound evidences the stratigraphy accumulated after period VI A. The main aim of this 3D reconstruction is to highlight the crossing path along the corridor and the imposing ceremonial building that must have impressed perhaps those who wished to approach the legitimized authority. A hypothetical 3D reconstruction (fig. 11: 2) shows the basic volumes of the buildings without any additional architectural detail as this work is still in progress.



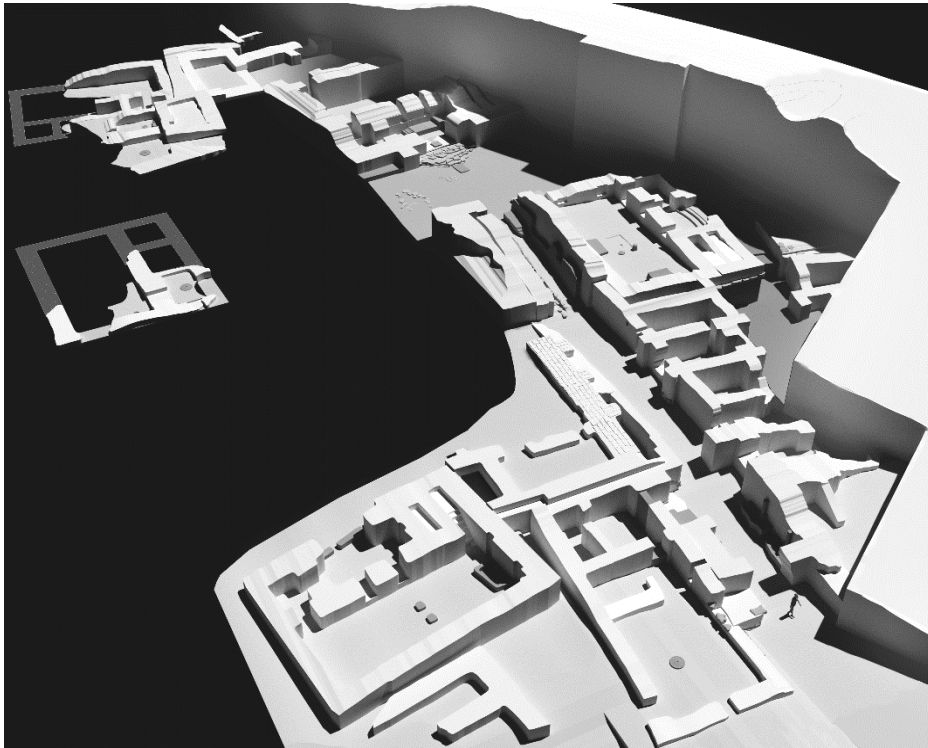


Figure 11: 1 – Palatial complex, three-dimensional perspective view of the status-quo showing the last building stage before the collapse.

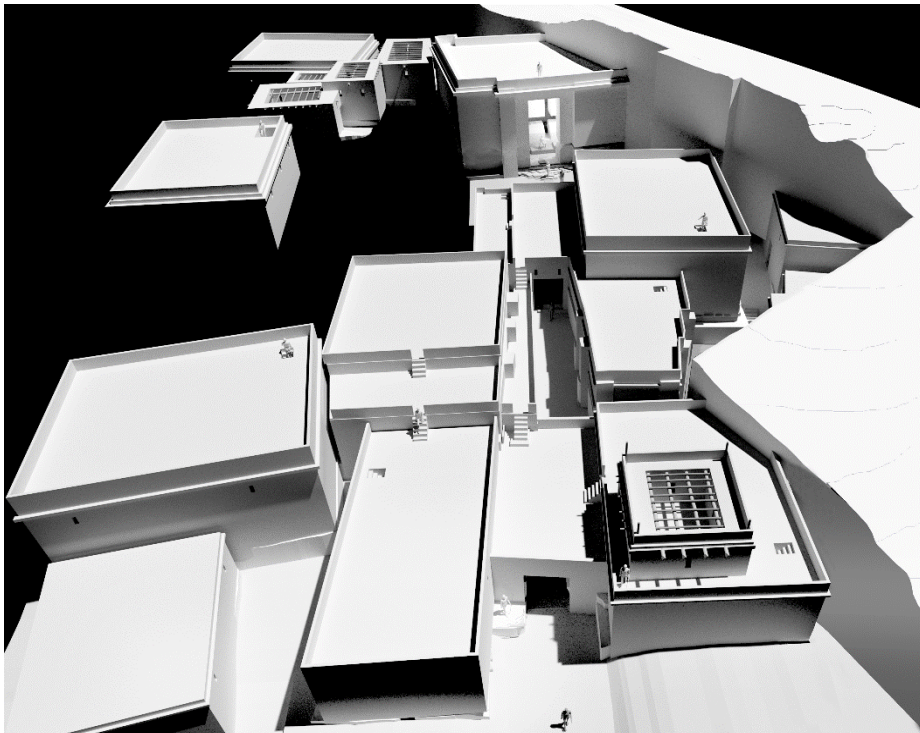


Figure 11: 2 – Palatial complex, hypothetical 3D reconstruction showing the basic volumes of the buildings without additional detail



Discussion

This paper should be considered as a work in progress. We started with a group of buildings (the palatial complex) but as we went along, we realized that we could have scanned, and thus globally addressed, the entire site and create in few days a digital archive with measured information about the whole mound. Such digital archive may be used to analyse buildings, perform micro measurements and investigate on construction techniques and materials. The continuity between the measured survey on the field and the data processing in the lab guarantees the accuracy of the outcomes. That is what every plan, section, elevation drawing and 3D reconstruction is based on. Laser scanning procedures effortlessly relay on such a continuity and fit perfectly on it. As a matter of fact, from the huge amount of data collected through three-dimensional technology it is not only possible but also desirable to select and extract without any loss of accuracy the elements necessary to work on a two-dimensional data structure (e.g. AutoCAD), and conduct architectural analysis of any kind. This will boost a thorough investigation of archaeological buildings.

We believe that the complexity implicit in the description of a building, whether it is a mud-brick or stone one, is the basis for any architectural analysis and for a faithful reconstruction because it allows to query any element of the surviving structure. The mass of information generated by the archaeological investigation on the field thus becomes a non-partial digital archive, available in its entirety to all and at the same time. Moreover, in this way scanning becomes a tool for analysing the state of conservation and monitoring surfaces and materials exposed to decay over the time such as wall plaster. In conclusion, the ideal situation would be to scan the archaeological evidence as soon as it comes out from the excavation, in such a way as to avoid losing data as time goes on.



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FUTURE PROJECTIONS FROM TODAY'S PERSPECTIVE ON PROTECTION PRACTICES IN ARSLANTEPE

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FUTURE PROJECTIONS FROM TODAY'S PERSPECTIVE ON PROTECTION PRACTICES IN ARSLANTEPE

AYSUN TUNA

Introduction

Bearing traces from human life, archeological sites are the information sources for the past that have rich history and cultural data. The protection of archaeological sites has of most importance for the protection of urban culture and sustainable urban developments (Tuna and Erdogan, 2016). The base for the protection of these sites that facilitates the most effective dialogue between today and tomorrow are right setup and application of the relationship between instruments and city carries importance for sustainable urban development. These instruments can generally sorted under general headlines as the definition of current land use on and around the site, the accessibility status that primarily defines the relationship between archeological site and city, city development plans (zoning plans), definition of current economic status, management and definition of relationship between local residents and archaeological site and the presence of civil initiatives and cooperation.

The most important instrument in the term of protecting the archaeological sites is the legislative regulations that has effect on the location of the site. In this context, the regulations currently in operation and implementations about protection in regards to the protection of archaeological sites in Turkey needs to be addressed generally.

Legal Framework on the Protection of Archaeological Sites in Turkey

The legal regulation that has enabled the protection of archaeological sites that is expanding to important and wide areas belonging to different cultural layers in Turkey is the Law numbered 1710 that enacted on 1973. With this Law, the context of "site" which has a wider meaning than an individual monument is defined. In the first Article of Law number 1710, the term "site" is described as: "Topographic areas that are the work of nature or work of humans alongside nature which need protection and utilization because of having homogenous, historical, esthetical, artistical, scientific, ecological, ethnographical, perennial and mythological qualities." The definition in this Law regarding archaeological sites and ruins have developed later. The definition of an archaeological site, according to General Directorate of Cultural and Natural Heritage's resolution dated 5.11.1999 and numbered 658, is as follows: "Settlements and areas while having every type of cultural entity that is reflecting the social, economic and cultural features along with products both underwater and on land in regards to the age of their existence which reached the present

day from the origin" (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 1999a)

With the archaeological site concept taking place, the regulations that enable the drawing of lines of wide archaeological sites in order to legally protect them were put in action. In this context, with the General Directorate of Cultural and Natural Heritage's resolution number 658, archaeological sites were classified. According to this classification, first degree archaeological sites were expressed as: "Besides scientific studies aimed at conservation, there won't be any construction allowed on this site which will be protected as is and the determination of the site which will be protected as is on zoning plans along with no allowance of excavations besides scientific ones." (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 1999a)

Regarding the resolution; second degree archaeological sites were expressed as: "The sites that should be conserved but as protection and utilization conditions determined by conservation committees, the protection will occur as is besides scientific studies that is aiming to protect." (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 1999a)

According to III. Degree archaeological site resolution, it is defined as "Conservation – archaeological sites that can be permitted to new regulations in accordance to utilization resolutions." This group has permission to have new controlled structuring (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 1999a)

The main problems encountered in regards to the protection of archaeological sites can be listed as: illegal excavations that cannot be controlled or monitored, natural destruction, ownership problems due to rating issues, zoning activities in sites which have not been assessed for their archeological potential yet or sites in which their assessments not being based on scientific measures, tourism activities that cause natural destruction via excessive visitation and improper servers and transport solutions along with protection and control problems arising from financial deficits such as expropriation.

Regarding the aforementioned issues, some regulations are made with the Code of Protection of Cultural and Natural Properties numbered 2863 against the protections of archaeological sites. These regulations can be listed under titles as regulations concerning ownership, zoning plans for protection and interchange (barter).

In Articles 13 and 14 of Code numbered 2863, the topics of processes carried out which is concerning facilitation of rights to grant, lease, recirculation, abandonment, allotment, constitution of sharing, and tenancy allocation, etc. of the immovable cultural heritages inclusive to the Treasure, other public institutions and organizations is indicated (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 1999b)

Within the scope of these Articles; the definition is made about the immovable assets, which are registered in the conserved area of the registered immovable cultural and natural assets shall be subject to the sale, grant, lease, allocation, transfer, abandonment, constitution of sharing, tenancy and allocation of related procedures and the processes to be followed (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 1999b)

In the relevant Law, Code 15 states the expropriation rules and regulations to be maintained in the areas of cultural and natural assets and protected areas, which are partially or entirely owned by natural persons and legal entities (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 1999b)

In Article 17 of the relevant Law, detailed information on the preparation of conservation development plans, the most comprehensive method for the protection of archaeological sites is given. "Technical Specifications for Conservative Development Plan" which came into force in the context of regulations in regards to the preparation of



Conservative Development Plan is taken as a basis (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism of Turkey, Information System of Regulation, 2005).

Another conservation method; "Regulation in Regards to the Interchange of Treasury Immovables with Immovables that Remain in the Border of Archaeological Sites" that is prepared based on related Code's Article number 15 is about interchange (The Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Department of Inspection Board, 2010).

The rules and regulations of interchange method is described as the interchange of Treasury immovables with immovables that have ban on construction and have been declared as archaeological sites because of the ownership of natural and legal entities and the existence of immovable cultural and natural assets within.

Interchange processes which are carried out by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism along with the Ministry of Finance covers the applications made by the property owners in the sites covered by the interchange program and applications determined appropriate by the ministry for the interchange of the private property with the land belonging to the Treasury. It is possible to talk about the more effective protection by means of interchange method as the expropriation of the archaeological sites by private property requires a great financial resource.

In Turkey, there are various regulations that include participatory processes in regards to the conservation of cultural heritages and locations of cultural heritages present in the context of Code numbered 2863. One of these regulations numbered 5225 and named Law on Promotion of Cultural Investment and Initiative's context describes that participatory process in regards to conservation applications that can be promoted by initiatives or discounts (Law on Promotion of Cultural Investment and Initiative, 2004). Corporate Tax Law numbered 5422 and Income Tax Law numbered 193 , "Law Amending the Decree Law No. 178 and Some Laws" numbered 5228's Articles 28 and 32 facilitates some tax advantages to natural or legal entities that encourages cultural activities for the sponsorship activities in the cultural range.

In the framework of the statement, "related trade associations can attend conservation area meeting assembly as observers" which can be found on the context of facilitation of direct participation on the conservation of cultural heritage, the Article 58 of Law numbered 2863, the participation of Chamber of Architects and Chamber of City planners is facilitated

There are non-governmental organizations such as Tarihi Kentler Birliđi, ÇEKÜL, Taç Vakfı, Arkeologlar Derneđi, Anadolu Sanat Tarihçileri Derneđi, Türk Tarih Vakfı, KÜMİD, etc. which carry out important activities in the area of conservation on national scope (Tuna, 2019).

A new concept in the conservation of archaeological sites, the site management plan is a concept entered into the Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets via the amendment by the Law numbered 5226 on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets Law numbered 2863 (Çolak, 2011).

A new concept for Turkey, the archaeological management plan includes the classification, determination of features and definition of the archaeological heritage and consequently, the regional/local inventory creation to protection of archaeological sites along with their interaction fields, the evaluation of new uses to meet the needs that will arise in the process of social utilization and the determination of necessary measures and action plans in this context administrative structure and the administrative activities that this structure is obliged to fulfill (Çolak, 2011; Tuna, 2016). The management plan for archaeological site protection has reached a significance in the international scope. The



UNESCO World Heritage Center foresees a management plan for the sites to be accepted by the World Heritage List (UNESCO, 2008, Kortanoğlu, 2014)

Today of Arslantepe Mound's Protection Practices

On this part of paper, the main components defined for the protection of archaeological heritage were assessed in regards to the Arslantepe Mound Archaeological Site.

Land Using: A place which had settlements from 5000 B.C. to 11th century A.D., and was used as a Roman village between the 4th and 6th centuries BC and was utilized as a Byzantine necropolis in the later periods (Frangipane, 2012). Arslantepe Mound is surrounded by orchards, mainly for irrigated agriculture (Fig.1). On the other hand, in south west direction (city centrum), it is found out that the urban construction and sprawl for the Arslantepe Mound archaeological site gets denser on the historical city center named Battalgazi, the area within the borders of the site. It can be observed that increasing number multi-story residential buildings due to the increasing urbanization rate is starting to threaten the city silhouette.

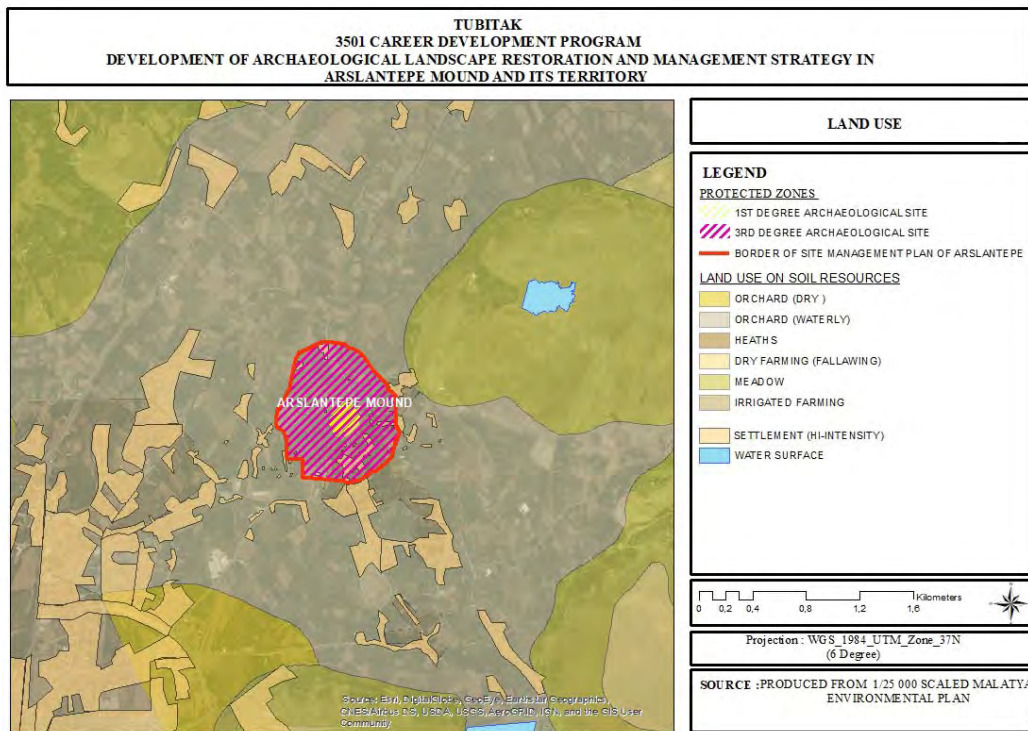


Figure 1. Land Use of Arslantepe Mound's Territory

Accessibility: Arslantepe Mound is connected to D300 Highway in the South, and to Battalgazi & Malatya Street in the North, with a distance of 7 kilometers to Malatya Centrum. According to the report of Malatya Metropolitan Municipality (2018), there is a railroad that reaches out to Sivas and Elazığ's Baskil County on the northwest of Arslantepe Mound. Another important main road connection is the North Belt Highway planned in the context of 1/25000 scaled Master Development Plan for the City of Malatya. This main transport system is planned for East-West axis to Ankara-Elazığ, North to Sivas and Kemalije-Erzincan, South to Kahramanmaraş-Adıyaman, and through Sivas Highway to the airport



connections. Also, according to zoning plan resolutions, for an addition to the current railroad destination, Sivas-Malatya Express Train Route which is another transportation system that is planned (Fig.2).

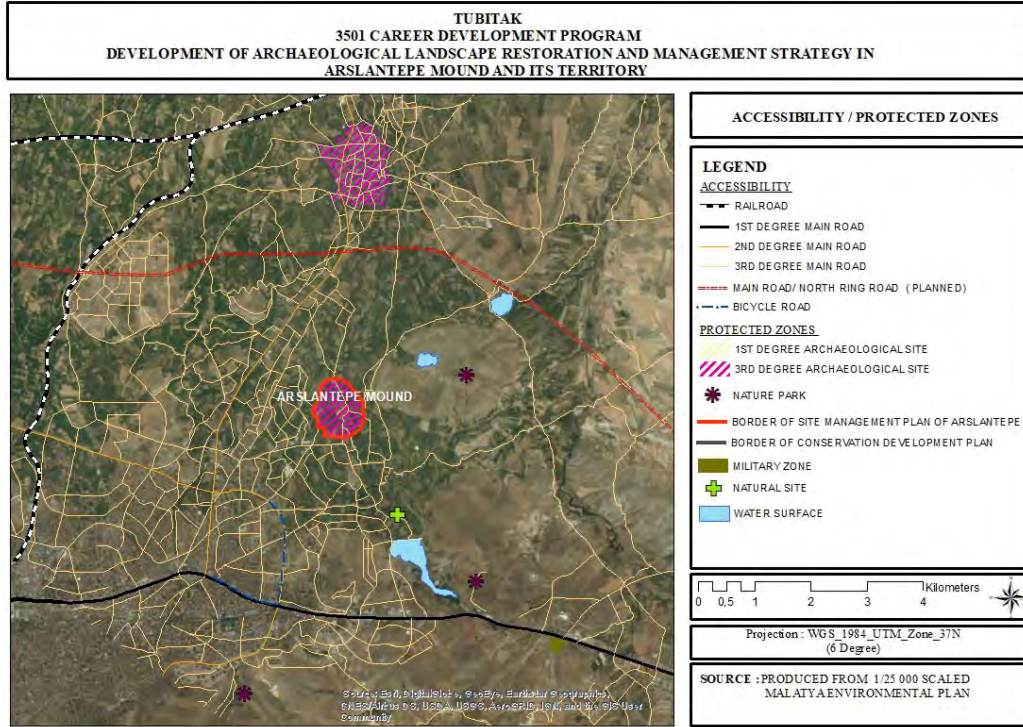


Figure 2. Accessibility and Distribution of Protected Zones of Arslantepe Mound's Territory

Plans in Effect and Ownership Situation: Since Arslantepe Mound Archaeological site resides inside the border of Municipality of Battalgazi, the Code numbered 3193 of Zoning Law is in effect. The structuring provisions made in the eyes of this Code is determined by the Municipality of Battalgazi. Regarding the information gathered from Malatya General Directorate of Land Registry and Cadastre, the land of Arslantepe Mound and its close proximity is utilized as agricultural and residential areas. Public space in the close proximity are rather limited (Fig.3). There is a lot of conflicts due to areas around it allotted to private property and because of that, the resolution about a change in the Zoning Plan is made on Official Gazette dated 06.02.2017.

There are some areas near Arslantepe Mound that is subjected to Special Law. These are Battalgazi Suriçi Conservation Development Plan site, Beydağı and Turgut Özal Nature Park and Military zones that have the 3rd degree archaeological site statuses (Map 2). In addition to these areas, the information about the preparation of declaration of agricultural sites within the context of Büyük Ova Project has gained.

Economic Status / Potential: Orduzu Quarter substantially comprises of irrigation fields for agricultural activities (about 30.000km²). Apricot gardens come to the forefront as the agricultural product pattern. It has a significant share within the apricot exportation in Malatya, thus being a fundamental source of income for the local people in Orduzu. Other fruit species, along with barley, wheat and vegetable production are on a level meeting the nutrition requirements of the property owners. So, they do not have an economical value. Bovine breeding is common in Orduzu. Poultry farming is mainly performed in Elmasuyu



and Kaldırım areas. Due to being located close to the centrum, it is increasingly used for commercial and investment purposes.

Additionally, employment opportunities provided for the local people during the excavation period (From August to October) shine out as a critical source of income.

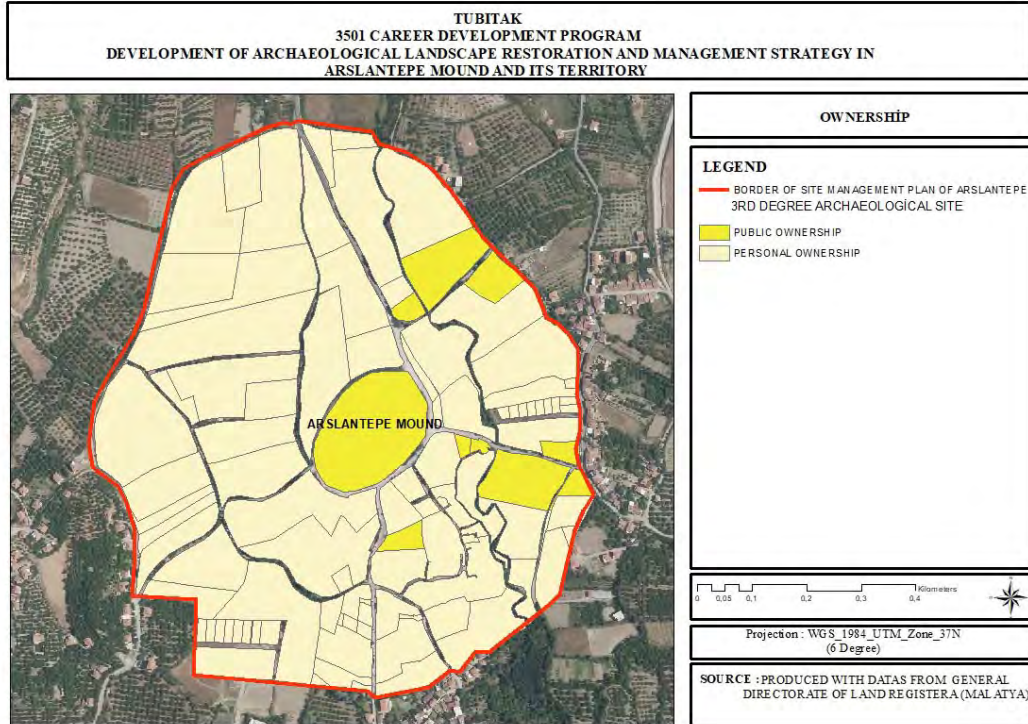


Figure 3. Ownership Status of Arslantepe Mound's Territory

Non-governmental Organizations / Participation of Public People: Protection strategies that involve non-governmental organizations and public people in the process, ensure that the protection is sustainable, that the problem is defined and solved within a shorter period of time, while allowing the control mechanism to operate actively and receiving feedbacks efficiently. There is no non-governmental organization that actively work specifically on the protection of Arslantepe. However, it is known to us that a foundation is planned to be established within the site management process. Malatya Arslantepe Rotary Club carries out the training, advertising and event activities. A study was carried out by Tuna and Binbaşıoğlu, based on the results of the surveys carried out on the local people in Orduzu, with the objective to set forth the dialog of public community with Arslantepe, which, in fact, has a critical role in the protection of Arslantepe. Soon-to-be-released study results shows us that people living around Arslantepe considers it is as asset for Malatya, which needs to be protected, while requesting the respective steps to be taken for allowing it to be a source of income via tourism. On the other hand, it was detected that private property owners living within the archeological protected site borders have conflicts within the dialog with Arslantepe.

Administratively; Arslantepe Mound has placed itself in UNESCO's World Heritage Sites Temporary List in 2014. The preparations for the Archaeological Site Management Plan which is a prerequisite for entering the official list has started as per the year 2014. In this context, Arslantepe Mound buffer zone has determined, zone management plan preparation



process has completed before T.R. Ministry of Culture and the file prepared has presented to ICOMOS. Site Management Coordination unit has been created in the Battalgazi Municipality for the preparations of Archaeological Site Management and expert municipal officers, Sapienza, academics from İnönü University and Turgut Özal University have worked together.

Future Protection Practices of Arslantepe Mound

Protection and transfer of cultural knowledge of Universally valued Arslantepe Mound and its close proximity have to the future and analysis of the conflict between modern residential design and current spatial texture (archaeological and agricultural landscape features), and "Archaeological Park" project proposal as a model for strengthening the organic bond between city along with the protection and management of archaeological heritage are developed. This project proposal has been made under the context of TUBITAK Career Development Program 3501 and was adopted for support. Project works started as 15.04.2018. The main purposes of the project that has planned to end in 15.04.2020 are the conservation of Arslantepe Mound Site and its close proximity's current spatial texture for today and tomorrow, reutilization of archaeological heritage by sustainable conservation and development of archaeological park model which strengthens the organic bond between city and site.

Archaeological Park Model As a Conservation Tool for Archaeological Heritage:

Today, considering the development models of developed countries, it is a known fact that they adopt the policies and strategies towards the development of cultural tourism potential by featuring the local identities of the region. The strategy of rejuvenating and ensuring cities' continuity, as an intangible and physical element of cultural landscape within the scope of protecting and exhibiting archeological heritage, where the activities of people have been displayed during the historic and prehistoric ages, as well as the archeological park concept – as a sustainable development model in tourism – shine out in the process.

The objectives of archeological park model can be summarized as follows:

- Protecting the archeological heritage and traditional settlement texture, all together (underlining the local identity),
- Embracing the archeological heritage and environmental heritage in its vicinity, all together,
- Increasing the potential of local economy by defining the natural and cultural resource values,
- Ensuring a defined spatial organization,
- Management with an integrative protection approach (participation of each and every stakeholder in the protection process)
- Strengthening the organic bond with the city,
- Relaying information by means of experimental archeology,
- Setting a new destination within the scope of cultural tourism
- Self-financing etc. (Tuna and Erdoğan, 2016-2017).

It is foreseen that the general framework of the zone management plan, which is stipulated in the process of adopting the Archaeological Site of Arslantepe Mound in the official list of the UNESCO World Heritage Sites will accelerate of the process of entering the official list and contribute to the sustainable development at the local and national level for the city. It is planned to carry out the analysis of the archaeological park model based on the



advisory body of the UNESCO World Heritage Committee's Cultural Heritage Protection Center (ICCRROM)'s publication of "Management Guidelines for World Heritage Site".

The project stands out with its multidisciplinary structure, where archeology, architecture, landscape architecture and biology occupational disciplines will provide decisions all together. The process is going on as hosted by İnönü University, under the consultancy of Sapienza University and also with the support of Ankara University, İstanbul Technical University and Sivas Cultural Property Protection Board.

Flowchart of creating Archeological Park Model is as follows:

- Designating the undergone changes of Arslantepe and the territory in the historical process, including its current condition, with environmental and anthropogenic analyses,
- Designating the natural landscape resource values in the working area (hydrology, geology, geomorphology, topography, soil structure, climate and floristic researches). Flora researchers will be carried out for 4 vegetation periods within this scope.
- Carrying out current status spatial analyses in the working area (land use, land classification, built environment, infrastructure, access-circulation, property status, socio-economic structure, etc.),
- Determining the historical landscape character of Arslantepe and its territory,
- Identifying the current status (SWOT Analysis)

- Archeological Park Design Project for Presentation of the Area: It is targeted at drawing up of a project unifying the natural landscape resource values that Arslantepe and its vicinity have (particularly those underlining agricultural product pattern), traditional architecture and archeological heritage. It is planned to draw up "Archeological Park Project for Presentation of the Area", as the historical environment refreshment strategy, after setting forth the current status of project area within the scope of findings obtained from the analysis studies.

- Developing the Archeological Park Management Plan: With this topic, the topics for developing suggesting within the scope of the articles "Defining the Area", "Identification" "Assessment and Aims" in Management Guide for World Heritage Sites, published by ICCROM, which is the consultancy organ of UNESCO, which have been fulfilled. With this step to be taken, the general structure of "Site Management Plan", as the condition to enter the official list of UNESCO World Heritage Sites.

As a result, the current situation of the conservation of Arslantepe Mound Archaeological Site which is taking firm steps towards being included to UNESCO World Heritage and works and recommendations that are planned in future projections are conveyed in this paper. At this point, besides the interdisciplinary work considering the protection of this unique heritage, the effective involvement of public-local-private-civil actors to the process in order to facilitate the sustainable conservation is desired to be pointed out.

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SECTION 2
THE RESEARCHES AT ARSLANTEPE:
THE RECONSTRUCTION OF A LONG
MILLENARIAN HISTORY



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
International Arslantepe Archaeology Symposium
4-6 October 2018-Malatya / Turkey

ARSLANTEPE. THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL
CENTRE: FROM TEMPLE TO PALACE TO A FORTIFIED CITADEL
ARSLANTEPE. SIYASİ MERKEZİN YÜKSELİŞİ VE DÜŞÜŞÜ:
TAPINAKTAN SARAYA SARAYDAN SURLA ÇEVİRLİ BİR KENTE

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ARSLANTEPE. THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF A POLITICAL CENTRE: FROM TEMPLE TO PALACE TO A FORTIFIED CITADEL

MARCELLA FRANGIPANE

Introduction

The many years of extensive and carefully stratigraphic excavations carried out at Arslantepe have revealed, with extraordinary details, the development of a long millenarian history made of developments, crisis, and far-reaching changes, in a region that was a cultural border between various civilizations in the Near East.

The mound of Arslantepe, which is located in a privileged position in the fertile Malatya plain, few kilometers from the Euphrates western bank, is a 30 m. high höyük, and was formed by the uninterrupted superimposition of settlements starting at least from the 6th millennium B.C. till the Roman and Byzantine periods (Fig. 1). The levels thoroughly investigated so far refer to a long period, from the 5th to the beginning of the 1st millennium BC, followed by short occupations of late Roman and Byzantine periods (Frangipane ed. 2004; Schneider Equini 1970) (Tab. 1). During this long history of many millennia, crucial processes of formation and development of early hierarchical and politically centralized societies have been evidenced in the 4th millennium BC, in connection with the parallel developments of the Mesopotamian world (Frangipane 2012a; 2018), followed by phenomena of radical collapse and far-reaching changes. In the course of the 3rd millennium BC, agricultural and pastoral communities competed for the site, giving rise to new external relations oriented towards the NE Anatolian and South Caucasian societies (Frangipane 2012b; 2014; Palumbi 2008 (Fig. 2). A new crucial change both in the Arslantepe external relations and its political organization is documented in the 2nd millennium BC, when the site became part of the Hittite cultural and political sphere, though maintaining a certain degree of autonomy (Pecorella 1975; Manuelli 2013). Such autonomy made it possible that, after the collapse of the Hittite Empire in Central Anatolia, a new independent political organization developed in the early 1st millennium BC, resulting at the end in the foundation of an autonomous kingdom, the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Melid, of which Arslantepe was the capital (Delaporte 1940; Puglisi, Meriggi 1964; Liverani 2011; Manuelli 2010; Manuelli, Mori 2016).

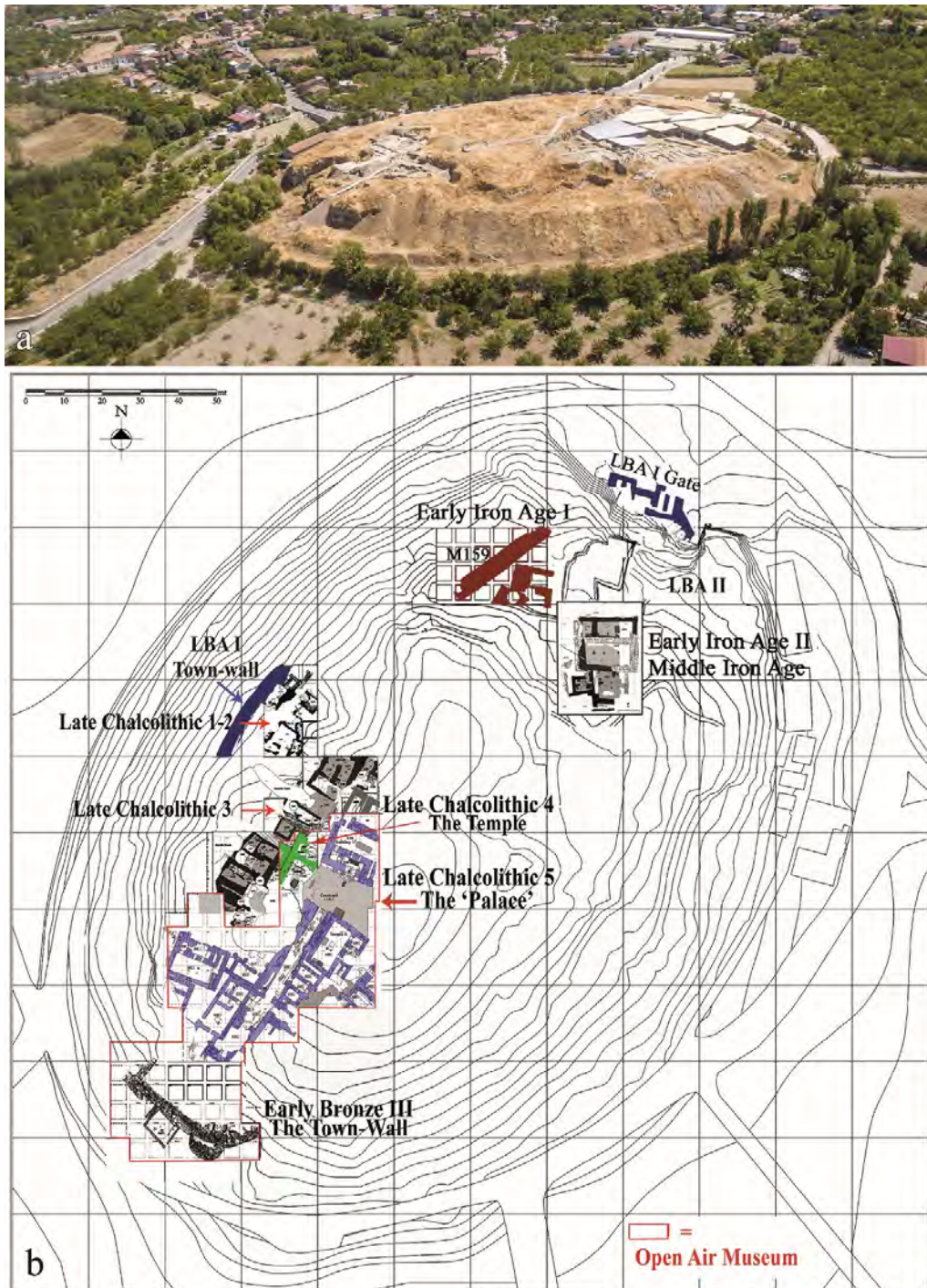


Fig. 1: The Arslantepe Mound.
Arslantepe Höyüğü



GENERAL CHRONOLOGICAL SEQUENCE	ARSLANTEPE PERIODS	RADIOCARBON DATES (CALIBRATED WITH DENDROCHRONOLOGY)	CONTEMPORARY NEAR EASTERN CULTURES
Late Roman and Byzantine Age	I	400 AD -	
Iron Age	II-III	1200-700 BC	Neo-Hittite reigns, Neo-Assyrian empire, Urartu reign
Late Bronze II	IV	1500-1200 BC	Hittite Empire
Late Bronze I	V B	1750-1500 BC	Old Hittite Kingdom
Middle Bronze Age	V A	2000-1750 BC	Old Assyrian colonies in Central Anatolia
Early Bronze III	VI D	2500-2000 BC	Early Dynastic IIIb, Akkadian empire, 3 rd Dynasty of Ur in Mesopotamia
Early Bronze II	VI C	2750-2500 BC	Early Dynastic II-IIIa in Mesopotamia
Early Bronze I	VI B1-VI B2	3200-2800 BC	Jemdet Nasr and Early Dynastic I in Mesopotamia
Late Chalcolithic 5	VI A	3400-3200 BC	Late Uruk culture in Mesopotamia
Late Chalcolithic 3-4	VII	3900-3400 BC	Early and Middle Uruk cultures in Mesopotamia
Late Chalcolithic 1-2	VIII	4500-3900 BC	Post-Ubaid cultures in Mesopotamia

Tab. 1: The chronological sequence of the periods extensively brought to light so far at Arslantepe. Bugüne kadar yoğun olarak gün ışığına çıkarılan dönemlerin kronolojik sıralaması



Fig. 2: Location of Arslantepe and related cultural areas. Arslantepe'nin lokasyonu ve ilişkili kültürel alanlar

It is difficult, of course, to summarize this long and very complex history brought to light by the team of the Sapienza University of Rome with regular field campaigns in the course of 58 years. Hence, whereas other scholars from our team will go deeper into some of the specific features and outcomes of the main periods represented at the site in this same volume, I will only synthetically focus on the main events and phenomena occurred at Arslantepe, especially looking at those that also reflect important developments in the neighboring Anatolian and Mesopotamian regions. Arslantepe indeed highlights general processes and trends that have characterized, on a larger scale, the history of Southwest Asia.



Fourth Millennium Developments at Arslantepe Period VII – Late Chalcolithic 3 – 4. A Temple – based society

The most remarkable results have been obtained by extensively investigating, in the course of many decades, the 4th millennium BC levels, relating to the so-called Late Chalcolithic period, when Arslantepe became a strong ceremonial, political, economic, and administrative centre. The researches carried out at the site have documented the process through which local elites developed a powerful and sophisticated system of control over a substantial portion of the staple economy of the surrounding population, to the point that this Chalcolithic Eastern Anatolian society can be defined as “an Early State society” (Claessen, Skalnik eds. 1978; Frangipane and Palmieri 1983; Frangipane ed. 2010; Frangipane 2016; 2018; Bernbeck 2008; Wright 2006).

Arslantepe have in particular yielded innovative results on three main aspects, which have changed the traditional concepts on the birth of the Early State: 1) The first is the formation of a strong and autonomous Early State centre in a region traditionally considered a periphery of the main Mesopotamian core of the phenomenon; 2) The second is the formation of an Early State system in the absence of any real urbanization, differently from what had occurred in the southern Mesopotamian alluvium and in the well-watered plains of Upper Mesopotamia; 3) The third aspect is the extraordinary documentation Arslantepe has offered on the rise of a complex administration system and the birth of bureaucracy (Frangipane et al. 2007).

The vast scale of the urban phenomenon in southern Mesopotamia already in the 4th millennium BC and the presence in the Syro-Anatolian Middle Euphrates region of colonial sites, have indeed encouraged in past years the idea that the “urban” or “state” model, together with elements of the so-called Uruk culture, spread directly from the alluvial plain in southern Mesopotamia to the northern regions of Mesopotamia and to Eastern Anatolia, and the latter regions were considered to have been basically receptive to these influences, though participating in the phenomena to different degrees and in different ways (Algaze 1993; 2001; Butterlin 2003).

Researches carried out in recent years have however revealed that the process of birth, development and spreading of Uruk-influenced centralized societies in the whole Greater Mesopotamia (from the Persian Gulf to the Taurus/Anti-Taurus range and western Zagros) was far more complex than previously thought (Stein 1999 a and b; Frangipane 2001; Emberling 2002; Porter 2012). Different, though related developmental trajectories and specific features have characterized the growth of hierarchical and centralized societies in northern and southern regions respectively (Wright 2006; Frangipane 2018). Whereas the close similarities between these regions were probably due to a long tradition of continuous interactions since the Neolithic times, different environmental and social conditions in the Southern alluvium, in the Jezira plains, and in the hilly and mountainous regions of SE Anatolia gave rise to different specific socio-political traits within this general framework.

Arslantepe was certainly part of the Greater Mesopotamian world in the 4th millennium BC, but the archaeological evidence clearly shows that the site at the same time had a peculiar development of its own, already becoming a local powerful centre in the first half of the 4th millennium BC (the so-called Period VII), when the foreign features were very rare in the material culture and there was only a targeted selection of elements ‘useful’ for the specific needs of the new elites.

The excavations carried out over more than 4.000 square meters in the western and south-western area of the mound (fig. 4) have brought to light many superimposed levels of the so-called Period VII, dated to a long period from 3900 to 3400 BC, which have shown the development of a homogeneous and rather conservative local culture.



In this period the settlement reached its maximum expansion, densely occupying the whole mound. There was however a sharp social and symbolic differentiation between the areas occupied, with monumental elite buildings on the top of the ancient mound, and common houses on the slopes and on the margins of the settlement. It is on the highest part of the old mound that a sequence of fairly large houses was found, starting with a complex of stout buildings with thick walls decorated with paintings and mud-brick columns lined up along the walls (fig. 3). These structures appear to have formed a large elite district consisting of outstanding residences without any religious or administrative features.



Fig. 3: Arslantepe, Period VII. Late Chalcolithic 3 elite residences.
Arslantepe, Dönem VII, Geç Kalkolitik 3 elit konutu



In this élite area, whereas no evidence has been found of public activities in the houses, two ceremonial, perhaps cultic, monumental public buildings were built at the very end of the period (3500-3400 BC) (fig. 4c).

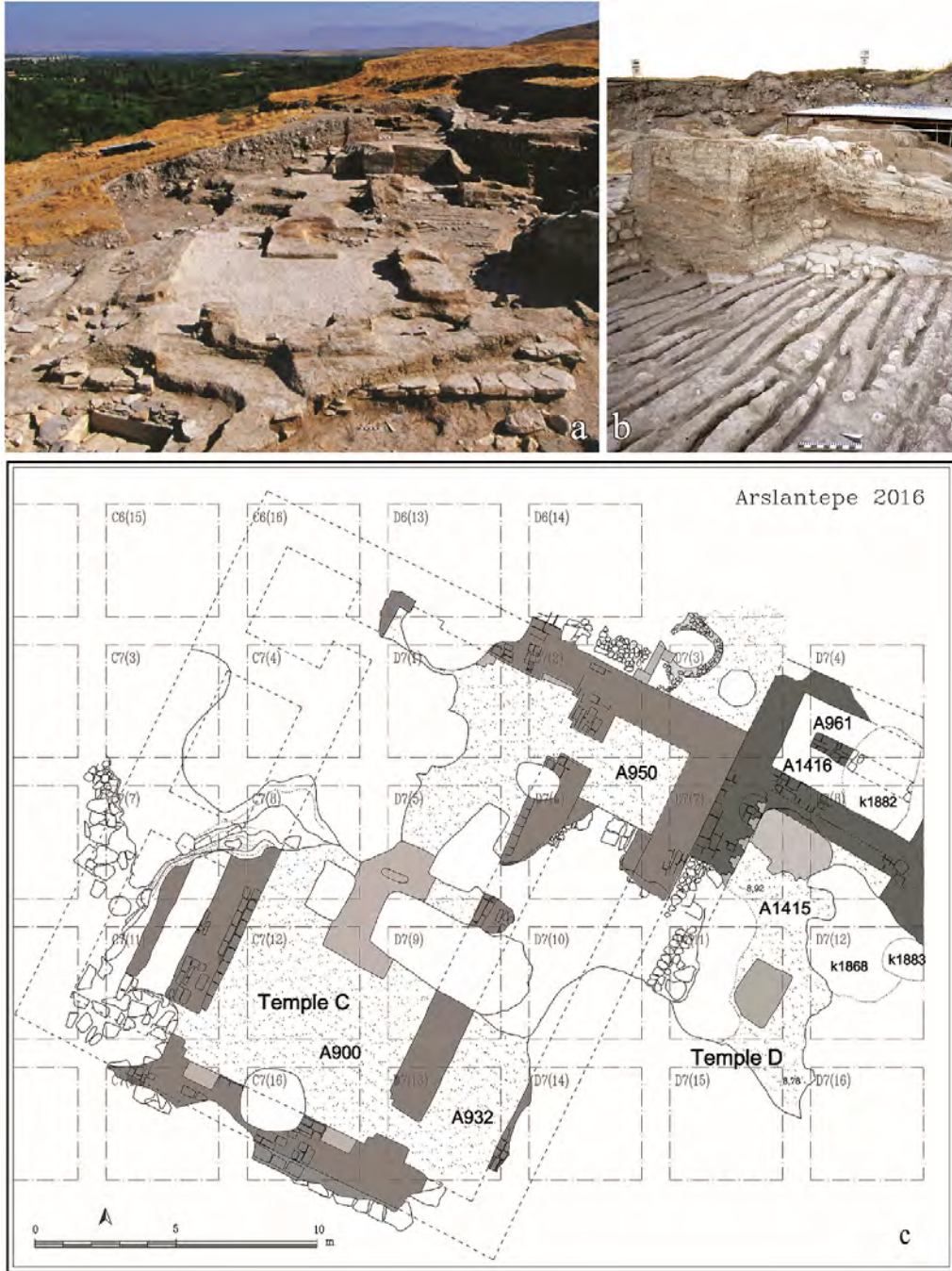


Fig. 4: Arslantepe, Period VII. Temples C and D (Late Chalcolithic 4).
Arslantepe, Dönem VII, Tapınak C ve D (Geç Kalkolitik 4)

The oldest of the two buildings, Temple D, was only partly preserved, showing part of a large hall with a central platform and a sort of stair room in the corner. The main hall was



richly decorated by multiple recessed niches in the Mesopotamian style, and by geometrical relief decorations painted in red and black of a totally local type. This rich decoration has unfortunately collapsed, but it is still well recognizable (Balossi Restelli 2019 in press; in this volume, figs. 2 and 3).

A large building more than 400 m² large, Temple C, was built against Temple D on an imposing stone basement, towards the edge of the mound, which may have made it clearly visible even at a distance in the plain (fig. 4a). The massive stone platform atop of which Temple C had been built was made of over 800 semi-worked slabs. Underneath the stone platform, there emerged an extraordinary structure made of dozens of wooden poles disposed horizontally and in parallel, thus creating a solid wooden foundation on which the stone slabs were laid (fig. 4b). This was a unique construction technique of its kind, of which I know of nothing comparable, and which must have been designed to provide stability to such an imposing building standing on a hillside.

Despite having been seriously damaged by more recent holes and interventions, this temple had a typical Mesopotamian tripartite layout, with at least four entrances to a large central hall, making it wide accessible to the public and suggesting the building was intended for ceremonial or ritualized activities involving quite a large number of people.

The main activity documented there was indeed ceremonial food distribution (Helwing 2003; Pollock 2003), as evidenced from nearly one thousand mass produced bowls, made using different techniques, including an incipient use of the fast-wheel, which were untidily scattered on the floor of the central hall and heaped upside down in the two eastern side rooms, where they were probably kept ready for use (fig. 5a-b). These food allocations must have been regulated by some form of administrative control, evidenced by 184 cretulae bearing seal impressions, 177 of which were found in the southern side room (A932) (fig. 5c).

Temple D has also yielded hundreds of mass-produced bowls and more than 200 clay-sealings bearing the impressions of numerous seals, almost all stamp seals, which were found discarded in successive dump layers in the abandoned corner stair-room (fig. 5d-e). The finding in Temple D of the impressions of six seal designs also found in Temple C suggests that the cretulae which had filled the stairwell, may have been dumped in an abandoned building, after being used, perhaps, in the adjacent Temple C.

The two ceremonial buildings are the only ones at Arslantepe to show a tripartite layout (this is certain for Temple C and is perhaps also the case for Temple D), recalling Mesopotamian architecture, whereas the pottery found in them was completely local (Balossi Restelli 2019 in press; in this volume figs. 5 and 6), as were also the painted and plastic decorations on the walls. Reference to the Mesopotamian model in the ritual and ideological sphere linked to the authority probably suggests an influence that was mainly restricted to the élite environment and to their public activities. We do not know yet the form that the relationship with the Mesopotamian world took at Arslantepe in the 5th millennium BC, in the Ubaid period, when this influence was remarkably shown in another site in the Malatya plain, Degirmentepe (Esin 1989). We cannot therefore exclude that earlier emulation and hybridization phenomena may have led later to the development of a more original social-political system, which only maintained this heritage in a few selected aspects, relevant for strengthening and consolidating the power of the new elites.

Though the two temples seem to emulate the Mesopotamian model at the very end of period VII – the final Late Chalcolithic 4 in Mesopotamian chronology (3500-3400 BC) –, the political power of the Arslantepe élites must have had a deeply rooted social basis, as the outstanding elite residences of the previous phase clearly show. And also basically local were the daily life traditions and the manufacture of handicraft products, such as pottery, mass-produced bowls, metals and glyptics.





Fig. 5: Arslantepe, Period VII. Mass-produced bowls and cretulae (clay-sealings) brought to light in the temples.
 Arslantepe, Dönem VII, Tapınaklarda gün ışığına çıkarılan, seri üretim kaseler ve cretularlar (kil baskıları)



Period VIA – Late Chalcolithic 5. The birth of a Palace – ruled society

The temples were abandoned around 3400 BC, and in the following period, Period VIA in the Arslantepe sequence – LC5 in Mesopotamian chronology –, there was a radical change in the power system. The residences of the élites were rebuilt on the same area on which the previous ones had stood, but they were linked directly to a new public area that was radically different in terms of architectural design and functions, revealing that a far-reaching change had occurred in the way relations between the élites and the population took place (Frangipane 2019). A monumental and very imposing building (Building 37), very high but much smaller in size than the previous temples and without any cultic or religious features, now seems to have formed the core of this new public area (fig. 6). An entrance corridor decorated with stamped lozenge motifs and wall paintings led into a very large courtyard, where visitors would have found themselves faced by a building of monumental splendour (fig. 6a). The contact point with the public was a small room in this building occupied entirely by a high platform or base, with three steps leading up it, on which the remains of pieces of small charred Juniper wood have been found, possibly the remains of a mobile structure, perhaps a chair or 'throne'. Facing the platform, in the area where a stone ramp or staircase led to the room through a wide entrance, there were two lower clay raised bases, built perfectly in line with each other, which must have marked the places where visitors had to stop when presenting themselves to the person in authority.

The public did not go further into the building, because access to the internal room, a large hall that communicated to the north with the élite residences, could only be reached by passing through a small access room. The entry must therefore have been restricted only to authorised persons, and Building 37 was the connection point between the public and private area. It may therefore have been the place in which the leader addressed the public and held audiences to people gathered in the wide courtyard, according to a new secular ceremonial practice which, would be established and codified in later periods, as suggested by similar rooms in 3rd millennium palaces, such as the Mari and Ebla examples.

On the south-eastern edge of the courtyard, there was also a building used for cultic purposes (Temple B), whose floor plan was almost identical to the 'audience' Building 37, but whose internal features (altars and podia) and the materials preserved there, provide evidence of cult practices (fig. 7). In this case, however, the consumption of meals was reserved only for a few: there were no direct accesses to the large room, which was only reached by passing through the small side room, there were just few items of mass-produced bowls, and a larger-than-usual quantity of adult cattle bones (Bartosiewicz 2010).

It would therefore appear that a process had begun to exclude the population from the collective ceremonies and rituals, and the place in which authority was exercised was no longer a sacred place, but a broad space where people gathered and the ruler appeared publicly and acted directly without any explicit religious mediation.

The palace enormously expanded southwards until it occupied an area of more than 3500 m² only in the part that has been excavated so far (fig. 8). New sectors were added to this first core of the public complex, mainly intended for economic-administrative activities and official events. The center of the economic transactions of the élites was no longer in the temples, but in a set of store rooms, where foodstuffs were kept to be redistributed, mainly in the form of meals, to large numbers of people, no longer on special ceremonial occasions but as regular, routine practices (fig.9).

Thousands of cretulae were found both in the smaller storeroom, together with one hundred mass-produced bowls, and in various spaces in the palace, among which the well known narrow room A 206 where over 2,000 sealing fragments bearing the impressions of 211 different seals had been dumped in successive piles (fig. 10). This was the result of the final disposal of a sort of 'archive', after the final control and accountability (Frangipane et al. 2007).



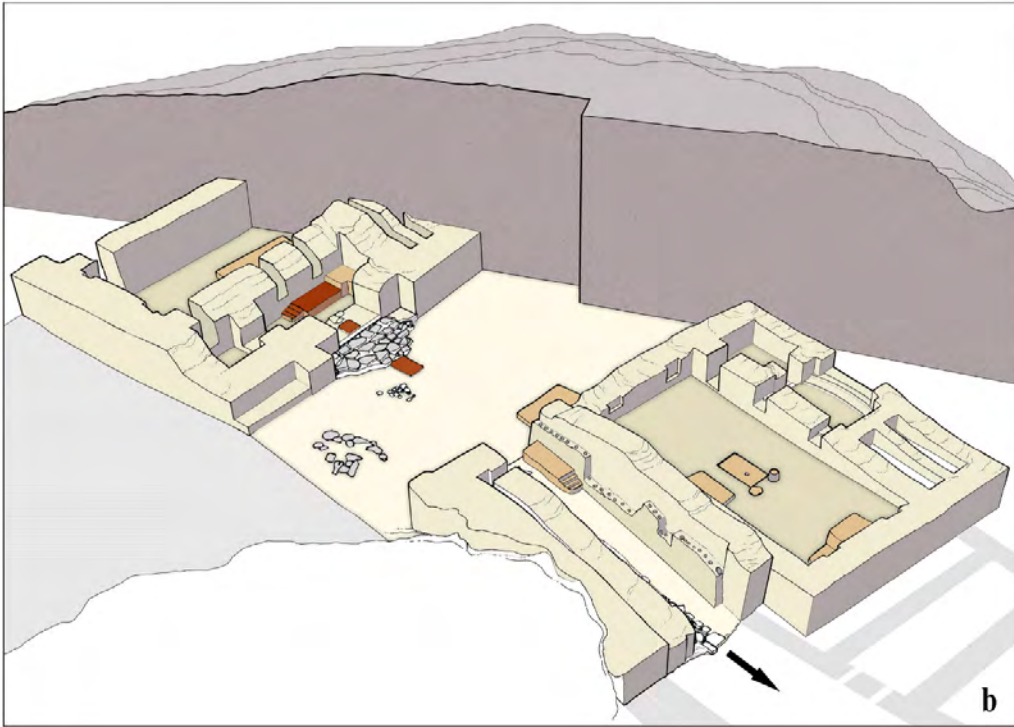


Fig. 6: Arslantepe, the early core of the Period VIA Palace (Late Chalcolithic 5, early phase; 3400-3300 BC).
 a. The "Audience Building"; b. 3D drawing of the early core of the VIA Palace (by C. Alvaro).
 Arslantepe VIA Sarayı erken dönemi (Geç Kalkolitik 5, erken evre; MÖ 3400-3300).
 a. "Kabul Binası"; b. VIA Sarayı'nın erken döneminin 3 boyutlu çizimi (C. Alvaro).





Fig. 7: Arslantepe, Period VIA (LC5).

a. Temple B in the Palace; b. Decoration on the walls of the side room in Temple B.
Arslantepe, Dönem VIA (LC5). a. Sarayda Tapınak B; b. Tapınak B'de yan odanın duvarlarındaki bezeme



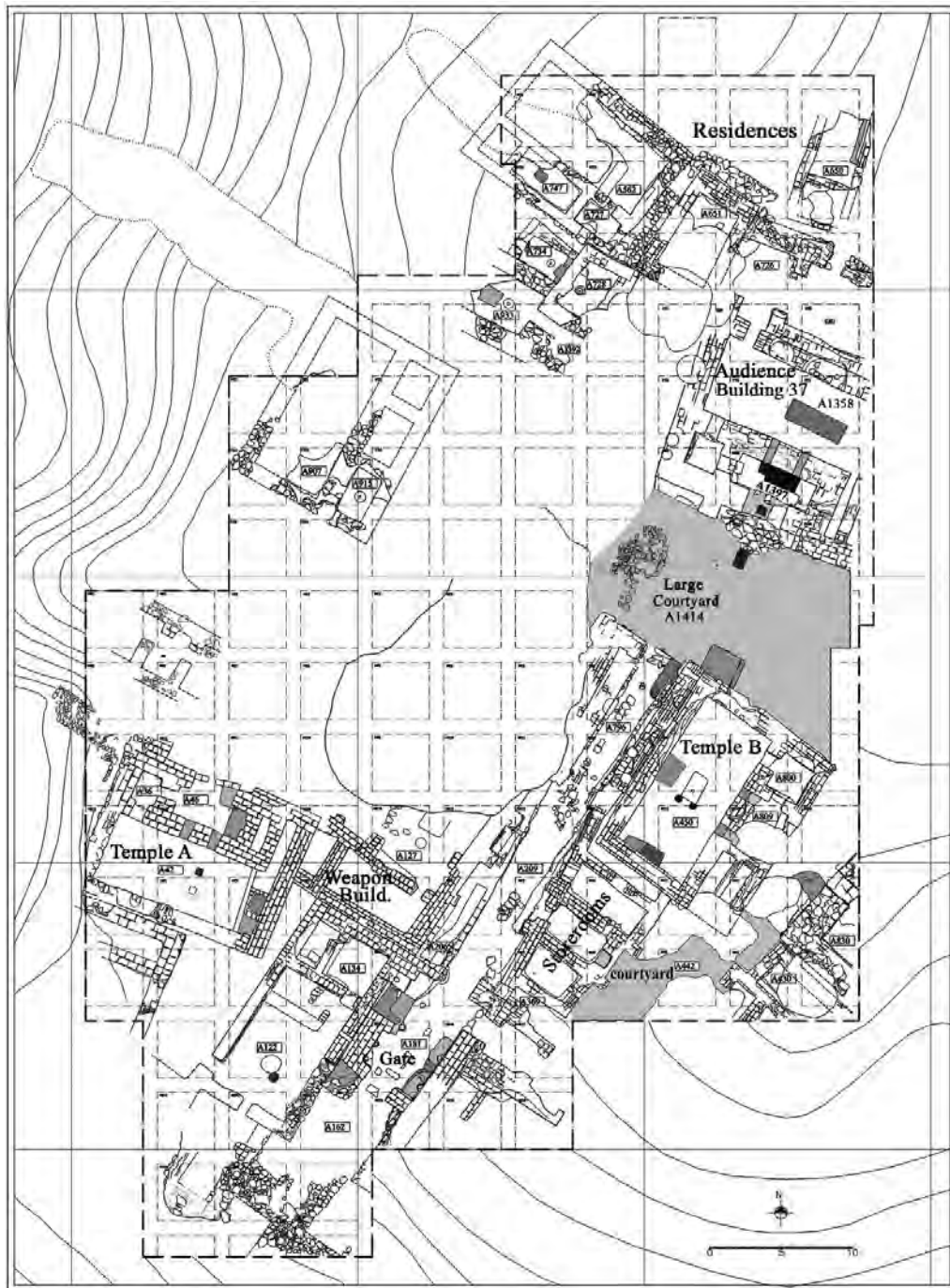


Fig. 8: Arslantepe, Period VIA. Plan of the Palace complex (Late Chalcolithic 5, 3400-3200 BC).
 Arslantepe, Dönem VIA. Saray kompleksinin planı (Geç Kalkolitik 5, M.Ö. 3400-3200).





Fig. 9: Arslantepe, The storerooms in the Period VIA palace.

a. Reconstruction of the original positions of the materials inside the rooms (drawing by T. D'Este);
b. Cretula from the redistribution storeroom A340; c. Mass-produced bowls from the redistribution storeroom
A340; d. The storerooms; e. Storeroom A340; f. Storeroom A365.

Arslantepe, Dönem VIA sarayında depo odaları. a. odaların içerisindeki materyallerin orjinal konularının
rekonstrüksiyonu (çizim T. D'Este); b. yeniden dağıtım odası A340'dan cretula; c. yeniden dağıtım odası
A340'dan seri üretim kaseler; d. Depo odaları; e. Depo odası A340; f. Depo odası A365.



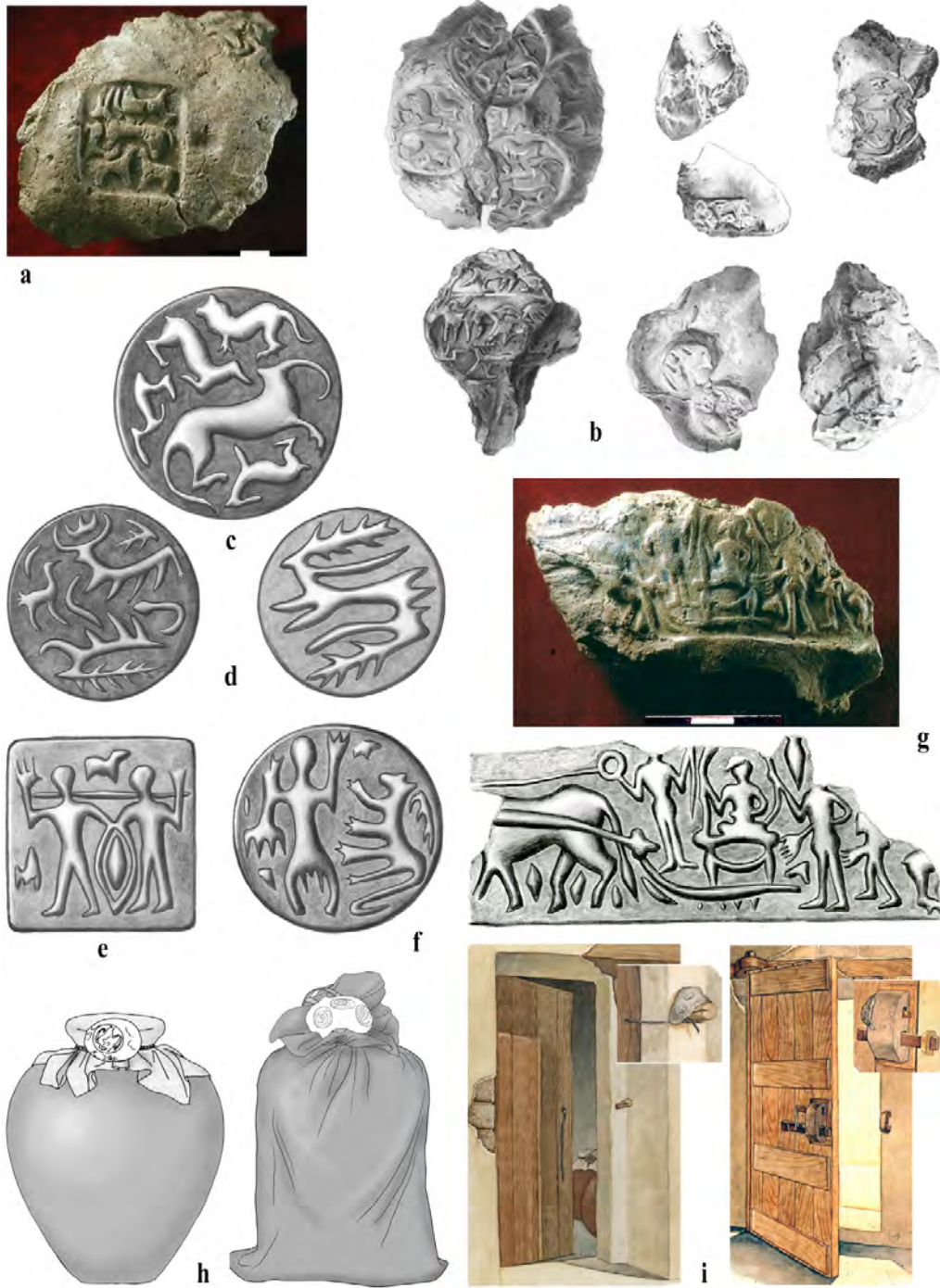


Fig. 10: Arslantepe, Period VIA. Cretulae from the main dump A206 in the Palace: seal designs (e-g) and sealed containers (h-i) reconstructed from the study of the impressions.
 Arslantepe, Dönem VIA. Sarayda ana çöp yığınından cretula: mühür tasarımları (e-g) ve baskıların çalışmalarıyla yeniden oluşturulan mühürlenmiş konteynerler (h-i).



The Arslantepe rulers seem to have remarkably expanded their control over the production and circulation of the staple goods, further enhancing their capacity to interfere in the basic economic life of the population, also by increasingly centralizing the labor force.

The ideology of power in the Arslantepe palace, rather than being expressed in the sacred sphere, used symbolic elements and artistic expressions referring to the central role of agricultural production and management, stressing the fact that subsistence goods must have been central to the very concept of “wealth”.

Although more than 260 seals have been recognized at Arslantepe from the thousands of impressions, there were no images showing ritual scenes of temple ceremonies, and not even offerings to the temple, as was the case at Uruk-Warka. The great majority of seals were stamps, mainly with animals, and the few rare human figures depicted were often shown associated with objects that refer to such activities as agriculture and the movement of foodstuffs (fig. 10 e-f-g).

Building 37 remained the political heart of the whole complex until the end, and the linkage between this building and the élite residences on the summit of the mound, also strengthens the interpretation of the Arslantepe complex as a first, anomalous and original experiment of a Near Eastern ‘palace’.

In Period VI A, the external relations of the Arslantepe centre were significantly enlarged in many directions, and, though the main influence certainly comes from the southern Uruk culture, the significant presence in the palace of a new class of handmade Red-Black Burnished Ware, which shows close links with a contemporary Central Anatolian pottery (D’Anna 2010; 2015; 2019; in this volume), suggests an interaction with different groups, perhaps of non-sedentary population, moving in the surrounding regions and somehow linked to the north-central Anatolian world (fig. 11d) (Çalışkan Akgül 2012; Palumbi 2008b; Ökse 2007).

Signs of contacts with the northern mountainous environment are also to be seen in the metallurgy of this period. New types of items were produced, often very beautifully made, and different metals were used (copper, lead, silver, gold and metal alloys) (Caneva, Palmieri 1983; Palmieri et al. 1999; Hauptmann, Palmieri 2000; Di Nocera 2010; 2013) (fig. 11e). Among the most outstanding metal objects, the famous spearheads and swords can be mentioned.

The demand for metals, besides being probably linked to the wish of displaying the prestige and power of chiefs and high status persons, may have also been fostered by new needs for defence, which may have become a critical factor at the end of period VIA, when the central institutions started to undergo their deep crisis.

I think that the new hierarchies lacked the solid social base that they probably had in southern Mesopotamia (Frangipane 2016; 2018). Furthermore, Arslantepe lacked the urban dimension, which created an organic and strongly integrated system of specialized and interdependent sectors in other regions of the Mesopotamian world. While the size of the public area and its activities tremendously increased, the whole settlement indeed became smaller in size than in the past, increasingly keeping the people out of the settlement. The habitation area of the ordinary people has not yet been found, but, if it does exist on the mound, it must have been small in comparison with a public centre of such vast proportions. We have therefore to hypothesize that the common population might have lived in the plain around the site, probably scattered in small villages and farms, as the results of the Di Nocera survey also suggest (Di Nocera 2008). The lack of a real concentration of population in the main political-administrative centre, which did not attract the population to live there, but on the contrary enhanced the separation from it, is one of the characteristic features of the centralised society in the Malatya Plain, distinguishing it from the Mesopotamian model.





Fig. 11: Arslantepe, Period VIA. Pottery (a-d) and metal objects (e) found in the Palace complex.
Arslantepe, Dönem VIA. Saray kompleksinde bulunan seramik (a-d) ve metal objeler (e).

The absence of an urban structure was probably also due, as in many other areas in the North, to the limited extension of the Malatya plain, where the mountains must have prevented the expansion of the agricultural land, though this was highly productive and rich in water supplies. This environmental situation would also have encouraged systematic and intense relations with the pastoralist communities moving through these mountain chains. This relationship has been clearly evidenced at Arslantepe by the exponential growth of specialized



pastoralism in the palace period revolving around sheep rearing, accompanied by the presence of a totally alien class of hand-made red-black pottery (Bartosiewicz 2010; Palumbi 2010).

But the early state institutions' capacity to aggregate and integrate the different components – which was very pronounced in urbanized contexts – was limited in the case of Arslantepe by the autonomy retained by both the rural and pastoralist populations. The interests of these populations must have been in conflict with those of the central authorities, whose increasing demands may perhaps have become ever more unsustainable, thus creating conflicts and causing the definitive collapse of the centralized system. This ended with a great fire that, around 3200 BC, destroyed the palace, which would never have been rebuilt again.

Cultural and Political Changes at Arslantepe in the Early Bronze Age Period VIB1 – Early Bronze I (Early). New mobile pastoral groups at Arslantepe

Archaeological data from the very end of the 4th millennium BC and the transition to the 3rd confirm that, after the destruction by fire of the palatial complex and the definitive collapse of its system, transhumant groups settled on its ruins with seasonal occupations, marking a definitive overturning in the political and economic structure of the Arslantepe society (Period VIB1) (fig. 12).

The pastoral groups moving around the Malatya plain in period VIB1 seem to have changed their external relations, being now definitely oriented towards the north-eastern Anatolian and South-Caucasian cultures (Frangipane 2012b; Palumbi 2012). A deep structural change in the political system and the nature of power accompanied the change of interregional relations at Arslantepe and in the entire Upper Euphrates region at the transition from 4th to 3rd millennium BC. The new chiefs seem to have been strongly linked to the government of mobile groups, to warfare and the capacity to manage conflicts, which were features alien to the fourth millennium Mesopotamian societies, and are more in keeping with NE Anatolian and Caucasian models of hierarchical societies. The finding in recent campaigns of a huge communal building with a large reception hall and a storeroom full of materials erected on the hilltop suggests that Arslantepe continued to be a benchmark site and a symbolic and political centre even for the transhumant groups of the Malatya region (Frangipane 2014; Palumbi et al. 2017) (fig. 12 a, b, e, f).

The persistence of the same metallurgical technology, skill and tradition in the transition from the 4th millennium centralised society of period VIA to the new pastoral-based communities which settled at Arslantepe at the very end of the 4th millennium BC (fig. 12 c-d) confirms that mobile groups moving along the mountain ranges of northern Anatolia and South Caucasus, rich in metal ores, must have established regular relationships with the Arslantepe centre since the Palace period.

But, whereas the metal objects found in the Early State societies, both at Arslantepe and in other regions of Greater Mesopotamia, appear to have been exhibited in the places of power (temples, elite areas and public places), large amount of metals were buried and 'hidden' in funerary contexts at the beginning of Early Bronze Age (Sertok, Ergeç 1999; Wengrow 2011; Frangipane 2017; Sağlamtimur 2017; Sağlamtimur, Massimino 2018). An extraordinary stone cist tomb with very rich metal gifts, the so-called "Royal Tomb", has been found at Arslantepe, on the outskirts of the settlement, dated to 3100-3000 BC (Frangipane et al. 2001) (fig. 13). It shows a complex ritual with a high-status person buried in the stone cist, and four adolescents killed, and probably sacrificed, on the slabs covering the tomb. Once again weapons were the main objects buried as funerary gifts, together with gold, silver and copper-silver alloy jewellery. Metals and weapons were new and crucially important symbols of the prestige and power of new leaders with a strong warrior connotation.





Fig. 12: Arslantepe, Period VIB1 (Early Bronze I, 3200-3100 BC).

Layout of the settlement with the large communal/public building (Building 36) (a-b); metal objects (c-d) and pottery (e-f) from the communal building 36.

Arslantepe, Dönem VIB1 (Erken Bronz I, M.Ö. 3200-3100). Geniş ortak / kamu yapısı (yapı 36) ile yerleşimin planı (a-b); kamu yapısı 36'dan metal objeler (c-d) ve seramik (e-f).





Fig. 13: Arslantepe, The so-called "Royal Tomb" of the end of Period VIB1.
Arslantepe, Dönem VIB1'in sonlarında sözde "Kral Mezarı"

Period VIB2 – Early Bronze I (late). A Rural Village With a Post – Uruk Culture

The mobile settlements of period VIB1 were followed at the site, first by the construction of a huge fortification wall on the top of the mound (fig. 14a), and then, at the very beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, by the establishment of a rural village with rectangular mud-brick houses leaning against the wall, which was no longer in use. This village, brought to light over a large area, was inhabited by a local sedentary population of agriculturalists, who had regained possession of the site (Period VIB2, 3100-2800 BC)



(Frangipane 2012b; Piccione et al. 2015) (fig. 14b). This community seems to have maintained and reinforced their traditional relations with the other communities of the Middle and Upper Euphrates valley, characterised by a 'post-Uruk' culture that spread all over the valley in the Early Bronze I (fig. 14 c-d).

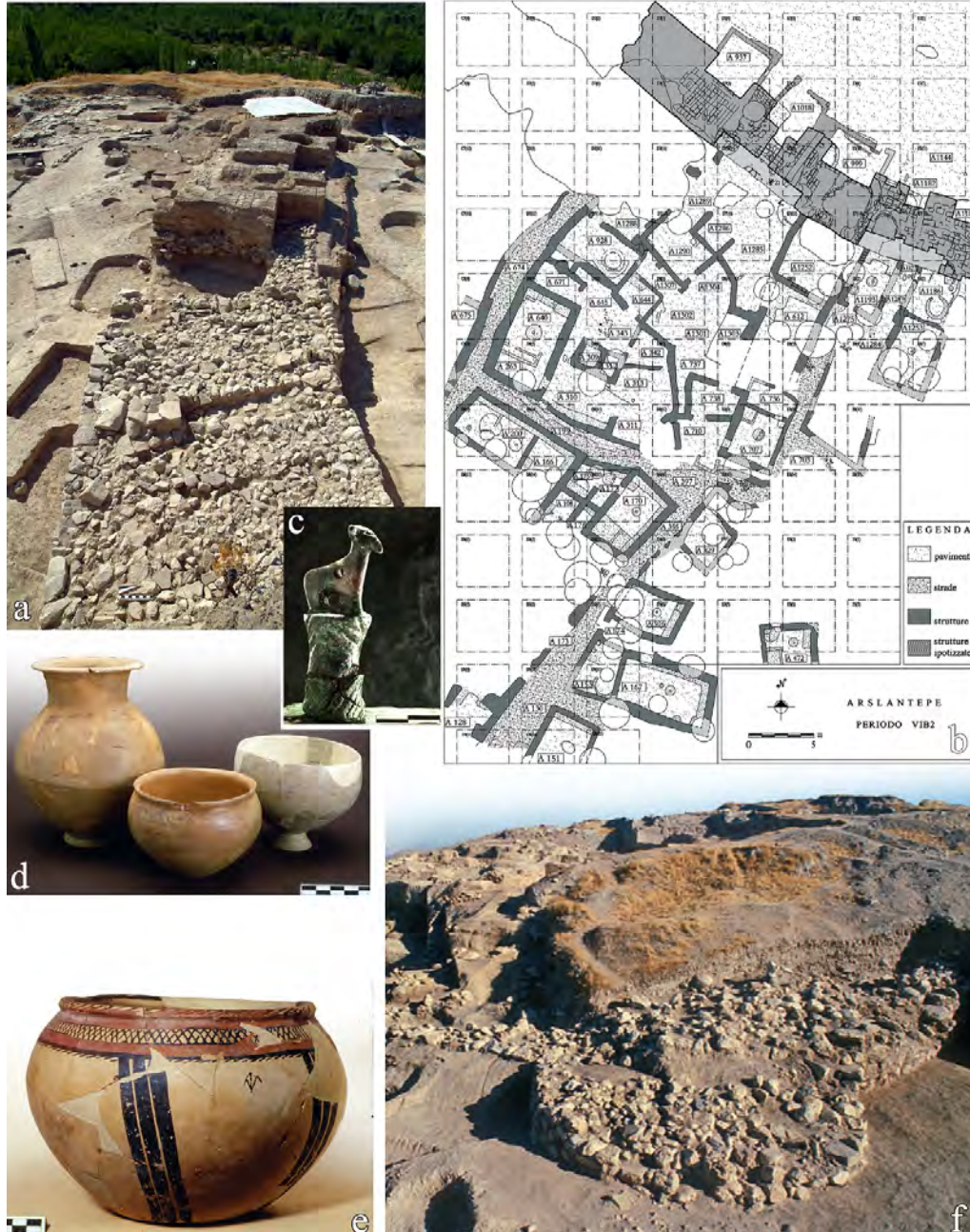


Fig. 14: Arslantepe Early Bronze Age. a-d. Settlement and materials from Period VIB2 (Early Bronze I, 3100-2800 BC); e-f. Town-wall and painted pottery from Period VID (Early Bronze III, 2500-2000 BC).
Arslantepe Erken Bronz Çağı. a-d. Dönem VIB2'den (Erken Bronz I, M.Ö. 3100-2800) yerleşim ve materyaller; e-f. Dönem VID'den (Erken Bronz III, M.Ö. 2500-2000) kent duvarı ve boyalı seramik



Periods VIC and D –

Early Bronze II and III. The Foundation of a New Malatya – Elazığ Provincial Culture

After a period of conflicts, fractures and alternating occupations by mobile and sedentary groups, a local and very provincial culture typical of the Malatya region developed at Arslantepe in the course of the Early Bronze II and III periods (Period VIC and VID, 2750-2000 BC) (Conti, Persiani 1993; Sadori et al 2005; Frangipane 2012b; Liberotti, Alvaro 2018). This new culture appears to have been closely related to the parallel developments in the Elazığ region and, though it still shows connections with the north-eastern Anatolian and southern Caucasian worlds, also reveals its own features and a regional cultural identity (fig. 14 e-f). The period VIC and VID culture marked a definitive break in the previous traditional relationships with the Syro-Mesopotamian world, whereas the Malatya region appears to have re-established some limited connections with Central Anatolia towards the end of the 3rd millennium BC.

The Resumption of a Powerful Political Centre in the Late Bronze and Iron Age

It was in this new cultural and political context that new intense relations with Central Anatolia became established once again in the second millennium BC. and the role of Arslantepe in the international panorama changed again, with the site becoming a new frontier of the expanding Hittite State world.

The lack of urbanisation and the resultant clash between a structured powerful central authority and a small settlement, mostly occupied by monumental structures, occurred once again in the period of the Hittite empire expansion in Late Bronze II (Period IV). We have found evidence to show that in Late Bronze I (Period VB – the Old Kingdom phase), as had happened in the Late Chalcolithic period VII, the whole mound was occupied as far as the south-western slopes, where we have found remains of dwellings, sometimes with in situ materials (Palmieri 1973; Manuelli 2017). The LB I fortification unearthed in the north-eastern area of the mound consisted of an imposing earthen wall and a rectangular gate with a double chamber of a clearly Central Anatolian type, and seems to have surrounded the whole mound (Palmieri 1978; Manuelli in this volume) (fig. 1b).

No traces of occupation have been conversely found in the south-western part of the höyük in the Empire phase (Late Bronze II) or in the following Neo-Hittite period. When, therefore, a new powerful regional centre developed, probably under the influence of the Hittite empire (Period IV), we have evidence to show that the site once again shrank in size and was restricted to a smaller and fortified area (Pecorella 1975; Manuelli 2013; Frangipane, Liverani 2013). We do not know whether there was a lower town, but even if there had been a settled area around the mound, from the scanty evidence gathered in the course of the Di Nocera's survey (Di Nocera 2008) it seems more likely that it consisted of small villages and hamlets gathered around the political centre and its public areas – exactly as had occurred in period VIA around the 4th millennium palace.

This pattern certainly continued after the collapse of the Hittite Empire, at the transition between the 2nd and 1st millennium BC (Period III, Iron Age I, 1100-950 BC). In this troubled period no crisis occurred at the site, but, on the contrary, new imposing town-walls and monumental structures, brought to light in recent campaigns, suggest that Arslantepe may have maintained a substantial political role (see Manuelli in this volume) (fig. 15 a-b). Equally small must have been the citadel in the early centuries of the 1st millennium, when Arslantepe became a powerful regional centre and the capital of the neo-Hittite kingdom of Melid (Period II, Iron Age II) (fig. 15c). The site was once more a fortified citadel, much smaller than other contemporary centres to the south, which housed the seats of the political authority. But the increasing power of the surrounding kingdoms and empires caused continuous tensions and conflicts that weakened the town and its institutions, and Arslantepe-Melid, after the rebellion of its King Tarkhunazi, was conquered and destroyed by the great King Sargon II of Assyria, in 712 BC.





Fig. 15: Arslantepe, Iron Age (Period III). a-b. Stone reliefs and town-wall from Iron Age I; c. imposing building of the Neo-Hittite citadel (Iron Age II) recently found on the top of the mound.

Arslantepe, Demir Çağı (Dönem III). a.b. Demir Çağı I'den taş rölyefler ve kent duvarı; c. Son dönemlerde, höyüğün tepesinde bulunan Neo-Hitit sitadelinin (Demir Çağı II) görkemli binası.



ARSLANTEPE. SİYASİ MERKEZİN YÜKSELİŞİ VE DÜŞÜŞÜ: TAPINAKTAN SARAYA SARAYDAN SURLA ÇEVRELİ BİR KENTE

Giriş: Arslantepe’de yıllarca süren, tarihin farklı dönemine ait katmanlar (*stratigrafi*) üzerinde yapılmış kapsamlı ve özenli kazılar, Yakın Doğu’da hüküm sürmüş muhtelif uygarlıklar arasında sınır oluşturan bir bölgede binlerce yıla uzanan gelişmeler, krizler ve etki alanı, geniş tarihi gelişmeleri olağanüstü ayrıntılarıyla gün yüzüne çıkarmıştır.

Arslantepe, bereketli Malatya Ovası’nın ayrıcalıklı bir noktasında konumlanmış, Fırat Nehri’nin batı kıyısından birkaç kilometre uzaklıkta, en az MÖ 6. binyıldan başlayarak Bizans dönemine kadar devam eden tarihi süreçte, yerleşim katmanlarının kesintisiz birbirinin üzerine gelmesiyle oluşmuş, 30 metre yüksekliğinde bir höyüktür (Fig. 1). MÖ 5. binyıldan, Geç Roma ve Bizans dönemlerinin kısa süreli iskânının takip ettiği MÖ 1. binyıla kadar uzun bir dönemi gösteren tabakalar ayrıntılı olarak araştırılmıştır (Frangipane ed. 2004; Schneider Equini 1970) (Fig. 2). Bu katmanlar, binlerce yıla uzanan tarihsel sürecin MÖ 4. binyıldaki bir dönemde ve Mezopotamya’da yaşanan paralel gelişmelerle bağlantılı biçimde (Frangipane 2012a; 2018), erken dönem sınıflı toplumların ve toplumların siyaseten bir merkezden yönetilmeye başlandığı önemli bir sürecin oluşum ve gelişimine ve devamında bu sürecin esaslı biçimde çöküşü ve çok kapsamlı değişimine tanıklık etmektedir. Tarımla uğraşan ve göçebe bir yaşam süren konargöçer toplumların MÖ 3. binyılda bu yerleşim için rekabeti, Kuzeydoğu Anadolu ve Güney Kafkasya toplumlarıyla dış ilişkilerin yükselişine yol açmıştır (Frangipane 2012b; 2014; Palumbi 2008 (Fig. 3). MÖ 2. binyılda Arslantepe’nin dış ilişkileri ve siyasi organizasyonunda yeni ciddi bir değişiklik yaşandığı belgelenmiştir. Bu dönemde Arslantepe, Hitit kültürü ve siyasi yapısının bir parçası olmuş, ancak özerkliğini belirli bir seviyeye kadar korumuştur (Pecorella 1975; Manuelli 2013). Orta Anadolu’da Hitit İmparatorluğunun çöküşünün ardından, MÖ birinci binyılın başlarında yeni bağımsız siyasi bir örgütlenme gelişmeye başlamış ve bu da başkentinin Arslantepe olduğu, bir özerk Geç Hitit Melid Krallığının ortaya çıkışına yol açmıştır (Delaporte 1940; Puglisi, Meriggi 1964; Liverani 2011; Manuelli 2010; Manuelli, Mori 2016).

Roma Sapienza Üniversitesinin 58 yıl boyunca düzenli olarak yaptığı düzenli arazi çalışmalarıyla açığa çıkardığı böylesine uzun ve çok kompleks tarihi özetlemek şüphesiz güç bir iştir. Ekibimizde yer alan diğer bilim adamları Arslantepe’de yaşanan ana dönemlerin özellikleri ve ortaya çıkan sonuçları daha derinlemesine incelemeye devam edeceklerdir. Ben özellikle komşu Anadolu ve Mezopotamya bölgelerindeki önemli gelişmelere bakarak, sadece Arslantepe’de gerçekleşen ana olay ve olguları sentezleyecek ve üzerlerine odaklanacağım. Arslantepe aslında daha geniş kapsamda bakıldığında, Güneybatı Asya tarihini niteleyen genel süreç ve eğilimleri ön plana çıkarmaktadır.

Arslantepe’de Dördüncü Binyılda Yaşanan Gelişmeler

Dönem VII – Geç Kalkolitik 3-4. Tapınak merkezli toplum

Onlarca yıl süren kapsamlı araştırmalar sonucunda en önemli sonuçlar, Arslantepe’nin güçlü bir törensel, siyasi, ekonomik ve idari merkez olduğu Geç Kalkolitik Dönem olarak adlandırılan MÖ 4. binyıl tabakasında ortaya çıkarılmıştır (Fig. 4).

Alanda yapılan araştırmalar, yerel seçkinlerden oluşan bir sınıfın çevredeki yerleşik nüfusun ürettiği temel ekonomik ürünlerin önemli bir bölümünü, geliştirdikleri güçlü ve ileri bir sistemle kontrol altına aldıkları belgelenmiştir. Bu Kalkolitik Doğu Anadolu toplumu, “Erken Dönem Devlet Toplumu” diye tanımlanabilir (Claessen, Skalnik eds. 1978; Frangipane ve Palmieri 1983; Frangipane ed. 2010; Frangipane 2016; 2018; Bernbeck 2008; Wright 2006).

Arslantepe, bilhassa Erken Devletin doğuşuna ilişkin geleneksel kavramları değiştiren



üç hususta yeni sonuçlar ortaya koymuştur:

- Birinci sonuç, geleneksel olarak devlet olgusunun ana merkezi olarak kabul edilen Mezopotamya dış çevresinde bulunan bir bölgede güçlü ve özerk bir Erken Devlet merkezinin oluşumudur.

- İkinci sonuç ise, daha önce Güney Mezopotamya'nın nehirlerinin taşıdığı alüvyonlu arazileri ve Yukarı Mezopotamya'nın iyi sulanan ovalarında ortaya çıkmış gerçek anlamda bir kentleşmenin yokluğuna rağmen Erken Devlet sisteminin ortaya çıkışıdır.

- Üçüncü sonuç, böylesine kompleks bir idari sistem ile bürokrasinin doğuşuna işaret eden olguların Arslantepe'de olağanüstü biçimde belgelenmesidir.

MÖ 4. binyılda Güney Mezopotamya'da geniş biçimde önceden beri görülen kent olgusu ve Suriye-Anadolu Orta Fırat koloni şehirlerinin varlığı, Uruk kültürünün öğeleriyle beraber önceki yıllarda "şehir" ve "devlet" fikirlerinin uygulamaya geçirilmesini desteklemiş, bu fikir Güney Mezopotamya'nın alüvyonlu ovalarından, doğrudan Mezopotamya ve Doğu Anadolu'nun kuzey bölgelerine sıçramıştır. Belirtilen ikinci bölgeler, farklı derece ve şekillerde, bu olguların etkisine girmiştir (Algaze 1993; 2001; Butterlin 2003).

Öte yandan son yıllarda yapılan araştırmalar, geniş Mezopotamya Bölgesinin (Basra Körfezinden Toros/Anti Toros sıradağlarına ve Batı Zagros Dağlarına) tamamını etkisi altına alan Uruk etkili merkezi toplumların doğuşu, gelişimi ve yayılımının daha önce düşünülenenden çok daha kompleks olduğunu açığa çıkarmıştır (Stein 1999 a ve b; Frangipane 2001; Emberling 2002; Porter 2012). Ancak, sırasıyla güney ve kuzey bölgelerinde ortaya çıkan sınıflı ve merkezi toplumların yükselişini niteleyen gelişim yönü ve özellikler farklı olmuştur (Wright 2006; Frangipane 2018). Neolitik çağlardan bu yana sürekli yaşanan etkileşim geleneği sebebiyle bu bölgeler arasında yakın benzerlikler olmakla birlikte, güneydeki alüvyon yatakları, Cezire düzlükleri ve Güneydoğu Anadolu'nun tepelik ve dağlık bölgelerinin farklı çevresel ve toplumsal koşulları, bu genel çerçeveye içerisinde, farklı özgün sosyopolitik özelliklerin ortaya çıkmasına sebep olmuştur.

