eTopoi Journal for Ancient Studies

Special Volume 2 (2012), pp. 97–123

Maria Bianca D'Anna

Between Inclusion and Exclusion: Feasting and Redistribution of Meals at Late Chalcolithic Arslantepe (Malatya, Turkey)

in Susan Pollock (ed.), Between Feasts and Daily Meals:
Toward an Archaeology of Commensal Spaces

Edited by Gerd Graßhoff and Michael Meyer,
Excellence Cluster Topoi, Berlin

eTopoi ISSN 2192-2608
http://journal.topoi.org

Maria Bianca D'Anna

Between Inclusion and Exclusion: Feasting and Redistribution of Meals at Late Chalcolithic Arslantepe (Malatya, Turkey)

The redistribution of meals and feasting practices in the early centralized society of Arslantepe VI A in south-eastern Anatolia (Late Chalcolithic 5 – 3300/3000 cal. BCE) are presented in this paper as examples of commensal politics. Within the framework of Mesopotamian early state formation, this period represents a stimulating case because of the evidence of economic centralization, the significant amount of materials found in *in situ* contexts, and the presence of functionally distinct architecture. Food and beverages were the economic base of the power of elites; yet it is not only through feasting activities that food enters Late Chalcolithic gastro-politics, but also through the meals disbursed in exchange for labor.

Near Eastern Archaeology; Late Chalcolithic; Arslantepe; state formation; commensal politics; redistribution of meals; feasting.

In diesem Beitrag werden die Redistribution von Mahlzeiten sowie Praktiken des Festefeierns in der frühen zentralisierten Gesellschaft von Arslantepe VI A in Südostanatolien (Spätes Chalkolithikum 5 – 3300-3000 cal. BCE) dargestellt. Diese sind Beispiele für die Politisierung der Kommensalität. Im Rahmen der frühen Staatenbildung in Mesopotamien stellt Arslantepe, wo wirtschaftliche Zentralisierung nachgewiesen ist und wo erhebliche Mengen an in situ gefundenen Materialien sowie funktional unterschiedliche Architektur zutage kamen, einen bemerkenswerten Fall dar. Essen und Trinken bildeten die ökonomische Basis der Macht von Eliten; jedoch waren Lebensmittel nicht nur im Rahmen von Festen Aspekte der spätchalkolitischen „gastro-politics", sondern auch bei Mahlzeiten, die im Austausch für Arbeitskraft ausgeteilt wurden.

Vorderasiatische Archäologie; Spätes Chalkolithikum; Arslantepe; Staatenbildung; Gastro-politics; Redistribution von Mahlzeiten; Feste.

1 Introductory Remarks

One of the main tasks of archaeologists is to recover, analyze, and convey in discourse the traces left by the past activities related to production, consumption, or intentional and

The commensality workshop held in Berlin was an inspiring occasion for sharing ideas and discussing many issues from different points of view. Being invited to take part has been of great significance for me. I would like to thank all the people who asked questions and planted the fruitful seed of doubts, in particular Tamara Bray, Paul Halstead, Jason Kennedy, and Walther Sallaberger. To Francesca Balossi, my thanks also go for the long lasting friendship based on reciprocal criticism and help. Most of all, I am grateful to Susan Pollock not only for her invitation to the workshop but for the inspiring care she addresses to my work. I thank Marcella Frangipane, who gave me the possibility of working on Arslantepe materials, for teaching always with passion and scientific rigor. Sarah Wolferstan and Dan Lawrence have patiently read drafts of this work, correcting my English. Paolo Guarino, Julie Randall, Andrea Ricci and Manfred Tonch gave personal and scientific help. Finally, I am deeply grateful to Maresi Starzmann, for her crucial and patient advice, and to the anonymous reviewer, for the effectiveness of his/her comments. Mistakes and inaccuracies remain, of course, my own responsibility.

unintentional discard of materials. Food preparation and consumption are both activities that are fundamental to life, and it is thus unsurprising that their presence in the archaeological record is ubiquitous. The conservation, processing, and consumption of food often involve the use of ceramic containers and stone tools. Hence, along with unprocessed foodstuffs or remains of consumed meals, archaeologists also analyze pottery and lithic assemblages in order to assess food-related practices. The relationship between food management strategies and social as well as cultural identities is also crucial in understanding how a complex society is established and structured. In particular, to approach themes such as social identity and the rise of complex society in terms of commensality gives researchers the opportunity to integrate different analyses of diverse data sets. This approach is very productive when studying early complex societies such as those in Mesopotamia during the 4th millennium BCE, where food was the main economic basis of elite power.[1] How, where and among whom food was controlled and shared are all issues that have already shown strong heuristic potential in this regard.[2] The redistribution of meals and feasting practices in the early centralized society of Arslantepe at the end of the 4th millennium BCE, contemporary to the Late Uruk culture in Mesopotamia, are presented in this paper as examples of commensal politics.[3]

For many decades, the profound interaction with the disciplines of anthropology and sociology has led archaeologists to focus on social and cultural processes or practices rather than on an idealistic reconstruction of the past. This is particularly true for the burgeoning field of consumption studies. Consumption is not a passive act, rather it implies choices and modes that shape economies and social relations: "To a rationalized, expansionist and at the same time centralized, clamorous, and spectacular production corresponds *another* production, called 'consumption.' The latter is devious [...], because it [...] manifests itself [...] by its *ways of using* the products imposed by a dominant economic order."[4] A *vertical* approach that on a theoretical level integrates the analyses of systems of consumption with those of provision[5] may also combine on an analytical level these complex and interconnected social, economic, and cultural spheres. Moreover, consumption as "the social process by which people construct the symbolically laden material worlds they inhabit and which, reciprocally, act back upon them in complex ways"[6] is "an important arena of agentive social action, symbolic discourse, and cultural transformation."[7] In particular, food and drink in the form of meals are in this perspective "embodied material culture,"[8] and they define social and cultural identities.

The anthropological and ethnographic literature on food and eating is vast,[9] and studies on food systems in ancient cultures are equally numerous, also because:

> Looking at food [...] involves looking at the everyday as well as the exotic, the special as well as the mundane. It involves us in a varying level of analysis, from the individual, through the household, to the community (however defined) right up to the world economic system.[10]

1 Frangipane 1996; Frangipane 2010b; Pollock 1999.
2 Bernbeck and Pollock 2002; Helwing 2003; Pollock 2003.
3 Dietler 2001; Bray 2003.
4 Certeau 1984, xii–xiii.
5 Fine and Leopold 1993.
6 Dietler 2010, 210.
7 Dietler 2010, 210.
8 Dietler 2006, 232.
9 See Messer 1984: it is interesting to note that while the various views expressed on food systems are based on the analysis of their material, socio-cultural, and medical dimensions, 'eating events' are part of research concerning cuisine tradition and ethnicity. Mintz and Du Bois updated Messer's overview and proposed a catalogue *raisonné* of ethnographic and anthropological works concerning food consumption in contemporary societies. They particularly refer to "classic food ethnographies; single commodities and substances; food and social change; food insecurity; eating and ritual; eating and identities; and instructional materials" (Mintz and Du Bois 2002,101).
10 Caplan 1994, 5.

Surely, "Food is not only a metaphor or vehicle of communication; a meal is a physical event. [...] Food may be symbolic, but it is also as efficacious for feeding as roofs are for shelter, as powerful for including as gates and doors."[11] People eat, but what, how, when, and with whom are all cultural choices: the social and cultural *milieu* of food-related activities is what marks these differences. In fact, all these activities are linked and depend on social relations, constituting at the same time the occasion to substantiate, challenge, and negotiate one's self identity. In particular through feasts, as ritualized events in which food and drinks are shared, food is a means of marking and reproducing social identities and, potentially, inequality.

Commensality has been defined as simply a set of social interchanges that take place between persons during meals, thus mainly focusing on how eating partners are chosen or excluded.[12] We can surely agree that commensality is based on the co-presence of people who share food and drink at a certain time, space, and circumstance. But commensality also implies a psychological and social interaction as well as a certain degree of emotional impact and gratification; often it is based on more or less reciprocal hospitality; and involves a sequence of actions that are more or less repetitively followed and which shape people's everyday life.[13] Both ordinary and extraordinary commensal events appear to be based on a certain degree of routine, while the presence of guests and the preparation of special meals consumed in an out-of-the-ordinary setting or using special tableware may distinguish extraordinary commensal occasions from everyday ones. Moreover, feasts may involve a higher degree of performance, which is an important means to reinforce the emotive involvement. During these events, food acts as a language and becomes also "a way of communicating with our fellow human beings or even our deities."[14] The routinized, structured, and highly symbolic dimensions of commensal practices place them very close to rituals. Operating both at a cognitive and emotional level, rituals and commensal practices may also have a strong homogenizing potential.

> In a cultural universe that sets considerable store by a host of heterogeneous persons, groups, forces, and powers, food [...] always raises the possibility of homogenizing the actors linked by it, whether they are husband or wife, servant or master, worshiper or deity.[15]

The context to which Appadurai refers is that of a contemporary Tamil Brahmin community in southern India, where—he remarks—the complex system of rules concerning food access and sharing may counteract the homogenizing power of food. Generally speaking, these processes of homogenization may be real or unreal. In the latter case, asymmetrical hospitality or public feasts may reproduce and reinforce social and economic inequality through egalitarianism that is only apparent.

