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## Abstract

### “A Re-evaluation of the Late Bronze To Early Iron Age Transitional Period: Stratigraphic Sequence and Plain Ware of Tarsus-Gözlükule”

The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age is a period of socio-economic and political turbulence in the eastern Mediterranean. Tarsus-Gözlükule is one of the prehistoric sites on the Cilician plain providing a continuous stratigraphy of this transitional period. In this study the stratigraphic sequence and the development of plain ware of this transitional period at Tarsus-Gözlükule has been investigated.

The re-evaluation of the stratigraphical sequence revealed that there are eight successive architectural layers in the transition from Late Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The analysis of the architectural remains of these layers indicated a remarkable decline in the economic conditions of the site following the destruction of the Hittite town (LBIIa).

HMW of LB IIa and IIb has a broad variety of forms previously unrecognized. Also in the light of new archaeological context, present study substantiated the view of G. M. A. Hanfmann in his 1963 publication pointing out the continuation of Hittite Monochrome Ware in the Early Iron Age plain ware. In this period the plain ware assemblage of Tarsus-Gözlükule is dominated by shapes, which are derived from the preceding Hittite monochrome shapes. This continuity is visible particularly in jars and bowls. This ceramic evidence seems to indicate that the Early Iron Age population of Tarsus-Gözlükule continued, to a large extent, the cultural heritage of the Late Bronze II period in spite of the break and decline in terms of architecture.

## Özet

“Geç Tunç Çağından Erken Demir Çağına Geçiş Dönemi’nin Yeniden Değerlendirilmesi: Tarsus-Gözlükule’nin Stratigrafik Yapısı ve Düz Malları”

Doğu Akdeniz Bölgesi’nde Geç Tunç Çağı’ndan (GTÇ) Erken Demir Çağı’na (EDÇ) geçiş bir sosyo-ekonomik ve politik karmaşa dönemidir. Tarsus-Gözlükule Çukurova’nın bu dönemde kesintisiz bir stratigrafik yapı gösteren az sayıdaki höyüklerden biridir. Bu çalışmada Gözlükule’nin bu döneme ait stratigrafisi ve düz mallarının gelişimi incelenmiştir.

Höyük stratigrafisinin incelenmesi Gözlükule’nin GTÇ’nden EDÇ’na Geçiş döneminde birbirini takip eden sekiz mimari tabakaya sahip olduğunu göstermiştir. Bu mimari katmanların analizi bu dönemde yerleşimin ekonomik koşullarında bir önceki Hitit yerleşimine (GTIIa) göre belirgin bir gerileme olduğunu göstermektedir. Tarsus-Gözlükule’de bulunan (GTIIa ve GTIIb) Hitit seramiği daha önce farkedilmeyen geniş bir form yelpazesine sahiptir. Ayrıca Hitit coğrafyasında gerçekleştirilen yeni kazıların ışığında, bu çalışma G. M. A. Hanfmann’ın Hitit seramiğinin Demir Çağı’nda devam ettiği düşüncesini doğrulamaktadır. Bu dönemde Tarsus-Gözlükule’de çoğunlukla Hitit Düz Malları’nın devamı niteliğindeki çanak çömlek formları kullanılmıştır. Bu devamlılık özellikle kase ve küp formlarında görülmektedir. Bu çalışma genel olarak mimarideki gerilemeye rağmen Tarsus- Gözlükule’nin Erken Demir Çağı kültürünün GTÇ Hitit mirasının devamı niteliğinde olduğunu kanıtlamaktadır.

## Chapter 1 - Introduction

The alluvial plain of Cilicia in Southern Turkey, where the prehistoric mound of Tarsus-Gözlükule developed, is one of the most important agricultural lands in modern Turkey. The plain is bordered by the Mediterranean Sea in the south, the formidable Taurus Mountains in the north and the Amanus ranges in the east. These topographical features, particularly the Taurus Mountains to the north, had an impact on the cultural differentiation of the region especially from Central Anatolia during history.<sup>1</sup> The fertile plain was formed by the alluvium carried by the Seyhan (classical Saros), Ceyhan (classical Pyramos) rivers in the east, and the Berdan River (Classical Cydnus, Arabic Bāradān) in the west flowing from the Taurus Mountains to the Mediterranean. In terms of its size it is the second largest alluvial plain in the eastern Mediterranean after the Nile Delta.<sup>2</sup> This topography in conjunction with a warm climate creates a perfect environment for agricultural production. In addition to its agricultural potential the plain is connected via important routes to the neighboring regions. The Cilician Gates (modern Gülek Boğazı), the famous pass through the Taurus Mountains, connects the plain to the Central Anatolian plateau. The Beilan Pass provides passage to Syria through the Amanus ranges, while to the north via the Bahçe Gates it is possible to reach modern Gaziantep and the rest of the Southeastern Anatolia.<sup>3</sup>

Inhabitants of the Cilician Plain have made use of the long coastal strip of the plain along the Mediterranean Sea possibly from pre-pottery Neolithic times onwards.<sup>4</sup> Sea routes connected the plain with the main centers along the Eastern Mediterranean. In this respect it had connections with the Aegean, Cyprus, Levant and probably with Egypt. Today Mersin and Iskenderun located on this

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<sup>1</sup> Karg, 1999, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Öner et al., 2005, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Seton-Williams, 1955, p. 123; also, see Alkim, 1960, p. 349 – 396 for a detailed description of the Bahçe Gates and an historical discussion of the historical geography.

<sup>4</sup> Özyar, 2005, p. 3.

coastal strip are important international ports of Turkey serving the main centers of the Cilician plain and southeastern Anatolia.

The combination of all these geographical advantages of the Cilician plain offered a very suitable environment to the ancient communities. According to Seton-Williams, the plain was occupied by few settlements in the Neolithic.<sup>5</sup> However, as the depth of the Neolithic levels in Tarsus-Gözlükule showed,<sup>6</sup> most Neolithic sites might have covered with layers of alluvium carried by the rivers that formed the entire plain. Hence the plain might be inhabited more densely in this period than previously assumed. However, major population increase across the plain happened from the second millennium BC onwards, which is indicated by the gradual increase in the number of the settlements across the plain.<sup>7</sup> In the following periods the plain has been settled densely. Today some of the important industrial and agricultural centers of the country like Adana and Mersin, the former being the fourth largest city in Turkey, are located on the Cilician Plain.

The location of Tarsus-Gözlükule is a result of the geographical advantages offered by the Cilician Plain. This prehistoric settlement is situated on the western edge of the plain. Currently the modern city of Tarsus surrounds the mound. It is one of the largest mounds on the Cilician plain extending 350m in the E-W direction and ca. 100m in N-S. The mound itself, as a result of continuous habitation, protrudes now nearly 20m above the plain level forming the highest point of the city. It has two summits: the higher eastern one and the lower western.

Tarsus-Gözlükule must have benefited from its proximity to the famous Cilician Gates. It is the first major settlement on the Cilician plain after exiting the Cilician Gates, one of the most

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<sup>5</sup> Seton-Williams, 1955, p. 125, 129.

<sup>6</sup> For Neolithic-Chalcolithic levels of Gözlükule see Goldman, 1956, p. 5 – 8.

<sup>7</sup> Seton-Williams, p. 125ff. Also see Yakar, 2001, p. 41-43. According to Yakar, this major population increase arose from the fact that the Hittite kings removed new population from central Anatolia to the Cilician plain as a result of their conquest policy: p. 42.

frequented passages connecting Central Anatolian plateau to the plain. In the ancient world this mountain pass was one of the most important connections between Central Anatolia and Cilicia, thus providing access to the rest of the Near East. This proximity and ease in the access to the mountains must have linked Tarsus-Gözlükule to the rich mineral resources in the Taurus Mountains to the north as well.<sup>8</sup> Today the pass has been enlarged to give way to the main highway connecting major cities of the plain like Adana and Mersin to the Central Anatolia.

The relation of the site to the sea became vital for the ancient settlement as well. Today the coastline is almost 30km to the south of Tarsus. However, recent palaeogeographical examinations showed that the plain to the south of the Gözlükule has formed as a result of rapid progradation of the plain by the alluvium carried by the Berdan River.<sup>9</sup> Hence, the sea was closer to the site previously although it never reached the ancient settlement.<sup>10</sup> Ancient sources report that Tarsus had access to the sea via lagoons to the south of the site. Recent research confirmed partly these sources. According to these investigations Tarsus might have had access to the sea via the shallow lagoons to the south of Gözlükule formed between the site and the coastline.<sup>11</sup> Hence it seems that through the Berdan River, which flew close to the mound until the Early Byzantine period, the ancient settlement had direct access to these lagoons.

Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Cilician Plain attracted attention of the travelers and archaeologists because of its cultural heritage, which was visible in the numerous mounds lying across the plain. The first comprehensive survey on the plain and the Cilician Gates was carried out

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<sup>8</sup> See Yener, 2000 for the tin processing in the Taurus region in the prehistoric periods and connection of the Cilician plain to the mineral resources in the Taurus Mountains.

<sup>9</sup> Öner et al, 2005, p. 73.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., p. 77. However, the authors pointed out that these lagoons might have been too shallow to allow extensive harbor activities.



by W. M Ramsay at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and the results were published in Geographical Journal in 1903.<sup>12</sup> This study was the first detailed research on the historical geography of Cilicia. Einar Gjerstad made an archaeological survey across the region in the first half of the 1930s to locate and investigate the prehistoric mounds of the plain. The results of this survey were published in 1934.<sup>13</sup>

Another archaeological survey was carried out by an American team lead by Hetty Goldman between April and July 1934. Bryn Mawr College, Fogg Museum of Harvard University and Archaeological Institute of America sponsored this expedition. As in the survey of Gjerstad the aim was to locate and to survey the prehistoric mounds on the Cilician Plain.<sup>14</sup> The main reason that took Goldman to the Cilician Plain, however, was the recent discovery of the Mycenaean pottery along the coast of the plain and the discussions of the Hittite-Mycenaean connection.<sup>15</sup> The identification of the Mycenaean-Acheans with the Ahhiyawa in the Hittite texts was a topic of debate among ancient historians since Emille Forrer proposed this identification in 1924.

The last comprehensive survey of the Cilician plain was done by a British team lead by M. V. Seton-Williams. This project was sponsored by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. The goal of this survey was to examine and record the sites in the Cilician plain predating the classical period.<sup>16</sup> All of these surveys contributed much to our knowledge about the habitation history of the Cilician Plain from the prehistoric times until the modern era.

During the American survey in 1934, a total of forty-one sites were surveyed. In some of these sites like Zeytin and Kabarsa lying between Adana and Tarsus, Domuztepe on the east bank of

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<sup>12</sup> Ramsay, 1903, 357-413.

<sup>13</sup> Gjerstad, 1934.

<sup>14</sup> Goldman, 1935, p. 526.

<sup>15</sup> Mellink & Quinn, 2004, p. 320.

<sup>16</sup> Seton-Williams, 1955, p. 121-174.

Ceyhan River soundings were undertaken.<sup>17</sup> The last mound of the survey was Tarsus-Gözlükule. Gözlükule was the largest of all surveyed sites.<sup>18</sup> Also there were ancient architectural remains still visible on the surface of the mound.<sup>19</sup> A final sounding was done on this mound.<sup>20</sup> This process resulted in the Gözlükule excavations between 1935-1939. After World War II the excavations resumed in 1947 and ended in 1948. The project was initially supported by Bryn Mawr College, Archaeological Institute of America, and Harvard University. The primary intention of these excavations was to have a basic knowledge about the successive material cultures of the Cilician plain.<sup>21</sup> As a result the excavations revealed a continuous stratigraphy of the mound from the Neolithic until the Islamic period. In this context it is still the only exposed stratigraphical sequence in Cilicia, perhaps in conjunction with Mersin-Yumuktepe, having such long habitation duration.

The results of the Gözlükule excavations were published as annual preliminary reports in the *AJA*.<sup>22</sup> The final publications consist of the three volumes published in 1950, 1956 and 1963, covering the Hellenistic-Roman, Neolithic-Bronze Age and Iron Age periods respectively. These publications have provided a detailed account of the stratigraphy and the associated artifacts until the end of the Roman period. The entire project of Tarsus-Gözlükule along with the final publications still forms one of most important pillars of Anatolian archaeology. In this context the chronological framework of Gözlükule has extended beyond the Cilician plain, and become one of the main grounds, on which the entire Anatolian chronology has been founded.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Goldman, 1935, p. 526.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 526.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 526.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 526.

<sup>21</sup> Goldman, 1950, Foreword. V.

<sup>22</sup> Goldman, 1936, 1937, 1938, 1940.

<sup>23</sup> For a critical evaluation of the construction of Anatolian chronology see Karg, 1999, p. 288f.

In the present study the main topic will be to examine the transition from the LBA to the IA in the Cilician and Eastern Mediterranean context based on the plain ware ceramics. Until recently the general approach among ancient historians and archaeologists was to differentiate these two periods each with different socio-economic parameters as separated by the less-investigated so-called Dark Ages. This view is especially prominent to account for the transition in Anatolia and in the Aegean. However, such transitional periods are not single events that define clear boundaries between ages. They are the results of some radical socio-economic and, in effect, political events that occur during a period of time, and destabilize an established system. The result is either the foundation of a new system with new parameters or the continuation of the previous one, but with significant modifications of its main parameters. In both scenarios the successive periods, in this case LBA and IA, differ from each other significantly in terms of their socio-political structure. However, by definition ‘transitional’ phases can be expected to represent change as well as continuity.

During transitional periods societies experience radical changes in their entirety. The most visible impact generally is in the political realm. Significant changes occur in material culture in these periods as well. The information generated to account for is based mainly on archaeological and on archival data, when it is present. To have a clear understanding of such periods, however, both sources must be incorporated into each other, because each one represents only limited aspects of ancient societies. Archives mostly inform us about the political and economical affairs that are under the control of the administrations. Archaeology provides information concerning not only the lives of the elites, but also socio-economic structure of the cities, villages and towns that form the bulk of the ancient societies.

Contemporary archaeological data is not limited to architectural remains or ceramic data. In this context the analysis of all remains that human agents used or caused to exist, and incorporation

of all results to each other are necessary to understand the reflections of such transitions on societies in full scale. These can be architectural remains, ceramics, artifacts made out of various materials like metal, bone or stone as well as faunal remains. All of these are affected by socio-economic turbulences in varied degrees. In such periods significant changes occur in the settlement patterns, in the material culture or political environment, all in a way being interrelated. For example, in such periods it is possible to see a general change in the settlement sizes and quality of construction, as well as in their internal organizations.

The end of the 13<sup>th</sup> beginning of the 12<sup>th</sup> centuries BC is a period of turbulence in the Eastern Mediterranean, and marks the transition between the LBA and IA. The preceding LBA can be characterized as a world system based on a balance of power between the great states of the region. The main political actors of this system were the New Kingdom of Egypt, Hittite Empire, Assyria, Mitanni in Syria and northern Mesopotamia, and the Kassites in Babylonia.<sup>24</sup> Mycenaean-Greece was the Aegean component of this system based in mainland Greece. There was a shifting power balance among these great powers, but during the LBA none of these political entities was able to dominate the entire region. Continuous political relations among the courts in various shapes gave rise to the formation of international diplomacy. The state archives from Amarna and Hattusha along with the archives from Ugarit<sup>25</sup> or Emar<sup>26</sup> provide important insights about these relations. The former is perhaps the most important source of the LBA in terms of understanding the nature of the

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<sup>24</sup> See Liverani, 2001 for a detailed discussion of the relationships among the great powers of the LBA. Bryce, 2003, p. 11-41 presents a brief account of the power relations between these great powers in the LBA. Also see Klengel, 2002 for a discussion of the relations between Egypt and Hittite Empire during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> dynasties of Egypt, and the process led to the formation of Kadesh Treaty; also see Cancik-Kirschbaum, 2001.

<sup>25</sup> Two main archives were discovered in Ugarit in 1973 and 1994 respectively. The former consists of around 120 tablets and fragments. A dozen of these are in Ugaritic, the rest in Akkadian. For full translations of this archive see Bordreuil, 1991. The second archive consists of more than 300 tablets and fragments. For preliminary analysis of this archive see Yon et al, 1995.

