

CULTURE CONTACT, CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND  
DIFFERENCE:

*A Case from Northern Mesopotamia*

Sevil Baltali

Department of Anthropology, Yeditepe University, Turkey

ABSTRACT

Ancient northern Mesopotamia reveals the presence of southern Uruk-style material cultural elements along with indigenous styles in fourth millennium B.C.E. In this study, I argue that we need to focus on the ways northern Mesopotamian societies constructed 'cultural difference' through an analysis of the meanings of southern-style elements within northern contexts. I further argue that an investigation of culturally-particular ideas of "own" and "other" should involve a relationship between analytic and folk categories of cultural boundaries.

## INTRODUCTION

In this article, I revisit one of the most intriguing archaeological cases of culture contact between north and south Mesopotamia, the so-called “Uruk expansion” in the fourth millennium B.C.E. (ca. 3700-3100 B.C.E.). During this period northern Mesopotamian sites reveal widespread distribution of southern Uruk-style material cultural elements along with indigenous styles (Stein 1999; Frangipane 2001, 2002b; Rothman ed. 2001; Postgate ed. 2002). I focus on the socio-cultural meanings of southern-style elements within the indigenous northern Mesopotamian sites. I suggest that we need to investigate the culture-internal symbolic divisions of ‘cultural difference’ through diachronic contextual examination of material culture, and in so doing we can arrive at an understanding of how people in the past themselves constructed cultural differences. Therefore, I investigate the culturally-particular ways of envisioning and representing the ‘own’ and the ‘foreign’.

However, to be able to achieve this we indeed need to consider the relationship between indigenous construction of cultural difference and our analytic cultural boundaries, as there can be a divergence between folk and analytic boundaries. Therefore, I evaluate the utility of the anthropological concept of culture in the archaeological investigation of culture contact situations with reference to an example of cultural interaction between the societies of Mesopotamia during the fourth millennium B.C.E.. I adopt theoretical elements such as the concepts of cultural integration, and folk and analytic cultural boundaries from Boasian anthropology.

The article consists of two main parts. The first part provides a discussion of the theoretical concepts of cultural integration and folk and analytic boundaries. The second part evaluates the utility of these concepts through an analysis of a wall-painting from an indigenous site (Arslantepe) located in northern Mesopotamia.

## CULTURE, CULTURAL INTEGRATION AND BOUNDARIES

Within the field of archaeology the concept of culture is most commonly associated with the late nineteenth century European culture-historical approaches (e.g., Kossinna 1911; Childe 1939). These approaches had a holistic view of culture which covered shared traits and would be represented as “archaeological cultures.” The concept of “archaeological culture” referred to classified assemblages of material culture that were regarded as the product of geographically and historically distinct groups of people (Shennan 1978). Similarities in archaeological material within particular geographical settings were interpreted as representing cultural entities. Material cultural differences were taken as reflections of essential cultural differences.

The Boasian practice of archaeology is placed under the general rubric of the culture-historical approach. This is because a closer look at the Boasian concept of culture, as used in this culture-historical archaeological methodology, reveals that its adherents indeed repeated these European culture-historical approaches. Boasian culture-historical methodology thus consisted of establishing artifact typologies based on the consistency of the style and the production technique of artifacts. A pattern of repeated associations of certain artifacts at a given geographical locality was defined as “culture”: for example, “Teotihuacán Culture” (see Boas 1940: 530-4). Detected changes in artifact types within stratigraphic sequences were viewed as a dislocation and replacement of a particular culture (1940: 534 & 528). “Culture traits” were compared to establish cultural similarities and differences among geographically distant cultures (Boas 1905: 225). The synchronic similarity of artifact types across space meant contact and affiliation between groups, or diffusion.

Culture-historical approaches and the ‘archaeological culture’ concept have been criticized and abandoned in contemporary archaeological theory largely because culture-historians viewed cultures as bounded and static units that coincided with distinct spatial areas, and because they equated material cultural assemblages with groups of ethnically-related people (Emberling 1997; Gosden 1999; Hall 1984; Hodder ed., 1978, 2004; Hodder and Hutson 2003; Jones 1997; Kramer 1977; Shennan 1978). However, if we re-evaluate Boasian anthropological concepts of culture, cultural integration, and their approaches to cultural boundaries *independent* of their practice of archaeology with a presentist agenda, we can see that these concepts do not in fact reproduce culture-historical assumptions.