2 Mesopotamia in the Late Chalcolithic Period

Simplifying what is a hotly debated topic in Near Eastern archaeology, during the 4th millennium BCE the plain of southern Mesopotamia witnessed the emergence of the first cities and state societies, characterized by a hierarchically organized political system, monumental architecture, new technological achievements, highly standardized pottery, bureaucracy, and writing. In other, less euphemistic words, a highly unequal economic and political system established itself in southern Mesopotamia and Susiana and a significant number of sites dispersed over northern Mesopotamia, southeastern Anatolia,

11 Douglas 1984, 11.
12 Sobal 2000.
13 Certeau 1984.
14 Caplan 1994, 5.
15 Appadurai 1981, 507.

and western Iran echoed the exceptional relevance of the southern Uruk culture. Due to the political situation in Iraq over the last twenty years, archaeological research has become increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to undertake in the *core* of Mesopotamia, leading to an increase in the number and intensity of projects conducted in other Near Eastern countries, especially in Syria and Turkey. This has meant that there is an increasing abundance of data concerning the regions commonly referred to as the *periphery* of the Late Uruk world. This situation has also influenced the theoretical discussions taking place, which converged mainly on the nature of the relationship between northern and southern Mesopotamia from the Ubaid κοινή onwards, as well as on the originality and dependency of the so-called northern Uruk phenomenon. Studies concerning the social and political interactions in northern Mesopotamia between local Late Chalcolithic communities and southern Mesopotamian newcomers have focused on the relationship between material culture and social identities,[16] and also on food-related practices, such as butchering techniques and customs[17] as well as on different ways of cooking that may allow us to identify ethnic and cultural identities.[18] In particular, Pearce considers the ensemble of all activities concerning food and drink preparation, storing, and consumption as highly routinized domestic behaviors deeply linked to social and ethnic identity.

The historiographical analyses of the Uruk period frequently turn to themes that are central not only to Near Eastern archaeologists. The phenomenon of state formation in Mesopotamia is the pristine case that has shaped the very concept of urban revolution in archaeology.[19] The debate has centered on, and still involves, several key topics: how economic and social stratification became structured and established; what was the prevailing mode of production; where the elite based its economic power (with staple finance as opposed to wealth finance); how elites controlled large sectors of the population and craft production; the level of independence of households; the role of ideology in the formation and maintenance of social inequality and that of trade as a driving and structuring force for the elite.

The main economic characteristic of the Mesopotamian Uruk state system has been identified in the centralization of economic surplus and its redistribution in the form of rations. Thus it is not only the control over production that structurally characterizes the Late Uruk economy, but rather the control of labor—which becomes the alienation of labor—that is the most significant outcome of a long process.[20] Rations "sind regelmässige Verabreichungen von Nahrung zum primären Lebensbedarf. Sie müssen scharf von Lohn unterschieden werden, der auch oft in Form von Gerste ausbezahlt wurde."[21] A ration represents a standardization of the basic needs of a person given in exchange for his or her work. In his diachronic study of Near Eastern food ration systems Milano suggested that rations originated in the Late Uruk period and that "questa *straordinaria persistenza istituzionale* ha orientato gli studi piuttosto sugli aspetti strutturali del sistema che non sui suoi aspetti evolutivi."[22] Thus, it may be more appropriate to refer to redistributive *economies* and ration *systems* with a plural that would take into account not only geographical and chronological but also structural shifts. At any rate, by the Late Uruk period the distribution of meals, interpreted as an established ration system, has been identified in both literary and archaeological sources.[23]

16 e. g. Helwing 2000; Stein 2000; Frangipane 2002.
17 Stein 1999, 145 and Fig. 7.14.
18 Pearce 1999; Stein 1999, 148–149.
19 Childe 1935; Childe 1950.
20 Frangipane 1996; Frangipane 2001; Bernbeck and Pollock 2002, 194–195.
21 Stol 2007, 264.
22 Milano 1989, 65; emphasis mine.
23 In fact "tanto il termine per 'razione' (še-ba, lett. 'quota d'orzo'), quanto il termine per 'prezzo' (nì-sa_{10}: 'equivalente del valore') sono infatti presenti fin dai più antichi testi mesopotamici" (Milano 1989, 66).

If the objectification of the economic redistributive mechanism is the ration system, the objectification of the Late Uruk ration can be said to be the bevelled-rim bowls: found in their hundreds, they are coarse, quickly fired, and mould-made containers with a distinctive rim bevelled toward the exterior with the thumb and with the exterior surface always left unfinished. Describing the ration system in the Late Uruk period, different scholars observed that bevelled-rim bowls must have been used to contain and consume meals rather than to measure or transport them.[24] Considering the above, is it still possible to continue to refer to these meals as 'rations,' as proposed by Nissen?[25] Indeed prepared foods or drinks were to be distributed in the mass-produced bowls, but even though Late Chalcolithic meal disbursements did not share important characters with later rations redistribution (ingredients *vs.* prepared food; monthly *vs.* daily rhythm) and were not a regularly paid wage, neither were they only an occasional remuneration for irregular work. Pointing to the intrinsically economic nature of this food disbursement and to the transactions that it implied, food rations have been traditionally analyzed from a political economic perspective, and most scholars agree that a ration system was established in Late Uruk Mesopotamia. In fact, the mass production of bowls; their association with administrative materials; their excavation contexts—either discarded whole or ready for use and piled up in large numbers—are all factors which may imply that repetitive meal redistribution and consumption were habitual practices and thus point to the existence of one or more central authority(ies) with large numbers of personnel involved at various stages, in turn requiring a level of control over production.

The textual evidence is of great relevance too, as the majority of proto-cuneiform texts recorded administrative activities that included the disbursement of different kinds of rations. On the premise that this early form of writing diverged from the spoken language, Damerow observes: "in contrast to oral language, which is always contextualized [...], administrative activities decontextualize information and reduce it to a few relevant dimensions;"[26] and a clear example of this mechanism has been found in the proto-cuneiform sign that represents a bevelled-rim bowl:

> Beveled-rim bowls used for the disbursement of rations represented by the sign GAR which could be used to designate a ration of a certain size or, in a semantically defined sign combination, an institution. In combination with a man's head it formed the sign combination GU_7, which later meant 'to eat' or, more generally, 'to consume.' In proto-cuneiform writing, however, this sign combination was exclusively used to represent a certain type of administrative activity related to the disbursement of rations.[27]

However, a ration system cannot be reduced or minimized to being merely the other side of centralization nor its epiphenomenon. In fact, the complex structure of unequal social relations that are no longer uniquely based on kinship can be said to be embodied in the ration system, which "became a way to create maintain relations of dependency,"[28] and in the objects used in transactions: the mass-produced bowls. Another element of novelty is the advent of depersonalized commensal practice and context, in which the people who receive the meal do not *dine out* but simply *eat together*.[29] These people are socially linked together by the fact that they work and eat together: this is their *everyday*

24 Liverani 1988, 127; Frangipane 1989, 54; Pollock 2003.
25 Nissen 1970.
26 Damerow 1999 , 8.
27 Damerow 1999 , 8; fig. 3 caption.
28 Pollock 2003, 21.
29 See Finkelstein as quoted in Fine and Leopold 1993, 167; but also Pollock 2003 and Balossi Restelli this volume.

Fig. 1 | The site of Arslantepe in the Malatya plain, Turkey. Photo M. Benedetti, Archive of the Missione Archeologica Italiana nell'Anatolia Orientale.

life, or at least an important part of it. This new formal commensalism, as with other commensal occasions, is "excluded from the repertoire of figural representations in the late fourth millennium."[30] In her work, Pollock has looked at the ration redistributive system "within the broader economic context of early Mesopotamian states" also as a "formal commensal practice," which "involves the manipulation of meanings associated with food and beverages through their presentation and consumption in the service of political, religious, and other social goals."[31] During this period the primary goods, mainly food and beverages, are the economic base of the elite's power; yet it is not only through feasting activities that food enters Late Uruk gastro-politics and embodies the process by which this society forms its hierarchies. Rather, this can be said to occur through a ration practice that is not ordinary precisely because it is embedded in formalized contexts, nor is it extraordinary, as it takes place on a daily basis. Considered from this point of view, a formal commensal practice such as that of Late Uruk ration-meals system leads us to put aside the theoretical dichotomy between 'ordinary-extraordinary' that, although it might be heuristically useful in other contexts, cannot be applied in this case.

3 The Case of 4th Millennium Arslantepe: from Period VII to Period VI A

Moving north to the present-day arid ranges of the Antitaurus Mountains on the Anatolian highlands, the four hectare *höyük* of Arslantepe is the main prehistoric mound in the large plain of Malatya (Fig. 1). Arslantepe is surrounded by numerous springs, and the natural alluvial soil conditions associated with the abundance of water have long guaranteed a high level of agricultural productivity without the need for complex canalization.

In the first half of the 4th millennium, period VII testifies to a local formative process toward political complexity and a centralized economy.[32] Period VII is a long lasting cultural phase (c. 3800 to 3400 cal BCE) with several architectural levels that have been excavated in different areas of the Arslantepe mound. During this period, the primary economy remains traditionally centered on barley and different types of wheat agriculture and on mixed animal herding,[33] while structural changes in craft production constitute the most significant novelty in the economic sphere in comparison with earlier levels.