<sup>26</sup> For the translations and analysis of the Emar tablets see Arnaud, 1991.

political relations between the great powers. It is the state archive of Akhenaten, Amenhotep IV, the heretic king of Egypt. This archive was kept in his capital, Amarna. It is composed of the reciprocal letters sent between the Egyptian pharaoh and the other rulers in the Near East in this period.<sup>27</sup>

LBA was novel in terms of the size of the economic activities as well as the rise of the mercantile idea. International trade flourished in this period. Although under the political control of the great powers, we see the rise of emporiums like Ugarit or Byblos. These cities had a substantial share in the mercantile relations in the Eastern Mediterranean in this period. The size and the content of the cargos of the shipwrecks in Cape Gelidonya<sup>28</sup> and Uluburun<sup>29</sup> indicate a substantial demand for raw materials like copper and tin, luxury and exotic products in this period. This trade was mainly based on the demand of state administrations and the elite classes of the great powers.

The end of the LBA is a crisis period. For a long time the so-called ‘Sea Peoples’ were held responsible for the collapse of the sophisticated system of the LBA.<sup>30</sup> As a result of this crisis period entire political map of the Eastern Mediterranean changed drastically. The Hittite Empire disintegrated, and its political legacy lasted into IA only in few centers in Southeastern Anatolia and Northern Syria like Maladiya/Melid and Carchemish. Pharoanic Egypt could survive the attacks of the Sea Peoples, but the turbulence that shook the entire region consumed most of its economic and political power. The New Kingdom ended. The country entered the Third Intermediate Period, which is characterized by political instability and administrative disintegration.<sup>31</sup> The sites like Hattusha and Porsuk Höyük in Central Anatolia, Tarsus-Gözlükule, Kinet Höyük on the Cilician plain, Emar-

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<sup>27</sup> For the most updated version of the translations of the Amarna Letters see Moran, 1992.

<sup>28</sup> Bass, 1967.

<sup>29</sup> Preliminary reports of the Uluburun shipwreck were published annually in *AJA*; see Bass, 1986; Bass et al, 1989; Pulak, 1988.

<sup>30</sup> See Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion about the Sea Peoples and the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean at the end of the LBA.

<sup>31</sup> For more detailed discussion about the socio-economic developments of this period in Egypt see Trigger et al, 1984, p. 232f.

Meskene in Northern Syria, Ugarit-Ras Shamra and Byblos on the Levantine coast along the Eastern Mediterranean suffered from serious destructions, and, like Ugarit,<sup>32</sup> some did not last into the IA. As a result of the destruction of the main centers and insecure environment international trade along the coast of Eastern Mediterranean ceased.

The construction of the chronological framework of most sites concerning the LBA-IA transition is based on three main grounds: Temple inscriptions of Ramses III of Egypt at Medinet Habu describing his battles with the Sea Peoples, and the destructions of Hattusha and Ugarit since these destructions mark the cessation of the record keeping in these centers. Such is the case particularly in the construction of Anatolian chronology. There is a tendency to attribute all destruction levels of the other Hittite sites in Anatolia chronologically to the destructions of Hattusha and Ugarit.<sup>33</sup> In other words, according to this view all parts of the Hittite Empire experienced destructions at the same time along with Hattusha. Accordingly, the collapse of the political and economic system that shaped Hittite territories is interpreted as the end of LBA in these regions.

Perhaps it would be instructive to ask whether it would be possible to define the end of an age in Anatolia in the absence of the above-mentioned archival texts and inscriptions. Does the material culture reflect a change as sharp as in the political arena across the sites previously under Hittite control? In this context it is deemed necessary to re-examine the change in the available material culture from main the Hittite centers of the period in Anatolia. Hittite material culture is distinct, more or less uniform in appearance in long distances. Ceramics form the most obvious category to exemplify this situation. The mass produced wheel-made ceramic repertoire of the

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<sup>32</sup> Caubet, 2000, p. 36.

<sup>33</sup> In Anatolia we see such a tendency in the chronologies of the sites like Kilise Tepe, Kinet Höyük, Porsuk Höyük.

Hittites overcame regional differentiation during the LBA.<sup>34</sup> The collapse of the political system may not have spread in the Hittite controlled territory at uniform speed or simultaneously. The change in the material culture generally reflects a slower pace compared to political events. Likewise it is not homogenous across the regions.

The most significant archaeological evidence about the fall of the central Hittite administration in Anatolia is the re-emergence of the regional differences. During the post-Hittite period some regions exhibit a complete break from the preceding Hittite tradition, in other areas continuity, particularly in Hittite ceramic tradition, remains for some time. In this context these regional differences, so far best known in ceramic terms, make it quite difficult to construct a coherent chronology in the transition from LBA to IA. This new regionalism presents a challenge when looking for correlations and synchronisms between regions.

Moreover, available data, through which the chronology is constructed, exists in fewer categories in this period compared to the LBA. In the absence of archival data or rich glyptic material for the transitional period and IA, our primary source in Anatolia still consists of, to a large extent, ceramic evidence. Recent excavations in various parts of Anatolia and Northern Syria, however, have provided new data to re-analyze the transition. Studies carried out at Gordion, Kaman-Kalehöyük and Kuşaklı-Sarissa in Central Anatolia, Kilise Tepe and Kinet Höyük in Southern Anatolia, Lidar Höyük, Tille Höyük, Korucutepe and Norşuntepe along the Euphrates Valley to the north provided important data concerning the nature of the transitional period in those regions. Tell Afis, or Tell Jurn Kabir are the sites in Northern Syria that inform us about the transition in this region. Thus, currently we have a better understanding about the period succeeding the fall of the Hittite administration. Ceramic assemblage, however, still constitutes the majority of

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<sup>34</sup> Gates, 2001, p. 137-138.

this data. Also in some cases <sup>14</sup>C analysis results offer a solid basis for dating, and help to establish chronology for some of these sites.

In the present study the main intention is to re-analyze the plain ware of the transitional period at Tarsus-Gözlükule in the light of new excavations from Anatolia and Northern Syria. This type of pottery represents the bulk of the ceramic assemblage at Tarsus-Gözlükule both in the LBA and IA levels of the settlement. The so-called Hittite Monochrome Ware (HMW) forms the main ceramic component during the later parts of the LBA at Tarsus-Gözlükule (LB IIa and LB IIb according to Goldman terminology) like most other contemporary Hittite sites in Anatolia. In the following EIA the bulk of the ceramic assemblage is composed of a type of plain ware, which according to G. M. A. Hanfmann, has close affinities to the preceding HMW.<sup>35</sup> The main question in present study is to what extent and how long this typical LBA ware continued in the following IA levels at Gözlükule.

The ceramic assemblage of the transitional phases of Tarsus-Gözlükule, LB IIb and the early phases of the EIA, was separately discussed in the Bronze Age and Iron Age publications. In the present study this ceramic assemblage will be evaluated combined together. In the Iron Age volume Hanfmann presented a discussion of the EIA plain ware pottery at Tarsus-Gözlükule along with a sample catalog.<sup>36</sup> Here it should be noted that in the period of the publication, the plain ware was less known in other sites of Anatolia. Hence, the primary concern of Hanfmann was to present a preliminary report of the material. When we look at the published material, plain ware, which forms 70-80% of the ceramic assemblage in all phases of the IA, is underrepresented in the publication. In this context, the primary contribution of the present study to the previous analysis is to include

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<sup>35</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 105.

<sup>36</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 105-107. For cataloged pieces see Nr. 187-307.



unpublished plain ware material, most of which does not find its correspondence in the Hanfmann, and Goldman catalogues for the LBA and EIA. This broad spectrum of plain ware forms will help us to reframe Tarsus-Gözlükule material in the newly developing archaeological context of Anatolia in the EIA.

The evaluation of the ceramic assemblage is juxtaposed to a re-investigation the architectural levels of the transitional period. Such an analysis provides the stratigraphic framework to evaluate the ceramic assemblage. Based on this fine-tuning of the stratigraphy one can anchor observations on change or continuity in the plain ware during the transitional period. Furthermore, the development of architecture is itself part of the material evidence that reflects social and economic changes in society. Hence, there is a multi-leveled need to include a discussion of the architectural data alongside the ceramic evidence since both of them are important elements of the material culture of a community.

Chapter 2 - Historical Framework: The Cilician and the Eastern Mediterranean Context at the turn of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium BC.

### 2.1. Cilicia in the LBA

From the earliest times of the Hittite rule in Anatolia, Cilicia had close relations with the great kings of the Central Anatolia. The region of Adaniya (modern Adana) was under the control of the Hittites during the Old Kingdom.<sup>37</sup> The land of Kizzuwatna covered a large part of the Southern Anatolia along with the entire Cilician Plain.<sup>38</sup> Hittite kings had always interest in this important country from the beginning because of the fact that it was the shortest route to the Northern Syria.<sup>39</sup> Hattushili I, the founder of the Hittite state, used the Cilician Gates and passed through the Cilician Plain during his Syrian campaigns.<sup>40</sup>

After the reign of Murshili I, the successor of Hattushili I, Hittite state weakened as a result of the continuous dynastic conflicts at Hattusha.<sup>41</sup> During this period Kizzuwatna gained more political independence. A bulla recovered at Tarsus-Gözlükule bearing the seal impression of Ishputahshu, the king of Kizzuwatna,<sup>42</sup> is an important indicator of the greater political independence enjoyed by the Kizzuwatnean rulers in this period. This king made a treaty with the Hittite king, Telipinu.<sup>43</sup>

During the 15<sup>th</sup> century BC Kizzuwatna came into close contact with the Hurrian Mitanni coalition controlling Northern Syria and Northern Mesopotamia.<sup>44</sup> In this period the interest of the

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<sup>37</sup> Beal, 1986, p. 424.f.

<sup>38</sup> Goetze, 1940,

<sup>39</sup> Bing, 1969, p. 21.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21-24.

<sup>41</sup> See Bryce, 1999 for a detailed account of the dynastic struggles in the Old Kingdom. Also see Klengel, 1999 for the relevant bibliography.

<sup>42</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 246f, figs. 401.405, Nr.:1.

<sup>43</sup> Beal, 1986, p. 427; Hawkins, 2000, p. 83.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 430.

kingdom shifted to the political affairs in Syria. During the Syrian campaigns of the Egyptian king, Thutmose III, Kizzuwatna was among the forces of the Mitanni coalition.<sup>45</sup> In Egyptian sources the name of the country was Qode (or Qadi).<sup>46</sup>

Kizzuwatna remained independent until it was annexed to the Hittite Empire by Tudhaliya I (II) or Suppiluliuma I.<sup>47</sup> The annexation occurred through a treaty made between Shunashura, the king of Kizzuwatna, and one of the above stated Hittite kings.<sup>48</sup> In both scenarios it seems that Kizzuwatna was under Hittite control during the reign of Suppiluliuma I. This king appointed his son, Telipinu as priest to Kizzuwatna with authority of a vassal ruler,<sup>49</sup> which brought Kizzuwatna under strict Hittite control.

Not much information is available concerning the political situation in Kizzuwatna within the Hittite Empire until the collapse of the latter. However, it remained as a vassal state of the empire until its collapse.

The geography of Kizzuwatna is defined by the classical Cilicia Pedias and Kummanni (classical Komana near modern Şar). The latter was an important cultic center during the Hittite period.<sup>50</sup> Lawazantiya/La(hu)zantiya located near Kummanni is another important cult center for the Hittites.<sup>51</sup> Adaniya (modern Adana), Tarsa (Greek Tarsos, Latin Tarsus, modern Tarsus), Zunahhara, and Kikkipra are other major centers of Kizzuwatna, which were mentioned in the Hittite sources.

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<sup>45</sup> Bing, 1969, p. 24.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Beal, 1986, p. 424-445.

<sup>48</sup> There is a debate about the identity of the Hittite owner of this treaty. Some academicians argue that Tudhaliya I (II) made this treaty, see Wilhelm, 1988; Hawkins, 2000, p. 38. Beal, 1986, p. 437-440 argue that the treaty was made before Tudhaliya I (II). Some scholars argue that Suppiluliuma I made the treaty, see Guterbock, 1997, p. 180; Garstang & Gurney, 1959, p. 58; Haas & Wilhelm, 1974, p. 4.

<sup>49</sup> For the transcription and translation of this document, KUB XIX 25, see Goetze, 1940, p. 12-14. For the interpretation of the document see Beal, 1986, p. 435.

<sup>50</sup> Goetze, 1940, p. 9-17 & 59; Garstang and Gurney, 1959, p. 51f.

<sup>51</sup> Garstang and Gurney, 1959, p. 52.

Kizzuwatna played an important role in the transmission of the Hurrian cultural and religious elements into the Hittite culture. The marriage of Hattushili III and Puduhepat contributed primarily in this process.<sup>52</sup> Puduhepat, before her marriage with Hattushili of Hatti, was the daughter of the high priest of Lawazantiya, herself being a priestess.<sup>53</sup> This Hurrian influence on the Hittites is particularly visible in the Hittite pantheon displayed at Yazılıkaya Sanctuary near Hattusha.<sup>54</sup>

Along with the Hurrian presence in Kizzuwatna, it seems that there was a substantial Luwian population in the region during the Hittite period as well.<sup>55</sup>

Hittite presence in Cilicia is visible in the rock relieves made by the Hittite kings in various parts of the region. Among these the Sirkeli and Hanyeri relieves are significant. The former belong to Muwattali II, the Hittite king, who made Kadesh War with Ramses of Egypt. It faces the Ceyhan River. Here Muwattali holds a lituus in his left hand.<sup>56</sup> Hanyeri relief depicts the great king Hattushili III along with his wife.<sup>57</sup> On this rock relief, the king and queen are pouring libations to an unknown male deity and Hepat, respectively.<sup>58</sup> Rock relieves dated to the Hittite period were found at Franktin, Taşçı, İmamkulu as well. The common point about these relieves is that all of them are located along the Gezbel Pass, a strategic entrance point into the Cilician Plain.<sup>59</sup>

## 2.2. Collapse of the Hittite Empire and the crisis in the Eastern Mediterranean:

In this section the political events that led to the collapse of the Hittite Empire will be discussed briefly. The period from the reign of Hattushili III until Suppiluliuma II, the last Hittite

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<sup>52</sup> Hawkins, 2000, p. 38.

<sup>53</sup> Otten 1981, p. 17; Goetze, 1940, p. 71.

<sup>54</sup> Hawkins, 2000, p. 38.

<sup>55</sup> Guterbock, 1997, p. 182; Haas & Wilhelm, 1974, p. 5.

<sup>56</sup> Kohlmeyer, 1983, p. 98f.

<sup>57</sup> Kohlmeyer, 1983, p. 67.

<sup>58</sup> According to Kohlmeyer the male deity is the Weather God of Nerik. See *ibid.*, p. 67.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 67.

king, in addition to the intensive international political and economic relations with other great powers of the Eastern Mediterranean, is characterized by political problems within the empire. The most significant one is the dynastic conflicts. The origin of these conflicts laid in the dethronement of Murshili III or Urhi-Teshup, the son of Muwattali II, by his uncle Hattushili III.<sup>60</sup> The latter set his line at Hattusha as the new ruling house. Repercussions of this event, however, were long-term, and affected negatively the internal and external situation of the empire until its demise around ca.1200BC.

After his successful *coup d'etat* Hattushili III set Kurunta, the brother of Urhi-Teshup, as the king of the land of Tarhuntasha, because he supported Hattushili during his conflict with Urhi-Teshup.<sup>61</sup> Tarhuntasha, which is still not geographically located, was the temporary capital of the Hittites founded by Muwattali II because of its strategic location in the Southern Anatolia enabling easy access to the Syrian territory during the clash with the Egyptian Empire.<sup>62</sup> It is likely to be located in the Göksu valley (Classical Calycadnos).<sup>63</sup> Later the name of Tarhuntasha was used for the entire land by the Hittite sources. The borders of the land of Tarhuntasha extended from Perge (Partha in Hittite) in the west to Cilicia (Kizzuwatna in the LBA) in the east, from the Mediterranean coast to the south of Konya plain in the north.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>60</sup> For the most updated information about the dynastic succession in the Hittites from the Old Kingdom until the end of the empire see Klengel, 1999; Bryce, 1999.