Boas’ writings on the aims of anthropology, ethnology and his criticism of 19th century cultural evolutionism reflect an understanding of culture that is not bounded and fixed in time and space, and coinciding with distinct groups of people (Boas 1940: 639-647). The main argument in Boas’s critique of 19th century cultural evolutionism was that cultural elements should not be taken out of their meaningful contexts and classified according to an evolutionary trajectory (Boas 1887; Bashkow 2004: 445; Stocking 1974: 61-67). The physical similarities of cultural elements across societies do not necessarily mean they conveyed the same meanings across space and time (Boas 1940). Therefore, according to Boas, the arbitrary classification of “traits” based on superficial analogies cannot be accepted as an explanation. He insisted we contextualize these elements and try to understand their culturally-contingent meanings which could only be obtained through a careful study of unique histories; consider, for example, Boas’s discussion of “the rattle”:

The rattle is not merely the outcome of the idea of making noise and of the technical methods applied to reach this end; it is besides this, the outcome of religious conceptions, as any noise may be applied to invoke or drive away spirits; or it may be the outcome of the pleasure children have in noise of any kind; and its fork may be the characteristic of the art of people. (Boas 1887 after Stocking 1974: 63)

The communities who share similar culture traits do not necessarily belong to the same group with the same ideas and customs; instead communities can use similar elements according to their own understanding and integrate these elements into their cultural context in a particular way (Boas 1940). The outward appearance of material culture is not considered to be the direct reflection of culture. According to this concept of cultural integration, people in cultures actively select certain foreign elements—while rejecting others—and integrate them according to their own ever-changing meaning systems, and their cosmologies (Benedict 1934: 47; Boas 1940: 272). The flowing forms are shaped and reshaped according to the worldviews of the borrowers, which means that the new elements are integrated into pre-existing yet slowly changing cultural forms (Boas 1940: 284). I stress that the concept of cultural integration accommodates a temporal dimension because integration is a dynamic process, which can transform culture: “selection of foreign material embodied in the culture of the people, and the mutual transformation of the old culture and the newly acquired material” (Boas 1940: 435). Boasian concepts of cultural integration thus emphasize the culturally-specific ways of appropriating foreign elements (Boas 1940: 284; Benedict 1930: 260; Kroeber 1952: 344). Once these new elements enter into their new cultural context people give them new meanings and use them for culturally-specific purposes. To be able to understand the culturally-specific meanings of material cultural elements that Boasians called “traits,” their “historical unfolding” should be studied contextually (Boas 1940: 250-255). The most important implications of these notions of cultural integration and the historical approach are firstly that the outward appearance of material culture is not the direct reflection of a culture and secondly, ‘culture areas’ defined as a result of studying spatial distribution of ‘traits’ do not necessarily coincide with distinct groups of people. The boundaries of ‘culture’, language and groups of people do not necessarily coincide (see also Boas 1911; 1940: 435). Therefore, cultures are not seen as predetermined, essential and static entities but rather dynamic and historically contingent.

According to the Boasians, cultures result from never-ending, almost accidental processes of diffusion and integration which bring culture change (Boas 1940; Benedict 1930; Kroeber 1952). When new ideas are introduced, they can be

important stimuli for inner changes (Kroeber 1952: 291). As a result of diffusionary processes, culture traits move across space and time but once they are integrated into their new context they become culturally specific (Boas 1940: 278 & 251-4).

Concepts of cultural integration and diffusion raise the issue of cultural boundaries. Boas did not conceptualize cultural boundaries as bounded, static and impenetrable but rather as permeable, fluid and plural (see Boas 1940: 291; Bashkow 2004: 445). Inherent in the idea of diffusion were the flows of people, ideas, styles, languages and objects between places (see Boas 1940: 284; Bashkow 2004: 445). They were aware of the 'hybrid' nature of cultures, since they thought the historical interactions between communities and the constant flow of elements such as styles, ideas, art and languages made cultures hybridized (Boas 1940: 220; Bashkow 2004: 444).