Arslantepe MÖ 4. binyılda kesinlikle Büyük Mezopotamya dünyasının bir parçasıydı. Ancak arkeolojik kanıtlar, yörenin aynı zamanda kendine özgü bir gelişim süreci yaşadığını ve MÖ 4. binyılın ilk yarısında (Dönem VII diye adlandırılan) güçlü bir yerel merkez karakterine bürünmeye başladığını açık biçimde ortaya koymaktadır. Bu dönem maddi kültürde yabancı unsurlar çok nadirdi; bulunanlarsa sadece yeni seçkinlerin özel ihtiyaçlarına "yararlı" olacak biçimde seçilenlerden oluşuyordu. Höyüğün batısı ve güneybatısında 4.000 metrekareyi aşkın bir alanda yapılan kazılar (Fig. 4) Dönem VII diye adlandırılan, MÖ 3900'dan 3400'e tarihlenen uzun bir dönemde üst üste gelmiş birçok katmanı gün ışığına çıkarmıştır. Kazılar, bu dönemde Arslantepe'de oldukça türdeş ve oldukça sade bir yerel kültürün varlığını ortaya koymuştur.

Yerleşim bu dönemde en yüksek genişleme düzeyine ulaşırken, höyüğün tamamı yoğun bir iskân görmüştür. Ancak yerleşilen alanlarda keskin bir sosyal ve sembolik farklılık vardır ve seçkinlerin evleri eski höyüğün tepesinde yer alırken, sıradan halkın evleri yerleşimin yamaçları ve kenarlarına yapılmıştır. Eski höyüğün en yüksek noktalarında, resimlerle süslenen kalın duvarlı ve duvarlar boyunca sıralanan kerpiç sütunları olan sağlam binalardan oluşan bir dizi oldukça büyük ev bulunmuştur (Fig. 5). Herhangi bir dini ya da idari vasfı olmayan heybetli konutlardan oluşan bu geniş bölgenin seçkinlere ayrıldığı düşünülmektedir.

Seçkinler mahallesinde bulunan bu evlerde kamusal faaliyetlere ilişkin kanıt bulunmamakla birlikte, dönemin (MÖ 3500-3400) tam sonuna doğru, törensel, muhtemelen kült, vasıflı iki kamu binası yapılmıştır (Fig. 6). Bu iki binanın en eskisi, D Tapınağı, kısmen korunmuş olup merkezi bir platformlu geniş bir salon ve köşede bir tür merdiven basamağına sahiptir. Ana salon Mezopotamya stilinde birçok girintili niş ve tamamen yerel



tarzda, kırmızı ve siyah renkte, geometrik süslemelerle zengin biçimde bezenmiştir. Maalesef bu zengin bezeme çökmüş olmakla beraber, halen görülebilir durumdadır (Balossi Restelli'nin, 2019, baskı halindeki eserinde Fig. 2 ve 3).

400 m²'den daha büyük bir bina olan C Tapınağı, D Tapınağı'nın karşısında bir yere, görkemli bir taş temel üzerinde, höyüğün ucuna doğru bir konumda ve ovada uzaktan bakıldığında bile görülebilecek şekilde yapılmıştır (Fig. 7). C Tapınağı'nın üzerinde yükseldiği muazzam taş platform 800'den fazla yarı işlenmiş taş levhadan yapılmıştır (Fig. 7b). Bu taş platformun altında, enine ve paralel uzatılarak yerleştirilmiş düzinelerce ağaç dikmeden oluşan ve böylece taş levhalar üzerinde ağaçtan sağlam bir temel oluşturulmasını sağlayan olağanüstü bir yapı ortaya çıkmıştır (Fig. 7). Türünün özgün bir örneği olan, başka bir yerde karşılaştırılabileceğim türü var mı bilmiyorum, bu yapı bir yamacın eteğine yapılan böylesine azametli bir binayı dengede tutmak için tasarlanmış olmalıdır. Son zamanlarında açılan delikler ve müdahaleler sebebiyle ciddi biçimde hasar görmüş olsa da, merkezi büyük salona girişi sağlayan dört kapısı bulunan ve böylece halkın girebileceği geniş tutulan, tipik Mezopotamya tarzı üç parçalı plana sahip bu tapınağın birçok insanın katıldığı törensel veya dinsel faaliyetlerin icrası için tasarlandığı düşünülmektedir.

Burada belgelenen ana faaliyet alanında törensel bir gıda dağıtımdır (Helwing 2003; Pollock 2003). Burada ele geçen, çömlekçi çarkının başlangıç aşaması dâhil farklı teknikler kullanılarak yapılmış, merkezi salonun zeminine düzensiz olarak dağıtılmış ve muhtemelen kullanıma hazır bir şekilde doğudaki iki odada ters biçimde yığılmış, yaklaşık bin adet seri üretim çanaklar bunun kanıtıdır (Fig. 8a). 177 adedinin güneydeki odada (A932) bulunduğu 184 tane *cretula* gıda tahsisinin bir tür idari kontrolle düzenlendiğini gösteriyor (Fig. 9a).

Ayrıca D Tapınağında yüzlerce seri üretim çanak (Fig. 8b) ile köşede bulunan merdiven boşluklu bir odada, birbirlerinin üzerine gelecek şekilde atılmış olarak ele geçen, üzerinde birçok şekil bulunan, neredeyse tamamı damga mühür baskısından oluşan, 200'den fazla kilden mühür baskı bulunmuştur. D Tapınağında bulunan altı mühürde yer alan baskı tasarımının aynısının C Tapınağında da bulunmuş olması, merdiven boşluğuna doldurulmuş *cretulaların* bitişikteki C Tapınağında kullanıldıktan sonra terk edilmiş bir yapıya atılmış olma ihtimalini bulunmaktadır. Arslantepe'de sadece iki tören binası, Mezopotamya mimarisini andıracak biçimde, üç parçalı plan uygulandığını göstermektedir (C Tapınağı kesinlikle üç parçalı plana sahiptir. D Tapınağı da üç parçalı planla yapılmış olabilir). Öte yandan bulunan çanak çömlekler tamamen (Balossi Restelli 2019, baskı halinde; bu ciltte Fig. 5 ve 6) ve duvarlarda yer alan boyalı ve plastik süslemeler yerel özellikler taşımaktadır. Otoriteyle bağlantılı ritüel ve ideolojik alandaki Mezopotamya modeline atıfta bulunmak, muhtemelen seçkinler çevresi ve bunların kamusal faaliyetleriyle sınırlı bir etkiye işaret etmektedir. MÖ 5. binyılda Ubeyd Döneminde, Malatya Ovası'nda yer alan bir başka yerleşim olan Değirmentepe'de dikkat çekici bir şekilde görülen (Esin 1989), Mezopotamya dünyasıyla olan ilişkilerin Arslantepe'yi etkisi altına alıp almadığını henüz bilmiyoruz. Bu sebeple siyasi güçlerini sağlamlaştırmak isteyen yeni seçkin sınıfın önceden Mezopotamya'ya öykünmeye ve orayla bir sentez yapmaya çalışıp çalışmadıklarını ve bu olgunun daha özgün bir sosyopolitik sisteme –bu miras sadece birkaç seçilmiş durumda devam ettirilmiştir – yol açıp açmadığı ihtimalini dışlayamayız.

İki tapınak, Arslantepe VII döneminin tam sonuna doğru – Mezopotamya kronolojisinde nihai Geç Kalkolitik 4 (MÖ 3500-3400)- Mezopotamya modeline öykünüyor gözükmekle birlikte, daha önceki safhada seçkinlere ait elit evlerin gösterdiği üzere, Arslantepe seçkinlerinin siyasi gücünün kökü derinlere uzanan toplumsal temelleri bulunuyordu. Daha ötesi günlük yaşam tarzları ve çanak çömlek, seri üretim çanaklar, metaller ve oymacılık gibi el emeği ürünlerin imalatı esasında yereldi.



Dönem VIA – Geç Kalkolitik 5 Dönemi. Saraydan Yönetilen Toplumun Doğuşu

Tapınaklar yaklaşık MÖ 3400'de terk edildi. Sonraki dönemde – Arslantepe tarihlemesine göre tabaka VIA; Mezopotamya kronolojisine göre LC5 – siyasi erk sisteminde kökten bir değişiklik yaşandı. Seçkinlerin evleri daha önce yapılan evlerin bulunduğu aynı yere tekrar yapıldı. Ancak bu defa evler mimari tasarım ve işlevleri açısından radikal değişikliklerin ortaya çıktığı yeni kamusal alanla doğrudan bağlantılı hale geldi. Bu durum seçkinler ve nüfus arasındaki ilişkilerde sonuçları çok olan bir değişikliğin yaşandığını gösteriyor (Frangipane 2019). Daha önceki tapınaklardan çok daha küçük ve herhangi bir kült veya dini özelliği bulunmayan anıtsal ve oldukça heybetli bir bina (Bina 37), şimdi bu yeni kamusal alanın çekirdeğini oluşturmuş görünüyor (Fig. 10). Baklava dilimi motifi ve duvar resimleriyle süslenmiş bir giriş koridoru, ziyaretçilerin kendilerini binanın anıtsal görkemiyle yüz yüze bulduğu çok büyük bir avluya açılıyordu. Bu binada halkla temasın sağlandığı küçük oda, bu odaya erişimi sağlayan yüksek bir platform veya kaide ile üç basamağın olduğu yerde yanmış ardıç ağacının küçük kalıntılarına rastlandı. Bunlar muhtemelen bir koltuk veya 'taht' olabilecek, taşınabilir yapıdan kalma parçalardır. Platformun karşısında, taş bir rampanın veya merdivenin geniş bir girişten odaya ulaştığı bir yerde, birbiriyle mükemmel biçimde uyumlu olarak yapılmış iki kil yüksek kaide bulunmaktadır. Bunlar ziyaretçilerin kendilerini erk sahibine takdim ederken durdukları yerler olabilir.

Halk bu binadan içeri giremiyordu. Zira kuzeydeki seçkin konutlarıyla iletişimi sağlayan büyük bir salon olan iç odaya giriş sadece daha küçük bir geçiş odasından gerçekleştirilebiliyordu. Bu giriş büyük bir ihtimalle sadece yetkili kişilerle sınırlandırılmış olup, Bina 37 kamusal ve özel alan arasındaki bağlantı noktasıydı. Mari ve Ebla örneklerinde, MÖ 3. binyıl saraylarında rastlanan benzer odalarda olduğu gibi, burası şefin dinleyicileri geniş avluda toplayarak halka seslendiği bir yer olmalı. Yeni seküler tören uygulamalarına göre bu olgu sonraki dönemlerde kurumsallaşmış kanun haline getirilecektir.

Avlunun güneydoğu köşesinde, zemin planı hemen hemen "huzura kabul" amaçlı Bina37 ile aynı olan ve kült amaçlar için kullanılan ayrıca bir bina vardı (B Tapınağı). Binanın iç özellikleri (sunaklar ve sütun tabanları) ve korunmuş durumdaki malzeme burada kült faaliyetlerinin gerçekleştirildiğini göstermektedir (Fig. 11). Ancak yemekler sadece birkaç kişinin tüketimine ayrılmıştı. Büyük odaya doğrudan bir giriş yoktu; sadece yandaki küçük bir odadan giriş sağlanıyordu. Az sayıda seri üretim çanak ve normalden fazla sayıda yetişkin sığır kemiği vardı (Bartosiewicz 2010).

Bu sebeple halkın ortaklaşa yapılan dini tören ve ayinlerden hariç tutulmaya başlandığı açıktır. Otoritenin yetkilerini icra ettiği yer artık kutsal bir yer değildir. Burası artık insanların toplandığı, hükümdarın görüldüğü ve herhangi açık bir dinsel faaliyette bulunmadan, harekette buldukları bir yer olmuştur.

Saray, 3500 metrekare alanı işgal edene kadar, güneye doğru muazzam biçimde genişlemiştir. Şu ana kadar bu alanın sadece bir bölümü kazılmıştır (Fig. 12). Kamusal sarayın ilk ana çekirdeğini oluşturan bölüme, idari ve ekonomik faaliyetler ile resmi işlemlerin gerçekleştirildiği yeni birimler eklenmiştir. Seçkinler artık ekonomik faaliyetlerini tapınaklarda değil, gıda ürünlerinin genellikle yemek şeklinde, çok sayıda insana ve eskisi gibi özel dini törenler düzenlenerek değil de düzenli, rutin uygulamalar şeklinde dağıtılabilecek şekilde toplandığı, bir dizi odanın içerisinde icra ediyorlardı (Fig. 13).

Binlerce *cretula*, yüz seri üretim çanakla birlikte daha küçük bir odada ve sarayın muhtelif yerlerinde bulunmuştur. Bunların ele geçtiği yerler arasında en bilineni, 211 farklı mühür baskıya sahip, kırılmış halde 2,000'i aşkın mühür baskı parçasının üst üste yığıldığı dar A 206 odasıdır (Fig. 14). Bu mühür baskı parçaları, ekonomik etkinliğin nihai kontrolü ve muhasebeleştirme işleminin ardından, bir tür 'arşiv' olsun diye bu odaya konulmuştur.



Arslantepe'yi yönetenler temel ürünlerin üretimi ve dağıtımını üzerinde kontrollerini genişlettikten sonra toplumun temel ekonomik yaşamına müdahale kapasitelerini büyüttüler ve işgücünü giderek artan oranda merkezileştirdiler.

Arslantepe sarayının ideolojik gücü, kutsal bir mekânda ifade edilmek yerine, tarımsal üretimin ve yönetimin merkezi rolüne atıfta bulunan sembolik öğeleri ve sanatsal ifadeleri kullanıyor, böylece temel ürünlerin merkezden kontrolü "servet" kavramının tam da merkezini oluşturuyordu.

Arslantepe'de binlerce mühür baskının incelenmesi sonrası, 260'dan fazla mühür tespit edilmiş olmakla birlikte, ne tapınak törenlerdeki ritüel sahnelerini ne de Uruk-Warka'da olduğu gibi, tapınağa yapılan sunuları gösteren bir imgeye rastlanmamıştır. Çoğunluğu hayvanlar olmak üzere, az sayıda, tarım ve gıda maddelerinin taşınımı gibi aktivitelere işaret eden objeler ile ilişkili insan figürünün bulunduğu mühürlerin büyük çoğunluğu damga olarak kullanılmıştır (Fig. 14).

Bina 37 sonuna kadar tüm kompleksin siyasi kalbi olarak kalmaya devam etmiştir. Bu bina ile höyüğün tepesinde yer alan seçkinlere ait konutlar arasındaki bağlantı, Arslantepe'nin Yakın Doğu 'saray' sisteminde ilk, normalin dışında ve özgün bir örnek olduğu yorumunu güçlendirmektedir.

VI A Döneminde Arslantepe'nin dış ilişkileri birçok yöne doğru önemli oranda genişlemeye başladı. Esas etki kesinlikle güneydeki Uruk kültüründen gelmekle birlikte, çağdaş Orta Anadolu çanak çömleğiyle yakın bağlantıya işaret eden (D'Anna 2010; 2015; 2019; bu yayında) sarayda önemli sayıda bulunan yeni tür el yapımı *Kırmızı-Siyah Perdahlanmış Kapların* varlığı, belki yerleşik olmayan, civardaki bölgelerde hareket halinde ve bir şekilde Kuzey-Orta Anadolu dünyasıyla (Fig. 15) bağlantısı bulunan farklı gruplarla etkileşim içerisine girdiği fikrini ortaya atmaktadır (Çalışkan Akgül 2012; Palumbi 2008b; Ökse 2007).

Kuzeyin dağlık çevresiyle ilişkilerin belirtileri, bu dönemin madenciliğinde de görülmektedir. Genellikle çok güzel biçimde yapılan yeni ürünler imal edilmiş, bu ürünlerde farklı metaller kullanılmıştır (bakır, kurşun, gümüş, altın ve metal alaşımları) (Caneva, Palmieri 1983; Palmieri et al. 1999; Hauptmann, Palmieri 2000; Di Nocera 2010; 2013) (Fig. 16). En çarpıcı metal nesnelere arasında yer alanlar meşhur mızrak uçları ve kılıçlardır. Muhtemelen şeflerin ve yüksek statüye sahip kişilerin prestijlerini ve güçlerini sergilemek amacıyla metale olan talep, merkezi kurumların derin krize girdiği VIA döneminin sonunda ortaya çıkan yeni savunma ihtiyacıyla da artış göstermiş olmalıdır.

Yeni hiyerarşik düzenin Güney Mezopotamya'da bulunan sağlam toplumsal temelden eksik olduğunu düşünüyorum (Frangipane 2016; 2018). Ayrıca Arslantepe, Mezopotamya dünyasının diğer bölgelerinde yapısal ve güçlü biçimde entegre, uzmanlaşmış ve birbirine bağımlı birimler yaratmış kent boyutunun eksikliğini yaşıyordu. Kamusal alan ve faaliyetleri olağanüstü düzeyde artış gösterirken, yerleşimin tamamı eskiye göre daha küçük hale gelmiş ve artan sayıda insanı, yerleşimin dışında tutmuştur. Sıradan insanların oturduğu yerler henüz bulunamamıştır ancak bunlar höyükte olsa bile böylesine geniş bir kamusal merkezle karşılaştırıldığında küçük bir yer kaplıyor olmalıdır. Bu nedenle, Di Nocera'nın yapmış olduğu araştırmanın sonuçlarına da dayanarak (Di Nocera 2008), sıradan halkın yerleşimin etrafındaki ovada yaşamış olabileceğini varsayıyoruz. Mezopotamya modelinden farklı olarak, Malatya Ovası'ndaki merkezi toplumun bu karakteristik özelliklerinden biri olan nüfusu orada yaşamaya cezp etmeyen ana siyasi-idari merkezde ciddi bir nüfus yoğunluğunun eksikliği, aksine onun ayrı bir şekilde yükselmesini güçlendirdi.

Bir kent yapısının eksikliği, kuzeydeki birçok yerde olduğu gibi, su kaynakları açısından hayli zengin ve yüksek verimliliğe sahip olsa da dağların tarımsal alanın genişlemesini engellediği Malatya Ovasının sınırlı genişlemesiyle ilgili olabilir. Bu çevresel



özellik ayrıca bu dağ sıraları arasında hareket halindeki göçebe toplumlarla sistematik ve yoğun ilişkileri teşvik etmiştir. Saray döneminde yapılan koyun yetiştiriciliği ve buraya tamamen yabancı el yapımı kırmızı-siyah çanak çömlek imalatının ve Arslantepe çevresinde uzmanlaşmış bir mercacılığın varlığı bu ilişkiyi açık biçimde kanıtlamaktadır (Bartosiewicz 2010; Palumbi 2010). Erken devlet kurumlarının farklı parçaları bir araya getirip entegre etme kapasitesi – şehirleşme bağlamında çok belirtilmiştir – Arslantepe’de, hem kırsal hem göçebe nüfus tarafından alıkonulan bir özerklikle sınırlanmıştır. Bu insanların çıkarları, talepleri muhtemelen giderek daha karşılanamaz olan merkezi otoritenin çıkarlarıyla çatışma halindeydi ve ihtilaflara yol açıp merkezi sistemin kesin çöküşüne yol açacaktı. Bu durum yaklaşık MÖ 3200 civarında, yeniden inşa edilmeyecek olan sarayın tahrip olduğu büyük bir yangınla sona erdi.

Erken Bronz Çağında Arslantepe’de Yaşanan Kültürel ve Siyasi Değişiklikler

Dönem VIB1 – Erken Bronz I (erken). Arslantepe’de yeni konargöçer çoban gruplar

MÖ 4. binyılın tam sonu ile 3. binyıla geçiş döneminde elde edilen arkeolojik veriler, saray kompleksinin bir yangınla tahribi ve akabinde, buradaki sistemin kesin olarak çöküşünden sonra göçebe insan topluluklarının yıkıntılar üzerinde mevsimlik olarak yerleştikleri, bu durumun Arslantepe toplumunun siyasi ve ekonomik yapısını tersyüz ettiğini gösteriyor (Dönem VIB1) (Fig. 17).

VIB1 döneminde Malatya ovasında dolaşan göçebe topluluklar, dış ilişkileri değiştirirken, bu kez kesinlikle Kuzeydoğu Anadolu ve Güney Kafkasya kültürlerine yönelmiş görünüyorlardı (Frangipane 2012b; Palumbi 2012). Siyasi sistemde ve iktidarın doğasında yaşanan derin yapısal değişime, MÖ 4. binyıldan MÖ 3. binyıla kadar olan geçiş döneminde, Arslantepe ve tüm Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi’ndeki bölgeler arası ilişkilerin değişimi eşlik etmiştir. Yeni şefler, dördüncü binyıl Mezopotamya toplumlarına yabancı olan ancak daha çok Kuzeydoğu Anadolu ve Kafkasya’nın hiyerarşik toplum modeliyle ilgisi olacak şekilde, göçebe gruplar ile savaş ve çatışmaları yönetmeye odaklanmış görünüyorlardı. Son yıllardaki çalışmalar sonucu ortaya çıkarılmış, büyük bir huzura kabul salonu ile malzemelerle dolu bir depoya sahip ve yükseğe doğru yapılmış devasa kamusal yapıda ele geçen bulgular, Arslantepe’nin Malatya bölgesinde dolaşan göçebe gruplar için halen bir nirengi noktası, sembolik ve politik bir merkez olmaya devam ettiğini göstermektedir (Frangipane 2014; Palumbi ve diğerleri, 2017) (Fig. 17b ve c). VIA dönemi MÖ 4. binyılın merkezi toplumundan MÖ 4. binyılın tam sonuna doğru Arslantepe’ye yerleşen yeni göçebe toplumların aynı maden teknolojisini, beceri ve geleneğini devam ettirmesi, maden cevheri açısından zengin Kuzey Anadolu ile Güney Kafkasya’nın sıradağlarında dolaşan bu insan topluluklarının saray döneminden beri Arslantepe ile düzenli ilişkiler kurduğunu teyit etmektedir.

Gerek Arslantepe’de gerekse Büyük Mezopotamya’nın diğer bölgelerinde erken devlet toplumlarında ele geçen metal eşyalar, siyasi gücün görüldüğü yerlerde (tapınaklar, seçkinlere ait alanlar ve kamusal saraylar) sergilenirken, çok sayıda metal ise Erken Bronz Çağının başında mezarlara gömülüyor veya “saklanıyordu” (Sertok, Ergeç 1999; Wengrow 2011; Frangipane 2017; Sağlamtimur 2017; Sağlamtimur, Massimino 2018). Arslantepe’de yerleşimin kenarında, içerisinde çok zengin metal hediyeler bulunan, MÖ 3100-3000’e tarihlenen ve “Kral Mezarı” diye de adlandırılan olağanüstü taş sanduka bir mezar bulunmuştur (Frangipane ve diğerleri, 2001) (Fig. 18). Yüksek statülü birinin karmaşık bir ritüelle bu taş mezara gömüldüğü görülmektedir. Mezarı kapatan taşların üzerinde muhtemelen kurban edilmiş dört ergenin cesedi bulunmuştur. Silahlar ile altın, gümüş ve bakır-gümüş alaşımından yapılmış mücevherat mezar hediyesi olarak gömülmüştür. Güçlü bir



savaşçı çağrışımı yaptıran metal nesnelere ve silahlar, yeni liderlerin yeni ve çok önemli prestij ve güç sembolleridir.

Dönem VIB2 – Erken Bronz I (geç). Uruk Sonrası Kültüre Sahip Bir Köy

VIB1 döneminin seyyar yerleşimlerini önce höyüğün tepesine yapılan sur duvarının yapımı izledi ve daha sonra, MÖ 3. binyılın tam başından itibaren artık kullanılmayan duvara yaslanan dikdörtgen kerpiç evlerden oluşan köyün kuruluşu izledi. Geniş bir alanda yayılan ve yerel yerleşik toplumun iskân ettiği bu köy, tarımla uğraşan insanlardan oluşan bir topluluğun Arslantepe'yi yeniden ele geçirdiğini göstermektedir (Dönem VIB2, MÖ 3100-2800) (Fig. 19). Bu topluluk, "Erken Bronz Çağı I'de tüm vadiye yayılan "Uruk Sonrası" kültürü yaşayan Orta ve Yukarı Fırat Vadisinin diğer topluluklarıyla geleneksel ilişkilerini sürdürmüş ve güçlendirmiştir.

Dönem VIC ve D – Erken Bronz II ve III. Yeni Malatya – Elazığ Bölge Kültürü

Göçebe ve yerleşik gruplar arasındaki çatışmalar, kargaşalar ve birbirini izleyen yerleşimlerin ardından, Erken Bronz II ve III döneminde (Dönem VIC ve VID, MÖ 2750-2000) Arslantepe'de yerel ve Malatya bölgesine özgü genel bir kültür ortaya çıkmıştır (Conti, Persiani 1993; Sadori et al 2005; Frangipane 2012b; Liberotti, Alvaro 2018). Bu yeni kültür Elazığ bölgesinde yaşanan paralel gelişmelerle yakından bağlantılı gözükmektedir. Kuzeydoğu Anadolu ve Güney Kafkasya dünyasıyla ilişkileri var gözükmeyle birlikte kendine özgü özellikler ve bölgesel bir kültür kimliği de sergilemektedir. MÖ 3. binyılın sonlarında Malatya Bölgesi, Orta Anadolu'yla yeniden sınırlı ilişkiler kurarken, VIC ve VID dönemi kültürü daha önce Suriye-Mezopotamya dünyasıyla kurulan geleneksel kültürden kesin bir kopya işaret etmektedir.

Geç Bronz ve Demir Çağında Güçlü Bir Siyasi Merkezin Yeniden Ortaya Çıkışı

MÖ 2. binyılda Orta Anadolu'yla bir kez daha kurulan yeni yoğun ilişkiler yeni bir kültüre ve siyasi duruma yol açarken, Arslantepe'nin uluslararası görüntüsü bir kez daha değişti ve genişleyen Hitit Devleti dünyasının yeni sınırı oldu.

Kentleşme eksikliği ve kurumsallaşmış güçlü merkezi otorite ile genellikle anıtsal yapılarla iskân edilmiş küçük yerleşim arasındaki çatışma, Geç Bronz II (Dönem IV) Dönemindeki Hitit İmparatorluğu genişlemesi esnasında bir kez daha ortaya çıktı. Bulduğumuz kanıtlara göre Geç Bronz I (Dönem VB – Eski Krallık safhası) döneminde tüm höyük, Geç Kalkolitik Dönem VII'de olduğu gibi, güneybatı yamaçlarına kadar yerleşildi. Burada konutlara ait kalıntıların yanı sıra bazen *in situ* malzemeler bulduk (Palmieri 1973; Manuelli 2017). Höyüğün kuzeydoğu bölümünde kazılarak ortaya çıkarılan Geç Bronz I sur duvarı, heybetli bir toprak duvar ile Orta Anadolu etkisinin açık biçimde görüldüğü çift burçlu dikdörtgen bir kapıdan oluşmaktadır (Palmieri 1978) (Fig. 20).

Öte yandan imparatorluk safhasında (Geç Bronz II) veya takip eden Geç Hitit döneminde höyüğün güneybatı bölümünde yerleşim izine rastlanmamıştır. Bu sebeple muhtemelen Hitit İmparatorluk dönemi etkisi altında (Dönem IV) yeni güçlü bir bölgesel merkez geliştiği zaman Arslantepe'nin bir kez daha boyut olarak küçüldüğünün ve daha küçük ve surlu bir alanla sınırlandırıldığını gösteren kanıtlara sahibiz (Pecorella 1975; Manuelli 2013; Frangipane, Liverani 2013). Aşağıda bir şehir olup olmadığını bilmiyoruz. Di Nocera'nın yapmış olduğu araştırmada elde edilen az sayıdaki kanıttan, höyüğün etrafında yerleşilmiş bir alan varsa bile, tam da MÖ 4. binyıl saray döneminde (Dönem VIA) olduğu gibi, bunların siyasi merkez ve kamusal alanlar etrafında toplanmış köyler ve mezralardan oluşması daha muhtemeldir.



Bu model, Hitit İmparatorluğunun çöküşünden sonra, MÖ 2. ve 1. binyıl arasındaki (tabaka III, Demir Çağı I, MÖ 1100-950) geçiş döneminde kesinlikle devam etmiştir. Bu sorunlu dönemde Arslantepe’de bir kriz ortaya çıkmamıştır. Tersine, son kazı ve araştırmaların gün yüzüne çıkardığına göre, heybetli şehir surları ve anıtsal yapılar Arslantepe’nin önemli siyasi rolünü sürdürmüş olabileceğini ortaya koymaktadır (bu yayında bkz. Manuelli) (Fig. 20). Arslantepe’nin güçlü bir bölgesel siyasi merkez ve Geç Hitit Melid Krallığının başkenti olduğu (tabaka II, Demir Çağı II) 1. binyılın ilk yüzyıllarında sitadel küçük olmalıdır. Arslantepe, güneydeki diğer çağdaş merkezlerden çok daha küçük olacak şekilde, bir kez daha siyasi otoriteye ev sahipliği yapan tahkimli bir sitadel olmuştur.

Ancak civardaki krallıklar ve imparatorlukların artan gücü, yarattıkları sürekli gerginlik ve çatışmalar, şehri ve kurumlarını, dolayısıyla Arslantepe-Melid’i, zayıflatmış ve Kral Tarhunazi’nin isyanından sonra MÖ 712’de Asur Kralı II. Sargon tarafından fethedilip tahrip edilmiştir.



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SECTION 3
LATE CHALCOLITHIC
DEVELOPMENTS AND
INTERREGIONAL RELATIONS



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
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THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF ARSLANTEPE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 4TH MILLENNIUM BCE

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THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF ARSLANTEPE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 4TH MILLENNIUM BCE

FRANCESCA BALOSSI RESTELLI

Introduction

Aim of this paper is to investigate external relations of the site of Arslantepe during the first half of the 4th millennium BCE.

This corresponds to what we call period VII at Arslantepe, or Late Chalcolithic 3 and 4 in the chronological sequence of Greater Mesopotamia (Rothman ed. 2001). The Arslantepe stratigraphy is dated by more than 130 radiocarbon analyses and period VII falls between 3900 and 3400 BCE (Di Nocera 2000; Vignola et al. 2017, 2018).

It is not the first period of occupation of the site, nor is Arslantepe alone in the Malatya plain during this period (Frangipane and Di Nocera 2012; Di Nocera 2016). A little more than a dozen sites have been identified in the surroundings, suggesting a sizable presence and certain interaction between neighbors. Arslantepe is the only one excavated, reason for which we will leave the debate on intraregional relations to future investigations, even though some comments have already been made on the basis of the results of the surveys in the plain and site distribution (Di Nocera 2016).

Raw Material Procurement

I shall start with primary resource supply areas and take a quick look at two materials that certainly arrive from far away since no sources are known in the immediate vicinities of the Malatya plain: metals and obsidian.

Plentiful mineral fragments and a few moulds and crucibles indicate a vivid metallurgical activity at Arslantepe in period VII, even though the absence of slags as of today leaves a gap in our comprehension of the whole working process (Di Nocera 2010; Palmieri et al. 1999).

Lead isotope investigations of the polymetallic ores of the following period VI A suggest a clear link with the Black sea and the Caucasian regions, to the North and North East (Frangipane, Palmieri 1994-5) and the similar composition that period VI A and VII metal objects (Di Nocera 2013) have, allows us to hypothesise that resource areas were probably the same in the two periods.

Obsidian in period VII constitutes approximately 20% of the chipped stone, thus a meaningful even though secondary presence. Known obsidian sources are to the west, in the Central Anatolian Göllüdağ, and to the North East, in Bingöl, Pasinler, Nemrut, Sarıkamış, Arteni (Chataigner et al. 1998; Fig. 1).

Analyses of Arslantepe period VII obsidian have shown that Arslantepe receives obsidian mainly from North East; obsidian from Central Anatolia, present both in the preceding and succeeding periods VIII and VI A, is very rare in period VII (Fornaseri et al. 1975; Mouralis et al. 2018). Primary resource supply thus point to stronger Northern and North Eastern contacts of Arslantepe during this first half of the 4th Millennium and leave us with a strong interrogative on Central Anatolia.

This data is not sufficient to tell us whether these contacts were direct or whether obsidian reached Arslantepe through indirect circulation of goods and intermediary populations and regions. Proper contacts between the community in Arslantepe and surrounding regions thus necessarily need to be further understood through an analysis of the organisation of these communities and of their material culture.

Arslantepe with in the Late Chalcolithic Developments of Greater Mesopotamia

Towards the end of the 4th millennium Arslantepe becomes an important economic and political centre not only within its region, but surely also with a supra regional impact (Frangipane 2009, 2010, 2012, 2016). It takes part in the general development of early hierarchical societies of Greater Mesopotamia (Algaze 1993, 2001, Rothman ed. 2001). The 4th millennium in the region between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers, from southern Mesopotamia up to the Anatolian highlands is characterised by an incontestable growth in political and economic complexity, visible amongst others in the distribution and dimension of sites (Wilkinson et al. 2014), in the presence of public and elite areas and buildings (Frangipane 1997, 2002; Butterlin 2012), and in the development of specialised craft activities (Trufelli 1994; Al Quntar, Abu Jayyab 2014; Alden, Minc 2016; Balossi Restelli 2017). Arslantepe takes part in this overall trend, the first definite evidence of which comes from period VII (Frangipane 1993; Guarino 2014; D'Anna, Guarino 2012; Frangipane, Balossi Restelli in print).

The layout of the site in Period VII indicates a separation between elite and non-elite areas; the area of the elite residences is also the one used for public buildings, two temples and large monumental rooms the function of which probably had an economic connotation and might have been linked to craft and storage activities (Frangipane 2012; 2015; 2016).

Temple C, the best preserved, was tripartite in plan, as was also probably Temple D (Fig. 1b). This tripartite plan has a long tradition in Mesopotamia and draws back to Ubaid period, when it was used for most buildings. In this period we see that temple structures in sites to the south of Arslantepe, in Mesopotamia proper, continue having this tripartite plan. The Arslantepe temples are highly decorated, with niched walls, of different shapes (Figs. 2 and 3), that have similar counterparts in many Mesopotamian sites, amongst which Tell Brak and Hammam et Turkmann in the Khabur and Balikh regions, but also sites in southern Mesopotamia, as Eridu (Emberling and McDonald 2003; van Loon 1988; Lloyd, Safar 1981; Fig. 1c-e). The function of these structures is also well known and shared: these were the places in which ceremonial meals took place and were attended by hundreds of people and were a means by which growing elites could symbolically reiterate and legitimise institutionalised relations of unequal social power (Pollock 2003; 2012; D'Anna 2012). This is a typical feature of Mesopotamian Late Chalcolithic development and Arslantepe makes no exception, demonstrating that its social, political and economic dynamics are shared entirely with that world.



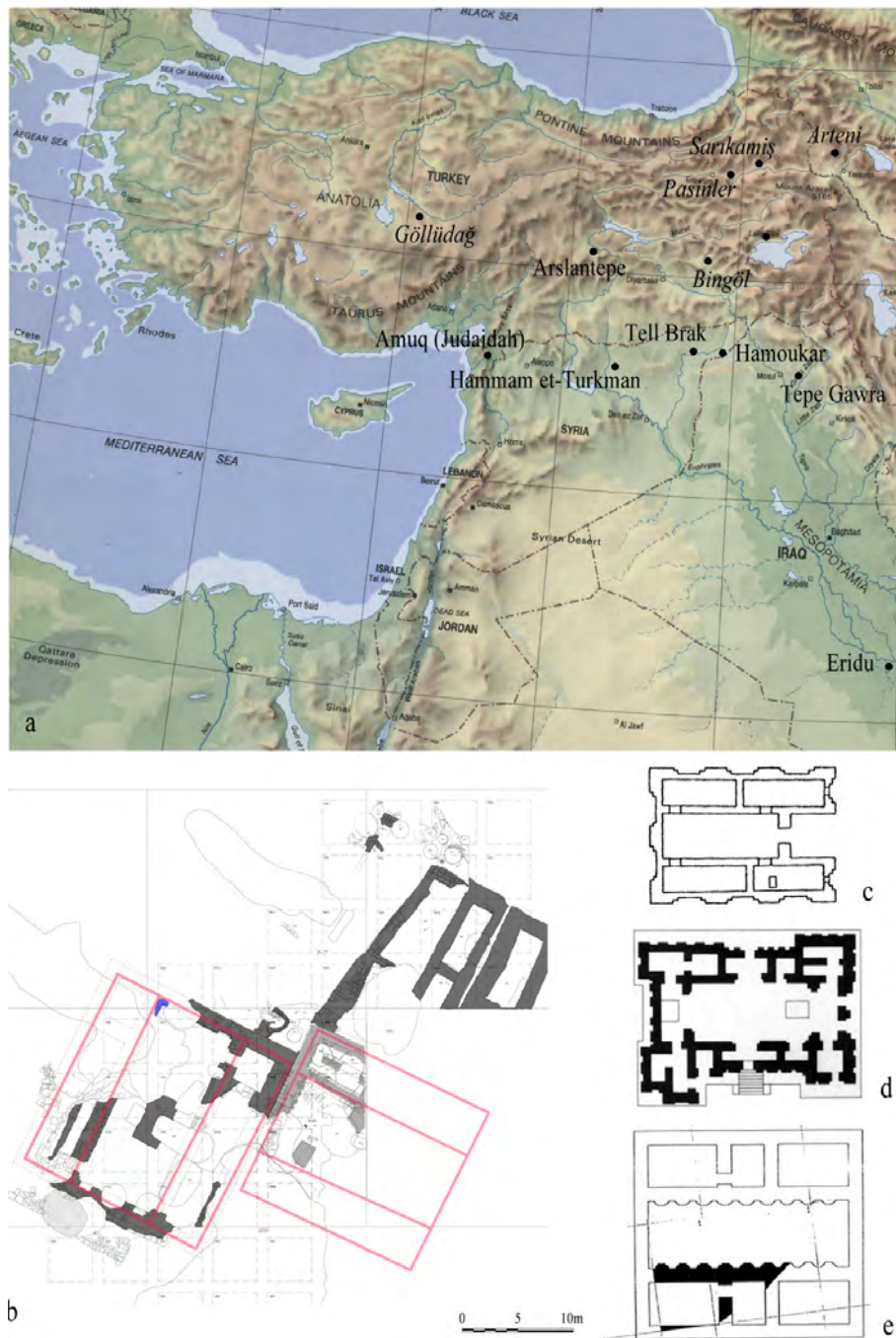


Fig. 1 – a) Position of the sites mentioned in the text; b) Arslantepe latest period VII, occupation level in trench SW, with temples C and D (@MAIAIO); c) Temple of Tepe Gawra, level VIIIc (Speiser 1935, pl. XI) ; d) Temple of Eridu, level VII (Lloyd, Safar 1981: 88); e) Temple of Hammam et-Turkman (Van Loon 1988: pl.29a).





Fig. 2 - Niched walls of temple C and painted plastered decorations of the Temple D walls.





Fig. 3 – Reconstruction of internal decoration of Temple D (drawing by Alice Siracusano). @MAIAO

When we observe domestic features though, we notice that Arslantepe houses do not have the tripartite plan of Mesopotamian Late Chalcolithic. Rather, their irregular plan, the constant presence of round domed ovens, the importance and equipment of open spaces next to the houses, point to a local taste and custom that has comparisons in the Anatolian tradition (Fig. 4c-d). Elite residences appear to be more standardized, possibly following a bipartite plan (Fig. 4a-b), which is still different from the elite structures of Mesopotamian sites, as Brak and Hamoukar, that use the tripartite plan for domestic structures too (Fig. 4 e-g). Whereas there is an overall sharing of political and economic developments with Mesopotamia thus, Arslantepe appears to have its own architecture and a different use of domestic space.



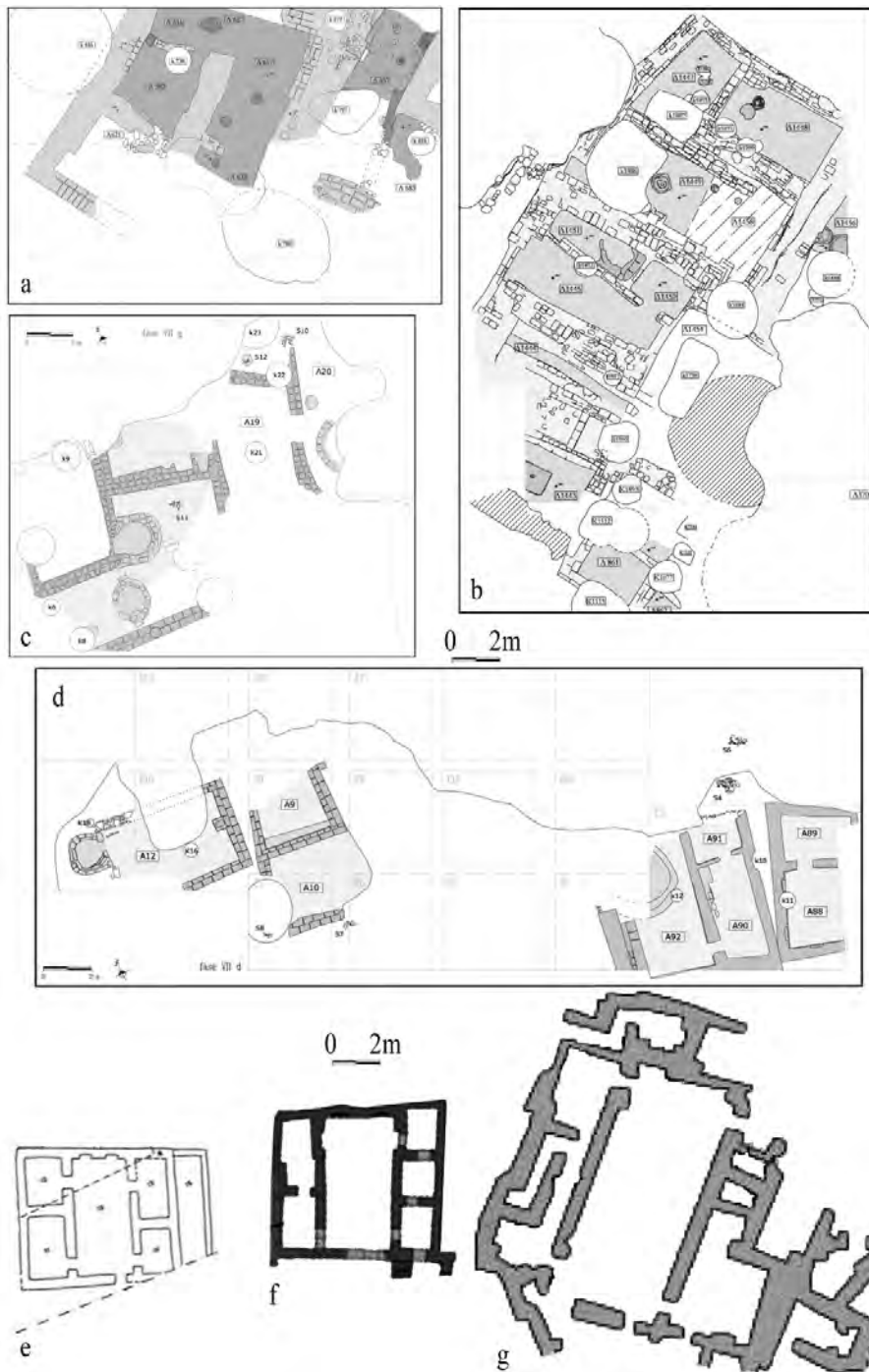


Fig. 4 - Domestic dwellings of Late Chalcolithic 3-4; a-b) elite residences at Arslantepe (@MAIAIO); c-d) common dwellings at Arslantepe (@MAIAIO); e) dwelling at Tell Brak, TW16 (Emberling and McDonald 2003, fig. 11); f) dwelling at Hamoukar, TpB-B (redrawn from Reichel 2009: fig. 1); g) Tepe Gawra level XII (Tobler 1950: pl. VIII).



Craft Productions; Technology and Style

This autonomy is also visible in the style of pottery in period VII, most recognized by its abundant chaff faced pottery, a large percentage of which is also red slipped and burnished (Figs. 5 and 6). This is typologically highly recognizable and has no stylistic relations with Mesopotamia. Its nearest contacts are instead to the south-west, in the Amuq, where red slipped burnished ware is also found and both bowls and large jars have the very distinctive profiles of those of Arslantepe VII (Braidwood, Braidwood 1960). These are the most tangible and abundant shared elements of material culture and suggest movements of people through these regions.

Whilst stylistically there are few elements that recall Mesopotamia, the manufacturing process of period VII pottery takes us back to that region. In fact this Red Slipped and Burnished ware is one of the classes of pottery that belongs to a specialized and standardized pottery production. This includes a chaff-faced and smoothed ware and a mixed tempered ware used for cooking pots and possibly also for large storage jars. Shapes, size and the rim profiles of all these classes of pottery are highly standardised in comparison to those of the other classes, where internal variability is abundant. Detailed observation of these pots indicates these were mostly wheel-finished, element this that explains the special regularity and standardisation of the rims. Standardisation of production suggests the presence of specialised craftsmanship, and the presence of potters' marks solely on these ware categories confirms this. This period sees the diffusion of potter's marks in various areas of Greater Mesopotamia and possibly even further, as a distinctive indicator of the development of craft specialisation and Arslantepe appears to belong to this general trend (Trufelli 1994; Oates 2002; Museyibli 2016). To this same sphere belong the mass-produced bowls that Arslantepe VII has in great abundance and that are the Anatolian version of the conical flat-based bowls of the Jazira and of lower Mesopotamian Bevelled Rim bowls (Guarino 2008; D'Anna, Guarino 2012).

These shared organisational aspects indicate that Arslantepe is part of the general development that characterises Greater Mesopotamia and is certainly in contact with these regions, but still leaves us with the difficulty of imagining peoples' movements and the degree to which these similarities may express intensity of contacts. There are, even though few, specific elements in material culture that let us envisage a more direct contact and thus contribute to enrich this picture: in the late phases of period VII we have found at Arslantepe a very fine wheel made and mineral tempered ware, the paste and shapes of which recall pottery from contemporary Tell Brak (Fig. 5b). A broad stylistic shared taste might also be envisaged in the glyptic of Arslantepe and that of north Mesopotamian sites (Frangipane, Balossi Restelli 2019). This shared taste might also be seen in eye idols or eye andirons. Bone pins recall instead those of the Amuq, further strengthening the idea of contacts already evident in the style of the pottery. Finally, and very interestingly since it partly fills the apparent emptiness of relations within Anatolia, some rare Red-Black Ware pottery fragments from the latest phases of period VII suggest links with Central Anatolia (Çalışkan 2012). These are, as in the case of those I have mentioned above from Tell Brak, consumption vessels or small jars, thus certainly not used as containers for the transport of goods (Fig. 5g). Even though with a minor intensity in comparison to the relations noted between Arslantepe and the south and south-west, this does allow us to advance the idea that people or at least objects were also moving along this west-east route within Anatolia and contacts between these areas can be hypothesised (as also suggested by the even though uncommon trade of obsidian). Relations to the north-east (Black sea and Caucasus) instead are still not evident in the Material Culture, as they will not be in the following period VI A, and only at the beginning of EBA will contacts with this area intensify and become evident.



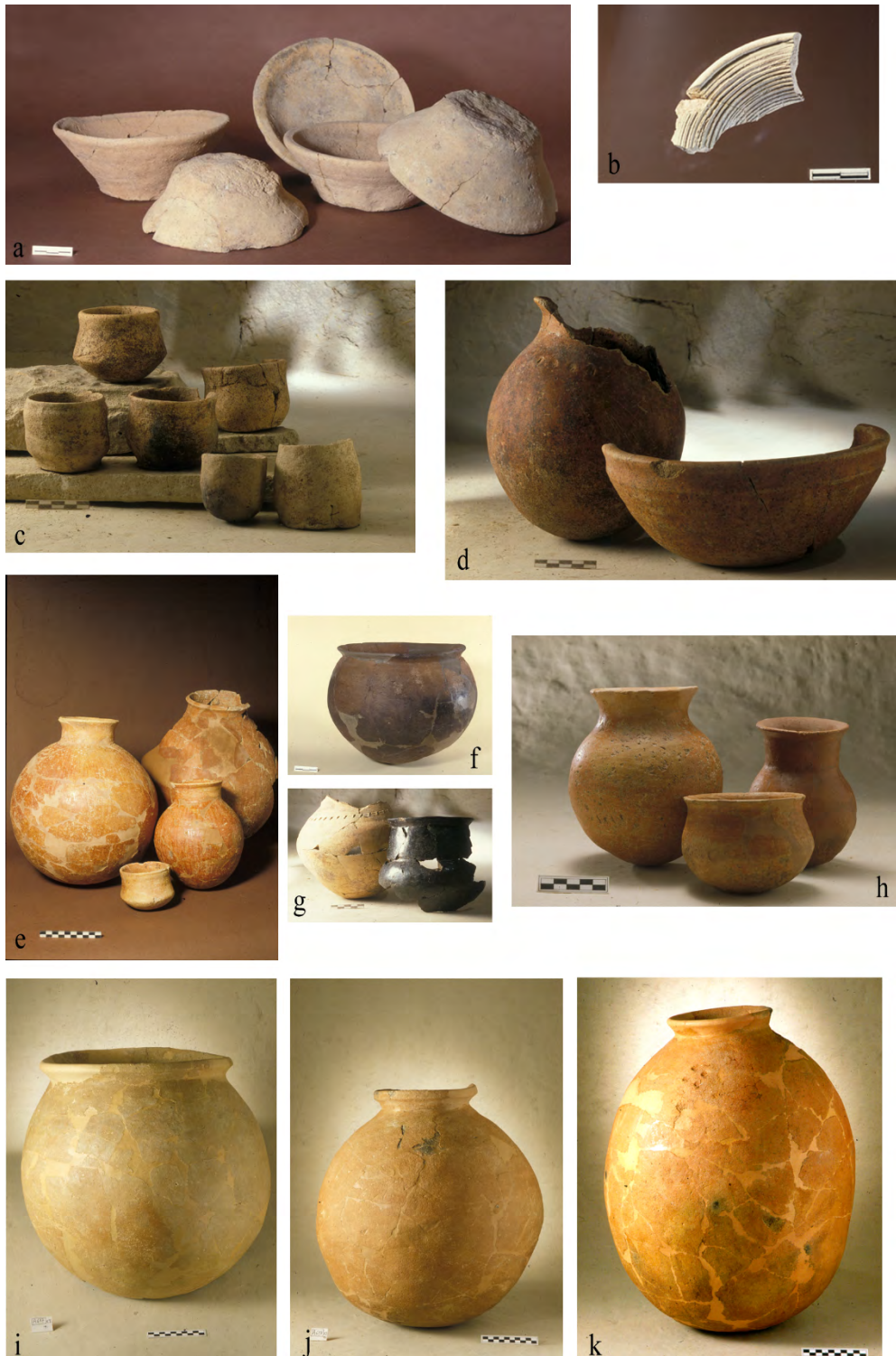


Fig. 5 – Arslantepe period VII pottery: a) mass produced bowls; b) rim sherd of fine mixed tempered ware; c) mass produced, chaff tempered beakers; d, e, h) red slipped, chaff tempered ware of different shapes; f) cooking pot in mixed tempered ware; g) fine mixed tempered and red-black mixed tempered jar; i-k) chaff tempered and smoothed jars. @MAIAO.





Fig. 6 – Examples of the variety of shapes of the burnished, red slipped ware of period VII. @MAIAO.



Conclusions

All the comparisons that have been pointed out indicate the participation of Arslantepe VII in a wide network of interactions that are differently combined and explained depending on their meaning and intensity. The structural similarities with Mesopotamia derive from a long-term relation, dating back to the Ubaid period in the 5th millennium BCE; social and economic dynamics of these regions have developed since then in an analogous direction and created comparable forms of power. The increasing relations with other regions of Anatolia, the Caucasus and the Mediterranean coast, possibly also linked to the new or not so new routes for the procurement of primary resources (metals, obsidian and what else?), are evidenced from the finding of similarities in the material culture; data does not tell us yet whether these also bring to share economic, political and organizational traits of these communities. The preferred direction of communication in LC3-4 appears to be a NE-SW line, unfortunately at the moment difficult to investigate further because of the rarity and small exposures of other sites along this direction.



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**BETWEEN THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL:
AN INTERREGIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON LATE CHALCOLITHIC 5
ARSLANTEPE (3350-3100 BCE CA.)**

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BETWEEN THE LOCAL AND THE GLOBAL: AN INTERREGIONAL PERSPECTIVE ON LATE CHALCOLITHIC 5 ARSLANTEPE (CA. 3400-3200 BCE)

MARIA BIANCA D'ANNA

During the long lasting phase that we called Late Chalcolithic (4400-3100 BCE ca.) substantial changes in terms of settlement growth, increasing social and political complexity, and craft specialization occurred in Mesopotamia and neighboring regions (Rothman ed. 2001). In most cases, this implied an increasing loss of economic and political power of large sectors of the population and a solid capacity of local elites to control and manage prevalently primary resources and productive sectors of the society. Recent works have also been showing more complex networks of interregional contacts that these areas experienced between the second half of the 5th to the last centuries of the 4th mill. BCE (Frangipane 2001; Vallet et al 2017).

The Late Chalcolithic period at Arslantepe is subdivided into three consecutive sub-phases, namely period VIII, VII and VI A in the site sequence. A series of dramatic changes in the social organization starts to be more clearly visible during period VII (3900-3400 BCE), when the settled area stretched and occupied the entire archaeological mound (Balossi Restelli in this volume; Frangipane 2012). The settlement differentiated by becoming internally structured in a peripheral part where commoners lived, a topographically more elevated area with elite residences, and a sort of public area with two monumental tripartite temples (Frangipane 2016). These buildings testify to the increasing social and political complexity at Arslantepe, as the structures could periodically host vast numbers of people for feasting. Hundreds of crude mass-produced bowls were found in one of the temples and were apparently used to consume food and drinks. In situ and discarded clay sealings in these contexts show that food sharing was at least partially administrated and controlled by the same elite sponsoring these events (Frangipane ed. 2007). As previously discussed in a number of publications (Frangipane 2002; D'Anna, Guarino 2010), these feasts could have mobilized economic resources to control work and people. However, I believe that the emphasis was placed on a high degree of collectiveness through large-scale commensality enhanced by the bodily proximity of tens if not hundreds of people in the same monumental location; the only exceptional element is the physical, architectural setting. Increasing craft specialization is visible in the ceramic production of period VII: part of the repertoire became more standardized (Palmieri 1985; Frangipane 1993; Guarino 2014), thanks also to the use of rotating devices to build the pots (Fragoli in Balossi Restelli in prep.). Moreover, the mass production of bowls indicates a new technical and social organization of the

production on the one hand, and the presence of some sort of pressure in the demand of this specific type of containers on the other.

Period VII might seem a rather conservative phase at Arslantepe, especially if we look at the ceramic production, which does not present major changes for about 400 years. Actually, things become more varied and even inconsistent if we zoom in into the late period VII. The accurate stratigraphic and typological analysis of Balossi Restelli is demonstrating that the northeastern periphery of the site was no more occupied by the end of period VII, just when the two temples mentioned above were built (Balossi Restelli in prep.). The process of becoming a kind of proto-urban center, where the co-residence of different social classes had started, stopped when the construction of monumental public buildings begun. In period VI A the settled area shrunk even more, and Arslantepe hardly seems a real settlement. Surprisingly, to the contraction of the settled area on the archaeological mound corresponds a sharp decline in the number of sites in the entire Malatya plain. During the Early Chalcolithic and initial Late Chalcolithic periods, both the shores of the Euphrates River and the more inland sectors of the plain were dotted of a number of small hamlets and villages; on the contrary, Di Nocera and his team could collect period VI A ceramics only in very limited numbers and only in small concentrations in area close to Arslantepe itself (Di Nocera 2008).

At the end of period VII monochrome and bichrome burnished wares appeared. Bowls, few bowls on stem, and jarlets were realized in these distinctive hand-made wares. As in the subsequent period, also during period VII the Hand-made Burnished Wares were all produced with locally available raw materials (Fagnoli 2018). This new ceramic production at the site coincided with a shift from a balanced animal herding strategy based on cattle, caprine and pig to a sheep-and-goat oriented husbandry (Siracusano, Bartosiewicz 2012).

We have been emphasizing the numerous of elements of break between the two periods VII and VI A (Frangipane 2002, 2012, 2016; D'Anna and Guarino 2012), which are indeed profound also in the material culture. However, we might highlight some red threads that allow us to contextualize Arslantepe Late Chalcolithic 3 to 5 communities at a local scale, such as the production and use of large quantity of coarsely made bowls in public contexts as well as the use of some raw materials and pastes recipes that continue into period VI A from the previous phase (Fagnoli and Palmieri 2017); accountability practices and stylistic elements in the glyptic are other shared elements; and, as mentioned above, by the final period VII the production and use of bichrome and monochrome Hand-made Burnished Wares pots as well as some important aspects of the primary economy. The organization of the ceramic production indeed changed, as testified by the disappearance of potters' marks in period VI A: these were simple signs (dots, lines, or a combination of both) that occur on all kinds of period VII ceramic finished on the tournette, while they were never incised on the hand-made pots. If 'hand-made' and 'wheel-finished' productions in period VII comprise the whole functional spectrum of shapes, rotating devices played a more diffuse and different role during period VI A, when the distinction between hand-made versus turned pots begun marking also morphological and functional groups.

The repertoire of shapes simplified in period VI A and the functional composition of the assemblage partially changed by getting less varied particularly in the table ware. In period VI A small vessels suitable to drink quite present in period VII disappeared, the assemblage of bowls and jugs to eat and drink became extremely limited in number of items and variety of shapes; and the high-stemmed bowls, rare items during period VII, became relatively more frequent. However, period VI A ceramic production included very large *pithoi*, many jars with restricted cylindrical neck, and some bottles – generally small – with



or without spout to store and serve drinks: these are all types of containers basically missing or very uncommon in period VII. All these changes testify to novelties in commensal practices both in the public and domestic spheres, different organizations of the relations of production, as well as new needs which came about with increased and more multifaceted forms of centralization.

Focusing on period VI A ceramic production, as well known (Frangipane, Palmieri 1983; D'Anna 2010; 2019), the largest group of period VI A pots is that of the Light-Colored Wares, which are locally made using calcareous clay (Fragnoli, Palmieri 2017) and often with the help of turning devices; surface treatments vary but these pots are never fully burnished; and they are always fired in an oxidizing atmosphere. Coarse, Semi-Fine and Fine ware can be distinguished according to type, dimension, and density of the inclusions. Coarser fabrics are used for the conical mass-produced bowls (MPBs) typical of this period. Even though the mass production of beveled-rim bowls (BRBs) is typical of the Late Uruk period, the conical bowls of period VI A clearly derive from the period VII mass-produced bowls. Both the coeval BRBs and the more ancient MPBs of period VII are larger than the VI A MPBs. BRBs are typically two to three times larger than MPBs. I believe that the MPBs were mainly, although not exclusively, used in practices of food allocation against labor for consumption on the spot (see also Frangipane 2010). The portions of these meals at Arslantepe as inferred from the bowls capacity in redistribution contexts that ranges around 200 to 300 ml is very small. But Arslantepe MPBs were also used in many other contexts of food and drink consumption. This explains the much higher variability in capacity of the Anatolian bowls in comparison to the BRBs.

Besides the mass-production of coarse bowls, another element of communality with Uruk Mesopotamia is the production of Light-Colored jars with a more or less expanded shoulder and narrow neck (Fig. 1); some presents the so-called reserved slip decoration delimited by a row of incisions on the shoulder. These jars are realized in semi-fine mixed fabrics, which include also vegetal temper.

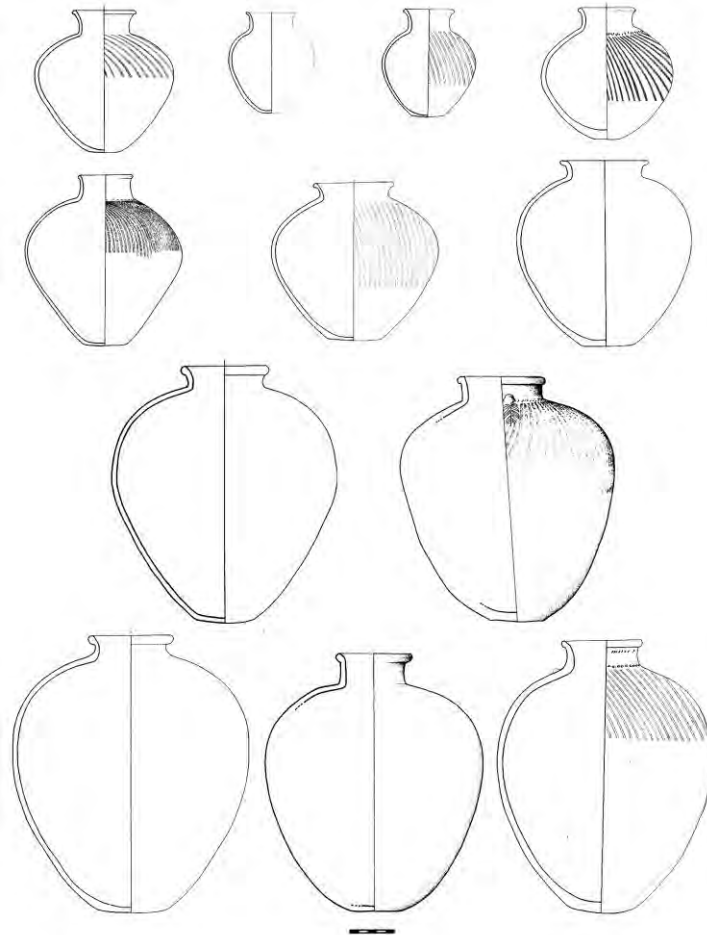


Fig. 1 – Period VI A (LC 5) mass-produced bowls (photo archive MAIAO)

On an interregional perspective, Arslantepe necked jars show strong similarities with the coeval Uruk jars. However, the overall profiles are not completely overlapping, and even specific features differ, as the shape of lips or the absence of pierced nose-lugs in the



Arslantepe types. More similar are the jars from the sites of Hassek Höyük and Tepecik, which are located along the northern course of the Euphrates River south and north of the Taurus range respectively. Similarity have been traced in formal terms but also in the fabrics used. This let Frangipane define a “northern area of the Uruk world” (2002: 128) formed by Arslantepe, Tepecik and Hassek Höyük. The production of these types of necked jars can be surely understood in a framework of cultural contact or even emulation between the Arslantepe VI A and Uruk communities and artisans. But, also in this case, we should not overlook the diachronic local perspective. Taking into the picture period VII, we notice that at Arslantepe the production of jars with a tall cylindrical neck actually begins in the last phases of period VII. I refer in particular to Guarino’s types D1a and D1c (Fig. 3) which were found principally and exclusively in those layers, while type D1b “is very frequently found across Period VII, seems to be discontinued in the final phases of the sequence” (Guarino 2014: 146; Fig. 2). The need for such kind of containers and possibly a shift in the production, storage and consumption of particular types of beverages or semi-liquid foodstuffs might have emerged at the end of period VII, to then explode in period VI A.



*Fig. 2 – Examples of Semi-Fine Light Colored necked jars from Arslantepe.
(Drawings archive MAIAO).*

A more direct influence of Uruk ceramic style is visible in the few bottles found at Arslantepe. These are really a novelty in contrast to the previous period. As underlined already



long ago by Frangipane, the large-scale production of containers for liquids marks the ceramic assemblage at Uruk sites (Frangipane 1994). At Arslantepe the bottles are few and they tend to cluster in few specific contexts. For some of them we can point at some precise comparisons with Uruk sites in Mesopotamia and Susiana. Besides the bottles, very few are the pots found in situ that have a typical Uruk 'face': a miniature red jarlet (Fig. 4), few fragments of cross-hatched decorations and BRBs. The latter have mainly been found in rooms' fills; more fragments originate from a pit that cuts the VI A level and is sealed by VI B1 (Early Bronze Age Ia) floors.

A second group of ceramics is a family of red-black or monochrome containers, all hand-made using non-calcareous clay and many organic and mineral inclusions (Fragoli 2018). Pots are typically well burnished and firing varies from completely reducing to a complex alternation of oxidizing and reducing. Straight-walled and convex bowls, handled bowls and high-stemmed bowls are always bichrome, while jarlets, jugs and a few larger containers with different profiles can be either bichrome or monochrome. The works of Palmieri, Palumbi and Çaliskan Akgül have stressed strong affinities with coeval ceramic productions from north-central Anatolia (Palumbi 2008a; 2008b; Çaliskan Akgül 2012; 2012-2013). The complex firing technique to produce bichrome pots is first attested at Arslantepe and North-central Anatolia, as early as Late Chalcolithic 4, and by the beginning of the EBA will become a common trait and a shared knowledge within the whole Kuro-Araxes communities, another *koiné* in which the people living at Arslantepe will be part during period VI B1 keeping however alive local peculiarities of the previous Late Chalcolithic tradition (Palumbi 2003: 101). However, things sometimes intersect each other, as it is the case for a very interesting fragment found in a layer dated to the early phase of period VI B1; as shown in Fig. 5, it is a pierced nose lug, a typical feature of the Uruk tradition, realized in the Anatolian/south Caucasian Black Burnished Ware.

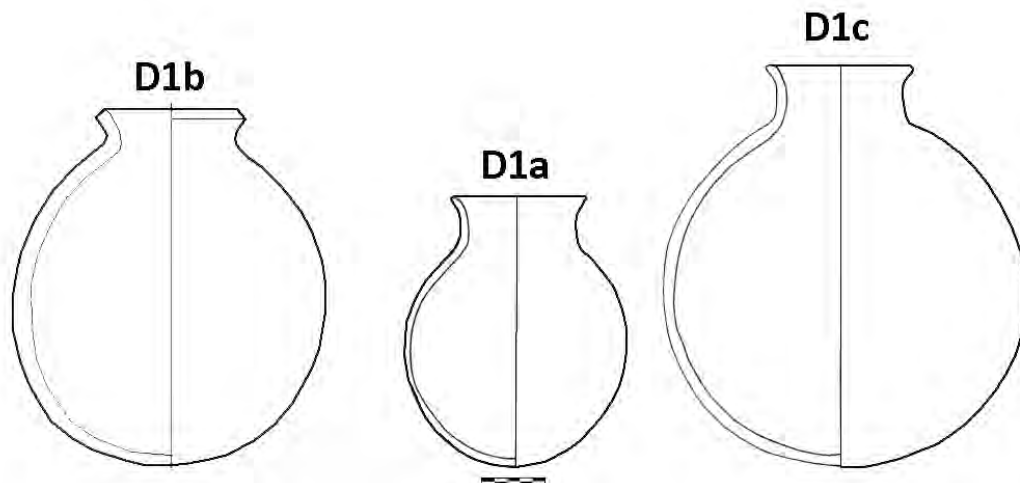


Fig. 3 – Period VII jars.
(Guarino 2014: Tables 5.2-4)

Concerning the period VI A Hand-made Burnished Wares, good comparisons can be found with Tepecik in the Altınova plain, where, however, the family of Hand-made Burnished Wares is more varied. Besides Arslantepe, Tepecik is the only site that shows in the ceramic assemblage a similar network of local elements and elements shared with both the Anatolian and Uruk worlds, However, Tepecik has its own local peculiarities (Fig. 6).





Fig. 4 – Uruk style miniature jar found in the main room of Temple B. (photo archive MAIAO)

The relationships of the people living at Arslantepe and in the Malatya plain with other Anatolian communities were possibly boosted by the need of metal procurement (Di Nocera 2010). Moreover, a recent study on the Late Chalcolithic and EBA obsidians found at Arslantepe shows that period VI A is the moment in which the higher number of sources are represented at the site, and that they involve mainly eastern Anatolian and south Caucasian sources, in particular those of Bingöl (Mouralis et al. 2018).

At Arslantepe jars and pithoi with more or less globular shapes and short collars as well as cooking pots were realized in the so-called Hand-made Common Ware. The Common Ware shares the use of similar raw materials with the Hand-made Burnished Wares, but in the Common Ware burnishing is not consistent, pastes are usually coarser, and firing is much more simple. This group is peculiar of Arslantepe. Moreover, if we look at the large storage containers at Uruk sites, these are largely featured with constricted necks and spouts are not uncommon. Bottles form a large bulk of storage containers and their shape makes them easy to move and incline, and allows to stock large quantities of drinks also in limited spaces. The Arslantepe *pithoi* could reach 200/300 liters in capacity and might have been used to store both dry but also semi-liquids erosive contents, as the analysis of surface alterations suggests (D'Anna 2019). A group of pots used to cook shares the same technological and some morphological features with these storage containers, but are well distinguishable on the basis of surface alterations (D'Anna, Jauss 2015). Moreover, at Arslantepe there are yes at least two or three *pithoi* that have been occasionally used for cooking large quantities of food.

Cooking pots similar to those of Arslantepe were found at Hasek Höyük. It is what Helwing defines as *häusliche Produktion* (2002: 76-78). For the Uruk world, we knew basically only that the strap handle jars were used as cooking pots. Indeed, the work of Carolin Jauss on Uruk materials from the Susiana showed that here there was not a specific cooking ware but she found out that surface alterations coherent with cooking occur also on some everted rim jars: they were always considered as storage containers but actually were used also for cooking (D'Anna, Jauss 2015: 70-74; Jauss 2018). From what is exposed at the Pergamon Museum in Berlin we can assume that the inhabitants of Habuba Kabira on the Middle Euphrates, the Uruk colony by definition, cooked in bag-shaped pots with short collar and large mouth apparently made in a specific cooking ware, very different from the Uruk plain simple ware. Without questioning the assumption that the presence of similar pottery style implies communal cultural affiliation, I would anyway underline that in everyday practices we can trace phenomena of resistance or local elaboration.



By putting together an internal diachronic view with an interregional perspective, Period VI A seems characterized by strong local features, some of them rooted in the previous period VII; but it also appears richer than period VII in elements shared with Anatolian and Mesopotamian communities. In fact, Arslantepe VI A community interacted at different levels with Anatolian and Mesopotamian centers; structural aspects are shared with the Late Uruk world, such as the increased bureaucratized control that at the Anatolian site could function through a complex sealing practice and without writing. During period VI A large storage containers and MPBs express the centralization and allocation of primary goods as well as new forms of public commensality which played an important role in the political economy of the period (D'Anna 2012). This kind of food redistribution became decontextualized from the ceremonial spheres (Frangipane 2016).

However, many local elements characterize the material culture and the social life at Arslantepe during period VI A, as some elements highlighted so-far concerning the ceramic repertoire and its use. But characteristic of Arslantepe are also the shape and organization of architecture and spaces, with the repetition of a local bipartite module and the agglutinative pattern in which buildings are arranged; the sophisticated metallurgy, unique in the late 4th mill. BCE Anatolia and Mesopotamia; the much more frequent use of stamp rather than cylindrical seals; and the stylistic elements traceable in the figurative repertoire of seals and wall paintings. As Frangipane pointed out, social complexity and economic inequality occur not in an urban context and they materialize and are constructed through practices of control over labor and primary goods in contexts disconnected from the ceremonial sphere. This ceremonial sphere, however, existed and was acted out in restricted feastings in Temple B, where lavish quantity of special foods and drinks were stocked and prepared to be then consumed in large MPBs by few persons attending in the temple and possibly shared with people waiting in the entrance room (D'Anna 2012). Power relations were also played through rigidly shaped physical interactions such as the audiences in Building 37 and the courtyard (Frangipane 2016: 10-14), in which non-elite people had to wait and then could reach only the liminal space of the building entrance to encounter at distance the member(s) of the elite. And eventually there was violence. The group of weapons – nine swords and twelve spearheads found in one building of period VI A (Frangipane, Palmieri 1983; Di Nocera 2010) – testifies to the role played by violence and its control in shaping power relations and in what can be euphemistically defined the building of consensus.

As a matter of facts, the archaeology of 4th mill. BCE South-West Asia has been long centered within the borders of the 'cradle of civilization'. To work on Arslantepe period VI A helps challenging this mental map by substantially broadening it to central, northern and eastern Anatolia up to the south Caucasian regions. Moreover, the large data sets concerning the Late Chalcolithic period from Arslantepe allow us a strong close up on Arslantepe itself and in-depth analyses. The ceramic production of period VI A offers not the sole but surely a good playground in which we can follow these two research lines; we then gain a balanced picture in which local processes of persistence and change as well as composite interactions with other communities shaped Arslantepe material culture and social life at the end of the 4th mill. BCE.





Fig. 5 – Fragment of Monochrome Burnished Ware jar with a pierced nose lug. (photo archive MAIAO)

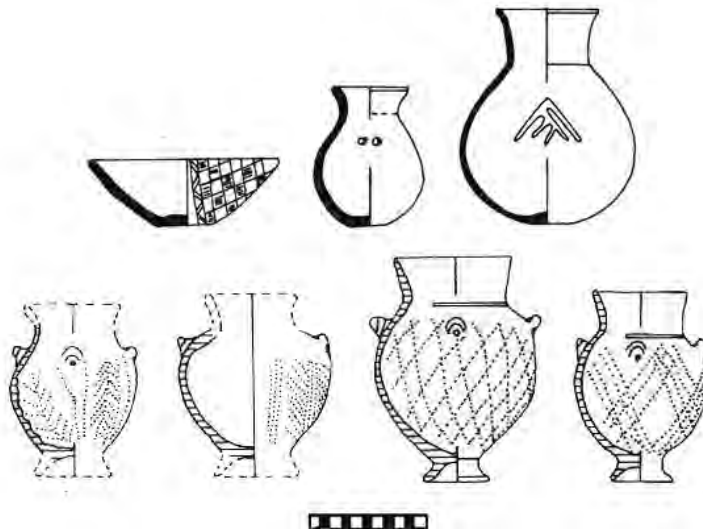


Fig. 6 – Black Burnished (top) and light-colored (bottom) ceramics from Tepecik, Altınova. (Esin 1972)

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GLYPTIC ART FROM ARSLANTEPE: INTERREGIONAL STYLES, IMPORTED SEALS AND LOCAL SEALS

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GLYPTIC ART FROM ARSLANTEPE: INTERREGIONAL STYLES, IMPORTED SEALS AND LOCAL SEALS

HOLLY PITTMAN

To begin I would like to thank the organizing committee for the invitation to participate in the symposium and the publication of its proceedings celebrating the important work of Prof. Marcella Frangipane at the site of Arslantepe. It has been a distinct honor for me to be a member of the Arslantepe team joining the project more than twenty years ago. My job has been to study the visual arts, primarily glyptic, from the point of view of imagery, coordinating with the functional and stratigraphic studies undertaken by others. Consistent with my interests, I have focused on locating Arslantepe's glyptic imagery within the larger visual universe of its proximate and more distant neighbors. What I present here is an overview of the relations Arslantepe as seen through glyptic imagery which allow us to compare these traces of interaction with that seen in the ceramics as presented by Dr. Francesca Balossi.

Seals, stamps for the most part at Arslantepe, are small objects made from durable materials, usually stone but also bone or wood. From their first appearance in northern Syria and Central Anatolia in the late Neolithic period, seals were carved on their flat bezels with distinctive designs, at first geometric and later animals, usually horned caprids and humanoid figures (Von Wickede 1990). The first and most important use of seals during this early phase was to make impressions of their carved designs in soft clay that had been squeezed around rope that secured coverings over the mouths of jars or that closed baskets or secured door locks. After the seal impression was made, and the clay had subsequently dried, the distinctive mark preserved in the clay served to protect the container or the room from unauthorized opening (Ferioli and Fiandra 1983).

Communities in which writing did not exist frequently used pictures, whether abstract or figural, whether painted on pottery or walls, or rendered as sculpture or engraved on seal stones, as articulate expressions of the shared interests. An interesting topic to investigate is how these early communities distinguished themselves from their neighbors through imagery. Are certain images found only at one site, while others are shared with near or more far distant ones? What accounts for the similarity or difference between the imagery carved on seals? While most of the paintings and sculptures have long disappeared, the impressions of seals carried on virtually indestructible clay masses preserve visual marks that were used both within and between ancient communities to establish identity and communicate information vital for the political economy and religious beliefs. While it is often impossible for us to know the precise meaning of ancient imagery in

the absence of texts, we can be certain that both the subject of the seal and the way it is rendered will inform us about ancient users and the particular administrative structure of the local political economy (Pittman 2001, 2007, 2013)

The vast majority of clay sealings found at Late Chalcolithic sites were made locally as part of a system of internal site-based administration of the distribution commodities (Pittman and Blackman 2016). If impressions are made locally, why do some seals look very similar to others from far away sites while others are only found regionally or are more restricted to only one or two sites? If goods are not moving, what is? Either seals move, or craftspeople move, or ideas in the form of new images and techniques of carving move, passed along chains of human communication. In the Late Chalcolithic probably all three modes of transmission combined to explain the variety and similarity of seals over far flung distances (Fig. 1).

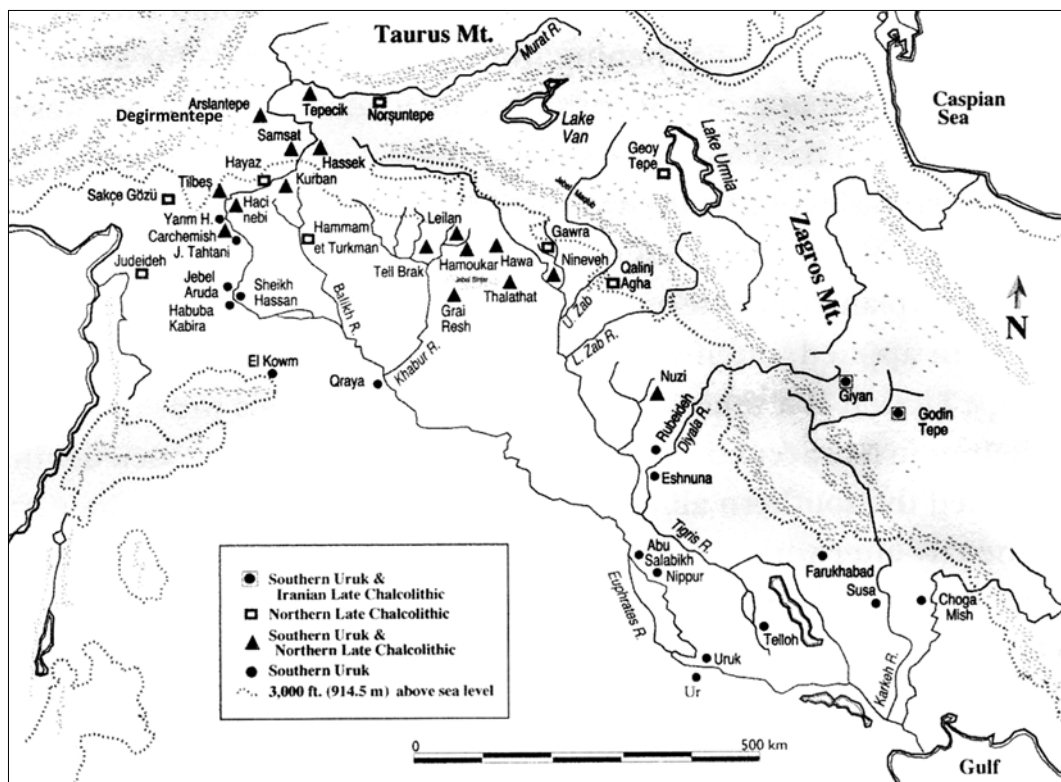


Fig. 1. Map of the region with important sites

Although further study is necessary, based on initial examination of the new glyptic evidence from Level VII at Arslantepe, it seems evident that the enduring local styles and iconographies so clearly manifest in Level VIA were developed earlier at the site and they continued in use until the end of the administrative use of seals with the collapse of the palace economy at the end of Level VIA (Pittman 2007, 2012). At the same time, types of seals well known from outside were also used at the site. To judge from the limited publication of glyptic art from the nearby site of Degirmentepe (Esin 1983, 1985), it seems obvious that sources for the local tradition documented at Arslantepe will be found at that site, only 24 km away.

As we learned from Francesca Balossi's paper on the ceramics, the larger world of the Late Chalcolithic era saw considerable interregional interaction and social/political evolution. From



the vantage point of the glyptic from Level VII, the zone of interaction extended along the north and east to include the region of the Keban Dam and is visible at sites such as Norsuntepe and Tepecik. From there it followed the mountain passes along the headwaters of the Tigris down to Nineveh and Tepe Gawra on the northeastern Mesopotamian plain. To the southwest, connections to the Amuq plain followed the east side of the Taurus mountains, while directly east, across the Jezira of northern Mesopotamia, similar seal types are known from Hacinebi, Tell Brak and Hamoukar.

During the palace period VIA, such vibrant contact with the Jezira can no longer be detected through the glyptic although it is visible in the ceramics. Rather strong connections continued with communities on the Amuq plain and with the urban centers in southern Mesopotamia, or more likely their outposts on the Middle Euphrates at Habuba Kibira and Jebel Aruda (Pittman 2007).

Degirmentepe

The earliest evidence for the administrative use of seals in the region has been found at Degirmentepe, a small site about 24 km north of Arslantepe. Alongside geometric patterns, a local X-ray style was developed (Fig. 2.1). The X-ray style does not persist and very few examples are known outside of Degirmentepe. Together with this local style, many seals carrying images of horned caprids and humanoids were found at Degirmentepe (Fig. 2.2). These designs are best known from the site of Tepe Gawra (Tobler 1950, Rothman 2002, 2009) but are also represented throughout the Jezira in smaller numbers. The glyptic from Degirmentepe is earlier than Level VII at Arslantepe and is the earliest evidence to date on the Malatya plain for the use of glyptic and administration technologies. The image traditions invented and developed at Degirmentepe will, with study, I believe be shown to be the regional basis for what continues in later levels at Arslantepe. What this means is that from the beginning of seal use in administrative context, the Malatya plain was one locus of glyptic and administrative innovation. This is similar to what is known from Tepe Gawra in the east, where glyptic was used from the Late Neolithic levels on.

Arslantepe VIII

Somewhat later than Degirmentepe, Level VIII Arslantepe is, so far, the earliest to produce glyptic at the site (Balossi-Restelli 2012). Three seals, and apparently some impressions, were found in a domestic occupation, marking a transformation in the society toward an administratively controlled economy. Two seals are bone. One is an amulet carved in the shape of a bird with a snake engraved on the bezel (Fig. 2.3), while the other is a rectangular shape with a stick figure image on the bezel (Fig. 2.4). Two others are stone, one circular and the other rhomboidal. Both carry incised abstract images. The designs of the stone seals are commonly found at Degirmentepe and other sites, while the bone seals are so far unique.

Arslantepe VII early levels

Period VII at Arslantepe is contemporary with the beginning of the expansion of the southern Uruk communities to the north sometime around 3400 BCE (Frangipane 2003, 2010). There is good evidence during this period in the Jezira at Tell Brak, Hamoukar and Tepe Gawra on the Tigris river as well as Hacinebi Tepe for administrative systems using stamp seals that are functionally identical to those found at Arslantepe (Pittman 2012). In all cases they were used to control redistribution by a central authority on a periodic basis within the context of communal feasting.





Fig. 2: 1. Ancient impressions of X-ray style stamp seals, Degirmentepe; 2. Stamp seal carved with image of horned quadruped, Degirmentepe; 3. Seal-Amulet in the shape of a bird, Bone, Arslantepe VIII; 4. Rectangular stamp seal with abstract image of a figures, bone, Arslantepe Period VIII; 5. Stamp seal in red stone and modern impression. Length 3 cm. Toothed border surrounded a horned quadruped, Arslantepe Period VII (after Frangipane 2004:182 n. 26); 6. Irregularly shaped stamp seal with a feline *tete beche* with a horned quadruped, bone, Arslantepe Period VII; 7. Hemispherical stamp seal carved with figure of feline with bird above, Arslantepe Period VII.



Arslantepe VII is a long period with a number of distinct levels. While there is not yet evidence in the form of clay sealings in the early phases of VII for the administrative use of seals, at least four actual seals found in those levels indicating the existence of seal production and use. One is a gabled shaped stamp seal with the image of a caprid surrounded by a toothed border (Fig. 2.5). This is a very distinctive seal type that has a wide distribution having been found at Tepe Gawra, Hawa, Norsuntepe, and Tell Zeidan, all sites in the Jezira. Given the dominant presence of this type in the Jezira, as well as the fact that it is until now unique at Arslantepe, it is likely that this seal was imported from a site where the type was used to make impressions on closing devices.

The other seals from early Level VII however are most likely local products. Neither their style nor their iconography exhibit influence from outside. Further, the two figural examples mark the first appearance of similar images subsequently used in administration, either in the temple complex of Level VII as well as in the subsequent Palace Level VIA. One is a bone seal that carries a design of a whorl of felines spinning around the edge of the seal with their legs in toward the center (Fig. 3.6). In the last level of Level VII, from the dumps in Temple C and D, this highly distinctive composition was frequently used on seal designs preserved through impressions and it continue into the following palace period where the inward facing animal whorl is the most common compositional type.

The second seal found in earlier levels of Level VII is a hemispherical seal carved from black stone (Fig. 2.7). On its flat bezel is carved a stick figure feline with a raised tail, two prominent ears and an open mouth. In the lecture presented at the symposium, Dr. Mehmet Özdoğan showed an identical seal from Degirmentepe. Remarkably, an impression of a very similar seals carved with in a similar stick style was found in the palace period in A809. The persistence of this distinctive image type over almost a millennium is remarkable.

Arslantepe VII Temple C and D

The combined assemblage of seals from Temple C and D consists of about fifty individual seals carried on hundreds of impressions (Frangipane, in press; Mezzasalma 2011) The diverse body of seals in the temple dumps indicates that in addition to the local styles discussed above that were developed in the early phase of Level VII, more new imagery was needed for the explosion of administrative activity. Images and perhaps seals themselves were borrowed from the outside. To judge from the sealings, the administrators of Temples C and D were in contact with communities to the east, adapting and borrowing the visual forms attested at Hacinebi, Brak and Hamoukar. A final study of the seal imagery and its comparanda must be done before any definitive conclusions can be drawn about the patterns of interactions reflected in the glyptic art.

Perhaps the most remarkable image is of a female figure clearly identifiable by the clear denotation of her breasts (Fig. 3.1). She wears a skirt and is surrounded by snakes finds a comparable type of image in an earlier level at Gawra. An equally monumental image of a male dominates a worker on a seal from Tepe Gawra and from Tell Brak a heroic figure battles a lion.

Another, quite different, image of a human, most probably a male, was found in the Temple C and D dump (Fig. 3.2). It is unique to Arslantepe VII and is the beginning of a figural type that continues into the VIA palace period. The image is a stick figure with raised hands with splayed fingers flanked on each side by a rotating feline. In style it reminds of the stick figure horned animal seen on the stamp seal from the earlier level from Level VII.





Fig. 3: 1. Ancient impression of a large female wearing a skirt surrounded by two snakes. Room A850, close to Temple C/D, Arslantepe Period VII. height 7 cm. (after Frangipane 2004:37); 2. Ancient impression of a stamp seal with image of male figure arms raised surrounded by two felines, Temple C/D, Arslantepe Period VII; 3. Ancient impression of a rectangular stamp seal with images of horned quadrupeds tete beche, small animals in the field, Temple C/D, Arslantepe Period VII; 4. Ancient impression of a square stamp seal carved with two dogs(?) one above the other, Temple C/D, Arslantepe Period VII; 5. Ancient impression of a square stamp seal carved with stacked felines, Temple C/D Arslantepe Period VII; 6. Three ancient impressions of a rectangular stamp seal carved with schematic stacked felines, Arslantepe Period VII; 7. Impression of a triangular seal with very small animals (lions?), Arslantepe Period VII; 8. Ancient impression of a square stamp seal carved with stamp pin the shape of an animal, Temple C/D, Arslantepe Period VII; 9. Ancient impression of a square stamp seal carved with double volute, K680, length 3.5 cm., Arslantepe Period VII (after frangipane ed 2010:33 Fig. II:6d); 10. Ancient impression on a clay tag from Building 37 (Audience Building), Arslantepe Period VIA (copyright of drawings and photo: MAIAO, Sapienza University of Rome, drawings by T. D'Este; photos by R. Ceccacci).



Numerous impressions of rectangular stamp seals carry images of pairs of identical quadrupeds, either horned goats, or felines, or perhaps dogs. These animals are arranged either "tete beche" with heads facing opposite directions (Fig 3.3) or they can be stacked one on top of the other facing in opposite directions (Fig 3.4). This composition is common in Temples C and D and is well represented among the seals found in the Eye Temple at Tell Brak. An additional example is known from Norsuntepe. Another common composition from Temple C are rectangular stamp seals carved with small felines stacked in vertical rows (Fig 3.5-6). They are common at Arslantepe while at other sites they are rare and are never as regular. However, one particular variation on the stack showing animals carved in a cursory gouged style occurs only once in Temple C and D, while it is common at Brak among the seals from the grey brick stratum.

A style type well known from the Palace period that I have called "the round line style" (Pittman 2007) first appears in Temple C and D (Fig. 3.8). It becomes the most common style of carving in the later Palace period, frequently used on seals showing reversed animals. This is certainly a local style and a favorite composition for both horned quadrupeds and felines. I am familiar only with the single example from Hassek Höyük and one from among the published sealings from Hamoukar. The distinctive shape of the line must have been made by a new type of carving tool with a rounded rather than pointed gouging edge. It would be interesting to examine an actual seal carved in this style in order to see if tool marks could help in the reconstruction of the tool shape.

Snakes are commonly depicted on seals from Temple C and D, as they are at other sites in the Jezira including Hacinebi, Brak, and Gawra. Snakes continue to be prominent in the glyptic of the Palace period at Arslantepe, now clearly integrated into the local symbolic system.

Only one example of an impression of a seal carrying a "helter skelter" arrangement of very small animals on a triangular was found in Arslantepe VII (Fig. 3.7). This is a composition that is very well documented both at Tell Brak and at Hacinebi Tepe. The same distribution is true for stamps having the shape of an animal. This can be detected through the impression an irregular outline for the stamp. This example from Temple C and D is unique (Fig. 3.8) while this type is found in large numbers at Tell Brak both as seals and ancient impressions. The double volute design (Fig. 3.9) carried on several of the seals used to impress administrative devices found in Temple C and D points to a different direction. The image certainly has its center of its use in the Amuq region where it is carried both on contemporary stamp seals and on cylinder seals of the following Late Uruk period. Interestingly, it does not appear again at Arslantepe during the Palace period although there are numerous other close relations between the two regions.