<sup>61</sup> Beckman, 1999, p. 107.

<sup>62</sup> We learn the removal of the capital from Hattusha to Tarhuntasha in the Apology of Hattushili, see Otten, 1981, p. 15. Another reason for removing the capital to Tarhuntasha can be temporary invasion of Hattusha by the Kashka people, the aggressive northern neighbors of the Hittites.

<sup>63</sup> Hawkins, 1995, p. 56.

<sup>64</sup> For a discussion of the geographical borders of ancient Tarhuntasha see Hawkins, 1995, p. 49-53.

A series of treaties were concluded by Hattushili III and his successor Tudhaliya IV with Kurunta defining the political obligations of the latter against the great kings at Hattusha.<sup>65</sup> It is possible to make, however, clear differentiations between the treaties of Hattushili and Tudhaliya IV in terms of the political and land gains of Kurunta. Within the treaty concluded between Tudhaliya IV and Kurunta, it is stated that the great king granted more land and human power under the control of Kurunta than the ones Hattushili III granted previously.<sup>66</sup> Also Kurunta was defined as the sole owner of the “whoever is in the Land of Hulaya River”.<sup>67</sup> Moreover Kurunta was raised to the rank of the king of Carchemish:

“ Concerning the Great Throne (of Hatti), his protocol shall be the same as that of the king of the land of Carchemish.....”<sup>68</sup>

Thus, Kurunta obtained the same political status with that of the king of Carchemish along with his land and human gains. Hattushili III did not grant such privileges to Kurunta in the previous treaty. Moreover the language of the treaties concluded by Hattushili III and Tudhaliya IV are significantly different. In the treaty between Hattushili III and Ulmi-Teshup (the Hurrian name of Kurunta) the great king of Hattusha is in the position of ordering:

“Protect the land which I have given to you, Ulmi-Teshup, and the frontiers which I have established for you. Do not violate them.....”<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> The most updated translations of these treaties are published by G. Beckman (1999). Also for the transcription and another translation of the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Kurunta, the famous *Bronzetafel*, see Otten, 1988.

<sup>66</sup> Beckman, 1999, No 18C, §16.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, No 18C, § 16.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, No 18C, § 18.

These statements are rather orders of a king to his vassal. In Tudhaliya IV – Kurunta treaty no such statements were used. Moreover, it can be argued that the statements to please Kurunta were preferred. All these show that from the reign of Hattushili III to Tudhaliya IV Kurunta got more powerful in Tarhuntasha. The decline of the authority of the great kings in relation to their vassals is apparent in the acts of other Hittite vassals to the south of the Taurus ranges as well. In the same period we see that the kings of Carhemish and Ugarit acted more independently in their political movements.<sup>70</sup> The last kings of Ugarit, in the waning authority of Hattusha, tried to improve their relations with Egypt.<sup>71</sup> This attempt is documented in a letter sent to Merneptah of Egypt upon his accession of the throne.<sup>72</sup> The pharaoh was demanded to send his sculptors to Ugarit to carve his statue for the temple of Baal. The greater independence of the vassals, partly granted by the great kings, partly by their own initiation as a result of the declining central authority, became an important reason behind the collapse of the empire.<sup>73</sup>

It seems that Kurunta might have tried to get the power in Hattusha, not being satisfied with its position in Tarhuntasha. Recently, a bullae was recovered in Bogazköy-Hattusha bearing the seal impression of Kurunta.<sup>74</sup> In this seal impression he called himself as “the Great King, Labarna”, the tutelary name used only by the great kings at Hattusha. On the Hatipler rock relief, within the

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<sup>69</sup> Ibid., No 18B, § 2. There is a continuing discussion about the identity of Ulmi-Teshup. Currently dominant view is identification of this person with Kurunta. See Gurney, 1993, 13-28. On the other hand according to Van den Hout (1995), Ulmi-Teshup was not the same person with Kurunta, but might be a brother of Kurunta.

<sup>70</sup> Klengel, 2002, p. 150; Singer 2000, p. 22ff. Also see below for a detailed discussion of the relations of Ugarit with Hattusha and other great powers of the eastern Mediterranean.

<sup>71</sup> Klengel, 2002, p. 151-152.

<sup>72</sup> Singer, 2000, p. 22.

<sup>73</sup> Sandars, 1978, p. 140.

<sup>74</sup> Neve, 1987, p. 403-408.

province of Konya, Kurunta used the same title for himself as well.<sup>75</sup> The implications of these statements are not clear. Whether Kurunta made a *coup d'etat* at Hattusha<sup>76</sup> is an important question to be answered. On the other hand the treaty between Tudhaliya IV and Kurunta might have been made to meet the demands of Kurunta, which was reflected in the seal impression found in Hattusha and in the rock relief at Hatipler.

In addition to these dynastic conflicts, Tudhaliya IV had to cope with problems that arose from the vassal states of the empire, particularly in Western Anatolia. The Yalburt inscriptions inform us about a southwestern campaign of the king including the lands of Kuwalatarna, Luka, Wiyanawanda, and Mount Patara.<sup>77</sup>

During the reign of Tudhaliya IV there were international problems that threatened the Hittite interests in Northern Syria. Growing power of the Assyrian Empire was the most important problem. The Assyrians always desired to get access to the Mediterranean ports,<sup>78</sup> and the Hittite presence in Northern Syria formed the most important obstacle before the Assyrian interests. At first the Hittite Empire had no common border with Assyria. The kingdom of Mitanni formed a buffer zone between the two countries.<sup>79</sup> Mitanni, after the annexation of most of its lands to the Hittite empire by Suppiluliuma I, was protected politically as a vassal state under Hittite control.<sup>80</sup> It came under the Assyrian control during the reign of Shalmaneser I (ca. 1264 – 1233BC), who was a

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<sup>75</sup> “Kurunta, the Great King, [the hero], son of Muwattali, the Great King, the hero” See Dinçol, 1998a, p. 27-35; Dinçol, 1998b, 160-166.

<sup>76</sup> See Hawkins, 1995, p. 63-65; Bryce, 1999, p. 254 - 255.

<sup>77</sup> Hawkins, 1995, Appendix 1.

<sup>78</sup> Singer, 2000, p. 22. Also see below the relations between Assyrian-Ugarit relations during this period.

<sup>79</sup> Cancik-Kirschbaum, 2002, p. 284-285.

<sup>80</sup> In the preambles of the treaties made between Suppiluliuma and Shattiwaza of Mitanni, and between Suppiluliuma I and Tete of Nuhashshi, the political and military interventions of the Hittite king in Northern Syria are presented in detail; see Beckman, 1999, Treaties 6A, 6B, and 7. Also see Guterbock, 1956. Bryce (1999) presents a detailed discussion of the political and military operations of Suppiluliuma I against Mitanni: p. 174-193.



contemporary of Hattushili III and Tudhaliya IV.<sup>81</sup> Hence Assyrian control reached the east bank of the Euphrates River in Northern Syria, close to the border of the kingdom of Carchemish. During the reign of Tudhaliya IV political tension between Assyria and the Hittite Empire increased to the extent that the great king denoted the Assyrian king as his enemy within the treaty that he made with Shausga-muwa of Amurru.<sup>82</sup> This political tension culminated in the battle of Nihiriya in upper Mesopotamia between the Hittite forces and Assyrian army controlled by Tukulti-Ninurta I.<sup>83</sup> The battle resulted in the defeat of the Hittite side. The repercussions of this clash is difficult to attest, but some tablets from Hattusha and Ugarit shed light on the events preceding and following the battle. In a treaty with an unknown correspondent, Tudhaliya IV says the following:

“.....Bin ich aus der Stadt Nihiriya nicht allein davongefahren? Dann geschah es, als der Feind mir die Hurri Lander abermals wegnahm, ....., war ich da in der Stadt Alatarma nicht völlig verlassen.....”<sup>84</sup>

The indication of this statement is clear: Tudhaliya IV could not receive the military support from somebody, most probably from his vassals on the eve of the battle against the Assyrians.<sup>85</sup> Another tablet recently discovered at Ugarit is a letter send by an Assyrian king, possibly Tukulti-Ninurta I.<sup>86</sup> In this letter the Assyrian king informs the king of Ugarit about his victory against the Hittites at the Battle of Nihiriya trying to influence the ruler of this rich port city against his Hittite

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<sup>81</sup> For a discussion of the Assyrian expansion into northern Syria see Cancik-Kirschbaum, 2002.

<sup>82</sup> Beckman, 1999, No 17, § 11.

<sup>83</sup> Singer, 1985, p. 100-123. Also see Bryce, 1999, p. 347-354 for a detailed discussion of the political and military events preceding and the following the battle of Nihiriya.

<sup>84</sup> Otten, 1963, p. 5.

<sup>85</sup> Sandars, 1978, p. 139.

<sup>86</sup> Singer, 1985, p. 100-123; Singer, 2000, 21-33.

suzerain. Ugarit was one of the most important vassal states of the Hittite Empire in Syria due to its economic and strategic importance in the Eastern Mediterranean. It was annexed to the empire during the reign of Suppiluliuma I with a treaty between the Hittite king and the king of Ugarit, Niqmadu.<sup>87</sup> All successors of Niqmadu until Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit, remained loyal to their Hittite suzerains.<sup>88</sup> They seem to have fulfilled their military and other obligations to the great kings.<sup>89</sup> However, as the act of Tukulti-Ninurta I indicated, Ugarit still attracted the attention of the great powers, and the kings of Ugarit tried to make use of growing weakness of their Hittite suzerains.

Arnuwanda III succeeded Tudhaliya IV, but this reign seems to be of short duration, and very few sources can be firmly attributed to this king. He was succeeded by his brother Suppiluliuma II. In a text dated to the reign of this king, Suppiluliuma claims that the land of Alasiya (Cyprus) belonged to the Hittite Empire. In the first part of this text Suppiluliuma II informs us about the conquest of Alasiya by his father, Tudhaliya IV.<sup>90</sup> Thus, Hittites controlled a strategic point in the eastern Mediterranean. The conquest of Alasiya was vital for the Hittites to protect the sea routes, through which grain supplies were transported from Ugarit to the Southern coast of Anatolia.<sup>91</sup> The following parts of this text provide important clues concerning the last days of the empire:

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<sup>87</sup> For a detailed discussion the annexation of Ugarit to the empire and its position within the empire see Weber, 1967, p. 4-10. For the content of the treaty between Niqmadu and Suppiluliuma I see Beckman 1999, No 4. During the reign of Murshili II another treaty with the contemporary king of Ugarit, Niqmepa, was concluded. For the content of this letter see Beckman, 1999, No 9.

<sup>88</sup> Astour, 1965, p. 253-258; Bing, 1969, p. 4-17.

<sup>89</sup> See below.

<sup>90</sup> The earliest transcription and translation of this text was published by Otten (1963). See Güterbock (1967) for the implications of this text for the Hittite history. Also see below for the discussion of the other parts of this text.

<sup>91</sup> Bryce, 1999, p. 358.

“.....My father [.....] I mobilized and I, Suppiluliuma, the Great King, immediately [crossed/reached (?)] the sea.

The ships of Alasiya met me in the sea three times for battle, and I smote them: and I seized the ships and set fire to them in the sea.

But when I arrived on dry land (?), the enemies from Alasiya came in multitude against me for battle. I f[ought] them, and .....me.....”<sup>92</sup>

Thus, Alasiya, which was introduced as a Hittite possession in the first part, was described as the enemy of Suppiluliuma in the second part. There is an ongoing discussion about the real identity of ‘Alasiyan’ fleet, which attacked the Hittite army.<sup>93</sup> The letters from the archives of Ugarit demonstrate the king of Alasiya as an ally of Ugarit, and so of the Hittite king.<sup>94</sup> The question of whether the island partly or completely came under the control of the enemy, of the “Sea Peoples”, remains unclear. However, it is clear that Suppiluliuma II had to cope with the attacks of an enemy coming from the south on his own land, and the origin of this enemy is not known,.

The inscriptions recovered in *Südburg* in Kammer 2 from Bogazköy-Hattusha, a cultic structure probably related to the nearby Sacred Pool, have provided further information about the acts of Suppiluliuma II. In this context king’s military campaign to the land of Tarhuntasha, the problematic vassal state of the empire in Southern Anatolia, is significant.<sup>95</sup> Suppiluliuma declares that he subdued Tarhuntasha along with its inhabitants, but he does not mention about the ruler of the country. Singer argued that in this campaign Suppiluliuma II was fighting with the Sea Peoples, who

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<sup>92</sup> Güterbock, 1997, p. 195.

<sup>93</sup> See Güterbock, 1997; Otten, 1963; Astour, 1965; Bryce, 1999, p. 366.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 197.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23, § 12–18.

had already conquered Tarhuntasha.<sup>96</sup> Hence, according to this view, the attack against ‘the enemy from Alasiya’ and the Tarhuntasha campaign of Suppiluliuma II must be considered together.

In the *Südburg* inscriptions Suppiluliuma mentions about another campaign to the Southwestern Anatolia, to the lands of Wiyanavanda, Tamina, Masa, Ikuna and Luka.<sup>97</sup> All these lands were subdued during this campaign. According to Hawkins, Tarhuntasha and Southwestern Anatolia campaign of the king were held in one season.<sup>98</sup> Wiyanavanda and Luka were among the lands, which Tudhaliya IV campaigned during his reign as well.<sup>99</sup> This indicates there was an ongoing unrest in the Southwestern Anatolia, which could not be suppressed in last days of the empire.

The name Luka (or Lukka) land (classical Lycia) in Southwestern Anatolia provides us with an important connection point with the archives of Ugarit, which is the second important source about the last days of the Hittite Empire. The most relevant pieces of these archives to our topic were found in an oven. The findspot of the tablets indicate that the catastrophe that destroyed the city was so sudden that the officials could not finish their work with the tablets.<sup>100</sup> Among these tablets two letters are quite important to understand the events in the last days of Ugarit and the Hittite Empire. The first letter was sent by the king of Alasiya to Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit. In this letter the Alasiyan king demanded shipment of grain to the island with a strengthened ship.<sup>101</sup> The indications of this letter are two-fold. First of all, there was an urgent need for food in the island. Secondly, the

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<sup>96</sup> Singer, 2000, p. 27.

<sup>97</sup> Hawkins, 1995, p. 23, § 1& 4.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61.

<sup>99</sup> See above.

<sup>100</sup> Astour, 1965, p. 254.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 255.

Alasiyan king demanded the ship to be well-protected, which perhaps indicates a security concern for the ships in open sea. The reply of the king of Ugarit to this letter is noteworthy:

“To the king of Alasiya,

.....My father, the enemy’s ships are already (here); they have set fire to my towns, and have done very great damage in the country. My father, did not you know that all my troops and chariots are stationed in the Hittite country, and all my ships are stationed in the land of Lycia?.. Thus the country abandoned to itself. Consider this my father: there are seven enemy ships that have come and done very great damage. Now if there are any more enemy ships let me know about them so that I can decide what to do”<sup>102</sup>

There are two indications of this letter. First of all, the Hittite king needed all forces of his vassals to suppress the unrest in his western borders, basically in the Lukka land.<sup>103</sup> Secondly, the attacks of the Sea Peoples had already begun, and Ugarit was defenseless against these attacks, because all components of its army were at Lukka land. According to Astour, Ugaritic naval forces were at Lukka because by this way Ammurapi tried to block more enemy ships to enter Eastern Mediterranean area.<sup>104</sup> Contrary to this view, Hawkins argues that Ugaritic fleet was at coastal Lukka in order to assist the inland campaign of Suppiluliuma II.<sup>105</sup> In both scenarios, the result is that there was a serious unrest in the Hittite lands and in the Eastern Mediterranean in this period. The land of

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<sup>102</sup> Sandars, 1978, p. 143.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p. 140.

<sup>104</sup> Astour, 1965, p. 255.

<sup>105</sup> Hawkins, 1995, p. 61.

Ugarit was left defenseless against the enemy. There is no information concerning the identity of the enemy ships stated in the letter of Ammurapi.