Boas stressed the importance of the contrastive and analytical value of cultural boundaries (Boas 1940). However, as Bashkow argues, the distinctions between analytic and folk boundaries were recognized: "things that people consider their own may be regarded as foreign from some analytical perspective [and vice versa]" (Bashkow 2004: 455 & 453). A trait that is initially considered foreign within a group can become their own over time, thus not foreign (Bashkow 2004: 448). This distinction between analytic and folk boundaries is crucial because it reveals that they recognized the classic problem of ethnographic analysis is what goes into the interpretive processes; the distinction between the interpretations offered by people—interlocutors—and the analysis made by the anthropologist as result of observation (see Turner 1967; Wagner 1975). Boasians were aware of the "secondary realizations" offered by the interlocutors and therefore did not take their analytical boundaries and/or the folk boundaries as the reflection of essential and natural cultural boundaries (Bashkow 2004). They did not accept their analytical boundaries as the reflection of the cultural boundaries people envision for themselves (Bashkow 2004: 447). According to Boasians, the folk boundaries people draw for themselves are symbolic rather than being pre-given and natural.

In his recent study, Bashkow uses a Boasian approach to cultural boundaries in his ethnography of Orokaiva in Papua New Guinea to illustrate how what Orokaiva accepted as the "other: whiteman" can be considered as their own—Orokaiva—from the perspective of the anthropologist because the very cultural notions of the Orokaiva people determine what and how they construct as the 'other' (see Bahkow 2004: 450).

The things that are considered as 'foreign' by Orokaiva can be considered as their own from the perspective of the anthropologist because what is 'foreign' is a culturally-integrated element: that is to say a culturally-reinterpreted element, and

therefore their own. According to Bashkow this ‘divergence’ between analytic and folk boundaries generates a “zone of foreign”: “...a zone of things that, from the perspective of the analyst, might nonetheless be interpreted as internal to their culture” (2004: 447).

This “divergence” between analytic and folk boundaries is very important to consider in archaeological interpretations of cultural difference. In archaeology, we as the analysts generate our own interpretations at the present moment of the meaning systems of past communities which involves an active relationship between the two (Shanks and Hodder 1995: 3-29). What the archaeologist considers ‘foreign’ may have been considered as not foreign by the people in the society or initially might have been considered ‘other’ and then integrated (reinterpreted or reshaped) into already existing patterns and accepted as their own. An element that is considered foreign within a group initially can become their own over time, thus not foreign, which encourages a diachronic contextual analysis of material culture.

#### CULTURE CONTACTS IN NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

This part consists of three sections. The first section provides a brief background of fourth millennium B.C.E. Mesopotamia, the cultural contacts between northern and southern Mesopotamian communities and the dominant interpretations. The second section deconstructs the archaeological construction of “Uruk” and “Local” culture categories in an attempt to illustrate how they may reproduce the problematic culture-historical assumptions. The final part discusses a wall-painting from the ‘indigenous’ northern “Uruk-influenced local center” of Arslantepe to evaluate the concepts of cultural integration and cultural boundaries and the “zone of the foreign”.

#### Background to Fourth Millennium B.C.E. Mesopotamia

Fourth millennium B.C.E. southern Mesopotamia reveals the formation of state societies, urbanization and literacy. The changes towards hierarchical organization and urbanization are manifested through the presence of large cities, settlement hierarchy, monumental architecture, long-distance exchange and large-scale use of bureaucratic devices. A four-tier settlement hierarchy had at its apex the city of Uruk (200 ha). The city name Uruk is used to define both this period in Mesopotamian history and the “Uruk culture” (Charvat 2002; Nissen 1983). The Uruk period is divided into early, middle and late periods based on changes in settlement patterns, architecture, pottery, seals and writing. In northern Mesopotamia during this period there were regional centers that seem to have varied in their socio-political and economic organizations

(Gibson et al., 2002; Frangipane 2002b; Rothman ed., 2001; Schwartz and Akkermans 2003; Stein 1999).

The formation of urbanized state societies in southern Mesopotamia during the late Uruk period coincided with the widespread distribution of southern-style material cultural elements such as architecture, ceramic, and administrative technology in northern Mesopotamia (Southeastern Turkey, Syria, northern Iraq and western Iran). The widespread distribution of southern Mesopotamian Uruk-style material culture in northern Mesopotamia has been called the “Uruk expansion” (Algaze 1989, 1993, 2001).