30 Bernbeck and Pollock 2002, 191.
31 Pollock 2003, 19.
32 Frangipane 2002; Frangipane 2010a.
33 Bartosiewicz 2010.

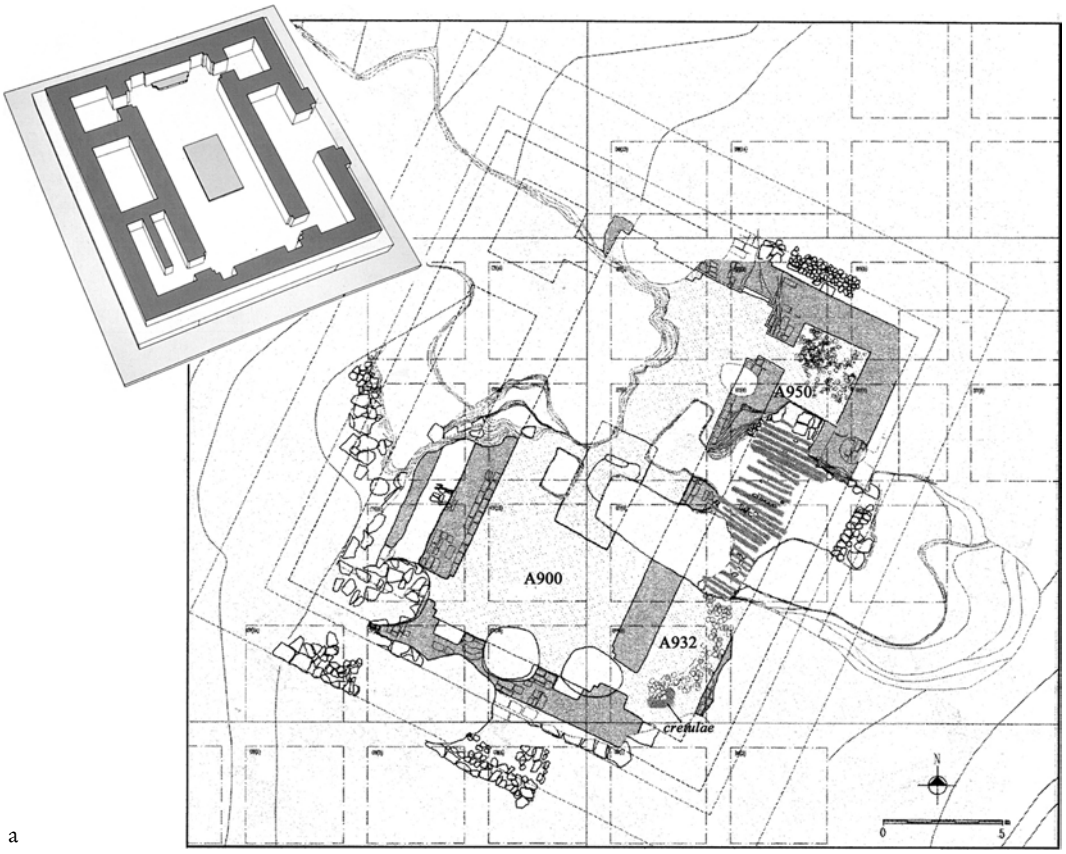
The pottery production becomes characterized by a higher degree of standardization, the pervasive incidence of chaff-tempered fabrics that allow quicker firing, the use of turning devices, and the mass production of bowls.[34] Some of these phenomena begin to appear at Late Chalcolithic Arslantepe from the end of 5th millennium BCE (period VIII[35]). It is, however, during period VII that similar forms are produced in different ceramic classes; slow and, later on, fast wheels are used in manufacturing entirely or partially different vessels; potters' marks are now commonly incised on vessels, particularly on mass-produced bowls. In this phase the large scale of coarse bowl production has been interpreted as a marker for the establishment of a redistributive economy, in which the pottery craft would have been at least partially integrated. At the end of period VII, these bowls are found in huge quantities in a monumental and isolated tripartite building (Building XXIX or Temple C) that occupied the highest point of the settlement (Fig. 2a).[36]

More than 1100 bowls were scattered on the floors of the large central room and piled ready to be used in two smaller side rooms, where some clay sealings were also set apart. Building XXIX contains a large platform with a fireplace at the center of the main room, which was decorated with niches and wall paintings. It has therefore been interpreted as a context for large, public commensal events possibly linked to collective work occasions.[37] These public events appear to be multi-sided and mutually integrated to a great extent: in fact, they imply the consumption of meals by large numbers of people, and they therefore mobilized significant amounts of food eaten with the help of specific objects (the mass-produced bowls); these meals were consumed together; their disbursement was under bureaucratic control (as the presence of clay sealings testifies), thus they were an economic transaction; they have a highly ritual character also displayed by the exceptional architectural setting. Furthermore "the frequent use of the mass-produced coarse bowls to redistribute and consume meals in a ceremonial context of public commensality seems to be evidence for a materialisation of asymmetric relations through an ostensible emphasis on equality."[38] Equality was reinforced by the high degree of inclusion and proximity of these commensal events, with large sectors of the population convening in one single place, attending the same event, and probably participating to the same degree: "The size of the audience and their proxemics to the performers are important variables in determining the potential effectiveness of the message(s) being conveyed during performances and its political implications."[39]

3.1 Arslantepe Period VI A: Structural Features and Material Culture of a Late Uruk Period Site on the Anatolian Highland

In the last three centuries of the 4th millennium BCE, a local early state society developed at Arslantepe, with its own architecture, pottery, glyptic, and metallurgy, but it certainly interacted with the Uruk world and other Anatolian communities. Despite local peculiarities, Arslantepe period VI A shares numerous features with Late Uruk culture. The centralization and redistribution of primary goods (essentially food) and the control of the labor force are the critical elements that may allow us to associate, at an analytical level, Arslantepe with the Late Uruk horizon. However, several features are peculiar to the Anatolian site as structural (e. g., the formation of a state in absence of real

34 Palmieri 1985.
35 Balossi Restelli 2008.
36 Guarino 2008.
37 D'Anna and Guarino 2010.
38 D'Anna and Guarino 2010, 203.
39 Mills 2007, 211.



a

b

Fig. 2 | (a) Arslantepe Period VII: Temple C and (b) mass-produced bowls from A900. Plan: Frangipane 2010a, Fig. II-6; photo: R. Ceccacci, Archive MAIAO.

urbanization as pointed out by Frangipane,[40] or the internal organization of architectural spaces) and symbolic elements (e. g., the figurative repertoire in the glyptic and wall paintings).

The Period VI A pottery assemblage could be said to symbolize these complex relationships. A meaningful example: at Arslantepe, Uruk bevelled-rim bowls are rare and not found *in situ*, whereas the local wheel-thrown truncated conical bowls are mass-produced (Fig. 3). Moreover, these are the most common open containers in the VI A period repertoire and appear to be only similar to the so-called "flower pots," a Late Uruk wheel-thrown container less commonly attested than the ubiquitous beveled-rim bowls.

40 Frangipane 2009.

Fig. 3 | Period VI A mass-produced bowls. Photo R. Ceccacci, Archive MAIAO.

This difference is not merely a matter of form. The mass production of bevelled-rim bowls may also have involved a manufacturing process in which unskilled potters could easily have shaped the bowls in a simple mould, such as a hole in the ground,[41] while producing wheel-thrown vessels as simple as the Arslantepe VI A bowls, on a complicated tool such as the fast wheel, would have required a certain level of skill and experience. This does not imply that Arslantepe pottery production is more specialized than that at Late Uruk sites; it does rather suggest that the scale of pottery production and consumption at the Anatolian site is at a more restricted level: potters could satisfy the demand for mass-produced bowls and there was no need to involve unskilled workers. Most importantly, the mass production of bowls was not a novelty at Arslantepe; on the contrary, these objects appear to be part of a long-lasting local tradition, which, as I mentioned above, began during the previous period VII. However, it is not only a general link with the widespread mass production of bowls that is characteristic of the Late Ubaid and Late Chalcolithic communities, especially in the northern areas of Greater Mesopotamia.[42] The link between period VII and VI A mass-produced bowls is a cogent and strong one. In the course of Period VII, these vessels changed, from a round-based flint-scraped, hand-made version to a flat-based bowl, often shaped on a turning device. Their dimensions also diminished over time. In the context dated to the very end of period VII, there is a prevalence of smaller, flat-based, wheel-thrown bowls. In period VI A all of the bowls were made on the fast wheel, they became even smaller, and the shape of the rim was simple and rounded, whereas in period VII they had a typical interior bevelled lip.

The repertoire of shapes documented at Arslantepe VI A is less varied than at Late Uruk sites. This is also true when looking at open vessels. The set of bowls at Late Uruk sites, such as Habuba Kabira[43] or Hassek Höyük[44], is much more differentiated in both form and dimension when compared to the assemblage at Arslantepe where, besides the mass-produced bowls, there are a few other types of open-shaped vessels that were possibly used for consuming food and drink. There is a distinction between the manufacture of these containers in different wares, which may be linked both to the producers and the actual function of these objects: in the light pinkish, cream-colored plain simple ware (PSW), which is fine and wheel-made, there are some lipped bowls[45]

41 Or see Nissen 1970, 139: "Um den Topf besser von der Form lösen zu können, bestreute man die Form wahrscheinlich mit Sand."
42 See Kennedy this volume.
43 Sürenhagen 1974/75.
44 Helwing 2002.
45 Frangipane and Palmieri 1983, Fig. 30; from Temple B: Frangipane 1997, Fig. 12.4.