Another letter from the Ugarit archive sent from a Hittite king to an Ugaritic king is remarkable in terms of understanding the declining authority of the Hittite king over his Ugaritic vassal. In this letter the Hittite king first accuses the king of Ugarit for not fulfilling his duties before the great king, and then demands an urgent shipment of grain to the Cilician port of Ura.<sup>106</sup> The king depicted the situation as a matter of 'life and death'. The first part of the letter is perhaps another indication of the increasing independence of the Hittite vassals. The second part indicates a severe famine in the Hittite lands, a serious blow for the empire. It is known that during the reign of Merneptah of Egypt, ships with grain were sent to the land of Hatti from Egypt, which experienced a serious famine in that period.<sup>107</sup> These two sources are likely to inform us about the same event.

All archival and other written documents stated above demonstrate the growing weakness of the Hittite empire from the reign of Hattushili III onwards. Among the signs behind the collapse of the empire, increasing independence of the vassals and the inability of the great kings to impose their authority on them are prominent. Growing external pressures specifically from the Assyrians in the east is an important factor that weakened the empire. Also the last Hittite kings were obliged continuously to intervene in the Western and Southwestern Anatolia politically and sometimes militarily.<sup>108</sup> The famines experienced in the last years of the empire might have been a reason for the unrest across the empire as well. From the reign of Hattushili III the Hittite Empire imported

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<sup>106</sup> Astour, 1965, p. 256f.

<sup>107</sup> Breasted, ARIII, p. 518.

<sup>108</sup> For a detailed discussion of the Hittite interference in western Anatolia during the reigns of the last Hittite kings and related bibliography see Klengel 1999; Bryce, 1999.

grain from Egypt and Canaan via Ugarit, but only in the letter stated above, the need of grain was described as a matter of “life or death” indicating the presence of a severe famine.<sup>109</sup>

These are the last historical sources from the Hittite Empire and Ugarit. Suppiluliuma II was the last Hittite king at Hattusha, and his reign ended with the destruction of the imperial capital. Likewise Ugarit was destroyed along with many other settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean, and deserted thereafter. This period marks the collapse of the LBA system based on the relations of the great powers. For a long time the so-called ‘Sea Peoples’ were held responsible for the collapse of the sophisticated system of the LBA. The name was coined by the Egyptians. These mysterious people attacked Egypt during the reign of Ramses III of the Twentieth Dynasty. His battles with the “Sea Peoples” were depicted on the walls of the pharaoh’s mortuary temple at Medinet Habu.<sup>110</sup> On these reliefs the Land of Hatti, Qode (Kizzuwatna), Ugarit, the land of Carchemish were counted as the victims of the attacks.<sup>111</sup> According to the inscriptions, severe battles took place between the coalition of the Sea Peoples and the Egyptian army both in the sea and in the Nile Delta.<sup>112</sup> They were described as a coalition of different peoples that sacked many Eastern Mediterranean sites before attacking Egypt. The components of this coalition, according to the inscriptions, are Peleset, Shikala, Sheklesh, Denyen and Weshesh.<sup>113</sup> The origin of this mysterious people is continuously

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<sup>109</sup> Astour, 1965, p. 255; also, see Bryce, 1999, p. 375.

<sup>110</sup> For the complete translation of the inscriptions pertaining to the battles with the Sea Peoples see Pritchard, J. B., 1955; Breasted, AR, Vol. IV. For a detailed discussion pertaining to the content of the inscriptions see O’Connor, 2000.

<sup>111</sup> Breasted, AR, Vol. IV.

<sup>112</sup> Breasted, AR, Vol. IV; O’Connor, 2000.

<sup>113</sup> Breasted, AR, Vol.IV., p. 64. Also see Sandars, 1978 for a discussion about the identity of these people.

debated among scholars, but some scholars have recently suggested an Aegean origin.<sup>114</sup> Western Anatolia is another candidate location for the origin of this people.<sup>115</sup>

Concerning the events in Anatolia, as the discussion above demonstrated, it is not feasible to attribute the collapse of the Hittite empire only to the deeds of the Sea Peoples as the Egyptian sources did. Obviously ‘symptoms of inner decline and the disintegration’ became more influential in the collapse of the empire.<sup>116</sup> Likewise the so-called ‘Sea Peoples’ are not the suspect for the destruction of Hattusha, but rather the Kashka people, the aggressive enemies of the Hittites in Northern Anatolia since the Old Kingdom, are a more likely candidate for this action.<sup>117</sup> On the other hand, the destruction of Ugarit seems to have happened at the peak of its prosperity. There was no sign of economic or political decline of this rich port city.<sup>118</sup> Sudden attacks coming from the sea destroyed this rich port city completely.

Kizzuwatna was among the victims of the attacks of the Sea Peoples. The destruction of the sites in this land is likely to have occurred before the destruction of Hattusha. This situation is inferred by the tablet of Suppiluliuma II informing us about his battles with the ‘enemy from Alasiya’. The great kings stated that the enemy followed him to the land, and he battled with them.<sup>119</sup> In this context the battlefield is likely to be southeastern coast of Anatolia, i.e. coastal Cilicia and Tarhuntasha. During these battles many Kizzuwatnean sites (like Tarsus-Gözlükule) might have been destroyed by the enemy.

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<sup>114</sup> For a detailed discussion about origin of ‘the Sea Peoples’, and collapse of the LBA societies in the Aegean see Oren 2000. Also see Dothan & Dothan, 1992; Sandars 1978; Schachermeyr, 1982.

<sup>115</sup> Bryce, 1999, p. 371; also for the related bibliography.

<sup>116</sup> Singer, 1985, p. 120.

<sup>117</sup> Bryce, 1999, p. 379

<sup>118</sup> Astour, 1965, p. 254.

<sup>119</sup> See p. 24 for the content of this tablet and the relevant bibliography.



### 2.3. Continuity of the Hittite tradition in the Iron Age

The cessation of the systematic record keeping in Anatolia with the demise of the Hittite administration narrows our knowledge about the political situation in the post-Hittite period. The fall of the Hittite administration brought about significant political and social changes in Anatolia and in the regions of Syria previously under the control of the Hittite Empire. Political scheme of the entire Anatolia and Northern Syria changed drastically in this period. On the other hand, in some centers political control of the rulers coming from the Hittite dynasty continued. The discovery of Kızıldağ-Karadag inscriptions in Southern Konya plain shows that there was a political continuity in Tarhuntasha shortly after the collapse of the empire. In these inscriptions a certain Hartapu calls himself as ‘Great King, Hero, the son of Murshili’.<sup>120</sup> According to Hawkins, these inscriptions are closely connected to the inscriptions of Yalburt and Südburg in terms of their epigraphy and content.<sup>121</sup> Hence they belong to a date shortly after the fall of the Hattusha administration. Another group of inscriptions of the same Hartapu has been recently discovered at Burunkaya, to the east of Aksaray.<sup>122</sup> The connection of Hartapu to the dynasty of Kurunta of Tarhuntasha is not yet clear. One view is that Hartapu could be the son of Murshili III, Urhi-Teshup, Hittite king, who was deposed by Hattushili III.<sup>123</sup> The locations of the inscriptions fall within ancient Tarhuntasha, so it is highly probable that a line of the Hittite dynasty might have ruled in Tarhuntasha after the fall of the Hittite empire.

In Southeastern Anatolia Hittite rule continued in the kingdom of Carchemish. A seal impression of Kuzi-Teshup, the king of Carchemish, recovered in Lidar Höyük on the banks of the

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<sup>120</sup> Hawkins, 1995, Appendix 3.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 63.

<sup>122</sup> Alp, 1973, p. 17-27.

<sup>123</sup> This view is supported by J. D. Hawkins, cited in Bryce, 1999, p. 386.

Euphrates<sup>124</sup> informed us about the political continuity of the Hittite dynasty and the sphere of their political influence in the Euphrates valley:

“(King) Kuzi-Teshup, King of the land of Kargamis,  
(of) (King) Talmi-Teshup, King of Kargamis,  
the son, recognized by the god(s).”<sup>125</sup>

Talmi-Teshup was the contemporary of Suppiluliuma II and Ammurapi, the last king of Ugarit.<sup>126</sup> In this context Kuzi-Teshup forms the link between the Hittite and the post-Hittite period in Southeastern Anatolia.

The inscriptions found in the vicinity of the Malatya region (Hittite Melid)<sup>127</sup> shed new light on the political continuity of the Hittite tradition in this region. On these inscriptions Kuzi-Teshup is shown as the grandfather of Arnuwantis, the king of the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Melid.<sup>128</sup> Thus, the kings of Melid were the descendants of Suppiluliuma I of Hatti. In this respect it becomes obvious that Kuzi-Teshup not only survived the turbulence that destroyed the Hittite Empire, but also was able to expand this political influence until the Malatya region.<sup>129</sup> Current data show that Arnuwantis was followed by, at least, two other kings named PUGNUS-mi-li II and Arnuwantis (II).<sup>130</sup> According to this information, after Kuzi-Teshup four generations of the kings of Hittite origin ruled in Carchemish and Melid, so descendants of the dynasty of Suppiluliuma I seem to have

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<sup>124</sup> Hawkins, 1988, p. 99. Also see Sørenhagen, 1986.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., p. 100.

<sup>127</sup> See Hawkins, 1993.

<sup>128</sup> Hawkins, 1988, p. 101.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid., p. 104.

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

ruled greater part of the Southeastern Anatolia and Euphrates valley, at least, well into the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>131</sup>

After this period information about the Neo-Hittite states mainly comes from Assyrian sources. Melid is mentioned in the records of the Assyrian King Assur-nasir-apli II (883-859 BC).<sup>132</sup> During the reign of Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC) the Assyrian king campaigned to Melid and received tributes of ‘all the kings of Hatti’ in the upper Euphrates region.<sup>133</sup> There is not information indicating the connection of the Melidian kings in this period to the house of Kuzi-Teshup.

#### 3.4. Cilicia in the Iron Age

The most abundant historical information related to the Cilicia comes from the Assyrian sources in the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC. The period 12<sup>th</sup> to 9<sup>th</sup> century BC forms a gap in terms of the available historical sources about the region. In the Assyrian sources Cilicia is mentioned as Que (Kue) during the Iron Age. Shalmaneser III campaigned against Que several times during his reign.<sup>134</sup> Some strategical motives played role in these campaigns. Among these the agricultural wealth of the Cilician plain and the rich metal resources in the Taurus and Anti-Taurus ranges to the north and northeast of the region are prominent ones.<sup>135</sup> During this period a king called Kate ruled Que. This king joined the coalition formed by the North Syrian kingdoms against the Assyrian expansion.<sup>136</sup> It seems that Que resisted for a long time the continuous Assyrian attacks. Under the reign of Tiglath-

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<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p. 102.

<sup>132</sup> Hawkins, 1993, p. 36. Also see for bibliography.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>134</sup> Luckenbill, 1968, (vol. I), p. 251f., paragraph nr. 600, p. 243, paragraph nr. 674., p.246, paragraph nr. 682; Pritchard, 1955, p. 279.

<sup>135</sup> Bing, 1969, p. 33.

<sup>136</sup> Ibid., p. 33.

Pileser III, however, it was mentioned as a tributary in 738 and 732 BC.<sup>137</sup> The country finally came under Assyrian rule during the reign of Sargon II.<sup>138</sup> In this period an Assyrian governor ruled Que.

Apart from these foreign resources, few inscriptions recovered in Cilicia have provided us important information concerning the deeds of the local rulers in Cilicia during the Iron Age.

The most important one of these inscriptions is the Karatepe Inscriptions. It is dated to 7<sup>th</sup> century BC by Hawkins,<sup>139</sup> and to a period shortly after the death of Sargon II, ca. 705BC by Çambel and Özyar.<sup>140</sup> The inscriptions tell us about the deeds of the king, Azatiwatas, who was appointed by Urikki, the king of Que. In this inscription Azatiwatas declares that he is from the house of Mophos (in Hieroglyphic Luwian Mukşaş).<sup>141</sup> He argues that he successfully enlarged his territory, prospered his people and installed his lord to the throne of Adanawa.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> Pritchard, 1955, p. 282-283.

<sup>138</sup> Luckenbill, 1968, (vol.II), pp. 7, paragraph nr. 16, & p. 7f. paragraph nr. 18.

<sup>139</sup> Hawkins, 2000, p. 44f.

<sup>140</sup> Çambel & Özyar, 2003, p. 114.

<sup>141</sup> Barnett, 1953 associated Mophos with Mukflafl. Also, see Hawkins, 2000, p. 44 for the references.

<sup>142</sup> The transcription and translations of the Hieroglyphic Luwian and Phoenician inscriptions are presented in Hawkins, 2000.

## Chapter 3 – A Survey of the Change in the Plain Ware Tradition from LBA to IA across the Lands of the Hittite Empire

### 3.1. Ceramic tradition in the LBA across the Hittite lands: Hittite Monochrome Ware

The Late Bronze Age represents the Hittite era in large parts of Anatolia, and is characterized by a distinct material culture. This is reflected significantly in monumental architecture, in glyptics, in metalworking and pottery production. This material culture came into being as a result of a gradual socio-economic development in Anatolia through the Early and Middle Bronze Ages. Its formation was affected predominantly by the internal factors in Central Anatolia, but also by cultural interactions of the region with Syria and other developed Near Eastern cultures of the Bronze Age. However, its spread throughout Anatolia took place, to a large extent, with the initiation of the central Hittite government, which ruled the greater part of Anatolia and northern Syria for almost five hundred years.

The so-called ‘Drab Ware’ or ‘Hittite Monochrome Ware’ (HMW) is one of the most distinctive elements of the Hittite material culture. It represents the greater part of the pottery repertoire used in the Hittite lands in the second half of the LBA. Specimens of this ware were uncovered in a large geography extending from Tarsus and Mersin in Cilicia the south, to sites like Düdartepe and Oymaaçaç in the Pontic region in the north, from Beycesultan in the west to the Keban region in the east.<sup>143</sup> The only exceptions to this situation are Syria and Cyprus, which already possessed quite developed indigenous ceramic traditions in the LBA.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>143</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, p. 257

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

HMW includes a limited number of vessel types, which were produced basically for storage and daily purposes.<sup>145</sup> The most characteristic shapes of this ware are bowls and plates, cooking pots, jars with everted ledge rims or large pitchers with rounded or pointed bases. Perhaps the most widespread forms are bowls and plates produced in a wide variety. In both the Middle Kingdom and the Empire Periods these shapes constituted more than half of the ceramic assemblage in settlement contexts.<sup>146</sup> Hemispherical shallow bowls with simple rim and rounded base, plates with thickened rim toward inside are the most characteristic shapes of this class. Standard cooking pots of this ware have a thickened inverted rim, two vertical loop handles attached to the body below rim, and have rounded base. All shapes are simple and standardized, but on the other hand it seems that potters had some freedom to vary with the shapes, because it is possible to see significant variations particularly in rim shapes, but this seems to have occurred without violating main forms.<sup>147</sup>

Another main characteristic of HMW is that vessels do not contain any painted or incised decoration except that in some occasions, potters' marks were used as 'the sign of the professional potters' industry'.<sup>148</sup> All vessels were wheel-made.<sup>149</sup> The general surface color of the vessels varies from beige to reddish tones, which resulted from high firing temperatures in oxidizing conditions.<sup>150</sup>

The origin of HMW goes back to the ceramic tradition of the Karum period (20<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BC) and the following Hittite Old Kingdom in Central Anatolia, which were characterized by a high standard of production quality and a large variety of shapes.<sup>151</sup> Throughout the Middle Kingdom and the Empire Periods there was a continuous trend toward standardization and

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<sup>145</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, Abb. 3; Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, p. 15ff.

<sup>146</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, p. 261.

<sup>147</sup> For the main forms and their variations see Müller-Karpe, 1988, and Parzinger and Sanz, 1992, p.15-33.

<sup>148</sup> Gates, 2001, p. 140.