#### The Archaeological Construction of the “Uruk” and the “Local”

The implicit assumption in the archaeological approaches to the “Uruk expansion” is that there are two distinct cultural entities represented by two different material cultural assemblages: the “Uruk” and the “local”. As mentioned, the name Uruk refers to the period and to the culture. According to widely used criteria the Uruk culture in the north can be identified by a number of characteristic findings such as pottery, cylinder seals, sealings and sealed objects, sculpture in the round and a particular tripartite architectural type (Algaze, 1993: 39; Sürenhagen 1986: 9; Stein 1999: 149). If a site in northern Mesopotamia reveals all of the above, it is considered a “genuine Uruk” site inhabited by southerners (e.g., Algaze 1993; Sürenhagen 1986; Stein 1999). If some of them such as Uruk pottery types are found mixed with a “local” ceramic assemblage (for example the local production of Uruk styles) and if hybrid forms in ceramics and architecture are found then the site is accepted as “Uruk-related or influenced local” (Rothman ed., 2001; Helwing 1999). In several cases the presence of Uruk-style wall cones and the typical Uruk ‘beveled-rim’ bowls were accepted as sufficient to define a site as an Uruk site inhabited by southerners (e.g., Algaze 1993: 34-35). The ‘local’ refers to the indigenous societies of northern Mesopotamia, and it has been characterized mostly by “chaff-tempered” ceramics that have been shown by surveys and excavations to have had a broad distribution “extending from coastal Syria through the Transtigridian plains and into the southern flanks of the Anatolian highlands in Turkey” (Algaze 1993: 24). There are several major sites in northern Mesopotamia that are accepted as indigenous northern sites which have long term occupation revealing periods before and during the so called “Uruk expansion” period such as Arslantepe.

As it is seen, in some cases these categories are viewed as the direct reflection of groups of people (e.g., Southerners/Uruk people). However, in most cases Mesopotamian archaeologists refer to material styles rather than groups of people when

they use the terms “Uruk”, “local” and “Uruk-related local” (Helwing 1999; Rothman 2002; Frangipane 2002). There are potential problems with the division of Mesopotamia into two distinct groups: first, the “local” and the “Uruk” categories create internally undifferentiated entities represented by ideal artifact types. Secondly, they are analytic categories creating arbitrary cultural boundaries and they should not be mistaken as the cultural boundaries drawn by people in the past for themselves. It should not be assumed that there were distinct “Uruk” and “local” cultures with clear boundaries of cultural difference that remained the same for that time period (approximately six hundred years).

However, I do not advocate the abandonment of our analytic boundaries in culture contact studies. On the contrary, I stress that we need analytic categories to analyze and sort data, but we should not take our arbitrary analytic boundaries for granted. For analytical purposes, the categories of “local” and “Uruk” to define differences in material styles are useful for their comparative value; but we need to investigate how communities of northern Mesopotamia themselves constructed ‘cultural difference’ and envisioned ‘the foreign’ through a site-specific, diachronic and contextual analysis of the meanings of southern styles in northern Mesopotamian sites. An investigation of possible meanings of these styles is necessary to understand the symbolic culture-internal divisions of “own/other”. We here face the classic problem of the divergence between our analytical categories and the folk categories of people in the past which I will illustrate in the next section.

#### Case Study: Arslantepe ‘Temple/Place’ Wall-Painting

Arslantepe is located in eastern Turkey (see FIGURE 1). The site has been excavated by the University of Rome *La Sapienza*, under the directorship of Prof. Marcella Frangipane. The site is accepted as an “Uruk influenced local center” (Frangipane 2001: 325). It is accepted as local because of its long-term occupation revealing periods before the Uruk contact periods, and because it reveals the continuity of a distinct material cultural style in architecture, ceramics and architectural decorative elements during the contact periods (Frangipane 1993). Pertaining to this period, two superimposed stratigraphic layers have been identified; levels VII where evidence for interaction with the south was limited and level VIA where southern-style material cultural elements were more widely incorporated into the Arslantepe material culture—that is why level VIA is accepted as “Uruk influenced local”(Frangipane 1993, 2002).