Fig. 4 | Period VI A high-stemmed bowls: (a) and (c) from A747, (b) from Temple B (Archive MAIAO).

and beaked bowls that must have had a special function linked to liquid contents.[46] Bowls of different dimensions and profiles, as well as mugs, were also produced in the Red-Black Burnished Ware (RBBW), which is characterized by shiny bichrome surfaces. They are not found in large quantities but they represent the main class of vessels realized in this special kind of hand-made pottery. High-stemmed bowls were produced in both PSW and RBBW; rarely, the light colored ones are painted with red stripes and/or dots (Fig. 4a).[47]

Period VI A in the Arslantepe sequence corresponds to a unitary architectonic level (Figs. 5 and 9). Brought to light in a widely excavated area, the buildings were constructed at different times and during their lifetime underwent critical changes.[48] Nevertheless, in the final occupational phase, they composed a system of related buildings used as a whole. This complex was destroyed all at once in a large fire. The sudden depositional process and the low level of post-depositional disturbance has allowed for a significant level of preservation of *in situ* materials.

To date, two areas with period VI A architectural remains have been excavated. In the area that is at a topographically higher level, a complex of not very well preserved rooms was found (Fig. 9). It contained no evidence of any administrative activities (such

46 Frangipane and Palmieri 1983, Fig. 28.7 and 9.

47 Very few examples of high-stemmed bowls are found in the public storerooms, whereas they are found more commonly on the floors of both of the temples and in a large room (A127) next to the weapons room (A113) that is, unfortunately, only partially preserved. A few high-stemmed bowls were also found in the residential area, with the significant exception of room A747 (see *infra* 2.3).

48 Alvaro 2010.

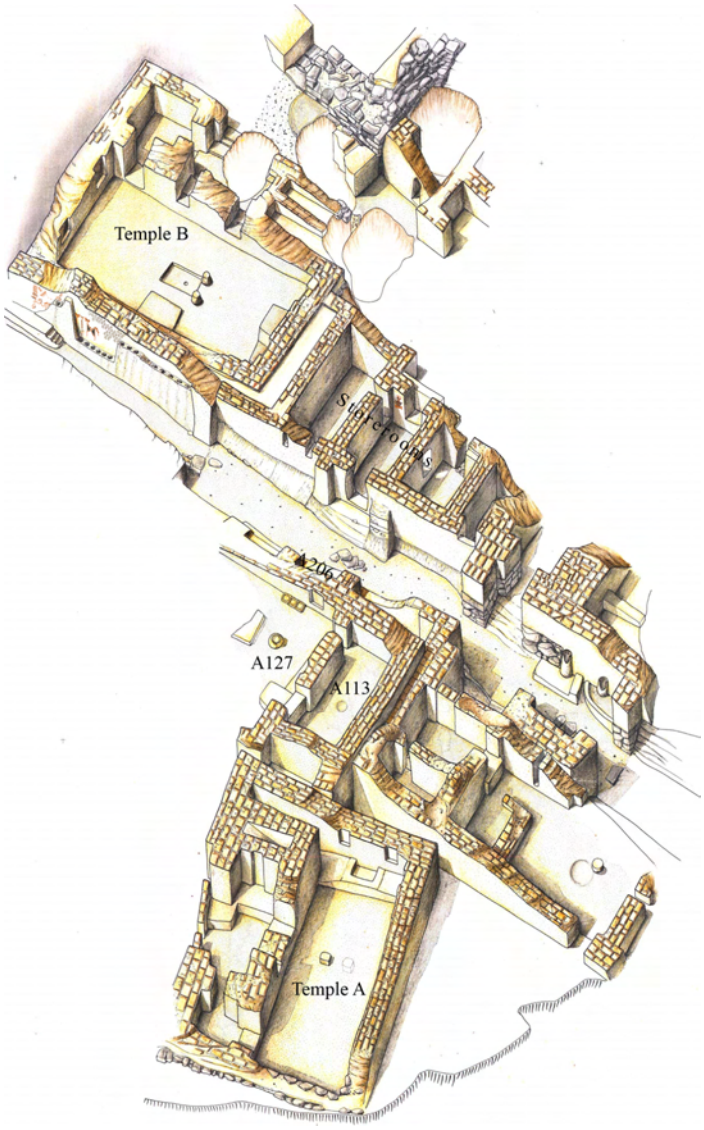


Fig. 5 | The period VI A public building complex. C. Alvaro, Archive MAIAO.

as clay sealings) or of the accumulation or redistribution of goods, but indications of food preparation, small-scale storage, and textile production at a household level were discovered, and thus this area has been interpreted as a residential zone.

The second well-known excavated architectural complex occupies the slope of the ancient hill and consists of monumental buildings that contain evidence of the exercise of power at different scales in separate spaces, such as wealth centralization, distribution of rations under administrative control, and ritual practices.[49] The public buildings are located on different terraces—and consequently at different heights—along a central axis: this is a kind of corridor-street that was only partially roofed, sloping down from northwest to southeast (Fig. 5).

The walls of passageways or those next to doors were frequently decorated with either impressions in the plaster or painted elements and scenes (Fig. 6). In just two cases the scenes are very well preserved due to wall or plaster restoration carried out during period

49 Moreover, a unique find comprising a group of weapons of arsenical copper (nine swords and 12 spear points along with a quadruple spiral plaque) in one of the rooms of the complex (A113) points to a high level of specialization in metallurgical technology as well as a centralized control over the exercise of force and a certain degree of violence and conflict which was physically materialized in hand-to-hand combat (Frangipane and Palmieri 1983, 394–407; Di Nocera 2010).

VI A. One such case is that of the central room (A364) of the storeroom sector, where two human figures standing behind a short table were painted on both sides of the door that gave access to the back courtyard (Fig. 10b). When this door was sealed with a thin wall, the adjacent walls in A364 were plastered and replastered several times over the years with plain, white layers of plaster covering the original paint. It seems that when the door was sealed, it was no longer required that the paintings were visible.

3.2 Period VI A Commensal Politics in the Public Buildings

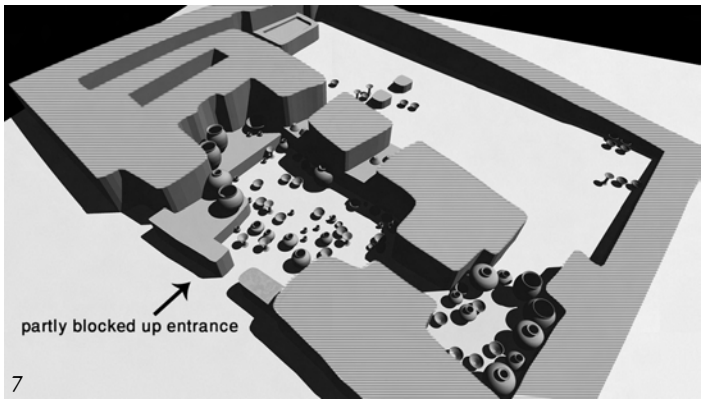
The access to the storeroom sector was from the corridor though the central room A364. When, as described above, the back door into the courtyard was closed, only the southern room A340 still had direct access through a small passage to the open space in the back. In contrast to what was found in the other storerooms, this room contained a few large storage vessels for dry and semi-liquid foodstuffs, a single bottle, a large quantity of mass-produced bowls, probably some sacks, and a lot of cattle and caprine bones from low and medium quality meat cuts. Some cooking pots were also present: they were mainly small in dimensions, but large fragments of a ca. 25 liter capacity pot have been also found on the floor of the room.[50] Numerous clay sealings were found near the vessels and grouped in one corner of the room.[51] All these elements point to an interpretation of A340 as a redistribution center.[52] The direct connection of A340 to the back courtyard appears to be significant. Open spaces are rare in the public building complex, which was progressively enlarged by abutting one building directly against the other in an agglutinative pattern. Although this courtyard or small plaza is located close to Temple B, it actually occupied a lower terrace. Temple B was in fact built at a notably higher elevation than the storeroom sector.[53] It seems highly probable that some people could enter the public building complex from the southern gate, turn right after a few meters, then left and gain access to the redistribution area without really entering the complex, as well as remaining in an open space (Fig. 6). "For anyone with the necessary power and means, architecture is a very important way to influence others. People's movements through space are steered by the availability of circulation paths within and between buildings."[54] This open area was the place where distribution of rations from room A340 might have taken place, and it is highly probable that here people not only received but also ate the identical meal. Thus this area is perhaps the place where this new formal, impersonal, and even 'alienated' commensality might have taken place. In this case, the commensal practice itself and the use of the mass-produced bowls, more or less the same for everybody, are elements of homogenization among the people receiving the food. Further, by taking place within the public complex, this practice underscores a symbolic element of communality between the non-elite and the elite members. Yet it would seem that this unifying element is more ideological than real, and the fact that this was only a partial, fake physical inclusion in those spaces where elites carried out their activities is undoubtedly meaningful.