<sup>149</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, p. 257.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>151</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, p. 257; Schoop, 2003, p. 168.

simplification of shapes and production techniques were inherited from these early traditions of Central Anatolia.<sup>152</sup> As a result the fabric that was used for the production got coarser<sup>153</sup>, and vessels, which were produced for more utilitarian purposes, took rather standard simple shapes throughout the empire. The detailed analysis of Andreas Müller-Karpe on the ceramic material, which was found in the pottery ovens in the Upper City at Boğazköy dated to the last 50-100 years of the Hittite occupation in the capital, showed that the change and standardization process in the ceramic production was at progress even in this latest phase of the Hittite Empire.<sup>154</sup>

In addition to the changes in the shapes and production techniques, the proportion of certain vessels to the overall monochrome repertoire significantly changed from the Middle Kingdom into the Empire Period.<sup>155</sup> This situation indicates that the demand for certain vessels changed drastically in the last two hundred years of the Hittites.

The result of the overall process is a remarkable uniformity of fabrics, shapes and production methods in the pottery that were recovered in the LB Hittite sites.<sup>156</sup> Simple and standard types of vessels were produced for the society in main production centers like Hattusha<sup>157</sup> or Gordion<sup>158</sup>, and from these they were distributed to the smaller local settlements within the vicinity of these centers. Here we should note the manipulative role of the central administration in this standardization and simplification process of the ceramic material as well as its mass-production and distribution.<sup>159</sup> The

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<sup>152</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>153</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>154</sup> Müller-Karpe, 1988, p. 161-162.

<sup>155</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, Abb.3.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p. 257.

<sup>157</sup> Müller-Karpe, 1988.

<sup>158</sup> Henrickson, 1994, p. 105.

<sup>159</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, p. 257; Gates, 2001, p. 137ff.

uniformity of the pottery assemblage across the regions might have been used as a medium of the political and economical control over provinces.<sup>160</sup>

We should also question how representative the material used to classify the HMW is. Most of the ceramic material used to characterize the HMW comes mostly from administrative and cultic buildings. Vast majority of this material comes from the temples, important administrative or production units at Hattusha<sup>161</sup> or Kufakl›-Sarissa<sup>162</sup>, a main Hittite settlement at the East Central Anatolia. Hence, to what extent they represent the ware used mainly in domestic contexts remains questionable for the current state of data. In this context further study is necessary for the material from domestic contexts.

### 3.2. General patterns in the EIA pottery.

Hittite Empire collapsed shortly after 1200 BC. As a result of this event, some aspects of the Hittite material culture disappeared along with the central administration, as in the case of Hittite cuneiform writing. Some centers survived from the catastrophic turbulence at the end of the LBA whereas others were either abandoned completely as in the case of Ugarit, or lost their importance as in the case of Hattusha. Some aspects of Hittite material culture continued in those surviving centers like Carchemish. Hieroglyphic Luwian writing tradition is perhaps the most important aspect of this survival. It was used in the Hittite period mainly on public monuments. This tradition continued in

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<sup>160</sup> Gates, 2001, p. 138.

<sup>161</sup> Müller-Karpe (1988) studied the ceramic assemblage recovered at the pottery ovens located at the Upper City. This material is dated to the last phases of the Upper City (p. 161) and possibly produced for the use of the temples located in this part of the city. Likewise, the study of Parzinger and Sanz (1992) includes the analysis of the ceramic material from the Late Empire Period recovered from the temples located at the Central Temple Region at the Upper City.

<sup>162</sup> Kufakl›-Sarissa, after Hattusha, is the second archaeological center providing detailed information about Hittite material culture, however, mainly from the Middle Kingdom. The site has been excavated by a German team headed by A. Müller-Karpe since 1994. The vast majority of the analyzed ceramic assemblage from this site was recovered in the so-called, Building C, the temple building. See Müller-Karpe, 1998.



the Neo-Hittite states in Anatolia and Northern Syria after the fall of the central Hittite administration.

The reflections of the fall of the Hittites on the ceramic tradition varied sharply across the regions. Some regions exhibit a complete break from the preceding Hittite tradition, whereas in some regions a relative continuity of the drab ware into later phases of EIA is observed.

The appearance of hand-made pottery after more than a millennia of the use of the wheel is a significant aspects of the post-Hittite period in Anatolia. Especially in Central Anatolia<sup>163</sup> and in the eastern provinces of the former Hittite empire<sup>164</sup> handmade pottery represents a greater part of the pottery assemblage in the Early Iron Age.

The most remarkable change in post-Hittite pottery development is the reappearance of surface decoration of various types. Among these the most popular ones were painted and incised decorations.

### 3.3. Regional development of pottery from LBA to IA across Hittite lands

Hittite pottery, particularly of the Late Empire period, was quite homogenous in terms of its typology and production techniques.<sup>165</sup> This pattern was replaced by significant regional differences across previously known Hittite lands in the EIA.<sup>166</sup> Hermann Genz tried to analyze this regional differentiation of the ceramic tradition in Central Anatolian context.<sup>167</sup> A close examination of the recent excavations from other regions, however, indicates the same trend in a wider context.

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<sup>163</sup> Genz, 2003, p.179.

<sup>164</sup> Köroğlu, 2003, p. 231f.

<sup>165</sup> Müller-Karpe, 2001, p. 257; Genz, 2003, p.185.

<sup>166</sup> Genz, 2003, p. 185.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid., p. 182ff.

In the following a discussion of ceramic traditions in the period immediately after the fall of the Hittites will be presented. This discussion will be separate for different geographical regions. However, they were all parts of the Hittite Empire in the LBA or under the influence of its material culture. The geographical units of the discussion are Central Anatolia, central part of southern Anatolia covering the Cilician plain, Calycadnos Valley and the mountain ranges between the Cilician plain and the Central Anatolian Plateau, Upper and Middle Euphrates Valleys and Northern Syria. Two charts have been prepared to demonstrate the discussed development of the pottery in a comparative way: Table 1 and Table 2.

Some major sites have been chosen for the discussion. These are Boğazköy-Hattusha, Gordion, Kaman-Kalehöyük in Central Anatolia; Porsuk Höyük, Kilise Tepe, Kinet Höyük in South-Central Anatolia. Korucutepe and Norfluntepe are discussed as part of the Upper Euphrates, and Tille Höyük and Lidar Höyük as part of Middle Euphrates Valleys. Tell Afis is included here as part of the northern Syria. (See Map 1). Main concern in choosing these sites is all of them provide continuous stratigraphical data, so that it is possible to observe the change in the material culture from LBA to the EIA.

### 3.3.1. Central Anatolia in the EIA

Boğazköy - Hattusha is located in the center of the Halys Basin within the modern province of Çorum, Central Anatolia. The site is located on a plateau sloping up southward. The area is covered by rocky hills, depressions, divided by brooks. This is a difficult terrain for a continuous settlement. Since the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century German archaeologists have carried out extensive excavations, and a great amount of information related to its settlement history from the Chalcolithic until the end of Phrygian period has been generated. The most important habitation levels of the city belong to the Hittite period. The site, however, was already an important center during the Assyrian

Colony period (20<sup>th</sup> – 18<sup>th</sup> centuries BC). The city can be divided into three major areas: The Upper City mainly with religious buildings, the Lower City with the large perhaps the earliest temple and domestic buildings, and the citadel area Büyükkale where administrative buildings and the palatial complex were located in the Hittite period.<sup>168</sup>

Concerning the transition from LBA to the IA until recently it was thought that the Hittite capital was deserted immediately after the LBA destruction until the earliest Phrygian occupation in 9<sup>th</sup> century BC. This view was based on the earliest IA remains at Büyükkale, the hill on the eastern part of Hattusha. Recent excavations at Büyükkaya, the gorge on the northeastern part of Hattusha, however, provided new information about the post-Hittite period.<sup>169</sup> Contrary to the previous view, these excavations showed that the city was inhabited after a short hiatus after the end of the Hittite administration around 1200 BC.<sup>170</sup> The post-Hittite layers of Büyükkaya consist of three main levels, early, middle and late phases, which cover the entire EIA.<sup>171</sup> There are significant changes in the material culture of this period when compared to the previous Hittite period. One can, however, see also some continuity of the LBA monochrome tradition.<sup>172</sup> (See Table 1 and Table 2)

When we look at the ceramic tradition in the post Hittite period in Hattusha, the most important aspect is the reappearance of the handmade pottery, which represents the greater part of the pottery inventory.<sup>173</sup> This type of pottery appears in the earliest phase of EIA, and in the middle and late phases it almost totally replaced the wheel-made pottery.<sup>174</sup> The form spectrum of this

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<sup>168</sup> See Genz, 2004, Tafel 1 for the most updated plan of Hattusha.

<sup>169</sup> Neve, 1994; Seeher, 1995; Seeher, 1996; Seeher, 1997; Seeher, 1998; Seeher, 1999.

<sup>170</sup> Seeher, 2000, p.19.

<sup>171</sup> Genz, 2000, Abb. 1; Genz, 2004, p. 24ff. Seeher divided EIA levels at Buyükkaya into two main sub-phases called *Dunkle Zeitalter I* & *II* (see Seeher, 1999, Abb. 12). In Genz's terminology *Dunkle Zeitalter I* corresponds to early phase of EIA and *Dunkle Zeitalter II* is covered by middle and late phases of EIA.

<sup>172</sup> Seeher, 1999, p. 331.

<sup>173</sup> Genz, 2004. p. 24.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

pottery differs sharply from the preceding HMW.<sup>175</sup> The vessels have simple shapes used for mainly kitchen and storage purposes, but the majority of the shapes do not have predecessor in the LBA monochrome ware.<sup>176</sup> Among these thick-walled hemispherical bowls with simple rim, bowls with necked wall below rim, bowls or jars with faceted rims, pots with flaring rim are the most characteristics shapes of this new period.<sup>177</sup> All vessels were polished in varied degrees compared to the lack of polishing in the preceding HMW.<sup>178</sup> However, in a smaller segment of the pottery inventory of this period the Hittite tradition survived. In the earliest phase of EIA one third of the pottery has affinities to the preceding monochrome ware.<sup>179</sup> The specimens of this type of pottery were produced at potter's wheel, and they have the basic shapes of HMW. Bowls with flat-topped rims slanted outward and closed jars with thickened rims are the prominent Hittite shapes in this period.<sup>180</sup> However, polishing was used in this pottery as well.

In the middle and late phases handmade pottery dominated the entire pottery assemblage at Büyükkaya. Only a few numbers of vessels were wheel-made. Typologically and technologically the ceramic assemblage of these phases seems to be a developed version of the material of the preceding early period.<sup>181</sup> However, the forms that are known to be Hittite in origin were no longer present at Boğazköy in these periods. A new type of pottery with red painted decoration appeared at Hattusha in the middle phase of EIA, and became further widespread in the following period.<sup>182</sup> The popular motives in this painted pottery are line groups, horizontal bands and triangles. The same kind of

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<sup>175</sup> Seeher, 1999, p. 331.

<sup>176</sup> Genz 2000, Abb. 3.1-7.

<sup>177</sup> See Genz, 2000, p. 36 and Abb. 3; Genz, 2004, p. 24f.; Genz, 2003, p. 181.

<sup>178</sup> Genz, 2000, p. 36; Genz, 2004, p. 24.

<sup>179</sup> Seeher, 1998,

<sup>180</sup> Genz, 2000, p. 36, Abb. 3.3-4.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.

<sup>182</sup> See Genz 2000, & Genz 2004 for the development of Red Painted pottery in Hattusha and in Central Anatolia.

material was found within the burnt debris of Temple 7 in the Upper City.<sup>183</sup> These developments indicate that the Hittite tradition disappeared completely from the former capital after the earliest phase of the EIA. The ceramic material from Büyükkaya and Temple 7, contrary to the previous view, demonstrates a substantial occupation in the post destruction phases of Hattusha.

Gordion, the old Phrygian capital, is located on the east bank of the Sakarya River (classical Sangarios). This site is a typical Anatolian mound formed as a result of continuous occupations starting from at least the EBA onwards. From the 1950s until 1970s the site was excavated by an American team led by Rodney Young from the University of Pennsylvania. These excavations provided us with a great amount of information concerning the habitation history of the site from the EBA until the classical period. The excavations resumed in the second half of the 1980s, and still continue. The material related to the transition from the LBA into the IA is important to understand this period in Central Anatolia. New excavations have provided new information concerning the stratigraphic sequence of the habitation levels, and the re-evaluation of the transition from the LBA into the EIA at Gordion. A new stratigraphic sequence of the site called Yassıhöyük Stratigraphical Sequence (YHSS) was formed.<sup>184</sup> In new nomenclature YHSS 9 and 8 are the LBA levels, and YHSS 7B and 7A form the EIA levels, which preceded the early Phrygian period (YHSS 6B) at Gordion.<sup>185</sup> Chronologically these EIA levels correspond to the period between ca. 1100 - 900 BC.<sup>186</sup>

New data has shown that Gordion experienced significant changes between Hittite (YHSS 8) and the earliest Phrygian (YHSS 6B) occupations, which is particularly visible in the changes in

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<sup>183</sup> Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, p. 33.

<sup>184</sup> Voigt & Henrickson, 2000a, p. 331; Voigt & Henrickson, 2000b, p. 41; Voigt, 1994, p.265ff.

<sup>185</sup> Voigt & Henrickson, 2000a, p. 341; Voigt, 1994, p. 270.

<sup>186</sup> Voigt, 1994, p. 268-270.

ceramic material. YHSS 8 is the latest phase of Hittite occupation at the site.<sup>187</sup> It is dated to c.1200 BC on the basis of ceramic comparanda.<sup>188</sup> The material of this phase consists of the same typological and technological characteristics with the material from Boğazköy-Hattusha and other major Hittite sites of the LBA.<sup>189</sup> Metal artifacts like pins or arrowheads uncovered along with the ceramics justify the Hittite character of the site in this phase.<sup>190</sup>

YHSS 7B is the earliest phase of the EIA at Gordion and represents a complete break from the preceding Hittite tradition.<sup>191</sup> This change is mostly visible in the ceramic material. Standard mass-produced HMW is completely replaced by handmade pottery in YHSS 7B, which has no local predecessor.<sup>192</sup> (See Table 1 and Table 2) The shapes have no antecedents in the previous drab ware material.<sup>193</sup> The paste of this material has coarse and grit temper, and a low firing temperature (600 – 700 C°) was used, which is observed in the friability of the shards.<sup>194</sup> Incision is the most popular decoration technique.<sup>195</sup> No painted decoration has been dated to this phase of occupation, yet.

Not only the ceramic material, but also architecture of YHSS 7B at Gordion sharply differs from the preceding period. The buildings of this phase are composed of a series of rooms irregularly attached to each other. All these rooms are semi-subterranean. The walls are made in wattle-and-daub technique, in which mainly organic materials like reed and wood were used as building material in addition to the very few use of stone.<sup>196</sup> This building technique is so different from the

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<sup>187</sup> Voigt & Henrickson, 2000a, p. 333.

<sup>188</sup> Voigt, 1994, p. 267.

<sup>189</sup> Henrickson, 1994, p.106.

<sup>190</sup> Voigt & Henrickson, 2000a, p. 333.

<sup>191</sup> Henrickson, 1994, p. 107.

<sup>192</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107. In the stratigraphic layers that are assigned to this phase of Gordion, some drab ware forms were found, but they are believed to be intrusive material from preceding LBA.

<sup>193</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 123-124, fig. 10.3 & 10.4.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>196</sup> Voigt, 1994, p. 277.

one in YHSS 8, in which a free-standing building with a basement and ground floor has been found. In this phase we see a combination of wood and stone used in construction. The former was used mainly in the superstructure whereas the latter was used in the foundations.<sup>197</sup>

The transition from YHSS 7B into YHSS 7A at Gordion represents another discontinuity. Handmade pottery of YHSS 7B is almost extinct among YHSS 7A material.<sup>198</sup> Instead a new buff ware appears in this phase. This new type of pottery has no relation with the LBA or preceding handmade pottery both in terms of its common shapes or production techniques.<sup>199</sup> This pottery is fired in much higher temperatures.<sup>200</sup> It has no trace of burnishing whereas in the preceding period handmade pottery was generally burnished in various degrees.<sup>201</sup> According to Henrickson, the buff ware of YHSS 7A resembles the early Phrygian pottery in the following YHSS 6B in terms of its common shapes.<sup>202</sup> Another remarkable development in this phase is the extensive use of the tournette.<sup>203</sup> The use of the potter's wheel seems probable in this period as well.<sup>204</sup>

In brief, after the Hittite domination at Gordion (YHSS 9 and 8) the settlement experienced some radical changes in YHSS 7B and 7A. The material cultures of these phases differ not only from the preceding Hittite period, but also from each other drastically.