The major finding of level VIA is a ‘temple/palace’ complex in which there is a long connective corridor, the walls of which are painted with lozenge shapes in red on

white. Some of the rooms within the complex also are painted with geometric and stylized figures in black, red and white. One wall of the ‘temple/palace’ complex had a painting with a scene (Frangipane 1997: 64, 2001: 338, 2002a: 337). The painting is located on the wall of the corridor behind temple B. In this painting two figures of stylized bulls face one another, and are surrounded with a decoration of red and black concentric lozenge shaped triangles (see FIGURE 2). The bodies of the bulls are depicted by two triangles painted in black with red outlines. The rest of the motifs are in red. A figure is pulling what seems to be a monumental cart. He holds a ring with reins attached to the bull’s horns. Over the whole scene is a canopy. This theme has commonly been found on typical Uruk seals, and one example of this seal was also found at Arslantepe (Frangipane 1997: 65; Frangipane 2002b: 284, 288; Littauer and Crowell 1990: 15-18 see FIGURE 3). In interpreting this wall-painting, we can suggest that a “foreign” theme was adopted by Arslantepe elites, thus revealing the imitation of foreign styles. We can classify the theme of the wall painting as “foreign/Uruk” because the iconography was repeatedly used on southern Uruk seals (e.g., Algaze 2002: 70).

Arslantepe elites might have considered this wall painting as the representation of the “foreign-other,” however from the perspective of the analyst it should be considered as part of Arslantepe’s iconography because when we diachronically compare the style of this temple/palace wall-painting to the other wall-paintings in houses and temples of the previous period, we see that what is considered as “Uruk” theme was integrated into already existing forms. The Uruk seal theme was reshaped, integrated into Arslantepe’s styles and re-contextualized within a temple/palace complex. As far as we know, this kind of representation is not found in southern Mesopotamian temple walls.

When Arslantepe wall paintings from the previous period (level VII) are analyzed, we see first that wall-paintings were important decorative aspects of houses and temples and secondly, the same color choice (red, black and white) is seen in this period (Palmieri 1978). All the paintings reveal stylized figures rendered in geometric forms. For example, in the northeast part of the site rectangular small dwellings were excavated (Palmieri 1978). The walls of some of these structures were painted with stylized images. At the back wall of one of the structures is a painting of black triangles on white background (see Palmieri 1978: 11, fig. 5). An older phase reveals linear motifs in white and red on black (Palmieri 1978: 11). The level VII temple building’s internal walls were also painted in red, white and black with stylized figures. Wall paintings, stylized geometric figures and the red-black-white color combination had

been important decorative elements within Arslantepe's architectural spaces. In level VIA the same styles and color choice continued.

The Arslantepe elite may have considered the theme on the wall-painting as "foreign" (related to Uruk) and it might have had a prestigious meaning signifying the connection of Arslantepe elite to the elites of Uruk polities revealing commonalities in ruling ideologies (Frangipane 1997, 2002a). In this case, it can be suggested that Arslantepe elites gained prestige and legitimacy by way of their access to the Uruk 'other'. Arslantepe's elite, for internal social interests, however, chose to represent a southern themed preeminent figure through wall-painting on the most visible part of the temple/palace complex. They remolded this theme according their own social interests and their own artistic traditions. Therefore, I stress that the Uruk iconographic elements, which the Arslantepe elites may have considered foreign, were transformed and integrated into already existing stylistic patterns within a new context. These iconographic elements should be considered as part of the Arslantepe meaning system from the perspective of the archaeologist because Arslantepe elites represented their own symbolic culture-internal distinction.

Arslantepe elites borrowed a southern glyptic theme and re-interpreted it according to their own visual-expressive ways through applying it to a new medium: wall-painting. Therefore, in the creation of a pictorial representation of a preeminent person (a possible ruler) they used their culture-internal perception of the 'foreign' which simultaneously possesses the categories of 'own' and 'other'. Their own notions of cultural difference categorically involve both the 'own' and the 'other'. The 'other' comes about as a result of their own culturally particular way of envisioning what is not 'own'—the external—therefore both categories should be considered as culture-internal.