In strong contrast to period VII, during period VI A the disbursement of rations is linked to specific places such as room A340 that seem to have only had this economic

50 In a preliminary analysis of the VI A pottery (D'Anna 2010) this vessel was not included in the study.
51 Frangipane 2007.
52 The small dimensions of A340 as well as the absence of fire installations in this room attest that food was not cooked in here nor could this have been an area for butchering. Food and/or beverages must have been processed elsewhere within or outside the public compound.
53 In this area, two large pits destroyed the VI A level, hence it is unknown whether there was a stair or some other way to access the higher terrace or whether access to Temple B and the large building facing it was possible only from the northeast.
54 Bernbeck and Pollock 2002, 184–185.

6

Fig. 6 | Arslantepe VI A public buildings: possible passageway to the meal redistribution area. The location of painted and impressed decorations on walls is indicated in red. Plan after Alvaro 2010



7

Fig. 7 | Period VI A: Temple A. Alvaro 2010, Fig. III 2–5.

function.[55] The temple structures became mainly spaces for rituals that involved only a limited number of people, even though administration of goods was also practiced in these places of worship, as the presence of small numbers of clay sealings shows.[56]

Temple A's function is actually difficult to assess, since at the end of the period it underwent a significant structural change (two walls narrowed the entrance door: Fig. 7); moreover, so many vessels were lying on the floor of the two entrance rooms that walking

55 D'Anna and Guarino 2010; Frangipane 2010b. A large assemblage of mass-produced bowls has been found discarded together with more than 5000 fragments of clay sealings in the largest *cretulae* dump of period VI A (area A206: Frangipane 2007). The waste materials found in here originated from a complex economic and administrative sector, which "comprised several different rooms (8) closed using different systems" of pegs and locks (Frangipane 2007, 455). The co-occurrence of large quantities of clay sealings and small mass-produced bowls in A206 implies the presence of different storage areas and redistribution units in the complex of period VI A public buildings, and therefore of "circuits of circulation of surpluses which are at least partially detached from the ideological-religious and prestige sphere" (Frangipane 2010b, 290).

56 Frangipane 1997, 63.

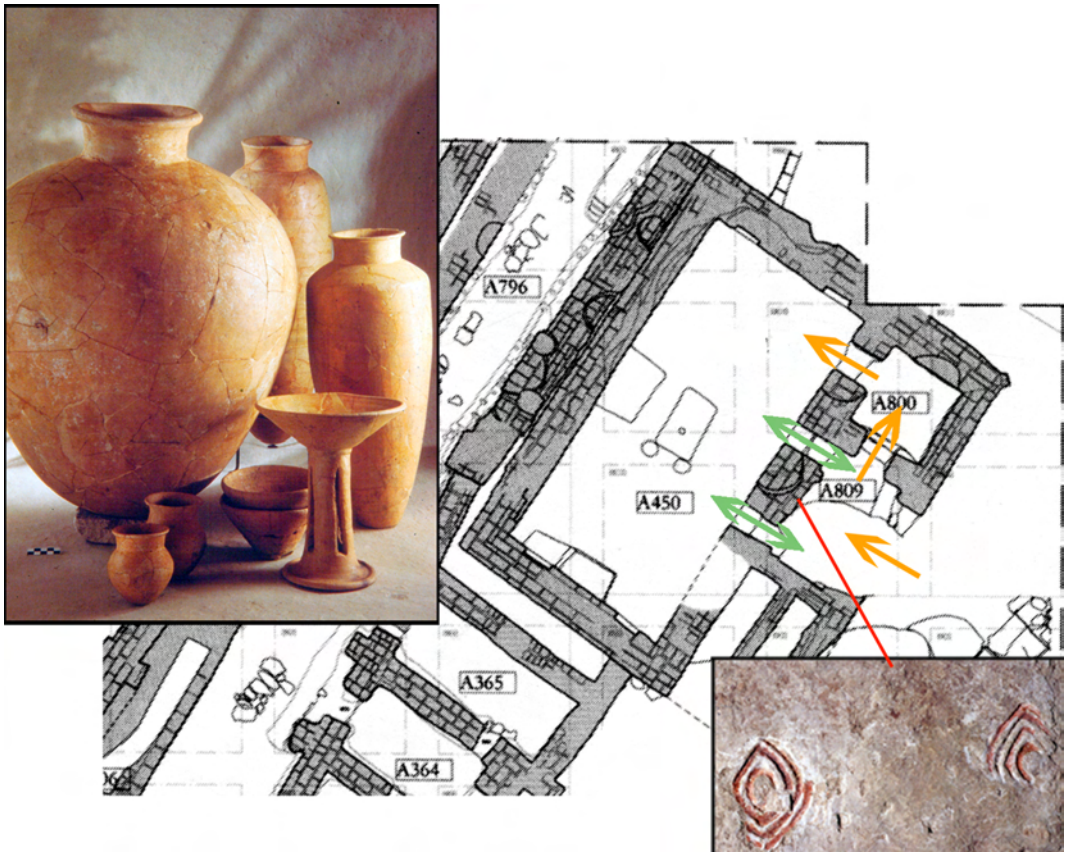


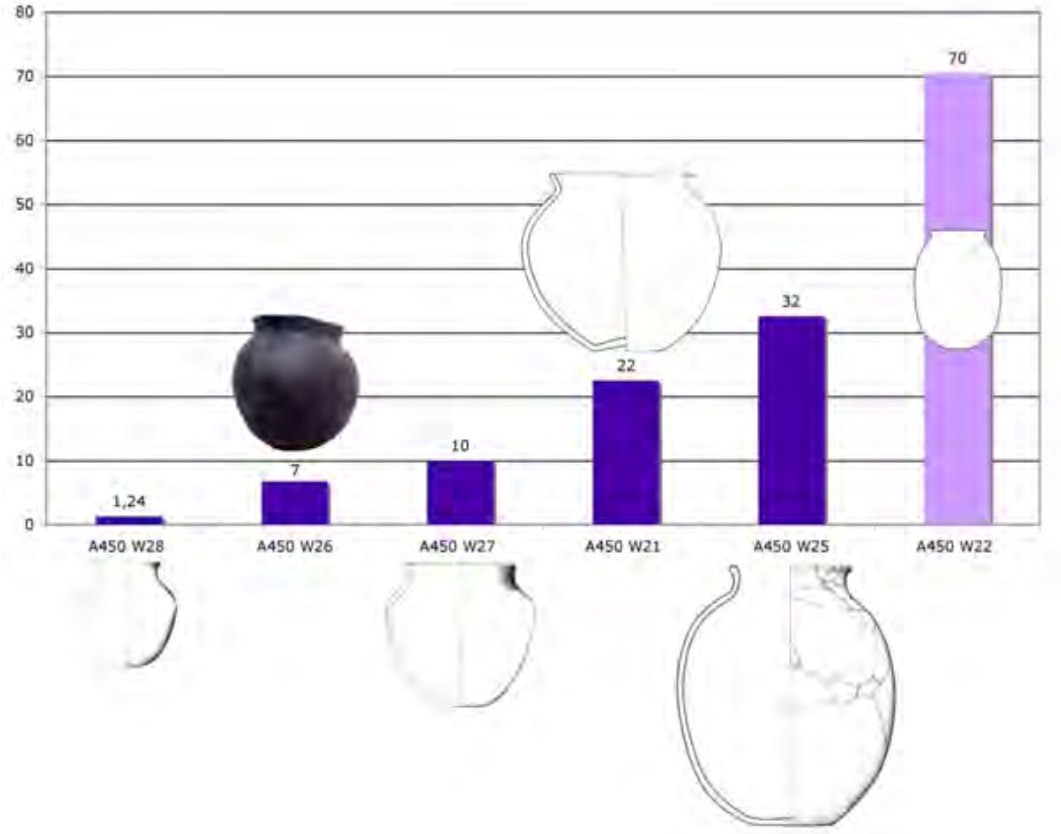
Fig. 8 | Period VI A Temple B: plan; access pattern; wall decorations; some of the pots found in A450. Plan after Alvaro 2010; photo R. Ceccacci, Archive MAIAO

through them may have been impossible. Food preparation and consumption certainly took place in Temple A, evidenced by the presence of animal bones,[57] stone tools with identifiable use wear traces,[58] storage vessels and cooking pots, along with a restricted amount of large mass-produced bowls and other open vessels (high-stemmed bowls; Red-Black Burnished bowls, mugs and jugs; beaked bowls).

At the time of its destruction, large storage vessels and bottles were present in the main room of Temple B (Fig. 8) and six cooking pots would have allowed for the processing of more than 140 liters of foodstuffs (Tab. 1).[59] This indicates that lavish quantities of food and drinks were stored, processed, cooked, and consumed inside the main room.