Arslantepe Palace VIA

By the time of the Level VIA Palace, the results of recent excavations in Level VII show that the image repertory had long been established (Frangipane et alia 2007). The thousands of discarded sealings found in the two stairway deposits were used in an elaborate system of food distribution in exchange for labor or commodities. The system is fundamentally the same as was in place in Level VII but the nature of the institution controlling it was changed. No longer was the system administered from a central temple institution which practiced regular redistribution through the practice of feasting (Helwing 2003). Now the system was located in the palace, removed from the temple context, and was apparently no longer associated with periodic feasting. It served to control the regular issuance of rations in the form of prepared foods to workers who served in the palace community and depended on the institution for their daily sustenance.



As this chart illustrating the individual seals designs found in the main dumps in the Palace shows, there was variety in style and iconography within this very large corpus, the conventions of representation are consistent and coherent (Figs. 4-5). Among these seals, whether stamps or cylinders, only a very small number stand out as possibly being from an external source. For example, the range of variation in animal imagery was based on solutions first seen in the earlier Temple C and D period where the round line style originated. Similarly, animals rendered in a more volumetric style also first appear in their circular compositions in Temple C and D.




















































Rank in Hierarchy	Naturalistic Style Tête-Bêche Homed quad, Lions, Bulls	Schematic Style Tête-Bêche Homed quadrupeds	Alone	Modigliani Seal	Fantastic Homed Creature
1st Rank	 22	 28		 34	
2nd Rank		 29			
3rd Rank	 79  24  23  25  18  49	 65  67  92  102		 78  73  72  52  74	
4th Rank	 124  16  50  53  51  123	 77  19  46  118  117  30  120  125  94  89  48  44  83  66  82  99  41  116  47  75  43	 35  69  88  101  68		

Fig. 4: Chart from Frangipane et al 2007, fig. III.68.























































Rank in Hierarchy	Dog Alone	Tête Bêche Mirror	Birds Waterfowl Birds of Prey	Snake Knot	Human	Cylinders		Geometric	
1st Rank				 61	 15				
2nd Rank	 40		 64			 2	 10		
3rd Rank		 42  33				 6  4	 5		
4th Rank	 39  114  119  38  36  100	 37  81  107  106  63	 31  26  62  106  63	 97  56  57  55	 59  60  45  58	 14  11  12  13	 1  111  3  127	 9  112  7  8	 70  71  85  95  98

Fig. 5: Chart from Frangipane et al 2007, fig. III.69.

A new cylindrical shaped seal appears for the first time in the Palace dumps. This distinctive shape is certainly introduced from the outside where it is typical of the Uruk culture of southern Mesopotamia. The style of the dozen cylinder seals from Arslantepe can be closely compared to seals found at sites in the Amuq valley which were certainly inspired by the Late Uruk examples known from the colony sites such as Habuba Kibira. Details of their carving make it clear that they were locally made in the plain. This is true as well of the Arslantepe cylinders. The close correspondence of their imagery with that seen in the stamp seals insists that we must understand them as produced at the site for local administrative needs. products.

Only a few of the seals from the palace display imagery that certainly originated in the South. For example men carrying the shared bundle on a stick, or the paramount ruler in



the sledge, or the intricate snake interlace. As Frangipane has frequently published, these images were selected because of their association with the foreign power elite.

There is clear evidence of interaction with regions beyond the valley visible only through a very small number of impressions that were certainly made by imported seals. Three impressions found in the Palace dump find no comparison at Arslantepe, but are closely similar to seals and impressions found at colony sites like Habuba Kibira. Were the seals imported and used in the palace or were commodities controlled by these seals brought in from outside?

To conclude, it is worthwhile to consider two tag sealings that I believe certainly came from the outside, on packages sent from an Uruk center or colony. The one is a tag found in Temple B. This temple is closely associated with the reception and banquet area of Building 37. And the other, even better preserved, was found close to one of the windows separating the throne base from the banquet hall (Fig. 3.10). Is it possible that some powerful elites arriving from afar on a diplomatic or trading mission came bearing gifts, marked by a tag dangling from the secured opening? Only more research, including the neutron activation analysis of these tags, will be able to confirm if such an interpretation is true.



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FOOD-RELATED PRACTICES IN LATE 4TH MILLENNIUM BCE IRAN AND MESOPOTAMIA: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

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FOOD-RELATED PRACTICES IN LATE 4TH MILLENNIUM BCE IRAN AND MESOPOTAMIA: A COMPARATIVE PERSPECTIVE

SUSAN POLLOCK

The 4th millennium in western Asia is known among archaeologists as a time when the first states and urban societies emerged, consolidated, and in some cases disintegrated. This characterization is based primarily on research on Mesopotamia and the neighboring lowlands of southwestern Iran. But as the work of Marcella Frangipane and her team in Arslantepe has so clearly demonstrated, there was not one single parallel line of development everywhere; rather, varying paths were taken in an interconnected world characterized by multitudinous contacts and interactions of different sorts.

In this paper I focus on the later part of the 4th mill. BCE in Iran, a region that has been less intensively researched than Mesopotamia. Both the lowland regions in the southwest and the highlands – the mountains and the high central plateau of Iran – were connected in varying ways to Mesopotamia and the developments that took place there, but this was by no means a march in lock-step with the lowland regions to the west.

Iran is a huge and varied region of which I can only offer a brief glimpse here. My focus is on the Proto-Elamite period, a relatively brief epoch at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 3rd mill. BCE. It is generally understood to follow, but also partly overlap temporally with Late Uruk / LC 5 as well as with the Jemdet Nasr period in Mesopotamia (Dittmann 1986; Petrie 2013a). However, the chronology remains rather coarse and is dogged by the existence of a plateau in the radiocarbon calibration curve at just the place where Proto-Elamite radiocarbon dates typically fall.

Proto-Elamite

The term Proto-Elamite was first used by Jean-Vincent Scheil in his 1905 publication of clay tablets recovered from excavations on the Acropole at Susa. Scheil noted that some of these tablets were written in a theretofore unknown script. With the name Proto-Elamite, he made clear that he saw these as the predecessors of later texts written in the Elamite language (Scheil 1905; Abdi 2003). Although it is more or less unanimously agreed today that there is no evidence for a linguistic connection between Proto-Elamite and later Elamite texts, the name has remained firmly embedded in the literature.

The Proto-Elamite script is the earliest known writing in Iran. Unlike in Mesopotamia, where proto-cuneiform underwent a developmental sequence resulting in what we today refer to as cuneiform, writing on the Iranian Plateau seems to have been abandoned for hundreds of years following the brief use of Proto-Elamite, until it was reintroduced or

reinvented at the end of the 3rd millennium. Proto-Elamite remains largely untranslated. To date the numerical systems are well understood, as they are basically the same as those used in proto-cuneiform, but otherwise only the general tenor of the texts has been deciphered, enough to know what individual texts are about but not to read them in all of their detail (Damerow, Englund 1989; Dahl 2009).

Although Proto-Elamite was at the start identified solely on the basis of a script and the presumed language behind it, archaeologists subsequently began to pay attention to other forms of material culture associated with the tablets (Amiet 1972: 109; Abdi 2003). These include distinctive styles of seals and seal motifs, especially the so-called glazed steatite seals and seals with images of animals acting as humans (Amiet 1972: 108–169, Pl. 19–28; Pittman 1994) as well as particular types of ceramics, especially bichrome or polychrome painted jars, jars with nose lugs, low trays, and goblets with distinctive bases (figs. 1–2). At least some of these attributes seem to disappear together with the end of writing at what is defined as the end of the Proto-Elamite period.

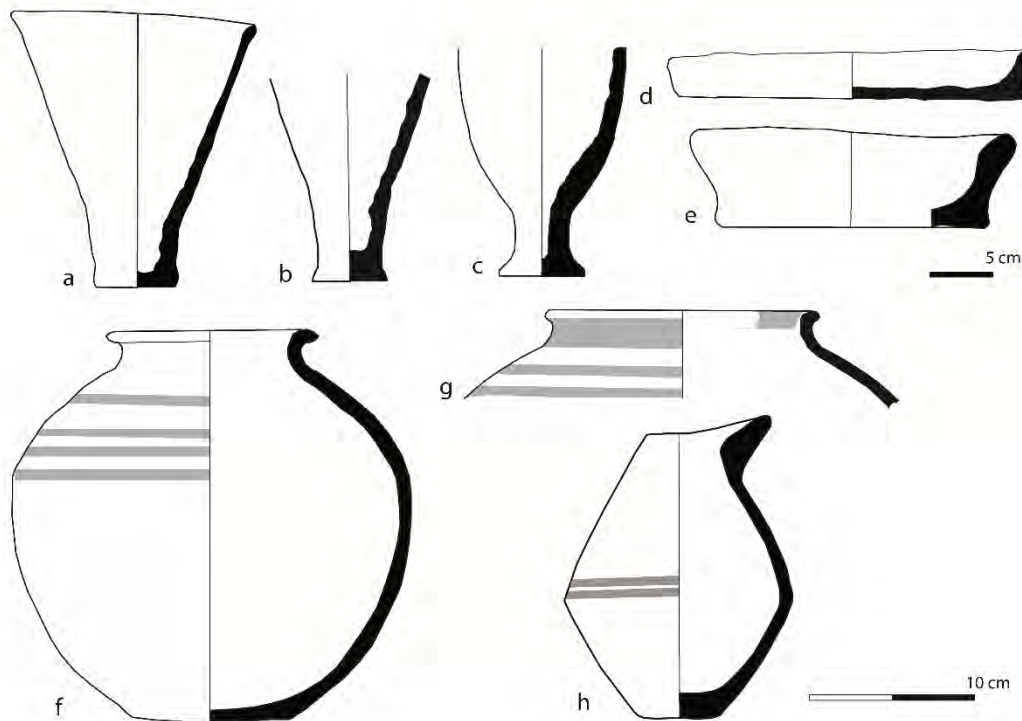


Fig 1. Characteristic Proto-Elamite pottery forms: a-c: goblets (after Sumner 2003: fig. 22 r; Nicholas 1990: pl. 13 u; Le Brun 1971: fig. 60, 3); d-e: trays (after Sumner 2003: fig. 23, a; Le Brun 1971: fig. 60, 16); f-g: bichrome painted jars (Nicholas 1990: pl. 19, g; Le Brun 1971: fig. 63, 1); h: biconical painted jar with trough spout (after Helwing 2011: fig. 26, 136).



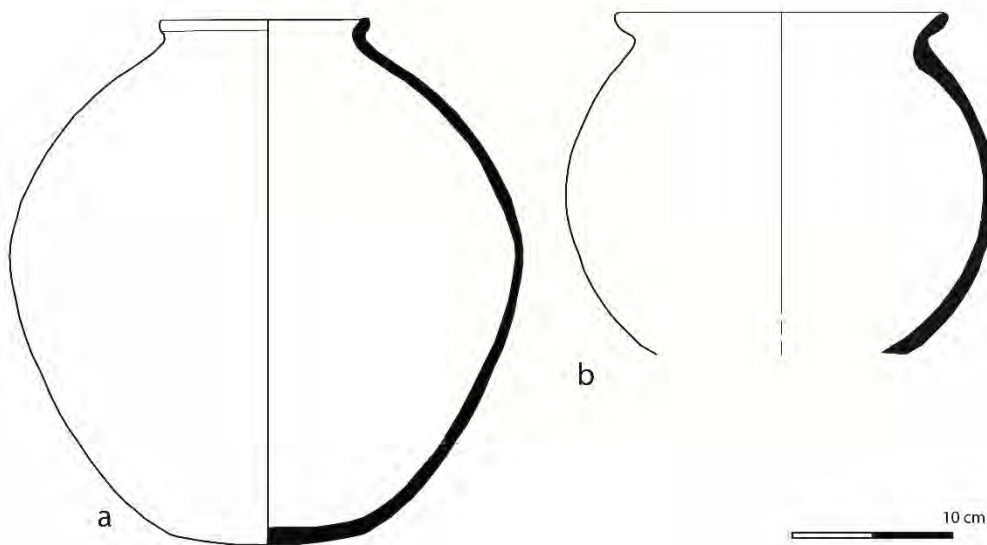


Fig 2. Proto-Elamite wide-bodied jars (after Carter 1980: fig. 8, 2; Le Brun 1971: fig. 62, 1).

The geographical distribution of the aforementioned characteristics is very large. It encompasses mainly the Iranian highlands, both Zagros mountain valleys and the central plateau, extending to Baluchistan in the southeast but also to the lowlands of Khuzestan in southwestern Iran (fig. 3). Importantly, according to our current state of knowledge, this distribution is a highly dispersed one, with discrete centers as well as large areas in between where little, if anything, is known – or in some cases where there were apparently local or independent traditions (Petrie 2013b).

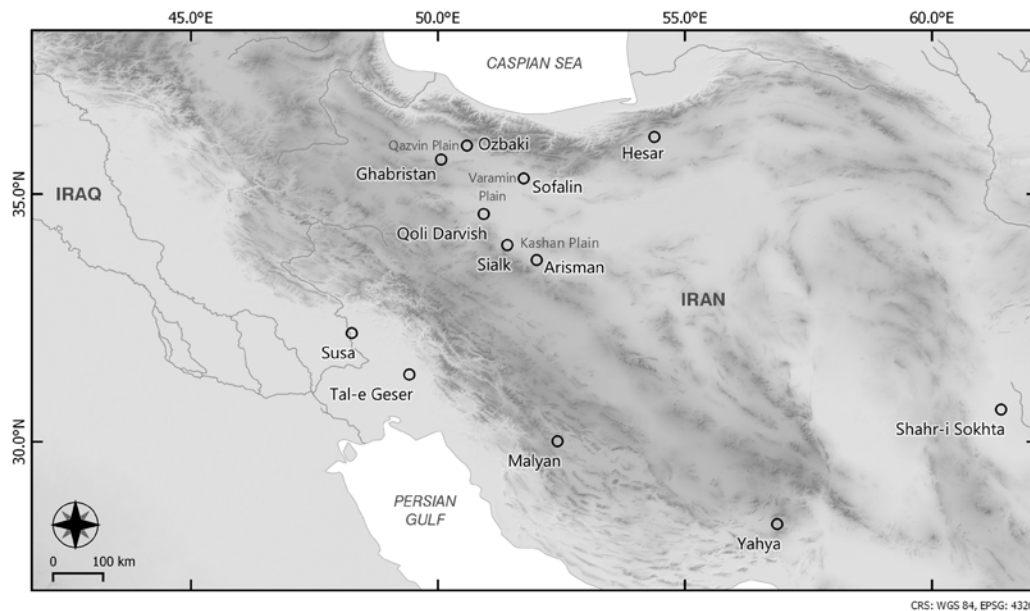


Fig 3. Map of Iran with the locations of major Proto-Elamite sites. Data sources: topography - Global Multi-resolution Terrain Elevation Data 2010 (GMTED2010); hydrography - www.naturalearthdata.com. Map prepared by Nolwen Rol.



The distinctive characteristics of Proto-Elamite, its wide geographical spread, its puzzling disappearance, and the apparent decline in settlement in many regions following the end of Proto-Elamite have led to a range of hypotheses in efforts to explain these phenomena. Much of the focus has been placed on the writing system together with the seals and sealings as indications of a developed administrative apparatus. What was administered is the question; many scholars have argued that long-distance exchange involving materials such as copper and semi-precious stones was a - if not the - crucial driving force (Alden 1982; Helwing 2004; Matthews, Fazeli 2004; Weeks 2013). This postulate is based on the observation that copper-based metallurgy evinces a marked intensification around this time, as clearly evident, for example, in the excavations of 4th millennium contexts at Arisman et alii 2011). Furthermore, materials such as lapis lazuli are increasingly reported from excavated sites in Iran as well as Mesopotamia (Herrmann 1968; Casanova 2013). Nonetheless, other scholars have noted that Proto-Elamite texts concentrate rather on issues of livestock, agriculture, and labor and do not seem to mention exotic materials (Damerow, Englund 1989; Lamberg-Karlovsky et alii 1989; Dahl et alii 2013: 365), which would be odd if they were central to the state administration. At least one archaeologist has suggested that the administrative apparatus was largely a veneer with little impact on most people's everyday lives (Saeedi Chaharbaghi 2015).

Other scholars have followed an idea originally developed by Joseph Caldwell for the Hopewell tradition of eastern North America. The Proto-Elamite phenomenon is interpreted as a material manifestation of an interaction sphere, in which connections among distinct societies or cultures took place within particular spheres, for example in ritual contexts, and/or via specific social segments, such as elite groups or bureaucrats (Caldwell 1964; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1971; 1978).

Some scholars have focused on the decline in settlement that occurs, depending on the region, before, during and/or after Proto-Elamite times. This has been interpreted as indicating an increase in mobile pastoralism and has been equated by some observers with a tribal organization, in contrast to an urban-based society consisting of cities and their rural hinterlands. These mobile populations are thought to have played an enabling role in long-distance exchange (Sumner 1986; Wright 1987; Alizadeh 2010; Alden 2013).

Food

Here I focus on a different aspect of Proto-Elamite communities than those just sketched – their involvement in food-related practices, including the preparation, transport, distribution, and consumption of food and drink. I do so primarily through a focus on pottery vessels, in part because direct information on food-related practices through the medium of plant and animal remains is only spottily available, but also because vessels offer evidence on elements of these practices that may not otherwise be attested through direct remains. The focus on food is not simply an arbitrary choice; Proto-Elamite texts are sufficiently well understood to recognize that a large proportion of them deal with animal husbandry and cereal production, in other words with sources of food. This can be understood as an indication of the centrality of control over subsistence production and processing to the administrative system of Proto-Elamite polities (Damerow, Englund 1989; Dahl 2015). Similar observations have been made for the Late Chalcolithic society of Arslantepe and by other scholars, including the authors of this paper, for the early states of Mesopotamia (Frangipane 2010a; 2010b; Balossi Restelli et alii 2010; D'Anna 2012; 2015; D'Anna et alii 2015; Pollock 2012).

Here I pose the question of whether and to what extent Proto-Elamite pottery assemblages differed from contemporary ones in Mesopotamia in terms of their functional



repertoires. In doing so, I make the assumption that pottery vessels were used primarily for food and drink, whether for preparation, storage, transport over long distances or locally, and serving or consumption.

Pottery

How and for what pottery vessels were used can best be ascertained through a combination of analytical methods, including chemical residue analyses, use-wear studies, and morphological examination. The first two require direct access to the vessels, to take samples or to observe traces of wear that only in recent years have begun to be recorded on a systematic basis. Observations of morphology as a way to infer the basic functional characteristics of vessels, focusing on a combination of shape and size along with other attributes such as special tempers, can, however, offer a general overview of the usages to which ceramics were put and can often be undertaken on the basis of published evidence. It is this latter approach that I follow here.

To begin, it is useful to summarize briefly the general attributes of ceramic vessels that offer hints on their potential functions (Sinopoli 1991: 83–117; Skibo 1992). Open vessel forms are typically used for serving and consumption of food and drink. Those intended for serving may be more elaborately decorated or made of finer wares than vessels meant for utility purposes. Open vessel forms may also be employed in food preparation. In the latter case, they are commonly made of coarser fabric, often with thicker walls, thereby enhancing the vessel's ability to withstand mechanical stress.

Closed vessel forms are suitable for storage, including short-, medium- or long-term storage, as well as for transportation. Transportation may involve only short distances – for example, within a neighborhood – but can also include regional or even interregional movements. Closed shapes are generally preferred for dispensing liquids in a controlled fashion with the help of a neck and/or spout.

Cooking vessels come in open as well as closed forms. They are best distinguished by the presence of soot or other evidence of contact with fire, such as oxidized patches. Containers intended for use in cooking are frequently made from fabrics that contain coarse inclusions in order to counteract the thermal stress accompanying rapid heating and cooling.

Transportation: I begin with a consideration of transportation. Archaeological discussions of transportation often focus on the movement of durable goods, especially those of relatively high value and low bulk. The emphasis tends, furthermore, to be placed on movements that took place over considerable distances. This has pragmatic underpinnings, as archaeologists have, at least until recently, been best able to recover durable things and to distinguish provenience in cases where materials or objects are most clearly dissimilar from one another. Nonetheless, it is quite likely that goods were frequently transported over short or medium distances. Such movements could have more easily accommodated the circulation of objects and materials that were higher in bulk and lower in value, including but not limited to food and beverages and the raw materials – plant and animal products – that were processed to produce them.

The late 4th millennium BCE is a particularly interesting time in terms of the history of transportation in western Asia, as it is then that domesticated donkeys appear (Payne 1988; Benecke 2011). Donkeys can be used as pack animals, offering one of the first replacements for, or at least supplements to, the human back. This was a crucial development, especially in places such as the Iranian plateau and surrounding highlands where – unlike in Mesopotamia – there are few if any possibilities for riverine transportation. Nonetheless, transportation via donkey would have remained relatively



slow and limited in comparison to the down-river movements that were feasible on the Tigris, Euphrates, and their branches and tributaries. Donkeys can carry approximately 50-60 kg per animal, and they must be fed and watered along the way (<https://www.ed.ac.uk/files/imports/fileManager/donkey%20fact%20sheet.pdf>).

Among the characteristic vessel forms of the Late Uruk period in Mesopotamia are bottles, typically tall and narrow-bodied with very narrow necks and mouth openings (fig. 4: c, d). Their shape makes them suitable for stacking and packing in a space-efficient way, and their narrow openings are amenable to relatively easy closure with the use of clay stoppers (Le Brun 1971: fig. 56: 4-6; Le Brun 1978: fig. 34: 16-19; Delougaz, Kantor 1996: Pl. 32, A, B, 130). In Proto-Elamite assemblages vessels of this kind as well as their associated clay stoppers are rare (but see Carter 1980: fig. 19: 1-4). Instead, much like other jars in Late Uruk assemblages, Proto-Elamite jar forms tend to be wide-bodied and have large-diameter mouths (figs. 1, f, g, 2). Closing such vessels to protect the contents or prevent them from spilling could have been done by means of cloth or leather that was tied around the neck with string and then sealed by use of clay sealings – *cretulae* – placed at the rim or over a knot at the top (Frangipane 2007). Unlike Uruk bottles, these containers and their closures would have been less well suited for holding liquids or for their transportation. As far as can be judged by published quantitative information, spouts appear less often in Proto-Elamite ceramic assemblages than in Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr pottery repertoires, with the apparent exception of Arisman and Sialk, where so-called biconical pitchers with trough spouts are said to be a typical form (Helwing 2011: 204; fig. 1, h). One might therefore suggest that there were different ways of dealing with liquids in Proto-Elamite communities, especially in terms of their potential transport over longer distances, in comparison to those of the Uruk and Jemdet Nasr-period Mesopotamian world. That in turn may be an indication that in Mesopotamia there were high-value liquids such as beer and perhaps wine which were not present in Proto-Elamite contexts.

Another vessel form that may have been well suited for transporting its contents is the so-called nose-lugged jar. Identified by the presence of four pierced lugs located on their shoulders, these vessels come in a variety of shapes and sizes, but tend to be relatively squat, with a pronounced shoulder or carination and low neck. On the basis of a study of nose-lugged vessels from the Uruk-period site of Sheikh Hassan in the middle Euphrates Valley in Syria, Friederike Bachmann (2011) has argued that the lugs were probably used as aids in vessel transportation – not as a means from which to hang the vessels, for which the lugs are too fragile, but rather to fasten them in a net or similar enclosure. Late Uruk cylinder seals include scenes in which vessels in net-like coverings are shown suspended from a pole that is carried by two people (Amiet 1972: Pl. 13bis, D, Pl. 120: 1609). Unlike the tall Uruk bottles with their restricted temporal and spatial distribution, nose-lugged vessels are found in Middle and Late Uruk, Jemdet Nasr, and Proto-Elamite contexts. Whatever exactly they held, it seems clear that their contents were different from those transported in bottles and that these items were valued in both Proto-Elamite and Late Uruk traditions.

Although I have highlighted the transportation possibilities afforded by bottles and nose-lugged vessels, both vessel categories were also well suited for use as storage containers.



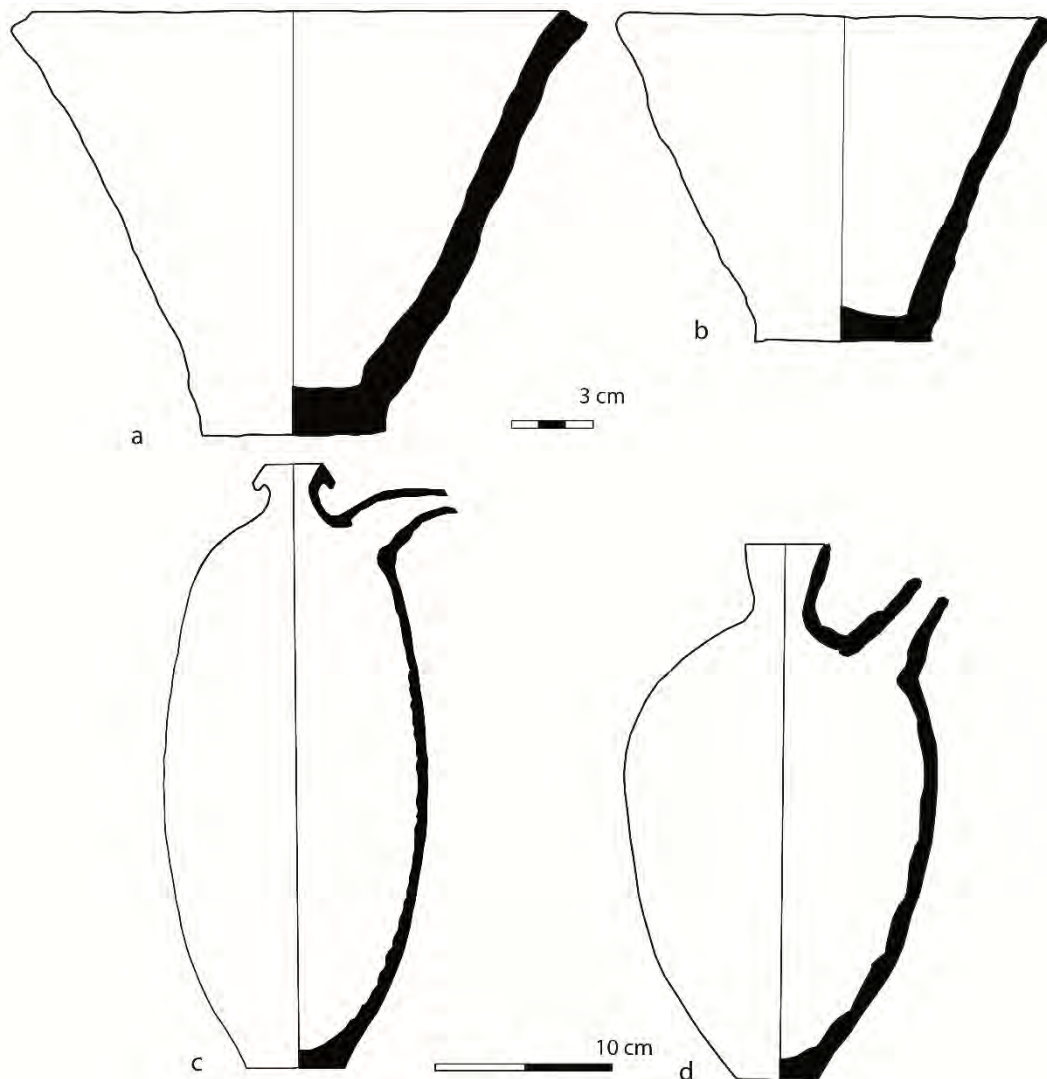


Fig 4. Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr pottery: a-b coarse conical bowls (Uruk Mound, Abu Salabikh, project archives); c-d bottles (after Le Brun 1978: Fig. 30, 14; Matthews 2002: Fig. 24, 4).

Large-scale distribution of food and drink: Much has been written about the appearance of mass-produced vessels in the 4th millennium and their use in large-scale distributions of food and/or drink in connection with labor mobilization. Beveled rim bowls are the best-known and most widely distributed of these early mass-produced vessel forms, first appearing in the early 4th millennium and continuing to be made and used throughout the Uruk period. Most scholars accept the proposal made by Hans Nissen nearly 50 years ago that the beveled rim bowl was a vehicle for the centralized disbursement of food (or drink) to workers (Nissen 1970). These vessels are also found – albeit in notably reduced quantities – in Jemdet Nasr as well as in Proto-Elamite contexts, for example, at Malyan (Sumner 2003: 43, 46), Susa (Le Brun 1971: 192), or Arisman (Helwing 2011: 197–199, 215).

Far more common in Jemdet Nasr and Proto-Elamite times, however, are other mass-produced bowls (figs. 1, a-c; 4, a-b). In the case of Jemdet Nasr occupations in Mesopotamia,



these take the form of tall coarse conical bowls, referred to as *Blumentöpfe* in the German literature (Nissen 1970; Pollock 1990; Matthews 2002). Their Proto-Elamite counterparts have been dubbed goblets (Helwing 2011). Interestingly, the goblets occur in large quantities in some regions, especially in Malyan and the Kur River Basin in southern Iran, but in much more limited numbers at Susa and apparently absent at Arisman, whereas beveled rim bowls and coarse conical bowls account for large proportions of Mesopotamian ceramic assemblages in the Late Uruk and Jemdet Nasr periods, respectively.

There are several differences between beveled rim bowls and these later mass-produced vessels. One of the distinctions is in their method of manufacture. Beveled rim bowls are mould-made, whereas the later forms (coarse conical bowls and Proto-Elamite goblets) are thrown on the wheel. Furthermore, the coarse conical bowls and goblets of the Jemdet Nasr and Proto-Elamite periods, respectively, have notably larger capacities than beveled rim bowls (Johnson 1973: 133–139; Pollock 1990: 66–69; Jones 1996; Sumner 2003: 47), implying a significant change in the large-scale distributions of comestibles to workers in this period. At the same time, the limited quantity of Proto-Elamite goblets at most sites implies that there was a different approach to the distribution of food to laborers that did not involve the production and discard of huge numbers of coarse bowls.

Food preparation: Cooking involves the indirect contact of food with heat mediated by a ceramic container. In Proto-Elamite ceramic assemblages there is a surprising paucity of vessels with signs of sooting or other contact with fire, one of the primary ways in which cooking vessels are identified. The situation is not everywhere the same, however – at the site of Arisman on the western edge of the Iranian Central Plateau there is a considerable quantity of so-called “local-style”, handmade cooking pots with low necks, wide mouths, and often a single, short handle (Helwing 2011: 200–201, Figs. 4, 18). At other Proto-Elamite sites, however, one looks nearly in vain for signs of cooking vessels.

This somewhat astonishing situation does not represent a major difference in comparison to Uruk sites. Uruk cooking vessels occur mostly in the form of squat jars with short necks and a single handle and frequently exhibiting sooting or oxidation on the side of the vessel opposite the handle (D’Anna, Jauß 2015: 72–73; Jauß 2018). But these vessels are neither especially common, nor could most of them hold substantial quantities of food. Carolin Jauß has suggested they may have been used for special cooking purposes, such as production of clarified butter (Jauß 2013; 2015).

Together, the limited evidence for cooking vessels, with some localized exceptions such as at Arisman, might be an indication that cooking was done in a way that did not make use of (ceramic) vessels or that it was carried out by means of installations or equipment that did not bring vessels into direct contact with fire. There may also have been frequent use of food preparation techniques that did not involve the application of heat (Pollock 2012; 2017).

Although we often conflate food preparation with cooking, the processing of plant and animal products into food involves many additional as well as alternative steps. The seemingly more common use of large, low trays (fig. 1, d-e) in Proto-Elamite sites as well as the great variety in their shapes – including oval, round, tear-drop, or roughly rectangular (Sumner 2003: 46) – in comparison to Uruk ones is likely an indication of changes in the kinds of foods that were prepared or in the ways in which this was done, even if those changes cannot be more clearly specified.



Conclusions

This discussion of pottery vessels and their use in preparing, distributing, storing, and consuming food and drink has only touched the tip of an iceberg. To pursue this line of reasoning further requires quantitatively based presentations of full pottery assemblages in order to better understand not just which kinds of vessels existed but also which shapes were common and which occurred only infrequently. At least as important are detailed region-to-region comparisons instead of the broad-brush approach I have adopted here in which I have taken the Proto-Elamite and the Mesopotamian “worlds” as units.

Nonetheless, this first attempt has shown an array of distinctions as well as similarities between food practices in the two broadly defined cultural spheres. Whereas the storage, transportation, and pouring of liquids using containers that could be easily sealed played a role in late 4th millennium Mesopotamian assemblages, these practices seem to have been of considerably less importance in Proto-Elamite contexts. In both spheres, 4-lugged vessels were used, frequently decorated with elaborate incised or painted designs, and probably served for particular forms of transportation and specific types of contents. In the case of vessels for the disbursement of food or drink in the context of centralized labor mobilizations, one sees a notable change over time – from the overwhelmingly small beveled rim bowls to goblets and conical bowls with substantially greater capacities and, in Proto-Elamite contexts, a substantial reduction in their frequency. The key to this shift most likely lies in changes in labor practices within the political economy of these early states. Turning finally to food preparation practices, there is an emphasis on the use of large open trays for food processing or preparation in the Proto-Elamite world and a minimal or at least regionally variable use of pots as cooking vessels. Cooking vessels are more frequent in Uruk contexts, although there, too, their numbers and volumes appear to be far too low to account for cooking as a daily activity in most households.

The form, frequency, and uses of pottery vessels are indications of social conditions. The comparison here suggests regional variation in “tastes”, with the Late Uruk world showing more signs of an internal differentiation between lower class workers and the monotonous food they received on the one hand, and the (likely) specialized additions, such as fermented liquids in the form of beer and heated ones (clarified butter) that may have been reserved for the elite on the other hand. These kinds of distinctions are less evident in the Proto-Elamite sphere, although one cannot assume an interregional uniformity in the absence of more detailed, localized investigations.

I would like to end by reiterating the need for well-documented stratigraphic sequences that allow us to track diachronic developments in detail, in both the Iranian and Mesopotamian contexts but also in other regions – that which is so superbly available for Late Chalcolithic Arslantepe. This kind of evidence, and detailed analyses and interpretations of it, are crucial in order to enable us to move away from unrealistic labels of “local,” “foreign,” and “contact” which have been so heavily used in archaeology and beyond. Such labels make it sound as though there were times without contact. But history is rather a matter of forms and intensities of interaction, not of simple contact or lack thereof. There were not then, any more than there are today, isolated communities or regions without connections to or “mixing” with others. Any archaeology that takes this point seriously has much to offer not just to our understanding of the past but also of the present.

Acknowledgments

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SECTION 4
LATE BRONZE AND IRON AGE AT
ARSLANTEPE AND RELATED
REGIONS



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
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FROM THE MARGIN OF THE HITTITE STATE TO THE CAPITAL
OF THE KINGDOM OF MELID: THE LATE BRONZE AND IRON
AGE DEVELOPMENTS AT ARSLANTEPE

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FROM THE MARGIN OF THE HITTITE STATE TO THE CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF MELID: THE LATE BRONZE AND IRON AGE DEVELOPMENTS AT ARSLANTEPE*

FEDERICO MANUELLI

Introduction

The article presents an updated synthesis of the whole set of archaeological activities conducted over the years at Arslantepe on the Late Bronze and Iron Age levels. It aims at comprehensively summarizing the results obtained on the field and contextualizing them into their historical framework so as to provide a coherent picture of the site's development approximately from the 17th to the 7th century BC.

The Late Bronze and Iron Age remains have been mostly unearthed on the northern sectors of the settlement (fig. 1). This fact is not accidental but is instead related to the development of the site over the centuries. In fact, the southern part of the mound was mainly occupied during the prehistoric and proto-historic periods, while the northern one grew because of the overlap with the monumental structures from the 2nd and 1st millennium BC (Frangipane, Liverani 2013: 349-352). However, investigations on the Late Bronze and Iron Age levels have been carried out alternatingly at the site. The French expedition directed by Louise Delaporte during the 1930s brought to light the remains of the famous "Lions Gate" (Delaporte 1940). It provided a clear snapshot of the monumentality of the Neo-Hittite settlement, especially due to the abundance of the published bas-reliefs. This was followed by the short-term activities conducted at the site by Claude Schaeffer, who dug a series of deep trenches underneath the gate-system and its contiguous areas (Schaeffer 1949: 342-343).

The Italian expedition started working at the site in 1961 enlarging and deepening the previous areas excavated by the French teams and unearthing a long and continuous sequence that covers the whole Late Bronze and Iron Ages (Pecorella 1975; Palmieri 1973: 65-80; Palmieri 1978; Manuelli 2013: 39-48). The beginning of the activities on the southern part of the site in 1971 led to the discovery of the astonishing Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age sequence, but on the other hand they were also an interruption of the investigations of the historical levels. Nonetheless, a significant series of Late Bronze Age domestic structures have been unearthed over the years (Palmieri 1973: 65-66; Frangipane, Palmieri 1983: 288-290; Manuelli 2013: 48-71). In 2008 a new targeted project began with the aim of finally providing answers about the development of the site

* Images from Arslantepe belong to the archive of *Missione Archeologica Italiana in Anatolia Orientale* (© MAIAO).

during the 2nd and 1st millennium BC. Investigations carried out until 2010 and again in 2015 and 2016 have been conducted in a large area next to the spot where the “Lions Gate” was discovered (Liverani 2010; Liverani 2012). An uninterrupted sequence of monumental structures that spans the period from the mid-12th to the 7th century BC has been brought to light here (Manuelli 2018: 146-150). In 2016 a new sector was opened south-east of the “gate area”, where preliminary investigations had been conducted by the Italian expedition during the 1960s (Frangipane *et alii* 2017: 83-84; Manuelli, Pittman 2018: 140-143). This new operation aims to understand the development of the inner Iron Age citadel and its relationship with the abovementioned fortified structures. The dig activities continued here in 2018 and a sequence roughly covering the late 10th to the 7th century BC has been established (Frangipane *et alii* in press).

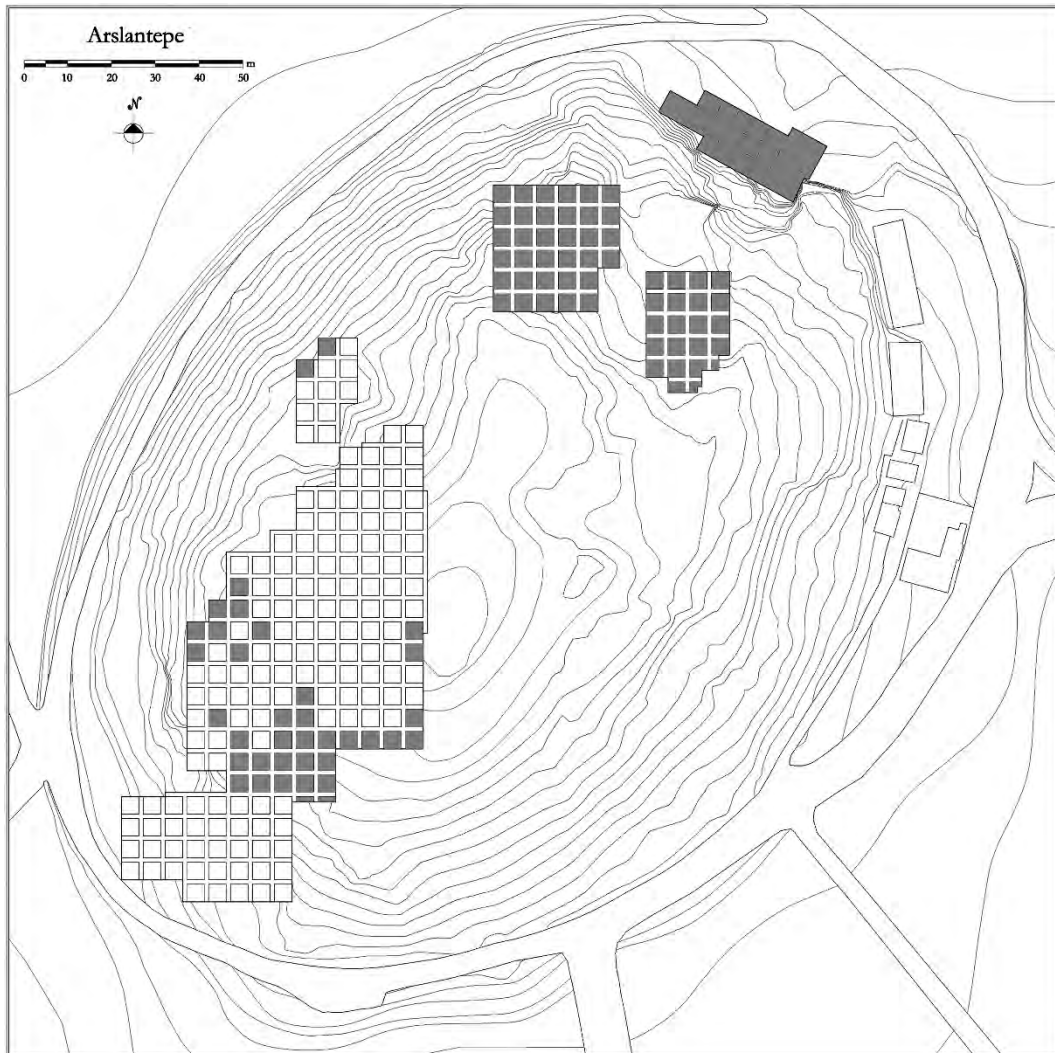


Fig. 1. Map of Arslantepe. Grey indicates the Late Bronze and Iron Age areas investigated by the Italian expedition from 1969 to 2018.



It is of course not easy to arrange this massive set of information into a coherent chronological evolution. This is related to the fact that the various investigations have been conducted over a large time-span, with methodologies that developed differently over the years, and pertaining to sectors sometimes stratigraphically unrelated to each other. However, the presence of sealed contexts with a rather good amount of associated material and supported by calibrated C14 dates allows the establishment of a reliable general sequence (fig. 2).

DATING (BCE)	ARSLANTEPE PERIODS	ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE	HISTORICAL CORRELATIONS
700	ARSLANTEPE IIB Middle Iron Age II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Palace destruction (?) Assyrian Palace and “Lions Gate” final reuse 	Mugallu / Assurbanipal Mutallu / Esarhaddon Tarhunazi Gunzinannu / Sargon II Sulumeli / Tiglat-pileser III
	ARSLANTEPE IIA Middle Iron Age I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Building destruction (?) Pillared building Columned building and “Lions Gate” arrangement First terrace wall and “multi-spaced building” 	Sarduri II Minua Salmanassar III Katuwa
800	ARSLANTEPE IIIB Early Iron Age II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Pits dug on the final collapse of the fortification wall Final collapse of the fortification wall Large silos and “monumental building” 	Suhi
	ARSLANTEPE IIIA Early Iron Age I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fortification wall destruction “Green buildings” reuse Collapse and fill layers above the structures “Green buildings” 	PUGNUS-mili II / Tiglat-pileser I
1200	ARSLANTEPE IV Late Bronze Age II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Destruction Gate system and fortification wall Abandonment of the southern part of the mound 	PUGNUS-mili I Kuzi-Tešub Šuppiluliuma II
1400	ARSLANTEPE VB 2 Late Bronze Age IB	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Destruction Southern dwellings phase 2 and “sunk houses” Gate system and earthen rampart 	Šuppiluliuma I Tudḫaliya III
	ARSLANTEPE VB 1 Late Bronze Age IA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Destruction Southern dwelling phase 1 Gate system and earthen rampart (?) 	Telipinu
1600			Muršili I
1700			Ḫattušili

Fig. 2. General chronological sketch of the Late Bronze and Iron Age.

The Late Bronze Age

During the Late Bronze Age, the whole Upper Euphrates area was a politically unstable zone. The military campaigns of Šuppiluliuma I allowed the Hittite to subjugate the land of *Išuwā* and move down towards the lower territories (Glocker 2011: 267-273). Despite this, the political situation of the region still remained unclear. It probably continued to represent a political border the boundaries of which fluctuated according to the balance between adjacent states (Liverani 2004). A general scarcity of the toponym *Malitya*, the ancient name of Arslantepe, is noticeable in texts from Böğazköy (Alparslan 2017: 213-217). Indeed, the city is mentioned in only seven Hittite documents, always in connection with local revolts and regional invasions (Archi 2004). Even though the city name does not appear in texts until the end of the 15th century BC, this does not necessarily correspond with a lack of interest of the Hittite kings in this region. Rather, we know that the whole area was involved in the expansionistic Hittite policy since the time of Ḫattušili (de Martino 2012).

The most impressive remains of the Late Bronze Age I is a massive defensive system consisting of an earthen rampart (Palmieri 1978: 35-37; Manuelli 2013: 41-43). This was built through the accumulation of earth and fragments of clayey soil (fig. 3: 1).



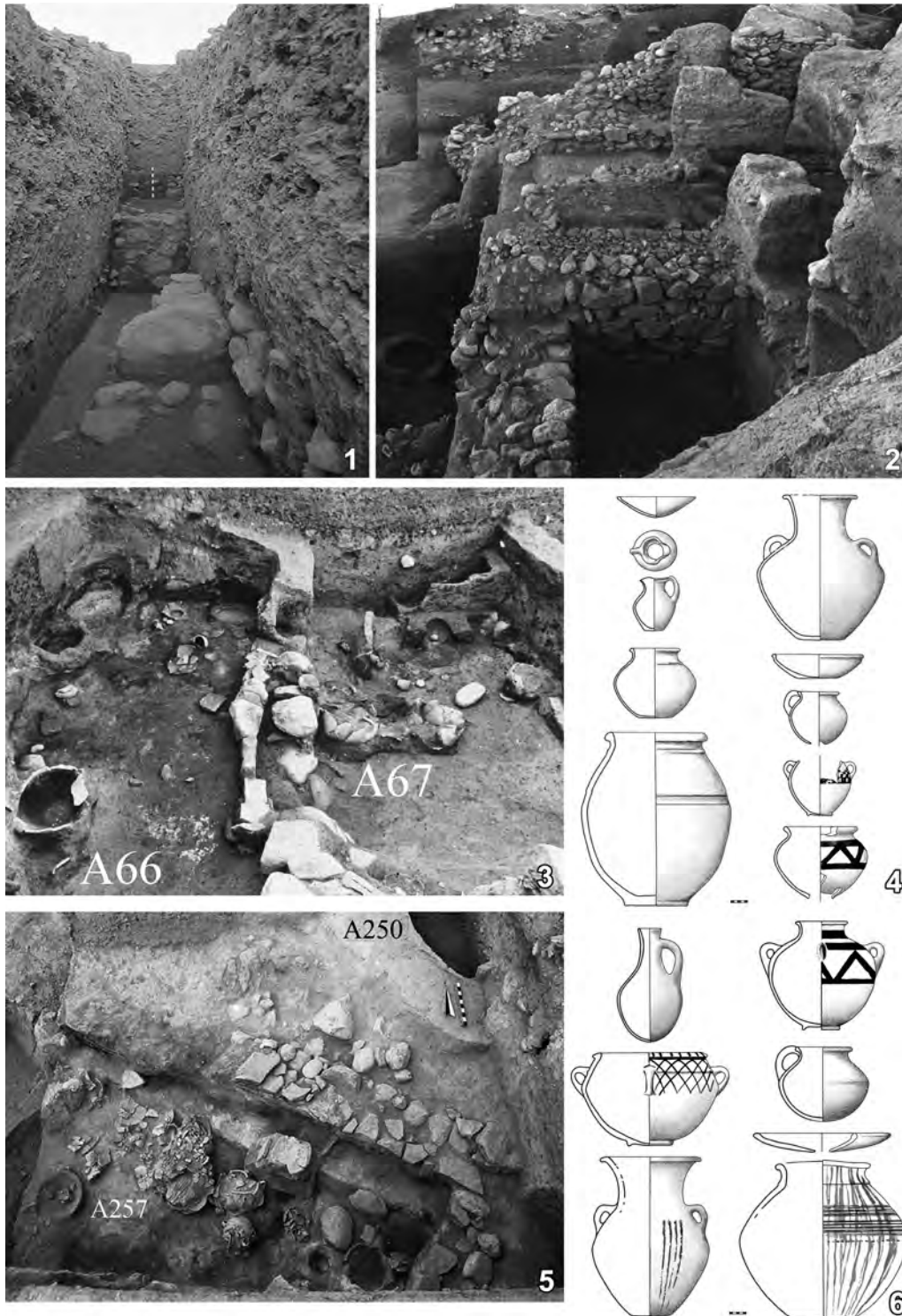


Fig. 3. Late Bronze Age I contexts and material. 1: The earthen rampart; 2: The gate system; 3: The “sunk rooms”; 4: Pottery assemblage from the “sunk rooms”; 5: The dwellings excavated on the southern slope of the mound; 6: Pottery assemblage from the southern dwellings.



It was probably intended to improve the defensibility of the settlement by elevating the foundation of a possible standing wall (Alvaro 2012a: 350-352). Even if the rampart has been investigated almost exclusively on the north-eastern edge of the site, several soundings and the excavations carried out along the western slope of the mound revealed that the enclosure must have surrounded a great part of the site. A gate system has been excavated in association with the rampart (Palmieri 1978: 35-37; Manuelli 2013: 41-43). It was embedded in the fortification and consists of a wide gate-way flanked by protruding rectangular towers internally divided into adjoining rooms (fig. 3: 2). This layout shows direct parallels with Hittite military architecture, especially with prototypes recently excavated in the area of Kesikkaya at Boğazköy and dated to the early 16th century BC (Schachner 2012: 99). Earthen ramparts in contrast are more typical of the Levantine and Syrian region, from the Middle Bronze Age up to the mid-16th century BC (Burke 2008: 84). The gate-way was found sealed underneath a remarkable wall collapse caused by a violent conflagration. At the time of their final obliteration the structures had already been affected by significant changes, probably losing their original function in favor of a household use (Palmieri 1978: 37; Manuelli 2013: 43-46). Indeed, three small rooms have been found sunk in the rampart, partially reusing the remains of the eastern tower's gate (fig. 3: 3). A significant amount of vessels and artifacts have been found on the rooms' floor (fig. 3: 4). Their associations with radiocarbon dating allow us to set the final destruction of the whole fortification system within the 15th century BC, establishing a *terminus ante quem* for its use (Manuelli 2013: 297-299, 347-353).

An interesting series of Late Bronze Age I dwellings have also been unearthed on the southern part of the site (Palmieri 1973: 58-71; Frangipane, Palmieri 1983: 289-290; Manuelli 2013: 48-66). At least part of these dwellings might be dated to a phase that precede the use of the "sunk rooms". The dwellings were mostly arranged in small elongated spaces for storage of domestic goods, as well as larger square areas with single or double horseshoe-shaped hearths (fig. 3: 5). The latter show interesting aspects of continuity of a long-lasting local tradition attested at the site from the late 3rd millennium BC (Balossi Restelli 2015: 136, 144-145). Pottery analysis and C14 dating lead us to date this early Late Bronze Age I phase, approximately within the 17th century BC (Manuelli 2017: 146-147). The assemblage is characterized by an interesting combination of the Middle Bronze Age traditions and a first evident Hittite influence (fig. 3: 6).

The transition from the Late Bronze Age I to II is characterized by a drastic change in the settlement pattern. The southern part of the site appears indeed to have been gradually abandoned and used as a dump, considering the total lack of any structures and the presence of only pits there (Manuelli 2013: 404-409). This reduction of the occupied area seems to peak during the 13th century BC, when a new fortification system and chambered gate-way were built, now enclosing only a restricted portion of the mound (Pecorella 1975: 3-5; Alvaro 2012a: 353-355) (fig. 4: 1). It leads us to assume that during this period the site became a sort of fortified citadel, probably a Hittite outpost at the eastern frontier of the empire. The arrangement of the whole fortification system is once again peculiar. On one hand the chambered gate-way reveals parallels with Hittite prototypes, but on the other hand the absence of a casemate wall is an atypical arrangement (Mielke 2018: 69-75).

A second important structure belonging to the Late Bronze Age II is a gallery with a false vaulted roof that shows affinities with the well-known "postern" identified at several Anatolian sites (Pecorella 1975: 6-8) (fig. 4: 2). Even if the function of this structure is uncertain, recent results obtained at Oymağaç Höyük suggest a use of these galleries as subterranean passages, maybe in association with some sort of rituals related to close water tables, instead of a way out in the case of a siege (Czichon *et alii* 2016: 31-38).



Pottery and other material coming from this phase show a substantial decline in local features and drastic imposition of Hittite shapes (Manuelli 2017: 148-149) (fig. 4: 3). A general standardization of the pottery production towards mineral-common wares and a decline of shape variability is attested. It is also important to stress the presence of metal weapons that are generally linked to the central Anatolian tradition of the 14th and 13th centuries BC (Manuelli 2013: 216-221; 389-391). Moreover, an interesting selection of Hittite-style biconvex seals, sometimes bearing Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions with names and titles known from the Hittite archives, allows us to assume the movement of a certain number of officials from the motherland towards the eastern edge of the empire (Mora 2013: 266-270) (fig. 4: 4).

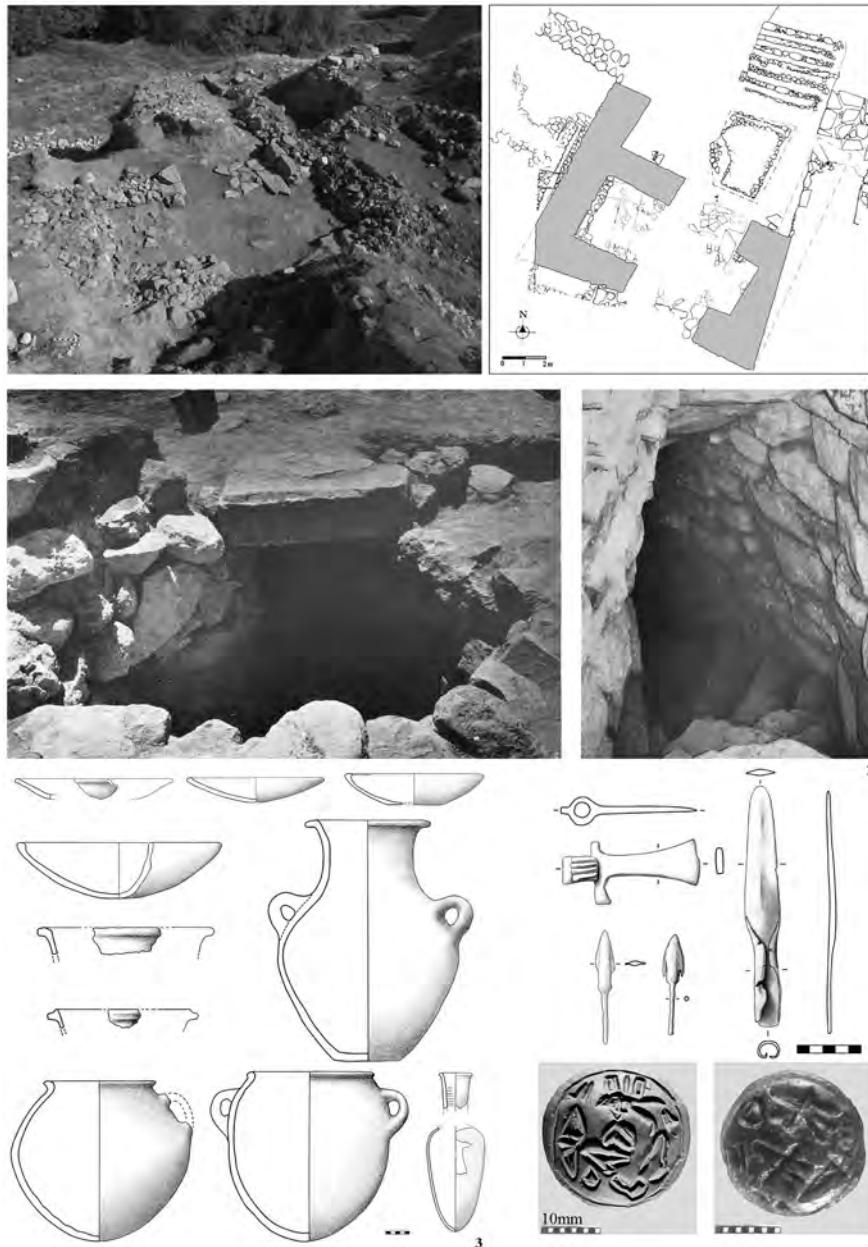


Fig. 4. Late Bronze Age II contexts and material. 1: The gate system; 2: The gallery; 3: Pottery assemblage from the gate system and its related structures; 4: Metal weapons and biconvex seals.



The Iron Age

The downfall of the Hittite civilization in central Anatolia marked the end of the Late Bronze Age and of its political and socio-economic structures (Summers 2017). Despite the collapse of the central system, an interesting process of reorganization took place in the Upper Euphrates region with the emergence of local elites re-elaborating the Late Bronze Hittite and Syrian traditions in an original way (Mazzoni 2013: 471-474). Reliefs and rock-inscriptions discovered at Arslantepe and its territory allow us to assume the existence of an important local polity during the 12th and 11th century BC (Hawkins 2000: 282-329). The independent state of *Malizi* had its capital at Arslantepe and its domain extended over a vast area westwards of the site. The subsequent development of Arslantepe, as the capital of the Neo-Hittite kingdom of *Melid*, during the 9th and especially 8th century BC is mostly attested through indirect Assyrian and Urartian sources (Di Filippo, Mori 2018).

The earliest Iron Age I level directly overlaps the destruction of the final Late Bronze Age gate-way and fortification system (Liverani 2012: 336-338). No breaks or gaps have been stratigraphically or architecturally attested. Two large rooms with walls covered with several layers of thick white plaster have been unearthed (fig. 5: 1). Many phases of construction and use were identified. Interestingly, there was no traces of a final destruction by fire. Moreover, the scant amount of *in situ* material indicates that the rooms were abandoned after being emptied (Manuelli 2018: 146-150).

The rooms have been found sealed underneath a thin mud-plastered floor associated with a massive fortification wall of mud-bricks on a stone foundation (fig. 5: 2). The enclosure was destroyed by a violent fire, as a thick layer of heavily burnt debris stemming from its collapse has been found over a large area (Frangipane *et alii* 2017: 84-89). The results of C14 and archaeomagnetic analyses of samples coming from its destruction date the fortification wall collapse at the beginning of the 10th century BC (Manuelli, Mori 2016: 219-222). Two figurative bas-reliefs and five aniconic slabs have been found lying on the floor associated with the fortification wall and sealed by its collapse (fig. 5: 3). The reliefs belong to the so-called III Malatya Style, which involves single apotropaic creatures and antithetical figures (Orthmann 1971: 94-95). Their discovery allows the reconstruction of a complete and coherent sculptural group by integrating into this picture the other artworks found in the past in the vicinity of the site. Their context of discovery testifies that this sculptural cycle represented the last phase of decorative renovation of the citadel of Arslantepe before the conflagration that brought an end to the settlement at the beginning of the 10th century BCE (Manuelli, Mori 2016: 222-228).

As for the material culture, the examination of a well-contextualized collection from the two Iron Age I levels also shows both aspects of continuity with the Late Bronze Age tradition as well as the introduction of new cultural features (fig. 5: 4). A strong standardization marks the pottery production, noted in the uniformity that characterizes fabrics, shapes and methods of manufacture (Manuelli 2012: 367-368). On one side, it is clear that this assemblage morphologically derives from the Late Bronze Age II pottery inventory at the site, nonetheless a new set of shapes reflects remarkable connections with material coming from sites located southwards, from the Middle Euphrates valley to the Levantine territories (Manuelli 2018: 146-155).



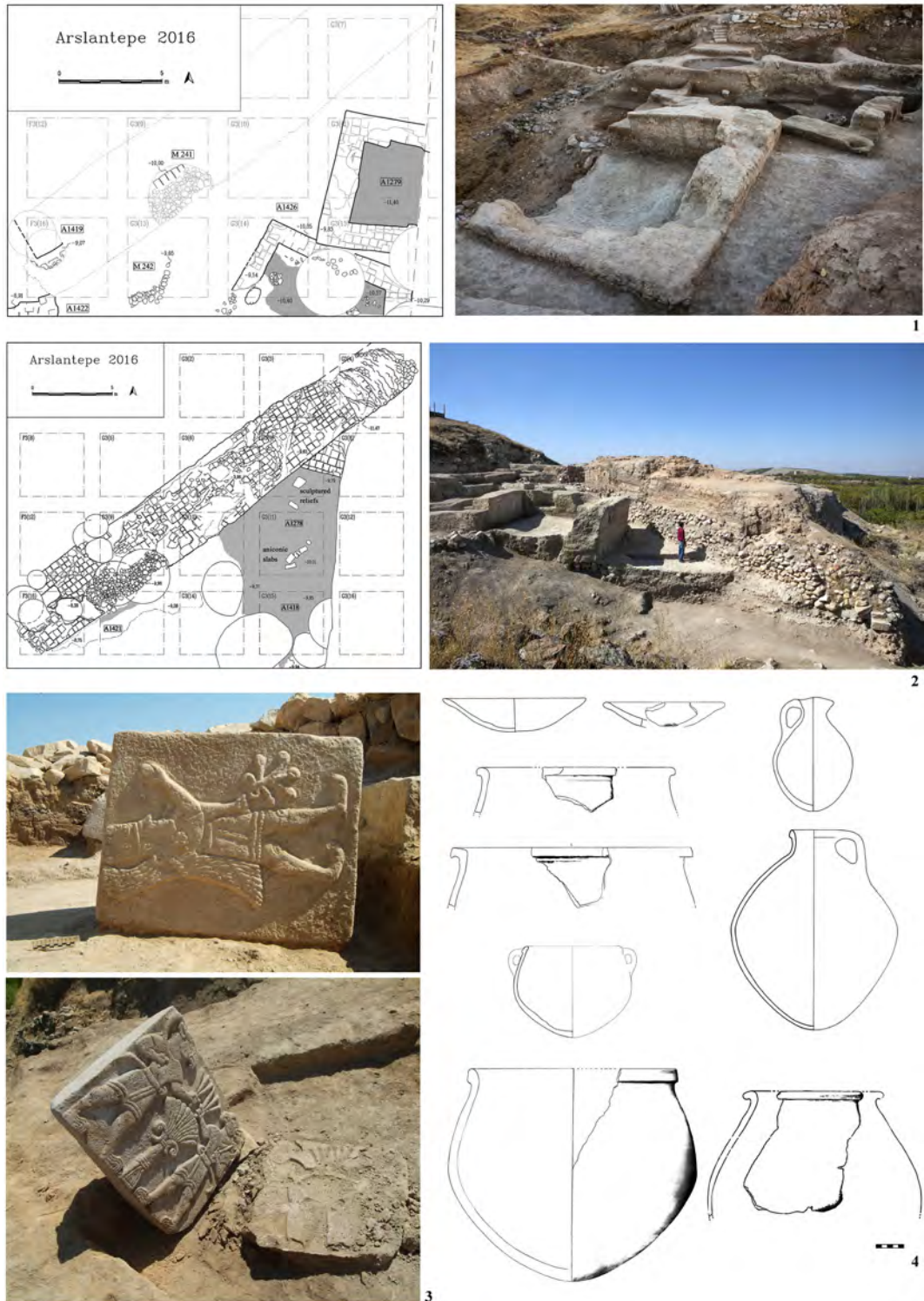


Fig. 5. Early Iron Age I contexts and material.
 1: The earliest Iron Age level; 2: The fortification wall;
 3: The figurative bas-reliefs; 4: Early Iron Age I pottery assemblage.



The destruction of the fortification wall marks an interesting change in the occupation pattern of the northern part of the site (Frangipane, Liverani 2013: 356-359). Despite a reuse of the enclosure attested during the following Iron Age II phase, associated structures are exclusively represented by a series of pits and large silos, as well as few evanescent structures that mark an area specifically devoted to storage activities (fig. 6: 1). The silos are of particular interest. They have a circular or slightly elliptical plan of around 4 meters and their lower part show the remains of chaff plaster preserved in patches of orange friable debris, probably indicating a function as grain storage. In 2018 a large monumental building was brought to light in the new inner citadel area (Frangipane *et alii* in press). A possible chronological association with the Iron Age II silos phase is supported by material culture affinities. The building consists of a large pillared hall built on top of a massive stone platform realized with squared slabs and protruding from the external mud-brick walls. It is associated, on its northern side, with a long-shaped hall and a small squared room (fig. 6: 2). There are no traces of destruction by fire, but the building was probably abandoned, and the rooms were emptied. Notably, the layout characterized by a rectangular main hall provided with columns and flanked by small elongated rooms finds fascinating similarities with some south Levantine Iron Age cultic building (Mierse 2012: 72-83).

Connections with the Levant are further testified by material culture. Pottery from both the silos area and the monumental building is characterized by an outstanding collection of red-slip ware (fig. 6: 3). Its coating consists of either a thick red layer accurately burnished or a light orange wash only hastily finished. The morphological study reveals a wide variability, characterized by the presence of bowls as well as larger and deeper open shapes and jugs (Frangipane *et alii* in press). Red-slip represents a hallmark of the whole Levant during the Iron Age II (Soldi 2013). Its presence in large quantities at Arslantepe testifies to fascinating relationships during the 9th century BC with the inner Syrian territories.

On top of the silos level a succession of three monumental pillared halls has been brought to light (Liverani 2010). They provide important evidence of the monumentality of this part of the site during the full Neo-Hittite period (fig. 7: 1). The most characteristic feature of the halls was a double row of pillar bases. During the early phase they were rounded and small and associated with a floor paved with large slabs alternating with stone pebbles. Later, the pillar bases were enlarged and squared, and the floor was paved only with pebbles. This difference may be due to a change in the use of the building and is very likely to be related to the construction of a different type of roof (Liverani 2011). It is important to stress that the whole sequence of pillared halls shows a direct stratigraphic connection with the terracing wall of the "Lions Gate" (Liverani 2010: 667-668; Alvaro 2012b). It allows a better chronological evaluation of this crucial and renowned phase of the settlement life. Indeed, pottery material sealed between the pillared floors provides a confident dating for the use of the gate system during the 8th century BC (Manuelli 2012: 369-372). This is mostly due to the presence of monochrome and bichrome "exotic" painted wares, such as wheel-made and well fired body jars, decorated with linear painted motifs on white or red-slipped surfaces (fig. 7: 2). They reveal direct affinities with the "White Painted", "Bichrome" and "Black-on-Red" wares belonging to the Cypriot-Phoenician tradition (Gilboa, Sharon 2003: 57-72).



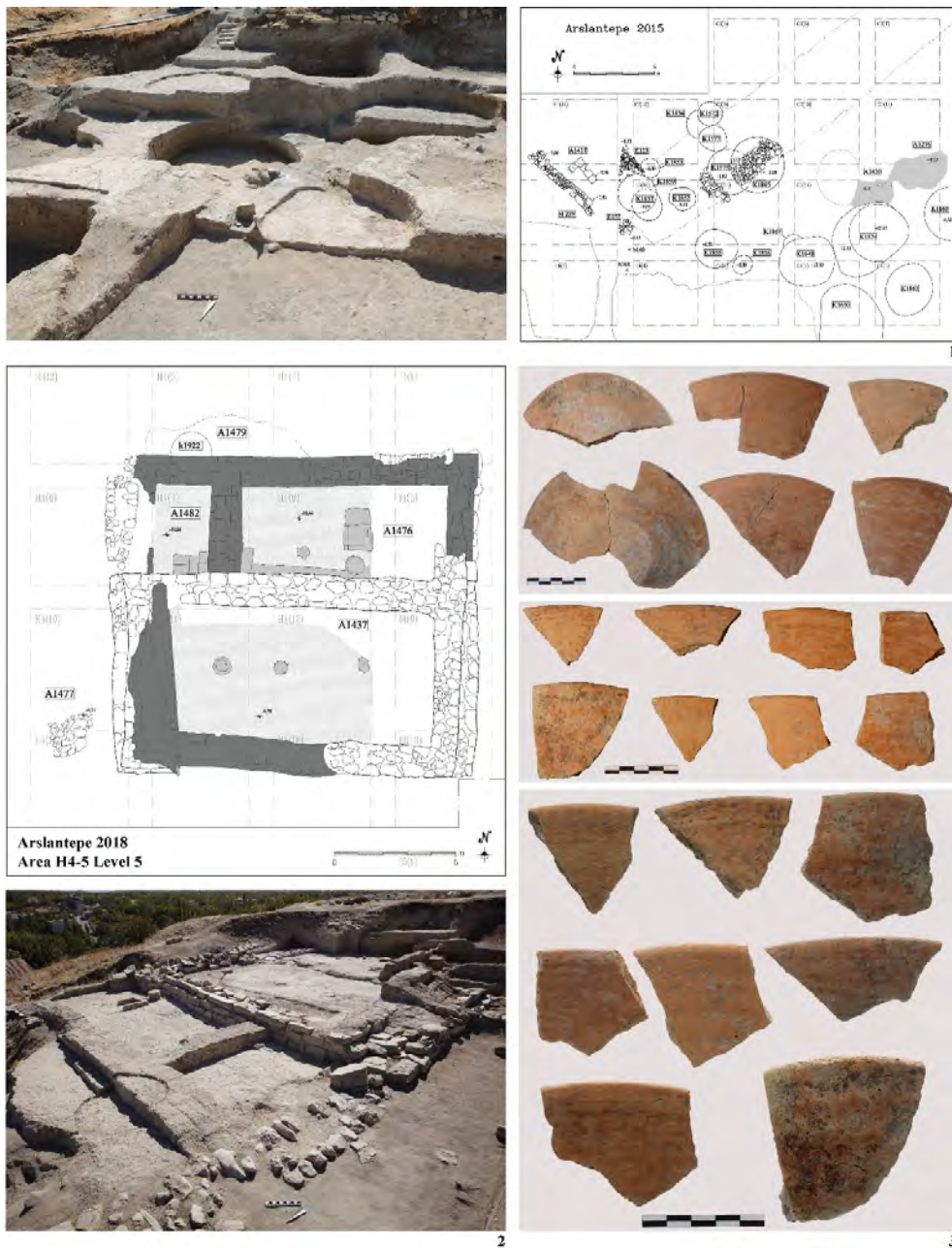


Fig. 6. Early Iron Age II contexts and material. 1: The silos level; 2: The monumental building; 3: Red-slip ware from the silos and the monumental building levels.

An interesting discovery has been recently made in the inner citadel area. A multi-spaced building composed of a large hall and two smaller rooms adjoining it on its northern side was unearthed in 2016 (fig. 7: 3). It might be assumed that the building corresponds to one of the early construction phases of the abovementioned pillared hall and the “Lions Gate”. The floor of the large hall had been repeatedly plastered and it is characterized by the presence of a rectangular double-chambered hearth, while the two smaller rooms show traces of fire activities (Frangipane *et alii* 2017: 83-84). In a small pit sealed by the earliest floor of the building, an outstanding ivory plaque has been



found (fig. 7: 4). Stylistic features allow a close comparison of the plaque with north Syrian ivories known in large numbers from Nimrud. Distinctive markings on the animals' bodies and features of the central volute tree allow us to place it in the much discussed "Flame and Frond" group of north Syrian ivories, further illustrating the cross-culturality of the site during the Neo-Hittite period (Manuelli, Pittman 2018).



Fig. 7. Middle Iron Age contexts and material. 1: The later phase of the pillared hall; 2: Cypro-Phoenician wares; 3: The multi-spaced building; 4: The ivory plaque.



Concerning the later levels of the sequence, it is important to point out that they have been found partially disturbed by modern intrusions, since they were already excavated by the French teams. This especially concerns the Assyrian levels of the late-8th and 7th century BC, where just a small amount of associated material has been found, so that their dating and interpretation depend almost exclusively on the evolution of the stratigraphic and architectural sequence. It must be stressed the presence of a large public building, the layout of which resembles those of the main Assyrian provincial palaces and that might be associated with the latest use of the “Lions Gate” (Liverani 2010: 649-654).

Final Remarks

The results obtained from the Late Bronze and Iron Age levels at Arslantepe further emphasize the importance of the ongoing project of research and excavation conducted by the Italian team during the last fifty years. They confirm that the thorough understanding of the site’s development can only be pursued through protracted long-term investigations and by an attentive and meticulous analysis of its remains. This synthesis has also shown the changing roles that Arslantepe played over the centuries within the framework of the 2nd and 1st millennium BC political powers. The increasing central Anatolian influence that culminated during the advanced Late Bronze Age into a proper Hittite control allowed the development of a preeminent and important local ruling class. Following the collapse of the empire, these elites were probably able to use some of the ideological vehicles that characterized the former polity in order to preserve and legitimate their own authority. It allowed Arslantepe to become one of the most distinguished independent state that grew from the ashes of the Hittites, projecting the site towards the wide network of international relationships that involved the main kingdoms and empires at the dawn of the new millennium.



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THE MALATYA PLAIN IN THE NETWORK OF INTERREGIONAL RELATIONS IN THE LATE BRONZE AND IRON AGES

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THE MALATYA PLAIN IN THE NETWORK OF INTERREGIONAL RELATIONS IN THE LATE BRONZE AND IRON AGES

FRANCESCO DI FILIPPO - LUCIA MORI

The site of Arslantepe, known from the Hittite and Assyrian cuneiform sources as Melid/Mal(i)tiya, has always represented a natural crossroad of the rugged thoroughfares cutting through eastern Anatolia. In political and cultural terms, the settlement has been both an interface and a frontier with different cultural and political entities all through the long history of the site. Contacts, interactions, and conflicts with the Syro-Mesopotamian, Central Anatolian, and Transcaucasian worlds have characterized the development of the Arslantepe culture, in an uneven way, from time to time, probably from its early beginnings. Nevertheless, the geographic setting of the region, forming an enclosed econiche in the hearth of the Taurus mountain, also determined a sort of “protected” spot, which, in the eyes of the imperial policies investing the area in the historical periods we will deal with in the present article, was easier to submit to tribute than to conquer through a military campaign. Of course with some relevant exceptions, such as the Assyrian conquest by Sargon II.

Few are the references to the toponym of Malatya in textual sources dated to the Middle and Late Bronze age: no mention of the site was recognized in the Old Assyrian texts published so far, even if, the presence of the region around Elaziğ (Supana, in Old Assyrian tablets) may suggest that a route north of the Taurus mountains was sporadically in use already during the Middle Bronze Age, and the site might have been involved (Forlanini 2006: 168-169; Di Filippo, Mori 2018: 43-44), if not directly, in the larger circuit of the complex Old-Assyrian trade with Anatolia, probably as far as the procurement of metals was concerned.

A little more is known from the Hittite sources dated to the Late Bronze age. Among the few texts mentioning Malatya (see De Martino 2012; Manuelli 2013: 413-418), the best known is the account on the misdeeds of “Mita of Pahhuwa”, dated to the end of the 15th century BC (Reichmuth 2011). The text narrates the revolt of several regions at the eastern periphery of the Hittite Kingdom, under a local chief named Mita. The Hittite king, Arnuwanda I or Tudkhaliya III, had to intervene, and made the local authorities of those eastern regions, among which the elders of Malitiya, swear an oath of loyalty to the central state. The general insecurity of the Hittite eastern frontier became a target for the Hittites again in the 13th century BC, when the rise of the Middle Assyrian Kingdom invested the Euphrates valley and reached even its upper course. The military campaigns of Shalmaneser I motivated a renovated interest in a direct control of the eastern peripheral regions of the Hittite Empire under the reigns of Khattusili III and Tudkhaliya IV. This is reflected in the

archaeological evidence brought to light on the Arslantepe mound, where a fortified citadel, with posterns, was built, and Hittite administrative practices were introduced, testifying a more centralized administrative and political control, recently re-analysed in detail by Federico Manuelli (Manuelli 2013: 418-423).

The weakening of the Hittite empire towards the end of the 13th century BC, with its final collapse, opened to a rather interesting historical development of the site and the whole Malatya plain, which developed through the Iron Age, and which be the main focus of the present paper, as it represents the period where local textual evidence is attested and when the earliest local kingdom developed (Manuelli, Mori 2016; di Filippo, Mori 2018; Frangipane *et al.* 2018).

The transformation dynamics occurring between the end of the Hittite imperial period (12th century BC) and the following regeneration of local elites taking control of the Malatya plain, have been reconsidered in the most recent years, through the reopening and enlargement of the excavation in the Hittite and Neo-Hittite areas at Arslantepe, bringing to light important new data and a different reconstruction of the period immediately following the so-called “1200 Bc crisis” (Frangipane, Liverani 2013; Liverani 2012; Manuelli, Mori 2016).

From a historical point of view periods of crisis and transformation represent indeed scientific challenges: the breakdown of an entire system, as it happened by the end of the Late Bronze age in the Mediterranean and Near Eastern regions, meant the disruption of the previous socio-political dynamics, focussed around a rather centralized economy and run by palaces, at least as far as the Late Bronze age club of the “Great Powers” was concerned.

When those “great organizations” collapsed entire regions underwent uneven “reshaping” processes, in which their inner social dynamics had to adjust in order to keep or gain control on a territory that had been previously under the sphere of influence, as it was the case of the Hittites, of an imperial power.

The current research at ancient Melid has contributed to rethink interpretative models for historical questions related to the development of that historical process. It provided important insights into how local elites, facing a period of high instability, succeeded in establishing a leading power inside a society which had been traditionally led, at a local scale, rather by communal authorities (the “elders”). It also provided interesting evidence on the ways a centralized power imposed itself over a traditionally more “communal” society. But many questions, such as how and to what extent a local dynasty of “country lords” were able to control their inner territory, or which were their relation to the surrounding regions, most of all Karkemish, seat of the Hittite viceroyalty, and main seat of the Syro-Hittite culture after the disruption of the Hittite empire, still remain open.

Indeed, the current research at ancient Melid has contributed to rethink interpretative models for such historical questions.

Among the most interesting elements characterizing the Arslantepe archaeological evidence is the fact that monumental building and sculptures (Fig. 1), seem to appear immediately after the collapse of the Hittite empire, rooting the rise of the New Kingdom of Malizi in this period of transformation (Manuelli, Mori 2016).

The Neo-Hittite kingdom was previously considered as a new formation after a hiatus around the 10th century BC. Our new excavation (see Manuelli in this volume), provided an uninterrupted sequence of building phases, testifying a kind of control over the site just immediately after the imperial collapse.





Fig. 1 – The Syro-hittite reliefs brought to light in the 2010 campaign at Arslantepe, probably belonging to the citadel Lion's gate of phase IIIa2 (Photo MAIAO archive).

Already by the 12th BC local rulers apparently started a process of “self-propaganda”, towards their inner population, through the creation of a figurative repertoire underlying the centrality of their social role, mostly in the performing of the proper rites to the main gods in order to keep the social order against the chaos. Located in the main “public” area of the citadel, which was the city gate area, and thus well visible to the population, those friezes reveal the intent of the new ruling class to preserve and adhere to a codified idea of political power, inspired by the Hittite precursors, which served to consolidate and legitimize the local authority. And testify of a process of self-assessment and cult of the personality which, in periods of political instability could represent the only way to prevent from chaos (Manuelli, Mori 2016).

Significantly, the “self propaganda” was also spread all through the plain, as the distribution of monuments and rock inscriptions dated from the 12th to the 10th centuries BC, apparently, testify.

From a historical perspective, sources are not many, different in nature and unevenly scattered through time and space. Moreover, they often report the conqueror's point of view, being written by the expanding polities of the Iron age. Nevertheless, an overall analysis may give interesting data on the assumable geographic extension of the Melidean kingdom through the early and middle Iron age, which we will present in the following.

For the period that embraces the 12th century down to the end of the 8th century BC, there is no clear and unquestionable historical evidence that may confirm the control of the local elite over the Malatya plain. Monuments, rock inscriptions, and stelae are all placed just outside the basin of Malatya plain, mainly in the Tohma Su basin. Nevertheless, the political sphere of influence of this region should be secured for the whole historical phase.

The distribution of monuments and inscriptions along the upper Tohma Su basin testifies that the early rulers of the “first” Melidean dynasty controlled the north-western border of the kingdom, which had a special meaning and importance for them (Fig. 2). They boasted the foundation of new cities, the (re)organization of population within a renewed agricultural landscape, and the setting of new roads to connect the nodes of the regional polity¹.

¹ In particular the inscriptions at Gurun (Hawkins 2000, 295-299) and Kotukale (Hawkins 2000, 299-301), in which the Melidean ruler Runtiyas, commemorates the reorganization of the city of Taita (?) and its region, and the construction of a road along the Tohma Su.



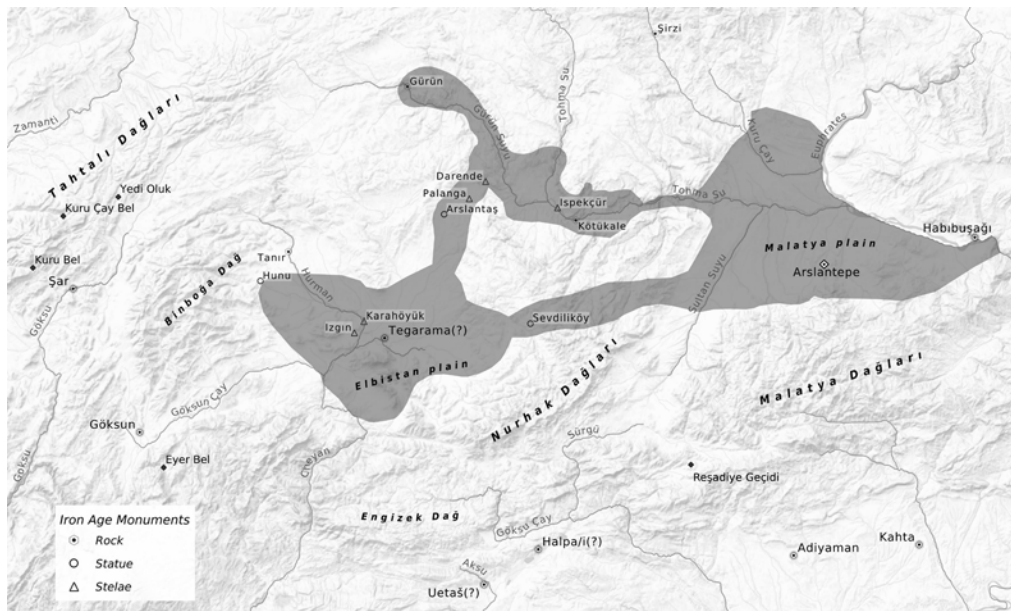


Fig. 2 - The presumed extension of the Kingdom of Melid between the 12th and 10th century BC.

As far as the relationship between Arslantepe with the plain of Elbistan is concerned: it is generally accepted that the plain of Elbistan entered under the Melidean control sometime around the 12th century BC, maybe at the end of this century.² Two sets of data help to confirm such a hypothesis: the most ancient Neo-Hittite Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions from the so-called Malatya group comes from Karahöyük. It should be dated to the 12th century BC, probably in its beginning (Hawkins 2000, 289), even though it still has no a direct connection to the Melidean kingdom. This monuments, in fact, probably predate the so-called “first dynasty” of Arslantepe. It celebrates the visit of a “Great King” Ir(i)-Teshshub³ to a country the name of which cannot yet be read due to being written logographically, but that is generally rendered by the reading POCULUM (REGIO). The same place-name is mentioned by an inscribed block belonging to the monumental city-gate of Arslantepe (Malatya 9), which was found *in situ* by Delaporte, in which PUGNUS-mili (I or II is still debated) celebrates the Storm God of the PUCULUM (REGIO), that is of the Elbistan plain. The dominion of Malatya over Karahöyük-Elbistan is thus assumable by this inscription of a PUGNUS-mili from the end of the 12th century BC.

As far as the geographical extension of this “province”, a group of uninscribed monuments may help to define the actual dimension of the controlled area. A set of statues in the shape of portal-lions are scattered throughout the open country and have no apparent relationship with archaeological remains (settlements, surface scatters of pottery sherds, etc.). Their position is however not random, as they probably represent significant landmarks (Di Filippo, Mori 2018: 49-50). If one considers the position of the lions from Sevdiliköy (Eralp 1998), for instance, it becomes apparent that they marked important passes in the mountainous landscapes of the region. By highlighting the terrain’s morphometric parameters through a Topographic Position Index analysis,⁴ it emerges that this monument in the shape of portal-lions is located precisely at the eastern margin of the Elbistan plain and it lies at the

² See Giusfredi 2010: 43, Bryce 2012: 99.

³ For the reading of this name, as well as for the identity of the character, refer to Simon 2013: 827-828.

⁴ For a general presentation of the Topographic Position Index (TPI) model see Weiss 2001. See also Verhagen, Dräguț 2012 and Knitter, Nakoinz 2018.



'entrance' of the low ridges, which separate Elbistan from Malatya. This geographical location appears to be a "gate" localized at the border of the plain, just before a sudden alternation of high ridges and canyons, in the proximity of a U-shaped valleys system, which may well be considered as a natural passage across the mountains.

Assyrian-Urartian period, part 1: Assyrian expansion

According to Hawkins (2000: 286) almost all the inscriptions of the local Melidean Dynasties belong in the earlier period before 850 BC. From this time on, relevant textual information on the history of Melid comes almost exclusively from external sources, being drawn from the Assyrian and Urartian cuneiform records. Also, it seems that almost none of the individuals mentioned by native inscriptions can even be assigned to the period of Assyrian-Urartian domination, c. 853- 712 B.C., with the only exception of the king of the Sirzi's inscription (Dillo 2013; Simon 2014).

Among these sources, the military campaigns of Shalmaneser III report the most accurate description of the main itineraries leading to the Neo-Hittite regions, lying west of the Euphrates. These sources belong in fact to the so-called Assyrian "exploration" phase, from king Ashurnasirpal II to Tiglat-Pileser III. After this crucial age, available information on itineraries east of the Euphrates begins to be less revealing as far as the routes to western kingdoms are concerned, because a new era of the direct control of the fringe countries developed.

During his 15th campaign (843 BC), Shalmaneser approached the Malatya plain from the East. The main theatre of operations was the land of Nairi, at the Euphrates' headwaters. After bringing destruction to this region of eastern Anatolia, he pushed his army westward, along the Upper Euphrates valley: *"on my return from the source of the Euphrates, I marched to the land Suhni (Suhmu). (...) Moving on from the land Suhni, I approached the land Enzi (Enzite = Elazig). (...) Moving on from the land Enzi (iii 55) I approached the Euphrates before the land Melid. I received tribute from Lalla, the Melidite. (...) I fashioned my royal statue (and) erected (it) by the Euphrates"*.⁵

In the 835, as it is explicitly referenced to by the Eponym Chronicle, the primary military target was the kingdom of Malatya: *"I crossed the Euphrates (and) received [the tribute of the kings of Hatti]. (183) I departed from the towns [of the land of Hatti], (184) traversed Mt. Pala[...] and went down to [the towns of Lalla of Melid.] (185) I [besieged and conquered the city of Ue[tash, his fortified city (and)] (186) [took] the booty of it. [I departed from Uetash] (187) [and approached] the city of Tagari[mmu, his fortified city] (188) came to me [and seized my feet. His gift] (189) I received [and imposed upon him] tax and tribute. (190) I departed from [Tagarimmu] (and) approached the city/tow[ns] [of...]"*.⁶

Whether Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates somewhere between Til-Barsip or Kenk, between the river and the Melidean kingdom he mentions only one primary mountain range, that is the Mt. Pala[...]. It could be identified with the Karadağ mountain range that still today is the boundary between the provinces of Adiyaman and Gaziantep. This seems confirmed by the next steps of his journey. He, in fact, approached Uetaš, a place-name which has been already equated with Uita in the annals of Sarduri II, but which seems to be the same also of the Byzantine fortress of Adata (al-Ḥadath), a stronghold which guarded the narrow valley leading from the Gölbaşı Lake region to the Elbistan plain, via the Nurhak road. Besides a weak homonymy, this equation is strengthened by the role of this fortress in the Byzantine era

⁵ Grayson 1996 (RIMA 3 A.0.102.6, col. III, ll. 46-57). The toponyms Enzite and Suhmu are already known from Tiglat-Pileser's expedition to Melid, and can be easily recognised in the Hittite place-names Henzuta and Zuhma. See Forlanini 2014: 262; Ponchia 2006: 207.

⁶ Grayson 1996: A.0.102.16, 181'b-194'. See also the restoration in Yamada 2000: 214-216.



against enemies coming from the Euphrates, which is the same strategic defensive role attested centuries earlier against the Assyrian and Urartian armies (Di Filippo, Mori 2018: 45-47). Then Shalmaneser arrived at Tegarama in the Elbistan plain to move to its final destination, a city whose name is lost in lacuna, on the border with Tabal.

Finally, in the 836, during an expedition towards Tabal, Shalmaneser seems to have crossed the Taurus range further west and not, as previously thought,⁷ across the Malatya plain: *"I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-second time (and) received tribute from all the kings of the land Hatti. Moving on from the land Hatti I crossed Mount [...]inzini (and) received tribute from the people of the land Melid. I crossed Mount Timur (and) went down to the cities of Tuatti, the Tabalite"* (RIMA 3, A.O.102.16, 162'b-172'a).

The mountains [...]inzini and Timur, despite the latter has been identified with modern Tahtalı Dağları (Wäfler 1983: 191), are mentioned only in this inscription. However, some feeble clues can be considered for their location. The King's account reports that a tribute was paid from *"the people of the land Melid"*, and not by the Melidean king himself. If one also considers that none of these mountains is ever mentioned within those commonly referred to the Melidean geography (for instance from the Gürün inscription), this may be a hint that, in this occasion, the Assyrian army took a westernmost route in its approaching to Tabal, a route that may lie west of the Elbistan plain also.

During the mid of the 9th century (Fig. 3) thus the Kingdom of Melid is documented to have some kind of political control of the modern Gölbaşı Lake region, where the stronghold of Uetaş presumably lays, and of the Elbistan plain (Tegarama). Besides, even if no direct evidence is yet available, for the political control of the Gölbaşı region, the Melidean kings must have secured the most direct pathway linking their capital to Uetaş, that is the Sultan Su basin and the Reşadiye mountain pass.