Kaman-Kalehöyük is situated on the southwestern part of the Halys Basin within the province of Kırşehir. A Japanese team under the directorship of Sachiro Omura has been excavating the mound since 1987. The site is a typical Anatolian mound formed as a result of continuous occupations at least from the EBA until the medieval period.

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid., p. 266-267.

<sup>198</sup> Henrickson, 1994, p. 108.

<sup>199</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>200</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid., p. 107 & 109.

<sup>202</sup> Ibid., p. 109; Voigt & Henrickson, 2000b, p. 46.

<sup>203</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>204</sup> Ibid., p. 109.

The site was an important center during the Old Assyrian and Hittite periods.<sup>205</sup> The excavations showed that the settlement experienced the transition from LBA to the EIA without a hiatus. In the stratigraphic sequence of Kaman-Kalehöyük, level IId represents EIA. This level dates from ca. 11<sup>th</sup> century BC into the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC according to <sup>14</sup>C results.<sup>206</sup> It has eight sub-phases (1-8),<sup>207</sup> which are divided into two successive periods according to the difference in the ceramic assemblage found in these phases. In the first period (5-8), which succeeded Level IIIa (Hittite Empire Period),<sup>208</sup> no painted or handmade pottery has been found.<sup>209</sup> Instead the HMW tradition continued in this period.<sup>210</sup> In the second phase (4-1) a new kind of pottery with painted decoration replaced the preceding monochrome ware.<sup>211</sup> This pottery is buff and painted with simple geometric patterns, mainly horizontal bands.<sup>212</sup> It is wheel-made. The same type of painted pottery was found during the land surveys on the sites to the south of the Halys River.<sup>213</sup> In the second phase handmade pottery appeared in Kaman, too, but it is later than the painted pottery.<sup>214</sup> In brief in the second phase of the EIA HMW disappeared from Kaman completely. (See Table 1)

These indicate that Kaman-Kalehöyük experienced two different ceramic phases in the EIA. The first phase was characterized by the continuation of the Hittite tradition, whereas new and

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<sup>205</sup> Omura, 1989. An Old Assyrian tablet was found at the site. This indicates Kaman-Kalehöyük might have been part of the trade network initiated by the merchants from the northern Mesopotamian city of Assur.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>207</sup> Omura, 2000, p. 220; Omura, 2002, p. 390ff.

<sup>208</sup> Omura, 1997, p. 205.

<sup>209</sup> Omura, 1997, p. 204; Omura, 1999, p. 72; Omura, 2000, p. 220; Omura, 2002, p. 390.

<sup>210</sup> Omura, 1997, p. 204; Omura, 1998, p. 317; Omura, 2002, p. 392. The ceramic finds of this period have not been published extensively, yet. At this point we need more information showing the change in shapes and the proportion of these monochrome material to the overall ceramic repertoire during the earliest phase of the EIA. This information will give us an idea about how persistent was the Hittite tradition in the following EIA in this part of Central Anatolia.

<sup>211</sup> Omura, 1997, p. 204; Omura, 1998, p. 317; Omura, 2000, p. 220; Omura, 2002, p.390.

<sup>212</sup> Matsumura, 2000, p. 126.

<sup>213</sup> Omura, 2002, p.392.

<sup>214</sup> Hongo, 2003, p. 259.



distinct types appeared in the second phase. Contrary to this situation, the architectural tradition of the EIA exhibits a break from the preceding Hittite period,<sup>215</sup> but a significant continuity throughout the EIA. In all eight sub-phases the buildings were constructed in a rectangular single-room plan.<sup>216</sup> Most of these buildings had semi-subterranean floors, and probably wooden columns supported the upper structures, which resemble to the buildings at the LBA phases of Gordion.<sup>217</sup>

In contrast to ceramic and architectural changes, the analysis of the faunal assemblages at Kaman-Kalehöyük indicates continuity or gradual changes in animal husbandry and consumption from the LBA into the EIA.<sup>218</sup> In Level IId there are some changes in the number of certain animals, or in practices of slaughter schedules for the animals. For example, there is an increase in the number of the sheep and goats whereas the number of the pigs decreased in this period.<sup>219</sup> Also it seems that cattle seems to have been killed earlier in level IId.<sup>220</sup> However, these changes seem to be rather part of a general trend at Kaman-Kalehöyük throughout the LBA and EIA.<sup>221</sup>

In addition to the extensive excavations at Kaman-Kalehöyük, the land survey carried out by the same Japanese team during 1990s in some parts of the Central Anatolia provided further insights about the EIA ceramic tradition in this region. The survey included mounds within the provinces of Ankara, Aksaray and Kırşehir, roughly the area between the Halys Basin and the Salt Lake.<sup>222</sup> Some of the material found in these surveys has close affinities with stratified EIA material from Tarsus. A large storage jar with sharply everted ledge rim from the district of <sayaylas> has a close parallel at

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<sup>215</sup> Omura, 2000, p. 220.

<sup>216</sup> Omura, 1999, p. 72.

<sup>217</sup> Omura, 2000, p. 220.

<sup>218</sup> Hongo, 2003, p. 265.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 2003, 259-265.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 261.

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 266.

<sup>222</sup> Omura, 1998b, p. 79.

Tarsus-Gözlükule.<sup>223</sup> Stratigraphically its correspondent at Tarsus belongs to an early phase of EIA. A fragment of jar with horizontal ledge rim rising from a horizontal neck was found on the mound of Karakaya.<sup>224</sup> This piece has its exact parallel at Tarsus-Gözlükule as well.<sup>225</sup> According to the stratigraphic analysis, the fragment found at Gözlükule belongs to the later part of the EIA.

These connections are difficult to interpret. The EIA ceramic material of Kaman has not been published extensively, yet, so we cannot attribute these connections to the stratified material in Central Anatolia. However, Genz, in his recent studies about ceramic traditions in Central Anatolia during the EIA, mentions three different ceramic zones in this region during in EIA.<sup>226</sup> A western zone covering the Gordion region is characterized by dark-faced handmade pottery, usually with incised decoration. A northeastern zone covering Boğazköy-Hattusha and central part of the Halys Basin is characterized by handmade red-painted pottery. The last zone covers the Kaman area and extends toward the Porsuk area in the south. This last ceramic tradition is interpreted as an extension of the Cilician tradition to the Central Anatolia in the EIA.<sup>227</sup> In this connection the similarities between Tarsus-Gözlükule plain ware shapes and the survey material from Kaman area presented above can be interpreted as an extension of the influence of the Cilician ceramic tradition on the Central Anatolia in the EIA.

The Post-Hittite period in Central Anatolia seems to have caused drastic changes in the material culture of the region. The most significant aspect is the emergence of the regional differences. The uniform system of Hittite material culture, particularly ceramics, was replaced by

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<sup>223</sup> Ibid., Fig. 11.6. for the fragment form <sayaylas>, & Goldman, 1963, Fig. 118-228 for the fragment from Tarsus.

<sup>224</sup> Karakaya is located within the Halys Basin, to the northeast of Kaman-Kalehöyük.

<sup>225</sup> Omura, 1996, Fig. 2.1 for the fragment from Karakaya; Goldman, 1963, Fig. 119- 253 for the fragment from Tarsus.

<sup>226</sup> Genz, 2003, p. 185; Genz, 2004, p. 44-45.

<sup>227</sup> Same point of view is shared by Sachihiko Omura. See Omura, 2000, p. 220.

local traditions, which, in most cases, did not have any connection to the preceding HMW. Most of the time the regional differences are local dialects having no connection with the neighboring or preceding traditions like the hand-made pottery from Gordion or hand-made red-painted pottery from Hattusha. Also some regions seem to have been influenced by the more developed traditions in the south as in the case of Kaman-Kalehöyük. In few cases (Kaman-Kalehöyük and Hattusha) the Hittite monochrome tradition survived into the first phases of EIA. However, it was short-lived, and disappeared completely in the later phases.

### 3.3.2. South Central Anatolia in the EIA:

The term ‘South Central Anatolia’ has been used in various contexts to refer to the entire Cilician plain/Cilicia Pedias, and Rough Cilicia/Cilicia Tracheia, which includes the mountain ranges bordering the plain in the north and in the west.<sup>228</sup> In the present study this term will be used to cover the same geography including the Porsuk Area, which lies on the northern entrance of the Cilician Gates, and Kahramanmarafl region, which lies in the northeastern part of the Amanus ranges.

The land surveys carried out across the South Central Anatolia demonstrate a relative continuity, but not a decline in the number of settlements across this region. The land survey of Seton-Williams in 1951 showed that during the Hittite period the plain was occupied in greater number of the settlements compared to preceding periods.<sup>229</sup> However, during the EIA the density of the settlements across the plain exhibited a further increase.<sup>230</sup> This situation shows that an increase in the Cilician population during the EIA is quite possible.

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<sup>228</sup> Baker et al., 1995, p. 143.

<sup>229</sup> Seton-Williams, 1955, p. 142.

<sup>230</sup> Ibid., p. 144.

Land surveys carried out in the northeastern part of the Amanus Mountains provided further data concerning the nature of the transitional period in this region.<sup>231</sup> The first land survey was carried out in the Kahramanmarafl region under the directorship of E. Carter. This survey showed that almost all of the LBA settlements in the region survived into the EIA.<sup>232</sup> During this survey HMW of the LBA was found in most of the mounds. This shows that this area was inhabited during the Hittite period. The same continuity was observed in the survey results carried out at the Sakçagözü region, to the southeast of Kahramanmarafl.<sup>233</sup> Furthermore, it seems there is an increase in the number of settlements in the EIA. These land surveys indicate that during the transitional period the population of the region remained stable, perhaps increased, but did not decline. However, to check the validity of this statement and observe change in the material culture across the entire South Central Anatolia we need information from stratified sites. This information comes mainly from a number of extensively excavated mounds of the region like Tarsus – Gözlükule, Porsuk Höyük, Kilisetepe and Kinet Höyük.

Porsuk Höyük is situated on a strategically very important point within the modern province of Niçde controlling the northern entrance of the Cilician gate. The mound was excavated under the directorship of Olivier Perlon with the initiation of the Instituite Français d'Etudes Anatolienne à Istanbul between 1969-1977. Excavations resumed in the 1990s under the directorship of Dominique Beyer and still continue. Due to its strategic position between Cilicia and Central Anatolia the results of the Porsuk excavations are quite important to understand the relations between the two regions during the transition from LBA into the EIA. In the LBA the site served as a stronghold for the

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<sup>231</sup> Dodd, 2003.

<sup>232</sup> Ibid., p. 131.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid., p. 132.

Hittites controlling the passage and neighboring silver mines at Bulgarmaden.<sup>234</sup> Level V represents these LBA layers in the stratigraphic sequence of the site.<sup>235</sup> Pottery of this period represents all characteristics of the HMW unearthed from the Hittite levels of the other major Anatolian sites. Ceramic assemblage has a limited number of shapes used mainly for utilitarian purposes. (See Table 2 ) Among these hemispherical bowls with simple rims,<sup>236</sup> shallow bowls with thickened rounded rims<sup>237</sup> or plates with thickened rims<sup>238</sup> are the prominent monochrome shapes. All shapes of this period have their counterparts in the HMW. Painted pottery is almost totally absent.<sup>239</sup>

Level V was followed by Level IV, which covered the EIA.<sup>240</sup> Dupré dates this period between the end of the Hittite administration at the end of 13<sup>th</sup> century BC and the destruction by the Assyrians at ca. 837.<sup>241</sup> In this period the pottery of Porsuk Höyük exhibits some new characteristics in addition to a significant continuity of the preceding LBA tradition. The most important novelty is the appearance of painted pottery in significant proportions. In the EIA painted pottery represents 66% of the whole assemblage whereas the plain ware represented only 33% at Porsuk.<sup>242</sup> This is in contrast to the situation at Tarsus-Gözlükule, where 80% of the EIA ceramic assemblage is composed of plain ware, and only 10% of the assemblage is painted pottery.<sup>243</sup> However, there are significant similarities between the main shapes that were used in both sites during the EIA, and a close examination reveals that many are inherited from the LBA monochrome tradition. Carinated

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<sup>234</sup> Pelon, 1994, p. 157.

<sup>235</sup> Dupré, 1983, p. 15; Pelon, 1994, p. 157.

<sup>236</sup> Ibid., Plate 4.

<sup>237</sup> Ibid., Plate 9-13.

<sup>238</sup> Ibid., Plate 20.

<sup>239</sup> Dupré, 1983, p. 27. Painted pottery composes of only 1,2% of the overall assemblage.

<sup>240</sup> Dupré, 1983, p. 15; Pelon, 1994, p. 258. Anne-Sophie Crespín, contrary to Dupré and Pelon, argues that what is thought to be as EIA material at Porsuk may, in fact, belong to the LBA or MIA levels of the mound due to the poor contextual information about the material. For this view see Crespín, 1999.

<sup>241</sup> Dupré, 1983, p. 69-70.

<sup>242</sup> Dupré, 1983, p. 59.

<sup>243</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 33.

bowls with thickened rim<sup>244</sup>, bowls with thickened flat top rim,<sup>245</sup> or bowls with flat top rims<sup>246</sup> were present at Porsuk, and have their counterparts at the EIA levels of Tarsus as well. All of these shapes seem to have their origin in the monochrome ware of the Late Empire period.<sup>247</sup> However, it should be noted that these common shapes were not necessarily used in the plain ware in the EIA at Porsuk. In some cases they were used in the painted material.

The mound of Kilisetepe in the Calycadnus valley area is another important site, which has a continuous habitation from LBA to the IA.<sup>248</sup> The site, just like Porsuk Höyük, is located on an important gateway providing passage to the Central Plateau from the Mediterranean Coast. The excavations carried out by the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara since 1994 have yielded a great amount of information concerning the habitation history of the mound, particularly about the LBA and Iron Age settlements.

In the stratigraphic sequence of this site, level III represents the LBA layers, and level II consists of the IA layers at Kilise Tepe.<sup>249</sup> The material remains of level III exhibit all characteristics of Hittite material culture. The ceramic assemblage of the period consists of the main elements of the HMW.<sup>250</sup> Shallow bowls of typical Hittite shape are the most common shapes of the era. (See Table 1 and Table 2) Painted decoration is totally missing except for a few cases.

The following level II, the IA deposit, was divided into eight sub-phases, IIA-h.<sup>251</sup> These eight sub-phases are divided into two main periods according to main characteristics of their material

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<sup>244</sup> Dupré, 1983, Plate 48. 24 for Porsuk example, Goldman, Fig. 117, 194 for Tarsus example.

<sup>245</sup> Dupré, 1983, Plate 48. 27 for Porsuk example, Goldman, Fig. 115. 70 for Tarsus example.

<sup>246</sup> Dupré, 1983, Plate 46. 18 for Porsuk example, Goldman, Fig. 117. 200 for Tarsus example.

<sup>247</sup> Compare these shapes with the shapes from Hattusha in Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 19.

<sup>248</sup> Postgate, 1996, p. 422.

<sup>249</sup> Postgate, 1998, p. 140; Hansen & Postgate, 1999, p. 111ff.

<sup>250</sup> Symington, 2001, p. 169; Postgate, 1998, p. 135.

<sup>251</sup> Hansen & Postgate, 1999, p. 111.

cultures. Sub-phases II a-d indicate a significant continuity of the preceding Hittite tradition.<sup>252</sup> In Level II b stone stamps seals were uncovered, one of which is inscribed with Hieroglyphic Luwian.<sup>253</sup> Likewise the ceramic assemblage of this period still consists of main typological and technological characteristics of the Hittite tradition. Shallow bowls and plates with the familiar HMW shapes are still quite common at Kilise Tepe. However, the excavators note new elements. Among these the most significant one is the use of painted decoration from the earliest phase of level II onwards in increasing amount.<sup>254</sup> Petrographic analysis of this group demonstrated that it was made out of a different fabric than that of the contemporary monochrome material.<sup>255</sup>

In level IId deposits fragments of Mycenaean LH IIIB and LH IIIC type of pottery were found.<sup>256</sup> After level IId some new developments in the ceramic assemblage of the site are observed. Perhaps the most significant change was that the main Hittite forms like shallow bowls with incurving rims became less common.<sup>257</sup> Vessels with painted decoration increased in numbers. In the following level IIe the Hittite tradition completely disappeared in the ceramic material.<sup>258</sup> However, here it should be noted that based on chronology there is a big gap between the material cultures of levels d and e-f. The pottery of latter group dates to ca. 8<sup>th</sup> - 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>259</sup> A gap of almost three centuries occurs.