No botanical remains have been found in Temple B, but the pattern of the numerous animal bones left there[60] is characterized by remains uncommon elsewhere, such as hare and mature cattle, which could have been used to prepare sizeable meals. The occurrence of three of the largest bottles of period VI A in Temple B shows that sharing drinks played an important role during the feasts that took place there. The assemblage of open-shaped vessels gives some glimpse of the nature of the commensal ritualized events taking place in Temple B. The majority of vessels for eating or drinking are again the mass-produced bowls. Considering only the main room (A450), there were approximately 20 bowls, which were larger than those found ready to be used or discarded in A340 and in the main *cretulae* dump. The use of the same types of vessels as in the practice of ration distribution suggests that a strong symbolical emphasis was placed in and through these

57 Bartosiewicz 2010.
58 Lemorini 2010.
59 Frangipane 1997; D'Anna 2010.
60 Bartosiewicz 2010.



Tab. 1 | Temple B cooking pot capacity (in liters). W22 is a *pithos* also used for cooking.

rituals on equality between elite and non-elite people.[61] These commensal occasions may not have involved a large number of people: the temple room is small and contained few vessels for drinking and eating. The dimensions of the period VI A temple are much more restricted in comparison not only to the large Temple C of Arslantepe's previous period, but also to the contemporary Late Uruk ceremonial edifices in other sites. Access to the main room was circuitous: from the entrance room it was necessary to turn right, entering an anteroom, and then left to finally gain access to the main room. Direct communication between entrance room and main room was made possible by two windows (Fig. 8). Through these two windows, the ritual must have been visually accessible from the entrance room that was decorated with impressed concentric rhombuses painted in red, possibly symbolizing eyes. It is interesting that impressed decorations and pictorial depictions are located next to places where people passed by rather than inside the rooms, suggesting that the aesthetic and symbolic significance of these spaces consisted of their being a threshold, intrinsically denoting a boundary between two different places or situations.[62] A threshold is the physical transition from outside to inside, thus from exclusion to inclusion. Passageways are liminal zones, where people have the impression of being already inside, but actually are not. The temple entrance room seems to share this liminal character.[63] The presence of a fireplace in the main room right in front of the two windows would have created suggestive plays of lights and shadows; the food cooked in the main room could also produce inviting smells that could have wafted into the

61 D'Anna 2010.
62 Bourdieu 2005, 342–343.
63 D'Anna 2010.

entrance room; and the people standing there possibly received and shared some food, as testified by the presence of bowls on Temple A window sills and a bottle on the northern window sill in Temple B. "The variables of performances include lighting and visibility, sounds, smells, and taste,"[64] and all these elements are critical components of the feasting ritual also as a performance, which reinforce its emotional and cognitive significance. Once again also in this particular case, inclusion and exclusion are not absolute categories; rather, they are modulated materially and symbolically with different nuances, which might be related to different social and political roles in this early complex society.[65] Here the messages appear to be multifaceted and the vessels used for eating and drinking symbolize this apparent contradiction:

> The elite and those who worked for them (and in a status of labour alienation) may have all used the same plates, a coarse and mass-produced 'Ikea'-like service, as part of a formal aim of being inclusive rather than exclusive[66]. The idea of a 'fast-food mentality' which Pollock believes may have promoted a sense of unity, may have also been used to stress, although perhaps only at a superficial level, a form of unity between the elite and non-elite.[67]

Thus, on a symbolic level, the mass-produced bowls embody different forms of formal commensality and condense diverse homogenizing roles. This also implies a high level of multivocality for these objects: as proposed by David I. Kertzer, multivocality consists in, "The fact that the same symbol may be understood by different people in different ways."[68] and it is of crucial significance "in the use of ritual to build political solidarity in the absence of consensus."[69] Conversely, a few special vessels[70] used in the ritual commensality in Temple B might have had a high visual performance character,[71] and they could have acted as diacritical devices for some particular acts and their performers.[72] I refer especially to the high-stemmed bowls (Fig. 4a–4c): their shape would have required completely different gestures by the people who used them. These gestures, along with the height and color differences of these vessels, demonstrate the presence of all important visual performance characteristics that—as stressed by Michael B. Schiffer and James M. Skibo[73]—would have easily caught the eye of observers.

64 Mills 2007, 211.

65 We cannot exclude the possibility that other more open and inclusive forms of feasts, which could also incorporate commensalisms, took place during period VI A. Of particular significance is a ritualized threshing scene represented on a well-known seal impression uncovered in the main *cretulae* dump of A206: it depicts an "oxen-drawn sledge supporting a figure seated under a canopy and surrounded by retainers" (Pittman 2007, 311). The iconography is borrowed from the Late Uruk imagery of power. Similar elements (the bovines; the reins terminating in a ring held by the chariot driver; and possibly a sledge-chariot) recur on the painting found on one of the corridors, but in this case the iconography is local (Frangipane 2007). These representations might give a glimpse into some ritual activities linked to agriculture and food production with strong political implications and, probably, a high degree of inclusiveness.

66 Here the parallel between the widespread diffusion of Uruk material culture and pervasive diffusion of Ikea products (Lawler 2003) is used merely as a narrative license. In fact, the comparison to Ikea underlies the concept of modern globalization, which, as with the world system theory, is in my opinion totally anachronistic and of no heuristic worth.

67 D'Anna 2010, 187–188.

68 Kertzer 1988, 11.

69 Kertzer 1988, 11.

70 One Red-Black Burnished, three light-colored high-stemmed bowls, and one fragment of a painted bowl of another pedestal vessel lay on the floor of the main room in Temple B. A fully preserved very fine small lipped bowl was also found. A fragment of a stone vessel was present in A450, but it was reused as a scraper (Lemorini 2010).

71 Mills 2007.

72 Dietler 2001.

73 Schiffer and Skibo 1997, 30.

Fig. 9 | Period VI A: the northern complex of residential buildings. Plan after Alvaro 2010.

3.3 Ritual Commensality in the Residential Area during Period VI A

In the residential buildings one room, unfortunately not completely preserved, seems to provide some important evidence of special, ritual commensality in the residential area. This is room A747, which has been interpreted by Frangipane[74] as a small shrine within a domestic environment. In brief, this room was part of an entire structure, divided into the typical bipartite module also found in the temples of this period. In this case, however, the entrance to the building is not through the central side room, but from the room located in the southern corner, which, most importantly, gives direct access to the large main room (Fig. 9). Thus, A747 is one of the small side rooms, but—as in the case of the temples' main rooms—it was necessary to pass through two other rooms in order to gain access to it from the outside. Though A747 is not the largest room in the building to which it belongs, the approach to it is, however, as indirect and complicated as that observed for the main room in the temples.

Room A747 is exceptionally well furnished with a "square platform with one corner raised to form a small plastered mud post,"[75] situated in the middle of the room and facing the entrance. This platform consisted of four mud bricks superimposed and replastered several times. The last layer was white but it covered previous layers that bear traces of fire, thus it is possible that this structure was used as a fire installation. Three small mud tables were found on the floor of the room, two by the door and one closer to the eastern short wall (Fig. 10a). This resembles a similar movable small table found on the floor of the main room in temple B (A450) between the entrance door and the main group of vessels in the northwestern corner (Fig. 10c). These are the only examples of such furnishings found in period VI A buildings so far, and their raised edges resemble those of the tables depicted in front of the two human figures in room A364 (Fig. 10b). These objects are therefore possibly linked to peculiar ritual practices and gestures performed exclusively by distinct persons and must have had a strong symbolic meaning.

74 Frangipane 1994.
75 Frangipane 1994, 215.

Fig. 10 | Mud tables in A450 (a) and A747 (c) during excavation, (b) one of the two human figures depicted in the storeroom A364. Photo R. Ceccacci, Archive MAIAO.

A noteworthy feature of A747 is also the presence of four outstanding vessels: two light colored high-stemmed bowls painted with red geometrical decorations and two RBBW high-stemmed bowls (Figs. 4c, 4a; 12f–i). Some mass-produced bowls (at least five) were also found together with other cups and bowls that stand out as unusual pieces in the period's repertoire. Two large basins complete the set of the open shaped vessels; one of them (Fig. 11) is a chaff-tempered container, whose internal surface shows dispersed abrasions over multiple contiguous areas. The other basin is finer and does not show any use wear traces (Fig. 12e). A complete spouted bottle was found in the southern part of the room (Figs. 11 and 12d). In the northern area of the room, a large fragment of a Red-Black Burnished jar with an applied decoration, possibly of a stylized caprid (Fig. 12c), was found together with one cooking pot suitable for cooking liquid or semi-liquid foodstuffs (Fig. 12a)[76] and another three-liter-capacity vessel with no use wear (Fig. 12b).