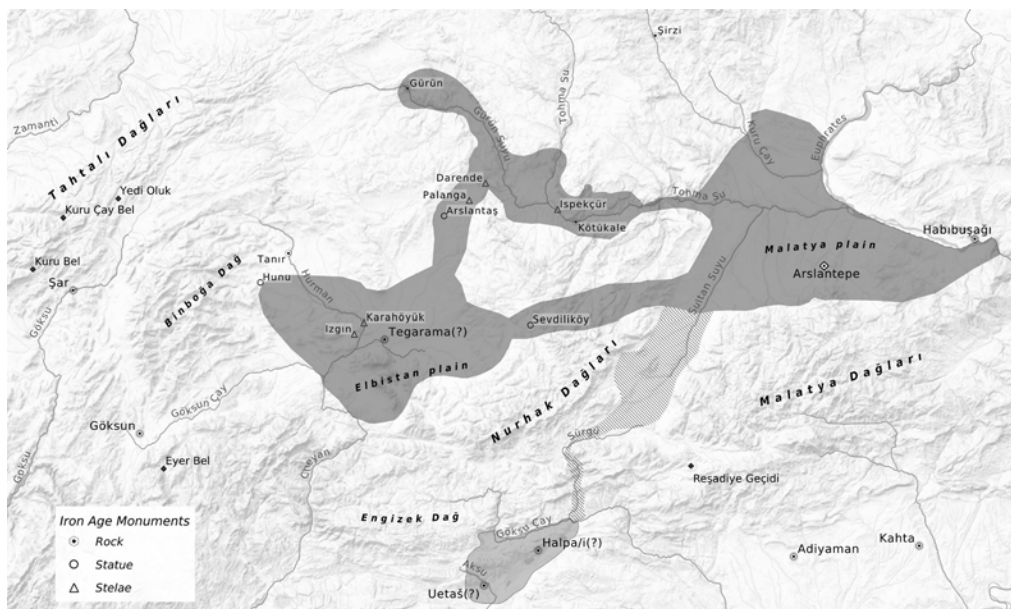


Fig. 3 - The presumed extension of the Kingdom of Melid during the 9th century BC.

⁷ See Yamada 2000, 210-211 (with references).



Assyrian-Urartian period, part 2: Urartian expansion

From the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 8th centuries onwards, Malatya becomes the object of the growing Urartian military pressure, probably exploiting the weakening phase of the Assyrian empire. The geographical horizon gets more detailed, with specific descriptions of regions East of the Euphrates.

The first king of Urartu who boasts of having received tribute from a Melidean king is Minua (ca. 810-780 BC). However, whether he was, in fact, able to cross the Euphrates and threaten Malatya directly remains uncertain. Minua states to have approached the border of Hatti, but the westernmost place-name attested in his display inscription from Palu (CTU A 5-5) is Şupa (roughly the classical Sophene), whereas an unnamed king of Malatya is referred to as a tribute bearer. This may be taken as a hint of the Melidean Realpolitik, already attested in the Assyrian sources dating to Shalmaneser III's times: when facing the threat of a military invasion the people or the king of the land of Melid preferred to pay tributes to the enemy. Although at a preliminary stage, this attitude seems also to be confirmed by the ongoing archaeological investigation at the site of Arslantepe, where no apparent episode of destruction is attested in the period spanning from the 9th to the 8th century BC.

Minua seems to have followed a route along the northern basin of the Upper Euphrates, without crossing the regions south of the river. He mentions place-names such as Şebeteria (modern Palu), Huzana (modern Hozat), and the land of Şupa. During the reign of Argišti (in the 776 ca.), Urartu returned in the Land of Hatti, in the region of Malatya and, eventually, Tabal. However, as the relevant passage of the Argišti's annals is damaged (CTU A 8-3), it is quite impossible to trace his route to the Euphrates and beyond. From the very few intelligible lines, however, it seems that Argishti moved his army along a route different from both his predecessor and from later expeditions.

During the following reign of Sarduri II, two distinct campaigns are documented. In the first one (ca. 753),⁸ Sarduri reached the Euphrates presumably from the Elazig region. The rock inscription of Habibuşağı (CTU A 9-4), and part of his annals in Van (CTU 9-1, Vo '9-'30), are particularly rich in details, being probably the most detailed account of the political geography of the region between Arslantepe and the Euphrates for this period. After having crossed the Euphrates, he brought destruction to the Karniše mountain land (presumably to be identifiable with the Roman Korne) and surrounded the fortified city of Sasi, not yet located but presumably on the route linking Arslantepe to the Euphrates.⁹ This description is then followed by the mention of an array of fortresses that Sarduri had conquered during the same campaign, an array of fortresses that seem to be located on both the shores of the river (Forlanini 2014: 264). Whether these strongholds, being mentioned in the context of a military expedition against Malatya, may also be considered as part of the Melidean Kingdom is hard to say. If it is the case, this piece of information would indicate that for the first time the realm of Melid extended its territory well beyond its previously assumed eastern boundary (the Euphrates). Be this as it may, at the mid of 8th century these fortresses passed under Urartian control.

Very likely, it is within the scope of these historical events that Urartian inscription from Bahçecik should be dated.¹⁰ From this document, it emerges how Sarduri had entrusted a certain Zaiani as governor of a vast region centered at the newly created citadel of Sardurihinili (Çifçi 2017:204-210). The inscription significantly mentions the extension of the province also, comprising the eastern part of the Euphrates River, from the east of Militia to Qumaha

⁸ Following Fuchs (2012, 154), between 753 and 752 BC.

⁹ For these toponyms see Astour 1979: 4; Forlanini 2012, 280.

¹⁰ CTU A9-18. See also Payne, Sevin 2001.



(Assyrian Kummuh) in the south, to reach in the south the regions of Arme (with Nihria) and Hašime.¹¹

With this new provincial subdivision in mind, ten years after the first campaign against the Malatya, in 743 BC,¹² the Assyrian empire and Urartian kingdom clashed at the battlefields of Kištan and Halpi (Urartean Halpa). Sarduri says: “I marched against the land of Qumaḫa. The town of Uita, royal town, a fortified city, I conquered it in battle. The city of Halpa, royal town, lacustrine city, I conquered it. The city of Parala, royal town, I besieged(?) it” (CTU A 9-3 IV, ll. 47-52).

As mentioned above, there are good reasons to equate Uita both to the Assyrian Uetaš, mentioned ninety years earlier by Shalmaneser III, and to the Byzantine fortress of Adata (al-Ḥadath). Halpa, also featured in Tiglat-Pileser III's inscriptions as Halpi, must be located in the lacustrine plain of Gölbaşı, in close geographical connection with Uetaš/Uita. After the battle and the defeat of Sarduri, Tiglat-Pileser III forced his enemy to retreat in his own country: “In order to save his life, [Sardu]ri fled at night and (thus) [escaped] very quick[ly] before [sun]rise [... With an arrow that cuts] off lives, I drove him back to the bridge (crossing over) the Euphrates River, on the border of his land”.¹³ In a different inscription Tiglat-Pileser III gives more details on the battle itself: “[Be]tween the lands Kištan and Halpi, districts of the land K[ummuhu], I utterly defeated them and ... With the blood of] their [warr]riors [I dyed] the Sinzi River as red as dyed wool”.¹⁴ The Sinzi River has been equated with the classical Singas (modern Göksu, cf. Astour 1979: 16), a river which flows in a deeply incised valley along the southern foothills of the Malatya Dağları (from the Gölbaşı plain to the Euphrates). This implies that Sarduri's retreat ran along the southern slope of the same mountain range. Accordingly, the bridge crossing over the Euphrates River referred to by Tiglat-Pileser III cannot be at Pirost, but must be located at the eastern border of Kummuh, probably near the well-known ford at Samsat.

At the beginning of the 8th century or even earlier, at the end of the 9th, Malatya extends its northern borders upon the Hekimhan region (Fig. 4). The Sirzi inscription refers to the construction of a road, presumably in the direction of Sivas (Simon 2014). It was carried out by the king Sahwis, which is presumably the same person referred to by an inscription of Sarduri II as the father and predecessor of the Melidean king Hilaruada (known from the Habibusagi inscription - Hawkins 2000: 287).

The plain of Elbistan remains under the Melidean control, even though something happened during the 8th century, probably some contrast between Melid and Gurgum (modern Kahramanmaraş). Tiglat-Pileser III refers to Tegarama (Til-karme in the Elstain plain - Yamada 2006: 227-228) as belonging to the Kingdom of Gurgum (Kahramanmaraş). This state of affairs, however, did not last for a long time: the territorial decline of Gurgum is well testified by a different source: The Aramaic stele of Bar-rakab of Sam'al, which confirms that during this period Gurgum suffered a substantial territory loss (Yamada 2006: 229). Moreover, at the end of the 8th century, Tegarama, and the plain of Elbistan as a whole, seem to be again under the sphere of influence of Malatya. The Tanir rock inscription has been recently found on the north-western border of the Elbistan plain (Doğan-Alparslan, Alparslan 2013), along one of the main route leading out of the plain (Anderson 1897: 28-29). It has been dated to the 8th century BC, presumably later than the Tiglat-Pileser III expedition, and mentions the city of Melid. Unfortunately, the rest of this text is unreadable yet.

¹¹ For the geographical context see Forlanini 2014: 264.

¹² Fuchs 2012: 154. Astour (1979: 14) dated this episode between 746 and 745 BC.

¹³ Tadmor, Yamada 2011, 35 (RINAP 1, Tiglat-Pileser III 10, ll.10'-13').

¹⁴ Tadmor, Yamada 2011, 122 (RINAP 1, Tiglat-Pileser III 47, obv. 47-48).



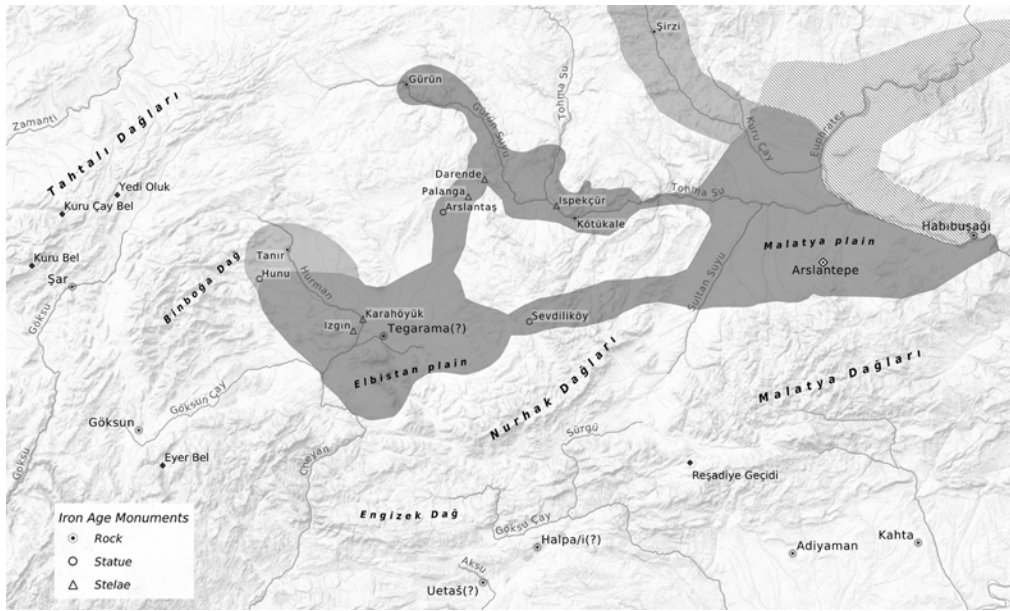


Fig. 4 - The presumed extension of the Kingdom of Melid during the 8th century BC

The hypothetical control of the region across the Euphrates by the Melidean kings, if ever happened, was ephemeral. On the basis of the available scanty pieces of information, this could have happened only in the timeframe between the first expedition of Salmanasar III (843 BC) and the first military exploit of Sarduri II (753 BC).

The Gölbaşı Lake region instead was lost just before the field battle of Kiştan, presumably at the beginning of the 8th century. From the mid 8th century, references to this region, the Urartian cities of Uita and Halpa, as well as the the corresponding city of Halpi for the Assyrians, are explicitly referred to as belonging to the Kingdom of Kummuh.

The reign of Sargon II, in the last two decades of the 8th century BC, marked the end of the Melidean autonomy. Not only the Assyrian king defeated the Urartian kingdom, but he marched against Malatya twice: in 719 BC he deposed king Gunzinanum to appoint Tarhunazi as the ruler. But from the Assyrian perspective, even Tarhunazi proved to be treacherous, violating his oath to Sargon and withholding tribute from him. Thus in 712 BC the Assyrian king marched again against Malatya: Tarhunazi fled to Til-Garimmu but he was captured and sadly deported in chains to Assyria (Brice 2012: 109-110; 285-286; Liverani 2012: 341-342).¹⁵

From this time on, after the military campaigns of Sargon II, Sennacherib, and above all of Esarhaddon in 675 BC, Malatya seems to forward new emerging political interlocutors of central Anatolia, Tabal and Mushki (Phrygia).

¹⁵ Some new interesting data on the Assyrian control of the plain of Elbistan comes from the recently published Sargon II "Karkemish cylinder", which mentions the displacement of part of the Karkemish population, after the city's conquest, to a "distant place" on the border of Kammanu (Marchesi 2019: 5), maybe to be located in the Elbistan plain.



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MALİTİYA KENTİ'NİN DE İÇİNDE BULUNDUĞU YUKARI FIRAT BÖLGESİNDE, HİTİT DEVLETİ TARAFINDAN YÜRÜTÜLEN BİR MERKEZİLEŞTİRME POLİTİKASI'NDAN BAHSETMEK MÜMKÜN MÜDÜR?

İLKNUR TAŞ

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İLKNUR TAŞ

Bu çalışmanın başlangıçtaki amacı, Hititçe çivi yazılı belgelerde adı geçen Malitiya Kenti hakkında detaylı bilgiye ulaşmaktır. Ancak araştırmalar devam ettikçe, Malitiya'nın da içinde bulunduğu Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nde, Geç Tunç Çağı ve Erken Demir Çağı'nda yerleşim yerlerinde meydana gelen politik değişimler ve iktidar mücadelelerinin yoğunluğu oldukça dikkat çekiciydi.

Kızılırmak Nehri'nin çizdiği sınırlar içinde kalan ve Hitit İmparatorluğu idari sisteminin merkezi konumundaki Orta Anadolu Platosu'nda, Hitit İmparatorluk politikaları doğrultusunda oluşturulmuş bir yerleşim ve kontrol ağı mevcuttur. Söz konusu ağ, Hitit Devleti'nin politik çıkarları doğrultusunda, kimi zaman genişleme rotaları üzerinde konumlandırılan yeni kentlerle; kimi zamanda eski ticaret yolları ve tarım kontrol alanları üzerinde, İlk ve Orta Tunç Çağı'nda hali hazırda kurulmuş kentlerle kademeli bir şekilde genişletilmiştir. Son derece verimli tarım ovalarında yer alan Uşaklıhöyük, Alacahöyük, Kayalıpınar ve Alishar bu kentlerdendir. (Mazzoni 2017: 50-51). Hititler döneminde kırsal yerleşimlerin kısmen sayıca azaldığı ve idari ve dini işlevleri olan kentlerin arttığını tespit ediyoruz (Mazzoni 2017: 51). Bu Hitit Devleti tarafından sürdürülen merkezileştirme sürecinin doğal bir sonucudur ve bölgesel kontrol sistemini güçlendirmek amacını taşımaktadır. (Glatz 2011).

Yapılan bu değerlendirme, sadece Orta Anadolu Platosu için mi geçerliydi yoksa Malitiya Kenti'nin de içinde bulunduğu, Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nde de, merkezileştirme sürecinin doğal bir sonucu olarak, bir yerleşim ve kontrol ağından bahsetmek mümkün müdür? Aynı zamanda bu ağ, belirli bir işlevsel hiyerarşiye sahip, küçük merkezler ve tarım köylerinden oluşan bir ağ mıydı yoksa kırsal yerleşimlerin sayıca kısmen azaldığı, idari ve dini işlevler üstlenen kentlerin var olduğu bir ağ mıydı?

Bilindiği gibi, Mezopotamya ile Anadolu arasında geçiş, Yukarı Fırat üzerinden sağlanmaktadır. Bu stratejik önemi dolayısıyla bölge, Geç Tunç Çağı'nda, Hitit ve Asur Devletleri arasında; Orta Demir Çağı'nda Asur, Urartu ve Tabal Krallığı arasında ihtilafli bir sınır bölgesiydi.

Malitiya Kenti'nin lokalizasyonu konusunda görüş bildiren bilim insanlarının, Hititçe çivi yazılı belgelerde adı geçen Malitiya Kenti'nin bugünkü Malatya ili ile eşitliği

konusunda hemfikir olduğunu tespit ediyoruz. (del Monte-Tischler 1978: 257-258; del Monte 1992: 100). Ayrıca Malitiya Kenti'nin, MÖ1.bin kontektinden tanıdığımız, Geç Hitit Çağı'na ait kent ve aynı isimle anılmış bir ülke olan Malizi Krallığı¹ (MÖ 1100-600) ile eşleştirilmesi genel olarak kabul edilmektedir. (Hawkins 1993: 35; Frangipane 1993). Malizi Krallığı, Yukarı Fırat'ın batı kıyısında, Malatya'nın 6 km kuzeydoğusunda, Fırat Nehri'nin ise 12 km. güneyinde yer alan Arslantepe höyüğüdür.

Yaklaşık 4.5 hektarlık yerleşim alanına sahip Arslantepe Höyüğü, 30 metre yüksekliğinde ve 250×180 m boyutlarında bir höyüktür ve Malatya Ovası'na kurulmuştur. Malatya Ovası'nın çevresindeki dağlarda demir, gümüş ve kurşun yatakları ve bölgenin doğusunda Ergani bakır madenleri bulunmaktadır. Oldukça zengin su kaynakları ve verimli ovaların yer aldığı vadi, Orta Anadolu ile Doğu Anadolu bölgelerinin sınırları arasında geçiş noktasındaki konumu nedeniyle de stratejik bir bölgedir. (Manuelli 2013: 426).

Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nin, Kalkolitik Dönem'den itibaren Kuzey Suriye ve Mezopotamya ile Orta Anadolu ve Kafkaslar arasında ki ilişkide önemli bir rol oynadığını görüyoruz. Geç Kalkolitik Dönem'den itibaren bölgede görülen ve Erken Tunç Çağı'nın bölgedeki karakteristik seramiği olan Karaz (Khirbet-Kerak), doğuda Kafkasya'dan batıda Filistin'e ve Amik Ovası'na kadar bu bölgede ortak bir kültürün varlığını gösteren önemli bir ipucudur. Karaz seramiğinin yayılışı bir görüşe göre; Hurriler'in bu coğrafyadaki hareketiyle ilgilidir. Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nin Erken Tunç Çağı'nda, kavimler hareketi ve ticaret dolayısıyla Doğu Anadolu, Kuzey Suriye, Kuzey Mezopotamya, Amik Ovası, Orta Anadolu ve Kilikya ile de ilişkide olduğu görülmektedir. ErkenTunç Çağı, İşuwa Bölgesi'nde oldukça yoğun ve birçok merkezde yaşanmıştır. En iyi temsil edildiği yerler Norşuntepe, Tepecik, Korucutepe ve Pulu'dur. Kazılar bu bölgede, Orta Tunç Çağı tabakalarına Erken Tunç Çağı kadar yaygın olarak rastlanılmadığını ortaya koymuştur. Burada özellikle, Tepecik, Norşuntepe, Korucutepe ve İmikuşağı'nın Orta Tunç Çağı tabakaları dikkat çeker.

Hititler'in, Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi ile ilgilenmelerinin çeşitli sebepleri vardı: İlk olarak ve en önemlisi, Hurri ve Asur akınlarının izlenebilmesi için, Fırat sınırının kontrol edilmesiydi. Kuzey Suriye'ye giden güzergâhın idare edilebilmesi çok önemliydi, çünkü maden kaynakları bakımından zengin olan bölgeye doğrudan ulaşmanın en pratik yolu bu yolu kullanmaktı. Bu nedenlerle, Yukarı Fırat bölgesi I. Hattuşili döneminden itibaren, Hitit ve Mitanni güçlerinin siyasi çekişmelerine sahne olmuştur. Söz konusu bölgenin mevcut politik sınırları yoktu. Eski Hitit Dönemi'ne ait yazılı belgelerde bölgeden hiç bahsedilmemektedir. Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'ne ilişkin, kesin olarak tarihlenebilen yazılı belgelerdeki ilk bilgilerimiz, Hitit İmparatorluk dönemine aittir. Eski Hitit Dönemi metinlerinde bölgeden hiç söz edilmemesi ilginçtir; zira bu dönemde Hititler'in Suriye, Kuzey Mezopotamya ve hatta Mezopotamya'nın ortalarına dek seferler düzenlediklerini, Anadolu'nun güneydoğusunda Hurriler ile mücadeleye giriştiklerini biliyoruz. Eski Hitit yazılı belgelerinin bölgeye dair suskunluğa rağmen; bu bölgede yapılan kazılar, Eski Hitit Dönemi'nde Yukarı Fırat bölgesinin iskân edildiğini, hatta burada önemli Hitit yerleşmeleri bulunduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Hitit etkisi, Malatya'dan Keban Bölgesi'ne

¹ Luvica *Ma-li-zi* Asurca *Melid*, Urartuca *Meliteia*, Aramice *mlz*, Grekçe *Melitene*, Latince *Melita*. (Manuelli 2013: 413 dn. 99). Malizi Krallığı hakkındaki bilgileri, Asur, Babil, Urartu, Arami kaynakları ve yöreye özgü Luvica yazılı kaynaklardan elde ediyoruz. Asur Kralı I. Tiglat-Pileser (MÖ 1114-1076), Nairi ve Daieni topraklarına yaptığı sefer dönüşünde Milida Kenti'ni ziyaret eder. Kralın yıllıklarına göre, kent ona boyun eğer ve yıllık vergi olarak kurşun cevheri ödemeyi kabul eder. (Grayson 1991: A.087.1, Sütun V, satır 33-41.) Aynı kralın Akdeniz kıyı devletlerine yaptığı bir başka seferde ise, yine Milida Kenti'ne gider ve Milida Kralı Allumari'den vergi alır. (Grayson 1991: A.087.4, satır 31); (Harmansah 2013: 82); (Hawkins 2000: 283-286.)



kadar olan alandaki bütün yerleşimlerde baskındır. En dikkat çekici Hitit tabakalarını bize sunanlar, yukarda da belirttiğimiz gibi Imikuşağı, Korucutepe, Norşuntepe ve Tepecik'tir.

MÖ13. yüzyılın ortalarında, Hititler'in kesin bir şekilde fethettiği bu bölgede, Hatti Kralı tarafından atanan yerel yöneticiler bulunmaktaydı. Bu yöneticilerin varlığı, Korucutepe'de saptanan mühür baskıları ile de anlaşılmaktadır. Söz konusu mühür baskılarının üzerinde yer alan isimler ise, bu bölgeye ait görünmektedir: Ari-şarruma, Ešli-şarruma ve Kiluşhepa gibi yöneticilere ait olabileceği düşünülen kişilerin hiyeroglif mühür baskıları ele geçirilmiştir. (Güterbock 1973: 137, 140, 141, 142; Klengel 1976, 87-88; Glocker 2011). Ayrıca Boğazköy-Nişantepe'de 1990 yılında yapılan kazılarda ele geçirilen Bo 90/286 numaralı mührün de, Ešli-şarruma'ya ait olduğu düşünülmektedir. (Hawkins 1998: 287). Bu ve buna benzer İşuwa memleketinin yöneticilerine ait hiyeroglif mühür baskılarının da Korucutepe'de bulunmuş olması ve diğer arkeolojik deliller, Korucutepe'nin olasılıkla; Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nin Hititler Dönemi'ndeki diğer önemli kentlerinden biri olan İşuwa'nın yönetim merkezi olduğuna işaret etmektedir.

Hititler Dönemi'nde Malitiya Kenti'nin adı geçtiği belgeler şunlardır:

KUB XXIII 72 Rs.37' (CTH 146) Pahhuwalı Mita'nın belgesi;

KBo XVI 42 Vs.8' (CTH 214) Tarihi metin fragmanları;

KBo XVIII 24 IV 13' (CTH 187) Krali mektup fragmanları;

KUB XXXI 103 lk. Rd. 4. (CTH 212) Antlaşma ve enstrüksiyon fragmanları;

KBo XXII 264 III 12 (CTH 577) Kombine edilmiş fal, SU, KIN ve MUŞEN

KUB XXIII 69, 4' (CTH 212) Antlaşma ve Enstrüksiyon fragmanları;

III. Arnuşanda Dönemi'ne tarihlendirilen Pahuwa Antlaşması'nda Malitiyalı yaşlılar, (KUB XXIII 72 Rs.37'; CTH 146) İşuwa, Pahhuwa ve Zuhmalı yaşlılar ile birlikte Hitit Devleti'ne yemin ettirilenler olarak görülmektedir. Bu yaşlılar, Hitit Devleti'ne sadık kalacaklarına, askeri yardımda bulunacaklarına ve haberdar oldukları siyasi entrikaları, Hitit Kralı'na bildireceklerine dair yemin etmiş olmalıydılar. Buradan İşuwa ve Malatiya'nın coğrafi olarak birbirine yakın olduğu ve aynı zamanda iki ayrı idari bölge olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. (Klengel 1968: 74). Ayrıca bu belge sayesinde, Malatiya ve diğer memleketlerin, bu dönemde doğrudan Hitit kralı tarafından yönetildiğini öğreniyoruz. Özellikle Kral IV. Tudhaliya döneminden itibaren, Asur Devletinin Hitit Devleti sınırlarına yaptığı saldırılar ve bölgedeki istila politikası önemli bir tehdit oluşturmaktaydı. (Taş 2008: 102). Nitekim İşuwa ve Malitiya'nın da içinde bulunduğu bölge de, bu anlamda stratejik öneme sahiptir. Aynı zamanda bu belge, İşuwa, Pahhuwa ve Zuhma'nın Hititler tarafından yürütülen merkezileştirme sürecine dâhil edildiğini göstermektedir. Bu sürecin dinamiklerini anlayabilmek için, kuşkusuz çok daha fazla belgeye ihtiyacımız var.

KBo XVI 42 Vs.8 (CTH 214) rapor niteliğindeki bir belgede ise, Malitiya, Manzana (del Monte-Tischler, 1978, 260) ve Hinzuta² Kentleri ile bağlantılı olarak İşuwa Krallığı'nın bulunduğu, Yukarı Fırat Havzası'nda, teftiş niteliğinde bir denetim yapıldığından bahsedilmektedir. (Taş 2008: 76). Bu da bölgede hiyerarşik bir yapının var olduğunu ve Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nde bir merkezileştirme sürecinin yaşandığına dair izler olarak değerlendirmek mümkündür. Ancak bu merkezileştirme politikası, maalesef Asur Devleti'nin sürece dâhil olmasıyla zaman zaman kesintiye uğramaktadır. Olasılıkla III. Hattuşili'den (?) Asur Kralı I. Salmanassar'a gönderilmiş olan bir mektupta; Asur kralı, Hitit Kralı'na, Malitiya'da teftiş yapmak üzere bir elçi göndermesi için çağrıda bulunmaktadır (KBo XVIII 24 IV 11'-15', CTH 187). Mektubun hemen başında Hitit Kralı, Asur kralına "Kardeşim, Asur ülkesinin büyük kralı" gibi hitaplar kullanmak suretiyle,

² Tigris'in yukarısına lokalize edilir. Geçtiği metin yerleri ve lokalizasyonu için bk. (del Monte-Tischler, 1978, 110).



ifade edeceklerini samimi diplomatik bir üslup ile yazdırmıştır. Görünüşe göre, Malatiya Kenti, Asur Kralı I. Salmanassar tarafından ele geçirilmiştir.

Pahhuwa Ülkesi ile imzalanan bir antlaşma metnini içeren KUB XXXI 103 lk. Rd. 4. (CTH 212)'de de Malitiya'dan söz edilmektedir.

Yine KIN Orakeli çerçevesinde yöneltilen sorular (KBo XXII 264 III 12 (CTH 577)), Asur Kralı Adad-Nirari'nin bu kente gelmiş olabileceğini göstermektedir. Söz konusu kontekstte Adad-Nirari'den söz edilmektedir. (Hawkins 1993: 35).

KUB XXIII 69 numaralı çok küçük bir metin parçasında ise; Malitiya Kenti, büyük kral ve sınır kelimeleri ile bir arada geçer. Antlaşma ve enstrüksiyon belgeleri içerisinde değerlendirilen bu fragmanın, kayıp diğer parçalarını bulmadan, belgenin tamamını anlamak şimdilik mümkün değildir.

Hititçe belgelerden Malitiya hakkında elde edebildiğimiz sınırlı bilgileri, Arslantepe arkeolojik kazısından elde edilen bazı somut belge ve bilgiler ile desteklemek mümkün görünmektedir.

Arslantepe'de ki sur sistemi, kapı sisteminin sur içine dâhil edildiği bir Orta Anadolu mimarisinin varlığı ve bu sur sisteminin inşa edilmesi için gereken insan gücü ve yatırım göz önüne alındığında; bu maliyet ve ihtiyaçları doğru bir şekilde idare edecek bir yönetim mekanizmasının, burada var olduğunu bizlere göstermektedir. (Manuelli 2013: 445). Orta Anadolu tipi mühürlerin ve metal eserlerin yanı sıra, tipik Hitit seramik tiplerinin ortaya çıkması, Arslantepe hafirleri tarafından VB1 ve VB2 dönemleri arasına yerleştirilmektedir. (Manuelli 2013: 443). Dolayısıyla Orta Anadolu ile Yukarı Fırat bölgeleri arasındaki ilk etkileşim, yukarıda da belirttiğimiz gibi, Eski Hitit yazılı belgelerinin bölgeye dair suskunluğa rağmen, arkeolojik olarak Eski Hitit Krallığı döneminde gerçekleşmiş olmalıdır. Bu etkileşim, bölgesel kültür öğeleri ile birleşerek, İmparatorluk döneminde daha da yoğunlaşmış görünmektedir.

Arslantepe'de bulunan mühür buluntuları, başkent Hattuşaş ya da Hitti Krallığı'nın Kuzey Suriye'deki merkezi Kargamış'tan gelen yabancı memurların varlığını onaylamaktadır. (Manuelli 2013: 446 ve Pl. 7). Bu buluntular, bölge üzerinde doğrudan bir kontrolün var olduğunu göstermektedir.

Tüm bu kontekst içinde, Hitit etkili çanak çömleğin saptanması da, kapı sisteminin sur içine dâhil edildiği Orta Anadolu mimarisinin inşasında, Hitit otoritesinin doğrudan bir etkisi olduğunu doğrular niteliktedir. Bunun yanı sıra çanak çömlek üretiminde gözlenen kontrol mekanizmasındaki ve standartlaşmadaki artış, GTÇ II'de, Arslantepe'de hem merkezleşmenin geliştiğini hem de Hitit etkilerinin bu dönemde daha güçlü olduğunu ortaya koymaktadır. (Manuelli 2013: 446). Arslantepe'de Hitit konteksinden elde edilen tüm arkeolojik bilgiler, merkezi bir kontrole işaret etmektedir. (Manuelli 2013: 445). Nitekim yukarıda da ifade ettiğimiz gibi Hititçe belgeler de, Malatiya ve İşuwa'nın da içinde bulunduğu Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nde, bir merkezleştirme politikasının izlendiğini bizlere göstermektedir. Zaten Yukarı Fırat Bölgesi'nin istikrarsız ve Asur saldırılarına açık konumu, yukarıda da pek çok kez tekrarlamış olduğumuz gibi, bu oldukça stratejik önemi olan bölgenin, askeri birlik ya da devlet memurları dışında, merkezi bir otorite tarafından idare edilmesini gerektiriyordu.

Luvi hiyeroglif yazılı ve yazısız Hitit anıt stellerinin dağılımına göz attığımızda, Hitit Devleti'nin bu yazılı anıt stelleri Hitit merkezleştirme politikalarının bir aracı olarak kullanmış olabileceğini düşünüyoruz.³ Hitit İmparatorluk devrine tarihlenenler olmakla birlikte, bu anıt stellerin önemli bir kısmı, Hitit İmparatorluk devri sonrasına tarihlendiriliyor olsa da; Hititler'in kendi merkez sınırları dışında inşa etmeye çalıştıkları

³ www.hittitemonuments.com



merkezileştirme politikalarının, sonraki yüzyıllarda meydan gelen devlet dinamiğinde süregelmiş ve aynı politikayı gelenekselleştirmiş olma ihtimali yüksektir. Nitekim Malatya civarında ele geçen Hitit imparatorluk devrine⁴ ve Hitit İmparatorluk devri sonrasına⁵ tarihlendirilen Luvice hiyeroglif yazılı anıtların sayısı da, Malatiya Kenti'nin bu merkezileştirme politikasından ne derece etkilenmiş olduğunun bir başka kanıtı olabilir. Eski Yakındoğu'da anıtların, propaganda amacı ile kullanıldığını çok iyi biliyoruz. (Harmanşah 2013).

Sonuç olarak, filolojik ve arkeolojik belgeler bize, oldukça stratejik bir konumda bulunan Malatiya Kenti'nin, Hititler tarafından yürütülen merkezileştirme sürecine dâhil edildiği savımızı destekler niteliktedir.

⁴ **Atabey Steli** (MÖ 13.-12. yüzyıl) bk. (Ussishkin 1993: 635-637).

⁵ **Darende Steli** (MÖ 11. yüzyıl) bk. (Hawkins 2000: 304-305 ve plts 145-46); **Arslantaş** (MÖ 12. ya da 11. yüzyıl) bkz. (Hawkins 2000: 329); **İspekçür Steli** (MÖ 11. yüzyıl) bkz. (Hawkins 2000: 301-304 and pl. 142-44); **Gürün Steli** (MÖ 12. - 10. yüzyıl) bkz. (Hawkins 2000: 295-299 and plts. 135-38); **Kötükale Steli** (MÖ 12. - 10. yüzyıl) bk. (Hawkins 2000: 299 and pl. 139-141); **Palanga Steli** (MÖ 8. yüzyıl) bk. (Hawkins 2000: 325-327 ve plts. 161-62).



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SECTION 5
THE BRONZE AGE-COMPARATIVE
PERSPECTIVES



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE RESEARCHES ON THE EAST
ANATOLIAN KURA-ARAS CULTURE:
TWO KEY SETTLEMENTS TWO LEADING FIGURES

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE RESEARCHES ON THE EAST ANATOLIAN KURA-ARAS CULTURE: TWO KEY SETTLEMENTS TWO LEADING FIGURES

MEHMET IŞIKLI- SEFA KÖSE

Introduction

With its extraordinary geography, throughout all historical periods, the East Anatolia Region has always had a distinct status among the network of the relations that have been developed between the lands of Caucasia, Mesopotamia and Anatolia (with the East- West and North South directions). Among these periods, the most outstanding one is Early Bronze Age. In this period when urban cultures developed in most of Near East, the developed settled life and/or semi-nomadic country culture created by stock farming-agriculturalist societies in the East Anatolia and nearby lands assert itself. This cultural phenomenon mostly known as Kura- Aras Culture within the Near East Archaeology, makes its presence felt for more than a millennium in the mountainous zone between the Caucasian and Taurus Mountains (Fig.1). This culture, known with its unique traditions of ceramic and architecture, settlement organisation, socio-economic structure and belief system, has a lot of problems that needs further solution due to its magnitude of chronology and geography (Burney and Lang 1971). (Sagona 1984) (Palumbi 2008) (Kohl 2007) (Işıklı 2011a) (Palumbi and Chataignier 2014) (Frangipane and Palmieri 1983, 523-574) (Frangipane 2003b, 19-21) (Frangipane 2014).

Essentially, the researches regarding culture has a history that exits a hundred years. In the early 1900s and in 1920s for the first time at the mound of Khirbet-Kerak in Palestine, through the excavations of W.F Albright, the black-red polished ceramic of the culture is detected and the existence of culture is defined for the first time. Initially, mostly through the researches focussing on Levant and South Caucasia, current knowledge on culture increases day by day (Sagona, 2014, 21-32). As the Mountainous East Anatolia highland, which is one of the most crucial areas of cultural extension, is taken into consideration, it is identified that it is through the sounding of Erzurum Karaz by Koşay during the 1940s that the existence of culture in this place was detected and defined. (F.g.2). Earlier than this research, no substantial data regarding the existence of culture is attained in the early period excavations carried out in the centers within the extension range of culture, inclusive of Arslantepe, Van Castle mound and Tilkitepe Van. The focus of the archaeological researches that began at the end of the 1800s and carried out at the highland of East Anatolia is mostly the Urartian remnants within and around the Lake Van (Işıklı 2011b, 1-12).

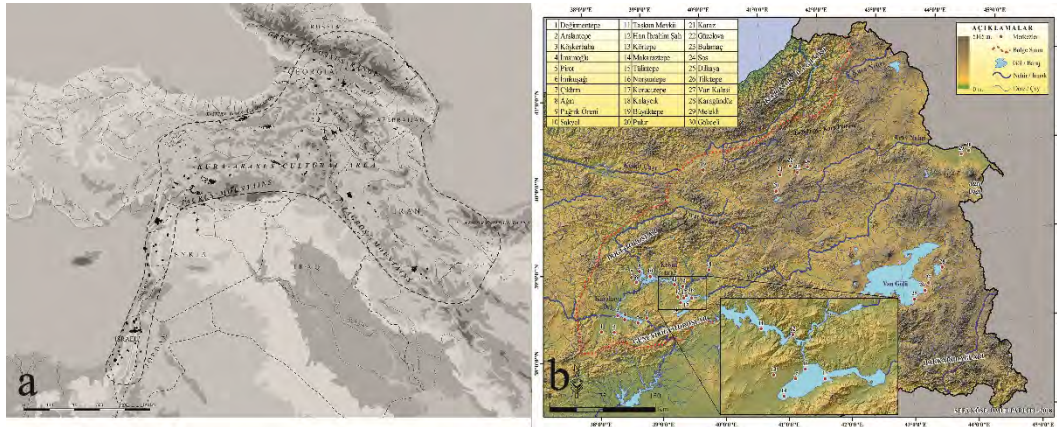


Fig 1 The Maps showing (a) Kura-Araxes Cultural Geography (b) Kura-Araxes sites mentioned the text.

Kura-Aras Culture Researches in East Anatolian Highland

The essential archaeological researches carried out in East Anatolian highland starts in the 1930s (Fig.2). The French researcher L. Delaporte in Malatya- Arslantepe in 1932, American researcher E. B. Reilley in Van-Tilkitepe mound in 1937, and American researcher K. Lake in Van Castle mound in 1939, all carry out a series of short term excavations. Yet, none of these excavations could put forward any substantial data regarding the definition of Kura-Aras Culture (Işıklı 2005, 106-107). While Delaporte focussed on Late Hittite remnants, for the excavations of Reilley and Lake in Van district the situation is rather different. It is reported in the study of Lake et al. that from the excavations of Kalecik and Van Castle mound two types of ceramics are obtained. One of these ceramics is red polished Urartian ceramic (as *Vannic sherds* in their terminology) and the other one is shiny black polished E.T.Ç. ceramic (as *pre-Vannic sherds* in their terminology). Although during that period this ceramic was not recognized as ETÇ / Kura – Aras ceramic, still it can be accepted as a starting point for the researches regarding the culture (Reilley 1940, 145 et al). Later, in the 1980s M. Korfmann re-examines these early excavations in the Van region. Within the light of ceramic remnants preserved in the Van Museum, Korfmann re-creates the stratigraphy of Tilkitepe and points out the presence of culture in this settlement. The stratigraphy that Korfmann mainly reveals, roughly corresponds to that of Reilley and Lake and the material of the II. Layer of his stratigraphy is remarkable within the context of our subject.¹ (Korfmann 1982, 43 et al).

While this is the case for the early developments within the studies basing on Lake Van basin, it is rather different in a little further northern part, that is in Erzurum-Kars plateau. In this region, the primary information regarding the prehistory of the district comes from K. Kökten's surveys and small-scale excavations. İ. Kılıç Kökten, as a young researcher from the Faculty of Language, History and Geography of Ankara University, starts surface survey in the region in the early 1940s. Kökten, who mostly examines the cultural relations between East Anatolia and Black Sea in the prehistorical period, makes several investigations in many regions of East Anatolia. The studies of Kökten, who is the first Turkish researcher in East Anatolia, reveals crucial results regarding the archaeology of the region apart from its prehistory (Kökten 1952: 167-207) (Kökten 1947, 431-472) (Kökten 1943, 601-613). At the same time, during his researches Kökten carries out small-scale

¹ Basing on the stratigraphy of Reilley, Korfmann accepts the Chalcolithic layers parallel as the first ones corresponding to the Halaf Period, and the later layers as the Late Ubaid Period. The ceramic of the II. sequence is referred as the Kura-Aras Ceramic.



soundings in Kars (in Azat Mound and City of Ani) and Sivas (in Hafik). Unfortunately, the studies of Kökten is not much meaningful with regard to the Kura-Aras Culture studies, which is the topic of this study. Solely, in his reports, Kökten prefers calling the ceramics that resemble to the ceramics of this culture as “*Bakırçağ Seramiği (Bronze Age Ceramic)*” (Kökten 1944, 659 – 680). (Fig.1 and 2)

The study that can be regarded, as the preliminary for the East Anatolian Region Kura-Aras researches, is a one-season sounding in Erzurum Karaz Mound by H. Z. Koşay carried out in the early 1940s (specifically in 1942). Two years later, a one-season excavation follows this sounding (Koşay and Turfan 1959,349 et al) (Koşay and Vary 1964) (Koşay and Vary 1967). Indeed, this sounding and the excavation are the first studies wherein the culture is archaeologically recognized and defined in East Anatolia. While Koşay searches for the parallels of the ceramic-dominant data obtained from Karaz in a quite vast geography, he also compares them with the materials from Kura-Aras, which then was newly being explored in Southern Caucasia during that period. From this viewpoint, Koşay locally denominates this culture that he detects in the Erzurum Lowland as “*Karaz Culture*”. This name is much favoured by Turkish archaeologists and thus it has been used for a long time (Koşay 1943, 167 – 168) (Işıklı 2015a). (Fig.2)

Chronologic Chart Showing Projects Related with Kura-Araxes in Eastern Anatolia

Timeline	1930- 1950	1950- 1970	1970- 1990	1990-2010
1932	L. Delaporte Arslantepe (Excavation)	1956- 1957 C. Burney Eastern Anatolia (Survey)	1970 K. Kökten Cıldırım Hüyükü (Excavation)	1984- 1992 A. Çilingiroğlu Dilkaya (Excavation)
1937	E. B. Reilly Tilkitepe (Excavation)	1959- 1962 A. Erzen Ernis (Excavation)	1970 H. Z. Koşay Pulur/Sakıol (Excavation)	1990- 1993 A. Sagoma Baybur Survey and Tilkitepe Excavation
1939	K. Lake Van Kalesi Mound (Excavation)	1960 S. Puglisi and Meriggi Arslantepe (Excavation)	1970- 1971 H. Tirmen Han İbrahim Şahı (Excavation)	1992 Rothmann and Kozbe Muş (Survey)
1942	H. Z. Koşay Erzurum Karaz (Sounding)	1960 H. Z. Koşay Erzurum Pulur (Excavation)	1971- 1974 U. Esin Tilimtepe (Excavation)	1994- 1997 V. Sevin Karagündüz (Excavation)
1942	H. Z. Koşay Erzurum Karaz (Excavation)	1961 H. Z. Koşay Güzetova (Excavation)	1972 Hauptmann Körtepe (Excavation)	1998 A. Ceylan Erzurum-Kars (Excavation)
		1967 H. Ertem Han İbrahim Şahı (Survey)	1972 H. Z. Koşay Yeniköy (Excavation)	2000- 2009 A. Özdırac Doğubayazıt (Survey)
		1968 H. Z. Koşay Pulur /Sakıol (Survey)	1973 R. Duru Değirmentepe (Excavation)	2001- 2002 M. Işıklı Erzurum Pasinler Survey and Pulur Sounding
		1968 R. Whallon ve H. Wright Fatmalı Kalecik (Excavation)	1973- 1975 M. N. Van Loon and H. Güterbock Korucutepe (Excavation)	2000- 2010 Erzurum Museum Haski-Ceyhan Pipe line Project Sounding and Excavations
		1968- 1972 Ü. Serdaroğlu Ağın ve Kalaycı (Excavation)	1978- 1983 Ö. Karaca Pirazi (Excavation)	2000- 2010 Erzurum Museum Tuzluca Project Sounding and Analysis Tuzluca Excavations
		1968- 1973 D. French Harm Meke- Siphon, Aşık Kale Settlement, Tajour Kala Settlement (Excavation)	1978- 1985 Ö. Bilgi Kösşerbaşı (Excavation)	
		1969 R. Harper Pağnik Öreni (Excavation)	1978- 1986 U. Esin Değirmentepe (Excavation)	
			1978- 1989 M. Darga Semsiyetepe (Excavation)	
			1980- 1987 E. Uzunoglu İmamoglu (Excavation)	
			1981- 1986 V. Sevin İmikuşığı (Excavation)	

Fig 2 The Chronological Chart showing the projects related with Kura-Araxes Culture in Eastern Anatolia.

In the 1950s, the research in the region is much carried out as surveys. For the early 1950s the research by Kökten and for the late 1950s the surveys that contain a very large part of North Anatolia carried out by C. Burney are highly important both for the archaeology of the region and for the studies on Kura-Aras Culture (Burney 1958, 157-209). This culture which is defined with Karaz Sounding by Koşay, is chronologically and geographically framed by Burney for the first time and is referred by its new name. If the absence of the excavations for the structuring of chronology of the region and culture is taken into



consideration, the importance of the case could easily be understood. As a result of his research, while Burney denominates this culture as “*The Culture of Early Bronze Age of Transcaucasia and East Anatolia*”, in his later published cult book entitles as “*The People of the Hills*”, he denominates this culture as “Early Transcaucasia Culture” (Burney and Lang 1971, 44). As is known, Burney is one of the researchers who has conducted the most extensive studies regarding the culture. Through his excavations, researches and academic publishing in East Anatolia and North-western Iran, he has put forward highly crucial viewpoints and suggestions about the culture and the archaeology of South Caucasia (Fig.2).

Apart from these, another study that takes the attention regarding Kura-Aras studies is the excavations of Ernis Cemetery by Afif Erzen. Erzen, who mostly focusses on Urartian culture, carries out the excavations in Ernis Cemetery, which is an Iron Age Cemetery located on the north-eastern shores of Lake Van, during the period between 1959-1962 (Belli 2001, 145-150). It is stated that in addition to the pottery of Iron Age, the pottery of Kura-Aras was also obtained from the graveyards during the excavations. Apart from these studies the publishing of which is rather problematic, it is also known from the museum records that a large number of Kura-Aras pottery was obtained from the illicit excavations of this settlement. This case is later discussed by various researchers several times² (Burney 1958, 157-209) (Işıklı 2011a) (Can and Yiğitpaşa 2012). (Fig.2)

The 1960s, is an important period with regard to the studies of East Anatolia Region Kura-Aras Culture. Especially, two excavations (the excavations of 1960 – Pular and 1961 – Güzelova) in the Erzurum tableland reveal that the presence of culture in the region is stronger than it is expected (Koşay and Vary 1962) (Koşay and Vary 1964) The findings, results and materials of each excavation are published as books. (Fig.3). Though they are insufficient since they are early period excavations, these projects are quite important due to their being pioneering studies. The results and materials of these three early excavations are re-evaluated within the framework of a thesis projects in the early 2000s (Işıklı 2005, 443-478). In 1966, during the sounding by Kemal Balkan conducted in a mound located within Ancient Ani Site, important pottery belonging to the culture is also obtained. Unfortunately, this artefact group, on which there is no periodic publishing, is preserved in Kars Museum and the related academic study was re-evaluated and published in 2009 (Işıklı 2007 40-51).

Another significant development about the archaeology of the region and the culture during the 1960s is centered on Upper Euphrates Basin. In Arslantepe, which is one of the most important centers of the region and the culture, new period excavations directed by Puglisi and Meriggi start during these years (Puglisi and Meriggi 1964). The systematic Italian excavations follow these studies starting from 1963. These early researches put forward the first explicit data regarding the stratigraphy of the settlement. At the same time, this is the period when the culture was archeologically proved for the first time in Arslantepe, which is the most crucial key settlement of the culture.

The 1970s and 1980s are the years when huge dam projects were carried out in order to supply the increasing energy need of the developing Turkey. As is known, such projects have still been maintained today. The most important ones of these accomplished projects are the dams of Keban, Karakaya and Atatürk, constructed on the River Euphrates. Thanks to these projects, all the Euphrates Basin is the best archeologically researched area of the region. Within the scope of these three projects, 643 settlements are detected in the basin and 57 of them are totally or partially excavated (Özdoğan 2006, 13-19) (Işıklı 2011b, 1-12). Among the 40 of the excavated settlements, the levels of Kura Aras Culture are identified. By this means, the most information in the Mountainous East Anatolia about the culture is

² The museum records and the material is analysed by me.



attained from these settlements. Thanks to these rescue excavations, many insufficiently illuminated issues about the source and expansion of the culture are, though partially, clarified (Işıklı 2005, 55-75) (Işıklı 2012). (Fig. 3 and 4)



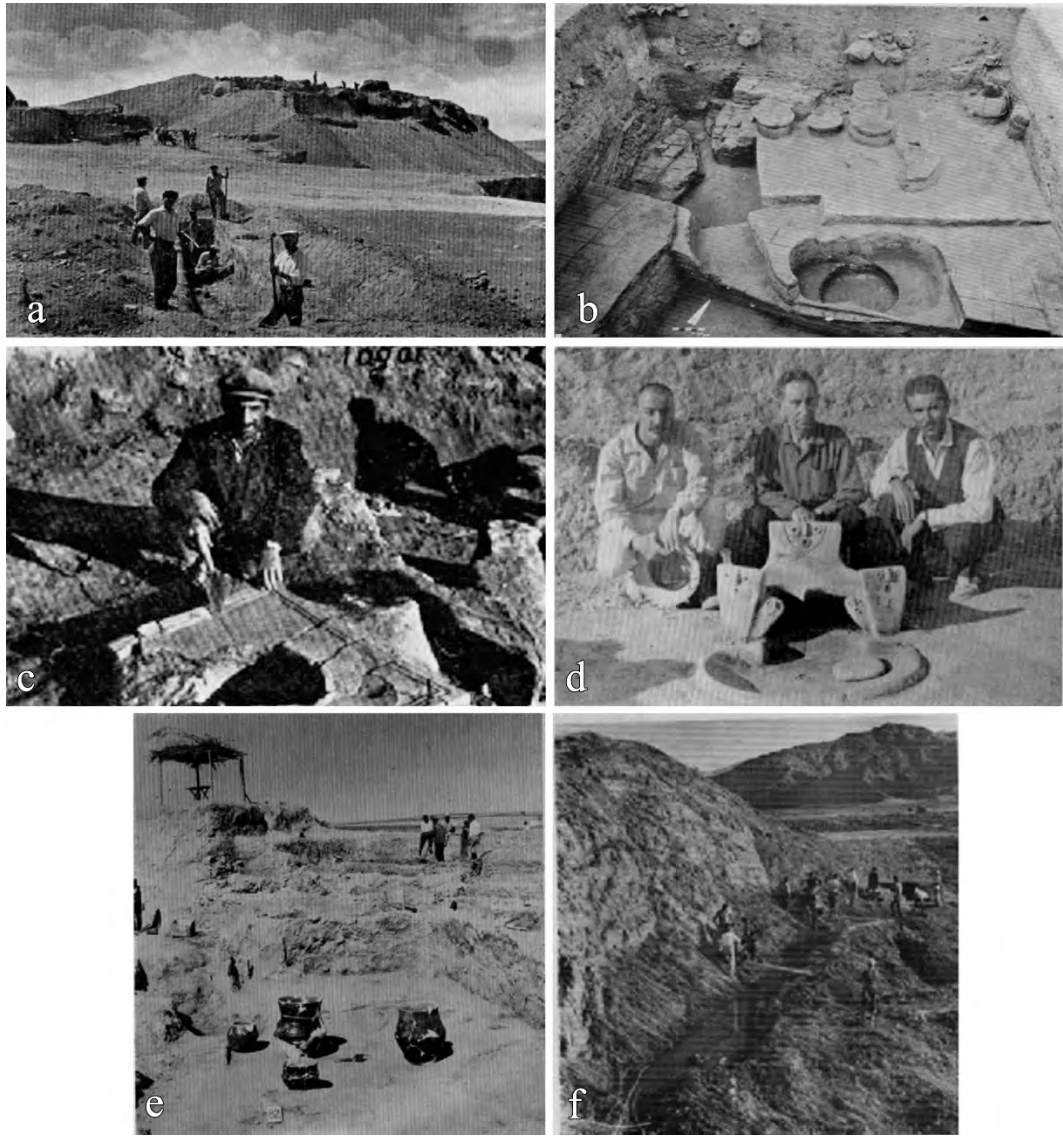
Fig 3 The book covers of Some Publications Kura-Araxes projects

The 1980s is a barren period with regard to the East Anatolia Kura-Aras Culture. It is no doubt that the most important project of this period is the beginning of the excavations of Dilkaya Mound located on the shore of Lake Van. This very first systematic excavation is carried out between 1984-1992 with the directory of Prof. A. Çilingiroğlu. The excavations resulted in the revelation of the first clear evidences regarding the development process of the culture within Lake Van Basin. These excavations prove that the later phases of the culture (Kura-Araxes II. and III.) are lived as a basic country culture in the basin (Çilingiroğlu 1993, 487).

Just afterwards these excavations, the Karagündüz excavations of V. Sevin also reveal findings that confirm this situation. The excavations in Karagündüz are the most important project carried out in the highland during the 1990s within the context of the Kura-Aras studies (Burney 1958, 178 vd) (Sevin, Kavaklı and Özfirat 1997, 579 et al) (Vançin 2001) (Sevin and Kavaklı 2000, 847-881). During this period, while these studies were conducted in Van Basin, the studies of A. Sagona, who is mostly identified with the culture, marks the period in the north, in the region of Erzurum-Kars. During the period between 1990-1993, he directs one-season surface surveys in Sagona, Bayburt Tableland and Kelkit Valley, and afterwards he directs the excavations of Büyüktepe for three seasons (Sagona vd. 1995a). 36 of the 60 of settlements that he detects in the region, the presence of Early Bronze Age and Kura-Aras material is reported. Being one of these centers, the excavations in the Büyüktepe Mound help us understand both the expansion of the culture in the north and the characteristics of a seasonal settlement belonging to mobile pastoral groups (Sagona 1990, 426) (Sagona A. and Sagona C. 2004). (Figs 1 and 2).

A research carried out in Muş District during the early 90s is significant for the studies on the culture. A one-season surface survey carried out within the scope of a dam project to be constructed on Murat River Basin in 1992 is directed by M. Rothmann and G. Kozbe. This project is the first and the most crucial study carried out about the presence of culture in Muş Plain. In their reports, Rothmann and Kozbe discuss the existence of 30 mounds that reveal the material of Kura-Aras Culture (Rothman and Kozbe 1997, 105 – 119). Specifically, in his a series of theoretical publishing based on the results of this survey Rothmann renders striking analysis especially about the expansion period of the culture (Rothman 2003b, 207 – 216) (Rothman 2003a, 95 – 110) (Rothman 2000, 429 – 443) (Rothman 1994, 281 – 294) (Rothman 1992, 269 – 278).





*Fig 4 Some photos of Kura-Araxes Excavations in Eastern Anatolia:
(a) Pulum/Sakyol (b) Norşuntepe (c-d-e) Pulum/Sakyol (f) Değirmen-tepe*

After the 1990s, the East Anatolia highland substantially retreats into silence regarding the studies on Kura-Aras Culture. This is mostly the case for the research types like excavations. During the 2000s, the research in the regions continues as surface surveys. The most significant of this type of research is the surface survey project of Prof. A. Özfırat in the region of Ağrı (Özfırat and Marro 2004, 15 – 32). This part of the highland is also one of the least known areas for the culture. Besides, during the period between 2001-2002, the surveys conducted in the tablelands of Erzurum and Pasinler, and the sounding in Pulum Mound reveal substantial results about the archaeology of the region (Karaosmanoğlu vd. 2003, 345 – 356) (Karaosmanoğlu vd. 2004, 301 – 310). (Figs. 2-5) Additionally, the surface surveys involving the region of Erzurum-Kars, carried out since the late 1990s by Prof. Dr. A. Ceylan, an Ancient Historian, are the studies to be referred within this context (Ceylan 2008). However, since all of these studies do not have the quality of a systematic and long-



period excavation, these are the researches that manifest the potential of culture in the region rather than bringing solutions for the main problems of the culture.

During the 2000s, what heats up the archaeology of the region is the project of Baku-Ceyhan Petroleum Pipeline. In these studies that are conducted within a narrow yet long corridor, tens of settlements were detected and part of them were excavated (Şenyurt, Akçay and Kamyş 2006). Unfortunately, none of these settlements has importance for the culture. Therefore, this great project falls short of the expectations for the Kura-Aras Culture studies.

During the 2010s, through the pipeline that again comes to the agenda, the extensive surface surveys and rescue excavations make up the second phase of the studies about the region. The projects known as TANAP excavations reveal rather exciting results regarding our subject. The excavations in Alaybeyi and Tasmazor within the Erzurum Tableland reveal crucial results about the rich existence of the culture, as well as about the earliest settlement period of the region. The stratigraphic and radio-carbon data open up the discussion of the presence of Early and/or Middle Chalcolithic Period within the settlement (Altunkaynak vd. 2018, 79-96) (In print). On the other hand, a series of Kura- Aras hoard detected in the settlement comprises the most important data group regarding the burial culture within the highland (Işıklı 2015b, 51-70) (Altunkaynak vd. 2018, 79-96). (In print) (Fig.2).

Two Key Settlements- Two Leading Figures

As seen in the research history above, the Mountainous East Anatolia Region, which is an important expansion area for the Kura-Aras Culture, is not a prosperous and rich region with regard to the researches. This situation is rather clear and tragic for long-term systematic researches and regional distribution of these studies. While the number of settlements about the culture detected through the surveys in the region reaches up to 643, the number of settlements that are excavated is only 57. unfortunately, most of these excavations are not long-term systematic ones.

Looking at the regional distribution of these studies, it is identified that most of them center on Upper Euphrates Basin, Lake Van Basin and Aras Basin. Out of these basins, a greatly vast part of this geography with 163.000 square kilometres is unknown regarding the subject of our study. Specifically, the mountainous areas are hardly ever researched. If the fact that most of the region is mountainous and the culture is a highland culture is taken into consideration, the scale of insufficiency of this situation would be understood.

Essentially, we owe almost most of our current knowledge on East Anatolia Kura-Aras Culture to two systematic excavations and their excavators. These excavations are Arslantepe Mound within Malatya Tableland in the Upper Euphrates Basin and Sos Mound within Pasinler Tableland in the Aras Basin. The excavators of these centers are Prof. Anthony Sagona, who died last year and is identified with the culture, for the Sos Mound and Prof. Marcella Frangipane, who has been the director of the Arslantepe excavations carried out for half a century (Figs.5 and 6).

Prof. Dr. Marcella Frangipane and the Arslantepe excavations with a history of half a century, has a key significance for the archaeology East Anatolia and for the Kura-Aras Culture studies. Arslantepe excavations, which is one of the most systematic and long-term excavations about the archaeology of Near East, enables the creation of an extraordinarily detailed scenario about the relations between the regions of East Anatolia- North Mesopotamia-Caucasia (Figs.5 and 6).

Specifically, according to this scenario, wherein mobile pastoral groups of the mountainous region come across with settled and urban Mesopotamian groups, the archaeological setup is excellently manifested. Within this net of relations between the North



and the South, the Kura-Aras Culture and the role of the mobile people as the representatives of the culture have been explicitly revealed (Frangipane and Palmiari 1983, 523-574) (Frangipane 2003b 19-21) (Frangipane 2014). In the further norther mountainous part, the Sos Mound is one of the few settlements the systematic excavations of which are conducted in the Aras Basin, which is accepted as the homeland of Kura-Aras Culture.



Fig 5 Two leading names of Kura-Araxes Investigations: Prof A. Sagona and Prof. M. Frangipane are in different activities in Eastern Anatolia.



Fig 6 Two key sites: (a-b) Arslantepe and (c) Sos Höyük (Işıklı, 2011)

Unfortunately, it is not a center that has as a long history of excavation as Arslantepe. It is a key settlement with respect to the developmental process of the culture especially within Erzurum-Kars Plateau in East Anatolian Highland. The excavations in Sos Mound carried out by Prof. A. Sagona and his team manifest striking results specifically about the source problems of Kura-Aras Culture. In his published studies, Sagona asserts that the



culture originates from the cultures of South Caucasia and local cultures of Chalcolithic Period within mountainous East Anatolia as an extension. Sagona, who has been working on the culture since the 1980s, has acquired similar results and findings from his recent excavation in Georgia (Sagona 1998, 13-25) (Sagona 2000, 329-373, 27-48, 181-226) (Sagona and Sagona 2000, 56-127) (Sagona and Sagona 2003, 101-109) (Kiguradze and Sagona 2003) (Figs.5 and 6)

Their works have the qualities of being the core of the archaeology of Mountainous East Anatolia and the research on Kura-Aras Culture. For the mountainous East Anatolia highland, which is one of the most unfortunate areas of our country for archaeological research, these two figures and their excavations and studies are of vital importance. A series of problems of the Kura- Aras Culture, which still has unanswered questions due to its geographical and chronological magnitude, have been clarified through these excavations and researches. Yet, it is difficult to maintain that they are sufficient. It is desired that may the highland stage such systematic projects of such pioneering figures.



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BAŞUR HÖYÜK & ARSLANTEPE THE ROLE OF METAL WEALTH IN FUNERARY CUSTOMS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

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BAŞUR HÖYÜK & ARSLANTEPE THE ROLE OF METAL WEALTH IN FUNERARY CUSTOMS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

HALUK SAĞLAMTİMUR-METİN BATIHAN-İNAN AYDOĞAN

During the phase following the “collapse” of the Uruk System at the end of the 4th millennium BC in northern Mesopotamia there are developments which were not seen in previous periods. The trend of cultural homogeneity occurred during the Late Uruk Period disappeared in the beginning of the third millennium BC and regionally organized political units with local character have emerged to the eastern and south-eastern Anatolia and its surrounding areas (Abay 2006; Akkermans, Schwartz 2003: 210-232; Frangipane 2009: 36-37; Ökse 2011: 261). In parallel with these developments, different funerary customs and the increase and proliferation of metal usage are the tokens of these radical changes/developments.

Archeological research carried out for many years in the Euphrates Region, have proved that the region had a very important place in terms of metallurgical activities. The works, which have been continued within the scope of the Ilısu Dam and HEPP Projects over the last twenty years, have shown that the Upper Tigris Region had also an advanced organization in terms of metallurgical activities. Especially at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, Arslantepe in the Upper Euphrates Region and Başur Höyük in the Upper Tigris Region (fig. 1) are the key settlements for their regions in order to understand the developments' dynamics because they had some complex funerary customs such as human sacrifice and their extraordinary metalwork represented a difference which had not been seen in any other contemporary settlement. In this paper, we aim to focus on the significance of metal for the local communities by taking in hand the tombs and rich metal objects in burial contexts dated to the beginnings of the 3rd millennium BC revealed at Arslantepe and Başur Höyük located in these two regions rich in terms of raw material.

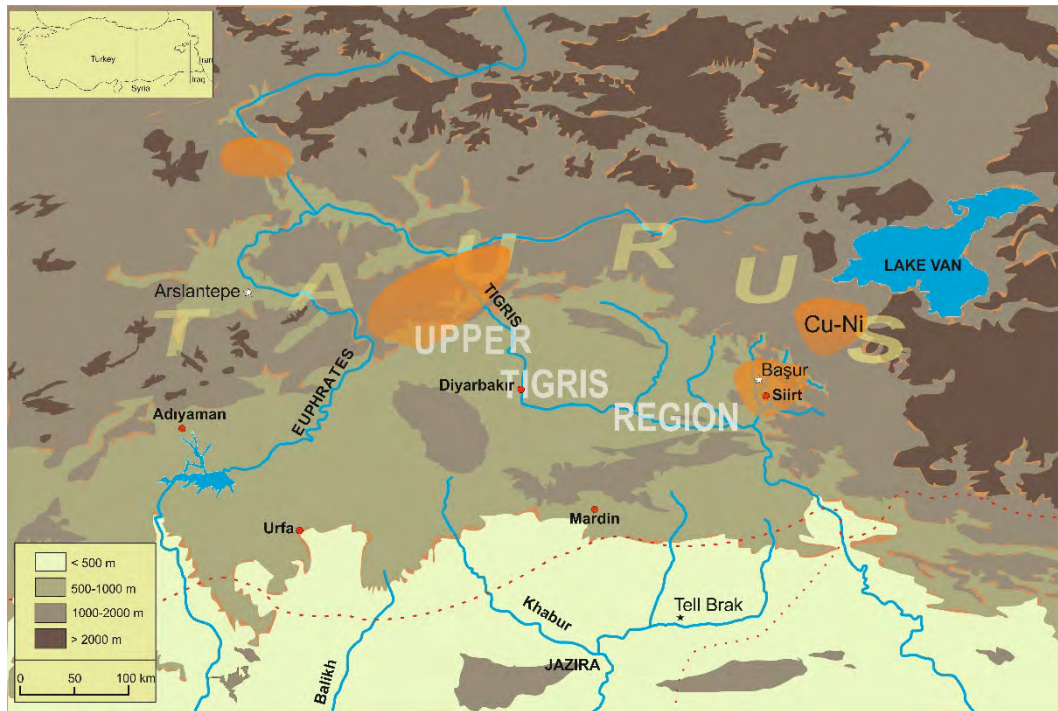


Fig 1. Locations of Başıur Höyük and Arslantepe and some of important copper sources are shown in orange.

A Brief Introduction to the 'Royal Tomb' of Arslantepe

In the settlement of Arslantepe, some radical changes happened in the political, economic and social systems after VIA (Late Chalcolithic 5) had come to an end with a fire. Wattle and daub architecture and red-black burnished wares associated with the pastoral-nomad tribes in VI B1, took the place of VI A which is characterized by the palace system, metal weapons, cretulae, seals and mass-produced pottery (Frangipane et alii 2001: 106). Phase VI B2, following this phase and lasting approximately one hundred years, is characterized with a rural settlement surrounded by walls and formed by mud-brick houses with one or two rooms, and Plain Simple Ware and Reserved Slip Ware. It has been stated that there was a small village occupied with agriculture and animal husbandry in Arslantepe VI B2, and parallel to this, there were no weapons or luxury metal objects except work tools (Di Nocera 2013: 129).

The stone cist tomb, which was discovered in the 1995 excavation season at the settlement of Arslantepe, was built at the bottom of a large pit with the form of a rectangle and was surrounded with stone blocks and covered by a capstone, is known as the 'Royal Tomb'. The tomb is dated to the period between VI B1 and VI B2 (approximately 3000/2950-2900 BC) and is located to the west of the mound in an isolated situation at the border of the architectural elements of VIA (Frangipane et alii 2001: 106). There is a 30-40 year-old man, seen as a "lord/chief", in the grave and there are four adolescents on the capstone, three of whom are girls and one boy, the latter four are thought to be sacrifices (Frangipane et alii 2001; 2017: 178). In the 'Royal Tomb' is a mixed pottery repertoire composed of Red-black Burnished Ware which reflects the tradition of Transcaucasia-Eastern Anatolia, alongside which are wheel-made wares of Uruk type. In the tomb, besides weapons such as daggers, axes, sword and spearheads, 75 metal objects composed of metal vessels, diadem, pins, chisels and ornaments, have been found. The chemical analyses of the metal objects have shown that these were formed from alloys such as arsenic-copper,



arsenic-nickel-copper and copper-silver (Di Nocera, Palmieri 1999; Di Nocera 2013: 123). Because there are already many publications about this grave that we mention here in outline, it will appear in this paper through references to the objects related with the metals obtained from the graves of Başur Höyük .

A Brief Introduction to the 'Kingless Thrones' of Başur Höyük

At the beginning of the 3rd millennium, after the 'collapse' of the Uruk system, the Başur Höyük EBA I occupation was established on top of the previous settlement. Although 'U' shaped hearths and mud-brick structures have been detected within the layer dated to this period to the northwest and southwest of the mound, the excavation works carried out in a limited area, have not yet provided enough data about the civil characteristics of the settlement. Nevertheless, it is understood that the EBA settlement of Başur Höyük portray a different image than Arslantepe VI B1 which is characterized by the wattle and daub architecture supported with wood poles of the pastoral-nomads who occupied the mound. Work to be started in the next excavation season at Başur Höyük, is expected to clarify the settlement characteristics of the period.

The most essential data of this period come from a cemetery uncovered in the 2011-2015 excavation seasons to the southeast of the mound. Thus far seventeen burials have been found in the cemetery which consist of stone cist graves, simple earthen pits and earthen pits with stone caps. Unlike the single burial inside the 'Royal Tomb' of Arslantepe, multiple burials have been detected in the majority of the graves at Başur Höyük. The human remains, generally found in flexed position and poorly preserved, are currently under examination by a team of anthropologists. The initial dating of the cemetery to the transition between the 4th and the 3rd millennia BC, on the basis of the typological comparanda of the pottery and the metal objects recovered inside the graves, has been further confirmed by radiocarbon analysis performed on samples of textiles of the different graves, which gave a date between 3100 and 2900 BC (Sağlamtimur, Ozan 2013; 2014; Sağlamtimur 2017; Sağlamtimur, Massimino 2018; Hassett, Sağlamtimur 2018). The graves seem to be associated with each other by complex relationships, which need to be further investigated in order to better understand the internal chronology of the cemetery and possible contemporaneity of some depositions. In the graves, rich and various metal, pottery and stone objects were deposited.

Metal Wealth in Funerary Customs at Başur Höyük at the beginning of the EBA

The metal objects in the graves are both various and numerous. Many of them were found in good condition and when they are evaluated together with the broken examples, groups of metal finds of the which total number exceeds one thousand, have been discovered. Among these, there are seals on the top of which animals such as birds, goats and bulls take place; weapons consisting of axes and tripartite spearheads with leaf-shaped blades, over a hundred in number; golden and silver beads and ornaments and ritual objects with animal depictions such as goats and bulls, and sceptres, castanets, various pins, chisels and vessels (fig. 2: a-n; 3: a-1). Particularly the metal items we consider as ritual objects, technically required an advanced proficiency. Besides the casting in a single and double mould technique for the metal objects such as spearheads, axes, and pins, it appears that the lost-wax technique was being used in the production of many objects, especially those considered as unique. For now we can say that the total weight of the metals found in the graves reached at least 70 kilograms . Because the chemical analyses and typological studies of the metals are still ongoing, we focus here on on the general similarities and differences of the metal objects with the materials of Arslantepe.



The clearest proof of the similarities among the graves of Arslantepe and Başur Höyük may be the spearheads. Tripartite spearheads uncovered at Başur Höyük form the majority of the weapon repertoire (fig. 2: c-e). These consist of leaf-shaped blades, a butt with round or angled section and a tang with generally square cross section. Their lengths and weights vary approximately between 20-60 cm and 130-675 gr. The spearheads of Başur Höyük are similar to the examples of Arslantepe in terms of form, there are also some similarities in technical and ornamental styles. It appears that there might be a similar practice to the inlay technique seen on the weapons of both the Late Chalcolithic Period and the 'Royal Tomb' at Arslantepe (Frangipane 2007/2008: fig. 10, f ; 2017: fig. 15.2, f, g ; 15.3, b), for some of the spearheads of Başur Höyük. This technique was generally applied between the blade and butt of spearheads at Arslantepe (fig. 2: o), was differently applied between the butt and tang of spearheads at Başur Höyük. We do not know which sort of metal was used in the inlay technique due to the fact that the metal in question has not been detected, however it is seen that there are thin triangle and lozenge shaped hollows (fig. 2: e). While it is seen that this type of inlayed example is indigenous in Arslantepe and Başur, we see that tripartite spearheads are encountered over a very wide geography. This type of spearhead generally found in burial contexts in the Early Bronze Age in the Euphrates Region, is known from Northern Anatolia, Eastern Anatolia-Transcaucasia and Mesopotamia in the Late Chalcolithic Period and Early Bronze Age (Frangipane 1985; Hauptmann, Pernicka eds. 2004; Bilgi 1998; Di Nocera 2010: 259; 2013: 117; Courcier 2010; Batıhan 2014: 52-62, map 8, a; Gernez 2018: fig. 21). This type of spearhead has been detected at two more settlements in the Upper Tigris Region, apart from Başur Höyük. A broken example detected at the settlement of Giricano has been found to the southwest of 'Building J' dated to the second half of the 4th millennium BC, and is suggested typologically to belong to a tripartite spearhead (Schachner 2019 in press). During the surface surveys carried out in the Botan Valley, a tripartite spearhead was found at Botan-Tal (Eğlence-Çamper Tepe), approximately 20 km as the crow flies from the settlement of Başur Höyük (Velibeyoğlu et alii 2002: fig. 16, 8). The spearhead of copper alloy which was found by villagers, has been chronologically defined as of the 3rd or 2nd millennium BC (Velibeyoğlu et alii 2002: 786). Apart from these examples, this type of spearhead has not been detected during archeological research carried out so far in the region. At Arslantepe, 23 spearheads have been found, 12 of them were inside Building III (room A113) in layer VIA of the Late Chalcolithic Period and 9 of them were inside the 'Royal Tomb' in the Early Bronze Age I phase and 2 of them were inside Building 36 (VI B1) (Palmieri 1981: 109; Frangipane et alii 2001: fig. 18; Frangipane 2014: fig. 10, d). Due to the fact that in the graves of Başur Höyük they number close to two hundred, we can say that it is the most crowded group of tripartite spearheads yet to be detected in the geography of Greater Mesopotamia and neighboring regions.

One cylinder seal or pendant (?) was found in the non-burial context at Arslantepe (fig. 2: p), while they abound in the graves of Başur Höyük (fig. 2: f-i). Metal cylinder seals in the graves of Başur Höyük, can be studied in two groups – those with a handle and those without. In the first group, it consists of two parts: a handle part, sometimes with a hole, and cylinder part without hole. The examples of this group have generally various animal figures, such as birds, goats and bulls, or undecorated handle. In the second group, it consists of a just cylinder part which has a hole going across. Similar artefacts are known, especially from the Euphrates Region. The only example from non-burial context, has been found in a niche inside the wall structure in the Arslantepe VI B2 settlement (Di Nocera 2013: fig. 10, 1). At Birecik (Sertok 1999: fig. 9, H), Hassek Höyük (Behm-Blancke 1984: 62, fig. 12.4) and Karkamış (Woolley, Barnett 1952, fig. 60, b.2) were found in a burial context. We again encounter a headless cylinder copper-lead example in a burial context at the settlement of Tell Karrana 3 (Stein 1993: 137, fig. XLV, 3; CI, b.1.c).





Two metal cylinder seals found during work on the Kirkuk Pipeline and dated to the last quarter of the 4th millennium BC (Late Uruk Period), can be shown as examples of an early period (Hauptmann, Pernicka eds. 2004: fig. 28, 440- 441). The fact that there are no parallel examples in the settlements of Eastern Anatolia or Transcaucasia, shows that these objects belong to a southern tradition. These objects of the above settlements, have been defined by various researchers variously as pendants, ornamental objects or cylinder seals. Due to the fact that metal examples have been found in the same contexts as stone seals at Başur Höyük and that there are some rich and various symbolic depictions on their impressions, it might be suggested that these objects were probably used as cylinder seals with their protective properties. Although there are a great number of weapons such as spearheads and axes at Başur Höyük, it has been observed that there is no scenario which would indicate a conflict or warfare within the seal iconography. Generally scenes consisting of human and animal figures (goat, bull, bird etc.) have been depicted in addition to geometric and non-figurative patterns. In addition to the local style, it is notable that the 'Jemdet Nasr style' was stylistically continued on the cylinder seals or that its effects were still continuing at this time.

In addition to the existence of similar types of pins with loop-shaped and conical head with engraving lines to those of the Arslantepe 'Royal Tomb' and VI B2 settlement (fig. 2: r, s), there is a repertoire of different types and variety in the graves of Başur Höyük (fig. 2: l-n). Pins were found in almost all graves, as multiple examples and covered with textile and more generally as single artefacts on the head or neck of bodies or independent from them within the burial context. There is a pin assemblage of over a hundred artefacts including types such as disc-headed, conical-headed, round-headed, spiral-headed and double-headed. Among these, pins with a length of approximately 70 cm are outstanding. Some of them have decorated shafts with horizontal multiple grooves or other complex decoration. These were probably the pins used to fix the shroud of the dead. If we consider that some of them have been found deliberately wrapped with textile in a group, pins also could have been valued as prestige objects.

In addition to the finds of Arslantepe and Başur Höyük, spearheads, flat-axes, pins and chisels found in burial contexts in neighboring regions, indicate standardized production. Although these standardized metal objects are spread over a wide geography, the number of unique objects cannot be underestimated in both the Arslantepe 'Royal Tomb' and at Başur Höyük. Whereas we especially encounter the unique objects in the weapons of the 'Royal Tomb' of Arslantepe such as daggers and swords (fig. 3: j-o), at Başur Höyük consist of objects such as metal vessels, ornaments, ritual objects and scepters (fig. 3: a-i). Because work is still being carried out the unique objects from the graves of Başur Höyük, we focus on their general features below.

Metal objects generally found in the stone cist graves and resembling a small spoon, of which the length and weight varies between 3-10 cm and 10-150 gr, form the biggest group in terms of number. There are various animal and naturalistic decorations on the outer faces of these artefacts in the manner of relief or applied decoration. In previous publications, examples typologically resembling these spoon-like metal objects (Sağlamtimur, Massiminio 2018), but functionally showing differences due to having a hole, have been considered as medallions (fig. 3: h, i). These objects we divide into two parts, the first is a tang and the second a concave 'spoon'. In some examples, the tang consists of animals such as birds, bulls and goats. Unlike the spoon-like objects, there is a hole going across the inner side of the tang in the 'medallions'. The remains of textile going across this hole, reaching the concave 'spoon' part and then being knotted have been detected in situ. Considering the existence of textile at the hole in almost all of these objects, it might be suggested that these do not have any function in the transference of liquids.





We might think that there were beads in the inner parts of some examples, and thus they were medallions used to make noise but at the same time attached to clothing or worn on the neck. Parallels of objects like these have not been encountered in contemporary settlements. A stone mould acquired by Istanbul Museum, the find location of which is not known, presents some important information about the production technique of these objects. In this mould dated to the 2nd millennium BC, there is the negative of a similar form to the Başur Höyük medallions (Müller-Karpe 1994: fig. 59, 2).

The sceptres and libation offering cups (?) generally have goats, bulls or birds figures on top of them are the other unique objects (fig. 3: a-e). Additionally, it should be mentioned that the symbolic depictions on metals found in the Başur Höyük graves, do not exist on the metal objects of Arslantepe. Other metal objects from the 'Kingless Thrones' of Başur Höyük are not standardized types, but highly embellished individualized creations, possibly manufactured locally for the single funerary event during which they were displayed and ritually deposited/sacrificed as mentioned before by Bachhuber for the 'Royal Tombs' of Alacahöyük (Bachhuber 2011: 168; Wengrow 2011: 137).

Discussion

In the light of the evidence presented up to this point, the 'Kingless Thrones' of Başur Höyük and the other contemporary burial contexts along the Euphrates and Upper Tigris Region suggest that a remarkable change occurred in the role that metal wealth played in the economy and social dynamics of east and south-eastern Anatolia and northern Syria in the transition from the Late Chalcolithic to the beginning of the EBA (Stork 2015). At the transition of the 4th and 3rd millennia BC, the first phase of the usage of metal became widespread. It has been stated that metal was valued for the purposes of prestige, display and elitism attributed it social and symbolic importance (Frangipane 2017: 174). The demand for metal at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC is associated with the desire of elites to express their power through prestige objects (Frangipane 2007/2008: 188). Wengrow and Bachhuber (2011; 2011) state that non-standardized metal objects withdraw consciously from a circulation of trade network had a 'sacrificial' value and this value originated from use in limited contexts such as special areas and graves. It is thus proper to consider the metal wealth of the graves of both Arslantepe and Başur Höyük as 'sacrificial' values. Besides the standardized objects of communities with different models of organization in a wide geography that we generally encounter in the burial context, the existence of unique metal objects and consumption of these as grave goods rather than being daily-life objects or having a commodity value in a trade network, show that these gained a 'sacrificial' value in deposition. Just like the situation suggested for the graves of Alacahöyük (Bachhuber 2011: 171), the graves of Arslantepe and Başur Höyük with rich and exotic objects, might be also considered as examples of 'sacrificial value' displayed, circulated and consumed by the self-aggrandizing elites.

M. Frangipane (2017: 178) associates the stone cist graves and metal wealth seen in the Euphrates and Upper Tigris at the beginnings of 3rd millennium, with the communities of Kura-Arax, and indicates that these were brought or inspired by the elites' demands, and after the Late Uruk Period, there were some cultural features easily adapted due to the new demands of clan and tribal communities. According to Frangipane, this situation can be evaluated as the people living in the Upper Tigris Region located at the northern border of the urban region and having structural similarities with their northern and western neighbors, having experienced a pastoralist-oriented reconversion at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, and the communities here providing the necessities of their new social order and symbolic depiction by keeping in touch with the communities of Kura-Arax and



obtaining their technologies and symbols (Frangipane 2017: 181). In this respect, we think that there are some differences in the dynamics of the interaction with the Kura-Arax pastoral-nomad communities at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC between Arslantepe and Başur. Although there were some deep changes in socio-political character in both settlements after the Late Chalcolithic 5, they witnessed developments in different dimensions probably because of their geographical locations and structural alterations within local communities. Whereas the Arslantepe VI A came to an end with a big fire and conflict resulting in the collapse of the palace system at the end of the 4th millennium BC, no traces of fire or collapse have been encountered in the Late Chalcolithic 5 layers of Başur Höyük. It is thought that this situation was based on an inner conflict among elites and various ethnic, social and cultural groups at Arslantepe, and one of the components of these groups, even though they are various, was formed by sedentary communities while mobile pastoral communities constitute the other component (Frangipane 2012: 237). Whereas the power relations among different social groups have been characterized with a conflict at Arslantepe, we think that this situation developed in a more complex fashion at Başur Höyük. After the collapse of the Uruk system, Arslantepe had witnessed the settling of pastoral-nomads, however the domestic architecture and pottery repertoire detected in a limited area at Başur Höyük, have revealed a different result. When we make a similar consideration at the regional level, the Upper Euphrates Region comes under the influence of Kura-Arax communities, however the situation is not the same for the Upper Tigris Region. We think there are three significant dynamics among the causes of the metal wealth that we see in the graves of Başur Höyük at the beginning of the Early Bronze Age:

- The First is that the people of Başur Höyük rested on the cultural and economic heritage of the interaction that they established during the previous period within the Uruk system. The interaction of the Başur Höyük communities with the Uruk system in the Late Chalcolithic 5 phase, must have eased the integration of the local communities into the regional trade networks in the following period. We think that the heritage of this relationship should not be limited only to the advantages of the trade system, but should be handled in a wider perspective in which dynamics such as social organization, cultural and ideological structures are implicit.
- The second is that the people were in a region with metal wealth. Siirt province (also Bitlis and Van) is an important source of copper and copper-nickel (Çağatay 1987) and this could support the development of metallurgy in the area. Although we do not have any data about the usage of these copper and nickel-copper deposits in Siirt and its vicinity in ancient periods, it is not a remote possibility to think that the local communities of the period were awake to this richness.
- Lastly, we can suggest that people living at Başur Höyük and in neighboring areas in the phase following the Late Chalcolithic 5, achieved a social organization with multi-component character. Considering the graves of Başur Höyük, a dimorphic structure (sedentary and pastoral-nomad communities) might be used to develop a social model of organization that included many different ethnic and cultural social units within this region.

We think that the metal wealth of the graves of Başur Höyük should be handled within the frame of these dynamics. Within this framework, the suggestion of M. Frangipane (2017: 173) regarding the evaluation of communities which were in different geographies in the periods in question, by considering different models of organization, is important. If this scenario is true, sedentary and pastoral-nomad communities forming the two sides of the conflict at Arslantepe in the phase following the Late Uruk Period and having different subsistence economies, should have been the partners of the 'association' at Başur Höyük.



The metal wealth of the graves must be related with the elites of society of a multicomponent community formed from many different social groups with an effective control mechanism on local resources in a region rich in terms of mineral deposits. Thus, we consider that these tombs are the adorned graves with rich goods of the partners of a 'kingless power', rather than representing a king or a royal family.

Just as in the Arslantepe 'Royal Tomb' (Frangipane et alii 2001: 109), in the graves of Bařur Höyük, metal objects (especially spearheads, ritual objects etc.), as well as personal ornaments, have been seen to be placed somewhere in grave without a direct relation with dead body. It is suggested that this practice might not only be associated with the individual but also a social strategy based on an apparent consumption of valuable materials during burial ceremonies (Philip 2007: 189). Within this point of view, it can be suggested that the metal objects generally found deposited in the graves of Bařur Höyük, might be symbols related with the socio-cultural belonging of individual as well as the relationship with the person in the grave. Various metal objects in large numbers in the graves of Bařur Höyük can also be evaluated as objects symbolizing clan affiliation, settlement or mobile community, identity, statute and ideological features (Cooper 2006: 202-256; Stork 2013: 27) of the social groups living the area after the Uruk Period. The metal wealth of the graves of Bařur Höyük can be also seen as gifts given to dead by the different components of the power mechanism, rather than possessions of the individual. The aim of this might have been to strengthen the connection among the social components and to have a voice in the power mechanism or to continue it and protect and reinforce their social status. Parallel with the city-states appearing from the middle of the 3rd millennium in Northern Mesopotamia, we see that metal becomes one of the most desired products as a trade good and becomes an irreplaceable instrument of powerful class and wars. With regard to the graves of Arslantepe and Bařur Höyük at the transition of the 4th and 3rd millennia BC we might interpret the metal, besides its economic value, in terms of value as objects of prestige of which the social and symbolic meaning had a strong influence.



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GEOGRAPHY SHAPING LIFE-STYLE: SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES OF THE UPPER EUPHRATES AND UPPER TIGRIS REGIONS DURING THE BRONZE AND IRON AGES

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GEOGRAPHY SHAPING LIFE-STYLE: SIMILARITIES AND DISSIMILARITIES OF THE UPPER EUPHRATES AND UPPER TIGRIS REGIONS DURING THE BRONZE AND IRON AGES

A. TUBA ÖKSE

Introduction

People's lifestyle is shaped by the environmental conditions of the region in which they live. The economies of communities living on fertile plains are based on agriculture, and they live in permanent dwellings throughout the year. The communities in mountainous areas mainly use temporary dwellings or permanent seasonal shelters, and breed livestock. Geography with variabilities allows both lifestyles side by side. Communities that cannot produce enough food due to environmental conditions, benefit from the advantage of their location being close to trade routes.

The Upper Euphrates basin and Southeastern Anatolia build a geographical transition zone between North Mesopotamian plains and Anatolian highlands. The excavations carried out in Arslantepe and in sites affected by the Keban and Karakaya dams on the Euphrates valley, and those in Üçtepe and in sites affected by the Ilisu Dam provide data for defining the cultures (fig. 1-4).

Early Bronze Age

In the first half of the 3rd millennium BC, humid climate dislocated the limit of rain-fed agriculture towards the South, and flood deposits occurred along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers (Issar, Zohar 2007: 105-106). In the first half of the 3rd millennium the Upper Euphrates was inhabited by Early Transcaucasian communities living in seasonal settlements consisting of small dwellings arranged in circular form (Koşay 1976) or in wattle-and daub huts occupying 15-20 square meters (Palumbi 2012; Hauptman 1976: 77-79). Norşun Tepe 27-26 was a rural site with single-roomed dwellings (Hauptmann 2000: 428). At the end of EBA I Tepecik, Tülintepe (Esin 2001: 102-107) and Arslantepe VIB2-VIC (Selover 2015: 277) with its dwellings of ca. 30 square meters became fortified sites in EBA II, and Korucutepe C: LXXIII was burnt and rebuilt (van Loon 1978: 12-18). Also the traces of trauma at the frontal skulls of several individuals in Arslantepe point to disorder (Erdal 2012: 304-308; Selover 2015: 159-160, 307-308; Thompson 2004: 632-634).

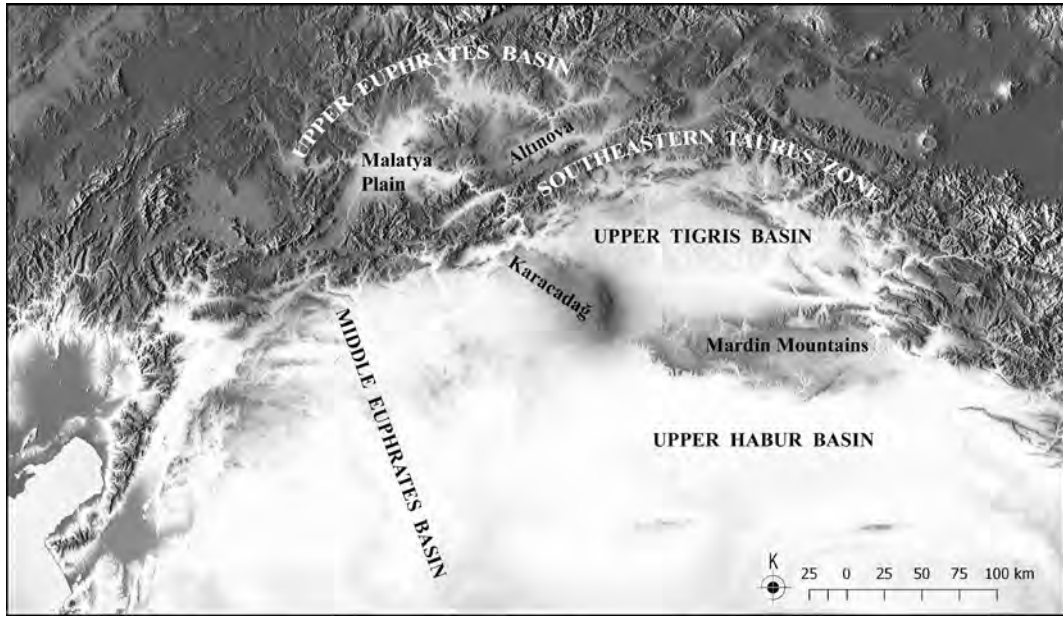


Fig. 1 Location of the Upper Euphrates and Upper Tigris Regions (Map: Şakir Can).