Another possible interpretation is that although the Arslantepe elites borrowed what we consider a foreign Uruk theme, this does not mean that *they* considered it foreign, because after all they integrated and represented it according to their own artistic medium and tradition; we might suggest that they thereby projected a 'local identity'. Even in that case, I as the analyst would suggest that 'local identity' simultaneously comprises the categorical 'own' and 'other'. A further possible interpretation can involve the application of hybridization theory which suggests that—especially in colonial situations—new and "mixed" cultures emerge (e.g., Friedman 1995: 84; van Dommelen 2005: 116-122). We might suggest that the wall-painting at Arslantepe reflects a hybrid identity. However, from the perspective of the analyst the very notion of hybrid possesses the amalgamation of two or more boundaries: the 'owns' and the 'others.' Therefore, I suggest that cultural difference should not be

viewed as just a manifestation of identity because this view of culture-as-identity eliminates the vital relationship between indigenous categories and our analytic categories and thus jeopardizes the anthropological concept of culture (Bashkow 2004).

## CONCLUSIONS

“Culture contact” presupposes that there are indeed different cultures interacting despite the recent critiques of the “culture” concept in the fields of socio-cultural anthropology and archaeology. The fundamental criticism leveled against the concepts of culture and cultural boundaries states that they create bounded, naturalized and essential entities (Wolf 1972; Jones 1997). It has been commonly accepted in both fields that the conceptualization of cultures as stable, bounded spatial entities is very problematic. The criticisms stem from the view that cultural boundaries are plural and constructed actively by people within societies rather than being essential (Clifford and Marcus 1986; Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Hodder 1982, 2003; Jones 1997). Do these criticisms mean that we have to altogether abandon the anthropological concepts of culture and cultural boundaries in our studies of “culture contact”?

In this preliminary study, I attempt to examine the culture-internal perception and representation of cultural difference by analyzing a wall-painting at the northern Mesopotamian indigenous site of Arslantepe. Instead of focusing on the investigation of ‘cultural differences’ between “Uruk” and “local” communities, I shifted the emphasis to the culturally-particular ways of constructing “own” and “other”. I argued that accepting our analytic categories of “Uruk” and “local” as the reflection of cultural boundaries has the potential danger of reproducing the problematic culture-historical assumptions. I further argued that to be able to investigate culture-internal categories we need to consider the relationship between analytic and folk categories. Focusing on one category and accepting that one category as the reflection of the indigenous construction of cultural boundaries of the past communities is problematic, because it reproduces the views of cultures as natural and essential entities. Borrowing theoretical concepts such as cultural integration and the divergence between folk and analytic boundaries (Boas 1940; Bashkow 2004), I tried to illustrate that the “zone of the foreign” created by this divergence shows the possible symbolic construction of the “foreign” which is created by the culturally particular perceptions of “own” and “other”.