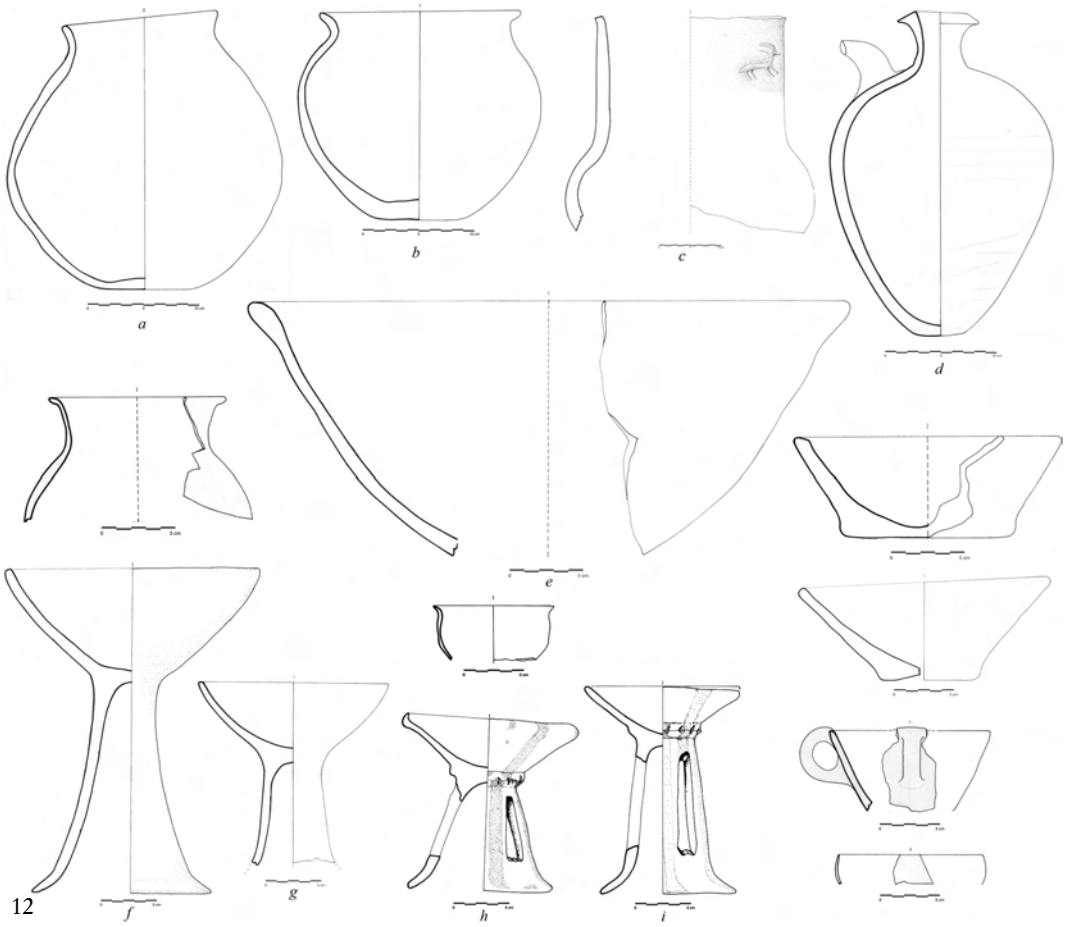
Some animal bones were also found in the room. The age of the cattle could be determined for some of the bones (22 out of a total of 46) and these were mainly from mature individuals (19). A similar pattern has also been found in the case of the cattle bones from Temple B.[77]

76 It may be that its biconical profile and the relatively closed mouth were designed to help prevent the evaporation of its contents. Moreover, its base bears traces of a grayish external sooting, while on the internal surface a thin grey layer of deposit is visible on the bottom and darker, blackish spots on the walls under the carination. It seems that the pot was used either only briefly or for processing mainly liquid or very moist contents.

77 Bartosiewicz 2010. In general, cattle bones are more common both in the ritual and residential buildings of period VI A than in the redistributive sectors, where sheep and goats prevail (Bartosiewicz 2010). This latter pattern marks a clear distinction with respect to the previous period VII livestock breeding, with the VI A elites appearing to have preferred beef both in the ritual feastings and 'private' practices (Palumbi 2010, 154).

Fig. 11 | One of the two basins and the bottle found in A747. Archive MAIAO.

Fig. 12 | Ceramics from A747.



All A747 features suggest that special commensal practices could have taken place in the residential units, too. Food could have been cooked on the central platform in the room or in another adjacent room.[78] Although A747 is not the largest space in the building, it is quite isolated from the outside and the number of people who could enter was very restricted, as has also been the case for the main room of both temples. As in the

78 The presence of fire traces on the platform may also imply that a fire was built there to light and warm the room.

'public' temples, drinking appears to be an important part of commensal events. Yet there are no large storage vessels present: only a five-liter-capacity cooking pot with uncommon use wear traces was found in the room. The dimensions of the open containers are very wide ranging, possibly implying the consumption of different food and beverages. The two large basins may have been used either to process some food (Fig. 11, with abrasion wear on the internal upper walls) or to eat together from the same big vessel (Fig. 12e). This would imply a strong—not only physical—proximity between the people sharing the food in A747 and would mark a crucial difference to Temple B, where no containers for communal food consumption have been found. The presence of high-stemmed bowls in both contexts suggests that a similar emphasis was given to some special foodstuff or drink and that similar practices and gestures were performed in the commensal events taking place in the 'public' and 'private' spheres.

3.4 Summarizing the Evidence

During period VI A commensality seems to have played important roles in substantiating social identities among elite and non-elite members of Arslantepe society. The case of meal/ration distributions is the more extended, inclusive case of formal commensality, which is anyhow characterized by a high degree of depersonalization and embodies labor alienation. On the other extreme, the rituals carried out in Temple B constituted a restricted form of commensality, in which large amounts of food and possibly special drinks were shared by a limited number of people. The abundance and, possibly, the variety of food prepared and consumed in the temples is testified by the large cooking pots present in A450 and by the incidence of mature individuals among the cattle bones, as well as by the presence of pig and hare bones in the Temple B assemblage and wild animals in the Temple A fauna.[79] As I have described above, the degree of exclusion from these feasting practices appears to be quite high, although some of those excluded from the main performance could have observed the events from the in-between location of the entrance room.[80] Through the windows people could watch the ritual, hear sounds and voices, smell the scent of food, and even receive foodstuffs and beverages. The high degree of proximity and intimacy among the restricted number of people who performed and actively operated in the feasts within the temple's main room corresponds to a high degree of exclusiveness of these events, not in the form of an absolute and total exclusion but rather modulated in different gradations. A high level of exclusiveness as well as the close proximity among the participants also characterized special commensal events in the private sphere.

79 Bartosiewicz 2010.
80 D'Anna 2010.

Bibliography

Alvaro 2010
C. Alvaro. "Public and Private Architecture at Arslantepe in Period VI A". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 54–71.

Appadurai 1981
A. Appadurai. "Gastro-Politics in Hindu South Asia". *American Ethnologist* 8 (1981), 494–511.

Balossi Restelli 2008
F. Balossi Restelli. "Post-Ubaid Occupation on the Upper Euphrates: Late Chalcolithic 1–2 at Arslantepe (Malatya, Turkey)". In *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March – 3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin 2*. Ed. by H. Kühne, R.M. Czichon, and F.J. Kreppner. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008, 21–31.

Bartosiewicz 2010
L. Bartosiewicz. "Herding in Period VIA. Development and Transformation from Period VII". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 119–148.

Bernbeck and Pollock 2002
R. Bernbeck and S. Pollock. "Reflection on the Historiography of 4th Millennium Mesopotamia". In *Material Culture and Mental Spheres. Rezeption archäologischer Denkrichtungen in der Vorderasiatischen Altertumskunde. Internationales Symposium für Hans J. Nissen. Berlin, 23. bis 24. Juni 2000*. Ed. by A. Hausleiter, S. Kerner, and B. Müller-Neuhof. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 293. Münster: Ugarit, 2002, 171–204.

Bourdieu 2005
P. Bourdieu. *Il senso pratico*. Orig. 1980: *Le sens pratique.* Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit. Rome: Armando Editore, 2005.

Bray 2003
T. Bray, ed. *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. New York: Kluwer Academic, 2003.

Caplan 1994
P. Caplan. *Feasts, Fasts, Famine. Food for Thought*. Berg Occasional Paper in Anthropology 2. Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1994.

Certeau 1984
M. de Certeau. *The Practice of Everyday Life*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984.

Childe 1935
V. G. Childe. *New Light on the Most Ancient East*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1935.

Childe 1950
V.G. Childe. "The Urban Revolution". *The Town Planning Review* 21.1 (1950), 3–17.

D'Anna 2010
M.B. D'Anna. "The Ceramic Containers of Period VI A. Food Control at the Time of Centralisation". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 167–191.

D'Anna and Guarino 2010
M.B. D'Anna and P. Guarino. "Continuity and Changes in the Elite Food Management during the 4th Millennium BC. Arslantepe Periods VII and VI A: a Comparison". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 193–204.

Damerow 1999
P. Damerow. *The Origins of Writing as a Problem of Historical Epistemology*. Preprint 114. Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1999. URL: `http://www.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/Preprints/P114.PDF`.

Dietler 2001
M. Dietler. "Theorizing the Feast: Rituals of Consumption, Commensal Politics, and Power in African Contexts". In *Feasts. Archaeological and Ethnographic Experiences on Food, Politics, and Power*. Ed. by M. Dietler and B. Hayden. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001, 65–114.

Dietler 2006
M. Dietler. "Alcohol: Anthropological/Archaeological Perspectives". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 35 (2006), 229–249.

Dietler 2010
M. Dietler. "Consumption". In *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*. Ed. by D. Hicks and M.C. Beaudry. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010, 209–228.

Di Nocera 2010
G.M. Di Nocera. "Metals and Metallurgy. Their Place in the Arslantepe Society Between the End of the 4th and Beginning of the 3rd Millennium BC". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 255–274.

Douglas 1984
M. Douglas, ed. *Food in the Social Order. Studies of Food and Festivities in Three American Communities*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1984.

Fine and Leopold 1993
B. Fine and E. Leopold. *The World of Consumption*. London: Routledge, 1993.