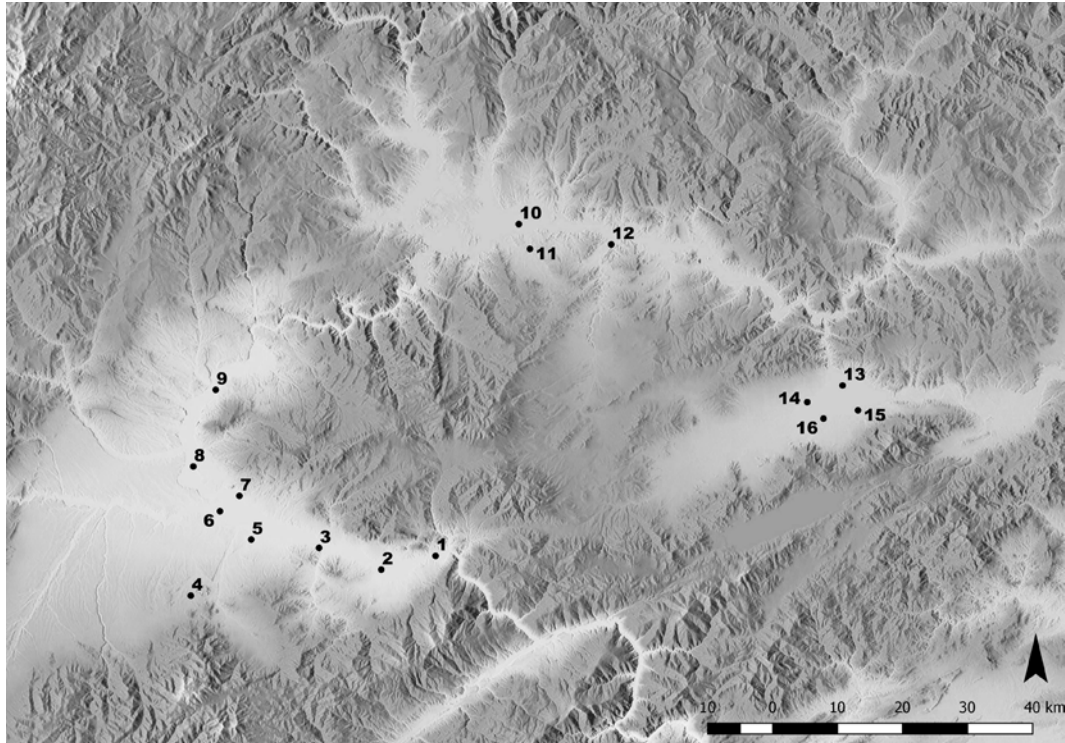


Fig. 2 Sites in the Upper Euphrates Region (Map: Şakir Can): 1. Habibuşağı, 2. Pirot Höyük, 3. Köşkerbaba, 4. Arslantepe, 5. Malatya/Değirmentepe, 6. İmamoğlu, 7. İmikuşağı, 8. Şemsiyetepe, 9. Kaleköy, 10. Aşvan, 11. Taşkun Mevkii, 12. Han İbrahim Şah, 13. Elaziğ/Değirmentepe, 14. Tepecik, 15. Korucutepe, 16. Norşuntepe.



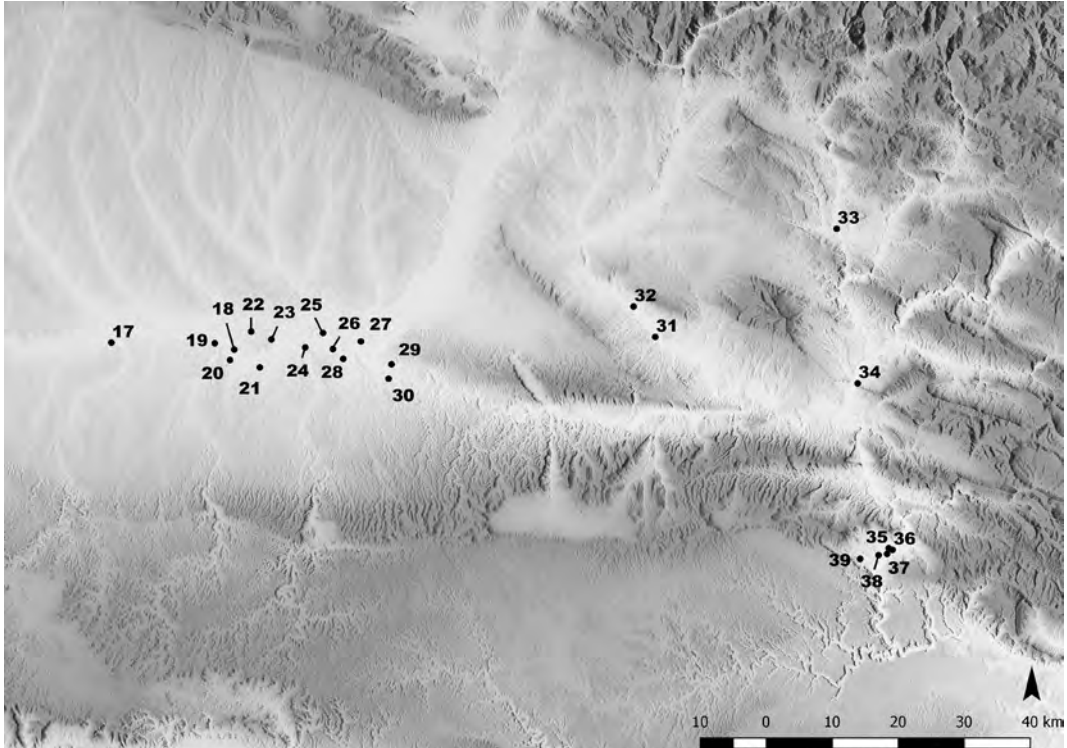


Fig. 3 Sites in the Upper Tigris Region (Map: Şakir Can): 17. Üçtepe, 18. Giricano, 19. Kavuşan Höyük, 20. Hakemi Use, 21. Ziyarettepe, 22. Boztepe, 23. Kenantepe, 24. Gre Abdurrahman, 25. Salat Tepe, 26. Aşağı Salat, 27. Gre Dimse, 28. Müslümantepe, 29. Kuriki Höyük, 30. Hirbemerdon, 31. Çemialo Sırtı, 32. Gre Amer, 33. Başur Höyük, 34. Türbe Höyük, 35. Zuraki Zeri, 36. Zeviya Kavla, 37. Tatıka, 38. Kilokki Rabiseki, 39. Zeviya Tivilki.

	Upper Euphrates Region				Upper Tigris Region		
	Arslantepe	Norşuntepe	İmikuşağı	Korucutepe	Salat Tepe	Hirbemerdon	Kavuşan Höyük
3100 BC	VIB1	30-28		C	ID:9		
2900 BC	VIB2	27-26			ID:8	IIA	
2700 BC		25		D	ID:7	IIB	
2600 BC	VIC	24-14		E			
2500 BC	VID1	13-9					
2400 BC	VID2	8		F	IIA:6	IIIA	IX
2300 BC	VID2	7			IIA:5		
2200 BC	VID3	6		G	IIB:4		
2000 BC	VA	5	12-13	H	IIB:3	IIIB	VIII
1800 BC	VB	4	11-9	I	IIC:2		
1600 BC	IV	3					IIC:1
1400 BC			8-7	J			VII
1200 BC				K	IIIA		VI
1000 BC	III	NH-North					
900 BC			6		IIIB		V
600 BC	II	NH-South					
300 BC			5		IIIC		IV

Fig. 4 Chronological Table



In the Upper Euphrates, nomadic communities produced handmade, black slipped and polished vessels, and sedentary communities light colored vessels resembling those in the south. On the contrary, in the Upper Tigris, small agricultural settlements with small rectangular dwellings and handmade local vessels continue from the Late Chalcolithic period (Ökse 2017b; Şenyurt 2004: 659-667; Schachner 2002: 48-49; Creekmore 2007: 78-84; Matney, Rainville 2005: 23), moreover, cyma recta and painted Ninevite-V vessels appear. Rich metal grave goods in Arslantepe VIB (Frangipane 2001) and Başur Höyük (Sağlamtimur 2017) should belong to the elite.

The prevailing rainy period flooded the low terraces of the Upper Tigris valley, so, previous rural settlements were abandoned (Creekmore 2007: 98-99); however, sedentary and nomadic communities lived side by side in the Upper Euphrates. Arslantepe VIC-D is a rural site with single-roomed houses occupying areas of ca. 55 square meters (Frangipane 2010: 40; Palumbi 2012), and in Norşun Tepe 25-23 wattle-and daub huts continue (Hauptmann 2000: 428). In Norşun Tepe 22-21 a local community lived in multi-roomed houses, and in 20-14, wattle-and daub huts occur once more. In the late phase, a “palace complex” occupying an area of 2400 square meters reflects social hierarchy in Norşun Tepe 8 (Hauptmann 2000: 428, 436).

After the middle of the 3rd millennium, an arid and hot period emerges (Issar, Zohar 2007: 135-137; Riehl et alii. 2014: 12350; Thompson 2004: 639), and the rain-based agricultural border shifts towards the north. These climatic conditions disrupted the socio-economic system in Northern Mesopotamia, and Akkadian kings conquered the Upper Tigris region. The “palace complex” continued in Norşun Tepe 7, and 12 small sites in Altnova witness a feudal order (Hauptmann 2000: 428, 437). Local light coloured and Early Transcaucasian vessels were used simultaneously, and North Mesopotamian vessels were imported. Standard vessels reflecting North Mesopotamian tradition dominated in the Upper Tigris; so, Akkadian kings seem to have deported people from elsewhere, in order to establish an agricultural system (Ökse 2017c).

In the last centuries of the 3rd millennium, the climate became even more arid (Issar, Zohar 2007: 135-137), and the limit of rain-fed agriculture reduced, triggering social, economic and political causes for the collapse. The “palace complex” in Norşuntepe 6 burns at the end of this period and simple structures occur (Hauptmann 2000: 428, 438). Arslantepe VID3 (Frangipane 2010: 40) and Korucutepe E (van Loon 1978: 18-22) were abandoned. The sedentary population might either have preferred nomadic pastoralism or have been migrated (Selover 2015: 108). Newly established rural settlements with standard vessels resembling those in the South might reflect immigration in the Upper Tigris region (Matney, Rainville 2005; Parker, Swartz Dodd 2005: 78-79; Özfırat 2006: 12-14; Laneri et alii. 2016).

Middle Bronze Age

Arid climate prevailing in 2000-1800 BC caused a decline in the number of settlements (Riehl et alii. 2014). While agrarian and nomadic communities lived together in the Upper Euphrates, small agricultural settlements dominated in Upper Tigris. Pit houses of nomadic communities appeared, and in Arslantepe VA, a rural settlement with quadrangular structures covering an area more than 70 square meters appeared (Alvaro 2012: 352). In Norşuntepe and Tepecik 3b central administrative buildings of more than 200 square meters reflect a rural hierarchy (Esin 1974: Lev. 109.2). The fortified settlements in İmikuşağı 12-13 (Sevin 1995: 8), İmamoğlu and Korucutepe beared local culture with Mesopotamian influences (Konyar 2006: 336; Alvaro 2012: 352), and Central Anatolian pottery appeared. Despite the decline in the number of settlements in the Habur region,



dispersed small settlements increase in the Upper Tigris, since the region receives more rain. Dwellings covering areas of 25-35 square meters constitute an agricultural model of small families living in similar conditions (Brancato 2017: 61-62, 348; Matney, Rainville 2005: 21-26; Kozbe 2013: 356-357), and Red-Brown Wash Ware became local standard pottery.

As humid climatic conditions occurred in 1750-1550 BC (Ristvet, Weiss 2013: 262), central administrative buildings were also established in the Upper Tigris, on high mounds located at 15-20 km distances (Ökse et alii. 2012; Laneri et alii. 2016: 72-75). Small settlements around these administrative features resemble the dimtu farm-system managed by Hurrian kingdoms in the south. The material cultures of both regions are different in 1800-1600 BC. The Upper Euphrates's local handmade vessels developed, red burnished vessels indicate relations with Central Anatolia, and the Habur painted vessels with Northern Mesopotamia. In the Upper Tigris, Red-Brown Wash Ware of the previous period became standardized and also Habur painted vessels were locally produced.

Late Bronze Age

The decline of settlements in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC is based on political, social and economic changes as well as irregular precipitation and drought growth (Brancato 2017: 65). LBA I is defined by fortified settlements in Arslantepe VB (Manuelli 2012: 363-364; Alvaro 2012), İmikuşağı 11-19 (Konyar 2006) and Korucutepe GH (Bier 1978: 53), and multi-roomed structures in Norşuntepe V (Hauptmann 1972: 87, 92) and Tepecik 3b-3a (Esin 1974: 113) in the Upper Euphrates. Hittite vessels were produced locally, besides local painted pottery, Habur Ware also appeared (Sevin 1995: 7-8). The Mitanni Kingdom ruled the Upper Tigris, where rural settlements bearing Nuzi Painted pottery appeared.

From the middle of the 2nd millennium onwards, local kingdoms reigned the Upper Euphrates under the Hittite rule, and Korucutepe I, İmikuşağı 11-9 and Pirot IV became fortified garrisons (Van Loon 1978: 6; Sevin 1995: 7-8). In Tepecik 2b2, a building occupying an area of almost 200 square meters continued (Esin 1974: Lev. 109.1). The material cultures of both regions differ also in the LBA II. Central Anatolian type standard vessels and locally produced "drab ware" in Arslantepe IV, Norşuntepe III, İmikuşağı 8-7 and Korucutepe J as well as Hittite vessels reveal the presence of Hittites in the Upper Euphrates (Umurtak 1996; Alvaro 2012: 354-357; Manuelli 2012: 361, 364-367).

In the 13th century BC, Middle Assyrian kings took the Upper Tigris region and established dunnu farms populated by deportation policies (Radner, Schachner 2004), and the Middle Assyrian standard vessels emerge. Middle Assyrian kings record that they defeated Kings of Nairi with numbers ranging from 23 to 60; so, these might be small nomadic communities (Ökse 2017a).

Iron Age

The Early Iron Age is the only period in which lifestyle and material culture resemble each other in both regions. Due to the drought in the last centuries of the 2nd millennium, permanent settlements in both regions were replaced by seasonal pit-houses of nomadic communities in Tepecik 2a1-2, Korucutepe K, Değirmen-tepe, İmam-oğlu, İmikuşağı 6 and Köşkerbaba IV (Neumann, Parpola 1987: 163-167; Van Loon 1978: 155-178; Duru 1979: 14; Sevin 1995: 26-27). Small simple dwellings surround a central building with an area of 100 square meters in Norşuntepe, reflecting hierarchical social structure (Hauptmann 1969/70: 58). In Arslantepe III coarse Hittite vessels dominate (Manuelli 2012: 367-369), while handmade local pottery in others (Bartl 1994: 517). After the withdrawal of the Middle Assyrian kingdom, pit-houses and simple architectural elements with handmade pottery



emerge also in the Upper Tigris region (Ökse 2017a; Guarducci, Laneri 2010: 21-33; Köroğlu 1998: 40-41; Matney, Rainville 2005, 23-26; Parker, Swartz Dodd 2005: 81; Kozbe 2008: 295-296).

The peared structure covering an area of 165 square meters in Arslantepe II (Liverani 2012: 333) should be the reception hall of the palace of Milid. Lion sculptures flanking the gates and orthostats with reliefs reflect a powerful local kingdom. The central building covering an area of 1600 square meters in Norşun Tepe points to local administration (Hauptmann 1972: Lev. 79). The kingdom of Milid established military posts along the Euphrates River (Sevin 1995: 21-22, 28). The standard pottery dominates (Manuelli 2012: 369-372; Hauptmann 1969-1970: 67; Sevin 1995: 47-55); however, a small number of sherds painted in Central Anatolian style, Phrygian Gray ware, Urartian red slipped ware, New Assyrian beakers as well as a Phoenician amphora found along with an imitation of painted Cilician jug indicate the Euphrates valley as a passageway between far regions (Ökse 1988: 95-97, 109-113, 117-124). The Upper Tigris region became New Assyrian province; urban administrative settlements have been established (Köroğlu 1998: Matney 2011: 452), and populated by deported groups (Parker 2003: 536-540; Tekin 2018). Indigenous communities used temporary dwellings and permanent seasonal settlements (Kozbe 2006; Guarducci 2011: 17-28; Schachner 2002; Parker 2003: 535-549; Ökse 2017a; Köroğlu 2008: 336, 339). While standard pots are used in newly established farms, indigenous people used these and their hand made imitations.

In the Post-Assyrian period, local pottery continued, and in the upper Euphrates Central Anatolian painted pottery appeared (Ökse 1988: 91-93). The "Triangle Ware" decorated with hanging triangular patterns, are registered in both regions (Sevin 1995: 61; Köroğlu 2008; Ökse 2017a; Brancato 2017).

Conclusion

The similarities and dissimilarities that occur in the settlement history of both regions is a result of geographical features shapeing the social structure, the management style and the cultural structure. Located on an average of 500-700 mm rainfall zone, both regions are risk-free for rain-based agriculture. In the Upper Euphrates, a chain of intermountain plains offers an agricultural area of ca. 120 000 ha, and pastures are not more than 80 km to the plains. Thus, the region is an ideal habitat for farming communities and pastoralists. The Upper Tigris region covers a large fertile plain spreading over 700,000 ha, and pastures of 250 km to the valley. Thus, the region is an ideal habitat for farming communities, and pastoralists use the region only in winter.

In the first half of the 3rd millennium, small-sized dispersed rural settlements of farming and nomadic communities inhabited the Upper Euphrates, and farmer communities the Upper Tigris. In the middle of the millennium, hierarchical settlements trading with Anatolia and Mesopotamia have been developed in the Upper Euphrates, while settlements in the Upper Tigris are abandoned. In the second half of the millennium, a local feudal structure is developed in the Upper Euphrates; however, small rural settlements established by Akkadian kings in the Upper Tigris region continue after the Akkadian period. In the Upper Euphrates, urban settlements are limited in the first half of the 2nd millennium, and the local culture is dominant. The region forms the eastern border of the Hittite kingdom in the second half of the millennium. In the Upper Tigris region, small rural farms continue without change. In the 11th century, nomadic groups of Eastern Anatolian origin emerge in both regions. In the Middle Iron Age, the Kingdom of Milid rules the Upper Euphrates, and small rural farms of the Assyrian Province Tuşhan and local semi-nomadic communities occupied the Upper Tigris.



The Euphrates valley is one of the main routes of organized trade from the Ubaid period onwards, and enabled the development of urban settlements and local states. According to archaeological finds, the Upper Euphrates is mostly inhabited by settled and nomadic communities. Although nomadism is dominant in some periods, a hierarchical settlement system is also effective. Large central structures in some settlements show the existence of local administrators. The interactions of the local people with Mesopotamia and Anatolia as well as some groups from these regions settled in the Upper Euphrates, developed a local culture with various foreign elements.

In the Upper Tigris basin, the situation is different. The region is bounded by high ranks of the Taurus Mountains to the north, and its main connection is directed towards the south. Thus, the area away from the main trade routes stays also away from trade-related developments. The nutritional needs of the city states on the main trade routes that pass through the risky agricultural zone of northern Mesopotamia used the potential of the region by deportation policies. These different communities sharing the same geography could not create an independent political system. The Upper Tigris is however, restricted from foreign influences, so, a Mesopotamian culture with local elements develops there. Thus, despite the change in settlement systems in the Upper Euphrates, the Upper Tigris shows continuity, due to these policies.

Economy, lifestyle and socio-political structure are not independent of geography. Thus, distinctive geographical characteristics of both regions located close to each other show similarities and dissimilarities during 3000 years. Ibn Khaldun, historian and sociologist of the 14th century, gives the main idea of the subject with his statement "geography is destiny".



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A NECROPOLIS BELONGING TO THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN
THE UPPER EUPHRATES REGION:
SAKYOL (PULUR)/KÖRKUYULAR

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A NECROPOLIS BELONGING TO THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN THE UPPER EUPHRATES REGION: SAKYOL (PULUR)/KÖRKUYULAR*

SERKAN ERDOĞAN

Introduction

Within the scope of “the Iron Age and Hellenistic Period Tunceli Survey” carried out in 2017, a necropolis area was discovered near the village of Sakyol (Pulur) 25 km south of the Çemişgezek district, the center of Tunceli province (Fig. 1). The necropolis, known as “Körkuyular” by the local people, is located 2 km southeast of the Sakyol (Pulur) Mound, and 3 km northeast of Yeniköy (Gâvur) Mound as well (Fig. 2). The necropolis area is located approximately 70 km northeast of the Arslantepe settlement. As a result of archaeological excavations, traces of settlements dating from Late Neolithic Age / Early Chalcolithic Age to Bronze Age were found at Pulur (Sakyol) Mound (Koşay 1971: 103; Koşay 1976a: 155, 121, Pl. 111). Moreover, Yeniköy (Gâvur) Mound is reported to have been inhabited from the Early Bronze Age to the Late Roman / Early Byzantine Period (Koşay 1976b: 185-187).

The Körkuyular Necropolis is visible land in the months of September and October when the water level of the Keban Dam Lake is at its lowest (Fig. 3). Due to the seasonal withdrawal of the Keban Dam Lake in September and October, the opportunity to do research on the necropolis area can be possible. The soil erosion caused by the tides of the dam waters has played an important role in bringing to light, the issues of the tombs in the necropolis area. The Körkuyular Necropolis has not been determined during the Keban Dam rescue excavations that continued from the late 1960s until the mid-1970s (Koşay 1972: 134).

Necropolis

Rectangular tomb structures made of four slabs constitute the field of necropolis (Fig. 4). It is not possible to determine the exact size of the area as there are tomb structures partially under the dam lake, and there are tombs that aren't exposed, situated in the inner parts that aren't corroded by the water. Besides these, the necropolis approximately lays on a 150 meters' coastline and it is determined that the exposed tombs can be situated up to 30 meters away from the coast. One of the most significant features of necropolis is the specific extramural burial custom practiced in the area. Different from the Chalcolithic period with

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intramural burials, this spatial separation observed in Southern Caucasia Early Bronze Age necropolis is in line with the observations in Körkuyular Necropolis (Palumbi 2007: 21, 25; Palumbi 2008: 203).

The most significant common feature of Körkuyular tombs, either rectangular or square-like rectangular shaped, is that they were built in the shape of cist graves¹. Sizes of these tomb structures vary between 0.60 m. x 0.70 m. – 1.30 m. x 1.40 m. (Fig. 5). Although the sizes of these cist graves are different from one another, it is observed that they are all based on a single, specific typological style. These cist graves whose edges are made of roughly engraved slabs are the dominant tomb structures in necropolis. The scabbled flagstones distributed along the area indicate that upper parts of the tombs are covered with a slab. Besides that, it can be observed that the tombs that haven't been destroyed are covered with stone flags. It looks like the inner parts of tombs are filled with soil and stones starting from the base of the tomb, on which the body is placed, until the capstone on the top of the tomb. Although it wasn't possible to make observations about the ground of tombs, it seems reasonable to think that grounds are made of flattened slab, like the cist graves of Kura-Araks culture in Southern Caucasia.

As it is located between Sakyol (Pulur) Mound and Yeniköy (Gâvur) Mound, it is difficult to have definitive information about the origin of Körkuyular Necropolis. But, as it is closer to Sakyol (Pulur) Mound, it seems more probable that necropolis belongs to prehistoric Sakyol residents. It should also be noted that both settlements' residents could have used the necropolis.

Within the scope of Kura-Araks culture, the closest tombs that can be compared to Körkuyular are Elar and Ketı cist graves located in Armenia (Khanzadyan 1979: 38 fig. 42 Nr. 10, 164 - 165; Sagona 1984a: 56; Petrosian 1989: Tab. 25; Kalantaryan 2007: 75, 83 fig. 4/2). Elar tombs, revealed by archeological excavations are made of six or more slabs (Sagona 1984a: 56). Koda cist graves in Georgia, which are associated with the same culture, are similar to Körkuyular tombs in terms of typology (Palumbi 2008: 141, 203). On the other hand, it is known that there are cist graves in various different settlements of Kura-Araks culture in Southern Caucasia (Palumbi 2008: 141 -143, 188, 192; Poulmarc'h et al. 2014: 232 – 234, 234 fig. 3 A; Kushnareva and Chubinishvili 1970: 62; Işıklı 2011: 108). Arslantepe "Royal Tomb" structure dated to a period between 3100 BCE - 2900 BCE, which is in the transition period between Arslantepe VI B1 to VI B2 layer, is significantly similar with Körkuyular tombs in terms of typology (Frangipane 2007/2008: 174 - 184; Frangipane et al. 2001: 105 - 113; Palumbi 2007: 26 - 28). Körkuyular tomb structures are smaller in size and less elaborately carved alternatives of Arslantepe Royal Tomb, which is in the shape of a rectangular cist grave. Furthermore, it is possible to compare the typology of Körkuyular tombs with Malatya/Suyatağı, Lidar Mound, Birecik, Kargamış and Başur Mound cist graves of Early Bronze Age (Darga 1989: 67 - 72; 72 fig. 1-4; Hauptmann 1983: 97, 108 Abb. 11; Sertok and Ergeç 1999: 89, 100 fig. 3-4, 102 fig. 6 A-B; Woolley and Barnett 1952: 218 ff., 219 fig. 85; Sağlamtimur 2017: 3 - 4).

Almost all of the few potsherds in necropolis belong to Kura-Araks ware group, also named Early Trans-Caucasia (Fig. 6). These are mostly monochrome potsherds that are black burnished, which clearly reflect Kura-Araks ceramic culture. On the other hand, it is determined that there are a few pinkish red and beige colored, wheel-made potsherds that can be classified as a local type. Coarse, handmade, thick-wall, light brown painted potsherds

¹ The Körkuyular tombs, which were observed to be made of at least four monolithic stones, were evaluated in the stone cist grave type because of the fact that they did not provide any data since they were built with stone lattice. However, there is no common opinion among researchers about how the basic characteristics of cist grave and tomb chamber in terms of size, height, wall technique, entrance and how to determine the criteria.



and a few brick colored, thick-wall, fallow, burnished, amorphous materials with grit-temper are found around tombs. A small polychromic potsherd in the form of Malatya-Elazığ painted pottery, and an amorphous, cream-colored broken piece of cup are some of the pieces found in Körkuyular Necropolis. There wasn't any other ceramic group in the area except from the ceramic groups mentioned above. It can be assumed that the emergences of potsherds are resulted from the corrosion of tomb structures by dam water and from some illegal excavations.

A few numbers of oval-like graves are found in the location named "Kösesu" situated at 500 meters southwest of Sakyol Village. These tombs, which were seen when Keban Dam Lake water seasonally retreated during September - October, were seriously destroyed because of natural reasons. The tombs lined with stones whose diameters vary between 8 and 25 cm. look like earth grave (Fig. 7). Typologically similar tombs are observed in South Caucasia necropolis, which is in relation with Kura-Araks culture (Palumbi 2007: 21 - 23; Sagona 1984a: 52, 56). Tomb 12, located in Hassek Mound near Urfa/Siverek, is dated to Early Bronze Age, and it looks like Kösesu tombs (Behm - Blanke 1984: 49 Abb. 7, 50). A few local style potsherds around Kösesu tombs are brown burnished and flaring rim and these potsherds must be related with Bronze Ages.

Assessment and Conclusion

Handmade, polished, black burnished monochrome Kura-Araks ware can be generally dated to a period between 3500/3300 BCE - 2000 BCE in Upper Euphrates Region (Işıklı 2011: 256, 275 - 276; Palumbi 2003: 84, 100 - 101, 134; Palumbi 2008: 19 tab. 1.1; 327 tab. 1; Marro 2011: 291 - 292, 303-304; Burney 1958: 193; Sagona 1984b: Tab. 2). This ceramic tradition probably continued between Late Chalcolithic Age/Early Bronze Age I until the end of Early Bronze Age III. In Arslantepe, the key settlement in the Upper Euphrates Region involves Red - Black Burnished Ceramic, associated with Kura-Araks ware. This local production style continued from 3300 BCE until 2000 BCE; in other words, from Early Bronze Age I A until Early Bronze Age III (Conti and Persiani 1993: 362 - 368; Frangipane 2011: 980, 985; Frangipane 2014: 172 - 178). In parallel with Arslantepe, existence of the same ceramic type is determined in the layers of Elazığ/Tepecik settlement; these layers are dated to Early Bronze Age I-II-III/A-B between 3000 BCE - 2000 BCE (Esin 2001c: 104). Kura - Araks ware in Elazığ/Şemsiyetepe is dated to Early Bronze Age II-III between 2600 BCE - 2100 BCE (Darga 2001: 119; Darga 1981: 54, 56; Darga 1980: 27 - 28). The 5th layer in Malatya/Değirmentepe is represented with Kura-Araks ware and dated to Early Bronze Age I (the end of 4th millennium BCE /the beginning of 3rd millennium BCE). The same ceramic group is found in Elazığ/Tülintepe Early Bronze Age I and II layers, dated to the first half of 3rd millenium BCE (Esin 2001a: 68-70; Esin 2001b: 73; Esin 1981: 41). The same ceramic tradition in Malatya/Gelinciktepe settlement is generally dated to Early Bronze Age, with the name of "Dark - faced Burnished ware" (Puglisi and Palmieri 1966: 85-86, 90). It is believed that Kura-Araks ware continued until 2000/1900 BCE in Eastern Anatolia (Palumbi 2008: 19 tab. 1.1; Burney 1958: 167, 194). It is stated that this ceramic tradition approximately continued during 3500 BCE - 2400/2200 BCE in Southern Caucasia (Sagona 1984a: 125 - 127; Badalyan 2014: 72, 85-87).

Handmade, hardly fired, potteries with painted ornaments on light beige basis in Malatya/Şemsiyetepe are dated to a period between 2600 BCE - 2100/2000 BCE, which refers to Early Bronze Age II-III (Darga 2001:119-120; Darga 1980: 28-29; Darga 1981: 53 - 56). While during Early Bronze Age III A, the number of Malatya - Elazığ painted pottery in Şemsiyetepe increased, the number of Kura-Araks ware in the same region decreased (Darga 1983: 56). This type of handmade ceramic in Malatya/Gelinciktepe is associated with



Early Bronze Age III (Puglisi and Palmieri 1966: 86-87, 90). The same painted ceramic tradition with different variations, is found in VI C layer (2700-2500 BCE), representing Early Bronze Age II, and in VI D layer (2500 - 2000 BCE) representing Early Bronze Age III (Conti and Persiani 1993: 363 - 365, 368; Işıklı 2011: 131-132). In parallel with this, Malatya - Elazığ painted pottery found in Urfa - Bozova/Kurban Mound, are dated to Early Bronze Age II (Marfoe 1983: 100). Emergence of this ceramic in the Upper Euphrates Region is associated with the beginning of the Early Bronze Age II dating back to approximately 2750 BCE (Marro 2011: 300). The ceramic group continued to exist until 2000 BCE, in other words until the end of Early Bronze Age / Middle Bronze Age I (Marro 2001: 304; Burney 1958: 170, 174, 194). In general, it is possible to say that it is one of the dominant ceramic groups of the Malatya - Elazığ region during Early Bronze Age II and III.

The recent researches on Kura - Araks culture's chronology date Elar cist graves in Armenia to Kura - Araks II period between 3300 - 2800 BCE (Palumbi 2008: 124, 139; Poulmarc'h et al., 2014: 233; Sagona 1984: Tab. I - II). Researchers date Koda cist graves in Georgia and Keti cist graves in Armenia, which have the same typology with Körkuyular tombs, to the early and middle stages of Kura-Araks ceramic culture (Kura-Araks I -II), in other words between 3500 BCE - 2800 BCE (Poulmarc'h et al. 2014: 233; Sagona 1984b: Tab. I - II; Palumbi 2008: 141, 203; Petrosian 1989: Tab. 25; Kalantaryan 2007: 75, 83 fig. 4/2). C14 analysis of Kura-Araks ware found in Koda and Horom cist graves in Southern Caucasia besides Kiketi, Shamsvilde lined cists show that these tombs are used in the last quarter of third millennium (Badaljan et al. 1993: 4; Badaljan et al. 1994: 14; Palumbi 2007: 25).

Elar, Koda and Horom tombs reflecting the burial tradition of Kura-Araks culture are similar to Körkuyular tombs in terms of typology and they give significant clues for determining the chronological framework of the Körkuyular Necropolis. When data about the tomb establishment technique and ceramics in Elar, Koda and Horom tombs are compared to Körkuyular tombs, Körkuyular Necropolis should be dated to Late Chalcolithic Period/Early Bronze Age I and II, namely between the years 3500-2600 B.C according to the chronology of Upper Euphrates Region. This date in Upper Euphrates Valley, which involves Körkuyular tombs corresponds to the 1st and 2nd stages of Kura-Araks ceramic culture according to Southern Caucasia chronology (Palumbi 2008: 19 tab. 1.1; 327 tab. 1; Sagona 1984b: Tab. 1). This suggestion of date is significantly in line with the development of Kura-Araks ceramic culture and Malatya-Elazığ painted pottery in the Upper Euphrates Region. According to the data of these ceramics, almost all of the determined potsherds belong to Kura-Araks ceramic culture, which indicates that Körkuyular Necropolis had been established before the Early Bronze Age III. These data are also in line with the data about Dark - Faced Burnished Wares found in Malatya/Suyatağı cist graves, which are dated to the first half of 3rd millennium BCE (Darga 1989: 70). The existence of very few Malatya - Elazığ painted pottery group also indicate that necropolis could have been used during Early Bronze Age II. Besides that, as there isn't sufficient data that will support dating, the relation between Körkuyular tombs and Early Bronze Age III isn't clear.

Archeological data determined in Körkuyular Necropolis indicate that there is a relation in terms of burial traditions in Upper Euphrates Region and Southern Caucasia, and they are prehistoric pieces of Kura-Araks culture. Similarities between Körkuyular tombs' typology and ceramic culture and Elar, Koda, Horom and Keti tombs' characteristics confirm this indication.





Fig. 1: The Location of Körkuyular Necropolis



Fig. 2: Keban Dam Lake and Körkuyular Necropolis





Fig. 3: The General View of Körkuyular Necropolis



Fig. 4: A General View of the Körkuyular Necropolis



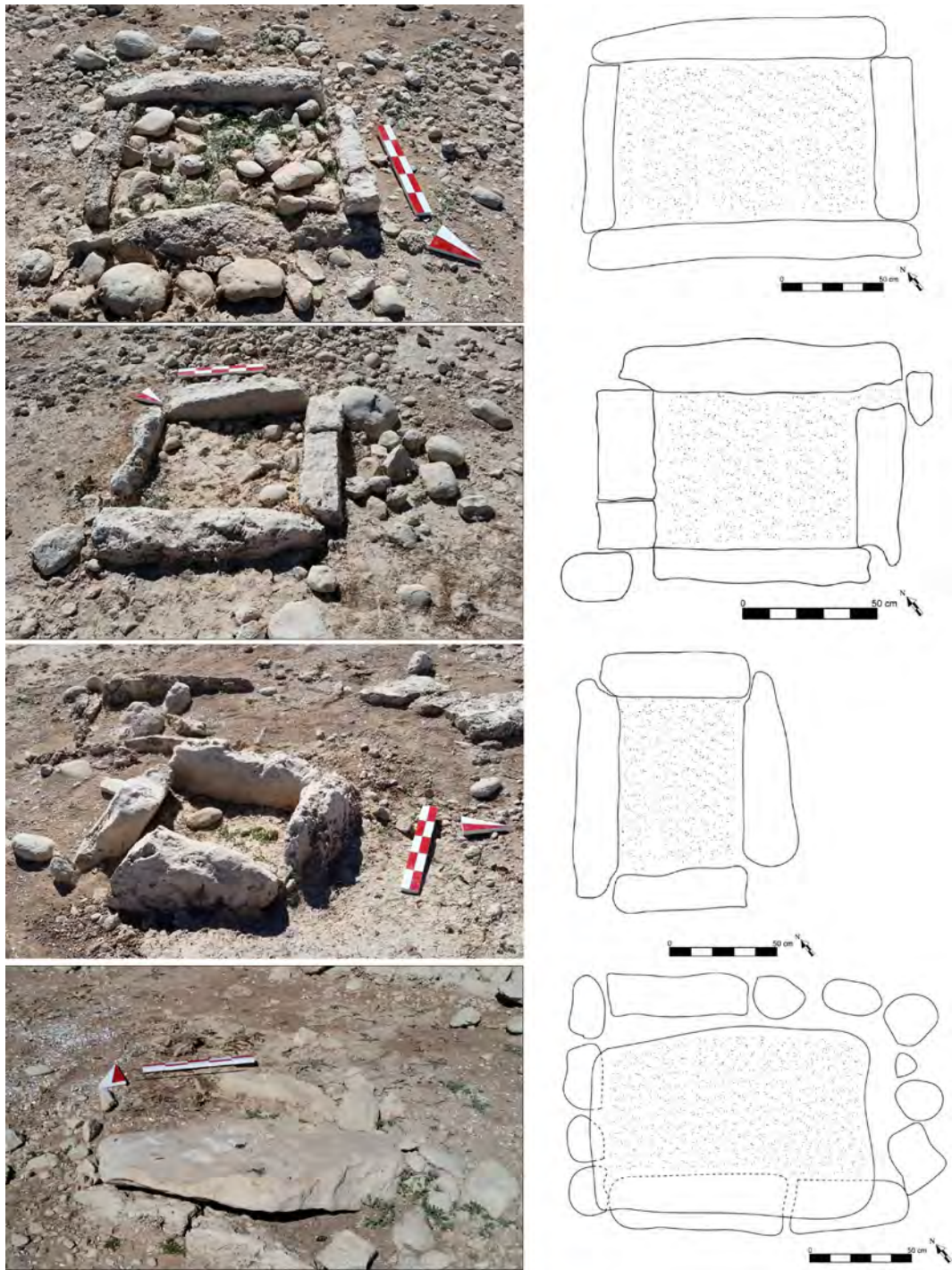


Fig. 5: Some Cist Examples from Körkuyular Necropolis



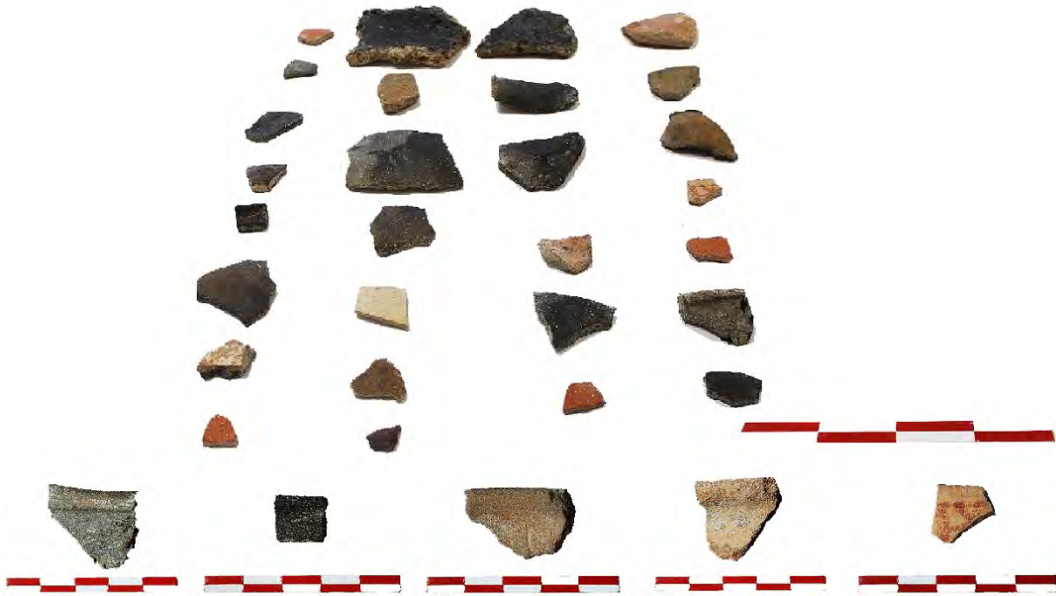


Fig. 6: Ceramic Findings from Körkuyular Necropolis

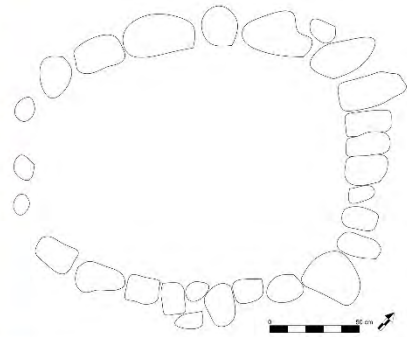


Fig. 7: An Example from Kösesu Tombs and Its Ceramic Findings



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A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE PALACE AT OYLUM HÖYÜK AND NEW FINDINGS

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A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE PALACE AT OYLUM HÖYÜK AND NEW FINDINGS

ATILLA ENGİN

Introduction

Oylum Höyük is located on a fertile plain within the borders of the Kilis province, where the high Anatolian plateau ends and the Syrian plains begin. The mound is the largest settlement in the region with a 460 m by 370 m dimension and 37 m in height (fig. 1). The survey conducted in the vineyards and gardens surrounding the mound demonstrated that the settlement extended beyond its walls towards the western and southern slopes of the mound after the 18th century BC and that, accordingly, the settlement reached at least 35-hectares in size.



Fig. 1: Oylum Höyük, Northwest Area and MBA I Palace.

Since 2007, excavations conducted in the northwest of Oylum Höyük revealed the remains of a large monumental mudbrick building dated to the early 2nd millennium BC (figs. 1-6).¹ During the excavations carried out between 2007-2018, 1050 m² of the building was uncovered. The building is dated to Middle Bronze Age I (MBA I, *Oylum VIc*) according to the

¹ Engin et al. 2014: 241-242, fig. 10; 2016: 451-453, figs. 9-12; 2017: 556-560, 567-568, figs. 2, 5, 6; 2018: 483-486; Özgen et al. 2011: 58-59, fig. 6; 2013a: 500-501, fig. 5; 2013b: 324, fig. 3; 2014: 163, 166, figs. 12-13.

ceramic material and a door bulla impressed with a cylinder seal. The calibrated radiocarbon findings from the carbonized olive seeds recovered from the building have been dated to between 1900-1745 BC. The massive mudbrick-walled building, extending in a northwest-southeast direction is bordered by a mudbrick terrace on the west side and a courtyard on the east side (fig. 2). The walls of the building have an average width of 1.80-1.85 m. The walls of the three side-by-side rooms numbered 8, 9 and 10, opening to the western courtyard and the partition walls in rooms 2 and 3 are about 50 cm wide. The preserved height of the walls is 3.70 m in the western part.



Fig. 2: Plan of the MBA I Palace

The thick and high mudbrick walls and the staircase in Room 5 indicate that the building had multiple stories (figs. 3-4). The building is similar to the traditional Syrian palaces with a layout featuring a series of spaces around the courtyard. Archaeological findings revealed that the building was destroyed by fire. Findings such as the door bulla impressed with a cylinder seal, various sculpture works and large storage pots as well as the presence of complex structures including cellars, storage rooms, workshops, and kitchens show that the building was not an ordinary building.

In the second half of the third millennium BC, although there were many city-states in the region, Ebla (Tell Mardikh) in the west and Mari (Tell Hariri) in the east were the most important cities of political and economic power (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 262-267; Archi 2003; Liverani 2014: 117-170; Pinnock 1985; 2015; Klengel 1992: 21-30). In Northern Syria, the Yamkhad Kingdom took over the role of Ebla as the regional administrative site in the first half of the second millennium BC (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 233-304; Astour 1988; Archi and Biga 2003; Klengel 1992: 21-35, 44-83; Liverani 2014: 234-260; Morandi Bonacossi 2013: 416-420). The Yamkhad, whose capital was Halpa (Aleppo), ruled over the northern Syrian territories extending from the Euphrates River to the eastern Mediterranean coast (Heinz 2009: 51; Salvini 1998: 502; Yener 2007: 152, 153; 2010: 2; 2014: 51). In this



period, the majority of the name “Amorite” among the kings of Yamkhad, Ebla, Hama, Qatna, Ugarit, Carchemish and Urshu show the dominance of the Amorites who migrated to the region (Klengel 1992: 31-69; Bonatz et al. 1998: 85-91; Thussen 2000: 60-66).

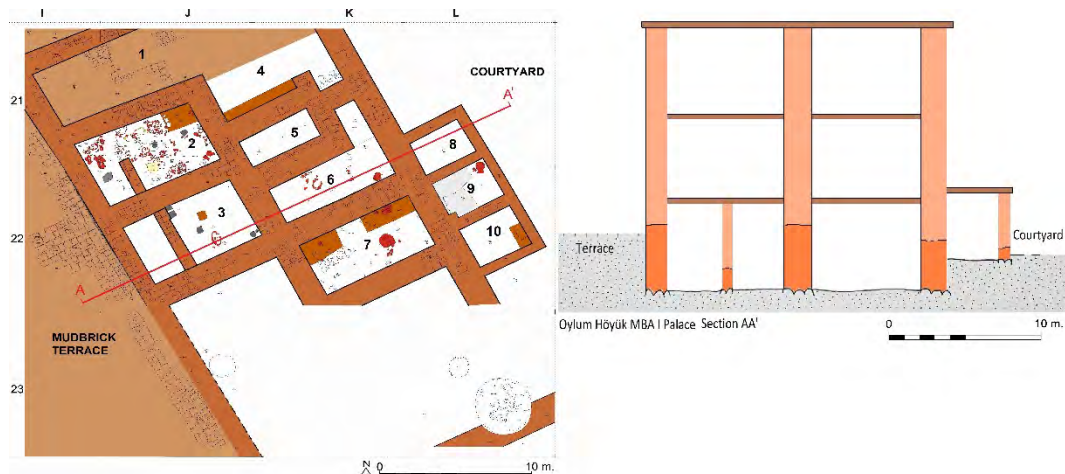


Fig. 3: Plan of the MBA I Palace, northeast-southwest section and reconstruction.



Fig. 4: The staircase room (5) and L-shaped symmetrical spaces (4, 6).

At the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, when the Oylum Palace was built, it can be assumed that the settlement was part of the Yamkhad Kingdom. However, the small city-states in the region dominated by the Yamkhad maintained their status as an autonomous administrative and economic center. In the MBA, Oylum was probably a strong and important administrative center, dominating the fertile lands and important roads in the north of Halpa. The surveys conducted in Kilis and its surroundings revealed that Oylum Höyük was a regional center in the 2nd millennium BC with satellite settlements around it (Engin and Helwing 2012).

A monumental administrative building dated back to LBA II (Engin 2016; Özgen et al. 2012: fig. 15; 2013: fig. 9) and the MBA palace unearthed in the works carried out in the



Northwest Area and numerous epigraphic and royal glyptic materials uncovered in layers from the 2nd millennium BC clearly demonstrate that Oylum Höyük was an important administrative center in the 2nd millennium BC. An Old Babylonian cuneiform tablet (Donbaz 2014; Özgen et al. 2013b: fig. 2) and a lapis lazuli cylinder seal of a ruler named Bitna (Donbaz 2011; Özgen et al. 2012: 507-508, fig. 14) dated to MBA and a Hittite tablet (Ünal 2015: 19, 23-27, fig. 2) sent to the local ruler by the Great King of Hittite as well as royal Hittite seals and seal impressions dated to LBA II are important glyptic and epigraphic finds (Dinçol and Dinçol 2011; Engin 2016: figs. 2-3; Özgen and Helwing 2001: Abb. 31a; Özgen et al. 2012: 502, 507; 2013: fig. 10). One of the bullae belonged to Ini-Teshub, King of Carchemish, who ruled Syria in the name of the Hittite Empire.

Based on the archaeological findings, the geographic location and the modern zone name of Oylum Höyük, which is called "Illizi", it is thought that Oylum Höyük match with Ulisum/Ullis cited in the Mesopotamian sources of the third millennium BC, with Ullaza cited in the Egyptian resources in the second millennium BC and with Ukulzat/Kuilzila cited in the Hittite documents, which was the most important city or capital of Nuhašše (Engin 2014). The fact that the phrase of "kings of the Nuhašše" were readable in the Hittite tablet supports the supposition concerning the localization of the city (Ünal 2015: 19, 24-25).

Construction Technique

Standard square mudbricks measuring 40 x 40 x 12 cm were used on the walls of the palace, and for the terrace which supports the palace in the West. Square mudbricks of about the same dimensions, were used on a terrace dated to the early phase of MBA II (*Oylum VIIb*), which was unearthed in the trench M20 (Engin et al. 2017: 567, fig. 13). At Kinet Höyük located in the İskenderun Gulf, mudbricks of similar size were used in the Burnt Building Complex, which is dated to MBA II (Akar 2006: 6, fig. 2.5). The use of square mudbricks of approximately the same dimensions in contemporary centers such as Pello and Don in the Eastern Mediterranean indicates a regional production standard mudbricks during the period (Homsher 2012, 10).² In some of the rooms where the floor level is below the foundation level, the stone rows under the mudbrick walls indicate that the building was built on a stone foundation (Engin et al. 2017: 558). The thin mudbrick walls of the rooms 8, 9 and 10 were also built on stone foundations (Engin et al. 2017: 559). While the floors of these three spaces are about same level as the base of the courtyard, the floor level of the thick mudbrick walls on the Western wing is about 2 m below the courtyard (Özgen et al. 2014: 167). Thus, it is understood that the western section of the building, which has a thick wall and possibly a multi-storey structure, was built into the mound layers (fig. 3). Accordingly, after the walls have been built into the excavated deep foundation pits, it is also possible that the soil between the walls was emptied and the basement spaces were formed.

The floors of all spaces and courtyards were made from beaten clay. Only the space on the north side of the narrow L-shaped corridor 6's floor was covered with white chalky mortar (Engin et al. 2016: 452). The base level of this narrow space is about 50 cm higher than the southern part of the corridor. Probably this section was used as a high bench.

Dark greenish gray, light red and white-chalky mudbricks were used on the building walls and terrace (fig. 4). The gray mudbricks with little straw featuring poor workmanship were probably made from clay carried from the river bed. Three or four differently colored mudbricks were also used in contemporary monumental buildings in centers such as Megiddo, Pello and Dan in the Eastern Mediterranean (Homsher 2012: 11-12). According to Homsher,

² Square mudbricks with dimensions of 40 x 40 x 10 cm were used in the houses of the third millennium BC revealed in Konur Sandal in Iran are approximately the same size (see Dehkordi et al. 2011: 188).



the use of mudbricks of different colors and quality in the same building may point to different manufacturers or they may have also been sourced from the same place (Homsher 2012: 12).

The plaster on the walls is only preserved a little. The white chalky plaster detected in the rooms 2 and 7 is approximately 1 cm thick (Engin et al. 2017: 558; 2017: 558). The passageways between the spaces are visible on the walls. Traces on the walls indicate that the gateways are approximately 1 m wide. A basalt door jamb was found in front of the north door opening to the L-shaped corridor in Room 7. Accordingly, it can be assumed that the interior doors were single-winged.

The walls of some rooms feature niches. Two niches were identified in the southwest corner of Room 7 and in the northeast corner of the L-shaped corridor, number 4. Although the walls were preserved up to a height of about 3.70 m, no window openings were detected on the walls. It is likely that space about 70 cm wide at the top of the eastern wall of Room 2 is a window opening into the staircase room.³

Spaces and Functions

Room 1 in the north of the building is completely covered with mudbricks. This part probably must have been an interior space filled with mudbrick and mortar to form a straight level for the first floor, rather than a terrace (fig. 2-3). Room 2 is the place where the finds were best preserved. There is a bench measuring 2 m x 1 m with a 40 cm height in the northeast corner of the kitchen. Adjacent to the southern wall of the room, two clay furnaces were uncovered side by side on a high clay platform. The cylindrically shaped clay furnaces are disintegrated. The bench and platform were built using stone and clay. The outer edges of the bench were bounded by a thin mudbrick line and plastered with a chalky mortar. The finds within Room 2 indicate a kitchen. Pottery and basalt grinding stones were found inside the room. In-situ vessels were broken and scattered during the fire.

In the western part of the space, there must have been a cellar separated by a single row of mudbrick and connected through a gate passage. In the northern half of this section, a large number of carbonized olive seeds were found along with broken potteries. Two women skeletons who died during the fire discovered on the floor at the entrance to the cellar. Inside Room 2, there were three cube-shaped column bases from basalt and one in the cellar section (Özgen et al. 2014: 166-167). A fourth basalt column base was located in the center of Room 3. Basalt column bases indicate that wooden columns were used as supporting architectural elements inside the large spaces of the building.

Room 3, which opens up to Room 2 with a door about 80 cm wide, has approximately the same size and layout (Özgen et al. 2013a: 500). The thick white plaster on the walls was not very well preserved. On the west side of the room, a cellar compartment with a single row of mudbrick walls was built, as in Room 2. The floor level of the cellar is approximately 30 cm higher. Two basalt blocks with a cube shape were placed in the entrance of the door between the main space and the cellar compartment in order to function as a doorstep. Located at the center of the main space, the third basalt block with a similar shape and size was used as a wooden column base.

Room 5, which has a small space with a narrow rectangular shape measuring 5m x 2m must have been the staircase room providing passage to the upper floor (figs. 2-4; Engin et al. 2016: 451). Rooms 4 and 6, located in the north and south sections of the building, are L-shaped and symmetrical. There is a narrow and long mudbrick platform about 40 cm in width and 40 cm in height along the southern wall of Room 4. Adjacent to the northern wall of the room, a furnace placed on a clay platform similar to that in kitchen number 2 was unearthed.

³ S. Lloyd argued that in the ancient Near Eastern palaces, light gaps should be sought in the upper parts of the ceiling, rather than assuming that the light came through the door (Lloyd 1978: 196-197).



The remains of the furnace and the long clay bench indicate that space was used as a kitchen. In this room, several broken vessels were found as well as a door bulla with a cylinder seal (fig. 7). Nothing was found in the L-shaped Room 6 in the southern section of the building other than parts belonging to the rims and upper parts of the large pots (Engin et al. 2016: 452). Part of the building facing northwards has the appearance of a compartment with a high, chalky white floor. Room 6 opens into Room 3 with a gateway on the western wall, and also into Room 7 with a gateway on the southern wall.

Room 7 is the second large kitchen revealed (fig. 5: left). In the northwestern and northeastern corners of the rectangular room measuring 8 m x 3.80 m, there are rows of stones and two benches built with clay, similar to the kitchen in Room 2 (Engin et al. 2017: 558-559, fig. 2). Broken ceramic sherds were found on the bench on the northeastern side in addition to basalt grinding stones on the northwestern bench (fig 5: top right). On the northern wall, passage to the rooms in the northern section through a gate passage between the two benches was provided. A second door, which appears to have approximately the same width and opens up to the south, is on the southern wall on the southwest corner. In the western part of the building, there is a furnace placed on a broken round, basalt block (fig. 5: bottom right). The basalt block with a diameter of 95 cm and a height of 20 cm must be a column base, possibly converted from a structure from an earlier period. The clay furnace placed on it is shaped like a horseshoe, facing northwards. There is a rectangular niche in the southwest corner of the building. In the building, broken vessel sherds and basalt grinding stones, and a schematic sculpture of a human head were found. A second schematic statue made of basalt was placed inside the eastern wall and found under the falling plaster.



Fig. 5: The kitchen in the southeast (7), the northwestern bench and basalt furnace base.

The three small rooms numbered 8, 9 and 10 (fig. 6) open up directly to the eastern courtyard (Engin et al. 2016: 454-455; 2017: 560). The gateways on the walls show that the three spaces were interconnected, while the connection with the courtyard was provided



through room 8 in the north. The large flat stone step located in front of the eastern wall of Room 8, shows that the door which connects the room to the courtyard is located in this section. In the southwest corner of Room 9, a square-shaped pit measuring approximately 1.70 m x 1.70 m white chalky plastered inside was found, in addition to a low-rectangular clay bench measuring 0.70 m x 1.5 m in the southeast corner of Room 10. The white chalky plastered pit must have functioned as a silo. Apart from vessel sherds discovered in the northeastern corner of Room 9, nothing was found in these three spaces. However, the silo, bench, and grinding stones indicate that these rooms were used as warehouses and workshops.



Fig.6: The warehouses 8, 9 and 10 in the east.

Terrace and Courtyard

To the east of the building, there is a large courtyard and a large mudbrick terrace to the west (figs 2-3). There are small stones and ceramic sherds on the beaten-earth based courtyard. In the excavated part of the courtyard, nothing was found other than a terracotta animal figurine. Since the entire courtyard is not yet revealed, it is unclear whether it is an inner courtyard or an outer courtyard.

The terrace was built with mudbrick, rubble, and mortar that support the western wall of the building. The mudbricks used on the terrace are the same as those used in the building. In trench I21, there is an area of mudbrick fill to the north of Room 1. However, it is not yet understood whether this is a base filling as in Room 1 or part of the mudbrick terrace, which support the building from the north. Due to the presence of a slope to the north of the building, a mudbrick terrace can be expected in this section.

During works carried out in trench H22b on the western slope in 2007, it was established that the space between the two thick, stone-based mudbrick walls of the terrace



connected vertically to the building had been filled with mudbrick and mortar rubble (Özgen et al. 2009: 147, fig. 14). With these walls, a solid infrastructure is established for the terrace while also connecting the terrace to the main building. The upper mudbrick rows on the western end of the walls could not be preserved due to slope erosion. These two walls extending in the northeast-southwest directions are 3.50 m and 2 m wide and stone-based with white chalky mortar formed by a row stone. After the spaces between the walls were filled with mud mortar and mudbrick rubble, they were covered with mudbrick at regular intervals to obtain flat ground. The remains in the trenches H22b and I22a revealed that the terrace structure was wider than 15 m. In the trenches I22 and J22, traces of a thick white plaster are clearly visible on the surface between the western wall of the palace and the mudbrick terrace. This shows that the palace was constructed first and that the terrace was added after the exterior facade was plastered.

The terrace was dated to the Roman Period due to the small number of sherds from the Roman period and a few mosaic tesserae found in the upper parts of the mudbrick terrace were uncovered on the western slope during early excavations on the Northwest Area (Özgen et al. 2009: 146-147). However, it was understood afterward that the mudbricks used on the terrace were completely similar to those used in the construction of the palace in terms of color and dimensions; and that the terrace was meant to support and integrate with the western wall of the palace. In view of these considerations, it was established that the terrace dated to the MBA I through the analysis of ceramic materials found inside the mudbricks and the rubble filling (Özgen et al. 2013a: 500-501).

Findings

There were not so many significant findings in the rooms of the building, except in Room 2. The door bulla found in Room 4 and sculpture works discovered in Room 7 are among the remarkable discoveries found, apart from the small number of potteries uncovered in other rooms together with basalt grinding stones.

A door bulla (fig. 7) found in Room 4 indicates that there may have been a door in this room connected to the staircase room (Engin et al. 2016: 452). The bulla was hardened due to the impact of the fire. It is understood from the marks inside that the bulla was fastened to a round wooden bolt, possibly 3.5 cm wide. On the bulla, there is an impression of cylinder seal depicting the master of animals, divine powers, scenes of struggles with animals, and worshipper. Many similar bullae reflecting the Old Syrian glyptic traditions are known to exist in Qatna Royal Palace made according to the Classical Syrian Style (Novák 2004: 310, fig. 11).

Numerous basalt-grinding stones and pestles were found inside the structure. The grinding stones and pestles, which indicate the kitchen function of the uncovered spaces, were mostly found on clay platforms (fig. 5). The concave grinding slabs and long, oval-shaped grinding stones reflect the forms used for grain milling, associated with the region during the MBA (Merluzzi 2000).

The sculpture works made from basalt, one of the most fascinating findings inside the building, were found in Room 7 (fig. 5). A basalt human head (fig. 8) with a height of approximately 25 cm and a width of 20 cm were found adjacent to the eastern wall of the room. The basalt human head may have fallen from the collapsing upper floor, or it could have been moved from another place. The hairstyle featured in the statue is similar to depictions of women/goddess heads in the northern Syrian style.



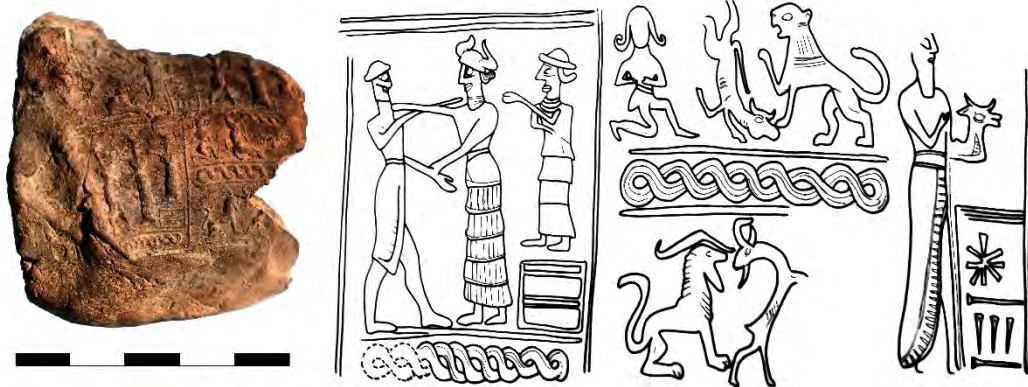


Fig. 7: The clay door-bulla found in Room 4.



Fig. 8: Basalt schematic sculpture of a human head found in Room 7.

While the broken nose protrusion is prominent on the small round face, the eye and mouth lines are not very clear. The neck protrusion of the statue shows that it was fixed to a body. There is a small round hollow under the neck. Sculptures, where the head is modeled independently of the body only to be placed onto it afterward are known to have been common in Qatna in the same period (Al-Maqdisi et al. 2009: 146-147).

The second sculpture work was found inside the crumbling wall during the works carried out on the east of Room 7. Presumably placed in the wall for cult purposes, the basalt figurine is highly schematic. The figurine with a rectangular prism body is 13.5 cm high and 8.5 cm wide. The head on the mass body is marked with a rounded nub. While not all facial details are shown, the rectangular nose protrusions and small, round eye sockets are distinctive. Other specimens of this sort of schematic human figurines known to have existed



at Oylum Höyük emerged at the end of the 3rd millennium BC and became widespread in MBA, most of them being cult objects named “stone spirits” associated with the cult of ancestors and believed to possess protective powers (Wiener 2011: figs. 8-56).

The Collapse and Aftermath

The building was destroyed in a fire in the 18th century BC. The presence of only a few in-situ materials in all the rooms other than Room 2 indicates that the building was emptied or plundered, during or before this disaster. The absence of lower parts of large vessels and the death of two adult women in Room 2 during the fire suggest that a sudden attack and plunder were the cause of the disaster (Engin et al. 2016: 452, 455; 2017: 558; Özgen et al. 2013a: 500; 2014, 167, res. 14). Most likely, the attackers were not able to loot Room 2 because it was harder to access.

After the building was destroyed, the area was used as dumping at the beginning of MBA II (Engin et al. 2014: 241-242; 2016: 453; Özgen et al. 2011: 58; 2013b: 324, fig.1). There is a thick layer of ash on the building remains (*Oylum VIb1*). The thickness of the ash layer extending from the west to the eastern reaches 2.50 m. Ceramic sherds, animal bones, and terracotta human and animal figurines were found in the thick ash layer

The area was used as a cemetery at a later stage in the Early MBA II (*Oylum VIb2*), with houses built on the eastern part of the building ruins. A large number of earth burials, jar burials, and shaft graves were (fig. 9) uncovered from this stage placed inside the ruins of the building (Engin et al. 2016: 451-458, fig. 13; 2017: 556-557, fig. 3). Containing not so many gifts, the graves usually contain one or few potteries and some ornaments that were buried with the dead. Some of the earth and shaft graves were intentionally placed around the edges of the palace walls.



Fig. 9: Early MBA II jar burial, earth burial and shaft grave.



Comparison and Assessment

The Syrian and Mesopotamian palaces of the 2nd millennium BC were not only the life and administrative centers of the royal family, but also economic and cultural centers. Mari, Ebla, Alalakh, Ugarit, Qatna, Tall Bia and Tilmen Höyük MBA palaces were complicated structures built according to this concept. The Palace of Zimrilim in Mari, dating back to 19-18th centuries BC, was spread over an area of 25,000 m² and had over 300 rooms (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 314-316, fig. 9.17; Bonatz et al. 1998: 91-92, fig. 28; Margueron 1982). The Ugarit North Royal Palace, built at the end of the MBA and destroyed by a fire in the middle of the 14th century BC, had more than 100 rooms gathered around four courtyards (Yon 2006: 18-65). A building plan consisting of thick walls, long rooms and corridors around the courtyards was a common feature of all these palaces. As opposed to the Old Babylonian tradition of palace architecture as exemplified in Mari, the use of beams, wooden pillars and stone column bases was quite common in the palace architecture of the MBA Syria including Oylum Höyük. Similarly, large palaces with multiple rooms around courtyards which were built using beams and timber were also common in LBA palaces in the region (Luciani: 2013).

The pioneers of the palaces in the 2nd millennium BC were palaces dating to the end of the 3rd millennium BC, such as the Ebla Palace G (Matthiae 2010; 2013: 235-243) and Tell Khuera Palace F (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 258, fig. 8.16). The audience rooms featuring in such palaces, which opened up to a central courtyard continued to appear in palaces belonging to the MBA. Matthiae and Pinnock described these courtyards as being ritual and ceremonial areas (Matthiae 2010: 353; Pinnock 2015: 110-117).

Although the Oylum Palace has not yet been fully revealed, the 1000 m² excavated part of the building is consisted of rooms in the west of a courtyard. It is thought that the palace does not continue to the east of the courtyard since it is considered that the east of the courtyard is where the two mound elevations meet, and might be the entrance way to the acropolis. With its current plan, the Oylum Palace resembles, in terms of its layout, the Yarimlim Palace in Alalakh level VII (Heinz 1992: 13, Tafel 2-5; Woolley 1955: 92, fig. 35; Yener 2005: 138) and the Tilmen Palace (Alkım 1962: 458-466, figs. 33-44, pl. IV; Marchetti 2005). The underlying difference that separates the Tilmen Höyük and Yarimlim palaces from other Syrian palaces is that they feature a layout with rows of rooms spreading along the wing of a central courtyard. This layout is considered an innovation in the ancient Syrian architecture (Margueron 1982: 191). The orthostats featuring in Yarimlim and Tilmen Höyük palaces do not exist in the revealed parts of the Oylum Palace. However, the use of thick mudbrick walls, stair rooms showing that they were multi-storey and wooden columns and column bases are common features in all three palaces. Although the wall thickness of the Tilmen Höyük Palace varies between 2.40-1.50 cm, it is surprising that the wall thickness, which is mostly 1.85 m (Alkım 1962: 460-461), resembles to that of the walls of the Oylum Palace. The white hard mortar seen on the stone foundations of the walls supporting the Oylum Palace terrace is a feature also seen on the walls of Tilmen Höyük and Yarimlim palaces (Alkım 1962: 462; Woolley 1955: 232).

Both Yarimlim and Tilmen palaces were dated to 18th-17th century BC and its destruction was tied to the Syrian campaign of the Hittite King Hattušili I (Alkım 1962: 465-466; Na'aman 1976: 130, 140; Woolley 1955: 92). According to radiocarbon results, the Oylum Palace dated to 19-18 centuries BC, is probably slightly older than these two palaces and is contemporary with the Mari Zimrilim Palace. The building, like the other two palaces, was probably destroyed after an attack and plundering. Even though the most likely perpetrators of this attack were the Old Assyrian king Shamshi-Adad I (ca. 1813-1781 BC) and the Old Babylonian king Hammurabi (ca. 1793-1750 BC), there is no definite knowledge



yet. It is known that the Mari Zimrilim Palace was first attacked by Hammurabi and then destroyed by Shamshi-Adad I (Akkermans and Schwartz 1993: 288, 313-317; Bonatz et al. 1998: 91-92). The Western Palace Q in Ebla, which was built around the same time as the Oylum Palace, survived until the 1600s BC (Matthiae 1980a: 9-11; 1984; Pinnock 2001: 23), while the Oylum Palace was collapsed earlier.

The Oylum Palace bears similarities to its contemporaries the Western Palace Q in Ebla (Matthiae 1980a: 9-1; 1984; Pinnock 2001: 23), the Eastern Palace in Qatna (Iamoni 2015; Iamoni and Kanhouch 2009: 161-164; Iamoni and Morandi Bonacossi 2011: 184-184, fig. 3-4; Morandi Bonacossi 2009: 156-159; 2013: 424; 2016: 152-154, fig. 3-4; Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009) and the Palace B in Tall Bi'a (Einwag 2002: 143-146, fig. 2) with its construction technique and its layout consisting of inter-connected rows of spaces. In addition to the Palace Q in Ebla, the Northern Palace P, and Palace E, which belong to the same period, bear traces of a similar architectural tradition (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 298-301; Pinnock 2001: 15-23). Especially the Ebla Palace E was built on a terrace like the Oylum Palace.

The walls of the Oylum Palace are deeply seated inside layers of mounds, a peculiarity which also features in the Qatna Royal Palace, whose walls were built 4 m deep from the surface (Morandi Bonacossi 2007: fig. 2; Novák 2004: 301, 303, figs. 3-4). Similar application features in the Burnt Building Complex in Kinet Höyük dated to MBA II (Akar 2006: 7-8, fig. 2.5). While symmetrical chambers that feature in the Old Babylonian palaces, such as the Mari Zimrilim Palace, are not common in ancient Syrian architecture, the palaces of Ebla Western Palace Q and Oylum Palace built during the same period have similar symmetrical rooms (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 298). The L-shaped rooms 4 and 6 in the Oylum Palace are symmetrically located in the north and south of a staircase room.

One of the most remarkable architectural elements of the kitchens and warehouses uncovered in the Oylum Palace is the benches. Grinding stones and pestles uncovered on the benches of rooms 2 and 7 show that these benches were put particularly to use as workbenches for the purpose of grain milling. As in the Palace G in Ebla built in the 3rd Millennium BC, numerous mortars, grinding stones, hand-stones, and pestles were found in the rooms of the Western Palace Q and Northern Palace P built in the 2nd millennium BC (Merluzzi 2000: 1068-1069, Tab. 1-2). While narrow benches similar to the ones that extend along the southern-wall of Room 4 in the Oylum Palace are also known to exist in Ebla Western Palace Q, numerous basalt pestles and grinding stones on a bench were uncovered lined up side by side in a room in the Palace Q (Matthiae 1985: pl. 68).

Temple D in Ebla and the Level VII Temple in Alakakh are generally considered palace temples associated with the dynastic cult (Morandi Bonacossi 2013: 426). It is not known whether the palace had any connections with a temple since the entirety of the Oylum Palace could not be fully uncovered yet. The temple associated with the Yarimlim Palace is located in the southeast of the main courtyard (Heinz 1992: 13-14, Tafel 2-5). The head of the basalt statue removed from the body that was uncovered in Room 7 of the Oylum Palace probably belongs to a cult statue and must have been moved here from a cult place.⁴

It is a common tradition to place tombs under the floor in the Syrian MBA palaces. These tombs are mostly associated with the royal ancestor cult (Morandi Bonacossi 2013: 424-426). In the Western Palace Q in Ebla (Matthiae 1980a; 1984), to which the Oylum Palace bears significant similarities, two important royal chamber tombs were discovered carved into the bedrock and a royal *hypogée* was identified in the Eastern Palace in Qatna (Morandi Bonacossi 2013: 424, fig. 28.4). Although this area was used as a cemetery after

⁴ Similar pieces of sculpture were found in the Ebla (Matthiae 1980b) and Tall Bia palaces (Strommenger and Miglus 2010: 157, pl. 179: 3) of the 3rd millennium BC



the destruction of the Oylum Palace, it is not yet known whether there are any royal tombs in the building as the under floors of the palace have not been excavated yet. However, it is possible that these kinds of tombs could be found under the floor of Oylum Palace.

In conclusion, while the uncovered sections of the Oylum Palace show the characteristics of the traditional Syrian palace architecture at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, they also indicate the presence of an important administrative center in the Kilis Plain. The sections yet to be unearthed and the possible findings through further excavations will contribute more to the understanding of the historical and archeological peculiarities of the region.



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CENTER AND PERIPHERY DYNAMICS BETWEEN THE
ALTINÖZÜ HIGHLANDS AND THE AMUQ VALLEY LOWLANDS:
THE NEW RESCUE EXCAVATIONS AT TOPRAKHİSAR HÖYÜK
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CENTER AND PERIPHERY DYNAMICS BETWEEN THE ALTINÖZÜ HIGHLANDS AND THE AMUQ VALLEY LOWLANDS: THE NEW RESCUE EXCAVATIONS AT TOPRAKHİSAR HÖYÜK (HATAY, TURKEY)*

MURAT AKAR-DEMET KARA

Introduction

Center and periphery dynamics have become an attractive topic for understanding the social and economic systems in the early history of Anatolia and the Near East (Adams 1965; Trigger 1967; Parr 1972; Rowlands 1987; Larsen 1987). Yet, due to a number of reasons from funding concerns to the attractiveness of large sites, archaeological research often tends to produce datasets from urban centers, limiting the regional interpretations to mainly urban perspectives. Like elsewhere, this is the same case for the archaeology of the Amuq Valley, where, except for Braidwood's soundings in the eight selected tells (Braidwood, Braidwood 1960), much attention has been given to the temporally defined key sites – the 6th and 5th millennium BC Tell Kurdu (Yener *et alii* 2000; Özbal 2010a), the 3rd and 1st millennium BC regional center of Tell Tayinat, Kunulua (Harrison 2009; 2013; Welton *et alii* 2011) and the 2nd millennium BC capital of Tell Atchana, Alalakh (Woolley 1955; Yener 2010 ed.; 2013). The research programs at the aforementioned sites have broadened our understanding of the targeted timespans, but the Amuq Valley still lacks a fine-tuned chronological framework vital for understanding local developments which occurred over the *longue duree*. Of over 400 sites identified during the Amuq Valley Regional Project, as well as through museum salvage excavations, the overwhelming number of sites from the Amuq Valley and its vicinity create an impressive dataset ranging from the Neolithic to the Turkish Republic era (Yener 2005 ed.; Dodd *et alii* 2012). Yet due to its active geomorphology as an alluvial plain fed by the Orontes, Afrin and Karasu river systems, settlement shifts occurred from time to time due to environmental changes and anthropogenic activities. Thus, the valley lacks archaeological excavations where the Amuq sequence can be followed from a multi-period site. This was noted and partially achieved at Tell al Judeidah by Braidwood (1960) but the limited size of his operations necessitated stratigraphically controlled excavations (Yener *et alii* 1996: 68). The chronological gaps within the still-accepted Amuq Chronology were defined by Braidwood himself and the next generation of scholars (Pucci 2010; Bulu 2017; Welton 2017). Perhaps the most problematic phases yet remaining to be further explored are the Neolithic-

* The project is funded by Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Hatay Mustafa Kemal University, Scientific Research Grant (Project Number 16481).

Chalcolithic transition (Amuq B-C) and the Early-Middle/Late Chalcolithic transition (Amuq E-F) that are currently not under investigation in the region (Welton 2017: 4, Table 1).

Toprakhisar Höyük in its Regional Setting

While the Neolithic and earlier Chalcolithic still remains to be explored, based on the current understanding of the settlement patterns of the Amuq Valley, the shift from Late Chalcolithic (Amuq G) to Early Bronze Age (Amuq H-I) is defined by increased and dispersed settlement activity from 28 to 71 sites concentrated along the hillsides surrounding the valley (Batiuk 2007: 52). Towards the end of the Early Bronze Age (Amuq J), a trend towards centralization is noted, with Tell Tayinat holding the role of the major urban center (Welton 2011; Welton *et alii* 2011). The changing settlement patterns in the Middle Bronze Age are now well-defined by the stratified material culture revealed from the excavations conducted at Tell Atchana (Horowitz 2015; Bulu 2016). Through the new readings of the old and new survey data, the MBA (Amuq K-L, ca. 2000-1600 BC) can be securely defined at sites in the valley (Bulu 2016; Yener *et alii* 2017). Yet the EBA-MBA transition in the Amuq still remains to be explored through Tayinat's EBA and Tell Atchana's early MBA sequence. Another cycle of transformations in the political and structural organization of the region occurred during the Mitannian and Hittite hegemony in the LBA (Amuq M, ca. 1600-1200 BC). This is reflected numerically as a drop down to 35 medium- and large-scale sites, with many of the small sites being abandoned and an addition of 12 new sites being occupied in the Late Bronze Age (Bulu 2017; Yener *et alii* 2017: 557; see also Akar, Bulu 2018). An increase in rural settlement patterns occurred in Iron II (Amuq O, ca. 950-725 BC), when the region was referred to as the Kingdom of Patina, with its center based at Kunulua-Tell Tayinat, and settlement activity is documented in over 50 sites which are varied in dimension and function (Osborne 2013: 777).

The understanding of the overall settlement patterns in the Amuq Valley has been further expanded with the new survey projects conducted in the Altınözü Region, the hilly landscape surrounding the Amuq to the southwest. Not suitable for large-scale agricultural production, the dispersed settlement activity in this hilly landscape is traced along the narrow river valleys. Like today, the highland surveys confirmed that the region maintained its viticulture and viniculture, as well as husbandry, as the major source of income in the past (Tchalenko 1953; Pamir 2010). This statement has found archaeological proof for later periods, with numerous Roman and Byzantine sites, but also for the early history of the region, with the discovery of mound sites confirming that settled human activity began at least from the Early Chalcolithic onwards (Pamir, Henry 2017: 150-151; 2018: 507-508).

Located 140 meters above sea level, ca. 60 meters higher than the modern level of the Amuq Valley, Toprakhisar Höyük is one of the mound sites in the Altınözü Region located along the Beyaz Çay valley, an estuary of the Orontes River. The site is approximately 15 km away from the major sites of Tell Atchana and Tell Tayinat. It is situated in the foothills of the Beyaz Çay valley and can be identified as a hillside mound settlement (Fig. 1). The archaeological excavations were initiated by the Hatay Archaeological Museum in 2016 in response to significant environmental and human damage that occurred at the site over the last 20 years. Subjected to continuous river erosions in the past, the decomposition of the site was accelerated by the construction of the Yarseli Dam in the 1980s, which surrounds the site from its south to northeast. Through an annual cycle of dry and wet episodes, the river erosion and the dam itself created a deep crescent-shaped section cut on the south, where the visible archaeological finds are picked up by locals and sold in illegal markets. Also severely damaged by the Toprakhisar village, terracing operations for small-scale farming and water pipe-line projects in its northern extremities, the current condition of the site necessitated the initiation of rescue excavations in the approximately 1 ha area left for archaeological research. The exact



dimensions of the site remain unclear, due to modern settlement activity to the west, sealing the archaeological deposits below (Fig. 2).

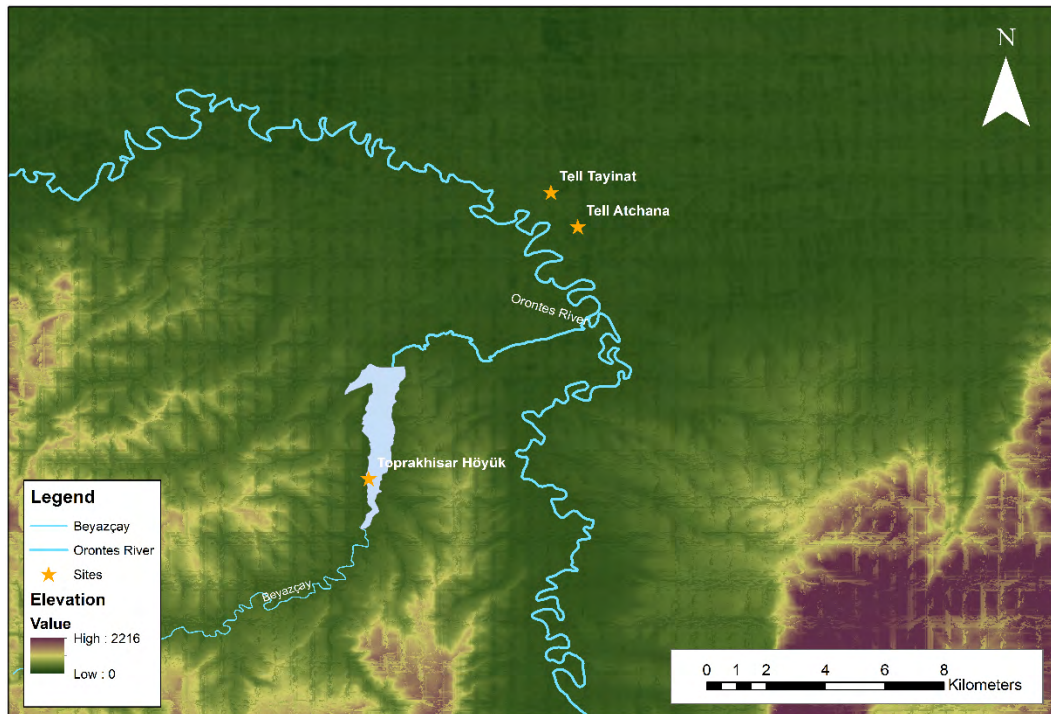


Fig. 1 Digital elevation model of Beyazçay and Amuq Valley with major sites plotted. Map by M. Akar.



Fig. 2 Comparative aerial photos of the site showing the dry season in August (left) and the wet season in May (right). Photographs by M. Akar.



The Intensive Surface Surveys

The intensive surface surveys were conducted in 10 x 10 m grids at the site's eastern lower end and along the exposed south section, revealing material culture that showed that Toprakhisar Höyük was continuously occupied from the late 6th to mid 2nd millennium BC (Fig. 3). While no Late Bronze Age diagnostic materials were encountered, the final levels of the site are defined by a small-scale Iron I-II occupation, perhaps a farmstead around the highest part of the mound.

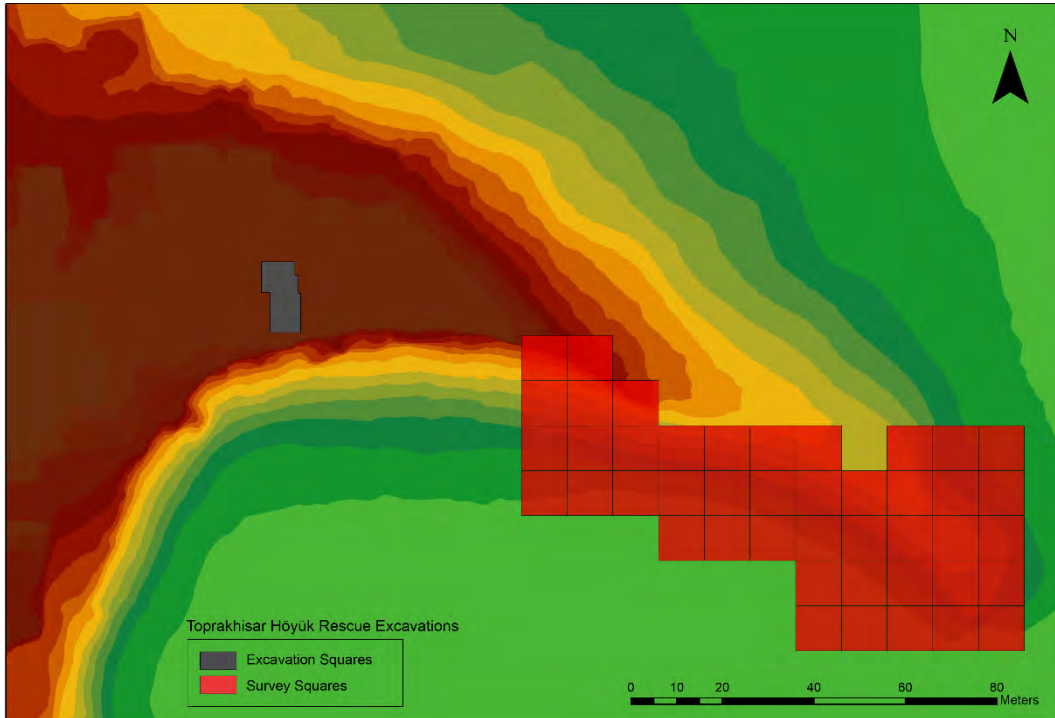


Fig. 3 Topographic map of Toprakhisar Höyük with squares surveyed and excavated. Map by M. Akar.

Tentatively, the earliest assemblages from the site may correspond to Amuq C-D, but this statement requires further exploration. The abundant collection of the earliest prehistoric material retrieved along the foothills of the site is dated to Amuq E (ca.5000/4900-4400/4300 BC), defined by the presence of painted Ubaid-like ceramics well known from Tell Kurdu and Imar al-Jadid al-Sharqi (Braidwood, Braidwood 1960:190, fig. 147; Yener *et alii* 2000: 77, fig. 14; Özbal 2010a: 57). Mostly in open forms like bowls, the survey assemblage is characterized by grit tempered and slipped wares with black/brown motifs added by a multiple-paint brush (Fig. 4). The existence of Ubaid-like painted wares from Toprakhisar clearly demonstrated that settlement activity in the 5th millennium BC was not limited to lowlands but that the settlements in the high Altınözü region were also influenced by the major Ubaid trends in Northern Mesopotamia, likely by exchanging/adopting technological knowledge with the valley sites (Özbal 2010b: 298; Akar and Kara 2018a: 242).

The second most abundant collection of ceramics retrieved from the eastern edge of the site are categorized under Chaff Faced Ware (Fig. 5). Being handmade and varying from buff to orange color with burnished and unburnished bowl type vessel fragments, some of the examples also revealed scraping marks similar to Coba Bowls. The recent research on chaff face assemblages from Arslantepe demonstrates that the ware extends back to the



beginning of the 4th millennium BC, pointing to the emergence of local administrative systems as a product developed independently from the influence of the Uruk world (Frangipane 2000: 440-444; 2010; see also Trufelli 1994; Rothman 2004; Marro 2010; Sagona 2017). The resemblance of the Toprakhisar Höyük examples to Coba-like bowls from Tell Afis (Mazzoni 1998: 12; 2013: 207; Giannesi 2012), Hama (Thuesen 1988) and Ras Shamra (de Contenson 1992) likely indicate that the chronological gap between Amuq E and F can be stratigraphically defined once the excavations reach these levels. While noted to have a long life and continuing to be used in the Early Bronze Age (Braidwood, Braidwood 1960: 275-277), the presence of reserved-slip ware sherds indicate that the site continued to be inhabited throughout the 4th millennium BC. Also represented in limited numbers in the Amuq Valley (Welton 2017: 21), no beveled-rim bowls affiliated with the Uruk world were found at Toprakhisar.

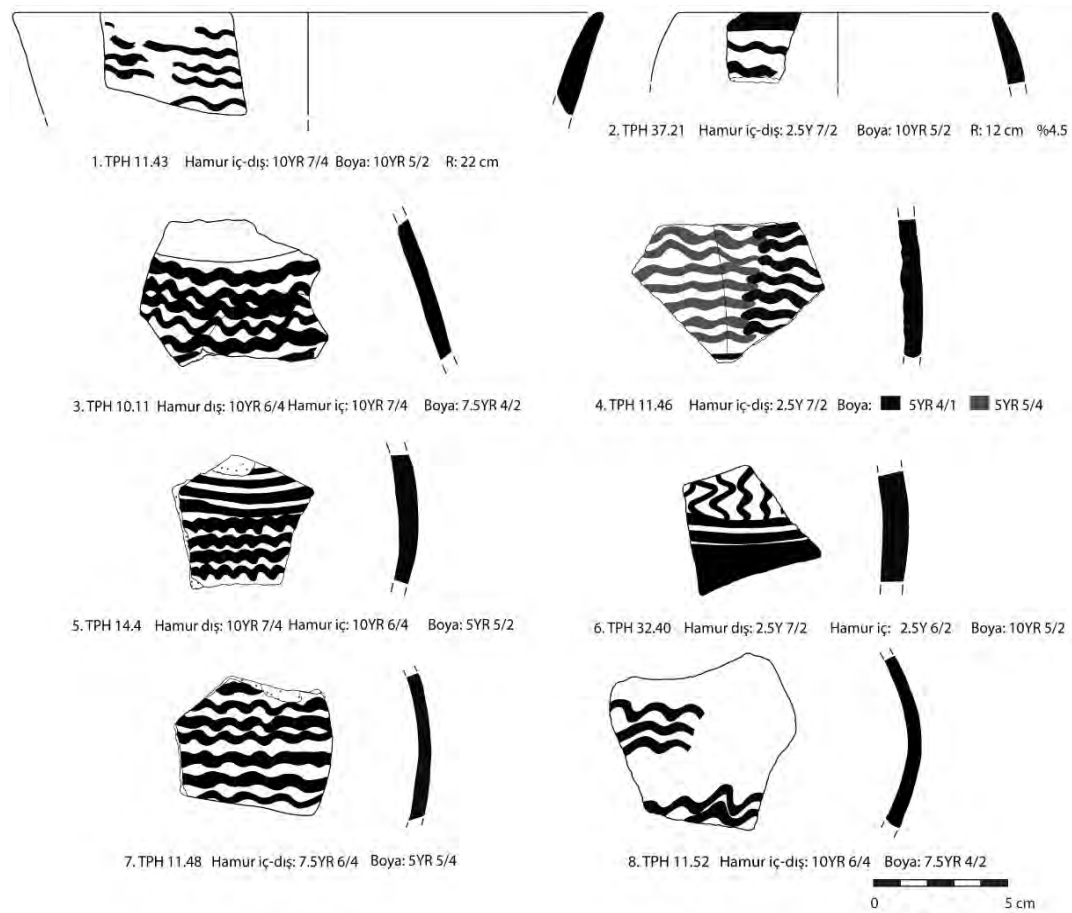


Fig. 4 Amuq E ceramic assemblage from Toprakhisar Höyük survey.
Illustrations by İ. Görmüş and M. Mimaroğlu.