## REFERENCES

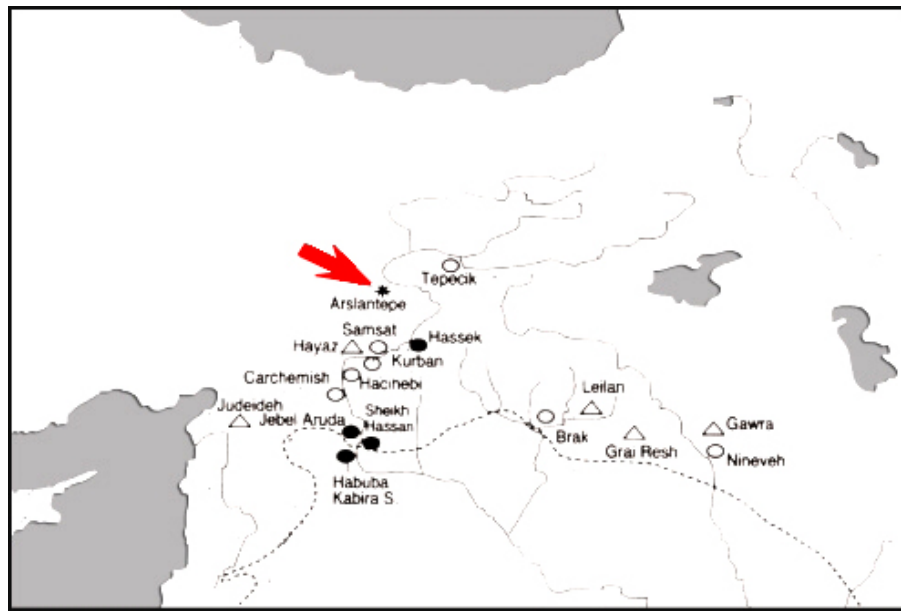
- Algaze, Guillermo. "The Uruk expansion: Cross-Cultural Exchange in Early Mesopotamian Civilization." *Current Anthropology* 30, (1989): 571-608
- Algaze, Guillermo. *The Uruk World-System: The Dynamics of Expansion of Early Mesopotamian Civilization*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Algaze, Guillermo. "The Prehistory of Imperialism: The Case of Uruk Period Mesopotamia." In *Uruk Mesopotamia and Its Neighbors*, edited by Mitchell Rothman, 27-84. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001.
- Bashkow, Ira. *The Meaning of Whiteman: Race and Modernity in the Orokaiva Cultural World*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Bashkow, Ira. "A Neo-Boasian Conception of Cultural Boundaries" *American Anthropologist* 106, no.3. (2004): 443-458.
- Benedict, Ruth. *Patterns of Culture*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1934.
- Boas, Frans. *Race, Language and Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1940 [1887].
- Boas, Frans. "The Principles of Ethnological Classification." In *The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911: A Franz Boas Reader*, edited by George W. Stocking Jr., 61-67. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Charvát, Petr. *Mesopotamia Before History*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Child, Gordon. *The Dawn of European Civilization*. London: Kegan Paul, 1939.
- Clifford, James and. George Marcus, eds. *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.
- Emberling, Geoff. "Ethnicity in Complex Societies: Archaeological Perspectives." *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5 (4), (1997): 295-344.
- Frangipane, Marcella. "Local Components in the Development of Centralized Societies in Syro-Anatolian Regions." In *Between the Rivers and Over the Mountains*, edited by Marcella. Frangipane et al, 133-161. Universita di Roma "La Sapienza," 1993.
- Frangipane, Marcella. "4th millenium Temple/Palace Complex at Arslantepe-Malatya. North-South Relations and the Formation of Early State Socieies in the Northern Regions of Greater Mesopotamia." *Paléorient* 23, (1997): 45-73.
- Frangipane, Marcella. "Centralization Processes in Greater Mesopotamia: Uruk Expansion as the climax of systematic interactions among areas of the greater Mesopotamian region." In *Uruk Mesopotamia and its Neighbors: Cross Cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001.

- Frangipane, Marcella. "Non-Uruk Developments and Uruk-linked Features on the Northern Borders of Greater Mesopotamia." In *Artifacts of Complexity*, 2002a: 123-148.
- Frangipane, Marcella. *Yakındoğuda Devletin Doğuşu*. Istanbul: Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları, 2002b.
- Gibson, McGuire. et al. "First Season of Syrian-American Investigations at Hamoukar, Hasekeh Province." *Iraq* LXIV, (2002):45-61.
- Gosden, Chris. "Postcolonial Archaeology: Issues of Culture, Identity and Knowledge." In *Archaeological Theory Today*, edited by Ian Hodder, 241-61. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2001.
- Gupta, Akhil. and James. Ferguson, eds. *Culture, Power, Place: Explorations in Critical Anthropology*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997.
- Hall, Martin. "Pots and Politics: Ceramic Interpretations Southern Africa." *World Archaeology* 15 (3), (1984): 262-273.
- Helwing, Barbara. "Cultural Interaction at Hassek Höyük, Turkey: New Evidence from Pottery Analysis' *Paléorient* 25, (1999): 91-99.
- Hodder, Ian. "Simple Correlations between Material Culture and Society: a review. In *The Spatial Organization of Culture*, edited by Ian Hodder, 3-24. London: Duckworth, 1978.
- Hodder, Ian. *Symbols in Action*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Hodder, Ian and Scott Hutson. *Reading the Past*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Hodder, Ian. "The "Social" in Archaeological Theory: An Historical and Contemporary Perspective." In *A Companion to Social Archaeology*, edited by Lynn Meskell and Robert W. Preucel, 23-42. Blackwell Publishing, 2004.
- Jones, Sian. *The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Constructing Identities in the Past and Present*. New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Kossinna, Gustaf. *Die Herkunft der Germanen*. Leipzig, Kabitzsch, 1911.
- Kramer, Carol. "Pots and Peoples." In *Mountains and Lowlands: Essays in Archaeology of Greater Mesopotamia*, edited by L. Levine and C. Young, 91-112. Bibliotheca Mesopotamica 7. Malibu: Undena, 1977.
- Kroeber, Alfred. *The Nature of Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952.
- Nissen, Hans. *The Early History of the Near East 9000-2000 B.C.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Palmieri, Alba. "Scavi ad Arslantepe (Malatya)." *Quaderni de La Ricerca Scientifica*. CNR 100 (1978): 311-373.