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<sup>252</sup> Hansen & Postgate, 1999, p. 113; Symington, 2001, 170; Baker et al, 1995, p. 173. This is an observation of the excavators. However, these post-Hittite shapes have not been published, yet.

<sup>253</sup> Hansen & Postgate, 1999, p. 111.

<sup>254</sup> Hansen & Postgate, 1999, p. 113; Symington, 2001, p. 171.

<sup>255</sup> Symington, 2001, 171; Postgate and Hansen, 1999, p. 113.

<sup>256</sup> Postgate, 1998, p. 134; Symington, 2001, p. 172.

<sup>257</sup> Hansen & Postgate, 1999, p. 113

<sup>258</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

<sup>259</sup> Ibid., p. 117.

Archaeological data obtained from Kinet Höyük, the largest mound of Eastern Cilicia,<sup>260</sup> provides us with important insights into the changes and the continuities in the material culture of this region during the transition from LBA to EIA. Recent excavations carried out by Bilkent University, Ankara, under the directorship of Marie-Henrietta Gates show that significant changes occurred in this region during this problematic period as well. Various aspects of the material culture like pottery or animal consumption points towards such changes. In this context, habitation levels 14, 13, and 12 are of prime importance. The first two levels correspond to the LBA, and features of Hittite material culture were found in this level.<sup>261</sup> HMW is the typical ceramic type of the era.<sup>262</sup> It is locally produced, and possesses common typological and technological parameters of the pottery that were uncovered from other sites known to be politically controlled by the Hittite Empire in the LBA.<sup>263</sup> Among the common shapes, shallow bowls with thickened rims, carinated bowls with simple rims or closed jars with sharply everted rims are prominent Hittite shapes at Kinet Höyük.<sup>264</sup> (See Table 1 and Table 2)

The town of level 13 ended with conflagration. Significant changes in the material culture are observed in the following level 12, which covers EIA. Completely new forms in ceramic repertoire emerged in this period.<sup>265</sup> Handmade pottery is present, however, most of the assemblage of this level is composed of wheel-made pottery.<sup>266</sup> Although few in proportion, pottery painted with geometric decoration appears.<sup>267</sup> In addition to these new elements some continuity of the preceding

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<sup>260</sup> Gates, 1999, p. 303.

<sup>261</sup> Gates, 2001, p. 138.

<sup>262</sup> Gates, 1999, p. 307.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 307; Gates, 2001, p. 138.

<sup>264</sup> Gates, 2001, Fig. 3-5. Compare these forms with shapes from Hattusha illustrated in Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14, 19 and 20.

<sup>265</sup> Gates, forthcoming, cited in Jean, 2001, p. 81.

<sup>266</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.

<sup>267</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 81.



Hittite ceramic tradition can be possible, but the ceramic data showing such a fact may be an intrusion, so further analysis of the material is necessary.<sup>268</sup> Gates reports that the ceramic assemblage of the level 12 at Kinet Höyük exhibits an obvious change in the forms and the ways of production compared to preceding Hittite period.<sup>269</sup> Even if a continuity of the drab ware is present, this type of ware represents a small part of the EIA ceramic assemblage.

Such dramatic changes can be indications of new comers to the region. Animal consumption data obtained from Kinet Höyük support such a view. There is a significant increase in the consumption of pig in the EIA, whereas a significant decrease in the consumption of marine products is visible compared to LBA.<sup>270</sup> Also butchery practices seem to be more professional in the EIA levels compared to preceding period.<sup>271</sup> These finds indicate a new group of people with inland traditions might have arrived at Kinet Höyük in the EIA and replaced the LBA culture of the site based on marine activities, at least in the excavated areas

Like in Central Anatolia the end of the Hittite Empire was marked by conflagrations in the sites in the South Central Anatolia. In the following period significant changes emerged in the material culture of the region. The most significant one is the appearance of the Mycenaean LH IIIC type of pottery in Kilise Tepe, Tarsus-Gözlükule and in Kinet Höyük. Also the change in the animal consumption patterns indicates a change in the local population. On the other hand, a continuity of the HMW is recorded at Kilise Tepe, Porsuk Höyük and Tarsus-Gözlükule as well although at Kilise Tepe this trend did not last long.

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<sup>268</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid., p. 81.

<sup>270</sup> Ikram, 2001, p. 292.

<sup>271</sup> Ibid., p. 291.

Appearance of LH IIIC pottery at major sites of South Central Anatolia provides important additional insights about changes in the transitional period. This pottery appears at Tarsus-Gözlükule in the deposits of LB IIB,<sup>272</sup> at Kinet Höyük at level 12<sup>273</sup> and at Kilise Tepe at level IId.<sup>274</sup> Recent analysis on the Gözlükule material revealed that this pottery appeared at the site not immediately after the destruction of the LB IIA town, and was brought along with the invaders as proposed by Goldman,<sup>275</sup> but appeared in the later phases of LB IIB.<sup>276</sup> Its proportion to overall repertoire increased gradually thereafter.<sup>277</sup> LH IIIC type of pottery recovered at Tarsus-Gözlükule is likely to have been produced locally.<sup>278</sup> So far no published analysis of the Kilise Tepe and Kinet Höyük material has been detailed. The appearance of this foreign ceramic in Cilicia indicates radical changes in the region after the demise of central Hittite administration. Very small number of imported Mycenaean pottery has been found in Hittite layers of Anatolian sites.<sup>279</sup> After the fall of the Hittite administration Mycenaean type of pottery appeared in most of the southern lands of the empire. The local production of this pottery, for example at Tarsus-Gözlükule, indicates that new potters, perhaps a new group of people, arrived to the southern Anatolian coast as a result of population movements along the Eastern Mediterranean.

In addition to LHIIC type of pottery the appearance of the so-called Transitional Painted Pottery at the Cilician sites is noteworthy. As in the case of LHIIC this type of pottery appeared at South Central Anatolia after the destruction of the Hittite levels. Specimens of this distinctive pottery

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<sup>272</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 205-206.

<sup>273</sup> Gates, forthcoming, cited in Jean, 2003, p. 81.

<sup>274</sup> Postgate, 1998, p. 134; Symington, 2001, p. 172.

<sup>275</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 50.

<sup>276</sup> Slane, 1987, p. 84.

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 84.

<sup>278</sup> Mountjoy, 2005, p. 84.

<sup>279</sup> There are few exceptions to this situation. A Mycenaean LHIIB style stirrup jar was found in full shape in the Hittite layers of the Central Anatolian site Maflat Höyük, Hittite Tapigga. For more details about this see Özgüç, 1980, p. 309.

were unearthed in Tarsus-Gözlükule, Kinet Höyük and Kilise Tepe. This pottery is a special type being neither a variation of the Mycenaean ceramics or the revival of the MBA painted pottery prominent in Cilician plain.<sup>280</sup> It is generally decorated with banded, wavy line or hatched decorations. Recent analysis of this specific pottery based on the material of Tarsus-Gözlükule suggested an inland western Anatolian origin for this special type of pottery, Aphrodisias being the major candidate.<sup>281</sup> There is also some Mycenaean influence on some aspects of the painted decoration, however, not being the major component.<sup>282</sup>

The results of the recent studies carried out in the Cilician region concerning the nature of transitional period, i.e. the analysis of ceramics, or the analysis of the faunal remains from Kinet Höyük, indicate the arrival of the new populations to the Cilician region might have happened not only via sea routes, but also via land routes as well, because newcomers lived rather pastoralist lives.<sup>283</sup>

### 3.3.3. Upper Euphrates Region in the EIA:

The information related to the transition from LBA into the EIA in this part of Anatolia mostly comes from the salvage excavations of the Keban Dam project carried out during the 1960s and 1970s. These excavations revealed that drastic changes within the socio-economic and political structure of the region occurred during the transition from the LBA to IA. The excavation results from the stratified mounds of the region like Norfluntepe and Korucutepe show that there is a

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<sup>280</sup> Ünlü, 2005, p. 154.

<sup>281</sup> Ibid., p. 154.

<sup>282</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

<sup>283</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

complete break from the LBA material culture in the EIA.<sup>284</sup> However, there is no indication of a gap between the LBA and EIA habitation levels.<sup>285</sup> Therefore, life in the region seems to have experienced a drastic change, but without a hiatus at its major sites.

This sharp cultural break on the eastern side of the Euphrates is obvious in the change of the ceramic tradition. In this context the examples of Norfluntepe and Korucutepe gives us a clear picture. At both sites the latest phase of the LBA is characterized by a ceramic assemblage produced on a fast wheel, and contained the main vessel forms that are familiar from the main LBA sites of Central Anatolia and Cilicia.<sup>286</sup> Along with their characteristic ceramic assemblage Hittite administrative presence in this region has been confirmed clearly with the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscribed seal impressions found at Korucutepe.<sup>287</sup>

The Hittite occupation ended with conflagrations at these sites, and the following EIA occupations were established just above the LBA levels.<sup>288</sup> Ceramic assemblage of this era is neither typologically nor technologically a continuation of the previous LBA tradition.<sup>289</sup> Contrary to the wheel-made HMW, the pottery of the EIA is uniformly handmade.<sup>290</sup> The shapes are completely new with no connection the preceding period, and unlike the unslipped LBA drab ware, the EIA pottery was generally applied with a slip.<sup>291</sup> These changes in ceramic tradition were accompanied by changes in other cultural aspects like architecture in the eastern part of the Upper Euphrates.<sup>292</sup>

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<sup>284</sup> Köroğlu, 2003, p. 232.

<sup>285</sup> Winn, 1980, p. 155.

<sup>286</sup> Köroğlu, 2003, p. 233; Van Loon, 1980, p. 276.

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 276.

<sup>288</sup> Winn, 1980, p. 155.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 156.

<sup>290</sup> Winn, 1980, p. 156; Köroğlu, 2003, p. 233.

<sup>291</sup> Winn, 1980, p. 156.

<sup>292</sup> For detailed information about changes in architecture see Köroğlu, 2003, p. 233ff.

Contrary to this situation, on the west bank of the Euphrates Hittite material culture continued in the Neo-Hittite state of Malatya-Arslantepe.<sup>293</sup> HMW continued to be used in the EIA along with the other main cultural elements of the Hittites.<sup>294</sup> Certainly this continuity was a reflection of the political survival of the Hittite administration at this area. Politically Hittite presence continued in Malatya-Arslantepe, Malidiya/Melid in ancient sources, after the fall of central Hittite administration.<sup>295</sup> This continuation is primarily visible in the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions found in Arslantepe. This city and its kings were referred to various times in Assyrian sources in 9<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>296</sup>

The most dramatic changes in the material culture of the Post-Hittite period occurred in the Upper Euphrates valley. Hittite material culture seems have been erased completely from the East bank of the Euphrates River right after the fall of Hittite administration. HMW continued in centers like ancient Malidiya/Melid, where the Hittite political presence lasted to the IA.

#### 3.3.4. Middle Euphrates Region:

As in the case of the previous section, the main archaeological data related to the LBA-EIA transition in the Middle Euphrates valley comes from the salvage excavations carried out as part of dam construction projects. In this context Tille and Lidar Höyüks, of which the salvage excavations were carried out during the 1980s as part of the Atatürk Dam project, provided us with valuable information to understand the nature of this transition.

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<sup>293</sup> Ibid., p. 233.

<sup>294</sup> Frangepani, 1993, p. 48; Köroğlu, 2003, p. 233.

<sup>295</sup> Hawkins, 1993, p. 36.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid., p. 36-37.

Tille Höyük is located on the west bank of Euphrates in the province of Adyaman, Southeastern Turkey. A team from the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara under the directorship of David French excavated the site between 1979 and 1991. These excavations revealed that the site has a continuous stratigraphic sequence covering the entire LBA and the following IA without any sign of a hiatus in between.<sup>297</sup> The LBA consists of twelve successive phases, which ended with the so-called Burnt Level.<sup>298</sup> This level marks the chronological border between the LBA and EIA, but it is also likely that the destruction of this level may date well into the EIA due to the lack of some very characteristic LBA plate forms among the ceramic material of this phase.<sup>299</sup> Dendrochronological analysis showed that the fire that ended level 12 (Burnt Level) occurred between ca. 1170 and 1090 BC.<sup>300</sup> The following IA consists of ten successive phases, and first three levels cover the EIA.<sup>301</sup>

HMW represented a large part of the pottery assemblage of the LBA phases of Tille Höyük.<sup>302</sup> The characteristic shapes that are known from other Hittite sites were present among Tille material.<sup>303</sup> (See Table 1 and Table 2)

In the following EIA levels (Levels I-III) it is observed that there is a remarkable continuity of the ceramic tradition coming from the LBA in both wares.<sup>304</sup> The continuity of the preceding Hittite tradition is specifically visible in bowls with slightly out-turned rims, shallow plates and jugs

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<sup>297</sup> Blaylock, 1998, p. 115-116; Blaylock, 1999, p. 265.

<sup>298</sup> Summers, 1993, p. 6.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>300</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>301</sup> Blaylock, 1999, p. 264.

<sup>302</sup> Blaylock, 1998, p. 115. Also see Summers, 1993, 43-47 for the descriptions of the ceramic material other than the drab ware.

<sup>303</sup> Summers, 1993, p. 48-49.

<sup>304</sup> Blaylock, 1999, p. 266-267.

found in these EIA levels.<sup>305</sup> Along with the continuing Hittite tradition also a new kind of painted pottery appears in the EIA levels.<sup>306</sup> In the following IA levels at Tille Höyük, levels IV and V, the ceramic assemblage exhibits radical changes compared to the previous EIA levels. New types like the so-called ribbed ware become prominent within the assemblage along with the Neo-Assyrian pottery, and HMW disappears completely.<sup>307</sup>

Like Tille Höyük Lidar Höyük was excavated as part of the salvage excavation during the construction of Atatürk Dam in 1980s. A German team led by Harald Hauptman carried out these studies. The site is located on the east bank of the Euphrates river within the province of Diyarbakır, Southeastern Anatolia. Among the archaeological sites discussed here, Lidar Höyük shows the most visible continuity of the material culture from LBA into the EIA. According to the stratigraphic sequence of this site, level 7 represents the latest phase of the LBA, and so it is the transitional phase into the IA.<sup>308</sup> The most significant find of this level is the seal impression of Kuzi-Teshup, king of Carchemish.<sup>309</sup> This seal impression along with the <sup>14</sup>C dating results obtained from this level allow us to date level 7 within the 12<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>310</sup> It is a clear indication of the continuation of the political influence of the post-Hittite polities in Carchemish along the Euphrates valley. Political continuity of the Hittites in this region brought the continuity of the material culture of the LBA as well.<sup>311</sup> It is particularly apparent in the ceramic assemblage. All main forms of the drab ware

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<sup>305</sup> Ibid., p. 265.

<sup>306</sup> Müller, 2003, p. 140.

<sup>307</sup> Blaylock, 1999, p. 268.

<sup>308</sup> Müller, 1999a, p. 404; Müller, 2003, p. 138.

<sup>309</sup> See Chapter 2 about the discussion pertaining to this seal impression and relevant bibliography.

<sup>310</sup> Müller, 2003, p. 138-139.