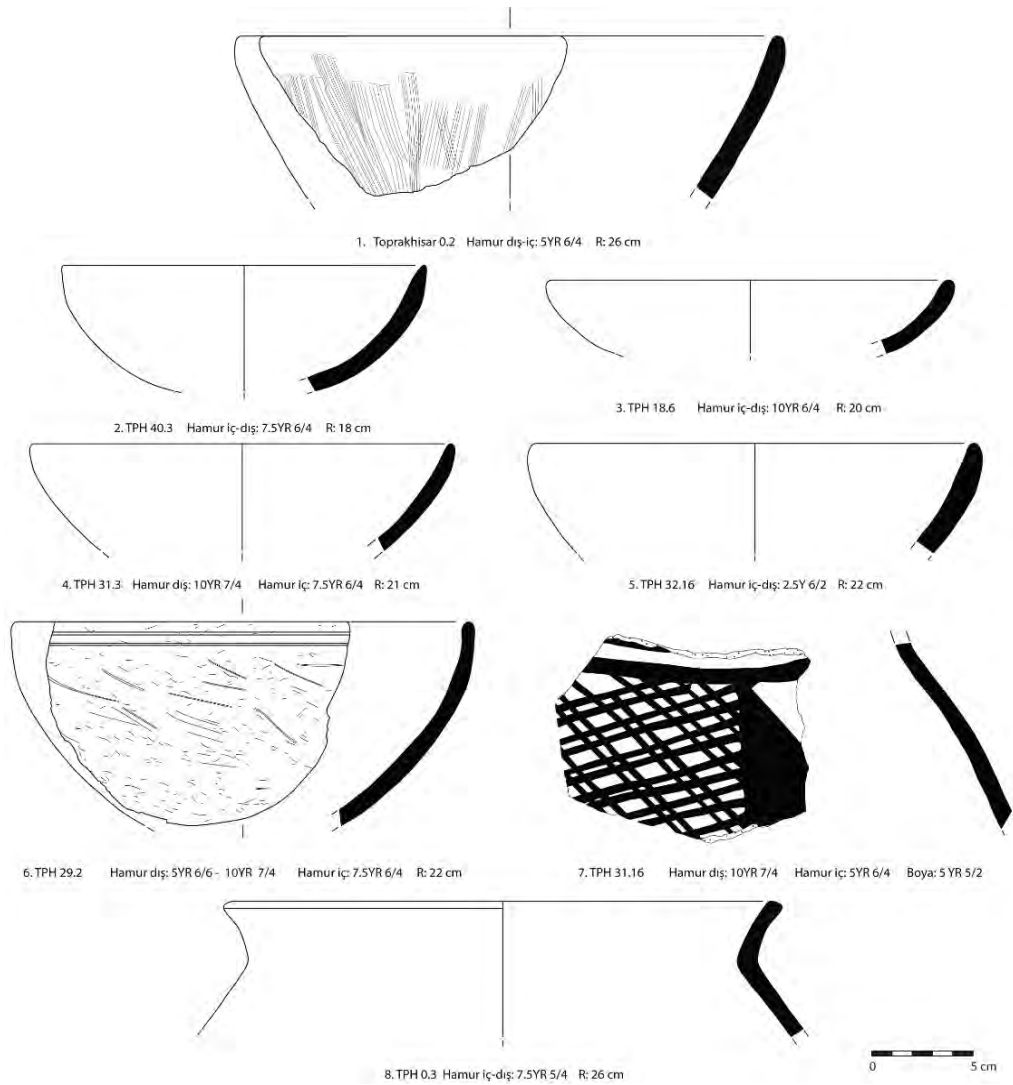


Fig. 5 Amuq E-F transition and Amuq F ceramic assemblages from Toprakhisar Höyük survey.
Illustrations by İ. Görmüş and M. Mimaroglu.

The surveys also discovered abundant amounts of handmade red-black burnished ware sherds, which are known from Amuq Valley sites such as Tabarat al Akrad, Tell el Judaidah, Chatal Höyük and Tell Tayinat and were dated generally to Amuq H-I (ca. 2700-2500 BC; see for instance Hood 1951). Named Kura-Araxes in Transcaucasia, Karaz/Pulur in Eastern Anatolia and Khirbet Kerak in Palestine (Sagona 1984; Esse, Hopke 1986; Philip 1999; Işıklı 2011), the appearance of the early Transcaucasian-influenced material assemblages at Toprakhisar Höyük clearly demonstrated that the site was also part of the less understood north-south oriented cultural and economic interactions. Defined as red-black burnished ware by Braidwood due to its distinct technological aspects, the petrographic analysis conducted on the survey collections from the Amuq Valley sites pointed to a house-type model with multiple production zones (Batiuk 2005). Based on the limited shape repertoire, the Amuq Valley red-black burnished ware vessels were categorized as a drinking assemblage (Batiuk 2013: 461). The Toprakhisar survey collection also revealed a limited shape repertoire, including cups, shallow/deep bowls and kraters (Fig. 6), with an addition of distinctive fire-related tools,



including the well-known anthropomorphic andirons. The limited appearance of high-fired greenish colour goblet fragments emphasized that the site continued to be occupied in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. The recent excavations at Tell Tayinat showed that these wares, although reduced in number, were found together with the red-black burnished wares in the Amuq J period (Welton 2011).

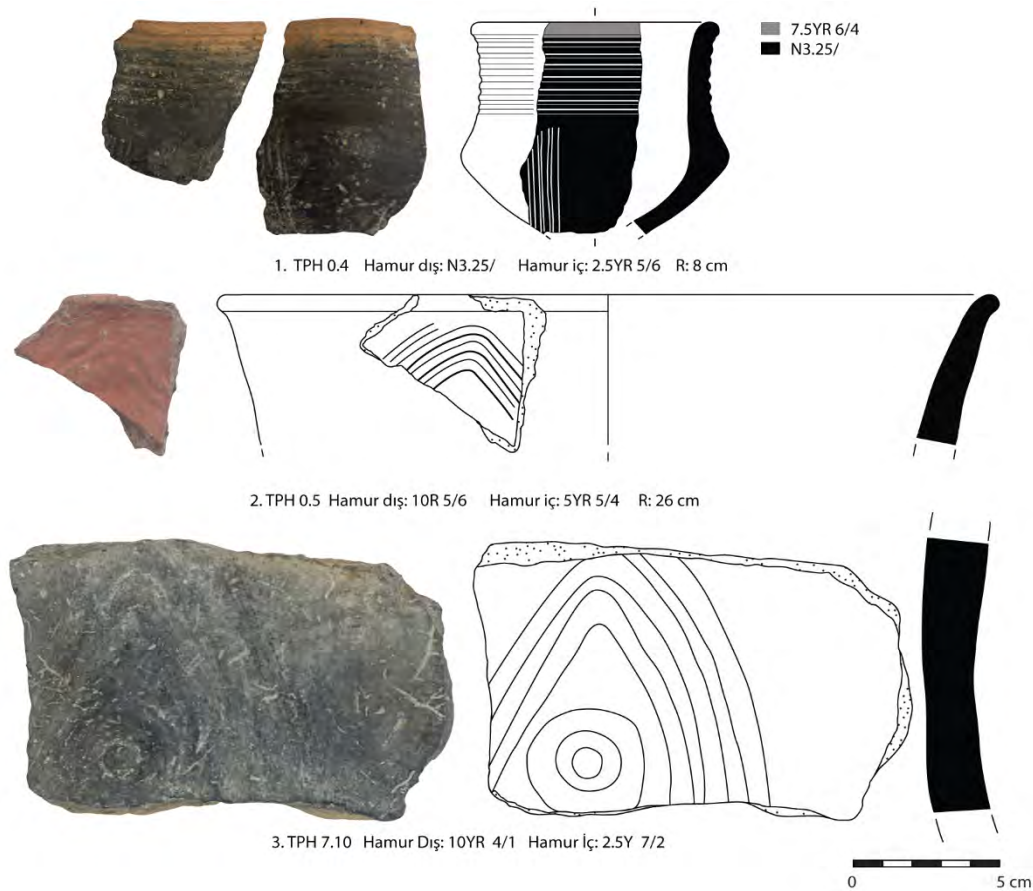


Fig. 6 Amuq H-I ceramic assemblages from Toprakhisar Höyük survey.
Illustrations by İ. Görmüş and M. Mimaroglu.

A limited collection of Amuq O-N sherds was mainly found on the highest part of the tell, indicating that the site continued to be occupied during the Iron I-II periods, but with a reduced settlement size, following a gap during the Late Bronze Age. Amuq O is distinctively defined by the presence of wavy line and banded ware sherds (Pucci 2010; Pucci 2013), whereas Amuq N is defined by the presence of red slipped plates (Osborne 2013: 782, fig. 4.2).

The Rescue Excavations

The rescue excavations were initiated along the modern terraced surface at the western side of the highest part of site. Here, due to space limitations, the excavations were only conducted in two north-oriented squares, revealing the well-preserved remains of a burnt Middle Bronze Age building. In a recent article (Akar and Kara 2018b), the authors presented an in-depth analysis of the structure labelled Building 2 (Fig. 7); thus, the archaeological evidence and the building's role in the local, regional and supra-regional setting is here only briefly discussed.



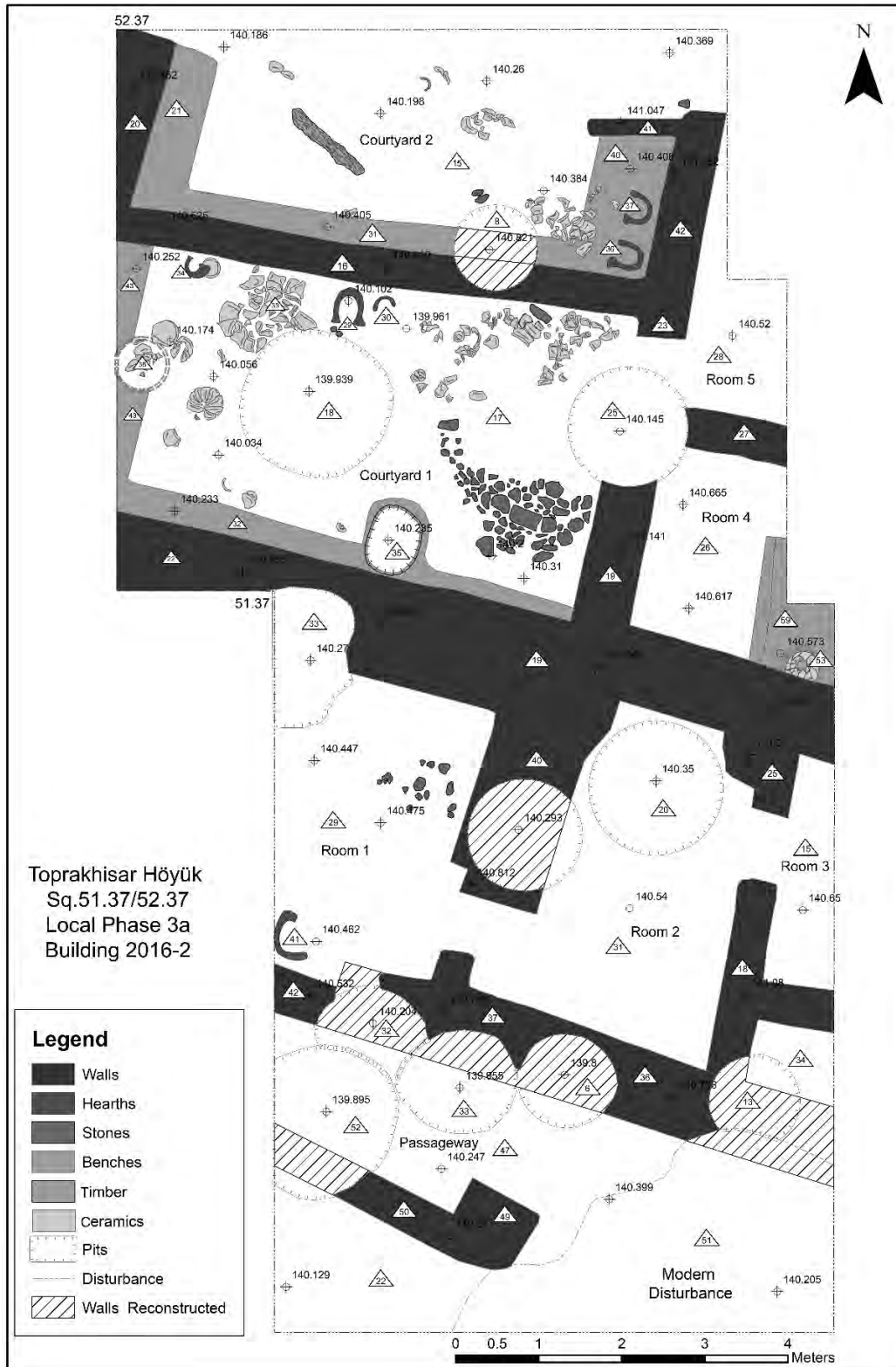


Fig. 7 Plan of Local Phase 3a, Building 2 in Sq. 51.37 and 52.37.

Drawing by O. H. Kirman and O. Omuzubozlu.



The exposed section of Building 2 expands to an area of 125 square meters. Consisting of narrow, buttressed, corridor-type rooms arranged in a terraced terrain, its northern extent was occupied by courtyards revealing a large cache of utilitarian objects used in food preparation, serving and storage installations, including five distinct decorated horse-shoe shaped hearths related to large-scale cooking, well beyond the needs of a single household. Yielding multiple floors levels, it was destroyed by a burning event, sealing its contents *in situ*. Highly specialized in function, the excavated context lacks any other type of finds, confirming that it was the kitchen quarter of a much larger building complex with a designated function. The building extends in easterly, westerly and northerly directions, but due to space limitations, excavations could not expand further in any direction.

Horse-Shoe Shaped Hearths

The five horse-shoe shaped hearths found within the building revealed a similar functional pattern but a different style when they are compared to valley centers like Tell Atchana. They are found as pairs in the courtyards and placed along the wall faces or inside designated cooking platforms. Ranging from 40 to 50 cm in diameter, their height reaches up to 60 cm. The decoration on the wet-smoothed surface is relatively simple and varies from two to three vertical grooves applied deeply from top to bottom, leaving the impression of the tip of a finger on the top part (Fig. 8). Contextual and archaeometric studies confirmed that they were mainly used for cooking, as no signs of metallurgical activities were traced – it is assumed that copper or tin would be detectable in the bottom or inner surfaces through p-XRF readings if they were being processed in the hearths (Akar and Kara 2018a:77).



Fig. 8 Horseshoe-shaped hearth L.29 and L.30 in Courtyard 1. Photograph by M. Akar.

Decorated horseshoe-shaped hearths are not known from any of the Middle or Late Bronze Age contexts at Tell Atchana (for instance, see Yener, Yazıcıoğlu 2010: 43, fig. 2.17; Bulu 2016: 305, fig. 3). The practice of using decorated hearths at Toprakhisar extends back to the Early Bronze Age, when the early Transcaucasian influence was felt with its distinctive



anthropomorphic style. The MBA decorated hearths perhaps have their roots in the deeply embedded practice derived from the EBA, especially evident in regional sites such as Tayinat and Judaidah, a topic that needs to be further explored once reaching the Early Bronze Age levels at the site. It is also quite interesting to note that similar MBA decorated horse-shoe shaped hearths are known from sites along the Tigris, well defined by the excavations conducted at sites like Hirbemerdon Tepe (see Aquilano 2016; Bartl 2012: 183, footnote 42), and also in eastern Cilicia in Kinet Höyük's burnt MBA building complex (Gates 2001: 219, fig. III.2).

The Middle Bronze Age Ceramics

The ceramic assemblage of Building 2 consists of storing, serving and cooking vessels, purely utilitarian in function, and is an ideal data set for conducting contextual and functional analysis. The assemblage also includes local adaptations of the Syro-Cilician¹ and Grey Burnished wares as serving vessels. Yet, due to highly standardized forms extending over a longer period, it is currently a difficult task to pin down the distinction between the Middle Bronze I and II assemblages, due to the absence of a well-stratified Middle Bronze Age ceramic chronology from Tell Atchana covering this transition (Horowitz 2015: 165-166; Akar and Kara 2018b: 94).

Of particular interest, the lower quality copies of Grey Burnished ware plates found at Toprakhisar may emphasize that local groups here quickly adopted the elite trends developed in regional centers. Grey Burnished ware as a distinct group is often found in temple and residential contexts at Tell Atchana from Level X onwards (Woolley 1955: 312; Heinz 1992), demonstrating its special status (Acerol 2011). Commonly seen in the bowl form with hook rims, examples of jugs are also known from early Late Bronze I burials (Yener 2011:72, 80, fig. 3; Akar and Kara 2018b: 95).

Center and Periphery in Textual Records

The architectural arrangement of Building 2 strikingly finds almost exact parallels with the administrative structures excavated in nearby sites and regions. The size and function-based comparisons with the Western Palace of Ebla/Tell Mardikh (Matthiae 2002: 193; Matthiae 1985: Pl. 68), the Level VII Palace of Alalakh/Tell Atchana (Woolley 1955: 92-106) and the Period 16-15 burnt MBA Building at Kinet Höyük (Gates 2000) indicate that the arrangement of administrative space in the MBA followed similar trends in Cilicia, northwest Syria and the Amuq. While Ebla and Alalakh were the urban centers of the larger region, Kinet and Toprakhisar Höyük as secondary sites with designated industrial functions seem to have adopted the commonly accepted stylistic trends and constructed similar structures but on a smaller scale (Akar and Kara 2018b:100).

The presence of an administrative structure at Toprakhisar Höyük also correlates well with textual references from Alalakh, pointing to administrators from Alalakh residing in provincial production locales outside of the capital (see Lauinger 2015: Chapter 3). While it remains to be further explored by a detailed archaeobotanical study², as of today, Toprakhisar Höyük seems to have served as an olive oil production center, due to the region's distinct geographical attribute.

The cuneiform tablets AIT 1 and AIT 456 found in the Level VII Palace at Tell Atchana present the exchange agreement of the town of Alalakh between Abba-el and his brother Yarim-Lim (I). The records indicate that the exchange was not limited to Alalakh but also

¹ The Syro-Cilician ware collection is currently under study by Müge Bulu.

² The archaeobotanical collection from the Toprakhisar Höyük excavations is currently under study by Evangelina Pişkin.



included 17 other sites (AIT 1 (ATT/39/83): Wiseman 1953: 25–26; Lauinger 2015: 276; AIT 456 (ATT/39/84): Wiseman 1958:125–29; Lauinger 2015:373). Toprakhisar may have been one of them, as part of Alalakh's rural economy, whose management is addressed in the texts (Magness-Gardiner 1994).

Conclusion

The preliminary results obtained from the rescue excavations conducted at Toprakhisar Höyük has revealed archaeological data for the Chalcolithic, Bronze and Iron Ages from a previously unknown high hinterland. Due to the constant geomorphological changes in the Amuq Valley, settlement shifts resulted in chronological gaps in major centers, creating the problem of synchronizing data produced from the Amuq sites. The intensive surface surveys at Toprakhisar Höyük showed that the site has the potential to contribute to the lesser understood Chalcolithic, and perhaps Neolithic, of the region. Future excavations will enable the stratigraphical and contextual study of distinctive markers such as Ubaid-like painted vessels, Coba-like bowls and reserved-slipped wares to reveal the Amuq E-F transition and G periods. The high quantity of red-black burnished wares indicates that the Early Transcaucasian influence was also felt in the high hinterland. Since Tayinat's EBA sequence still remains to be further explored, we believe that Toprakhisar Höyük will provide supplementary data for a better understanding of local responses to the Early Transcaucasian phenomena in the Amuq Valley and its surrounding highland.

The exposure of an administrative structure dating to the MBA confirms the textual evidence acquired from the Alalakh Level VII archives, pointing to the special status given to sites dealing with olive oil production. It also indicates that a common style in the administrative architecture was developed and adopted in the region, with sites from urban to small-scale revealing similar structures. In this perspective, the Toprakhisar Höyük excavations will continue to explore the often theoretically emphasized center and periphery dynamics through the study of contextual, stratified and chronologically defined archaeological data from a previously unknown high hinterland.

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SECTION 6
TERRITORIAL STUDIES IN THE
MALATYA PLAIN



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
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SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE MALATYA PLAIN AND METALLURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT ARSLANTEPE: THE ROLE OF SURROUNDING COMMUNITIES

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SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN THE MALATYA PLAIN AND METALLURGICAL DEVELOPMENTS AT ARSLANTEPE: THE ROLE OF SURROUNDING COMMUNITIES

GIAN MARIA DI NOCERA

Introduction

The research project revolving around settlement patterns in the Malatya plain by the Italian Archaeological Expedition at Arslantepe started to be implemented systematically in 2003 (fig. 1)¹. Previous surveys by Salvatore Maria Puglisi, Paolo Emilio Pecorella and Mirjo Salvini date back to the 1960s²; moreover, the area had already been investigated by Charles Burney at the end of the 1950s³. At the end of the 1960s and 1970s, the construction of the Karakaya, Gölköy, Karababa and Bedir dams along the Euphrates required further investigations in the area⁴. Surveys by Ümit Serdaroglu, Veli Sevin⁵ and especially those carried out by the University of Istanbul, led by Mehmet Özdoğan, were extremely significant⁶. Investigations by Jak Jakar and his team also date back to that period⁷.

Research on local ancient metallurgy started in Arslantepe and was soon connected to the entire Malatya area. The initial project was led by Alberto Palmieri and participated by several research centres⁸; the project's activities still continue today, with the collaboration of the Bergbau Museum in Bochum. Over the years, other archaeological metallurgy surveys have been carried out to identify metal deposits, together with key laboratory tests aimed at characterising the rich set of metal objects, ores, and slags found at the Arslantepe excavation site⁹.

This lecture is my attempt – hopefully, a successful one – to investigate how settlement patterns and metallurgy are closely intertwined, using Arslantepe and its extraordinary archaeological sequence as a background. To do so, it is vital to suggest a common denominator which may serve as tangible evidence of cultural changes occurring over time. In this case, I will analyse the subject from the point of view of the various forms of power manifesting themselves in Arslantepe and the surrounding areas.

¹ Di Nocera 2005a, 2005b, 2005c.

² Puglisi, Meriggi 1964.

³ Burney 1958.

⁴ Burney 1980.

⁵ Serdaroglu 1977; Sevin 1986.

⁶ Özdoğan 1977.

⁷ Yakar, Gürsan-Salzman 1979.

⁸ Caneva, Frangipane, Palmieri 1985.

⁹ Palmieri, Sertok, Chernykh 1993; Caneva, Palmieri, Sertok 1990; 1991.

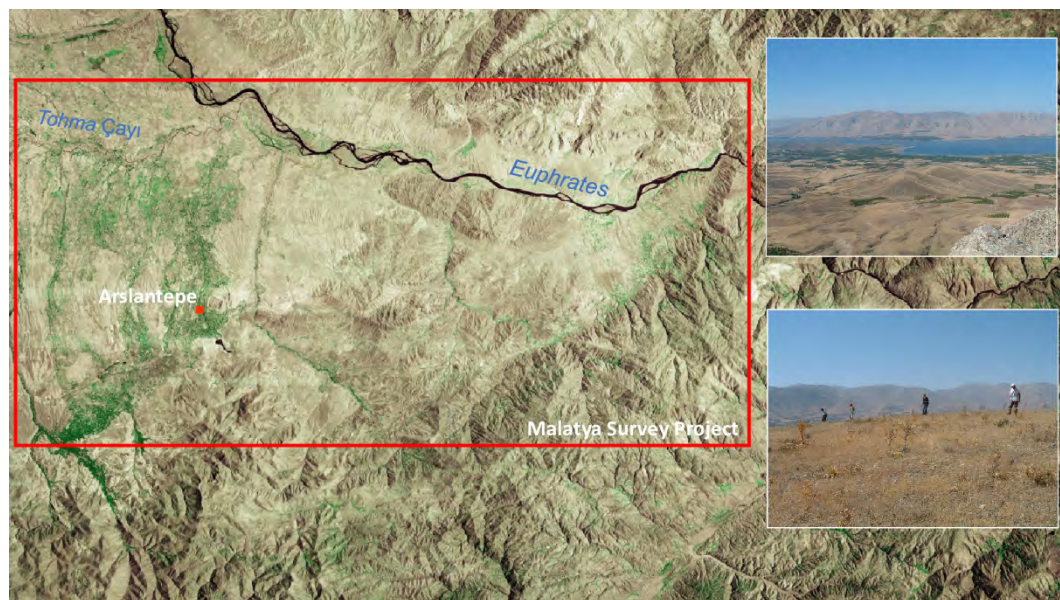


Fig. 1 - Sojuz Satellite Imagery (1989) and the Malatya Survey Project area.

The social structure of a society is the reflection of power in its various forms. Wealth, prestige, status, numerical predominance, and organisational efficiency are all forms of power. It can be stated that “power is everywhere”: even the societies without actual institutions are perfectly aware of what power is. Rather than being described¹⁰, power can be investigated in its manifestations by analysing the way it functions and prompts individuals to behave in a certain way¹¹. Settlement patterns reflect how the use of land has changed over time, based on how those in power have changed their way of controlling agriculture and livestock rearing. Likewise, the social role of metal has evolved over time and its use and ownership in different ages have been increasingly identified with power. This is the reason why the evolution of the role of metal and the change of settlement patterns over several periods may be observed in parallel.

This point of view can be applied perfectly against the background of the Upper Euphrates area, especially the Arslantepe site and the Malatya Plain. Archaeological excavations carried out at Arslantepe for more than half a century allowed to understand the significant changes taking place over time in the organisation of society and its forms of power. Although the Arslantepe site offers only a small amount of evidence regarding a very vast area – the Malatya Plain – the knowledge of Arslantepe’s archaeological history allowed to establish a connection between the many events observed at the site and life in the surrounding Plain, where a diverse set of landscapes¹² has been shaped over time by changes in population patterns and in the use of land.

The most ancient layer found during the systematic excavation of Arslantepe is Period VIII. However, we are aware of even deeper archaeological layers at the site which are still unknown to us. Period VIII is associated with Late Chalcolithic 1-2. C14 dating techniques place this period between 4700 and 3900 BC¹³. The site’s architecture recalls the agglutinative style typical of the Anatolian tradition and shows some

¹⁰ Weber 1922: 603-613.

¹¹ Foucault 1977.

¹² Marcolongo, Palmieri 1983.

¹³ Vignola et alii 2019; Di Nocera 2000.



similarities with the Late Ubaid settlement of Değirmentepe¹⁴. It consists of housing structures, with kitchens equipped with large circular ovens around a yard. There are no emerging structures or buildings. Metal objects – mostly work tools – are extremely rare. Although the excavated area is not very large, archaeological clues seem to indicate that a decentralised power system was in place during Arslantepe VIII. Only a small number of sites in the Malatya Plain date back to the same period (fig. 2): two are built on *tells*, one on a *tabular summit* and one on a *glacis*¹⁵, that is, a level with a very slight slope connecting detrital sediments and the wide valley floor, strongly connected with water springs. None of these sites has a dominant character.

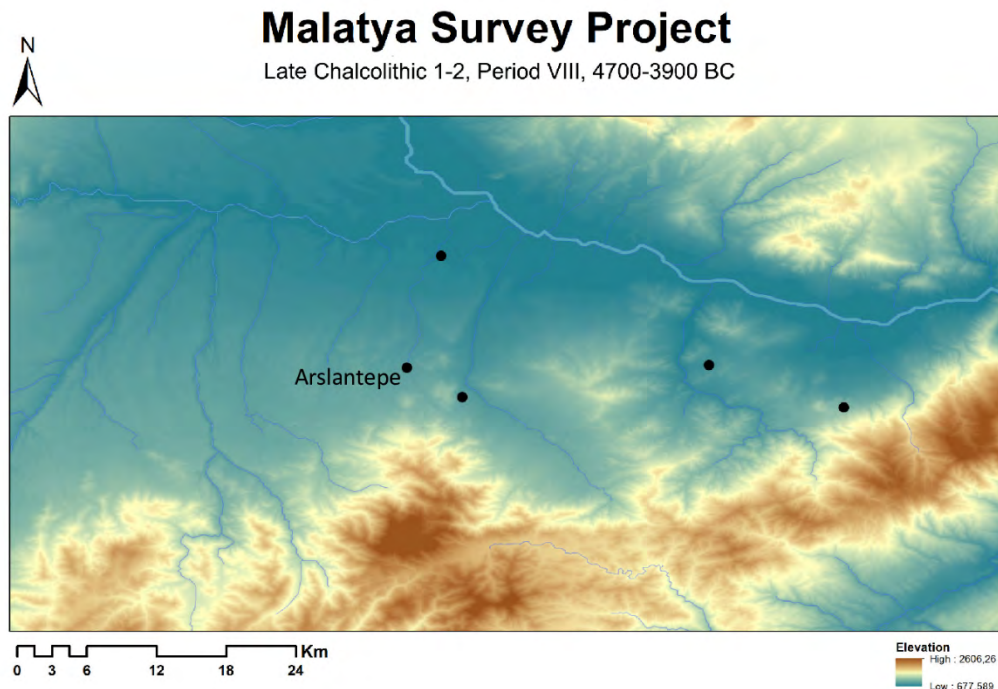


Fig. 2 – Distribution map of Late Chalcolithic 1-2 sites, Period VIII, 4700-3900 BC.

During Period VII (*Late Chalcolithic* 3-4, 3900-3400 BC) Arslantepe became a complex site, with two monumental ceremonial buildings and housing for local *elites*, resorting to mass production of pottery (which probably documents that food supplies were provided to staff employed in activities involving the local community)¹⁶. The presence of *cretulae*, a clue of administrative activities taking place at the site, together with archaeological documentation provides – for the first time in the area – evidence of a social organisation based on a centralised form of economic power. Data on the fauna provide an interesting overview of Arslantepe VII. Among domestic animals, there are similar percentages of cattle and caprovines, followed by pigs, which are less easily manageable in large numbers but have a much faster reproduction rate than all other livestock: this makes them the ideal livestock in a subsistence economy. Moreover, pigs do require forage, but not necessarily pastures of excellent quality¹⁷. In this period,

¹⁴ Balossi Restelli 2008; 2010.

¹⁵ Di Nocera 2008.

¹⁶ Frangipane 2016: 8-10.

¹⁷ Bartosiewicz L. 2010.



metal was certainly produced on site, as shown by the presence of crucibles. Objects mostly include ornaments and work tools¹⁸. In the Malatya Plain, sites dating back to the same age belong to different geomorphological categories, as in the previous period (fig. 3): 2 are built on *tells*, 1 on *glacis*, 2 on *flat land* and 1 on a *complex of hills*. The impression is that, although some forms of administrative power started to emerge at Arslantepe, the economy of the site and the surrounding area was still family-based and enjoyed a certain amount of independence¹⁹.

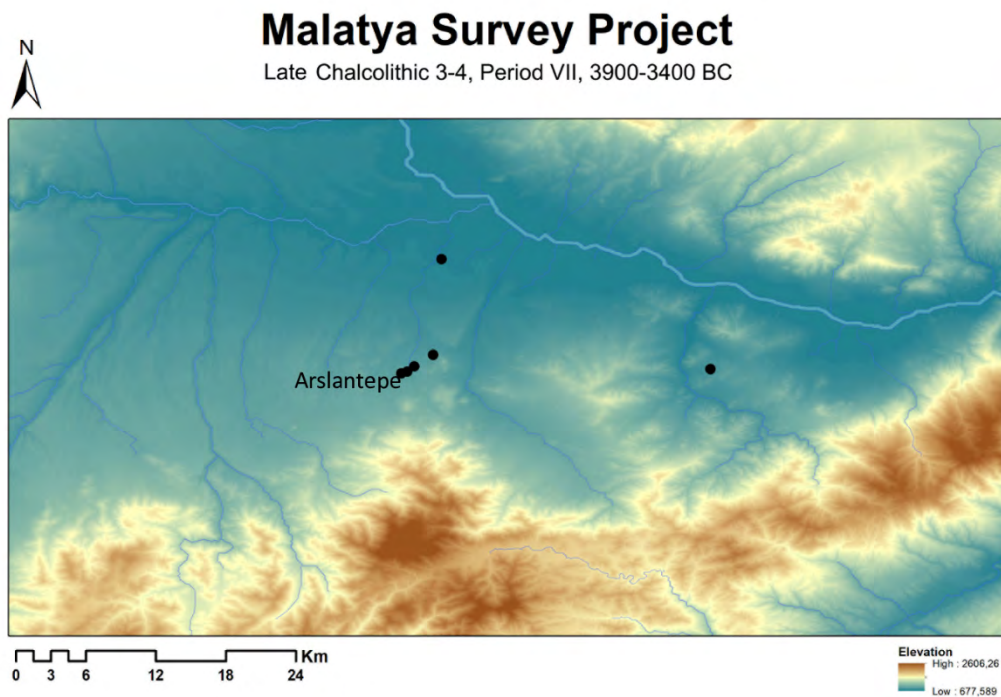


Fig. 3 - Distribution map of Late Chalcolithic 3-4 sites, Period VII, 3900-3400 BC.

A radical change can be observed in Late Chalcolithic 5, Arslantepe VI-A (3400-3100 BC). Monumental architecture now dominates Arslantepe²⁰: ceremonial buildings, storerooms for food, a water canalisation system, monumental access gates. These are all signs of centralised activities and the presence of a local and personal *elite* related to them. In Arslantepe VI-A the experience documented by the use of *cretulae* in the previous period became a mechanism aiming at controlling economic activities, mostly carried out on an intensive basis and at the local level. In this period, metal started to play a vital role. A room in the Arslantepe “Palace” contained 9 swords and 12 spearheads²¹. These objects are made of arsenical copper and, in some cases, are decorated with inlaid silver triangles²². The manufacturing of these weapons shows the extraordinary ability of the armourers at that time, but it is also evidence of radical changes occurring in hand-to-hand combat. Indeed, it is in this period that swords are introduced in fighting for the first time, and, undoubtedly, in Arslantepe metal became

¹⁸ Di Nocera 2013.

¹⁹ Di Nocera, Frangipane 2012.

²⁰ Palmieri 1973; Frangipane 2012; 2016, 10-17.

²¹ Frangipane, Palmieri 1983: 394-407.

²² Caneva, Palmieri 1983.



the ideological expression of an administrative system which implemented power in several ways, including the use of force. Weapons are confined in the hall of the “Palace”, whose access was probably limited to a few authorised individuals²³.

At the end of the fourth millennium, subsistence economy in Arslantepe changed substantially over the past. The presence of storerooms and *cretulae* on the site shows that agricultural activities were controlled centrally and mainly consisted of the cultivation of naked barley (*Hordeum vulgare*) and spelt (*Triticum monococcum* and *dicoccum*)²⁴. Another change can be observed in livestock rearing: pigs are now bred in small amounts and the percentage of cattle is similar to the previous period, while caprovines prevail. Transhumance, an activity which is regularly carried out in different seasons, may have taken place on traditional paths such as those leading to the Caucasus, the Black Sea’s coastal areas, and Central Anatolia²⁵. According to investigations carried out in Arslantepe, these areas were also the place of origin of metal finished products or polymetallic ores used on the site. The rural landscape changed. Settlements disappeared (fig. 4), and the area’s inhabitants mostly moved to Arslantepe, the only economic and political centre in the Plain. A synoecism process altered the structure of the surrounding countryside (fig. 5). The reason why there were no signs of pottery or sites corresponding to Arslantepe VI-A in the Malatya Plain was largely debated. The outcomes of all the survey projects led by several research teams from the 1960s until today have not led to new findings in this regard. Between 2005 and 2007, archaeological and geological surveys were carried out in the 500 metres surrounding the Arslantepe mound (fig. 6). At the borders of this perimeter, corresponding to a large basin of alluvial sediments, some fragments of wheel made bowls (typical of pottery mass production in the period VI-A) and a fragment of a footed bowl belonging to Arslantepe VI-A were found²⁶. Besides, the results of research carried out in cooperation with the Institut für Ökosystemforschung of Kiel University, although they are not final, provide reliable data on the thick layer of alluvium which must have covered the area surrounding the mound in its very proximity²⁷.

In the architecture of Arslantepe period VI-A, monumental buildings associated with community or special functions prevail, while housing facilities are scarce. Probably, the houses of farmers and shepherds were located at the foot of the mound and in the surrounding areas, where most handcraft activities and daily life in general took place. The area’s inhabitants were not sparsely distributed: the power of the local *elite* must have acted as a magnet, a centripetal force, attracting people towards the only central place in the area, thus altering the nature of the rural landscape.

²³ Di Nocera 2018.

²⁴ Balossi Restelli F., Sadori L., Masi A. 2010.

²⁵ Palumbi 2010.

²⁶ Di Nocera 2009: 145-147.

²⁷ Dreibrodt *et alii* 2014.



Malatya Survey Project

Late Chalcolithic 5, Period VI-A, 3400-3100 BC

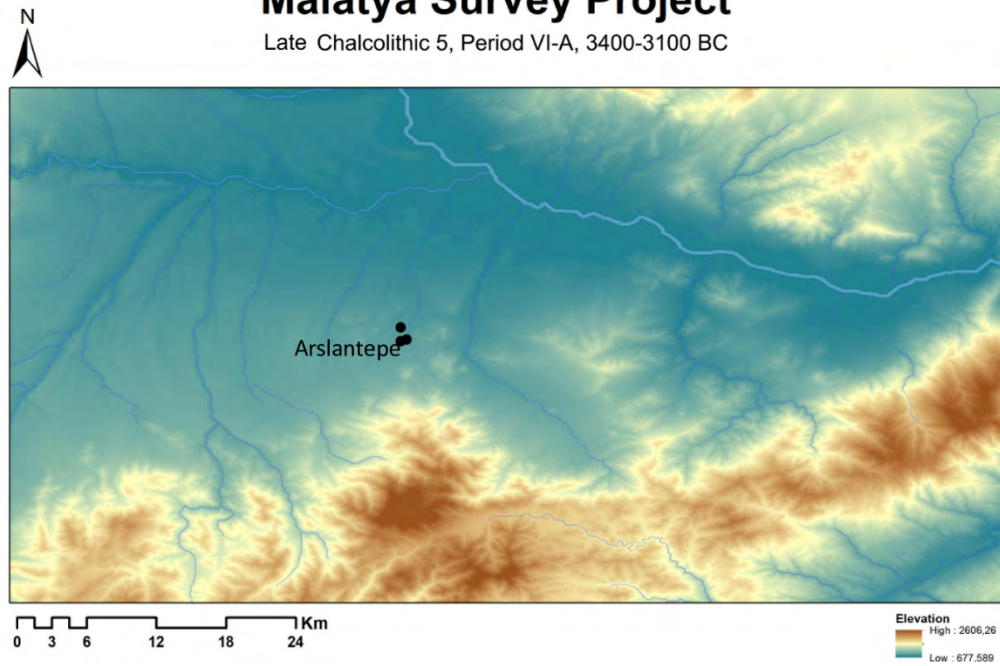


Fig. 4 - Distribution map of Late Chalcolithic 5 sites, Period VI-A, 3400-3100 BC.

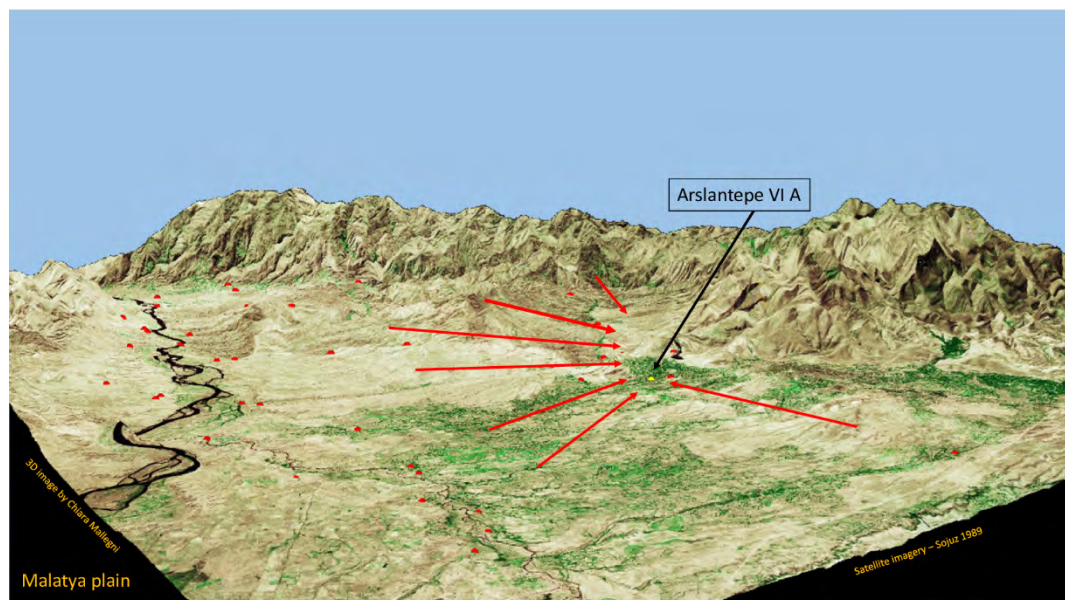


Fig. 5 - 3D imagery. Arslantepe act as a magnet, attracting people towards the only central place in the area (period VI-A, 3400-3100 BC).





Fig. 6 - Archaeological surveys carried out in the 500 metres surrounding the Arslantepe mound.

Around 3000 BC, the existing economic and religious power structures of Arslantepe, rooted in a centralised society of Mesopotamian tradition, definitively collapsed. The palace was hit by a devastating fire; a new form of power emerged from the Palace's ruins, with different features from the previous one²⁸. This event marks the beginning of Period VI-B1 (3100-3000 BC), when a form of mixed political-military power manifested itself in Arslantepe. Groups associated with the Transcaucasian tradition built wooden huts directly on the ruins of the buildings dating back to Period VI-A²⁹. However, the top of the ancient mound hosted a large hut, separated from the rest of the settlement by a wooden fence: it probably housed the chief of the village or one of the settlement's prominent figures. A monumental building with a thick mud brick wall for religious-ceremonial functions was built nearby. Its architecture is in total contrast with the temporary structures in the rest of the village. This contrast is also evident in the so-called "royal" tomb, a sepulchral cyst probably dating back to the end of this period, whose rich set of grave goods, complexity of the burial ceremony, and wealth of weapons and ornamental objects in metal suggest the presence of articulated social forms³⁰. Several material aspects of culture have significantly changed. On the other hand, metallurgy clearly shows connections with the previous tradition and several objects, especially weapons, must have been connected to craftsmanship circles probably linked to the Caucasian and Central Anatolian world. Besides, it is possible that in this period a net separation between armourers (seen as actual forgers) and blacksmiths (a less prestigious role) emerged. This hypothesis has been documented on the ethnographic plan³¹ and underlines how the hierarchical structure of society may symbolically reflect itself in some metal objects, maybe manufactured by different artisans, with different skills and roles. Some clues can be inferred by sophisticated alloys and complex decorations used to manufacture some objects.

²⁸ Frangipane 2001.

²⁹ Frangipane 2015.

³⁰ Frangipane *et alii* 2001.

³¹ Rowlands 1971: 219.



Most of this level was also destroyed by a violent fire and replaced by a village made of lanes, mudbrick houses and their respective yards. In this phase, there is no prevailing architecture except a massive mudbrick defensive wall with stone foundations. Metallurgy played a very important role in this period: Arslantepe became a manufacturing centre for metal objects. This can be inferred by the presence of crucibles, slags, and workshops; however, most metal artefacts found in the village are work tools. Besides, the origin of most copper ores is basically local, with the exclusive presence of chalcopyrite. Apparently, this period is marked by lack of access to the sources of raw material located on the North-East and Central regions, which had previously allowed the supply of polymetallic ores³².

In Arslantepe Period VI C (2750-2500 BC), the village lacks any prevailing architecture and is composed of an ancient phase, marked by wooden structures, and a more recent phase, with mudbrick buildings³³.

In the first half of the third millennium, this process is reflected on the Malatya Plain and its thick network of settlements (fig. 7). Several sites are distributed over the central plain and in the piedmont area, some of them along the Euphrates. 60% out of 38 sites is placed on natural mounds, most of them are characterised by single-phase settlements. The presence of numerous sites does not seem to stem from a population increase, but, rather, from an increase in mobility of the same groups who had previously inhabited the plain. Livestock rearing was still prevailing in Arslantepe; however, the control system implemented by the palatine administration subsided, and this probably caused the inhabitants to disperse all over the plain. In the second quarter of the third millennium, Arslantepe lost the role of *Central Place*, because small local power centres started to emerge in the area, probably exerting a lesser amount of control on the subsistence economy supporting the local population.

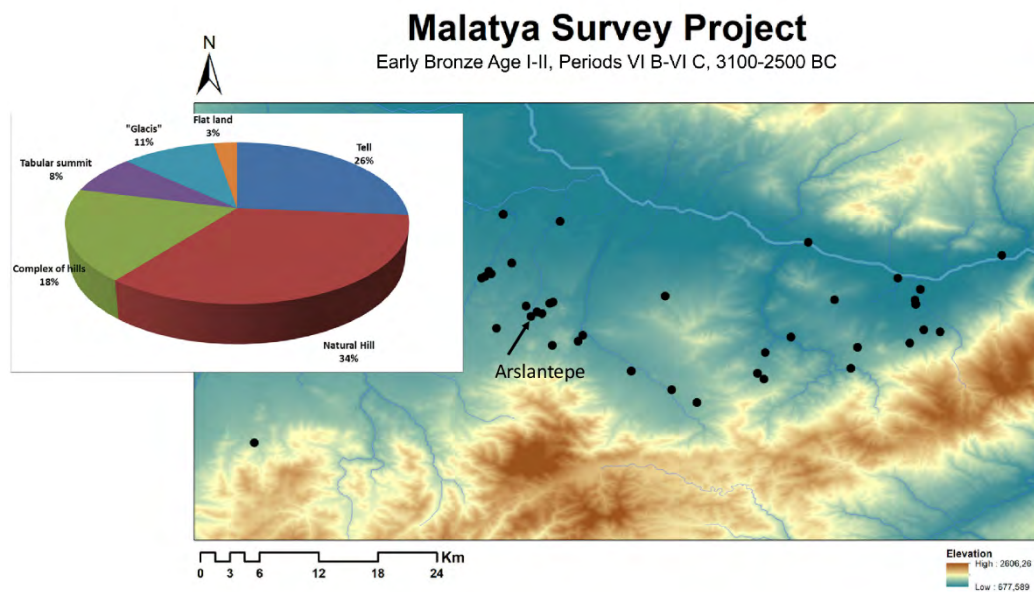


Fig. 7 - Distribution map of Early Bronze Age I-II sites, Period VI-B and VI-C, 3100-2500 BC, and site typology according to geomorphologic categories.

³² Di Nocera 2013: 121-129.

³³ Persiani 2008.



This process became more evident during the second half of the III millennium and the first quarter of the II millennium, that is, Early Bronze Age III³⁴ and Middle Bronze Age I³⁵ (Arslantepe VI-D, 2500-2000 BC; Arslantepe V-A, 2000-1750 BC) respectively. The centralised, south-Mesopotamia-style power system had been completely dismantled, and the network of cross-regional connections had further shrunk. The features of subsistence economy started to resemble once again the ones observed in Late Chalcolithic 1-4: the economy was based on cattle and – mostly – caprovine livestock rearing. In the Early Bronze Age III, Arslantepe was a fortified site with an extensive residential area, constructed according to a building planning scheme³⁶. Probably, some of these buildings were part of monumental complexes built for the local *elites*³⁷. Also during the Middle Bronze Age I Arslantepe was fortified³⁸, although archaeological evidence in the residential area is scarce. Livestock rearing followed the trend of the previous period; the only difference was the prevalence of sheep over goats³⁹. In the Malatya Plain, the sites dating back to the Early Bronze Age III are distributed along the course of the Euphrates (fig. 8). 46% out of 45 sites is built on *tells*. The mounds started to form during the Early Bronze Age III and have a clearly stable nature, with several settlement phases (figs. 9-10). Although Arslantepe VI-D was the largest site in the area, some smaller power centres also started to emerge. This tendency, bringing about a slight decrease in the number of settlements, continued without interruptions (figs. 11-12) until the Middle Bronze Age (Arslantepe V-A). It seems that during this period power was fractioned and scarcely cohesive, although pottery production shows evident – and unprecedented – signs of close connections between the Malatya region and the Elazığ region, located further East. This was a crucial period, immediately preceding the Old Hittite Kingdom.

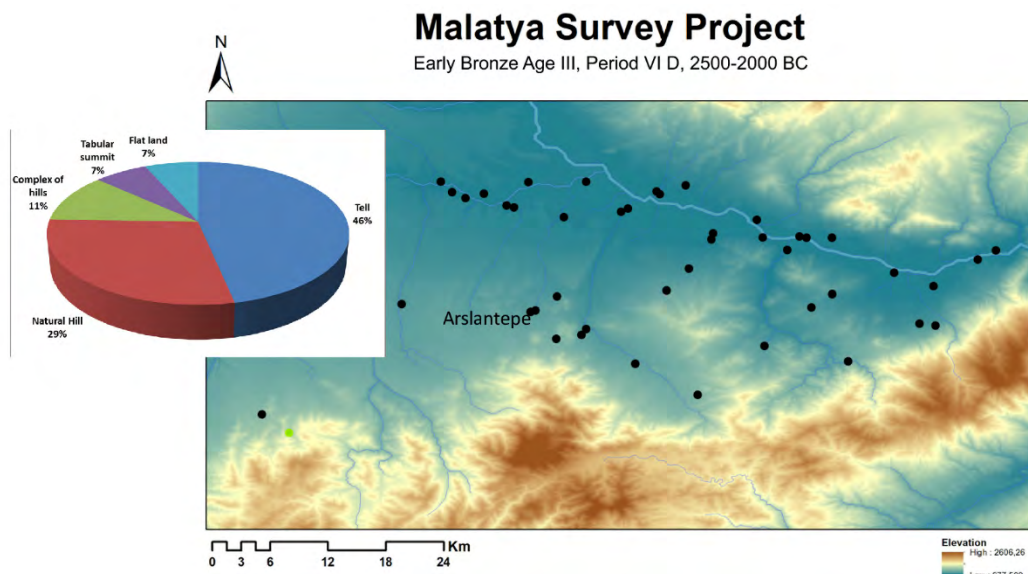


Fig. 8 - Distribution map of Early Bronze Age III sites, Period VI-D, 2500-2000 BC, and site typology according to geomorphologic categories.

³⁴ Conti, Persiani 1993.

³⁵ Di Nocera 1998.

³⁶ Palmieri 1984: 74, fig. 6; 1985: 29, fig. 1; Conti, Persiani 2008.

³⁷ Di Nocera 2013: 130-135.

³⁸ Di Nocera 2001.

³⁹ Siracusano, Bartosiewicz 2012.



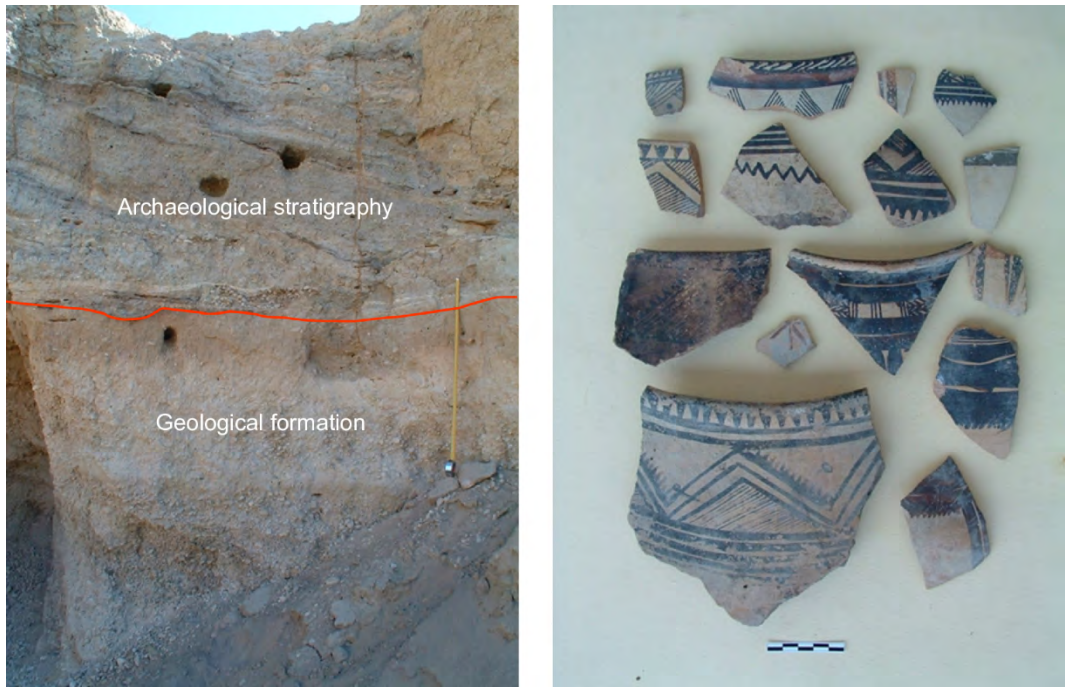


Fig. 9 - Süleyman Tepe, site 27. Stratigraphy and Early Bronze Age III painted pottery.

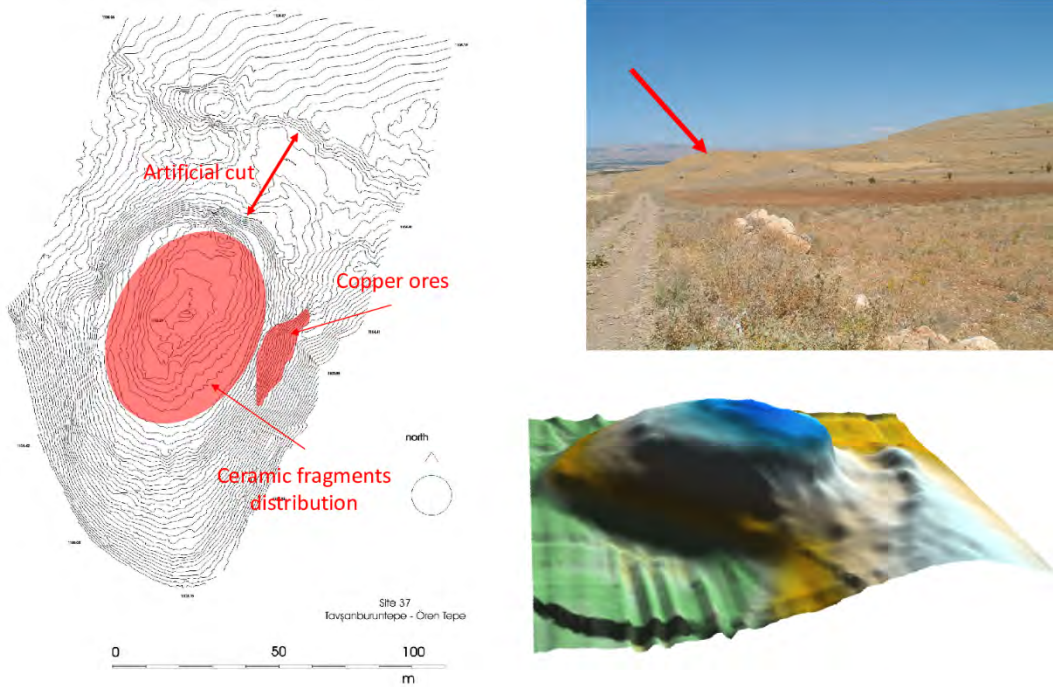


Fig. 10 - Early Bronze Age III. Site 37 – Ören Tepe. Topographic reconstruction and 3D model.



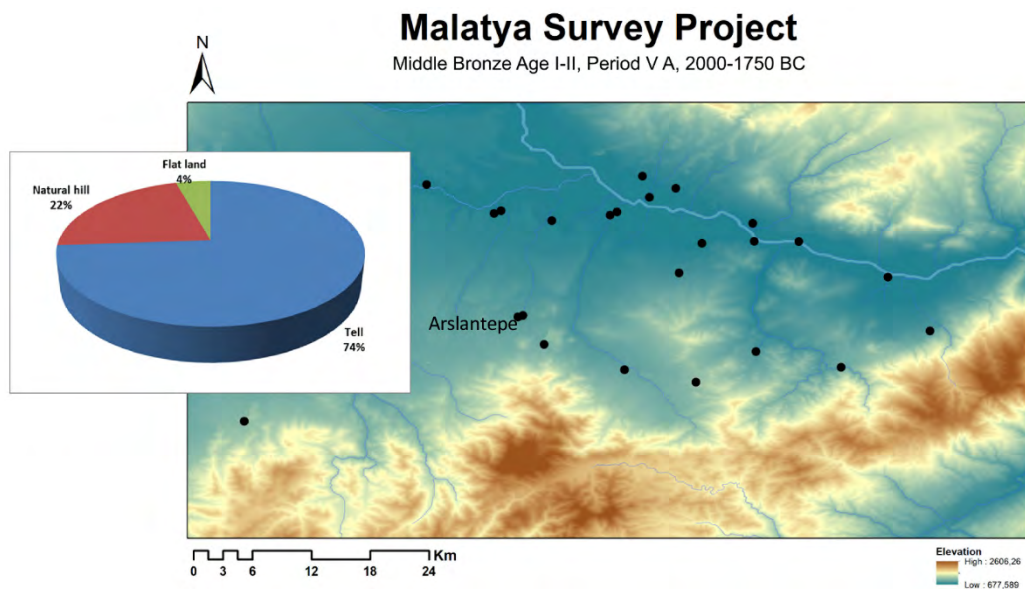


Fig. 11 - Distribution map of Middle Bronze Age I-II sites, Period V-A, 2000-1750 BC, and site typology according to geomorphologic categories.

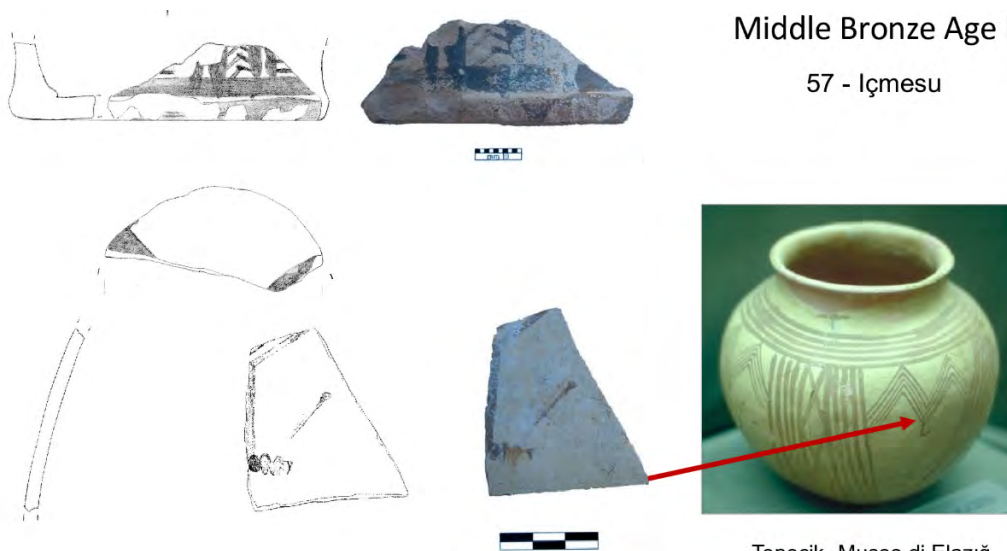


Fig. 12 - Middle Bronze Age I. Site 57 - İçmesu Tepe. Painted pottery.

During the Late Bronze Age I, Arslantepe retrieved its role as a *central place* in the Malatya area: the mound was densely inhabited and surrounded by a massive fortification structure with ramparts and city gates⁴⁰. During the Late Bronze Age II, the residential area became smaller, and so did the fortified area. These mechanisms occurring between the Late Bronze Age I and II are less easily perceived in the surrounding area (fig. 13); however, it is clear that there was a general tendency to a reduction of sites and a centripetal movement of the local population towards Arslantepe, the pivotal site in the region: the same patterns observed in the second half of the fourth millennium, although with different features and motivations (fig. 14).

⁴⁰ Pecorella 1975; Manuelli 2013.



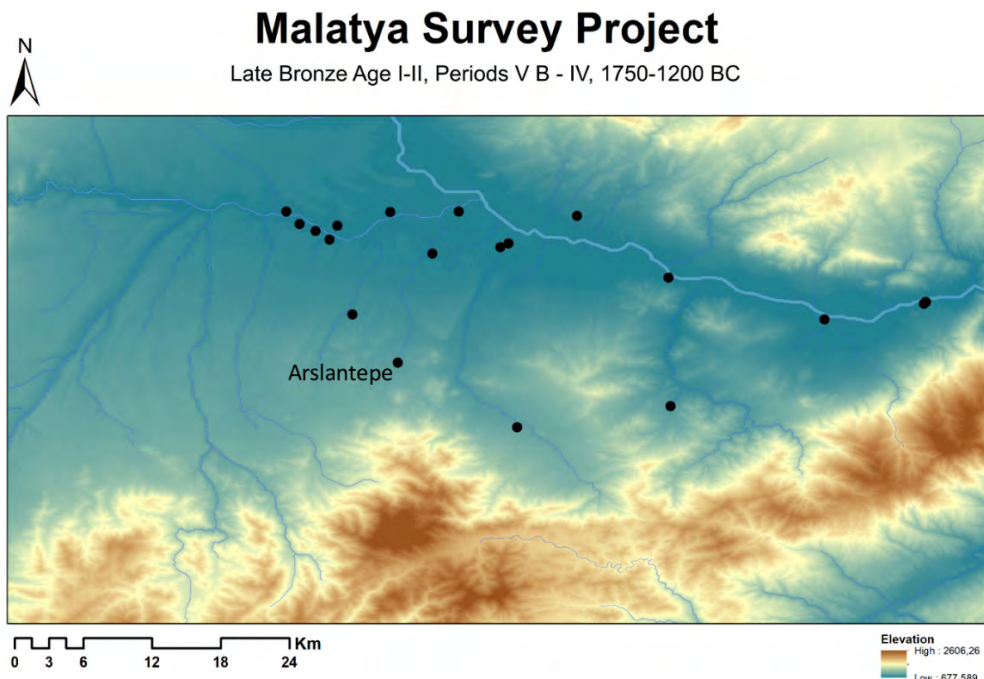


Fig. 13 - Distribution map of Late Bronze Age I-II sites, Period V-B /IV, 1750-1200 BC.

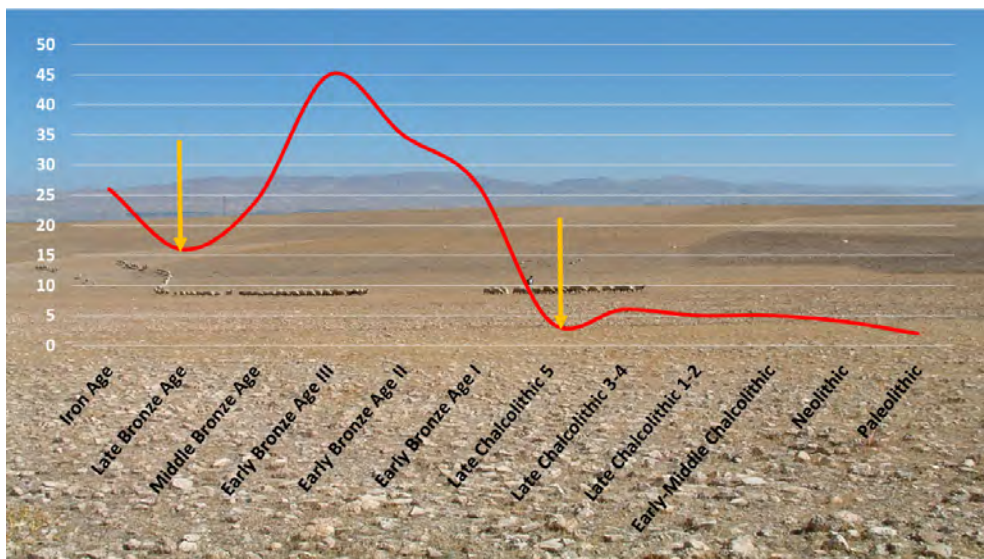


Fig. 14 - Number of sites from the Paleolithic to the Iron Age on the Malatya plain.

The following periods, Hellenistic-Roman, Imperial Roman, Late Antiquity, Byzantine and Islamic have been clearly recognised in the Arslantepe excavations⁴¹; however, the site is not the only or dominant centre in the area anymore (fig. 15). Other settlements acquired an important role under altered political and economic conditions, due to complex historical events which affected this and other areas, within and without the region. The interpretation of settlement patterns for more recent periods requires an approach encompassing and connecting archaeology, political and economic history.

⁴¹ Schneider Equini 1970.



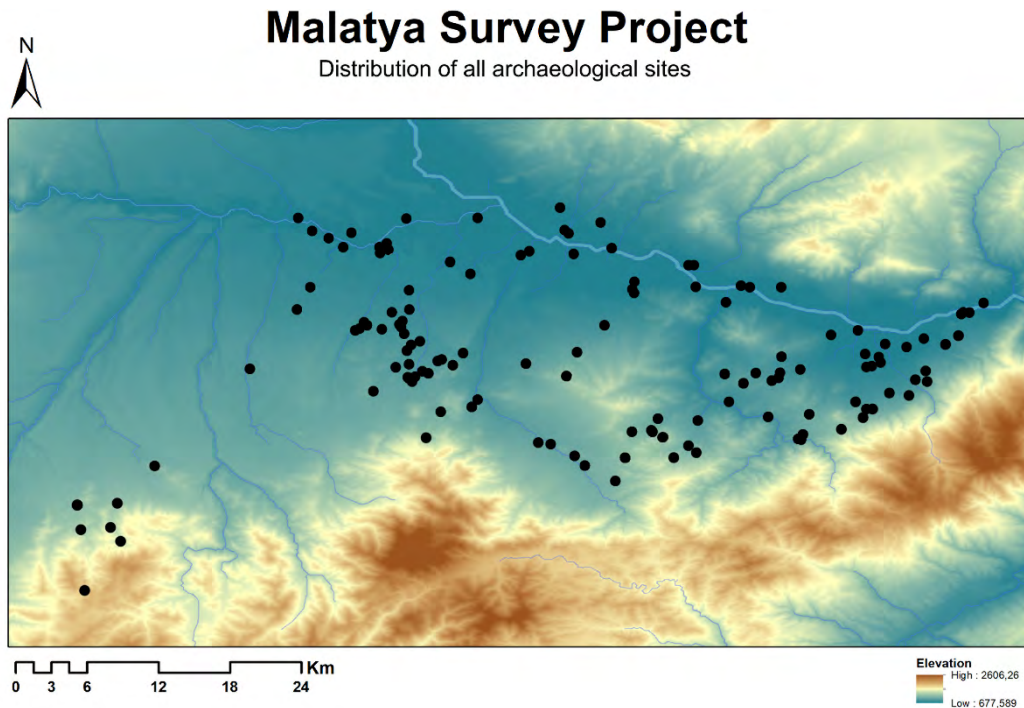


Fig. 15 - Distribution map from the Paleolithic to the Byzantine period on the Malatya plain.

The Malatya Plain is an example of how human communities, inspired by changing forms of power, can act on the landscape. Pastures and agricultural lands change over time due to the action and presence of man and his ability to shape land. The Arslantepe excavation and the geo-archaeological surveys have provided a reference framework allowing understanding some of the transformations, which affected the rural and anthropic landscape of the Malatya Plain. Although many questions remain unanswered, we can conclude that social organisation influences economic behaviours at the local level in several ways, including via the control and management of land.



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NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE RESEARCH ON THE EARLY BRONZE AGE IN THE MALATYA REGION

SEVGİ DÖNMEZ

Introduction

One of the studies that would provide insights on research on Early Bronze Age in the Malatya Region was conducted by C. Burney (1958). This study provides some results which provide insights into the relationship between the Malatya Region and other culture regions. Most of the research conducted in the Upper Euphrates Region is based on salvage excavations and studies conducted in Karakaya and the Keban Dam. Archaeological surveys conducted in the scope of Turkey's Lower Euphrates River Valley have provided results which were crucial in locating Early Bronze Age settlements in the Malatya Region (Serdaroğlu 1977; Özdoğan 1977). The purpose of the research conducted in Tohma Valley and its surrounding which lie north of Malatya was to determine the cultural sphere of influence of Syria and Mesopotamia (Yakar and Gürsan-Salzmann, 1977). Arslantepe excavations which have continued since 1961 under leadership of the Italian archaeology team include systematic and regular research which would provide insights on Malatya studies. Archaeological surveys conducted between 2003 and 2005 under leadership of Gian Maria Di Nocera give information that would provide insights into settlement models used in the Malatya Plain between 5th and 2nd millennium B.C. (Di Nocera 2008).

One of the goals of the archaeological survey conducted in Battalgazi and Yeşilyurt provinces of Malatya in 2017 under the leadership of İnönü University Department of Archaeology was to discover new settlement location in and around Malatya Plain in close proximity to stream beds and valley areas and reevaluate archaeological sites which had been discovered previously. Pottery pieces from the Early Bronze Age were found in approximately nine archaeological settlements as a result of this survey. Most of these settlements were located within Malatya Plain that lies north of the Malatya Mountains. The Dışlık Tepe Mound in Kırkpınar District which lies within the borders of Yeşilyurt Province, the Samanköy Mound in Samanköy District, the Şakşak Mound in the Şakşak Locale of Söğüt District, and the Tavşantepe Mound in Görgü District lie close to the valleys created by Tohma Stream Basin and Sultansuyu Stream Basin which lie west of Karakaya Dam. Pottery materials that are possibly from the Early Bronze Age were found in settlements such as the Kale Ardi Mound and Kale Location in Gözene District which lies within the valley areas that provide access to the south from Malatya Plain of the area in which Malatya Mountains are located. Yaygın, Biretepe, and İçmesutepe settlements within Battalgazi Province borders are mound settlements each, they are located in Malatya Plain from the

west side of Karakaya Dam to foothills of Beydağı in a line formation (Fig. 1). Majority of these settlements in which Early Bronze Age materials can be found were founded on lowlands where they can engage in agriculture. In addition to Yaygın, Biretepe, İçmesutepe, Samanköy and Tavşantepe which have been discovered previously, Dışlık Tepe in Kırkpınar District, the Şakşak Mound in the Şakşak Locale of Sütluçe District, the Kale Ardı Mound in Gözene District, and Kale Location were discovered by archaeological surveys conducted in 2017. These settlements have mound features and lots of ware pieces from the Early Bronze Age have been gathered from the surface.

Features of Early Bronze Age Settlements and Findings in 2017 Malatya Survey

Six Early Bronze Age settlements were discovered in the region where Tohma River and Sultansuyu valleys meet Upper Euphrates Basin in the 2017 archaeological survey. Among these, the most important one is the Dışlık Tepe Mound which was inhabited throughout the Early Bronze Age. This 140 x 130 m settlement located in Dışlık Tepe location which lies 2 km west of Kırkpınar Village has mound features. The north side of the settlement is fully covered with rocky areas. Tohma Stream runs 500 m north of the mound. The asphalt village road that passes through the settlement has caused extensive damage to the mound. Copious amounts of Early Bronze Age materials were gathered on the south side of the Dışlık Tepe settlement from the area that lies beneath the asphalt village road. Pottery samples (bowls and cooking pot) with red-black burnished ware (Fig. 2: 1-6) dated as Early Bronze Age and identified as “Red-Black Burnished Ware”. The pottery type is very common especially Arslantepe VIB1 and VIB2. The pottery which has red and black contrast colours used very common in the beginning of the Early Bronze Age and towards to Early Bronze Age II, use of RBBW diminished (Palumbi 2008: 228 ff, Fig. 6.9: 4, Fig. 6.19, Fig. 6.20: 10-14). Red-Black Burnished Ware is important, as the pottery have uncovered the relationship between the settlement and Early Bronze Age settlements in Eastern Anatolia Region. In beginning of the Early Bronze Age Malatya Plain and Upper Euphrates Basin was mostly under influence of the agro-pastoral groups as named Early Transcaucasian or Kura-Araxes cultures (Kiguradze and Sagona 2003: 38; Sagona and Zimansky 2009: 182-184.). Kura-Araxes wares which belong to a group of hand-made, red-black or completely black, and well burnished wares appear in the Eastern Anatolia in mid-4 thousand BC. At Arslantepe where the most systematic results have been obtained for the Malatya research, use of Kura-Araxes ware, which were initially uncovered at the Arslantepe VII in which Late Chalcolithic Age was represented, increases at Arslantepe VIA which corresponds with the start of Early Bronze Age I (Conti and Persiani 1993: 379; Işıklı 2005: 225 et al.; Palumbi 2008: 223-235). Palumbi suggests that RBBW tradition might have originated in Anatolia rather than in the Southern Caucasus since Anatolian regions in which this tradition is oldest (Central Anatolia, North-eastern Anatolia and Upper Euphrates Basin) (Palumbi 2008: 311-312). Pottery samples with reddish brown interior and black exterior or vice versa gathered from the Dışlık Tepe settlement and represent Red-Black Burnished Ware include deep bowls (Fig. 2: 1-2), wares with handles on rim and short necks (Fig. 2: 3) and body piece with knot handled (Fig. 2: 4). Amorphous hand-made pottery pieces which don't provide any form and belong to the “Red-Black Burnished Ware” have black exteriors, reddish brown interiors, and have thin walled (Fig. 2: 5-6).

An important part of pottery findings in the Dışlık Tepe settlement were included in the “Brownish Burnished Ware” group with dark colors, hand-made and burnished (Fig. 3: 1-5). Hand-made and burnished ware samples with slipped colors turning brown to red and chaff, grit and minerals tempered found in the Norşuntepe VII strata and construction layers in Korucutepe dated as Early Bronze Age II and III, Arslantepe VIC and VID strata were



included in the “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” group (Kelly-Buccellati 1974: 47; Hauptmann 1979: 60, Pl. 45. 4-6; Persiani 2008a: 168-169; Persiani 2008b: 755-756; Marro 2011: 304).

The repertoire of Dışlık Tepe include wares with painted decorations (Fig. 4: 2-4) and the wheel made bowl with light cream slipped, fine grit and mineral tempered, and thin walled called “*Simple Ware*” (Fig. 4: 1). Hand-made, burnished wares with light buff color or cream slipped and reddish brown or black painted decorations called Malatya-Elazığ painted wares were used intensely in the Malatya-Elazığ Region during Early Bronze Age III (Conti and Persiani, 1993: 386; Marro, 2011: 304). The bowl which is possibly included in the “*Simple Ware*” group (Fig. 4: 1) is wheel made with very light cream slipped. Similar pottery samples were found in Northern Syria, the Tilmen Mound, Kazıklı and Gedikli Karahöyük (Mazzoni 1985: 9, Fig. 6: 6; Ezer 2014: 226-237, Res. 4: 1). Two other wheel made examples with very light cream slipped that are included in the group and are important materials in terms of highlighting the relationship between North Syria and Mesopotamia during the Early Bronze Age were discovered in Gözene Village, the Kale Ardı Mound (Fig. 11: 1) and Kale Location (Fig. 11: 2). The approximately 155 x 120 m in size Kale Ardı settlement which is thought to have been an important center during the Iron Age is a mound settlement which contains pottery findings which show that it was occupied during the Early Bronze Age but was damaged intensively due to modern agriculture. An amorphous pottery piece discovered in the Kale Ardı settlement (Fig. 11: 1) and the grooved bowl discovered in Kale Location (Fig. 11: 2) are quite similar to grooved and wheel made samples with light cream slipped discovered in Ebla (Mazzoni 1985: Fig. 6: 14). Settlements within Gözene Village borders are located on the valley that opens up to the south and known as the “Ancient Aleppo Road” by the locals, on the passage route between Malatya Plain and Northern Syria.

Another settlement that was found during 2017 researches and provided important data on the Early Bronze Age is the Şakşak Mound found in Sütluçe Village Şakşak Location. This approximately 100 x 80 m in size mound located in the south side of Tohma Stream has suffered extensive damage due to modern agriculture and illegal excavations. Pottery materials dated from the beginning to the end of the Early Bronze Age by us were gathered from the surface of the mound. The group of hand-made pottery with mica and mineral contents, black exterior, dark gray, reddish brown interior, and contrasting colors dated as beginning of the Early Bronze Age, classified as “*Red-Black Burnished Ware*” (Fig. 7: 1-4) includes vessel with long neck (Fig. 7: 2), the pottery with handled rim (Fig. 7: 1) (Russell 1980: Group J-K; Palumbi 2008: 242-243). Another group which has been found in the Şakşak Mound and dated as Early Bronze Age III includes paint decorated ware pieces (Fig. 5-6) known as Malatya-Elazığ painted wares which can be found abundantly on the surface (Özfirat and Sagona 1996-1997: 130, Fig. 8-11). Painted ware pieces include pieces bold parallel band decorations reddish brown or black colors over light cream, light buff color or light gray slipped ware. In addition, bowls with decorated rims are among the most important findings (Fig. 5: 3, 5; Fig. 6: 1-2). Pottery samples classified as Malatya-Elazığ painted wares with reddish brown or black colored decoration over light colored foundation were uncovered abundantly from Early Bronze Age III strata of Norşuntepe (Hauptmann 1979: Pl. 45: 2, 4), Han İbrahim Şah (Ertem 1979: Lev. 41: 3-5), Köşkerbaba (Bilgi 1987; Lev. 125, 130-131) and Arslantepe (Conti and Persiani 1993: 364).

The approximately 170 x 140 m Tavşantepe (Örentepe) settlement which lies approximately 5 km south-east of Sultansuyu Valley is a mound, alongside founded pottery pieces on the surface of the mound we have dated as the beginning of the Early Bronze Age with black exterior, and brownish slipped interior, mica tempered and highly burnished (Fig. 8: 1) were included in the Kura-Araxes group (Russell 1980: Group J-K; Palumbi 2008: 260, Fig. 6.31: 10-12). Hand-made ware pieces with short or long necks (Fig. 9: 3-5), handled on



rim edges (Fig. 9: 1-2), dark colored, brown, grayish brown or reddish brown slipped, highly burnished, mica, grit and chaff tempered which were found in Tavşantepe and dated as Early Bronze Age II and III by us were included in the “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” group. Wares included in the Early Transcaucasia ware group and classified as red-brown samples by Russell (1980: Group L) were found abundantly in VIC and VID strata of Arslantepe (Persiani 2008a: 168-169; 2008b: 755-756).

Located approximately 15 km south of Karakaya Dam and within Samanköy Village borders, the Samanköy Mound is an important settlement in which Early Bronze Age materials have been found. The hand-made, dark reddish brown slipped, burnished vessel (Fig. 10: 1) included in the “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” group (Russell 1980: Group L, 193.2) and pottery pieces representing Malatya-Elazığ painted wares with black or brown colored decorations over light brown slipped (Fig. 10: 2-3) are important due to the fact that they indicate that the mound was an important settlement in the Early Bronze Age.

The three important settlements which have contributed to Early Bronze Age research lie within Battalgazi borders, on the southwest of Karakaya Dam, on three locations that reach towards hillsides of Beydağı Mountains which is a part of Malatya Mountains. Red-Black Burnished Ware type (Fig. 12: 1, 3) hand-made, burnished pots with sand and chaff contents with a single color or two contrasting colors (Palumbi 2008: 243, Fig. 6.20: 3, 10, 12; Özfirat, Sagona, 1996-1997: Fig. 3-5), necked and burnished pots (Fig. 12: 2, 4) having “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” features, brownish slipped, black mottled due to firing (Russell 1980: Group L, 249.1) and painted ware piece (Fig. 12: 5) dated as Early Bronze Age III (Russell 1980: Group R, 164.70) were discovered in the settlement known as the Yaygın Mound which is located in Yaygın Village on the hillsides of Beydağı Mountains.

Hand-made and highly burnished pot (Fig. 13: 1) with Red-Black Burnished Ware features and high mica content, grayish brown slipped interior and grayish black exterior, short neck and rim extending outwards (Palumbi 2008: 87, Fig. 3.20: 1-3), the hand-made pot (Fig. 13: 1) with brownish slipped, handled rim, and grit tempered which we have included in the “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” group (Russell 1980: Group L, 165.1) and hand-made ware pieces (Fig. 13: 3-6) included in the Malatya-Elazığ painted wares group (Russell 1980: Group R) were discovered in the İçmesu Tepe settlement which lies approximately 10 km southwest of Karakaya Dam and damaged extensively due to modern agriculture.

Pottery findings that represent all three periods of the Early Bronze Age were found in the Biretepe Mound which is situated in lowlands located 5 km southwest of Karakaya Dam. Painted ware samples (Fig. 15: 1-5) dated as Early Bronze Age III (Russell 1980: Group R). The black colored, well fired, thin walled, hand-made, well burnished ware (Fig. 14: 5) with mica content (Palumbi 2012: 267, Fig. 3) and short or long necked hand-made pots with rim handles, brownish slipped, burnished, and grit tempered which has been included in the “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” (Fig. 14: 1-4) group were discovered (Russell 1980: Group L).

Result

Most of the settlements which were visited or discovered during the 2017 Malatya Survey contain findings that indicate continuity the Early Bronze Age in the settlements. Red-Black Burnished Ware pieces, included in the “*Simple Ware*” groups which influenced by Syria-Mesopotamia, the “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” group which includes local ware group of the Upper Euphrates Region and Malatya-Elazığ painted wares were found on the surfaces of settlements which are grouped around Tohma Valley and Sultansuyu Valley. Accordingly, Red-Black Burnished Ware and Kura-Araxes type hand-made and well burnished ceramic samples with mica or mineral contents were dated as the beginning of



the Early Bronze Age. Hand-made and burnished wares group with mottled due to firing called “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” which show striking similarities with the Kura-Araxes type ware forms were dated as Early Bronze Age II and III. Actually, this wares group extends to a long period of the Early Bronze Age in the Upper Euphrates Region. Wares which reflect Syrian-Mesopotamian influence (*Simple Ware*) were discovered in the settlements, particularly in areas closer to the valleys which act as gates of Malatya that open to the south. The wares group which we call Malatya-Elaziğ painted wares and found in most of the settlements in which the Early Bronze Age is represented reflect the local ware form of the region. The fact that Kura-Araxes and “*Brownish Burnished Ware*” group wares were found abundantly in the regions in which ware pieces have been found is important in terms of the Early Bronze Age having continuity in these settlements.

Figures

Fig. 2: Dışlık Tepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 18 cm, h. 4.5 cm, Int. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, Ext. 10 R 4/8 red slipped, highly burnished, fine grit and mica tempered, thin walled, hand-made.
- 2- Rim, D. 16 cm, h. 4.4 cm, Int. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, Ext. 7.5 YR 4/6 light brown slipped, black mottled because of baking. Highly burnished, fine grit tempered, thin walled, hand-made.
- 3- Rim, D. 24 cm, h. 4.3 cm, Int. 5 YR 5/6 brownish slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, fine grit and mica tempered, highly burnished, handled on the rim, hand-made.
- 4- Formless, Int. 5 YR 5/3 dull brown, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, intense grit and mica tempered, highly burnished, knot handled, hand-made. RBBW.
- 5- Formless, Int. 2.5 YR 5/8 reddish brown slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, highly burnished, fine grit and mica tempered, hand-made. RBBW.
- 6- Formless, Int. 2.5 YR 6/8 brownish slipped and black mottled, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, highly burnished, fine grit and mica tempered, thin walled, hand-made.

Fig. 3: Dışlık Tepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 14 cm, h. 5.8 cm, 7.5 YR 5/6 grayish brown slipped, highly burnished, thin walled, fine grit, mica and fine chaff tempered, hand-made.
- 2- Rim, D. 18 cm, h. 4.3 cm, 7.5 YR 5/4 dull light brown, highly burnished, chamotte and fine grit tempered, thin walled, hand-made.
- 3- Rim, D. 25 cm, h. 4.4 cm, 5 YR 6/5 light brown slipped, mottled due to firing, coarse chaff and chamotte tempered, highly burnished, hand-made.
- 4- Rim, D. 21 cm, h. 6.2 cm, 5 YR 5/5 dark grayish brown slipped, mica, grit and coarse chaff tempered, thin walled, hand-made.
- 5- Base, D. 4.5 cm, h. 5.6 cm, 5 YR 5/5 dark grayish brown slipped, burnished, hand-made.

Fig. 4: Dışlık Tepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 6 cm, h. 2.6 cm, 7.5 YR 8/2 light grayish slipped, chamotte tempered, thin walled, wheel-made.
- 2- Rim, D. 14 cm, h. 4.3 cm, 10 YR 8/3 reddish brown triangle painted on buff color slipped, fine grit and mica tempered, hand-made.
- 3- Formless, 10 YR 8/3 black-brownish painted on buff color slipped, fine grit tempered, hand-made..
- 4- Formless, 7.5 YR 8/2 black-brownish painted on the light gray slipped, fine grit tempered, hand-made, painted ware.



Fig. 5: Sütlüce Şakşak Mound

- 1- Formless, 7.5 YR 8/2 dark brown painted on the light buff color slipped, fine grit and mica tempered, hand-made, painted ware.
- 2- Formless, 5 Y 8/3 black painted on the light grayish slipped, fine grit and fine chaff tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 3- Rim, D. 16 cm, h. 5.1 cm, 10 YR 8/6 reddish brown colored thick band painted on the light buff color slipped, mica tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 4- Formless, 5 Y 8/3 parallel bands painted on the light grayish slipped, fine grit and mica tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 5- Rim, D. 20 cm, h. 8.5 cm, 5 Y 8/2 black painted on the light grayish slipped, mica tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.

Fig. 6: Sütlüce Şakşak Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 32 cm, h. 5.8 cm, 2.5 Y 8/3 black parallel thick bands painted on the light buff color slipped, fine grit tempered, hand-made, painted ware.
- 2- Rim, D. 18 cm, h. 6.4 cm, 7.5 Y 8/2 black painted on the light grayish slipped, fine grit tempered, concave rim, hand-made, painted ware.
- 3- Formless, 2.5 Y 8/3 black painted on the light grayish slipped, mica tempered, hand-made, painted ware.
- 4- Formless, 7.5 YR 8/2 parallel black thick bands painted on the grayish slipped, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 5- Formless, 2.5 Y 8/2 dark brownish painted on the light grayish slipped, thin walled, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 6- Formless, 2.5 Y 7/2 dark brownish painted on the light grayish slipped, fine chaff and grit tempered painted ware.
- 7- Formless, 2.5 Y 8/2 black painted on the light grayish slipped, fine grit tempered, painted ware.

Fig. 7: Sütlüce Şakşak Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 23 cm, h. 2.9 cm, Int. 2.5 YR 5/8 reddish brown slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, fine grit and mica tempered, highly burnished, hand-made.
- 2- Rim, D. 10 cm, h. 4 cm, Int. 10 YR 4/5 dark brownish slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made.
- 3- Formless, Int. 7.5 YR 6/4 brownish slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7 /1black, mica tempered, highly burnished, hand-made.
- 4- Formless, Int. 5 YR 4/6 reddish brown slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, highly burnished, mica tempered, hand-made.

Fig. 8: Görgü Tavşantepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 15 cm, h. 4.1 cm, Int. 5 YR 5/6 brownish slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, fine grit and mica tempered, burnished, hand-made.

Fig. 9: Tavşantepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 20 cm, h. 7.5 cm, 7.5 YR 5/8 reddish brownish slipped fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made, handled on the rim.
- 2- Rim, D. 19 cm, h. 3 cm, 7.5 YR 6/6 dull brownish slipped, black mottled due to firing, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made, handled on the rim.
- 3- Rim, D. 21 cm, h. 4.6 cm, 7.5 YR 6/4 grayish brown slipped, grit tempered, burnished, hand-made.



- 4- Rim, D. 18 cm, h. 5.5 cm, 10 YR 6/3 grayish brown slipped, fine grit and chaff tempered, burnished, hand-made.
 5- Rim, D. 15 cm, h. 3 cm, 7.5 YR 6/6 dull brownish slipped, chamotte and chaff tempered, highly burnished, hand-made.

Fig. 10: Samanköy Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 14 cm, h. 2.5 cm. 5 YR 5/3 dark reddish brown slipped fine grit and mica tempered, thin walled, burnished, hand-made.
 2- Rim, D. 32 cm, h. 2.8 cm, 2.5 YR 8.4 black painted on the buff color slipped, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made.
 3- Formless, 7.5 YR 8/4 brownish painted on the buff color slipped, grit tempered, hand-made.

Fig. 11: (1) Gözene Kale Ardı Mound and (2) Kale Area

- 1- Formless, 5 Y 8/3 light grayish slipped, straight parallel grooved, fine grit tempered, wheel-made.
 2- Rim, D. 12 cm, h. 2.5 cm, 5 Y 8/1 light grayish slipped, grooved, fine grit tempered, wheel-made.

Fig. 12: Yaygın Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 33 cm, h. 8.9 cm, 7.5 YR 3/1 grayish black, fine grit and chaff tempered, burnished, hand-made.
 2- Rim, D. 33 cm, h. 12.9 cm, Int. 5 YR 7/3 brownish slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 5/2 brownish black, fine grit and chaff tempered, burnished, hand-made.
 3- Rim, D. 24 cm, h. 7.6 cm. Int. 2.5 YR 6/5 reddish brownish slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, grit, mica and chaff tempered, burnished, handled on the rim, hand-made.
 4- Rim, D. 32 cm, h. 9.1 cm, 5 YR 6/4 brownish slipped, black mottled because of firing, fine grit, mica and chaff tempered, burnished, hand-made.
 5- Formless, 2.5 Y 7/4 dark brownish painted on the buff color slipped, thin walled, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.