- Postgate, J. Nichol. *Early Mesopotamia*. London: Routledge, 2003.
- Pollock, Susan. *Ancient Mesopotamia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Rothman, Mitchell, eds. *Uruk Mesopotamia & Its Neighbors: Cross cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001.
- Schwartz, M. Glenn and Peter Akkermans. *The Archaeology of Syria*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Shanks, Michael and Ian. Hodder. "Processual, Postprocessual and Interpretive Archaeologies." In *Interpreting Archaeology*, edited by Ian Hodder et al, 3-30. London: Routledge, 1995.
- Shennan, Stephen. "Archaeological 'Cultures': An Empirical Investigation." in *Spatial Organization of Culture*, edited by Ian Hodder, 113-139. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978.
- Stein, Gil. "World Systems Theory and Alternative Modes of Interaction in the Archaeology of Culture Contact." In *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology*, edited by James G. Cusick, 220-255. Carbondale: Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper 25. Southern Illinois University Press, 1998.
- Stein, Gil. *Rethinking World Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999.
- Stocking, George. *A Franz Boas Reader: The Shaping of American Anthropology, 1883-1911*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974.
- Sürenhagen Dietrich. "The Dry Farming Belt: The Uruk Period and Subsequent Developments." In *The Origins of Cities*, edited by Harvey Weiss, 7-43. Guilford: Four Quarters Publishing, 1986.
- Turner, Victor. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967.
- Van Dommelen, Peter. "Colonial Interactions and Hybrid Practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian Settlement in the Ancient Mediterranean." In *the Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, edited by Gil Stein, 109-142. Santa Fe: SAR press, 2005.
- Wagner, Roy. *The Invention of Culture*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975.
- Wolf, Eric. *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.
- Wright, Henry. "Pre-state Political Formations." In *Chiefdoms and Early States in the Near East: the Organizational Dynamics of Complexity*, edited by Gil Stein and Mitchell Rothman, 67-84. Madison: Prehistory Press, 1994.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1. Location of Arslantepe (After Frangipane 2001: 325, fig. 9.2).



- = Uruk settlements (colonies?)
- = Local LC settlements in which Uruk (probably alien) groups interacted with the indigenous population or interfered in the site occupants' lives.
- △ = Local LC sites with no substantial Uruk presence
- \* = Local Uruk-influenced center

Figure 2. Wall-painting from the wall of “temple/palace” complex at Arslantepe (After Frangipane 2001: 330, fig. 9.9).

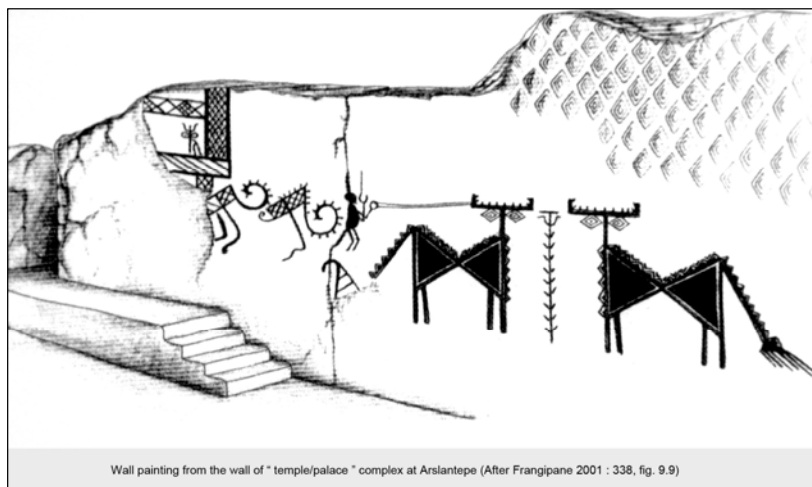


Figure 3. Uruk style seals: (1) from Arslantepe, (2) from Uruk (After Frangipane 2002b: 288, fig. 76).



1



2