Frangipane 1989
M. Frangipane. "Produzione di vasellame in serie e distribuzione di razioni alimentari nelle società proto-urbane del periodo Tardo Uruk-Jemdet Nasr". In *Il Pane del Re. Accumulo e distribuzine dei cereali nell'Oriente antico*. Ed. by R. Dolce and C. Zaccagnini. Studi di Storia Antica 13. Bologna: CLEUB, 1989, 49–63.

Frangipane 1994
M. Frangipane. "Excavations at Arslantepe-Malatya, 1992". *XV Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı* 1 (1994), 211–228.

Frangipane 1996
M. Frangipane. *La nascita dello Stato nel Vicino Oriente*. Rome: Laterza, 1996.

Frangipane 1997
M. Frangipane. "A 4th Millennium Temple/Palace Complex at Arslantepe-Malatya. North-South Relations and the Formation of Early State Societies in the Northern Regions of Greater Mesopotamia". *Paléorient* 23.1 (1997), 45–73.

Frangipane 2001
M. Frangipane. "Centralization Processes in Greater Mesopotamia. Uruk "Expansion" as the Climax of Systemic Interactions among Areas of the Greater Mesopotamian Region". In *Uruk Mesopotamia & Its Neighbors. Cross-cultural Interactions in the Era of State Formation*. Ed. by M.S. Rothman. SAR Advanced Seminar Series. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2001, 307–347.

Frangipane 2002
M. Frangipane. "'Non-Uruk' Developments and Uruk-linked Features on the Northern Borders of Greater Mesopotamia". In *Artefacts of Complexity: Tracking the Uruk in the Near East*. Ed. by J.N. Postgate. Iraq Archaeological Reports 5. Warmister: Aris and Phillips Ltd., 2002, 123–148.

Frangipane 2007
M. Frangipane, ed. *Arslantepe Cretulae. An Early Centralised Administrative System before Writing*. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2007.

Frangipane 2009
M. Frangipane. "Non-urban Hierarchical Patterns of Territorial and Political Organisation in Northern Regions of Greater Mesopotamia: Tepe Gawra and Arslantepe". In *A propos de Tepe Gawra, le monde proto-urbain de Mésopotamie*. Ed. by P. Butterlin. Subartu XXIII. Brussels: Brepols Publishers, 2009, 135–148.

Frangipane 2010a
M. Frangipane. "Arslantepe. Growth and Collapse of an Early Centralised System: the Archaeological Evidence". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 23–42.

Frangipane 2010b
M. Frangipane. "The Political Economy of the Early Central Institutions at Arslantepe. Concluding Remarks". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 289–307.

Frangipane and Palmieri 1983
M. Frangipane and A. Palmieri. "A Protourban Centre of the Late Uruk Period". *Origini* 12.2 (1983), 287–454.

Guarino 2008
P. Guarino. "Mass Produced Bowls in a Late Chalcolithic Ceremonial Building at Arslantepe. Evidence of a Centralised Economic System before the Spread of Uruk Culture". In *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, 29 March – 3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin 2*. Ed. by H. Kühne, R.M. Czichon, and F.J. Kreppner. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008, 147–154.

Helwing 2000
B. Helwing. "Cultural Interaction at Hassek Höyük, Turkey. New Evidence from Pottery Analysis". *Paléorient* 25.1 (2000), 91–99.

Helwing 2002
B. Helwing. *Hassek Höyük II. Die spätchalkolitische Keramik*. Istanbuler Forschungen 45. Tübingen: Ernst Wasmuth, 2002.

Helwing 2003
B. Helwing. "Feasts as a Social Dynamic in Prehistoric Western Asia: Three Case Studies from Syria and Anatolia". *Paléorient* 29.2 (2003), 63–85.

Kertzer 1988
D.I. Kertzer. *Ritual, Politics, and Power*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1988.

Lawler 2003
A. Lawler. "Uruk: Spreading Fashion or Empire?". *Science* 302 (2003), 977–978.

Lemorini 2010
C. Lemorini. "Daily and Ritual Activities during the Palatial Phase. Wear Traces Analysis of Chipped and Ground Stone Industries". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 241–252.

Liverani 1988
M. Liverani. *Antico Oriente. Storia società economia*. Rome: Laterza, 1988.

Messer 1984
E. Messer. "Anthropological Perspectives on Diet". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 13 (1984), 205–249.

Milano 1989
L. Milano. "Le razioni alimentari nel Vicino oriente antico. Per un'articolazione storica del sistema". In *Il Pane del Re. Accumulo e distribuzine dei cereali nell'Oriente antico*. Ed. by R. Dolce and C. Zaccagnini. Studi di Storia Antica 13. Bologna: CLEUB, 1989, 65–100.

Mills 2007
B. Mills. "Performing the Feast: Visual Display and Suprahousehold Commensalism in the Puebloan Southwest". *American Antiquity* 72.2 (2007), 210–239.

Mintz and Du Bois 2002
S. Mintz and C. Du Bois. "The Anthropology of Food and Eating". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31 (2002), 99–119.

Nissen 1970
H.J. Nissen. "Grabung in den Planquadraten K/L XII in Uruk-Warka". *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 5 (1970), 101–191.

Palmieri 1985
A. Palmieri. "Eastern Anatolia and Early Mesopotamian Urbanization: Remarks on Changing Relations". In *Studi di paletnologia in onore di S. M. Puglisi*. Ed. by M. Liverani, A. Palmieri, and R. Peroni. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 1985, 191–213.

Palumbi 2010
G. Palumbi. "Pastoral Models and Centralised Animal Husbandry. The Case of Arslantepe". In *Economic Centralisation in Formative States. The Archaeological Reconstruction of the Economic System in 4th Millennium Arslantepe*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. SPO 3. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2010, 149–163.

Pearce 1999
J. Pearce. "Investigating Ethnicity at Hacinebi: Ceramic Perspectives on Style and Behavior in 4th Millennium Mesopotamian-Anatolian Interaction". *Paléorient* 25.1 (1999), 35–42.

Pittman 2007
H. Pittman. "The Glyptic Art from Arslantepe Period VI A: A Consideration of Interregional Relations as Seen through Style and Iconography". In *Arslantepe Cretulae. An Early Centralised Administrative System before Writing*. Ed. by M. Frangipane. Rome: Sapienza Università di Roma, 2007, 284–354.

Pollock 1999
S. Pollock. *Ancient Mesopotamia. The Eden that Never Was*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Pollock 2003
S. Pollock. "Feasts, Funerals, and Fast-Food in Early Mesopotamian States". In *The Archaeology and Politics of Food and Feasting in Early States and Empires*. Ed. by T. Bray. New York: Kluwer Academic, 2003, 17–38.

Schiffer and Skibo 1997
M. Schiffer and J. Skibo. "The Explanation of Artifact Variability". *American Antiquity* 62 (1997), 27–50.

Sobal 2000
J. Sobal. "Sociability and Meals: Facilitation, Commensality, and Interaction". In *Dimensions of the Meals: The Science, Culture, Business, and Art of Eating*. Ed. by H. Meiselman. Gaithersburg: APEN Publisher, 2000, 119–133.

Stein 1999
G.J. Stein. *Rethinking World Systems: Diasporas, Colonies, and Interaction in Uruk Mesopotamia*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1999.

Stein 2000
G.J. Stein. "Material Culture and Social Identity: the Evidence for a 4th Millennium BC Mesopotamian Uruk Colony at Hacinebi, Turkey". *Paléorient* 25.1 (2000), 11–22.

Stol 2007
M. Stol. "Ration". In *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*. Ed. by M.P. Streck. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 2007, 264–269.

Sürenhagen 1974/75
D. Sürenhagen. "Untersuchungen zur Keramikproduktion innerhalb der Spät-Urukzeitlichen Siedlung Habuba Kabira-Süd in Nordsyrien". *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica* 5/6 (1974/75), 43–164.

Maria Bianca D'Anna

Study of Near Eastern archaeology and prehistory, University 'La Sapienza', Rome; Graduate Student, Universität Tübingen; dissertation on the Arslantepe period VI A (LC 5) pottery. Fieldwork: Arslantepe (Malatya - Turkey), Zeytinli Bahçe (Turkey); Neolithic and Chalcolithic ceramics of Malatya plain survey; Land of Carchemish Project (Syria); Mil Steppe (Azerbaijan). Research interests: pottery studies, formation of complex societies in Greater Mesopotamia.

Studium der Vorderasiatischen und Prähistorischen Archäologie, Universität ‚La Sapienza', Rom. Promotionsstudentin am Institut für Vorderasiatische Archäologie, Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen; Dissertation über Keramik aus Arslantepe, Periode VI A (LC 5). Feldforschung: Arslantepe und Zeytinli Bahçe (Türkei); Studien zur neolithischen und kupferzeitlichen Keramik aus dem Malatya Survey; Mitarbeit am Land of Carchemish-Projekt, Syrien; Mil Steppe (Azerbaijan). Forschungsinteressen: Keramikstudien, Formation komplexer Gesellschaften in Mesopotamien.

Missione Archeologica Italiana in Anatolia Orientale
Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità
Università Sapienza di Roma
Via Palestro, 63
00185 Roma, Italy

mbdanna@hotmail.com