Fig. 13: İçmesu Tepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 16 cm, h. 5.4 cm. Int. 10 YR 6/3 grayish brown slipped, Ext. 7.5 YR 5/3 black, highly mica tempered, highly burnished, hand-made.
 2- Rim, D. 22 cm, h. 5 cm, 7.5 YR 5/4 brownish slipped, burnished, grit and chamotte tempered, handled on the rim, hand-made.
 3- Formless, 5 Y 8/2 brownish black color horizontal bands, parallel lines and “+” shaped painted on the light grayish slipped, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
 4- Formless, 2.5 Y 8/4 reddish brown painted on the light buff slipped, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
 5- Formless, 2.5 Y 8/3 black painted on the light grayish slipped, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
 6- Formless, 2.5 Y 8/4 reddish brown painted on the light buff slipped, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.



Fig. 14: Biretepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 20 cm, h. 13.2 cm, 10 YR 6/4 dull brown slipped, coarse chaff and grit tempered, burnished, hand-made.
- 2- Rim, D. 21 cm, h. 3.9 cm, 7.5 YR 6/6 grayish brown slipped, black mottled because of baking, coarse grit and chaff tempered, burnished hand-made.
- 3- Rim, D. 21 cm, h. 5.5 cm, 7.5 YR 6/6 light brownish slipped, coarse chaff and grit tempered, burnished, hand-made.
- 4- Rim, D. 20 cm, h. 2.5 cm, 10 YR 6/3 light brownish slipped, grit tempered, burnished, handled on the rim.
- 5- Rim, D. 20 cm, h. 4.1 cm, Int. and Ext. 7.5 YR 1.7/1 black, thin walled, fine chaff and mica tempered, highly burnished, hand-made.

Fig. 15: Biretepe Mound

- 1- Rim, D. 28 cm, h. 4.5 cm, 7.5 YR 8/6 brownish black painted on the light cream color slipped, fine grit tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 2- Rim, D. 11 cm, h. 2.7 cm, 10 YR 7/6 reddish brown painted on the buff slipped, thin walled burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 3- Rim, D. 21 cm, h. 4 cm, 10 YR 8/4 brownish black painted on the buff slipped, thin walled, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 4- Formless, 13 YR 8/1 black painted on the light grayish slipped, fine grit and coarse chaff tempered, burnished, hand-made, painted ware.
- 5- Formless, 10 YR 8/3 reddish brown painted on the light grayish slipped, fine grit and chaff tempered, burnished, painted ware.



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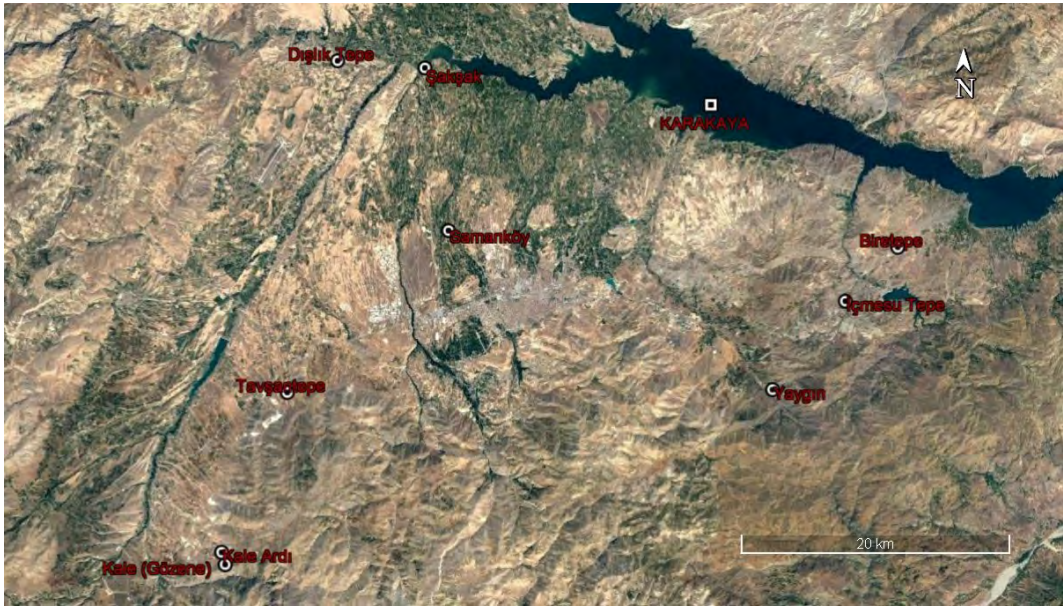


Fig. 1: Early Bronze Age Settlements

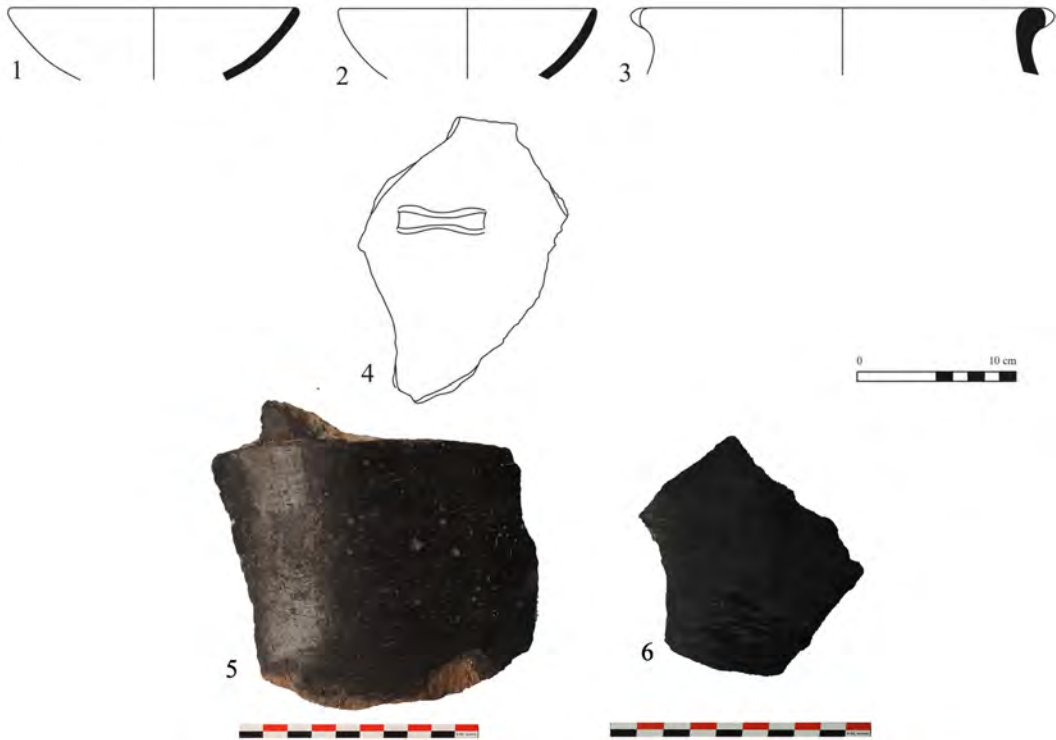


Fig. 2: Dışlık Tepe Mound (1-6) Red-Black Burnished Ware.



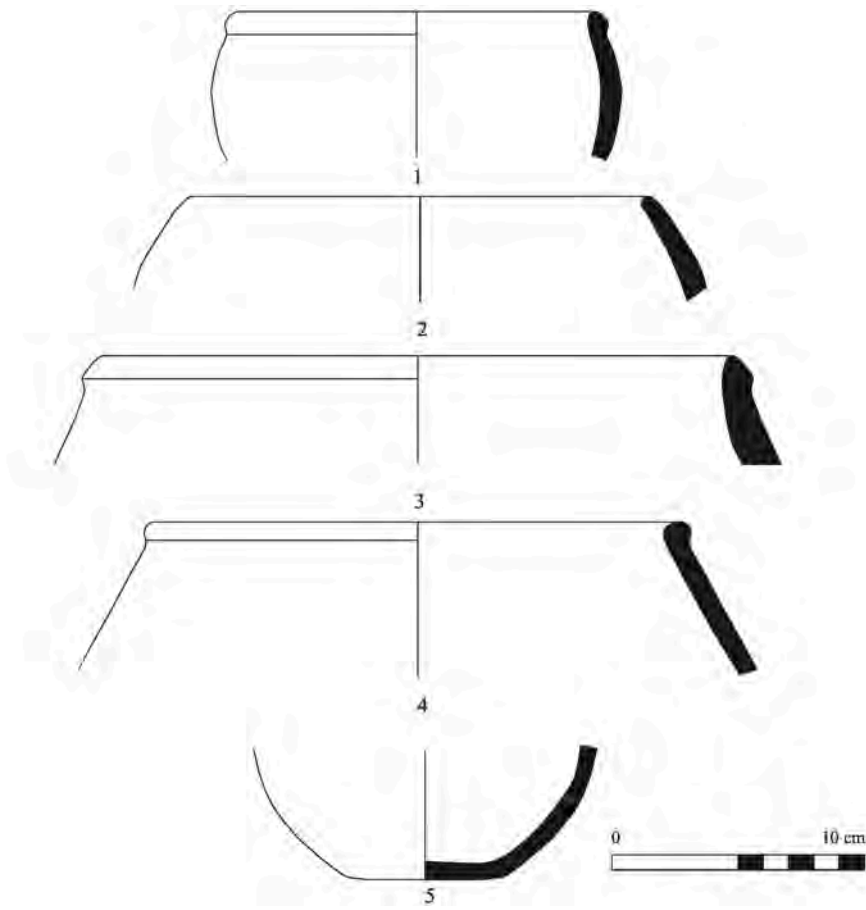


Fig. 3: Dışlık Tepe Mound, (1-5) Brownish Burnished Ware.

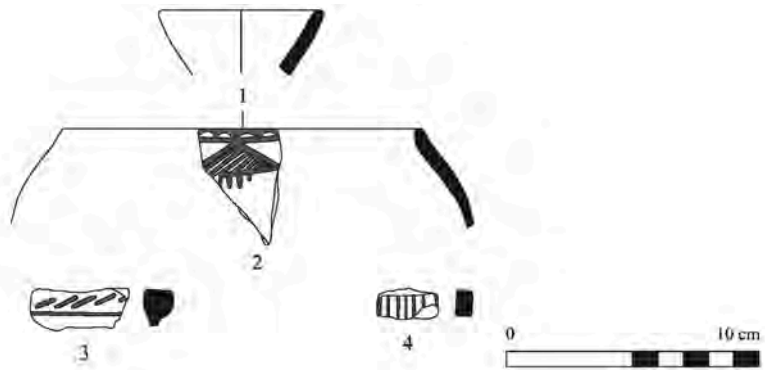


Fig. 4: Dışlık Tepe Mound, (1) Simple Ware (?); (2-4) Painted Ware.



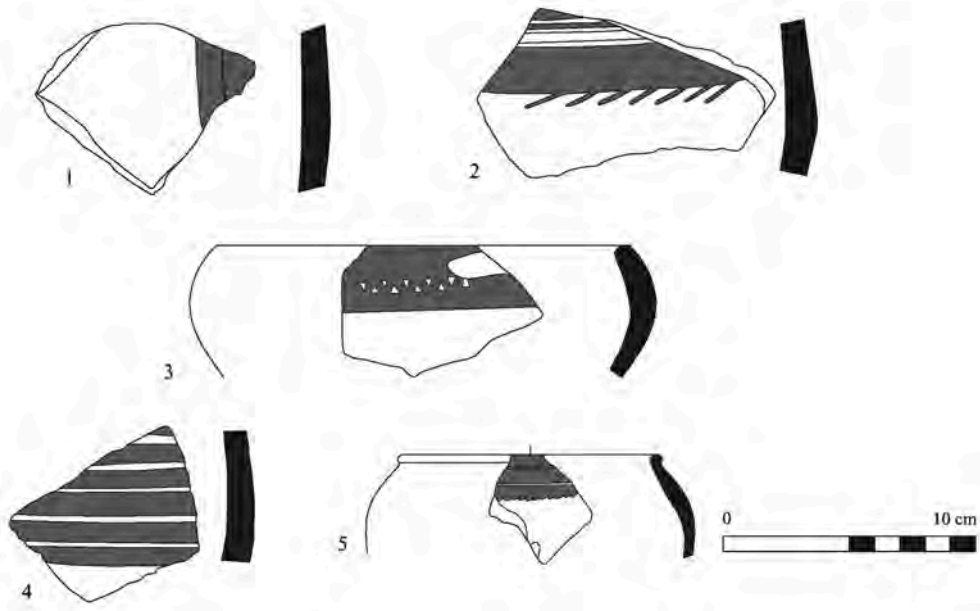


Fig. 5: Sütlüce Şakşak Mound, (1-5) Painted Ware.

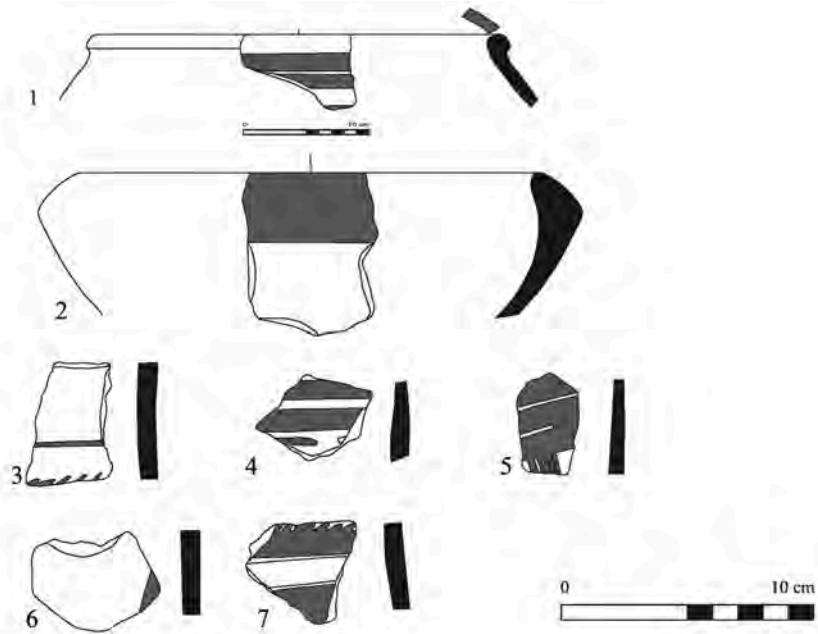


Fig. 6: Sütlüce Şakşak Mound, (1-7) Painted Ware.





Fig. 7: Sütlüce Şakşak Mound, Red-Black Burnished Ware.

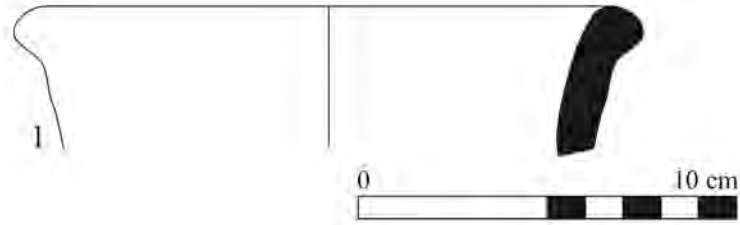


Fig. 8: Görgü Tavşantepe Mound, (1) Red-Black Burnished Ware.

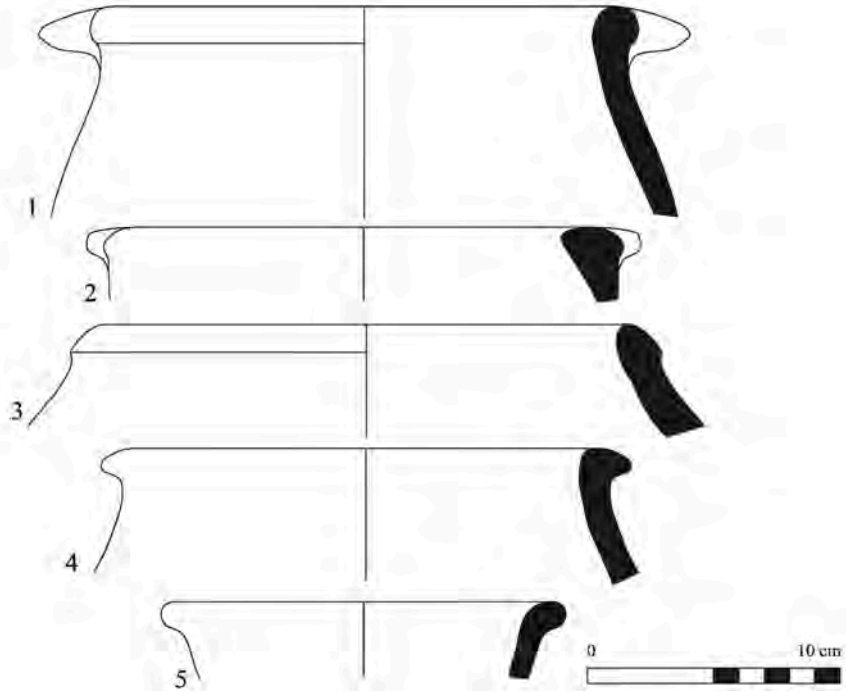


Fig. 9: Görgü Tavşantepe Mound, (1-5) Brownish Burnished Ware.



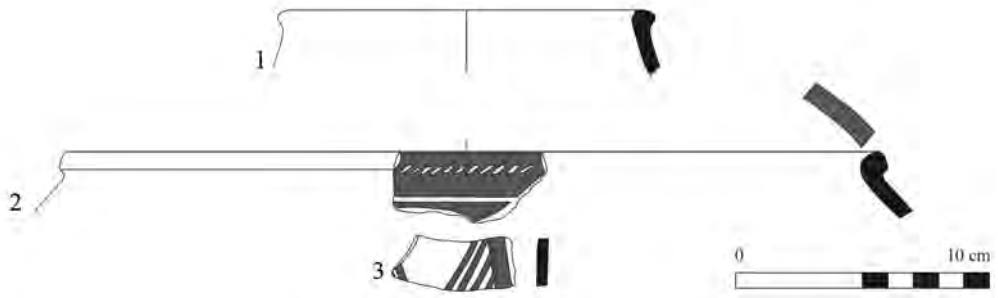


Fig. 10: Samanköy Mound, (1) Brownish Burnished Ware; (2-3) Painted Ware.

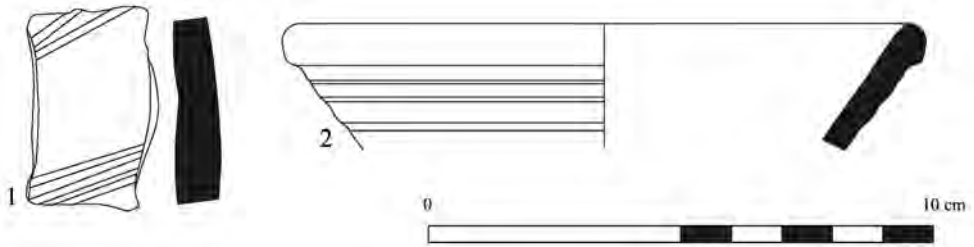


Fig. 11: (1) Gözene Kale Ardi Mound; (2) Gözene Kale Area, Simpe Ware (?).

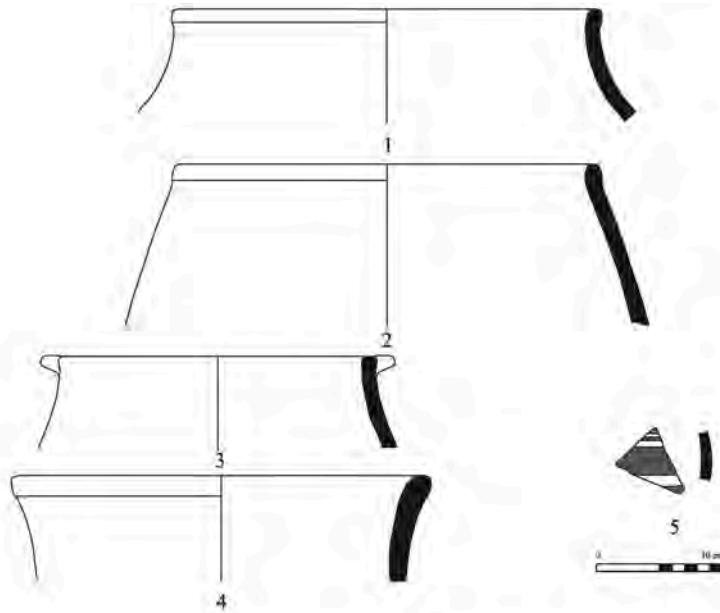


Fig. 12: Yaygın Mound, (1-3) Red-Black Burnished Ware; (4) Brownish Burnished Ware; (5) Painted Ware.



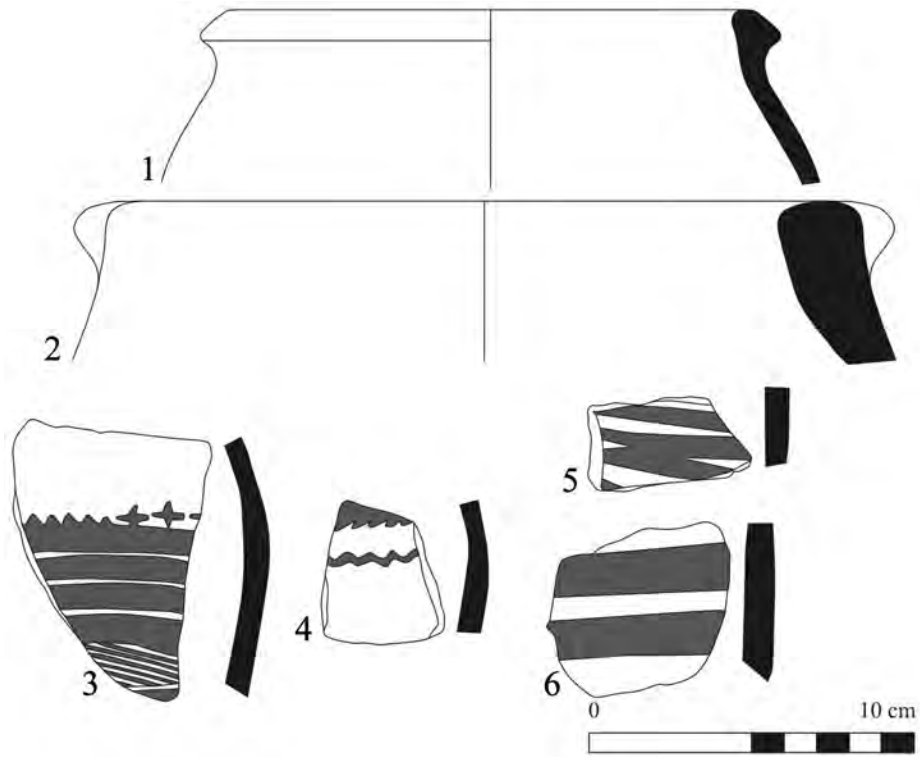


Fig. 13: İçmesu Tepe Mound, (1) Red-Black Burnished Ware (?); (2) Brownish Burnished Ware; (3-6) Painted Ware.



Fig. 14: Erenler Biretepe Mound, (1-4) Brownish Burnished Ware; (5) Red-Black Burnished Ware.



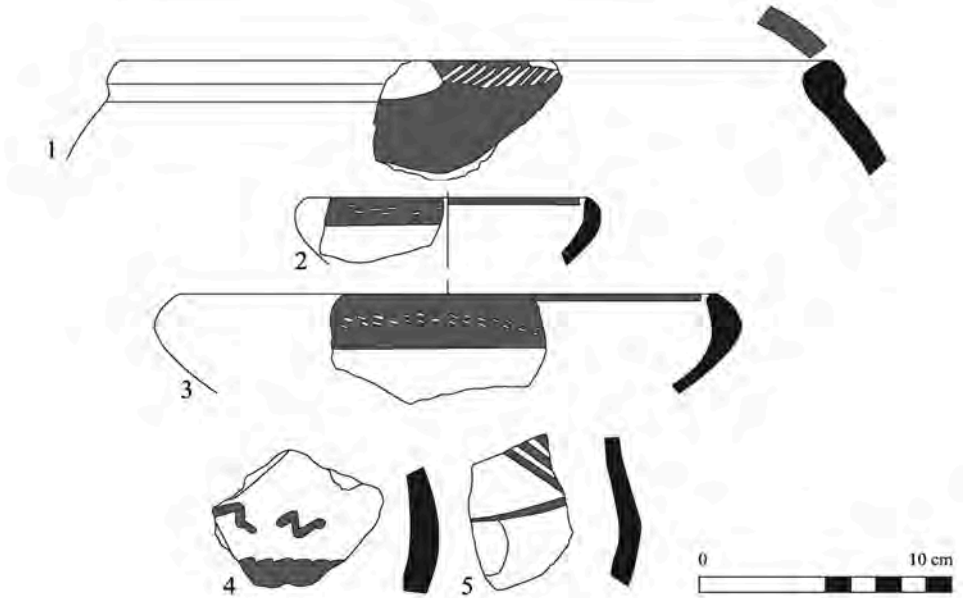


Fig. 15: Erenler Biretepe Mound, (1-5) Painted Ware





SECTION 7
STUDIES IN THE MALATYA
PROVINCE



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
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MALATYA KÖYLERİNDE GELENEKSEL KERPIÇ MİMARİNİN YIKIM SÜREÇLERİ ÜZERİNE GÖZLEMLER

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MALATYA KÖYLERİNDE GELENEKSEL KERPIÇ MİMARİNİN YIKIM SÜREÇLERİ ÜZERİNE GÖZLEMLER

ZEYNEP ERES ÖZDOĞAN

Giriş

Günümüzde Türkiye nüfusunun %80 kadarı kentlerde yaşamakta ve kırsal alanın yerleşme kimliğini oluşturan köyler nüfusunu büyük ölçüde yitirmiş durumdadır. Oysaki Cumhuriyet döneminin kuruluş aşamasında nüfusun yaklaşık %80'ini kırsal kesimdeydi ve dolayısıyla ülkenin toplumsal yapısını ağırlıklı olarak köy kültürü oluşturmaktaydı. Osmanlı döneminden beri süregelen geleneksel tarım ve hayvancılık işleri, içine kapalı mutaassıp yaşam biçimi gibi ekonomik ve kültürel olgular kadar, yakın çevrede kolay bulunabilen doğal yapı malzemeleri de köylerin mimari çevresini belirlemiştir. 20. yüzyıl başında yüzyıllardır pek gelişim ve değişim göstermemiş geleneksel üretim biçimleri ve yaşam kültürü halen sürmekte ve köylerin gerek yapıları gerek doğal çevresi bunu sergilemekteydi. Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet'in kuruluşuyla birlikte kırsal kalkınmaya özel bir önem verilmekle birlikte, bu dönemde henüz endüstriyel tarım söz konusu olmadığı için emek gücüne dayalı kalabalık köy toplumu gerektiren yaşam biçiminde önemli bir değişiklik olmamıştır. Her ne kadar 1950'lerden itibaren tarımda makineleşme ve köy dışına göç yavaş yavaş başlamışsa da, 1980'lere kadar mimari çevre radikal bir dönüşüm yaşamadan geçmişten geldiği haliyle sürmüştür. Ancak 1980 askeri darbesi sonrası neoliberal ekonomik sisteme geçen Türkiye'de tarım ve hayvancılığın zayıflaması nedeniyle köylerin ekonomik canlılığının azalması ve nüfusun göç etmesi, geleneksel köy yapılarının da kullanılmamasına ve zamanla yok olmasına neden olmuştur.

Günümüzde Türkiye'de geleneksel mimari değerlerini sürdüren köy sayısı çok azalmıştır ve köy mimarlığı üzerine araştırma sayısı da az olduğu için pek çok kırsal topluluğun yaşam kültürü hiç belgelenmeden, hiç öğrenilemeden yok olmuştur. Bu bağlamda konuyu ele aldığımızda arkeolojik alanlar ile köy yerleşimlerinin arasında ilginç bir benzerlik vardır. Her iki kültür varlığı türü de belgelenmediği, korunmadığı zaman dünya kültür tarihinde hiç bilinmeyen ve kapatılamayacak bir eksiklik oluşmaktadır. Bu makalede birbirine komşu Elazığ ve Malatya coğrafyasında kerpiç mimarinin söz konusu olduğu köylerde çeşitli nedenlerle yaşanan haraplaşma ve yıkım süreçleri, 1960-70'li yıllarda Keban, Karakaya ve Atatürk baraj projeleri kapsamında yapılmış olan çeşitli belgeleme çalışmaları ile İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Restorasyon Programı yüksek lisans çalışmaları

çerçevesinde 2010'lu yıllarda gerçekleştirdiğimiz incelemeler¹ değerlendirerek açıklanmaya çalışılacaktır.

Arslantepo kazılarında saptanan Son Kalkolitik döneme tarihlenen kerpiç saray yapısının taşıyıcı sistem ve mimari biçimleniş özellikleriyle oldukça benzeyen görüntüler sunan geleneksel köy yapılarının yıkılma süreçlerinin incelenmesinin, yalnız günümüz kerpiç mimarlığını tanımak için değil, kazılarda ortaya çıkan mimari kalıntıların teknik özelliklerinin anlaşılması için de yararlı bir veri kaynağı oluşturacağı düşünülmektedir.

Malatya Kerpiç Köy Mimarisi Üzerine Araştırmalara Kısa Bir Bakış

Keban baraj inşaatı öncesinde Altınova ve Aşvan ovalarında yer alan höyüklerde 1968 yılında ODTÜ Keban Projesi Tarihi Eserleri Kurtarma ve Değerlendirme Projesi İcra Komitesi yürütücülüğünde arkeolojik kazıların başlatılmasına karar verilmiştir (Anonim, 1969). Su altında kalacak olan arkeolojik alanların belgelenmesi ve kültür tarihinin doğru bir şekilde anlaşılması açısından çok önemli olan bu büyük projenin bir ayağını da yine aynı bölgede su altında kalacak olan köy yerleşimleri oluşturmuştur. Bu bağlamda Eski Eserler ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü danışmanı Dr. Hamit Z. Koşay'ın proje yöneticilerine hitaben;

“Toprağın altındaki kültür eserlerinin kurtarılması için kazılar yapılacak, mimari değeri olan Orta Çağ'dan kalma bazı camiler sökülerek uygun yerlerde yeniden kurulacaktır. Ancak toprağın üstünde yaşayan halkın da bir kültürü vardır. Fırsat varken bu konu üzerine de eğilmek gerekir”

uyarısı sonucu bizzat kendisi, yaşayan köy kültürünü çok yönlü olarak belgelemekle görevlendirilmiştir. Bu bağlamda Koşay'ın kazı yaptığı Pulur köyü üzerine “Pulur Etnografya ve Folklor Araştırmaları” kitabı, bir köyün kültürünün farklı yönleriyle nasıl belgelenmesi gerektiğini örnekleyen değerli bir çalışmadır (Koşay, 1977). Yusuf Durul bölgenin dokuma sanatını çalışarak yayınlamış (Durul, 1969), Duygu Arısan Günay da Keban köyleri üzerine halkbilim araştırmalarını derlemiştir (Arısan Günay, 1980). Bu bağlamda İTÜ Mimarlık Tarihi ve Rölöve Kürsüsü de köy mimarisi belgeleme çalışmalarını başlatmıştır. Prof. Doğan Kuban'ın başkanlığında Dr. Metin Sözen'in katılımıyla 1968 yılında başlayan köy belgeleme çalışması 1969 ve 1970 yılında Asistan Ayla Alpöge'nin (Ödekan) yürütücülüğünde tamamlanmıştır (Kuban, 1970; Alpöge, 1971; Alpöge Ödekan, 1972).

Koşay'ın önerisiyle tanımlanan belgeleme çalışmalarının yanı sıra bazı kazı ekiplerinde yer alan mimarlar da buldukları köylerde belgeleme ve yayın çalışmaları gerçekleştirmişlerdir. Dr. Harald Hauptmann'ın başkanlığında yürütülen Norşuntepe kazısının mimarı Eckhart W. Peters çevre köylerde ayrıntılı belgeleme çalışmaları yapmış ve yayınlamıştır (Peters, 1972; 1979; 1982). Makalelerinin yanı sıra doğrudan Alışam köyü üzerine olan “*Alışam: Ein Beitrag zur anonymen kerpiç-architektur in Ostanatolien (Alışam: Doğu Anadolu'da Anonim Kerpiç Mimarlık Üzerine Katkı)*” yayını Türkiye'de kırsal mimarinin her yönüyle nasıl belgelenmesi gerektiğini örnekleyen ilk kapsamlı yayın olarak anılabilir (Peters, 1976). Tepecik Höyük kazısı mimarı Alparslan Koyunlu da benzer şekilde arkeolojik belgelemenin yanı sıra Munzuroğlu Köyü ve çevresinde geleneksel mimarinin belgelenmesi üzerine çalışmış ve yayınlamıştır (Koyunlu, 1976; 1979; 1982a; 1982b). Aşvan kazı ekibi de Aşvan köyünde kapsamlı mimari belgeleme çalışmaları gerçekleştirmiş ve yayınlamışlardır

¹ Arapgir merkez ve mahallelerinde, Arapgir'e bağlı Onar, Kuru ve Ormansırtı köylerinde, Darende'ye bağlı Balaban kasabası ve Aşağı Ulupınar köylerinde öğrenciler tarafından tarihi çevre koruma projesi kapsamında 2010-17 yıllarında ayrıntılı yerleşme, yapı belgeleme ve analiz çalışmaları hazırlanmıştır. Bu makalede bu araştırmalarda ve bağımsız alan ziyaretlerinde bölgede kerpiç mimarinin yıkılma süreci üzerine yapmış olduğumuz bireysel gözlem ve yöre sakinleriyle gerçekleştirilen görüşmelerden edinilen bilgiler derlenmiştir.



(Hall vd, 1973; Weinstein, 1973). ODTÜ sosyoloji kürsüsü de köylerin toplumsal ve ekonomik yaşamı üzerine anket tekniğine dayalı bir araştırma yapmıştır (Silier, 1976).

Keban kazılarında çalışan kimi araştırmacıların yaptıkları bireysel belgelenmeler de önemli bir arşiv oluşturmuştur. Özellikle Keban'da 8 yıl süren kazılar boyunca Munzuroğlu Köyü'nün arkeolog Mehmet Özdoğan tarafından fotoğrafla belgelenmesi, bu köyün olağan yaşam durumunun yanı sıra baraj suları gelmeden önce terk edilme sürecini de ortaya koyması açısından önemlidir.

Keban araştırmaları sonrasında aynı bölgede daha güneyde Karakaya ve Atatürk baraj alanlarında kalacak höyüklerde kazı çalışmaları başlatıldığında, yine bazı köy belgelenme çalışmaları da gerçekleştirilmiştir. Jacques Cauvin'in yönetimindeki Cafer Höyük kazıları kapsamında çevrede yer alan küçük ölçekli köylerin yerleşim dokusu ve mimari ayrıntılı bir biçimde belgelenmiş ve yayınlanmıştır (Aurenche vd., 1997). Bu çalışmada da kazı ekibinin alanda uzun süreler kalmasına bağlı olarak baraj su tutmadan köyün terk edilme süreçlerini de fotoğrafla belgeleyerek yayınlaması, değerli bir belgelik oluşturmuştur. Benzer şekilde Gül Necioğlu tarafından Karakaya baraj gölü altında kalacak olan Bilaluşağı köyü üzerine hazırlanan yüksek lisans tezi de, ayrıntılı mimari belgelenmenin yanı sıra köylülerin yerleşimi terk etme sürecinde yaşananları aktarmıştır (Necioğlu, 1987). Murat Erdim de doktora tezi çalışmaları kapsamında baraj altında kalacak bazı köylerde mimari belgelenmeler yapmıştır (Erdim, 1980).

İTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Restorasyon Programı yüksek lisans çalışmaları çerçevesinde 2010 yılından bu yana Malatya Arapgir'in kent merkezinde, Eskişehir olarak anılan 20. yüzyıl içinde terk edilmiş olan alanda ve merkeze bağlı kırsal karakterli mahallelerde çeşitli belgelenme çalışmaları yapılmıştır (Eyüpgiller, 2014; Eyüpgiller vd, 2012)². Arapgir'in doğusunda Keban baraj gölünün oldukça yakınında yer alan Onar, Koruköy ve Ormansırtı köylerinde de yerleşme ve yapı ölçeğinde belgelenme çalışmaları yapılmıştır. Keban baraj gölünün batısında kayalık plato karakterindeki bu bölgede yapıların beden duvarlarında esas olarak taş kullanılmakla birlikte, ahşap karkas arası kerpiç dolgulu üst katlar, çıkmalar, kerpiç ek yapılar ve tüm yapıların ortak özelliği olan toprak düz dam kerpici/toprağın da yapıların temel bir bileşeni olduğunu göstermektedir. Darende'nin güneydoğusunda yer alan Balaban kasabası ve onun güneyinde yer alan Aşağılupınar Köyü'nde yapılan çalışmalarda ise, bölgede bütünüyle toprak malzemenin egemen olduğu bir mimari geleneğin söz konusu olduğu anlaşılmıştır (Eyüpgiller, 2017).

Kerpiç Mimarinin Yıkılma Nedenleri Üzerine Gözlemler

Gerek 1960'lı yıllarda Elazığ-Malatya bölgesinde Keban, Karakaya ve Atatürk baraj alanlarında bulunan köylerde yapılan araştırmalar gerek 2010'lu yıllarda Arapgir ve Darende köylerinde yürüttüğümüz mimari belgelenme çalışmaları, kerpiç yapıların pek çok farklı neden sonucu haraplaşma ve yıkım sürecine girebildiğini göstermiştir. Bunlar;

Baraj Alanında Sualtına Kalan Köyler

Keban baraj alanında yer alan 212 köyün büyük bir kısmı tamamen, bazı yerleşimler de kısmen su altında kalmıştır (Silier, 1976: 9). Alanda yapılan pek çok köy belgelenme çalışması Altınova ve Aşvan köylerinde kerpiç mimarinin egemen olduğunu göstermektedir (Fig 1). Alan araştırmalarında saptanan dikkat çekici durum, yerleşimler terk edilmeden önce yapıların tüm ahşap yapı malzemelerinin ev sahiplerince sökülerek alınmış olmasıdır. Ahşap hem tekrar kullanılabilir bir yapı malzemesi olduğu için hem de bölgenin yakın çevresinde kolay bulunmayan değerli bir malzeme olduğu için, dam kirişleri, duvar içi

² Balaban ve Aşağılupınar mimarisi üzerine not edilmesi gereken diğer araştırmalar: (Başakman, 1991), (Deniz, 1996), (Bahçeci ve Aytaç, 2017).



hatıllar, kapı ve pencere gibi her türlü ahşap malzeme sökülerek köylülerin yeni yerleşim alanlarına taşınmıştır. Dam kirişlerinin alınabilmesi için önce damın toprağı ev içine aktarılmış, ardından kirişler sökülüştür. Beden duvarlarında yaklaşık 1 m aralıkla yerleştirilmiş olan ahşap hatılların sökülmesi ve iki katlı yapılarda üst kat döşeme kirişlerinin çıkarılması sonucu beden duvarları içinde boşluk hatlarının oluşması nedeniyle duvarlar zayıflamıştır. Yapıların içi dam toprağı ile dolarken, bir yandan da hasarlı duvarların hızla yıkılmaya başlamasıyla kerpiçler yapının içine ve dışına doğru saçılmıştır (Fig 2-3).



Fig 1- Munzuroğlu köyünde yaşam sürerken, 1969 (M. Özdoğan Arşivi)

Fig 2- Ahşap aksami sökülmiş yıkılmakta olan bir ev, 1974 (M. Özdoğan Arşivi)

Munzuroğlu köyünün terk edilme sürecini bir yıllık bir zaman diliminde adım adım belgeleyen Mehmet Özdoğan'ın çalışması incelendiğinde; hızlı bir şekilde tek seferde evlerin tüm ahşap aksamının sökülmesinin yapıları kısa sürede yıkıntı durumuna getirdiği ve zaman zaman yağın yağmur nedeniyle duvar yüzeylerindeki sıvaların akması ve yapı içindeki ve dışındaki kerpiç molozlarının topraklaşmasıyla yerleşimin adeta bir arkeolojik harabeye dönüştüğü anlaşılmaktadır (Fig 4). Dolayısıyla henüz suyla buluşmadan köyler büyük ölçüde yıkılmış durumdadır.



Fig 3- Munzuroğlu camisi, ahşap giriş ve hatılları söküldükten sonra, 1974 (M. Özdoğan Arşivi)

Fig 4- Munzuroğlu köyü terk edildikten sonra, 1975 (M. Özdoğan Arşivi)

Özdoğan ile benzer belgelemeyi Olivier Aurenche ve ekibi Caferhöyük köyünde yapmış, yapılar olağan yaşam hallerinde sağlam bir şekilde varlığını sürdürürken ve terk öncesi tüm ahşap aksami söküldükten sonra belgelemişlerdir (Aurenche, 1997: 187). Gül Necioğlu da Bilaluşağı köyündeki uzun süreli belgeleme çalışmasında köyün terk ve yapıların ahşap malzemesinin alınma konularını ayrıntılı olarak açıklamıştır (Necioğlu, 1987).



Yakın Dönem İmar Uygulamaları Nedeniyle Yıkım:

Balaban ve Aşağılupınar köylerinde yerleşim dokusu üzerine yapılan saptamalarda yakın dönemde imar uygulamalarının, köylerin kerpiç yapı stokunu yitirmesinde büyük bir etken olduğunu göstermiştir. Eğrisel dar sokaklar ve çıkmaz sokaklar otomobil kullanımına uygun olmadığı için, belediyeler yol genişletme ve meydan açma uygulamaları yapmakta ve bunun için pek çok yapı hatta yapı adası tümünden yıktırılmaktadır (Fig 5). Tek seferde bilinçli yıkılarak molozu taşınan bu yapılardan geriye hiçbir fiziksel iz kalmadığı için ancak eski hava fotoğrafları ya da varsa eski kadastral / hâlihazır planları incelenip mevcut durumla karşılaştırma yapılarak bu değişimler saptanabilmektedir.

Üst ölçekli planlamaların yanı sıra ev sahiplerinin daha yeni bir evde oturma isteği nedeniyle, parsel içindeki kerpiç yapının yıkılarak yerine betonarme/briket yapı yapılması da sıklıkla karşılaşılan bir durumdur. Bu durumda kerpiç yapı tümünden yıkılıp molozu temizlenerek geride hiçbir iz kalmayacak şekilde yeni inşaat yapılabildiği gibi, mirastan bölünen yapılarda tarihi yapının yarısının durup diğer yarısının beton ya da briket yapıya dönüştürüldüğü durumlar da söz konusu olabilmektedir³ (Fig 6).

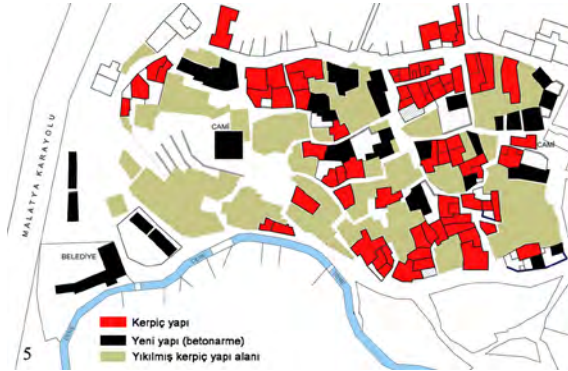


Fig 5- Aşağılupınar köyünde boşalan yapı adaları, 2016 E. Acar Bilgin ile birlikte yapılan çalışmadan geliştirilmiştir. (Acar Bilgin, 2017)



Fig 6- Yarısı yıkılarak betonarme yapıya çevrilen ev, Aşağılupınar, 2016

Doğal Süreçte Yıkım:

Yapıların kendiliğinden yıkılma sürecine girmelerinin ana nedeni düzenli bakım ve onarım yapılmamasına bağlı olarak gelişen hasarlardır. Yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi Türkiye genelinde olduğu gibi Malatya köylerinde de kente göç nedeniyle nüfus sürekli azalmaktadır. Gençler köyde yaşamak ve tarım ve hayvancılık ile uğraşmak yerine kentte yaşamayı ve fabrika ya da hizmet sektöründe yer almayı yeğlemektedirler. Yaşlı kesim de daha rahat yaşam koşulları ve sağlık tesislerine yakınlık gibi gereksinimler nedeniyle kentte yaşamayı yeğlemektedir. Köyünü seven ya da kentte yaşamaya ekonomik gücü yetmeyen çoğunlukla da orta yaş ve üstü kesim köylerde kalmaktadır. Bu durumda kişilerin olanakları elveriyorsa briket ya da betonarme yeni bir ev yapmakta, aksi durumda eski kerpiç evinde yaşamaya devam etmektedirler.

Ancak bu durumda da çok nüfuslu geleneksel tarım ailesine göre biçimlendirilmiş çok sayıda oda, ambar, ahır gibi birimlerden oluşan, Balaban ve Aşağılupınar örneklerinde olduğu gibi iki bazen hatta yamaçta üç kata varan çok katlı büyük evler kullanışsız olmaktadır.

³ Örneğin Şanlıurfa Birecik çevresinde "evsöken" ya da "evyılan" olarak anılan kişiler yapıların içindeki ahşap, demir gibi değerli yapı malzemelerini aldıktan sonra evi yıkmakta ve molozunu uzaklara taşımaktadır. Birecik'in Fırat boyu köylerinde molozların doğrudan Fırat'a atıldığı belirtilmiştir. TÜBA Kültür Envanteri pilot proje alanı olan Birecik'te 2000-2002 yılları arasında yapılan alan araştırmalarında bu konuda sözlü bilgi derlenmiştir (N. Akın, vd. 2002; 2004; G. Akın, vd. 2002; 2003). Malatya'da da "ev yıkıcılık" olarak anılan bir iş alanı yerel sakinler tarafından dile getirilmektedir (Eyüpgiller vd., 2012).



En fazla 2-3 kişiden oluşan aileler evin küçük bir kısmını kullanmakta gerisi boş kalmaktadır. Bir diğer sık karşılaşılan durum da mevsimlik kullanımdır. Pek çok kişi köydeki evini yalnız yaz aylarında kullanmakta, kışı kentte geçirmektedir. Tüm bu eksik kullanım durumları evlerin bakım ve onarım işlerini de etkilemektedir.

Kerpiç düz damlı bir yapının her yıl düzenli olarak damının onarılması, cephe sıvalarının yenilenmesi gerekir (Fig 7). Bunun iş için de yeni bir yöntem ya da pratik bir yeni malzeme söz konusu değildir. Geçmişte olduğu gibi dam onarımına ya da cephe sıvasına uygun toprağın yerinden alınması, saman ve suyla karılarak harcın, sıvanın hazırlanması gerekir. Dam onarımı da cephe sıvama işi de elle yapılır. Tüm onarım süreci yoğun insan emeği ister. Günümüzde köylerde böyle bir iş yükünü kaldırabilecek bir genç nüfus pek yoktur. Yapının dam, taban, iç duvar, dış cephe bütün sıva, onarım işleri için gereken farklı nitelikte toprakların doğru yerlerden alınması gerekir. Dolayısıyla ustalık bilgisi önemlidir ve saman için de tarımsal üretimin belli bir canlılığının olması gerekir.

Köylerde özellikle 1990'lardan beri oluklu metal levhaların düz dam üzerine eğimli şekilde örtülmesiyle, estetik olmasa da, en azından damın kış koşullarından etkilenmemesi sağlanmıştır. Öyle ki günümüzde ancak tümüyle uzun süredir terk edilmiş yapılarda özgün düz dam görülebilir, onun dışında neredeyse tüm yapıların üzerleri metal levha ile kırma çatı biçiminde kaplıdır (Fig 8). Çok nadiren geleneksel düz damın bakım yaparak kullanıldığı örnekler görülmüştür. Az sayıda kullanıcısı olan ya da mevsimlik kullanılan yapılarda kısmi kullanıma bağlı olarak ev sakinleri yalnız kendi yaşadıkları mekânların onarımını yapmakta, yapının gerisini kaderine terk etmektedir. Ancak bu durumdaki yapılarda yine de damda oluklu metal levha çatı varsa yapının boş kısımları haraplaşsa da uzun süre ayakta kalmaktadır.



Fig 7- Düzenli bakım ve onarım yapılan az sayıdaki evden biri, Aşağıulupınar, 2011

Fig 8- Oluklu levha örtülü yapılar ve bakımsız düzdamlı yapılar, Aşağıulupınar, 2016

Ancak kullanıcılarını tümüyle yitirmiş özgün düz damlı yapılarda bakım onarım yapılmamasına bağlı olarak kısa sürede haraplaşma başlamaktadır. Önce düz dam içeri yağmur suyunu kirişler arasından almaya başlamakta, mekân içindeki sıkıştırılmış toprak tabanda kiriş boylarını izleyen yağmur delikleri oluşmaktadır (Fig 9). Zamanla dam kirişleri ağırlığa dayanamayarak önce orta kısmından seğim yapmakta, ardından duvarın üzerine oturan uç kısmı seğimden dolayı biraz havaya kalktığından duvarı da patlatarak yıkılmaktadır (Fig 10-11). Dam bütünüyle içeri çöktükten sonra açıkta kalan duvarların üst kesimleri kar ve yağmur nedeniyle erimektedir. Zamanla taşıyıcı nitelikte kalın kerpiç duvarların kerpiçleri iç ve dış mekâna dağılarak yayılmakta ve yağmurla birlikte çamura dönüşerek prizmatik formunu yitirmektedir. Bazı durumlarda ise duvar, bir bütün halinde –çoğunlukla- dışa doğru devrilmektedir. Özellikle üst kat duvarları, yamaç boyu yükselen istinat duvarı görevi de gören duvarlar bu şekilde dışa doğru kitlesel biçimde düşerler.





Fig 9- Bakımsız kalmış damdan toprak tabana yağmur akması, Balaban, 2016

Fig 10- Çökmekte olan dam ve duvarların çöken kirişler nedeniyle dağılması, Balaban, 2016

Fig 11- Oda içine çöken dam, Balaban, 2016

Bölge köylerinde yapılar çoğunlukla tek seferde inşa edilmemiştir. Geçmişte geleneksel büyük aile yaşam kültürüne bağlı olarak ailenin oğulları evlendikçe mevcut eve yeni mekânlar eklenmiş, tarım ve hayvancılık için de gerek görüldükçe eklemeler yapılmıştır. Ek yapılar zemin katta olabileceği gibi yamaçlarda yamaç boyunca yukarı doğru kademeli yükselen odalar, ya da tek katlı yapıların üstüne kat ekleme gibi uygulamalar sıklıkla yapılmıştır. Bu tür eklemelerde de çoğu zaman pratik şekilde mevcut duvarın kullanılarak üç duvarın eklenmesiyle yeni mekânların oluşturulduğu gözlenmektedir. Bu tür uygulamalarda çoğunlukla komşu yapının duvarına onun kerpiç örgüsüyle bütünleşmeden yüzeyden yapışan duvarlar söz konusu olmaktadır. Bu tür yapılar yıkım sürecine girdiğinde çoğunlukla ucu bağlanmamış duvarlar kitlesel olarak devrilmektedir (Fig 12-13).



Fig 12- Birbirine yapıştırılmış duvarların derzden ayrılması, Balaban, 2016



Bakımsızlık nedeniyle doğal bir süreçte yıkılan kerpiç yapılarda toprak dam, taban ve duvar kerpiçleri zamanla kar ve yağmur nedeniyle eriyerek bütünleşmekte ve yapı tam sınırları belli olmayan bir toprak molozuna dönüşmektedir. Ancak yapının kiriş ve dikmeleri mevcut olduğundan yıkım ve yapı molozuna dönüşme süreci aşağıda açıklanacak ahşap sökülen yapılara göre daha yavaş gelişmektedir. Çoğunlukla yapı molozu içinde kalan kirişlerin uçları dışarıdan görülebildiğinden bu tür moloz yığınlarının doğal değil bir yapı molozu olduğunu anlamak daha kolaydır (Fig 14).

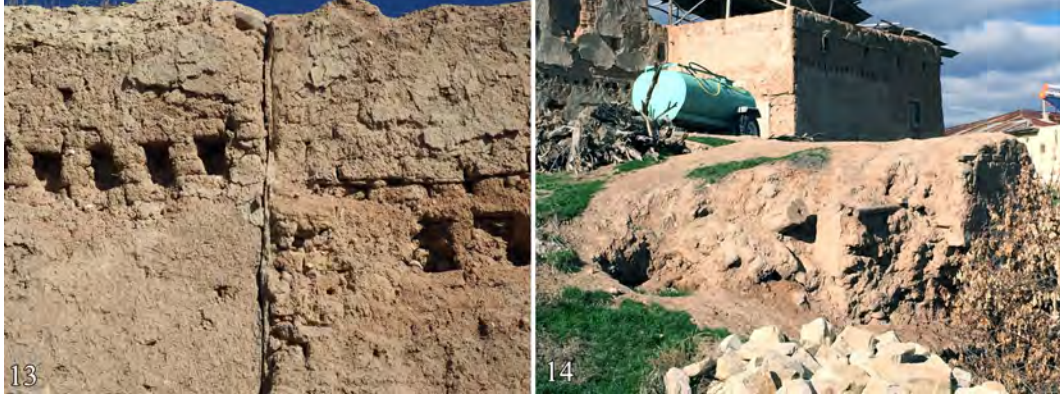


Fig 13- Sıvalı duvar yüzeyine bitştirilmiş komşu duvar ve ahşap kiriş yuvaları dizisi, Balaban, 2016

Fig 14- ahşap kirişleri içinde bulunan kerpiç yapı molozu, Balaban, 2016

Çıkma Yapı Malzemesi Ticareti:

Yukarıda da belirtildiği gibi Türkiye’de geleneksel köy yaşamının ve onun temsilcisi köylerin büyük ölçüde terk edilmesi nedeniyle yapılar da boşalmakta ve kullanılmamaktadır. Terk edilmiş kerpiç yapılar zaman içinde bakımsızlık nedeniyle haraplaşmaya başlar ve gerek sahipleri gerek komşu köylüler tarafından hiçbir şekilde değerli olarak tanımlanmazlar. Ancak bu yapıların içindeki ahşap yapı malzemesi ise bir değer olarak görülmektedir. Bu nedenle tıpkı Keban, Karakaya, Atatürk baraj alanlarında kalacak köylerde ev sahiplerinin ahşap malzemeyi sökmeleri gibi, günümüzde varlığını sürdüren köylerde de terk edilmiş kerpiç yapıların ahşap aksamı yapı ustalarınca sökülme ve “ardıç pazarı” olarak anılan yerlerde çıkma ahşap malzeme olarak satılmaktadır. Gerek Balaban gerek Aşağıulupınar köyü mimari belgeleme çalışmalarında bu tür söküm işleri ve söküm sonrası yapıların durumu belgelenmiştir. Burada dikkat çekici bir konu da, yalnız uzun süre önce terk edilmiş, bakımsız kalmış harap durumdaki yapılar değil yakın zamana kadar kullanılmış sıvaları henüz çok sağlam olan yapılarda da bu tür söküm işlerinin yapılmasıdır. Bu da ev sahiplerinin evlerini bıraktıktan sonra gelir elde etmek için bu işlemini yaptırdıklarını düşündürmektedir.

Malatya Darende çevresinde ardıç ağacı, kerpiç yapıların taşıyıcı sisteminde baba kiriş ve dikme olarak kullanılmıştır⁴ (Fig 15). Ardıç çok sağlam ve dayanıklı bir ağaç olduğu için günümüzde de inşaat sektöründe çeşitli işler için yeğlenmektedir. Bölgede geçmişte ardıç ormanlarının olduğu ve ağacın köylerin yakın çevresinden sağlandığı bilinmektedir (Eyüpgiller vd. 2012). Nitekim Harita Genel Komutanlığının 1/25.000 ölçekli haritalarında yakın çevrede olmasa da bölgede bazı küçük orman bakiyeleri ardıç olarak işlenmiştir. Ancak günümüzde Darende Balaban’ın yakın çevresinde pek orman dokusu yoktur, ardıç bulunmamaktadır. Bu nedenle, tarihi kerpiç evlerin ardıç malzemesi oldukça değerli bir duruma gelmiştir.

⁴ Malatya’nın kuzeybatı komşusu Sivas Divriği’de de kerpiç yapılarda büyük kesitli ardıç dikme ve kiriş kullanımı yaygındır.





Fig 15- Ev içinde ana dikme ve baba kiriş, Aşağıulupınar, 2016

Geleneksel evlerde çoğu zaman yapının beden duvarlarını kalın kerpiç duvarlar oluştururken, içerideki 5-6 metreye varan geniş açıklıklar çapı 40-50 cm'ye varan ardıç dikme üzerine oturan yine aynı şekilde büyük çaplı baba kiriş üzerine dizilen kirişlerle geçilmekte, bu kirişlerin üzerine yerleştirilen bölücü nitelikte duvarlarla üst kat mekânları oluşturulmaktadır. Bu nedenle her bir evde en az bir dikme bir babakiriş olmak üzere iki adet 40-50 cm kalınlığında ardıç bulunmaktadır. Birçok evde baba kirişin üzerine oturan döşeme kiriş dizileri de 20-25 cm kalınlığında ardıçtandır. Bunların tümü yapılarda ikincil kullanım için sökülmemekte, ayrıca ara kat ve tavan döşemesinde kullanılan kavak, meşe gibi ağaçlar da tekrar kullanım ya da odun olmak üzere sökülmemektedirler.

Söküm işi damdan başlamakta, işçiler düzdamin kalın toprak katmanını doğrudan yerinde evin içine dökerek ahşap sistemi açığa çıkartmaktadırlar (Fig 16). Daha sonra damın alt sistemini oluşturan ince kirişler dökülerek bir duvar boyuna ya da evin dışında yere dizilmekte, ardından ardıç babakiriş ve dikme çıkartılmaktadır. Bu şekilde birkaç günde ahşap aksamı sökülen bir yapı, damı içine çökmüş duvar üstleri zedelenmiş bir harabeye dönüşmektedir (Fig 17). Ardından bir yıl içinde yağmur ve kar yağışı nedeniyle duvarlar parçalanarak etrafa saçılmakta, ev içindeki kerpiç bloklarından oluşan moloz da suyla birbirine karışarak toprak hamuru gibi bütünleşmekte yapı malzemesi görüntüsünden uzaklaşmaktadır (Fig 18). Yukarıda açıklandığı gibi ahşap kirişleri yerinde olan doğal yollardan zamanla yıkılan yapılara göre ahşapı sökülen yapılar çok daha hızlı erimektedir. Tabiri caizse ev içindeki kerpiç molozu, kerpicingin ilk yapım aşamasında toprak, saman ve suyun karıldığı kerpiç çukurundaki görünümüne geri dönmektedir. Aradan belli bir zaman geçtikten sonra yapı duvarları ve dam molozu bütünleşmektedir ve ancak alani dikkatli inceleyen birisi, doğal eğimli arazinin üzerinde yıkılmış evin tam sınırlarını da belirtmeyecek şekilde etrafa yayılmış hafif tümsek biçimindeki lekesini sezebilir. Ancak bu biçimsiz yığıntının içinde damın ve üst duvar molozunun kapladığı, kimi yerde yüksekliği 2 metreye varan kerpiç molozu, altındaki kerpiç duvar temellerini de bir yandan açık hava koşullarından korur. Dolayısıyla ileride bu tür kalıntı alanlarında kazı yapılacak olsa köy evlerinin plan şeması net biçimde saptanabilir.





Fig 16- Kerpiç yapının ahşap aksamının çıkma malzeme olarak kullanılmak üzere sökülmesi, Balaban, 2016

Fig 17a- Dam kirişleri sökülmüş, baba kiriş alınmadan önce bir kerpiç ev, Balaban, 2016

Fig 17b- Ahşap malzemesi sökülmüş iki katlı bir evin beden duvarları, içten görünüm, Balaban, 2016

Fig 17c- Ahşap malzemesi sökülmüş, içi kerpiç molozu dolmuş bir ev yıkıntısı, Balaban, 2016



Fig 18- Sökülen ardıc kirişleri kenara yığılmış, içi erimiş kerpiç molozuyla dolu bir ev yıkıntısı, Balaban, 2016



Komşu Yapıların Etkisiyle Yıkım:

Balaban ve Aşağılupınar alan çalışmasında özellikle yerleşme sakinleriyle yapılan görüşmelerden edinilen önemli bir bilgi, bitişik düzende birbirini içine geçmiş şekilde gelişen yapı gruplarından birinin ahşap aksamının sökülmesi ve yapının dam toprağının yapı içine dökülerek bırakılması, birkaç yıl içinde o yapıya komşu yapılarda önemli nem sorunu oluşturmaktadır. Kısa sürede bir toprak birikintisi haline gelen ahşabı sökülmiş yapı molozu kışın kar ve yağmur suyunu bünyesine aldıkça bitişik komşu yapıların duvarlarına nem kusmakta ve bu yapıların beden duvarlarını zemin kotundan başlayarak zayıflatmaktadır. Bu yapılarda halen yaşam sürmekteyse de, kısa sürede bitişik yıkık yapıdan dolayı ciddi taşıyıcı sistem sorunları yaşanmaya başlar. Balaban sakinleri özetle, bir yapı söküldü mü ona komşu tüm yapılar da ardından gider diyerek durumu özetlemişlerdir. Gerek Balaban gerek Aşağılupınar'da yapı adalarında ayrı ailelere ait tüm yapılar, birbirine bitişik komşu durumundadır. Yerleşmelerde yapı dokusu çok yoğundur. Dolayısıyla bir yapı adasında bir yapının ahşap aksamının sökülerek kaderine terk edilmesi, yapı adasının tümünde büyük bir tehdit oluşturmaktadır. Nitekim alan araştırmasında çok geniş alanlara yayılan büyük yıkımlarla karşılaşmıştır.

Değerlendirme

Malatya ve Elazığ'da kerpiç mimarinin söz konusu olduğu köylerde 1960-70'li yıllarda yapılan köy belgeleme çalışmaları ile tarım ve hayvancılığa dayalı geleneksel yaşam biçiminin yoğun motorize tarım ve beton-briket yapılaşma ile bozulmadan önceki özgün durumu ortaya konmuştur. Bunun yanı sıra terk edilen yapıların bir yıl içindeki haraplaşma süreçleri de gözlemlenerek önemli bir belgelik oluşturmuştur. Zaten su altında kalacak bu kırsal yerleşimlerin en azından belgelenmesi, tıpkı su altında kalacak höyüklerdeki kazılar gibi yitip gidecek geçmiş kültürlerin en azından "bilgi"sinin kazanılmasını sağlamıştır.

2010'lu yıllarda Arapgir ve Darende köylerinde yaptığımız köy belgeleme çalışmaları esas olarak, geleneksel yerleşme dokularının ve yapıların mimari yapısal özelliklerinin saptanması ve koruma sorunlarının belirlenerek çözüme yönelik projelerin geliştirilmesi üzerinedir. Bu çalışmalar sırasında inceleme ve gözlemlerle geleneksel kerpiç mimarlığın yakın dönemde, özellikle 1980'lerden itibaren, nasıl yok olma sürecine girdiği de ortaya konmuştur. Yukarıda başlıklar altında açıklanan pek çok nedene bağlı olarak bu yapı geleneği hızla yok olmakta ve geriye yıkıntılar bırakmaktadır. Yıkımın çeşitli aşamalarındaki kerpiç yapıların incelenmesi ile kerpiç yapım teknikleri üzerinde bilgi edinilmekte ve bir şekilde bu geleneksel yapı sisteminin ustalık bilgisi tekrar üretilmektedir. Aynı zamanda bu yıkık yapı stoku kazıyla açığa çıkan benzer mimarilerin değerlendirilmesinde bize bir laboratuvar ortamı da sunmaktadır⁵.

Şimdiye kadar sit olarak tescile gerek görülmemiş dolayısıyla en azından yasal yolla koruma altına alınmaya çalışılmamış bu mimari geleneklerin gereğinde çağdaş mimarlıkla da bütünleştirilerek yaşatılması ve korunması yakın gelecekte pek mümkün görünmemektedir. Ancak bu araştırma ve incelemeler, tıpkı bir arkeolojik alan gibi artık sürmeyen bir yaşam kültürünü temsil eden yerleşimlerin "bilgi"sinin korunması açısından değerli bir belgelik oluşturmaktadır. Tüm bu araştırma ve belgelemelerin yakın geçmişimizin görkemli kerpiç mimarlığının kalan son örneklerinin ve yerleşimlerinin nitelikli bir biçimde restore edilmesi ve yaşatılması yönünde projeler geliştirileceği zaman bir katkı sunmasını diliyoruz.

⁵ Benzer bir yaklaşımla Şanlıurfa Suruç kerpiç kubbeli yapı geleneğinin yıkım süreci incelenmiş ve arkeolojik çalışmalara bir veri oluşturacak şekilde yorumlanmıştır (Eres, 2010).



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ROCK-CUT TOMBS IN MALATYA AND AN EXAMPLE FOR DATING. SAMANKÖY ROCK-CUT TOMB

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Malatya Archaeology Museum

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ROCK-CUT TOMBS IN MALATYA AND AN EXAMPLE FOR DATING. SAMANKÖY ROCK-CUT TOMB

HÜSEYİN ŞAHİN

Introduction

The area where the study has been carried out is the Malatya Province and its districts are located in the Eastern Anatolia Region of Turkey lies just no the west of the Euphrates River as a passageway between the east and west. In our study, in addition to the finds obtained in relatively less numbers in 2010, and thanks to the surface survey we carried out in 2011, it is intended to explain the beginning of the period when these rock-cut tombs were built and burial custom practices based on the locations of the tombs and tomb typologies.

As of 2018, 110 rock-cut tombs were found in the districts of Akçadağ, Arapgir, Arguvan, Darende, Doğanşehir, Hekimhan and Yeşilyurt. Before 2009, it had been known that there were cut-rock tombs particularly throughout the Akçadağ-Levent Valley and surrounding area. These tombs are differently dated, namely, between the 1st and 4th century BC, the Late Roman Period. Thanks to the project the “Malatya Cultural Inventory Surface Survey”, which was projected in 2009, and through the works implemented in the subsequent years a lot of mounds, tumuluses and rock-cut tombs were found and included in this inventory (Malatya Cultural Inventory 2014).

This study has two objectives: The first objective is to introduce the geographical distribution of the rock-cut tombs with one burial chamber and explain the architectural and typological components of these tombs as well as those of plastic and painting decorations. In this context, it is intended to draw conclusion regarding the entombment and burial customs.

The second, and primary objective, is to end the confusion in dating the rock-cut tombs with one burial chamber -generally in the Eastern Anatolia and specifically in Malatya- as the date of more than one hundred rock-cut tombs found in Malatya has not been precisely identified so far. This study is based on the epigraphic analysis of the funerary stele found at the entrance of the Samanköy Rock Chamber excavated by the team of Malatya Museum.

In the entirety of this paper, it is a research subject whether the rock-cut tombs are based on a custom. They are the evidences of a significant cultural exchange though the problems, such as whether the burial chambers date back to the kurgans and these two types of tombs existed together and identification of their exact chronology, needs to be solved. In this study, the skeletons and objects found in the Samanköy Rock-cut Tomb is assessed in terms of the custom.

Environmental Dispersion, Features and Decorations / Ornaments of Rock-cut Tombs around Malatya

Following the surface surveys that have been carried out so far (2018), the rock-cut tombs were found in the districts of Akçadağ, Arapgir, Arguvan, Darende, Doğanşehir, Hekimhan and Yeşilyurt. Their total number is 110. Except a few of them, almost each of them have one chamber.

At the lower part of the Puşeyin Hamlet of the Bostanbaşı Village of the Akçadağ (Fig. 1) District, there are juxtaposed two rock-cut tombs that were cut into a main rock. Its height is 2 meters from the ground to the doorway (Fig. 2). These two tombs are different from the other examples due to their plastic elements. When one enters it, it seems that they have the features of other tombs with one chamber found in Malatya.

Onar Village Necropolis with Rock-Cut Tombs: There are 18 rock-cut tombs plainly seen and one area which bears the traces of rock-cut tomb. There are 19 rock-cut tombs at the north side of a creek lying at the east-west direction in the Kayadibi Locale of the Onar Village of the Arapgir District of the Malatya Province. The height of the doors is about 150 cm. The tombs are inside the 2-2,5 high niches. There are 15 x 20 cm embrasures over them. The inner height of the rock-cut tombs is generally 2,5 m. On the ground, there are cists (khamosorion) whose size is 70 x 170 and depth is 50 cm. At the opposite and sides of the entrance, there is a kline, which is 50 cm higher than the ground level of the chamber, inside three arkosoriums. The klines were carved in the shape of barrel vault whose width is 2 m, height is 1 m. and depth is 80 cm. The sizes are more or less same as given though they may change according to each chamber. Some of the burial chambers were enlarged and used as living and worshipping places. Some of the chambers have geometric and figurative decorations painted onto their ceiling and walls. At the walls of a rock-cut tomb whose size is 60 x 50 cm, there are figures of grazing horses, camels and human-beings. (Fig. 3). It had been used rock-cut tomb during the Roman Period while one part was used as church during the Byzantine Period. It is estimated that it had been used for different purposes during the Seljuk and Ottoman rules.

"Among the Onar tombs, the tomb no. 10 is the most important of the necropolis thanks to its mural painting and decoration. Especially the horses at the left side of the entrance of this tomb seem to be painted with a realistic style. In fact, it may be suggested that those who drew these pictures were the members of a community caring about the horses and considering them as the part of their daily lives because the detail and the care taken to these horses are not seen in the depiction of the other animals and human-beings. (Fig. 4-5) The tail of some horses, especially one at the outermost right of the frisian belt, is knotted." (Özman 2016: 16).

In his study (Özman: 2016), he evaluated and discussed the subject comprehensively. ¹Özman (2016) depicts the decorations of the no. 10 tombstone as follows:

"In the anterior chamber of the tombstone there are a series of horses, four of whom graze and two of whom trot, at the left side of the entrance. There is no order in arranging the grazing and trotting horses. The horses at the left side are rendered rightward, the ones at the right leftward and the ones in the middle reversely. Two horses at the left are depicted grazing, the third one running, the fourth one grazing, the fifth one running and the sixth one grazing. Therefore, it is understood that both directions and stances of the horses are mixed. The anatomy of the horses is quite successfully decorated though there is some withering in the paintings. (...) The series of the figures are bordered with geometrical decoration at the lower and upper point. At the upper part of the figure series, there is a sawblade decoration with triangle series, and over it there is a lined-lace series. At the lower part, there is a red lined-lace

¹For further information regarding the typology and comparatives of the Onar Rock-Cut Tombs, see: Özman 2016.



at the upper part and there is a series of decoration made of the squares among the wave pattern. There is sun at the lower-left hand corner of these decoration series and a human figure in the middle. It is probable that the sun stands below the series of figures have a distinctive meaning. The existence of this decoration inside a rock-cut tomb may be related to sunset which may imply the end of life (death). (...) At the left-hand corner of the door opening, facing the main entrance that lets a passage to the backroom a mixed composition was engraved There is a cavalier on the far-left, probably a camel in the middle, building with a conical roof, which is reminiscent of a tent with the human-beings around its left and right side, on the right and probably a herd composed of sheep and goats together with a shepherd below this scene. The picture of a cavalier on the right side of this composition is vaguely discerned. In the middle of the composition, a camel is portrayed with its contours. It seems that a Bactrian camel was tried to be painted though the back of the camel is not so distinct. On the upper-right of this camel, it is likely that two persons close to a round shaped building with a cubical roof are portrayed.

The man on the left seems to wear a short pants and carrying a tool looking like a scythe on his left shoulder. The figure on the left and a part of the building are depicted with the red paint while some parts and the figure on the right are painted with dark black paint.

The figure on the right wears an overgrown dress almost extending to his patella and assumed a more majestic appearance thanks to a big cap on his head. All the figures in this part are portrayed only by painting their contours. The picture of this person, who may be a clergyman, is wholly painted. Therefore, a part of this composition may represent a religious scene. Below this scene, again a herd consisting of sheep and goats are portrayed only through their contours. All these may relate to the scenes of daily life" (Özman 2016: 11-12).

Most of the other rock-cut tombs have simple geometric decorations on the ceiling and lateral walls painted with the red ochre. In Arapgir Alıçlı, a bust is carved out outside a tomb.

<p>ARAPGİR İLÇESİ</p> <p>Alıçlı Salınbaşı KMO(5), Alıçlı Gebenarası KMO Alıçlı Otoba KMO(3), Alıçlı Never(1), Kaya Sandukalar Onar KMO (18) Ormansirtı KMO (12) Bostancık-Hoşirik KMO (2) Bostanpınarı (5) Eski Arapgir Budamabaşı (1), Dinlencek KMO(4), Kombaşı KMO (2) Çimen Kesmeceönü KMO (1) Koru Çekmecenin KMO (1) Yeşilyayla Temürük KMO (1) Yazılı KMO (2) Yazılı Hars KMO ve Kutsal Alanı (1)</p>	<p>AKÇADAĞ İLÇESİ</p> <p>Akçadağ Merkez (Aktepe KMO)- (12) Levent Vadisi/Bağköy (A-B-C-D-E-F-G)-(8) Bağköy Dumdum KMO (1) Bağköy Güney KMO (1) Bağköy Culfabağı KMO ve- Kaya Kabartması Bağköy Yarım Bırakılmışlar (12) Sarıhacı Kasanlar Dumdum KMO (1) Kolköy Çal KMO(1),</p>	<p>DOĞANŞEHİR İLÇESİ</p> <p>Erkenek Kale KMO (2) Bentağzı KMO(1) Kilisecik KMO(2)</p>
	<p>ARGUVAN İLÇESİ</p> <p>Kömürlük/Güngören KMO(2)</p>	<p>HEKİMHAN İLÇESİ</p> <p>Gelenceç Dumdum KMO (1) Güçlü Küllü KMO (1) Kocaözü Ziyarettepe KMO (5) Kurşunlu Sulularla KMO (1)</p>
	<p>DARENDE İLÇESİ</p> <p>Ağılbaşı Dımdım KMO(1) Ergiören KMO (3) Şuğul Dumdum KMO (1) Yeniköy Dumdum KMO(2)</p>	<p>YEŞİLYURT İLÇESİ</p> <p>Samanköy KMO(1)</p>

Tab. 1: Rock-Cut Tombs

Decorations / Ornaments of Rock-Cut Tombs and Plastic Elements

Around Malatya, some of the tombs have pictures, stylized figures and geometric linear decorations painted by red ochre, purple and tile red. There are some decorations and ornaments painted only through their contours, too. Some of the rock-cut tombs in Malatya have pictures painted through red ochre, purple and brick red having stylized and geometric-lined decorations. There are some ornaments and decorations painted only as contours. Though there are not many examples, some of them have shallow channels carved



inside (Arapgir-Onar Necropolis is an example) and close to it outside and offering areas, which we thought, where food or drink to the deceased is offered (The sacred area in Arapgir-Yazılı Hars Hamlet, Darende Ergiören locale).

Generally, most of them have half-arched niche at their entrances though some parts of the rock-cut tombs' front are flat. Over the niche, there is a round or rectangular door opening. There is a ventilation window/loophole onto the door or at the lateral side. Some of them are accessed by a stair. There is a human bust relief whose face is not discernible inside a niche which is carved at the upper right corner of the entrance front of the tomb no. 5 in Alıçlı-Salınbaşı.

Ağılbaşı /Engüzek Village and its close proximity was settled during the Roman and following periods. The surrounding area of Ergiören-3 rock-cut tomb gives clues that there may be ateliers and that a sacred offering may be carried out. There is a Greek inscription which is not readable. The surface of the walls were decorated with closed cross/plus (?), stylized human figure, comb (?), open plus/multiple sign using purple paint.

A Brief Glimpse on Customs and Practices Regarding Burial since Palaeolithic Age

The human-beings have developed various point of views regarding death from past to present. They believed that death is corporal and life after death somehow continues. Thanks to this belief, a series of practices or rituals emerged regarding deceased, death and burials. One of the earliest examples of burying the body into the soil was found in the Chanidar Cave lying at the Zagros Mountains where the Neanderthals buried their deceased some 100. 000 / 110. 000 years ago. (Ökse 2018: 39). According to an opinion, the hominids conducted religious ceremony at least since the Middle Palaeolithic. (Özbudun 1997: 36-37).

"Middle Palaeolithic Neanderthals are the first-known makers of burials. A few tombs with mound were found in Chapell aux Saints and La Ferrassie in France. A Neanderthal child skeleton was encircled by five deers in Techik Tach in Turkistan. Inside the Iraq Chanidar Cave, a body that was laid down over the stones was found. According to the traces of the pollens onto it, it was covered by the flowers. Seven of the eight flower pollens have remedial properties. Though this may be coincidental, it indicates that the Neanderthal man had a higher environmental conscience than it is thought today." (Özbudun 1997: 38).

It is thought that these archaeological and anthropological findings are one of the earliest rituals the human beings practiced in burying the deceased. Clemens Lichter, in his study he carried out regarding the death in Anatolia during the Neolithic Period, stresses that the human beings use the culture to overcome death. (Lichter 2018: 18).

According to Lichter, *the funeral ceremonies and rituals are the actions helping the human beings to cope with death, providing safety to the mourners and contributing to healing of the society after the death of its member. (...) The human beings would bury the deceased into the basement or below the platforms (intramural burial) where they lived.* (Lichter 2018: 17-25).

Towards the end of the Chalcolithic Age (as of 4th Millennium BC) we can see that *the cemeteries inside the settlements in Anatolia started to be moved towards the outside of the settlements.* (Durgun 2018a: 62). *The tradition of burying the deceased outside the settlement started to be practiced as of the Late Chalcolithic Age.* (Durgun 2018b: 44).

In the Early Bronze Age, the animal meat, grains or food and drink put into the potteries were used or consumed in the cemeteries (Durgun 2018a : 89). *In the Malatya Köşkerbaba Mound, the bodies were put into the earthenware and pots during the Early and Middle Bronze Age. We can see that there were not big differences in terms of burial types in the Eastern Anatolia in the 2nd Millennia BC thanks to the unearthed simple soil-made tomb, pithos, cists and chamber tombs.* (Derin 1993: 13-18).



We can observe the first detailed written sources regarding the burial customs in Anatolia during the Hittite Period. The most detailed one of these sources is *the texts named Great Sin (šallišwaštaiš) that narrate the burial rituals of the king and queen lasting 14 days.* (Durgun 2018b: 45).

According to Durgun: *the tradition that the tomb is located in a way to direct towards sun setting and sun rising, as we particularly see during the late periods, was very common during the 3rd Millennium BC Also, leaving objects inside the tombs became widespread especially after the cemeteries started to be built outside the settlements* (Durgun 2018b: 49-50).

At the rock-cut tombs of the Phrygians, which are an Iron Age civilization, the Phrygian nobles were buried in the tumulus as well as the rock-cut tombs in the mountainous Phrygia (south of Eskişehir). In his paper regarding the Phrygian tombs, Sivas writes *“Phrygian rock-cut tombs are as if the imitation of a Phrygian house. Most of them have one chamber. Generally, they have a gable roof. There are terraced / bedded klines whose numbers are between 1 to 3 over which the bodies were laid down. In most of the tomb chambers, they are carved out of the main rock to be built in front of the side and back walls”* (Sivas 2018: 58). When the interior space of these rock-cut tombs with one chamber is concerned, it demonstrates a similar plan and typology for the Malatya rock-cut tombs.

In the previous periods, *Urartians engraved it into a rock while the chamber tomb was built by Assyrians and Hittites and in East Anatolia.* (Yiğitpaşa 2010: 180).

When we observe the tomb iconography during the archaic (BC 7-6th century) and classic (BC 6 – AD 3rd century), according to the identification by Novakova, *we can see the tombs which focus on the figure of the deceased, which is a distinctive character in Anatolian people.* (Novakova 2018: 73).

As an example to be given about the perception of death and the rituals concerning the death, the first examples, as it is previously said, were practiced by the Neanderthal during the Palaeolithic Period.

Ökse (2005), in his study he gives examples from the ancient ages to today *he cites that it was believed in the ancient times that the body of the deceased was required to be buried so that his/her spirit could go to the “Land of Dead” leaving his /her body. Thus, a middle Assyrian Kudurru² tells a curse “don’t let his/her body be buried, don’t let his/her spirit meet the spirit of his / her ancestors”.* (Ökse 2005: 1).

In the Asia Minor, it is observed that the food were put into the holes opened close to the tombs at the certain intervals and people ate together during burial or commemoration, which is perceived in some sense, this is a common lunch where the dead and the living beings eat together (...). This may be continuation of a custom in which today lunch or dinner is given, Halwa is roasted in the funeral home or during praying for the deceased saying “let them reach in his/her spirit”. (Ökse 2018: 63).

Based objects or the presents put into the graves it is sometimes likely to get information about the dead. For example, a fibula, a ring and a mirror found on one of the kline inside the Samanköy rock-cut tomb, which is likely to suggest that a woman own them.

Particularly Urartians believed in that the death was a bodily issue so the life after death would continue. In addition to the diversity of the ceremonies held for the dead person, the burial styles and types differ from one another. *These tombs are formed in parallel the social level of the people.* (Sevin 1986: 329-350; Öğün 1974: 443-469; Çevik

². The stelas erected at the frontiers in the end of the Kassite Period in Northern Mesopotamia around Babylonia in the second half of second millennium BC Kudurru is the boundary marker having sacred symbols and inscriptions onto it. (Civilization in the Middle Assyrian Kingdom, <http://tarih.tumders.com/orta-assur-kralliginda-uygarlik.html> accessed on: 28.08.2018)



2000: 7-8; Konyar, 2005: 36-40; Arslantaş 2008: 107-116. Yiğitpaşa 2010: 192; Çilingiroğlu, 2011; Konyar 2011: 206-223; Topaloğlu 2012: 132).

Some of the presents to be put close to the graves or urns were solid while some of them were broken and bended. Özgüç (1969) clarifies this situation writing "*it is intended to prevent stealing of the goods, which was a common practice in the ancient eastern communities, to be used again*".

The Urartians, one of the most developed civilizations of the Iron Age, thought that *the Mortals mystically would reach to the god and identify with him.*" (Derin 1993: 70). Sacrificing and feast ritual is the most important part of the burial ceremony during the Early Iron Age. According to Derin "*It is thought that the ceremony started before the body was put into the grave. (...) The food which was put close to the dead person implies that he/she would keep on living in the other world and need food and drink.*" (Derin 1993: 72).

In Roman society, the death is often interpreted as the "spirit's leaving body" or the 'sleeping'. (...) In Greek mythology, the death exists for the living-beings but not the "gods". Death is inevitable for those living. They believed that the soul (psykhe) cannot go to Eleusis until the dead is buried. It is thought that the souls which have not been buried into the soil cannot pass through Hades and wander around in the air. (...) The belief that there is a life after death is not observed in the Romans before 1st century BC Since the reign of Augustus, the names of the persons were written onto the tombstones in a certain order. (...) According to the Roman burial customs, decaying of body, cleaning the rest and throw soil onto the body are the important elements. No more than three women whose heads are covered are allowed to stay at home to serve the dead to be buried. In the Ancient Rome, a coin is put onto the mouth of the dead so that he/she would give it to Charon, ferryman of Hades. The herbs hanging outside the door of the house means that the dead is still inside. The closed door is the sign of mourning. Also, as a sign of mourning, the fire at the courtyard of the house is extinguished. The women of the house tear their hair, rip their dresses and beat their chests wailing. In Ancient Rome, a meal is eaten in front of the grave in the 9th day of death, which is the end of mourning. The personal goods of the dead person, toys, candles, perfume containers, various drink, food, flowers or wreathes are left at the grave. (Civelek 2018: 85-89).

We have some information from various Roman texts. Özer (2018) studied these texts in his research titled *Aizanoi Burial Customs*. "*When the Roman texts regarding the burial customs are overviewed, we learn that, at the first step of Funus Translaticium the dead person is kissed by one of his/her relatives to catch his / her escaped soul. (...) Consequently, one of the family members closes his/her eyes and conclamatio starts. The name of the dead is called until the end of burial process so that he/she may accept the death. Finally, the dead is taken from his / her bed and washed and perfumed by either the female relatives or pollinctores. Sometimes, a coin is placed onto his/her mouth to give it to Charon.*" (Özer 2018: 93).

The anthropologist Özbudun (1993), based on the approach of Burhan Oğuz, explains his anthropological evaluation about the functions of a series of practices from the rites to the ceremonies adorned with the rituals. This may be applied for the dead-grave and burial customs of societies as well as the rituals practiced during the ceremonies.

-The rites are a tool to understand the unworldly / spiritual world (religious / belief-related function).

-They enable the societies transfer their culture to the next generations (historical / cultural function).

-They rivet the social status (political function) (Özbudun 1997: 23).



Dating the Rock-cut Tombs of Malatya in the Light of Samanköy Finds Samanköy Rock-cut Tomb – Identification and Finds

Our study regarding the Samanköy rock-cut tomb which was found in situ in the end of 2009 in Samanköy of the Malatya-Yeşilyurt District was published as a paper during the Symposium on 19th Museum Works and Rescue Excavations (Şahin-Kılınc: 2011).

At the entrance of the Samanköy rock-cut tomb³, an engraved-shaped frame stone which might be a door frame and a funerary stele were found (Fig. 6). This is a rock-cut tomb with one chamber. In the middle of the tomb chamber, there is one kline inside the arcosilium which are carved at each side and opposite wall of square-shaped hollow. The skeletons are deformed, crumbled and ruptured. There were apricot stones, soil and barks, which fell down from the ceiling, over the skeletons. In the tomb, the skeletons of two adult males, one child and one female were found.

On the klines and middle ground, the objects or parts of objects such as ceramic, nail, ring and bead, which were heavily damaged, were found. While cleaning the soil, a lower jawbone (mandible) of an adult which is intertwined into a tibia was found. Intertwining might be due to water flow.

Comparing the Rock-cut Tombs of Malatya and Samanköy with One Chamber Rock-cut Tombs in Eastern Anatolia

When the rock-cut tombs with one chamber found in the Eastern Anatolian Region and particularly those found in Malatya are studied in terms of their types, it may be suggested that *the custom of the rock-cut tombstone with one chamber comes from the west of Anatolia during the Hellenistic-Roman times after the Urartians*. (Köroğlu 2005: 12; for other ideas: Topaloğlu 2011: 312-314; Topaloğlu 2012: 132; Topaloğlu 2016: 184-185). Taking into consideration that there is no any written document regarding the custom of rock-cut tomb with one chamber in the Eastern Anatolia, we agree what Köroğlu (2008) emphasises: *“Day by day, the numbers of the rock-cut tombs documented increase in the Eastern Anatolia and surrounding area where the Urartian Kingdom ruled. (...) All the rock-cut tombs with monumental features are seen as a work of the Urartian Kingdom. (...) The general plan of the rock-cut tomb with one chamber consists of an entrance carved onto the surface of the main rock, a small door opening and a chamber behind.”* (Köroğlu 2008: 23-29). Several researchers, comparing the rock-cut tombs with one chamber with the plans and features of those with multi-chambers, claim that they stem from the Urartian Kingdom. But plan and architecture of the tombstones are same with many tombs in Anatolia (Köroğlu 2008: 32). It is suggested that associating of the emergence of the rock-cut tombs with one chamber with this plan with the widespread culture dominated the whole of Anatolia during the Persian, the Hellenistic and the Roman periods after the Urartians may be more realistic. In terms of dating, when we discuss whether Samanköy rock-cut tomb resembles with the aforementioned rock-cut tombs, we can briefly state that: The entrance of the Samanköy rock-cut tomb is simple and in-situ. There are klines inside the arcosilium which are built at each side of the square-planned middle hollow and at the opposite wall. According to the identification of Köroğlu, the main features of these types of rock-cut tombs differing from the rock-cut tombs with multiple chambers arise in the burial custom and its reflection into the grave architecture. The tomb with one chamber might have built to bury the deceased as many as the number of the platforms / beds. The width of the platform/dead bed is as wide as only a dead can be laid down. This implies that the tombs with one chamber

³See for the identification information of the Samanköy rock-cut tomb, measurements of the interior of the tomb and all the datum included in the find list: (Şahin-Kılınc: 2011)



were not used for a long time (Köroğlu 2008: 31; Çiğdem-Öztürk 2006: 31-38). Though it is generally thought that the number of the burials are as many as the number of the platforms and both have the same size, a skeleton of an adult man over the No 1 platform, a skeleton of a woman over the No 2 platform, a skeleton of a man at the front part of the No 3 platform and a skeleton of a child at the part reclined to the wall. Over the skeleton of the woman, mirror, ring, fibula and spindle whorl were found. A very small ring was found which may be belonged to the child lying behind the adult. Based on examining the funerary stele it may be suggested that this is a family graveyard.⁴ Akçay states “According to one of the rules regarding the grave cult, burying a stranger into the family graveyard is prohibited. One who does it is cursed and obliged to pay a fine to the soil or the city” and adds “the Romans start the funeral ceremony elegizing, the name of the dead is cited while the mourners wail (...). The dead is washed, oiled, dressed, decorated and visited by his/her relatives. (Akçay 2008: 36-37)

Interpreting Roman Funerary Cult and Samanköy Rock-Tomb Stele

Except the Samanköy rock-cut tomb, no any written document was found in the tombs around Malatya during the Late Roman Age as the tombs were robbed in following years. The inscription on the right of the frontal part of the Darende-Ağılbaşı’s Ergiören Hamlet has been worn due to the natural reasons. Based on the custom in which the presents were laid down to the grave as a part of funerary cult in Samanköy family graveyard, we suggest that a necklace, which was found after the soil was sieved, may belong to a woman or child as the colour of the beads are the same. Besides the beads, over or next to the bodies laid down onto the grave platforms, the rings, a mirror, the fibulas, small-sized, the spindle whorls and a few nail-nail heads were found.

According to the finds unearthed following a rescue excavation in Yenice Village of Darende District, namely Yenice Tumulus, in 1989, a golden mouth band over the mouth of a woman, earplugs, a red-stoned ring onto which a human head is portrayed presented by the husband of the woman, a ceramic pot and glass jug into which there is olive oil were found. No any studies have been carried out to date these finds but it is dated back to AD 3rd-4th centuries, which is not supported by any scientific inscription or data. We can get the information to date the Samanköy rock-cut tomb from a decoration and inscription onto the funerary stele. This stele is 80 x 37 in size with a width of 18 cm. The head of the stele is broken. At the both sides of triangle pediment, there is a simple leaf (palmette) and a relief rosette figure in its middle. At its lateral side, it has a woman profile wearing a veil, which is linear portrayed. It is likely that “Gemella” is figured in this bust. Another construction stone found met at the entrance of the grave may be a door frame (?) which has a round hollow at its back. Based on the pattern-composition and epigraphic evaluation this tomb belongs to a family and may date back to the second half of AD 2nd century – the first half of AD 3rd century: The five Greek lines on the funerary stele and its English version are as follows:

Greek:

Λούκιος Φούλ
βιος Γέμελλα
Τηδίδανναι
κίμνήμησέν
εκεν

English:

“Loukios Fulbios erected this in memory of his wife Gemella”

⁴ Comparing the Samanköy rock-cut tomb with other rock-cut tombs in terms of plan and construction features see: (Şahin-Kılınc 2015: 35-37)



Conclusion

The Bostanbaşı-Hoşirik tomb, which is not different from the other tombs in terms of its interior plan but has a monumental feature with its frontal decoration, should be evaluated with the rock-cut tombs with one chamber around Malatya all of which have almost same plan and similar features. The possibility that the Samanköy rock-cut tomb belongs to a family of a soldier of the Legio XII Fulminata or is a family graveyard of a rich Roman. The Greek inscription on the funerary stele "Loukius Fulbios erected this in memory of his wife Gemella" proves that he built it especially for his wife and that it provides sufficient information regarding its date. The objects found in the grave or the presents left there for the dead person are the supporting elements to date this tomb to the Late Roman Period. We believe that Samanköy rock-cut tomb, which dates back to the second half of AD 2nd century – the first half of AD 3rd century, is of importance in dating some of the tombs particularly in Malatya and in general in the Eastern Anatolia as all the rock-cut tombs with one chamber in and around Malatya were robbed. Köroğlu who carried out remarkable studies on the origins of the rock-cut tombs with one chamber (2005 and 2008) says "*The places where the rock-cut tombs that have generally a square entrance, a chamber with platform/bed or without a bed, the finds found the castles and settlements that have relation with these tombs and their plans demonstrate that they are the works of a tradition different from those of the Urartians with multi chambers. These types of tombs, which used be thought that they were related to the Urartians, have examples in places far from the borders of Urartu Kingdom.*" With his description, he emphasized that the rock-cut tombs with one chamber might have confused with the tombs of other society or/and societies. That all the finds support the idea that Samanköy tombstone belongs to the Roman Period excludes the confusion in this sense. Finally, we see that the rock-cut tombs in and around Malatya built in to the second half of AD 2nd century – the first half of AD 3rd century and consequently, the Roman influence started to disappear."⁵

⁵ For detailed information and discussion see: (Köroğlu 2005: 10-12 and 2008: 35-36) articles.



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Fig. 1-2 Akçadağ-Bağköy A and Arapgir-Hoşirik Rock-Cut Tomb Monumental Front

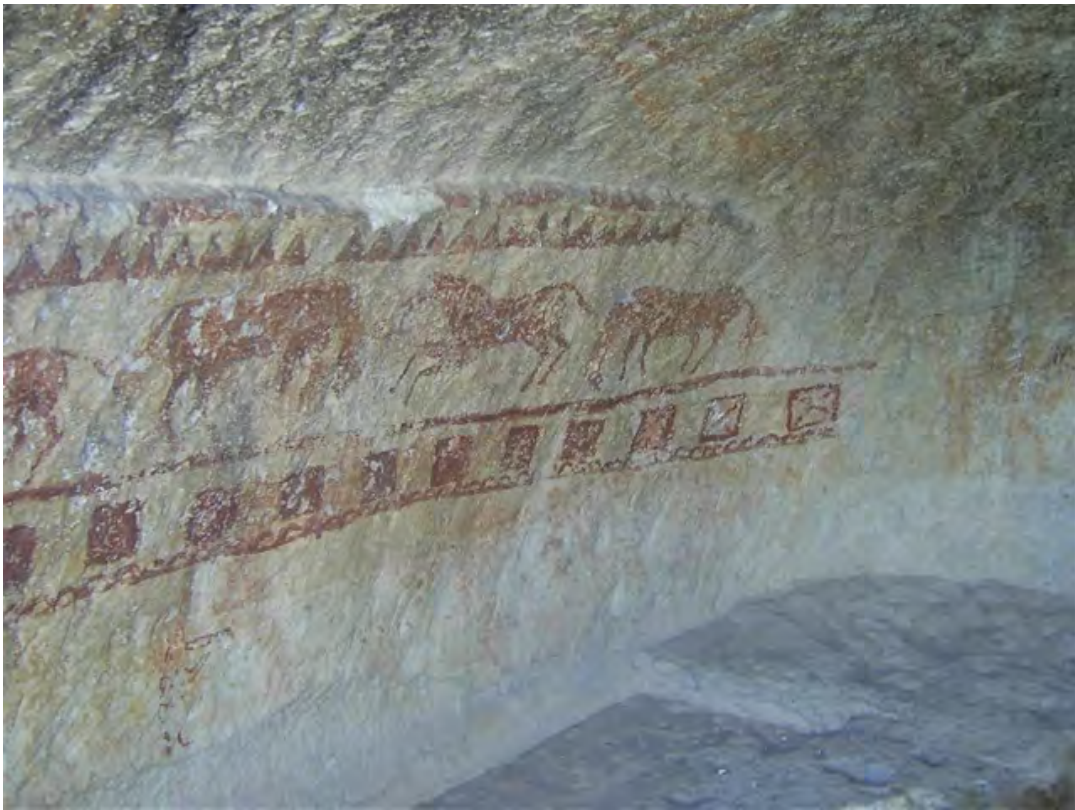


Fig. 3: Arapgir - Onar Rock-Cut Tombs Paintings inside Tomb



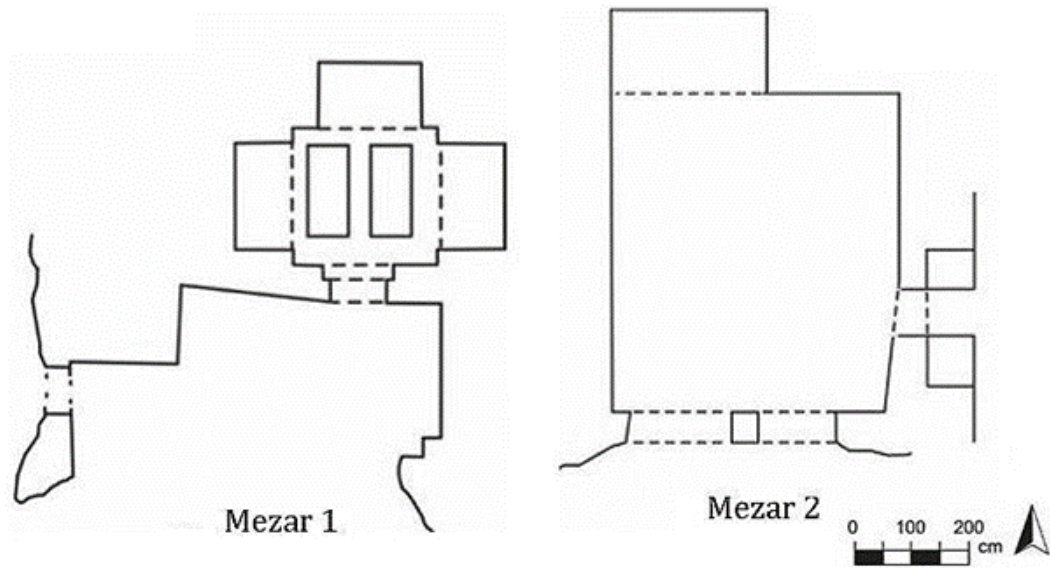


Fig. 4-5: Plan Samples of Arapgir-Onar Rock-Cut Tombs The plans of The Arapgir-Onar Village rock-cut tombs are the courtesy of (Özman 2016).



Fig. 6: Gate post and stele found in Samanköy Rock-Cut Tomb Insitu





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HAKAN ERKUŞ-İBRAHİM AKSU-TOLGA ORAL

Giriş

Malatya Arslantepe Höyüğünde yapılan kazılar esnasında ortaya çıkarılan depolar ve bu depolarda bulunan mühürler bilinen muhasebe tarihinin başlangıç noktasını çok daha eskilere taşımaktadır. Yaklaşık olarak 5000 yıl öncesine ait olan depoların kapıları ve saklama kapları ağızlarında kullanılan mühürler Arslantepe Saray Devletinde hem muhasebe işlemlerinin varlığına ve hem de gelişmiş bir iç kontrol sisteminin kullanıldığına dair çok önemli deliller sunmaktadır. Zira ele geçirilen mühür baskılarının kullanılma sıklığı ve kullanım yerleri farklılık göstermektedir. Kimi mühürler sadece kapların ağızlarını kapatan kil üzerinde yer alırken bazı mühürler ise saklama kaplarının yer aldığı odaların kapıları üzerinde bulunmuştur.

Yine aynı alanda ortaya çıkarılan delikli tabletler her ne kadar bulanlar tarafından sayma aracı olarak nitelendirilmiş olsalar da bu günlere kadar gelmiş olmaları bu tabletleri hem bir muhasebe belgesi ve hem de muhasebe kaydı olarak düşünmeyi mümkün kılmaktadır.

Bahsedilen mühürler ve tabletin saray içerisinde bulunması ilk bakışta bu mühür ve tabletlerin devlete veya devlet görevlilerine ait olması gibi bir düşünceyi akla getirmektedir. Bununla birlikte devletin mal sahiplerinin mallarını muhafaza altına almış olabileceği yani mühürlerin bir kısmının saklama kaplarının (vazoların, küplerin) sahiplerine ait olabileceği ihtimalini de gözden uzak tutmamak gerekir. Bu ihtimalin doğru olması durumunda ise saray yönetimi tarafından kullanılan belge ve iç kontrol sisteminin saray dışındaki insanlar tarafından da kullanılmış olduğu sonucuna ulaşılabilir.

Arslantepe Höyüğü- Kısa Tarihçe

Arslantepe Höyüğü Malatya'nın kuzeydoğusunda Orduzu mahallesinde yer almaktadır. MÖ 5000 yıllarından MS 11. yüzyıla kadar yerleşim görmüştür. MS 5-6 yüzyıllar arasında Roma köyü olarak kullanılmış ve daha sonra Bizans Nekropolü (mezarlık) olarak yerleşimini tamamlamıştır. Arslantepe'de ilk kazı çalışmaları 1930'lu yıllarda bir Fransız ekip tarafından yapılmıştır. Kazılarda taş üzerine alçak kabartma ile dekore edilmiş avlu ve giriş kapısının iki yanında iki aslan heykeli ve karşısında devrilmiş bir kral heykeli ile bir Geç Hitit Sarayı bulunmuştur. Bulunan bu eserler o tarihlerde Malatya'da müze bulunmadığından Ankara Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi'ne götürülmüş ve orada sergilenmeye devam edilmektedir (<http://www.malatyakulturturizm.gov.tr>).

Arslantepe’de Geç Kalkolitik dönemden Demir Çağı'na kadar geçen tarihsel sürecin buluntularına rastlanmakta, Hititler, Roma ve Bizans gibi pek çok medeniyete ait izler bulunmaktadır (<https://www.ntv.com.tr>). Yapılan kazılar neticesinde, MÖ 3300-3000 yıllarına ait kerpiç bir saray, MÖ 3600-3500'lere ait tapınak, iki bini aşkın mühür baskısı, metal eserler bulunmuştur. Bu kalıntılar Arslantepe'nin o dönemde, ilk devlet şeklinin ortaya çıktığı resmi, dini ve kültürel bir merkez olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır (<http://www.malatyakulturturizm.gov.tr>).

Mühür ve Muhasebe Sistemi İlişkisi

Mühür TDK güncel Türkçe sözlükte, “Bir kimsenin, bir kuruluşun adının veya unvanının tersine kazılı bulunduğu, metal, lastik vb.nden yapılmış araç, damga, kaşe” olarak tanımlanmaktadır (TDK). Bu tanımdan da anlaşılacağı üzere genel olarak bir kişi veya kuruma aitliği ifade etmektedir. Tarihi dönemler boyunca mühür bu fonksiyonu ile bilinmektedir. Yapıldığı malzeme dönemler itibariyle değişse de ihtiva ettiği ve üstlendiği görevleri aynı olmuştur. Aslında bir bakımdan güvenliği de sağlamak adına kullanılmıştır. Arslantepe höyüğünde eski tunç çağına (MÖ 3200-3000) ait saray kalıntısında küçük bir mekânda topluca bulunan mühür baskıları, Arslantepe'nin o dönemde büyük bir ticaret merkezi olduğunu göstermesi bakımından önemlidir. Bu buluntular ilkel muhasebe sistemi ve bürokrasinin ilk doğuşuna ışık tutmaktadır (<http://www.arslantepe.com/tr>).

Arslantepe höyüğünde yapılan çalışmalar MÖ 3200-3000’li yıllarda da mühürün kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Kazı çalışmalarında ortaya çıkarılan saray binası ve bu binada depo olarak kullanıldığı tespit edilen odalarda çok sayıda mühür baskıya rastlanılmıştır. Bu mühür baskıların odalarda bulunan vazo ve çömleklerin ağzını kapatmak için kullanıldığı ifade edilmektedir. Ayrıca vazo ve çömleklerin içinde olduğu odaların kapılarında da söz konusu mühür baskılar bulunmuştur. Mühür baskıların çok sayıda olduğu, sarayda çalışanların ve yetkili olan kişilerin ayrı ayrı mühürlerinin olduğunu ve bu durum da mühürlerin kişisel ya da bir grubu ya da kesimi temsil ettiğini açıklamaktadır. Vazoların ağzı değişik yöntemlerle kapatılarak mühürlenmiştir. Kimi vazoların ağzı deri ya da bez ile kapatıldıktan sonra kil ile mühürlenmiştir. Bazıları ise daha farklı olarak ip ya da ağaç parçası ile sağlamlaştırıldıktan sonra kil üzerine mühür vurulmak suretiyle kapatılmıştır. Vazoların ağzının kil ile mühürlenip kapatılması içindeki malın korunmasına yönelik olarak gerçekleştirilmiş olabilir. Vazo içindeki malın alınması sadece üzerindeki kil mühürün kırılması ile mümkün olmaktadır. Odalarda çok sayıda kırık vaziyette mühürlü kil parçalarının olduğu, yapılan kazılar neticesinde tespit edilmiştir. Bu durum odalarda bulunan vazolarda muhafaza edilen malların bir taksime uğradığı ve bu taksim sonucunda kime ne miktarda mal verildiğinin kontrolünün de yine mühürler vasıtasıyla gerçekleştirildiğini açıklamaktadır. Bu taksim işlemi bir kişiye ya da bir grup adına yapılan mal dağıtımını ifade etmektedir (Frangipane ve Fiandra, 2007: 415). Taksim işleminin de farklı boyutlarda olduğu anlaşılan ve ölçü birimi olarak kullanılmış olabileceği düşünülen çömlekler ile yapılmıştır. Aslında mührün sistematik bir şekilde kime ne kadar verildiğini tespit etmek ve sonuçta kırık mühür parçalarının da toplu olarak saklanması bu taksim işlemlerinin bir kayıt sisteminin var olduğu şeklinde yorumlanabilir. Daha sonraki dönemlerde yazının bulunması ile kime ne kadar mal verildiğinin yazılı olarak tutulduğu bilindiğinden yazının olmadığı bu dönemde yapılan işlem bir sistemin varlığına işaret etmektedir. Bu yönüyle yazının bulunmasını muhasebeye bağlayan ve yazı ile rakamların muhasebe ihtiyacından kaynaklandığını (Can, 2007:95) ifade eden muhasebe tarihçilerini desteklemektedir. Ancak sarayda bulunan bu kalıntılar saray içinde böyle bir ilişkinin işleyişini gösterse de saray dışında ticari hayatta da bunun izlerine rastlamak mümkün olabilir. Zira devlette sarayda görülen bu uygulama saray dışında da pekâlâ gerçekleştirilmiş



olabilir. Devam eden kazı çalışmalarında bunu destekleyici kanıtların ortaya çıkması da muhtemeldir.

Sarayda parçalanmış halde toplu olarak bulunan mühür baskılar, dağıtım sonuçlarının belli bir dönem ya da zaman boyunca saklanıp daha sonra atılmış olabileceği ve bunun neticesinde de bir hesaplama ve aynı zamanda kayıt altına alma işleminin gerçekleştirildiğini açıklayabilir. Hatta bazı kırık mühür baskıların tasnifi sırasında aynı mühürün birkaç kez kil tabaka üzerine basıldığı görülmüştür. Birden fazla mühür baskısı, dağıtımın miktarını belirtmek veya farklı bir amaç için yapılmış olabilir.

Arslantepa çalışmaları sırasında bulunan delikli tabletlerin de muhasebe ile ilişkili olduğu belirtilebilir. Her ne kadar tabletin saymaya yardımcı bir araç olduğu (Frangipane, 2007:148-150) öne sürülmüş ise de tabletlerin sağlam bir şekilde günümüze kadar gelmesi bunların aynı zamanda bir muhasebe kayıt belgesi veya kaydının bizzat kendisi olarak görülebileceğinin kanıtı sayılabilir. Delikli tablete ilişkin resim aşağıda yer almaktadır.

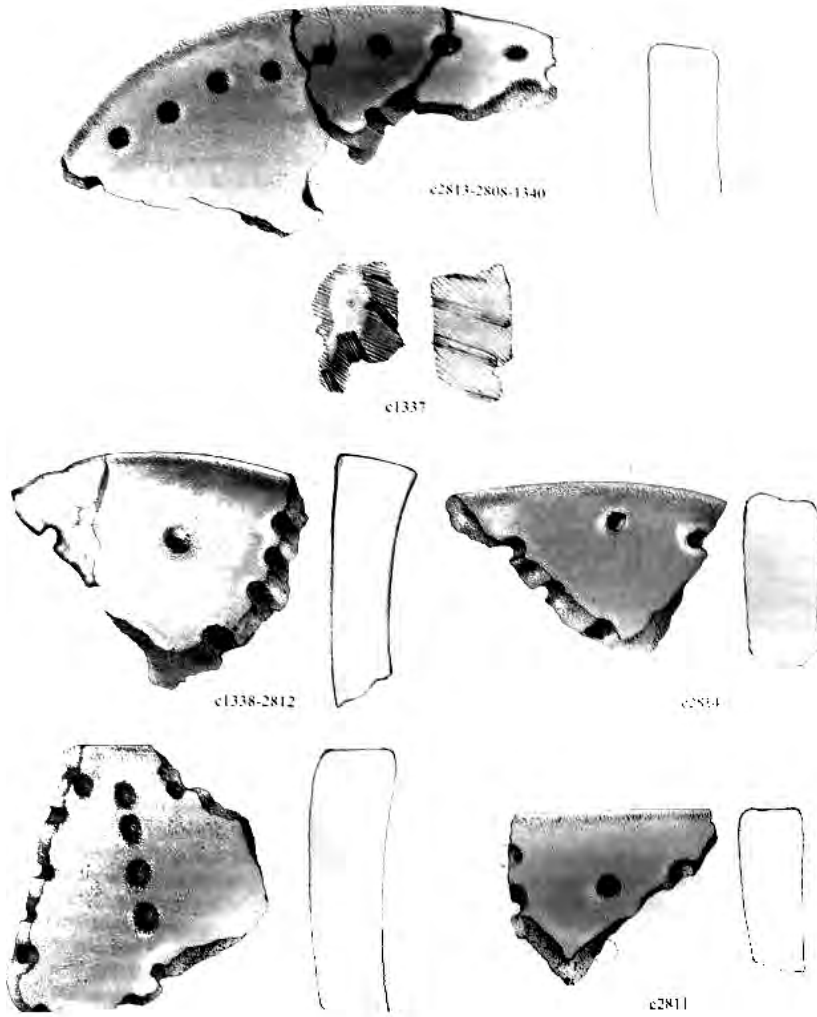


Fig. 1. Delikli Tablet (Frangipane, 2007:149)



Arslantepe Höyüğünde İç Kontrol Sistemi İzleri

Arslantepe höyüğünde yapılan kazı çalışmalarında kilden yapılmış çok sayıda mühür baskılara ve bir adet taş mührüye ulaşılmıştır. Ancak bulunan mühür baskılar çok sayıda mührün var olduğu göstermektedir. Vazoların ağzının mühürlenerek kapatılmasının içindeki malın korunmasına yönelik olduğu kuvvetle muhtemeldir. Ancak vazoların yer aldığı odaların ve diğer odaların kapılarının da mühürlenmesi bir kontrol mekanizması olarak düşünülebilir. İçindeki malı muhafaza etmek için vazoların ağzını mühürlemek sadece malın vazo içinde kalmasını sağlamaktadır. Ancak kapının üstünde de mühür olması odada yer alan vazoların da muhafazasını sağlamak için kullanılan bir kontrol yöntemi olarak ifade edilebilir. Bir başka açıdan bakıldığında, daha önce sarayda bir taksim yapıldığından bahisle vazo içindeki malın kime verildiğini ve ne miktarda verildiğini tespit etmek için mühürleme işlemi yapıldığı anlaşılmaktadır. Bu taksim yapılırken odaya girebilmek için bir yetkiliye ihtiyaç olduğu da ifade edilebilir. Yani vazodaki maldan alabilmek için sadece alacak kişinin mühürü yeterli değildir. Aynı zamanda oda kapısının üzerini de mühürleyecek bir mührüye ihtiyaç vardır. Bu sistemin varlığı muhasebedeki iç kontrol sistemini anımsatmaktadır. Bir hiyerarşi içerisinde kontrol mekanizması işletilmektedir. Mühürlerin bazıları sadece bir ya da birkaç vazo için kullanılırken, bazı mühürlerin bir ya da birden fazla kapı üzerinde görülmesi bu ikinci grubun üst düzey yetki taşıyan ve sarayın belirli bölümlerini kontrol eden kişiler olduğunu göstermektedir.

Söz konusu hiyerarşiye ilişkin olarak bulunan mühürler aşağıdaki şekilde sıralanmıştır:

En üstteki mühürleri taşıyanlar birden çok kapıda mühür izi bulunan üst düzey yetkililere aittir. Bunları daha az sayıda kapı ve bazı vazolarda izi görülen mühürleri taşıyan daha alt grup yöneticiler izlemektedir. Hiyerarşinin en altında görülen mühürler ise sadece bazı vazoları açmaya yetkili alt düzey kimselere aittir.

Sonuç

Arslantepe Höyüğünde 1930'larda Fransızlar tarafından başlanan ve 1961 yılından bu yana İtalyanlar tarafından yürütülen kazı çalışmaları yazının bulunmasından önce var olan büyük bir medeniyetin her gün bir başka yönünü gün yüzüne çıkarmaktadır. Kazılar sonucu bulunan materyallerin parçalarının birleştirilip orijinal haline getirilmesi kadar ve belki daha da önemlisi bu materyallerin kimler tarafından hangi amaçlarla kullanılmış olduğunun ortaya çıkarılmasıdır. Örneğin çalışmada adı geçen mühür baskıları parçaları onlarca yıl öncesinde bulunmuş olmasına rağmen bunların muhasebeyle ilişkilendirilmesi son yıllarda başarılmıştır.

Bölgede devam eden kazıların söz konusu medeniyete ait ekonomik ve ticari hayata dair delilleri ortaya çıkarmaya devam edeceği beklenmektedir. Burada muhasebeciler olarak bize düşen kazı ekibinin çalışmalarını sıkı bir şekilde takip etmek ve muhasebe bilimine dair yeni bulguları antropologlarla birlikte çalışarak bu multi disiplinler çalışma sonuçlarını muhasebe dünyasına duyurmaktır.


















































Rank in Hierarchy	Dog Alone	Tête Bêche Mirror	Birds Waterfowl Birds of Prey	Snake Knot	Human	Cylinders		Geometric
1st Rank				 61	 15			
2nd Rank	 40		 64			 2	 10	
3rd Rank		 42  33				 6  4	 5	
4th Rank	 39  114  119  38  36  100	 37  81  107  106  63	 97  56  57  55	 59  60  45  58	 14  11  12  13	 1  111  3  127	 9  112  7  8	 70  71  85  95  98

Fig. 2. Mühür Hiyerarşisi (Frangipane ve Pittman, 2007:335)



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Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
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MALATYA SEVSEREK I.HAN KAZISI SİGRAFİTTO SERAMİKLER

İSMAİL AYTAÇ

Fırat Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Güzel Sanatlar Eğitimi Bölümü

LEVENT İSKENDEROĞLU

Malatya İl Kültür Müdürlüğü

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MALATYA SEVSEREK I. HAN KAZISI SİGRAFİTTO SERAMİKLER

İSMAİL AYTAÇ-LEVENT İSKENDEROĞLU

Giriş

Kullanım amacı ve planı ile Anadolu'ya Türklerin getirdiği bir yapı tipi olan hanlar, inşa edildikleri yerlere göre şehir içi hanları ve şehir dışı (menzil) hanları olmak üzere ikiye ayrılır. *Menzil hanları, yani kervansaraylar, kitabelerinde ve kaynaklarda "han" veya "ribat" olarak isimlendirilir* (Karamağaralı 1970: 25). Malatya'dan civar illere 6 ayrı yol güzergahının varlığı anlaşılmıştır. *Bunlardan Malatya-Kahta* (Aytaç 2001: 49), *Malatya-Elbistan* (Aytaç 1997: 35), *Malatya-Divriği*, *Malatya-Sivas* (Aytaç 2013: 50), *Malatya-Harput* (Aytaç 1999: 226) güzergahlarında, menziller arasındaki mesafe üç ila 18 kilometre arasında değişmektedir. Eski Malatya'dan güneye ilk menzil yaklaşık 18 km mesafedeki, şimdiki Yaygın kasabasının merkezinde (Sevserek=Tokluca) bulunan iki handır. Bunlardan biri Sevserek I Han asfalt yolun 30 m batısında, II. Han ise yolun 50 m doğusunda tepe üzerindedir. Yol güzergâhındaki yapıların Selçuklu Dönemi özellikleri göstermesi önemlidir. *Sevserek köyünün 1560 tarihli tahrir defterinde normal vergiler yerine arazisinin oturanlara kiraya verildiği kaydedilmiştir* (Yınanç ve Elibüyük 1983: 74-75) Rahmi Hüseyin Ünal'ın da Sevserek Hanı için Kabul ettiği 13. Yüzyılın ilk yarısına tarihlendirmeye katılıyoruz (Ünal 1979: 95-957) zira kazıda çıkan bakır sikkeler M. 1230 yılından başlayarak geç Osmanlı dönemi tarihi vermektedirler bakır sikke üzerinde "El-Sultan el-A'zam Keyku- bad..." yazısı Anadolu Selçuklu Sultanlarından I. Alaeddin Keykubad (1219- 1236) döneminde menzil hanının kullanıldığını göstermektedir. Sevserek I. Han Kazısında birçok taşınır kültür varlığı da elde edilmiştir. Çıkan eserler içerisinde sırlı ve sırsız seramikler, tütün lüleleri, cam yüzükler, bakır sikkeler, metal cürüfları Malatya Arkeoloji Müzesi depolarında koruma altına alınmıştır. Kazıdaki çok sayıda ele geçen sırlı seramikler içerisinde şahmeran desenli örnek dikkat çekicidir.

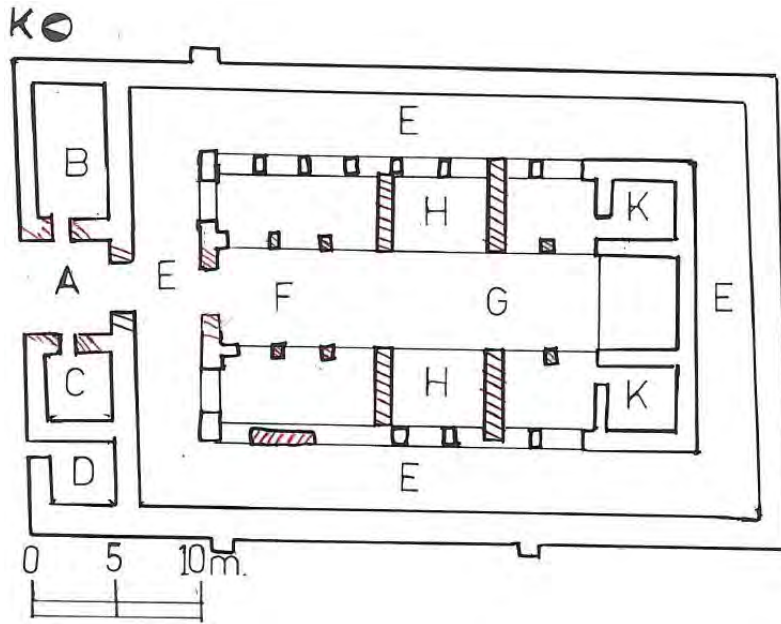


Fig. 1: Sevserek I. Han 2012 rölöve planı. Taralı olan kısımlar Osmanlı, diğer kısımlar Selçuklu dönemine aittir. (İsmail AYTAÇ)

Çalışmanın Önemi

Malatya'da bilimsel ilk arkeolojik kazı Arslantepe höyükte başlamıştır. Devamında 1980'li yıllarda Karakaya baraj gölünde kalacak höyüklerde kurtarma kazıları gerçekleştirilmiştir. Bu höyüklerin üst katmanlarında ve eteklerinde Türk-İslam Dönemine ait yapılar ve taşınır eserler elde edilmiştir. Uzun aradan sonra Malatya'da 2011-2013 yılları arasında Türk-İslam dönemine ait üç merkezde arkeolojik kazılar yapılmıştır. Bunlar Sevserek I. Han (Fig. 13-16), Battalgazi Türbesi (makamı) ve Kırkkardeşler mezarlığıdır. Bu bildiri Sevserek I. Han Sigrafitto seramikleri üzerinde durulacaktır. Sevserek I. Han, Malatya Müze Müdürlüğü Başkanlığında, Fırat Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Öğretim Üyesi Doç. Dr. İsmail Aytaç'ın bilimsel danışmanlığında, Malatya Valiliği Özel İdaresi KUDEB elemanlarınca yürütülmüştür. Restorasyon projesine bilgi oluşturmak amacıyla kazılar yapılmıştır. Temizlik ve hafriyat çalışmaları Mart-Haziran 2011 tarihlerinde tamamlanmıştır. Sevserek I. Han kazısı seramikleri daha önce "Geçmişten Günümüze Malatya Uluslararası Sempozyum Kent, Kültür ve Kimlik Bildiriler 14-16 Nisan 2016 tarihinde "Malatya Sevserek I. Han Sırlı Seramikleri", başlığında bir kısım sır altı farklı seramik grupları ele alınmıştır. Bu makalede ise sadece Sigrafitto bezemeli seramik grubu incelenmiştir.

Sigrafitto (Kazıma) Seramikler

İslam seramiklerinde yaygın olarak kullanılan ve günümüzde de yapılmaya devam eden bir grubu oluşturan sigrafitto seramikler Anadolu'da, Bizans, Beylikler, Anadolu Selçuk ve Osmanlı'da da yaygın olarak kullanılan bir grubu oluşturmaktadır. Kazıma tekniği Bizans seramik sanatıyla bütünleşen bu grup süsleme tekniğinin gelişimini doğuda da izlemek mümkündür. Hamura şekil verilip fırınlandıktan sonra kap çıkarılıp astarlanır. Kazıma tekniğiyle yapılan bezemelerde, ince uçlu bir alet ile astar üst yüzeyden kazınarak bezeme yapılır. Kazılan yerde astar kalktığından, hamurun doğal rengi ortaya çıkar. Böylece üzerine bir renk oluştururken, bezemelerin bulunduğu kısımlarda doğrudan doğruya hamurun üzerine geldiğinden daha koyu bir renk alır. Desen astarlamadan da kazınabilir. İstenen



renkte şeffaf sırla sırlanan seramik tekrar pişirilir. Burada çukur kalan kısımlar bu şekilde koyu bir renkle belirginleştirilir. Yüzeyle yapılan kazıma desenler günlük kullanım kaplarında veya ucuz kalitede üretilen örneklerde serbest tarzda soyut düzenlemeler yoğun olarak görülmektedir.

Sırlı kazıma tekniği Sevserek I. Han kazısı seramik buluntular arasındaki ana gruplardan birini oluşturmaktadır. Çeşitli ağız, gövde ve kaide parçalarından oluşan bu grubun çok sayıda fragmanı bulunmuştur. Ortaçağ seramiklerinin birçoğunda özellikle günlük kullanım ve düşük kalite ürünlerde kapların dış yüzeylerinin sırlanmadığı, sırlı yer yer yarım bırakıldığı, rastgele dışa akıtıldığı, dış yüzeyde bezemenin olmadığı görülmektedir (Karamağaralı, 1999: 25 ve Fındık, 2014:143). Kazıma tekniği 9. yüzyılda Yakınoğuşu'da yaygın olarak kullanılmasına rağmen, ilk olarak Çin'de Tang hanedanı döneminde üretilmeye başladığı görüşü hâkimdir. 8. yüzyılda Yakınoğuşu'dan ithal edilen Çin örneklerinde görülen teknik yerel üretimde de taklitleri görülmeye başlamıştır (Fındık 2001: 188). Kazıma tekniği 9. yüzyılda (Öney, 1992:106 ve Fındık, 2008: 130). Yakınoğuşu' da, 8. yüzyılda Yakınoğuşu'dan ithal edilen Çin örneklerinde, Yakınoğuşu'da 9. ve 12.yüzyıllarda, 10.yüzyıldan itibaren Mısır' da, 14-15. yüzyıllarda da İtalya'da karşımıza çıkmıştır (Fındık, 2001: 119). Kazıma seramiklerini en yoğun kullanımını Bizans seramiklerinde (Fındık, 2001: 118) görmemize rağmen aynı topraklarda yaşayan farklı kültürlerin etkileşim sonucu yayıldığı görülmektedir. Bizans tek renkli sırlı kazıma seramikler 11-12. yüzyılları arası (Fındık, 2001:119; Bilici, 2006:519). Yeşil ve kahverengi boyalı kazıma seramiklerin 12.yüzyıl (Pamela, 1988:27) Kazıma-Sigrafitto seramiklerin sağlam verilere dayanmaksızın 12.yüzyıl sonları ile 13.yüzyıla tarihlenir (Doğar, 2000:72). Sigrafitto seramiklerin 14.yüzyıl ortalarına kadar kullanıldığını kaynaklarda görmekteyiz (Baş, 2012: 138; Bilici, 2006: 519; Acun, 1995: 35; Karamağaralı,2007:131; Fındık, 2008: 132).

İslam sanatında Sigrafitto seramikler; Abbasi, Fatimi, Eyyubi, Memlük, Selçuklu dönemlerinde İran'dan Mısır'a; Bizans, Ermeni ve Gürcü sanatlarında, Kırım, Kıbrıs, Tunus ve İtalya'ya kadar çok geniş alana yayılmıştır (Fındık,2001:119). Bu bağlamda Anadolu Selçuklu dönemi sigfittolarının İslam kültürüyle etkileşimi sonucu İslami motiflerin mimaride olduğu kadar el sanatlarında da kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Dünya çapında bu kadar geniş bir alana yayılan kazıma tekniğinin Anadolu'da da aynı hızla yayıldığını kazılar sonucunda çıkan buluntularda görmekteyiz. Korucutepe kazısında ele geçen buluntularda 12-14.yüzyıllarda bölgede kazıma tekniğinde seramiklerin üretildiğini göstermektedir (Bakırer, 1980:222). Eski Malatya Nekropolü kazısında Ortaçağ'a ait Tümülüs tarzı mezarlıkta ortaya çıkarılmış ve bunların içinde de çoğu 13.yüzyıla ait, pek çok sırlı seramik parçaları bulunmuştur (Akturan,1999:143).

Anadolu'nun önemli kentlerinden biri olan Malatya'da yapılan arkeolojik kazılar sonucunda birçok yerde seramik yapımında kullanılan üçayakların varlığı burada seramik üretiminin varlığını göstermektedir. Ayrıca bazı kazılarda seramik fırınlarına rastlanıldığı ve tahrip edildiği bilinmektedir. Yerel üretim olduğunu ayrıca Battalgazi'de bulunan Ulu Cami çini kitabesinde Malatyalı Yakup isminin geçmesi bu çinilerin yine Eski Malatya'da üretildiğini kanıtlamaktadır.



Seçilmiş Katalog**Gövde Parçası SH/G1/11/1**

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmış tümleyen parçalar bulunamamıştır. Seramik parçası kabın dudak kısmına yakın bir parça ancak çok fazla kırık olduğu için çapı alınamamıştır. Gövde kalınlığı ağza yakın uçta 0.6 cm'dir. Hamur rengi 7.5 YR-6/8 (Reddish Yellow) kırmızimsı sarıdır. İnce sık dokulu bir hamur yapısına sahiptir. Sigrafitto tekniğinde yapılan süsleme de beyaz astar üzerine ince sır renkleri kullanılmıştır. Stilize dalların oluşturduğu bir bezeme olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Sır rengi olarak açık ve koyu sarı ile yeşil ve tonları görülmektedir. 13. yüzyıl seramik örneğidir.

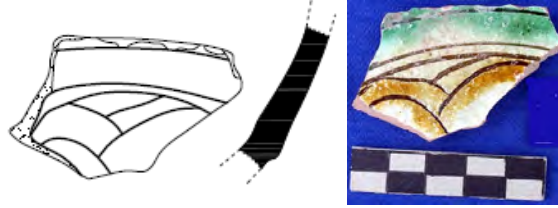


Fig. 2: SH/G1/11/1 Foto: SH/G1/11/1

Gövde Parçası SH/G1/11/2

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmış tümleyen parçalar bulunamamıştır. Seramik parçası kabın dudak kısmına yakın bir parça olduğu hamur kalınlığındaki farklılıklardan anlaşılmaktadır. Gövde kalınlığı ağza yakın uçta 0.5 cm'dir. Hamur rengi 7.5 YR -6/8 (Reddish Yellow) kırmızimsı sarıdır. İnce sık dokulu bir hamur yapısına sahiptir. Sır yüzeyi mat ve pürüzlüdür. Sırrın vermiş olduğu parlak doku görülmemektedir. Stilize dalların oluşturduğu kıvrımlardan bitkisel bir bezeme olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Sır rengi olarak açık ve koyu sarı ile yeşil ve tonları görülmektedir.

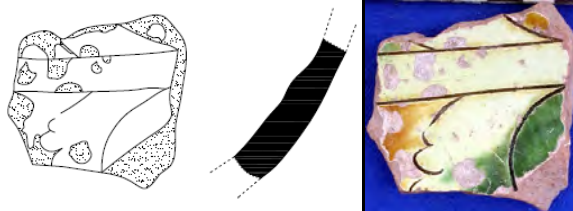


Fig. 3: SH/G1/11/2 Foto: SH/G1/11/2

Gövde Parçası SH/E2/11/10

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmış tümleyen parçalar bulunamamıştır. Seramik parçası kabın dudak kısmına yakın bir parça olduğu hamur kalınlığındaki farklılıklardan anlaşılmaktadır. Gövde kalınlığı ağza yakın uçta 5 mm, tam gövde de 7 mm'dir. Hamur rengi 7.5 YR -6/6 (Reddish Yellow) kırmızimsı sarıdır. İnce sık dokulu bir hamur yapısına sahiptir. Sır yüzeyi mat ve pürüzlüdür. Stilize dalların oluşturduğu kıvrımlardan bitkisel bir bezeme olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Sır rengi olarak açık ve koyu sarı ile yeşil ve tonları görülmektedir.

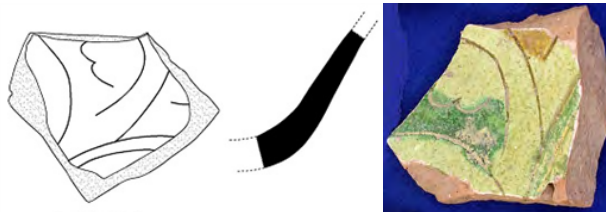


Fig. 4: SH/E2/11/10 Foto: SH/E2/11/10



Gövde Parçası SH/G2/11/11

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmış tümleyen parçalar bulunamamıştır. Ağza yakın bir parçadır. Hamur kalınlığı 0,5 cm ile 1 cm arasında değişmektedir. Bu değişim hamurun kaideye doğru kalınlaşmasından kaynaklanmaktadır. Hamur rengi 7,5 YR- 5/4 (brown) kahverengidir. Sık dokulu bir hamur yapısı vardır. Sigrafitto süsleme tekniğinde bezenen parçanın iç ve dış yüzeyi tamamen sırlıdır. Dış yüzeyde patlıcan moru parlak sır, iç yüzeyinde grimsi yeşil, koyu sarı ve kahverengi kullanılmıştır. Isının farklı ve yüksek olmasından dolayı rengin koyulaşması mümkündür. Sır rengi olarak farklı bir örnektir. Motif olarak dairesel ve yaprak motifine benzer stilize bitkisel bir bezeme hâkimdir.

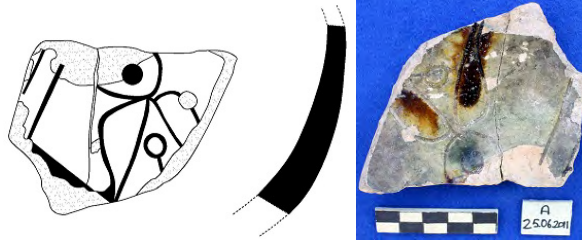


Fig. 5: SH/G2/11/11 Foto: SH/G2/11/11

Gövde Parçası SH/H2/11/12

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmış tümleyen parçalar bulunamamıştır. Gövde kalınlığı 0. 5 ve 0.7 cm arası değişmektedir. Hamur rengi 2.5 YR-7/8 (light red) soluk kırmızıdır. İnce sık dokulu bir hamur yapısına sahiptir. Sır zaman içinde kırılarak dökülmüş sadece bezeme yapılan derin izler kalmıştır. Stilize dalların oluşturduğu kıvrımlardan bitkisel bir bezeme olduğu anlaşılmaktadır. Sır rengi olarak açık ve koyu sarı ile yeşil ve tonları görülmektedir. Dış yüzeye tamamen sırsızdır.

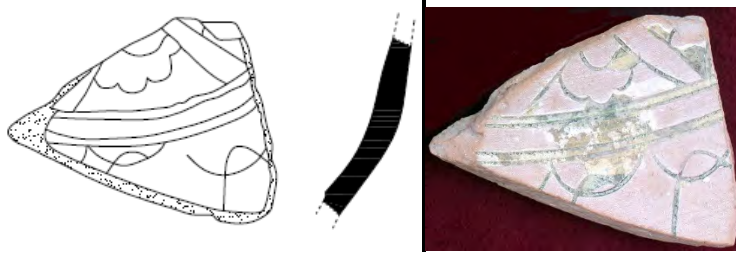


Fig. 6: SH/H2/11/12 Foto: SH/H2/11/12

Kaide Parçası SH/D/11/13

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmıştır. Kaide çapı 7 cm, gövde kalınlığı 1.3 cm, kaide kalınlığı 0.7 cm, hamur rengi 7.5 YR-5/4 (Brown) kahverengidir. Ayak yüksekliği kısa olup yayvan bir kaptır. Parça sigrafitto süsleme tekniğinde yapılmış, iç yüzey tamamen sırlı ve motifli dış yüzeyde ise beyaz astar ve kaide de koyu astar izleri görülmektedir. Parça sigrafitto süsleme tekniğinde bezemeli, iç yüzey sırlı ve motifli dış yüzeyde ise beyaz astar ve kaide de koyu astar izleri görülmektedir. İç yüzeyinde merkezde çiçek motifli olduğu görülmektedir. Sırı çatlayarak dökülmüş ancak renklerinin diğer örneklerle benzer olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.



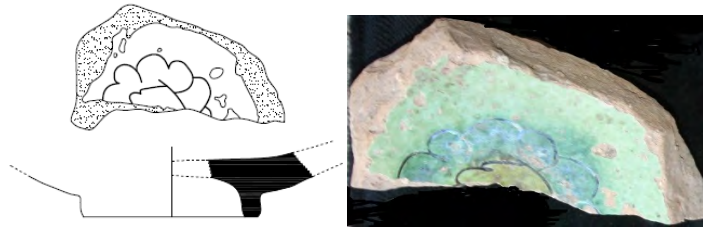


Fig. 7: SH/D/11/13 Foto: SH/D/11/13

Kaide Parçası SH/F1/11/14

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmış tümleyen parçalar bulunamamıştır. Kaide çapı 10 cm, kaide kalınlığı 0.9 cm, gövde kalınlığı 1 cm, hamur rengi 5YR-7/6 (Reddish Yellow) kırmızımsı sarı. Hamur dokusu sıktır. Yayvan gövdeye sahip kalın cidarlı, ayakları dışa doğru ovalleşerek incelmıştır. Sgraffito süsleme tekniğinde yapılmış olan parçanın iç yüzeyi tamamen sırlı ve motifli, dış yüzey sırsızdır. İç yüzeyde stilize kıvrımlı bitki motifleri görülmektedir. İç yüzeyde kalın mat beyaz astar üzerine ince açık yeşil sirla renklendirilen kabın motiflerinde koyu yeşil ve sarı, kahve renklerle hareketlilik getirilmiştir. Parçanın dış yüzeyi sırsız, yiv izleri ve katkı maddesine ait izleri görmekteyiz.

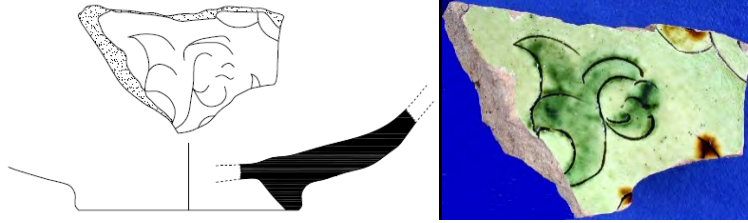


Fig. 8: SH/F1/11/14 Foto: SH/F1/11/14

Kaide Parçası SH/G2/11/5

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmıştır. Kaide çapı 7 cm, hamur kalınlığı gövde 7 mm, kaide 5 mm, hamur rengi 2,5 YR- 6/4 (Reddish Brown) kırmızımsı kahve tonlarındadır. Bu tipteki kaplar dışa doğru diyagonal olarak yükselir ve içe doğru düz devam eder. Diğer parçalara göre kaidesi ince cidarlıdır. Ayakucu dışa doğru çıkıntı yapmaktadır. Sgraffito süsleme tekniği ile yapılan parçanın iç yüzeyi tamamen sırlı ve motifli dış yüzeyi ise sırsızdır. Motiflerin içinde koyu yeşil ve sarı-kahve karışık bir ton kullanılmıştır. Stilize bitki motiflerinin oluşturduğu bir kompozisyonudur (Atıcı ve Tatlı 2017: 997).

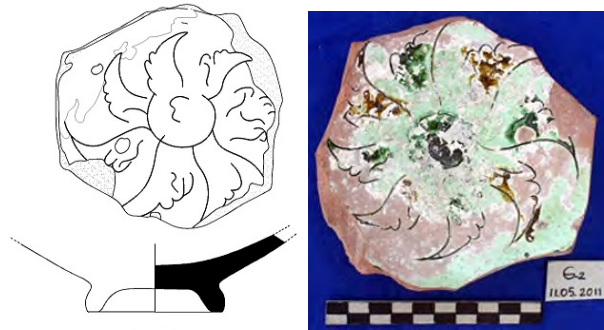


Fig. 9: SH/G2/11/5 Foto: SH/G2/11/5



Kaide Parçası SH/G1/11/6

Tek parça yüzeye çıkarılmıştır. Kaide çapı 7 cm, hamur kalınlığı gövde 7 mm, kaide 5 mm, hamur rengi 2,5 YR-5/8 (red) kırmızıdır. Sigrafitto süsleme tekniği ile yapılan parçanın iç yüzeyi tamamen sırlı ve motifli dış yüzeyi ise sırsızdır. İç yüzeyde beyaz mat astar üzerine çok ince açık sarı sır kullanılmıştır. Motiflerin içinde koyu yeşil ve sarı-kahve karışık bir ton kullanılmıştır. Çizimden burgu motifi olduğu düşünülmekte ancak parçayı tümleyen başka bir parça olmadığı için kompozisyon ve motif tam olarak anlaşılmamaktadır. Stilize bitki motiflerinin oluşturduğu bir kompozisyonudur.

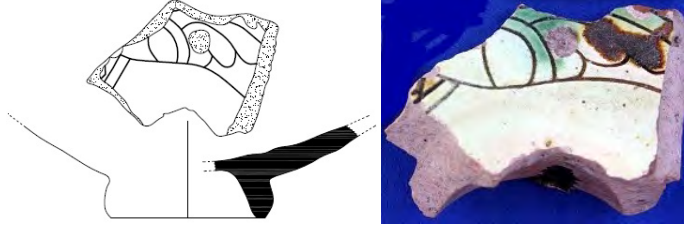


Fig. 10: SH/G1/11/6 Foto: SH/G1/11/6

3.10 Kaide Parçası SH/G1/11/6

Tek parça olarak yüzeye çıkarılmıştır. Kaide çapı 6 cm, hamur kalınlığı 0.5-1 cm arası kaideden gövdeye doğru farklılaşıyor, hamur rengi 7.5 YR-5/6'dir. İç yüzeyi tamamen sırlı ve bezemeli ancak dış yüzeyde bezeme veya astar görülmemektedir. İç yüzeyde beyaz mat astar üzerine çok ince açık yeşil, kahverengi ve sarı renk sır kullanılmıştır. Serbest bir boyama tekniği görülmektedir. Parçanın tamamı yüzeye çıkarılmadığı için kompozisyon tam olarak fikir vermemekte olup bitkisel bezemenin olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

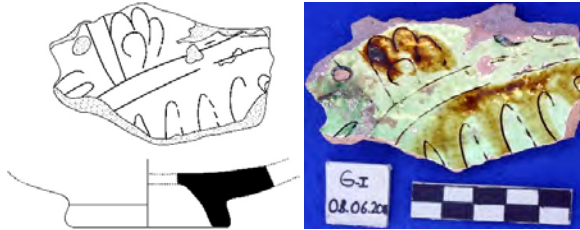


Fig. 11: SH/G1/11/6 Foto: SH/G1/11/6

Ağız Parçası SH/G1/11/15

Tek parça olarak yüzeye çıkarılmıştır. Ağız çapı 14 cm, hamur kalınlığı 0.5 cm, hamur rengi 2.5 YR-5/8 (red)'dir. İç yüzeyi tamamen sırlı ve bezemeli ancak dış yüzeyde sadece ağız çevresinde 1 cm kalınlığında sır görülmektedir. İç yüzeyde beyaz mat astar üzerine çok ince açık yeşil ve sarı renk sır kullanılmıştır. Serbest bir boyama tekniği görülmektedir. Parçanın tamamı yüzeye çıkarılmadığı için kompozisyon tam olarak fikir vermemekte olup bitkisel bezemenin olduğu anlaşılmaktadır.

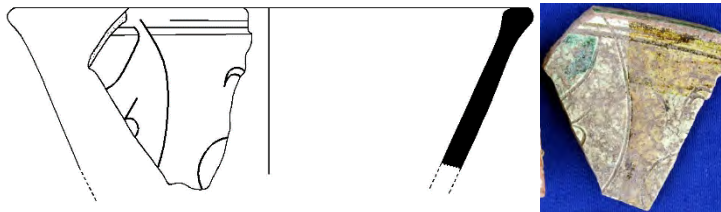


Fig. 12: SH/G1/11/15 Foto: SH/G1/11/15



Sonuç

Malatya'da 2011-2013 yılları arasında Türk-İslam dönemine ait arkeolojik kazılar yapılmıştır. Bu kazılar Dönemin Malatya Valisi Doç. Dr. Ulvi Saral'ın gayreti ve desteği, Malatya Müze uzmanları ve zamanın Malatya Valiliği KUDEB çalışanlarının katılımı ile gerçekleştirilmiştir.

Sevserek I. Han, Malatya İli, Merkez İlçesi Yaygın Beldesi Tokluca köyünde bulunmaktadır. Han, Malatya-Pötürge İlçe yolunun 20. km, asfaltın 30 m batısında bulunmaktadır. Yapıldığı 13.yüzyılda şehir merkezi olan eski Malatya'nın (şimdiki Battalgazi ilçesi) 23. km güneydoğusunda yer almaktadır. Temizlik ve hafriyat çalışmalarında, menzil hanının orta sahin, yolcu odaları bağlantıları, giriş kapısı ve bağlantıları belirlenmiştir. Osmanlı Döneminde menzil hanı olmaktan çıkmış, eserde büyük değişiklikler yapılarak maden eritme atölyesi olarak kullanılmıştır. Sevserek I. Han Eski Malatya' dan güneye giden yolun birinci menzil hanıdır. Yapının mimari özelliklerinin tamamen belirlenmesi, belgelerle tarihlendirilmesi ve kullanım sürecinin belirlenmesi Türk mimarlık ve kültür tarihi açısından önem arz etmektedir. Kazıda çok sayıda taşınır kültür varlığı bulunmuştur. Yapıya ait iki kitabe parçası ele geçmiştir. Sevserek I. Han kazı çalışması mimari ve buluntularını içerecek şekilde geniş olarak yayınlanacaktır.

Mezopotamya, İran, Horasan ve Mısır'da var olan seramik geleneklerini benimseyerek gelişen İslam seramik sanatı zamanla kendine has üslup ve teknikleri ortaya koymuştur. Bu sırada genişleyen İslam coğrafyası farklı kültür ve geleneklerle karşılaşmış ve etkileşimlere kucak açmıştır. Sevserek I. Han kazısı seramikleri Türk-İslam Dönemine ait sanat anlayışını renk, motif olarak değerlendirmemiz ve anlamamız için önemlidir. Sevserek Han seramiklerinin birçoğunda özellikle günlük kullanım ve düşük kalite ürünlerde kapların dış yüzeylerinin sırlanmadığı, sırnın yer yer yarım bırakıldığı, rast gele dışa aktıldığı, dış yüzeyde bezemenin olmadığı görülmektedir. Tamamı çark yapımı olan seramiklerde, tümlenen parça olmamasına rağmen ağız, kaide ve gövde parçalarının profil duruşundan kabın bütünü hakkında bilgi vermektedir. Form bakımından karakteristik yarı küresel, düz veya dışa çekik kenarlı büyük ve küçük boyutlu kâseler, dış bükey yayvan gövdeli hafif dışa çıkarak ovalleşen tabaklar ve ağız ucu düz veya hafif dışa kıvrılan çanak parçaları görülmektedir. En yoğun grubu oluşturan sigrafitto örneklerde yeşil ve tonlarının yoğun olduğu çok açık yeşilin bu örneklerde ana renk olarak kullanıldığı görülmektedir. Yeşilin yanında koyu ve açık renk sarı, kahverengi; görmekteyiz. Sigrafitto örneklerin iç yüzeyi tamamen sırlı ve motifli dış yüzeyi ise genelde sırsızdır. Motiflerinde stilize bitkisel motiflerin iç içe kıvrım dallar şeklinde soyutlaşan bir anlayışla yapıldığı görülmektedir. Sigrafitto seramiklerin 12. yüzyıl sonları ile 13. yüzyıla tarihlendiği ve bu grubun seramiklerinin 14. yüzyıl ortalarına kadar kullanıldığını kaynaklarda görmekteyiz.

Sevserek I. Han kazısı sırlı seramiklerin yerel üretime ait olduğu görülmektedir. Özellikle Sevserek Han kazısında çıkan uçayakların bulunması, yine Battalgazi Makamı (Evi) kazısı, Battalgazi Kırkkardeşler Mezarlık kazılarında da uçayak bulunması Malatya'da seramik üretiminin yapıldığını göstermektedir. Daha önce yapılan bazı kazılarda seramik fırınlarının çıktığı ancak tahrip edilerek yok olduğu bilinmektedir. Ayrıca Battalgazi'de bulunan Ulu Cami çini kitabesinde Malatyalı Yakup isminin geçmesi bu çinilerin yine Eski Malatya'da üretildiğini göstermektedir. Kubadabad, Kalehisar, Alanya, Ahlat, Samsat, Harran, Diyarbakır, Malatya, Bitlis, Elazığ'da çıkan seramiklerin biçim, sır, bezeme, hamur özellikleri açısından benzer örneklere rastlanmıştır. Birbirine çokta uzak olmayan bu merkezlerde dönemin sanatsal beğenisini yansıtan ve bölgedeki seramik üretimi ve kullanımına yönelik önemli bilgiler sunan örnekleri görmekteyiz.



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Fig. 13: Sevserek I.Han güneydoğudan genel görünüşü (C. Yalvaç' tan, 1963)



Fig. 14: Kazı sonrası Sevserek I. Han (Turgay KURAL)





Fig. 15: Kazı sonrası Sevserek I. Han



Fig. 16: Kazı sonrası Sevserek I. Han (Turgay KURAL)





Fig. 17: Kazı sonrası Sevserek I. Han



Fig. 18: Malatya Etnografya Müzesinde yürütülen çalışma





Fig. 19: Sevserek I. Han Kazısında çıkan diğer Sigrafitto parçalarda örnekler



Fig. 20: Sevserek I. Han Kazısında çıkan diğer Sigrafitto ve farklı gruplardan örnekler





Fig. 21: Sevserek I. Han Kazısında çıkan sırlı-sırsız parçalardan örnekler



Fig. 22: Sevserek I. Han Kazısında çıkan ve seramik yapımında kullanılan üçayak





Fig. 23-24: Malatya Battalgazi Evi Kazısı (Tatlı 2017: 288-299)

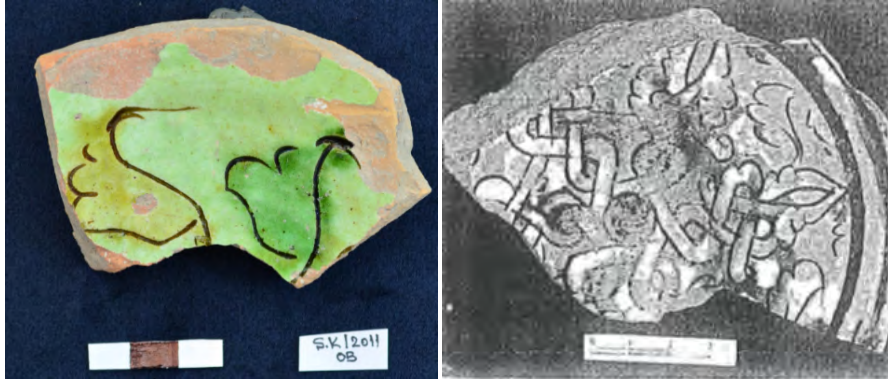


Fig. 25: Malatya Şahabiye-i Kübra Med. Fig. 26: Malatya Nekropol Kazısı (Akturan: 2001, 17)



Fig. 27: Harput, (Sevin 2011, s. 173) Fig. 28: Harput (Sevin 2011, 173)



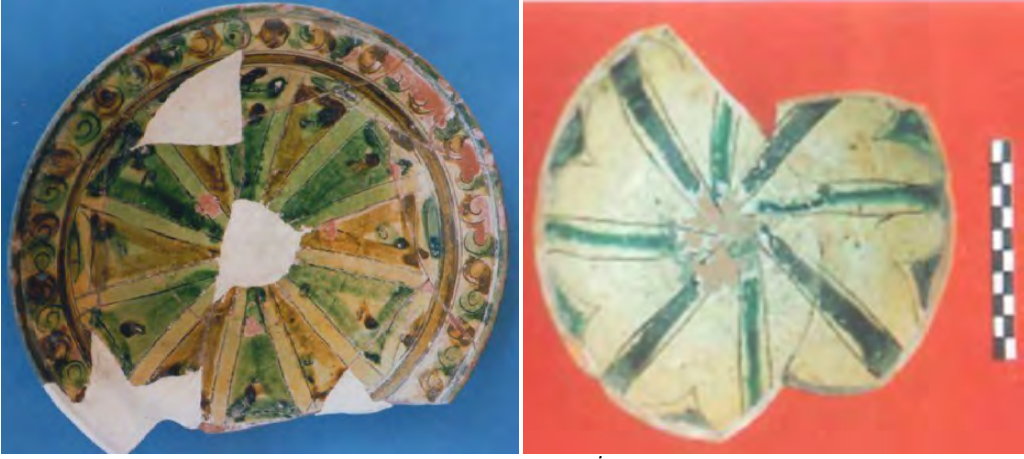


Fig. 29: Elazığ, (Aytaç 2010, 522) Fig. 30: İznik (84)Fındık 2001, 9



Fig. 31: Bitlis, (Baş 2014, 62) Fig. 32: Samsat, (Özgüç:2009,63)



Fig. 33: 13. Yüzyıl, Adana Arkeoloji Müzesi (Işın: 2001, 45)



Fig. 34: İran 12.yy Boston Güzel Sanatlar Müzesi (Eravşar 2013, 74)





POSTER SESSION



Uluslararası Arslantepe Arkeoloji Sempozyumu
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AN ANNALES APPROACH TO THE LATE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD OF NORTH MESOPOTAMIA

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AN ANNALES APPROACH TO THE LATE CHALCOLITHIC PERIOD OF NORTH MESOPOTAMIA

ŞAKİR CAN

Regardless of time and space, geography and environment have indisputable impact on the development of any type of social organization that existed in the “past”. In the way of understanding the “past”, undoubtedly, the most informative sources are the archaeological residues and remaining. Late Chalcolithic period (LC) (ca. 4500-3000 BC) in Mesopotamia provides archaeological traces of increasing socio-political complexity. This complexity eventually gives the way to substantial socio-economic developments, such as personal ownership, craftsmen, hierarchical groups, administrative class, urbanization and state formation.

Based on the archaeological data and interpretations, this study is an attempt to explain LC period of north Mesopotamia through an Annales approach. Fernand Braudel divides “time” into three temporal levels (Braudel, 1972) in order to establish the “total history” (*histoire totale*). In his philosophy of history: *longue durée* is mainly concentrated on geography and environment (geo-history) on the nature and development of human groups; *conjoncture* concerns with the social history of groups, groupings, demographic cycles, wages and wars; *événement* takes individuals and historical events as the reference.

The same environmental conditions may have different degrees of impact on continuity and change of the historical and social interaction processes of sedentary, semi-sedentary and transhumant groups in north Mesopotamia. Each region has its own environmental advantages and constraints; thus, environment has an undeniable role in shaping socio-economic developments. For instance, the Balikh valley presents a micro-environmental diversity; the upper zone, where a dense settlement pattern was documented since the Halaf period, is suitable for farming and herding. In the valley, dense “prehistoric base camps” are indications of seasonal mobility. Consequently, the lack of urbanization, settlement networks and strong Uruk presence shows how environment shapes human life. Furthermore, the main sources of raw materials (copper from Ergani Maden, silver from Keban) in the highlands and their exploitation accelerated the initiation of metallurgy in the Altınova plain since LC 2 period. Despite situated in close proximity, the inhabitants of the Upper Tigris region were not interested in metallurgy in the LC period. While rivers and plains increased communication and complexity of the region, geographical isolation due to the mountains hindered the region from “invisible” settlement networks and overland routes. Consequently, the region remained elementary in socio-cultural aspects in the LC period not to mention state formation and urbanization.

At another temporal level, establishment of three Uruk colony sites in the Middle Euphrates basin brought about increase in the number of settlements. In the Carchemish-Birecik area, a total of 37 settlements – 20 newly founded – yielded a range of Uruk materials in addition to local material culture. In north Jazeera, three-tiered hierarchical small village-based settlement pattern dispersed over a wide area demonstrates a dense indigenous pattern throughout the LC 1-2 periods, whereas decreasing during the LC 3-5 periods. Foreign influences and interactions on existing cultures – Hacnebi and Tell Brak – triggered socio-economic changes, especially well-documented in the Middle Euphrates region that fall gradually into “Uruk expansion” more densely than other northern regions. The expanding vigorous settlement network paved the way for the circulation of Uruk materials across north Mesopotamia. The most popular material attributed to the Uruk is the Bevelled Rim bowls. Their adoption (mentalité) and function as bread-moulds indicate the increase of beer consumption in north Mesopotamia.

A few sites show other types of mentalité. At Zeytinli Bahçe Höyük and Hassek Höyük, the pottery correlated with Uruk forms were modified in the LC 5 period, reflecting the mentalité of Braudel’s paradigm, creating a new identity from an inspired material establishing a new authenticity (Fig. 1).

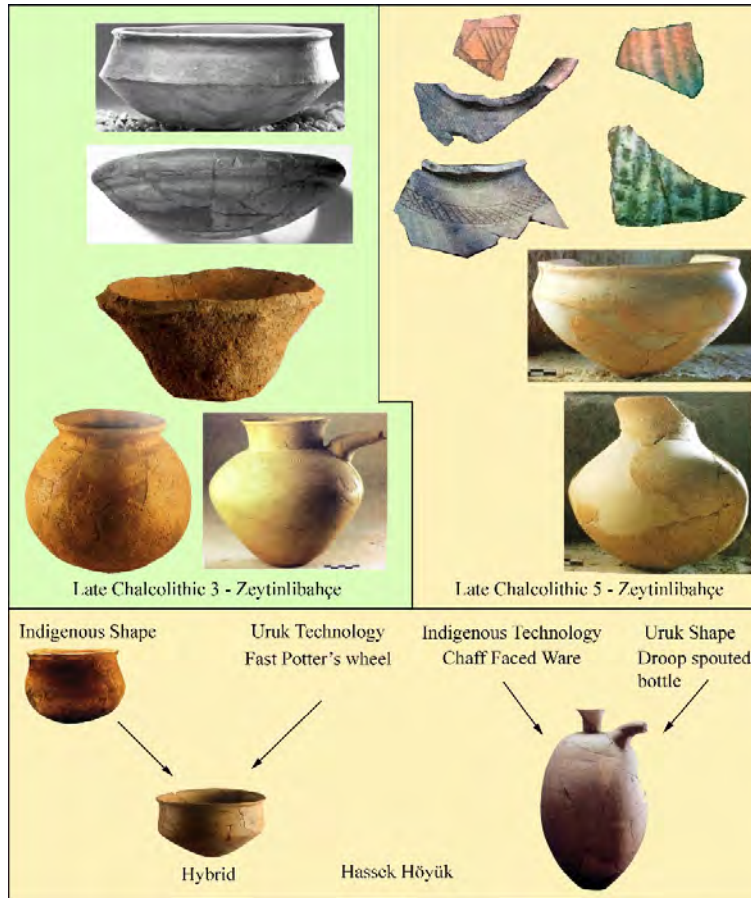


Fig. 1: The reinterpretation of LC 3 pottery (upper left) in the LC 5 period at Zeytinli Bahçe, Şanlıurfa (upper right) (from Frangipane 2010: 200-201, figs. 5 and 6); Local and Uruk style hybridized pottery assemblage of Hassek Höyük, Şanlıurfa (below) (from Helwing 1999: 96, figs. 4a-4b).

Arslantepi VII and VIA shows indigenous identity with Uruk influence. A wall painting in a temple depicting a scene on an Uruk seal points to an iconographical mentalité. At



Hammam et-Turkman VB, a mentalité is the monumental building with multi-recessed niches dating to ca. 3200 BC, showing typical Uruk temple plan like the colony sites (Fig. 2) (Habuba Kabira and Jebel Aruda).

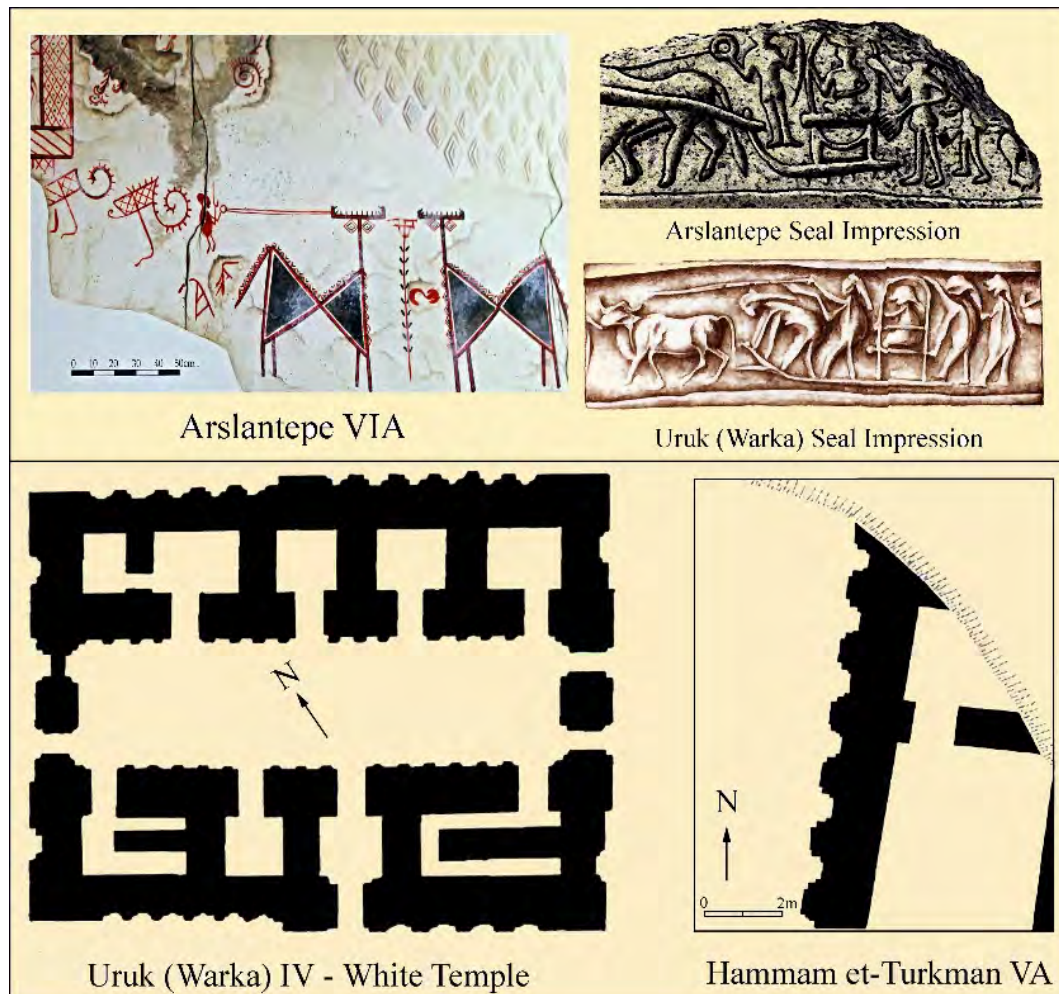


Fig. 2: Arslantepe period VIA wall painting in the audience building (upper left); Uruk type seal from Arslantepe (upper right); Uruk seal from Warka (below right) (from Tırpan 2013: 478-479, figs. 20-5 and 20-6); Architectural plan of the White Temple at Uruk (bottom left) (from Roaf, 1995: 430, fig. 7); Stratum 7 building in Level VB at Hammam et-Turkman (bottom right) (from Lupton 1996: 29, fig. 2.13).

It seems that there appears now three évènements, with the foundation and abandonment of these individual settlements, which are certainly historical events (l'histoire évènementielle). In this cluster of events, however, we are restricted by the absence of historical documents concerning specific individuals, their names, actions, the way they came to settle down, the fixed "moment" for their arrival and the degree to which all these actions took place, because history is in fact much more complex than our perception.

All in all, the geographical superiority of north Mesopotamia is evident compared to the south. In the north, mountains appeared to decrease the nature of cultural interactions e.g. in the Upper Tigris basin, while water sources conversely paved the way for settlement networks. It is not a coincidence that the widespread distribution of Sprig Ware along the Tigris River valley and/or the denser circulation of the Uruk phenomenon along the Middle



Euphrates. In north Mesopotamia, a number of indigenous cultural patterns appear in the *longue durée* that shows cultural continuity, while foreign influences and interactions on a specified region's existing cultures in several cases resulted in socio-economic changes, especially in the Middle Euphrates region that falls gradually into "Uruk expansion" more densely than the Erbil Plain, Middle and Upper Tigris, and Upper Euphrates. In comparison with the earlier assessments –"Uruk World System" of Guillermo Algaze (Algaze, 1993), "acculturation, adoption, emulation and trade diaspora" of Gil J. Stein (Stein, 1999a, 1999b) and "hybridization" of Barbara Helwing (Helwing, 1999)– this study can provide an interpretation of continuity and change in the history of the LC period of north Mesopotamia through the Annales paradigm in various geographical niches (Fig. 3).

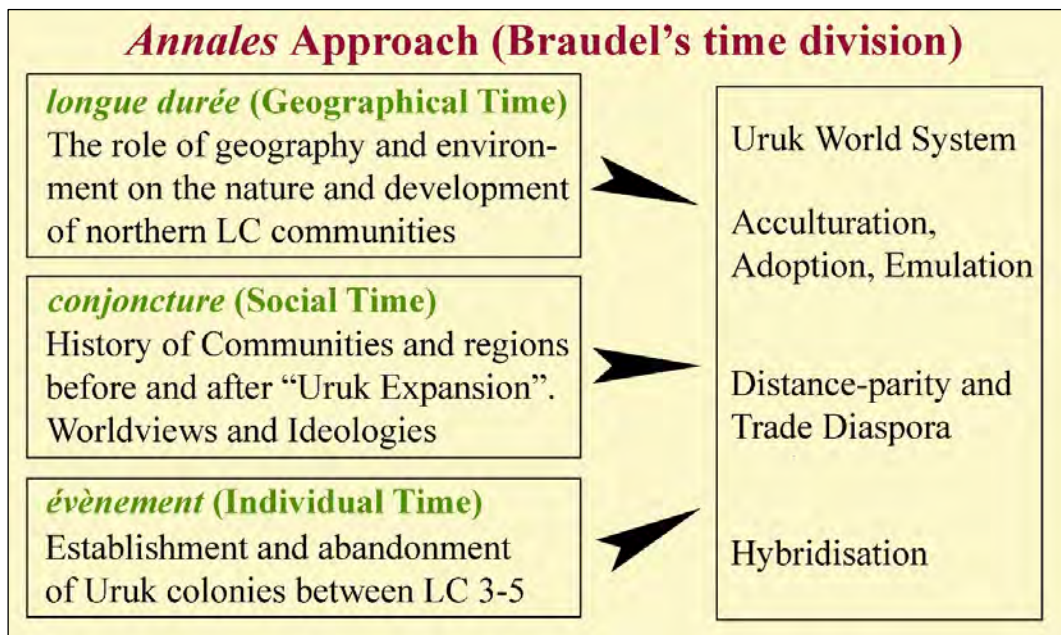


Fig. 3: A comparison of the Braudel's total history with the earlier individual assessments



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4-6 October 2018-Malatya / Turkey

ŞAHABİYE-İ KÜBRA MEDRESESİ KAZISINA AİT SERAMİK BULUNTULAR

ELİF TATLI

Elazığ Belediyesi Sanat Tarihçisi

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ŞAHABIYE-İ KÜBRA MEDRESESİ KAZISINA AİT SERAMİK BULUNTULAR

ELİF TATLI-İSMAİL AYTAÇ

Şahabiye-i Kübra (Beş Kardeşler) Medresesi Malatya İli, Battalgazi İlçesi, şehir surlarının içinde Malatya Ulu Cami'nin güneyinde yer almaktadır. Medresenin inşa tarihini veren bir kitabesi yok ancak bir onarım kitabesi bulunmaktadır. Kitabede tarih kısmı tahrip olduğu için kesin onarım tarihi de bilinmemekte olup çeşitli kaynaklara dayanılarak 13. yüzyıl olabileceği ve Ulu Cami ile yaklaşık bir tarihte yapıldığı düşünülebilir. Bugün yalnız ana eyvanı, eyvanın kuzeyinde yer alan portalin bir parçası, türbe kalıntısı ve temel taşları dışında büyük oranda yıkılmıştır.

Şahabiye-i Kübra (Beş Kardeşler) Medresesi kazısı 05.05.2011-03.06.2011 tarihleri arasında gerçekleştirilen çalışmada, alanın kuzeyindeki eyvanlı yapı ile Halfeti Minaresine kadar uzanan alan çalışılmıştır. Yapılan kazı sonucunda çok sayıda sırlı ve sırsız seramik parçalarına ulaşılmıştır. Çoğunluğu mutfak kültürünün ürünü olan seramik buluntular kırık parçalar halinde yüzeye çıkarılmıştır. Gövde, ağız ve kaide olarak bulunan sırlı ve sırsız seramik parçaları tabak, kâse, çanak, kandil, küp, çömlek ve künk parçaları oldukları belirlenmiştir. Açık-koyu yeşil tonlarda, bitkisel bezemeli sigrafitto parçalar, türkuaz renkli siyah bitkisel bezemeli, mavi-beyaz seramikler bize farklı dönemlerin yaşandığını gösteren önemli bulgulardır. Ayrıca çok sayıda sırsız seramik parçaları elde edilmiştir. Bu seramikler Ortaçağ Anadolu İslami dönem yerel örnekleri olup dönemine tanıklık eden bu seramikler içerisinde farklı dönemlere ait örneklerin olması dönemin kültürel etkileşimi ve sanat anlayışına dair önemli veriler sunmaktadır.

Arkeolojik kazılarda çıkan seramik buluntuların dönemin önemli birer tanığı olduğu gibi üretildiği dönem ait izleri de taşımaktadır. Özellikle renk, motif gibi sanatsal anlayışı açısından önemli ipuçları vermektedir. Malatya'da son yıllarda arkeolojik kazıların hız kazanmasıyla benzer buluntuların birçok kazıda yüzeye çıkarılması her parçanın diğer kazı buluntuları ile kıyas yapılarak incelenmesi seramiğin Malatya'daki tarihsel süreci ile ilgili önemli veriler sunacaktır.



Fig. 1: Kaide Parçası Ş.K/4/2015



Fig. 2: Kaide Parçası Ş.K/12/2015



Fig. 3: Kaide Parçası Ş.K/14/2015

Şahabiye-i Kübra (Beş Kardeşler) Medresesi kazısı, alanın kuzeyindeki eyvanlı yapı ile Halfeti Minaresine kadar uzanan alan çalışılmıştır. Çizilen bütün parçalar amorf olup tümlenebilir durumda olmadığı belirlenmiştir.

Sigrafitto tekniği, Ortaçağ Döneminin en sevilen ve yoğun kullanılan örneklerini oluşturmaktadır. Ortaçağ dönemi uygarlıklarında Bizans, Anadolu Selçuklu, Beylikler ve hatta Osmanlı'ya geçişte sevilerek kullanılan bu grup örnekleri Şahabiye-i Kübra medresesinde de yoğun olarak çıkarılmıştır. Ortaçağ seramiklerinin birçoğunda özellikle günlük kullanım ve düşük kalite ürünlerde kapların dış yüzeylerinin sırlanmadığı, sırın yer yer yarım bırakıldığı, rast gele dışa aktıldığı, dış yüzeyde bezemenin olmadığı görülmektedir (Karamağaralı 1999: 25). Mavi- beyaz grup sigrafitto'lardan sonra kazılarda çıkan en yoğun ikinci grubu oluşturmaktadır. Osmanlı'ya geçişte yeşil, siyah sırlı mavi-beyaz rengin birlikte kullanılması Ortaçağ mavi-beyaz örneklerin karakteristik yapısını oluşturmaktadır. Dış yüzeyde yeşil sır, iç yüzeyde ise mavi-beyaz ve siyah renk kullanılmaktadır. Türkuaz sıraltı siyah boyalı seramikler kazıda sayıca en az çıkan grubu oluşturmaktadır. Bu örneklerin 12. yüzyıl Suriye örnekleriyle benzediği görülmektedir. Özellikle bakır oksitli, firuze renkli tuğlalar çok kullanılır. Selçuklu yapılarında kullanılan tuğlalarda bu tonları 13. yüzyıl ilk yarısında ton farklarıyla çeşitlenmiştir (Öney 1993: 94). Türkuaz sıraltı sırlı seramiklerin 13. yüzyılın ilk yarısında Rakka, Kaşan, seramiklerinde yaygın uygulandığı, son dönem Suriye'de, İran, Irak ve Anadolu'da da üretilmektedir (Fındık 2001: 79).

Eski Malatya Nekropol kazısında Ortaçağ'a ait Tümülüs tarzı mezarlıkta ortaya çıkarılmış ve bunların içinde de çoğu 13. yüzyıla ait, pek çok sırlı seramik parçaları



bulunmuştur. Üretim yerleri konusunda, kazıda bulunan üçayakların varlığı bunların Malatya- Battalgazi'de üretildiğini göstermektedir. Malatya ili içerisinde yapılan; 2011 "Sevserak Han" kazısı, 2011-12, 2012-13 yılları arasında Battalgazi ilçesinde bulunan "Kırklar Mezarlığı (Şehitliği)" kazısı, Şahabe-i Kübra medresesi kazısı, yıllardır kazısı süren "Arslantepe" höyüğü de olmak üzere yapılan kazılarda çıkan sırlı seramiklerin malzeme, form ve bezeme özellikleri bakımından birbirine oldukça benzer. Bu benzerlik akla Malatya ili içerisinde seri üretimin yapıldığını veya gelen malların aynı merkezlerden geldiği fikrini ortaya koymaktadır. Malatya ilinde yapılan çeşitli kazılarda da çıkan üçayakların varlığı yerel üretimin olduğunu gösterir. Yöre de yapılan bazı araştırmalarda verilen bilgilere göre Battalgazi içinde bazı noktalarda çini fırınlarının olduğu dair bilgi bulunmaktadır. Ancak kazılarda henüz bir seramik fırınına rastlanmamış olup sadece üçayaklara ulaşılabilmektedir. Yerel üretim olduğunu ayrıca Battalgazi'de bulunan Ulu Cami çini kitabesinde Malatyalı Yakup isminin geçmesi bu çinilerin yine Eski Malatya'da üretildiğini kanıtlamaktadır. Arkeolojik çalışmaların ülkemizde son yıllarda artmasıyla Ortaçağ seramiği hakkında yeni örneklerle ve bilgilere ulaşılabilecektir. Makalemizde incelemiş olduğumuz seramikler burada kısa bir özet olarak yayımlanmış olup detaylı olarak yayımlanacaktır.



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DARENDE KONUT MİMARİSİNDE ŞERBETLİKLER VE ALÇI LAMBALIKLAR

FATİH BAHÇECİ
Malatya Büyükşehir Belediyesi-KUDEB

İSMAİL AYTAÇ
Fırat Üniversitesi, Eğitim Fakültesi, Güzel Sanatlar Eğitimi Bölümü

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DARENDE KONUT MİMARİSİNDE ŞERBETLİKLER VE ALÇI LAMBALIKLAR

FATİH BAHÇECİ-İSMAİL AYTAÇ

Şerbetlikler, odalarda duvar içindeki içbükey planlı girintilerdir. Süs niteliği taşır ve üzerine ayna, lamba veya saat konulur. Nişin altında dışa doğru taşan ahşap ya da taş bir raf bulunur. Şerbetlikler genellikle 18. yy sonlarında Barok akımının etkisiyle yaygınlaşmıştır. (Günay 1998: 239.) Türk evinde özellikle Batı Karadeniz, Marmara ve İç Anadolu yöresi evlerinde yaygın olarak karşılaştığımız *niş* de denilen şerbetlikler, Darende evlerinin de önemli mimari elemanları arasındadır (Fig 1).

Duvar içerisine girintili, ahşap ya da taş rafı (aynalığı) bulunan, girinti içerisinde veya her iki köşede alçıdan kandilliği, alta doğru uzanan dekoratif sarkıt ve üzerinde alçı kabara, bir Darende evi şerbetliği genel şemasını oluşturmaktadır (Fig 1). Genellikle 180/200 cm x 45/55 cm ölçülerindedir. Darende evlerinde görülen şerbetlikler işlevselliği yanında bazı evlerde sade, bazı evlerde ise ince işçilikli süslemelerle odanın dekoratif bir elemanı olmuştur. Barok özellikler yansıtan stilize bitki ve yaprak motifleri ile çizgisel hatlarından oluşan işlemler en yaygın görünenleridir. Stilize bitki ve yaprak motifleri olarak görülen hataî motifi çoğu kez simetrik bir tarzda çizilir.

Darende geleneksel konut mimarisinde lambalıklar iç mekânı hareketlendiren süsleme unsurları olmasının yanı sıra aynı zamanda fonksiyoneldir. Oda ya da sofa duvarlarında üzerine gaz lambası ve mum gibi aydınlatma araçlarının konulduğu, lambalıkta denilen kandillikler, çoğunlukla külahı hatırlatan dışbükey birer konsol biçimindedir. (Şenol 2007: 113.)

Darende evlerinde odalarda veya sofalarda bulunabilen ve aydınlatma araçlarının konulduğu alçı lambalıklar günümüzde bu işlev için kullanılmamaktadır. Genellikle 15/25 cm uzunluğunda ve 10/15 cm çapındadırlar. Darende Geleneksel Konutları'nda aynı konut içinde değişik süslemeli lambalıklar bulunabilmektedir (Fig 2).

Çalışılan şerbetlik ve lambalıklar, Darende ilçesinin farklı mahallelerindeki konutların özellikle başoda veya kış odalarında bulunmaktadır. Günümüze ulaşan Darende evlerindeki şerbetlik ve lambalıklar 19. yüzyıl sonu ve 20. yüzyıl başlarında yapılmışlardır. Darende şerbetlik ve lambalıkları, Osmanlı coğrafyasındaki geleneksel evlerde görülen örneklerin üretim yöntemi, ölçü ve süsleme düzenine genel olarak uymaktadır. Ayrıntılarda bazı değişiklikler vardır. Yapıldıkları dönemin kullanım amaç ve estetiğine uyularak konutlardaki yerini almışlardır. "Darende Geleneksel Konut Mimarisinde Şerbetlikler ve Alçı Lambalıklar" konulu çalışmamız geniş olarak hazırlanmış olup ayrıca makale olarak yayınlanacaktır.

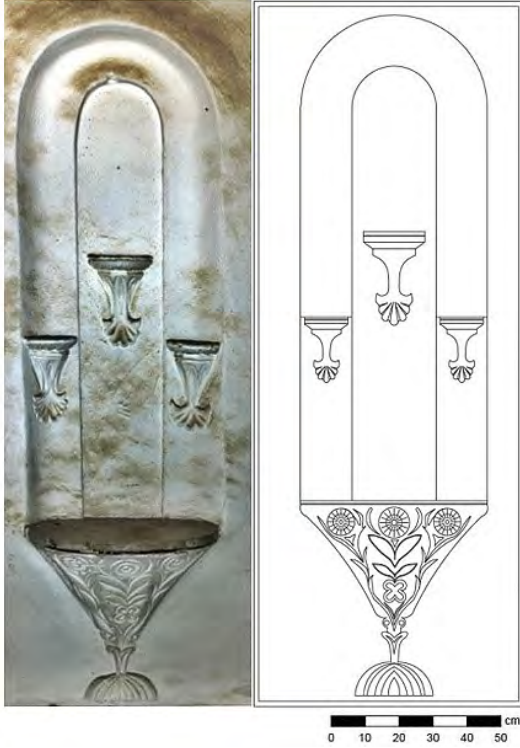


Fig 1-Yücel Soylu Evi Şerbetlik



Fig 2- Alçı Lambalık/Kandillik

Kaynaklar

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ARSLANTEPE

I. Uluslararası Arkeoloji Sempozyumu Bildirileri / I. International Archaeology Symposium Proceedings

İnönü Üniversitesi ve Roma Sapienza Üniversitesi işbirliğiyle İtalya Büyükelçiliği, Malatya Büyükşehir Belediyesi, Battalgazi Belediyesi ve İstanbul İtalyan Kültür Merkezi'nin katkıları sayesinde Ekim 2018'de Malatya İnönü Üniversitesi'nde gerçekleştirilen Arslantepe arkeolojisi hakkındaki ilk uluslararası sempozyumun konferans metinleri bu kitapta bir araya getirildi. Bu etkinliğin başlıca hedefi, Sapienza Üniversitesi ekibi ve gerek Türkiye'den gerekse başka ülkelerden katılım sağlayan ortak araştırmacılar tarafından Arslantepe'de on yıllardır sürdürülen kazı çalışmalarının temel sonuçlarını yerel, ulusal ve uluslararası bilim çevreleriyle paylaşarak yeniden düşünmekti. Arslantepe araştırmalarıyla gün yüzüne çıkan pek çok spesifik tema ve konu başlığını derinlemesine araştırmak amacıyla düzenlenen bu etkinliğin yeni konferans ve buluşmalara öncü olması beklenmektedir. Arslantepe araştırmaları, yalnızca Doğu Anadolu'nun Eski Çağ'ı ve Yakındoğu'nun başlıca uygarlıklarının belirgin yönlerine değil, insan topluluklarının genel tarihine de ışık tutmaktadır.



This book publishes the proceedings of the first International Symposium on the archaeology of Arslantepe held in Malatya at İnönü University in October 2018, by the İnönü University in cooperation with the Sapienza University of Rome, with the support of the Italian Embassy, Malatya Metropolitan Municipality, Battalgazi Municipality and the Italian Institute of Culture in İstanbul. The main goal of this conference was to think over the main results of the excavations and researches carried out at Arslantepe for decades by the team of the Sapienza University and their collaborators from Turkey and other countries, by debating and confronting these results with the local, national and international scientific community. Organized with the aim of examining in depth various specific themes and issues arisen from Arslantepe researches, this conference has been designed to pave the way for new conferences and meetings in the future. The Arslantepe researches have shed light not only on important aspects of the Ancient History of Eastern Anatolia and Near Eastern civilizations, but also on the history of human societies in general.