<sup>311</sup> Müller, 1999b, p. 124. Also see Müller, 1999a, Abb. 2 – 12.

including shallow bowls and plates, closed jars with everted rims were main forms of the era at Lidar Höyük.<sup>312</sup> (See Table 1 and Table 2)

Level 7 is followed by level 6 that covers the entire IA, and this phase is divided into nine successive sub-phases. Among these phases 6e2, 6e1 and 6d are denoted as the EIA phases. The ceramic assemblage of Lidar Höyük in these phases shows a significant continuity of the Hittite ceramic tradition.<sup>313</sup> The greater part of the pottery uncovered from level e2 to level d was derived from main forms of HMW.<sup>314</sup> The characteristic shallow bowls, plates and jars of HMW still dominated the ceramic assemblage. This data indicates that Hittite drab ware survived well into the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC in Southeastern Anatolia. This situation is very likely to have resulted from the persistence of the political control of Neo-Hittite Kingdom of Carchemish over this region. However, new forms like the so-called '*Rillenkeramik*' or grooved ware that is also known from Tille Höyük and from contemporary sites in Keban region was used along with Hittite pottery at Lidar Höyük in the EIA.<sup>315</sup>

Oylum Höyük, located on the west bank of Euphrates to the south of the province of Gaziantep, just like other sites discussed in this section, has layers forming the transitional period from LBA to IA.<sup>316</sup> So far not enough information is available from this site concerning the nature of the transitional period here. However, some ceramic shards found in stratified IA layers of the site demonstrate the continuation of the drab ware tradition here as well.<sup>317</sup> One expects a significant continuity of the drab ware tradition at Oylum Höyük due to its proximity to important Neo-Hittite

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<sup>312</sup> Ibid., p. 124.

<sup>313</sup> Müller, 1999a, p. 408.

<sup>314</sup> Müller, 2003, p. 139.

<sup>315</sup> Müller, 1999b, p. 127. Also for further information about the development of '*Rillenkeramik*' in the eastern and southeastern Anatolia see Köroğlu, 2003 and Müller, 2003.

<sup>316</sup> Özgen et al, 1997, p. 64; Özgen & Helwig, 2003, p. 68.

<sup>317</sup> Özgen et al, 1997, Abb. 17.12.



states like Malatya-Arslantepe, or Carchemish. The EIA settlement at Oylum Höyük is likely to be under the political control of one of these states, and so its material culture including the ceramic tradition might have close affinities with their material culture in the EIA as in the case of Lidar Höyük.

The continuation of the Hittite ceramic tradition along the Euphrates valley northwards in the EIA seems to be a result of the surviving Hittite polities in some main centers like Carchemish, or Maladiya. As a result of this political survival Hittite material culture survived well into the EIA in the settlements located within the vicinity of these main centers.

#### 3.3.5. Orontes Valley:

Archaeological finds obtained from the sites located along the Orontes valley indicate a relative continuation of the Hittite material culture in the EIA. In this respect Tell Afis presents a clear picture about the nature of this transitional period and the early phases of the IA in this region. The LBA ended at Tell Afis with a serious destruction. This destruction ended the palatial architecture of the LBA, and replaced it with a settlement covered with small-scale domestic buildings built with poor architectural techniques compared to the preceding period.<sup>318</sup> Hence a decline in the economic and political status of the site is obvious. However, the material culture, particularly the ceramic assemblage of the EIA layers shows a continuation of the LBA forms, which is familiar to us from the HMW. Shallow bowls, jars with everted ledge rims of the preceding drab ware were quite common at Tell Afis until levels 7-6, which date to the second half of the 11<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>319</sup>

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<sup>318</sup> Venturi, 2001, p. 529.

<sup>319</sup> Ibid., p. 524. Also see Fig. 6, 8 & 12.

The discussion presented in this chapter indicates that the fall of the Hittite administration shortly after 1200BC caused dramatic changes in the ceramic tradition across the Hittite lands. HMW disappeared in some regions immediately after the demise of the Hittite administration as in the case of the Upper Euphrates valley or Gordion. In Bogazköy-Hattusha HMW survived for a short duration after destruction, and disappeared completely in middle and late phases of the EIA. The sharp break in Gordion and Eastern Anatolia implies that HMW was an imposed entity over the local populations in these regions, and as the political authority withdrew, this special ware ceased to be used in the sites. In Hattusha more plausible explanation seems that the site might have been deserted by the LBA population shortly after the fall of the city, and a new population with different ceramic tradition settled in Hattusha.

The continuation of the HMW is most clearly visible in the sites, which stayed within the political control of the Neo-Hittite polities in the Iron Age. Lidar Höyük, Malatya-Arslantepe, Tell Afis are examples of this relationship.

South Central Anatolia draws the most fragmented picture. HMW exhibits a remarkable continuity in Porsuk-Höyük and Tarsus-Gözlükule, whereas, at Kinet Höyük, it seems to have disappeared completely after the destruction of the Hittite settlement. The appearance of LHIIC type of Mycenaean pottery and Transitional Painted Pottery demonstrates the arrival of newcomers to the region.

#### Chapter 4 - Stratigraphic Sequence and Architectural Remains

In Tarsus-Gözlükule all architectural, ceramic and other small finds were uncovered in two main excavation units: Section A and Section B. These two sections depict different stratigraphical sequences. In Section A the uppermost layers under the surface were composed of the settlement remains that belong to the Hellenistic-Roman period.<sup>320</sup> The following architectural remains belong to scanty building remains of LBIIb.<sup>321</sup> The Iron Age in between is not represented at Section A. After LB IIb, the stratigraphy exhibits a continuous sequence until the Neolithic layers here.<sup>322</sup> The only

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<sup>320</sup> Goldman, 1950, p. 24-25.

<sup>321</sup> Slane, 1987, p.83.

<sup>322</sup> Ibid., p. 3. Also see Plan 26 for the cross-section of Section A.

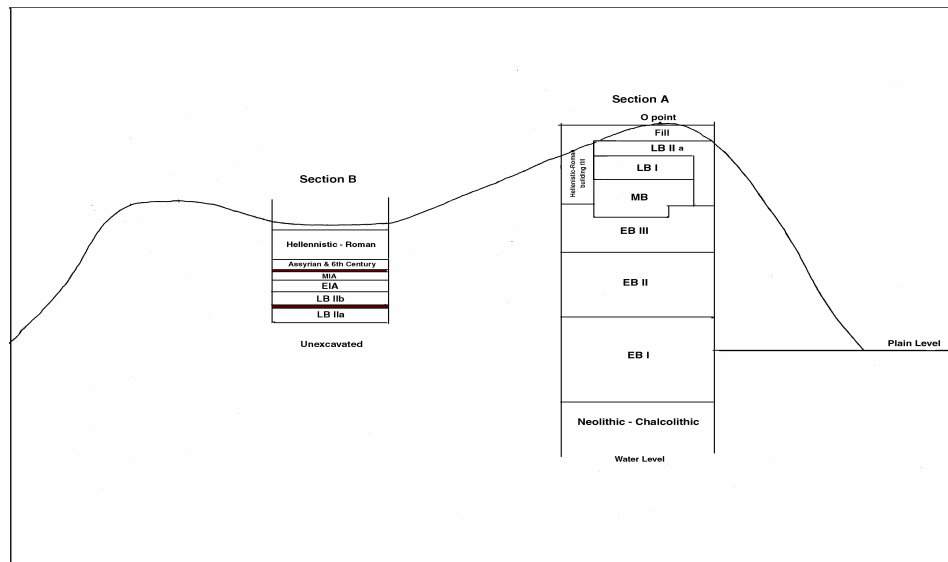


Fig. 1 - Stratigraphic sequence of Tarsus-Gözlükule

architectural remains of the IA at Section A are the pottery ovens abutted to the Hittite fortification walls, which dated to the MIA by the excavators.<sup>323</sup>

In Section B, LB IIa layers are the lowest level that was reached.<sup>324</sup> In this section medieval the period is the uppermost level. This is followed by Hellenistic-Roman levels. Late, Middle and Early Iron Age are below these, and Late Bronze Age II layers are the lowest successively.

The transition from the Late Bronze Age to the first phases of the Iron Age is still much debated in terms of the political and social changes experienced by the people of the Eastern Mediterranean in the late second millennium BC. In the final publications Goldman published habitation levels of this period at Gözlükule in the Bronze and Iron Age publications separately. In this context it is deemed necessary to revisit the relevant stratigraphy and relevant architectural phases of this period in Tarsus-Gözlükule. The material remains of this period will be re-evaluated in

<sup>323</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 15.

<sup>324</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 3.

a single study as reflections of a historical process. Such a study is needed since Tarsus-Gözlükule is one of the mounds where this transition can be observed uninterrupted.

Selected parts of the LBA and IA material of the Goldman excavations have been the subject of some recent studies. In her PhD dissertation Dorothy Slane reevaluated Middle and Late Bronze Age architectural and ceramic remains of Gözlükule.<sup>325</sup> Slane proposed a new terminology for the architectural remains and the stratigraphical sequence, and distinguished ten successive levels (Level A I-X) covering the Middle and Late Bronze layers in Section A. In Section B she differentiated three levels (Level B IX.1, IX.2 and X), which correspond to the last two levels in Section A.<sup>326</sup> These ten levels actually correspond to Middle Bronze, Late Bronze I, Late Bronze IIa and Late Bronze IIb levels in Goldman terminology. According to her new system Level B. X is the last level of LBA in Section B, which preceded the Iron Age levels. She attributed architectural remains to these periods.<sup>327</sup> In Figure 2 new stratigraphic terminology proposed by Slane is tabulated.

Goldman (1956)	Slane (1987)	Slane (1987)
	Section A	Section B
LB IIa	A.IX.	B.IX.1 B.IX.2

<sup>325</sup> Slane, 1987. Unfortunately Slane realized in 1999 that she had been able to use only one-third of the material, so most of the MB-LBA ceramic material of the Goldman excavations waits for reexamination, see Özyar et al., 2005, p. 34.

<sup>326</sup> Slane, 1987, p.12.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., p. 11-12.

LB IIb	A.X.	B.X.
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Fig. 2 - Stratigraphical sequence of the LB II period proposed by Slane (1987).

Elif Ünlü introduces in her M.A. thesis a new evaluation of the so-called Transitional Painted Pottery based on stratified fragments. This specific ceramic assemblage appeared at Tarsus-Gözlükule along with the plain ware pottery during the transition from LBA to the IA.<sup>328</sup> The stratigraphy of Gözlükule in this period is difficult to attest because of the deteriorated state of the architectural remains and later intrusions. The stratified material from other Cilician sites, mainly Kilise Tepe and Kinet Höyük, forms a framework that partly compensates the lost stratigraphic information at Gözlükule.<sup>329</sup>

In this study one of the aims is to understand the stratigraphic sequence of the transitional levels at Tarsus-Gözlükule in order to observe the development of the plain ware according to the stratigraphy. In this context an analysis of the architectural remains of the LBA-EIA transitional levels, has been undertaken. These layers including the earliest transitional level are presented here separately. However, the chronological terminology defined by Goldman in the Bronze Age and Iron Age publications<sup>330</sup> has not been changed. The goal was to differentiate the architectural layers within the chronological system proposed by Goldman. In other words the LB IIb and EIA levels of Gözlükule form the main stratigraphic framework that will be analyzed. As all architectural layers of

<sup>328</sup> For detailed information about the description of this ware Ünlü 2003, p. 25-27, & Ünlü 2005, p.149ff.

<sup>329</sup> Ünlü, 2005, p. 147.

<sup>330</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 64, & Goldman, 1963, p. 14.

these levels are found in Section B,<sup>331</sup> the architectural and ceramic finds uncovered in Section A are not included in this study. Hence the pottery ovens of MIA date and the pottery assemblage uncovered along with these ovens are not included here.

From the earliest phase of LB IIB until the end of EIA seven successive architectural levels are differentiated. Before proceeding to the description of these layers, a brief account of the preceding LB IIA, Hittite habitation level in Section B is also presented to provide a clear understanding in the change of the settlement layout at the prehistoric settlement in this period. Three successive architectural layers are differentiated in the following phase LB IIB. The EIA level of the mound is divided into four subsequent layers. The earliest phase of the EIA (EIA 1) is rather an extension of the LB IIB as indicated by its ceramic assemblage. Hence, the second phase marks the beginning of the EIA in a real sense. The last three phases of the EIA reflects in ceramic terms. Hanfmann defined these three layers according to the stratigraphic sequence of Unit Jw in Section B, which exhibits a continuous sequence throughout the IA.<sup>332</sup> In the present study the architectural layout of these levels will be described in relation to other architectural units in Section B. In Figure 3 whole stratigraphic sequence from LB IIA until the end of EIA discussed here is shown.

All layers postdating LBIIA contained scanty architectural remains and floor levels. These layers were determined through careful analysis of the descriptions of the architectural remains by Hetty Goldman, and the historical development of pottery based on the stratigraphic sequence of pottery by George M.A. Hanfmann.<sup>333</sup>

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<sup>331</sup> Some building remains in Section A are dated to LBIIb. They were built over the burnt debris of the Hittite temple of LBIIa. However, the remains are scanty, and they are not described in detail in the publication. See Goldman, 1956, p. 50 & Plan 22. Also see Slane, 1987, p. 83.

<sup>332</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 97.

<sup>333</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 3-5 & 92-97.

Goldman (1956 & 1963)	Yalçın (2005)
LBIIa	LBIIa (East, West and South Houses)
LBIIb	LBIIb Early LBIIb Middle LBIIb Late
EIA	EIA.I. (The latest Phase of Hittite-Mycenaean Pottery) EIA.II. (Early Cilician Painted Pottery) EIA.III. EIA.IV.

Fig. 3 - Architectural layers of the transitional period.

A chronological distinction made in the Iron Age publication has played important role in distinguishing successive architectural levels in the present study. Hanfmann stated that there is a clear stratigraphic difference between the presence of Mycenaean pottery and emergence of Cilician painted ware at Tarsus.<sup>334</sup> According to this observation, the emergence of Cilician painted ware occurred right after the phase, in which Mycenaean type of pottery was used, without any overlapping between the two. This identification also marks the total extinction of the LBA ceramic traditions at Tarsus-Gözlükule. This statement allowed us to differentiate successive layers with relative precision in different parts of Section B.

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<sup>334</sup> Ibid., p. 20 & 96.



It should be also noted that the ground of Section B rose slightly towards the south. In LB IIa, this slope was steeper whereas in LB IIb it was more gradual.<sup>335</sup> The same pattern was visible at EIA levels as well.<sup>336</sup> Therefore, the floors in the southern section have generally a higher elevation than the ones in the northern units although they must have been contemporary.

#### 4. 1. Late Bronze Age IIa (Plan 1):

This architectural level represents the era of the Hittite presence of the Empire Period at the mound.<sup>337</sup> In Section A the so-called Hittite temple dominates the entire section in this level.<sup>338</sup> In Section B LB IIa remains were detected between ca. 16.50m in the south and 19.00m. in the north.<sup>339</sup> The architectural layout is dominated by large-scale at least two-storied buildings separated by a 3m broad street stretching in north-south direction.<sup>340</sup> The so-called massive East, West and South houses define the architecture of Section B in this architectural level. Both the scale of the buildings and finds like bullae bearing administrative and royal names, which were found in these buildings, indicate that we see the administrative area of the Hittite settlement.<sup>341</sup>

#### 4. 2. Late Bronze Age II b

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<sup>335</sup> Goldman, 1956, p.51 & 58.

<sup>336</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 95.

<sup>337</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 51.

<sup>338</sup> For a detailed description of this building see Goldman, 1956, p. 49-50.

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>340</sup> *Ibid.*, 50-58.

<sup>341</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 56.

4.2.1. Early Phase (Plan 2): The town was destroyed by a massive conflagration at the end of LBII a.<sup>342</sup> Upon the debris of the conflagration new structures erected most likely by the inhabitants of the previous settlement.<sup>343</sup> However, the architectural remains of this phase are too scanty to draw the general layout of the settlement. The only construction from this period is the wall angle called 'DD'. It is located at the northeast of the trench. From this wall radiates another wall fragment made out of a single line of stones. These remains lie upon the burnt debris of the preceding East House. There is not enough information about the floor levels of this building. The depth of the stone foundations varies 17.55m to 17.75m.

Some floor levels at the area of 'P' can be associated with this building remain. In her field diary D. H. Cox mentions floor levels at 15.47, 15.79 and 15.93 meters in this part of Section B, the lowest one being the earliest floor level after the destruction debris of LB IIa.<sup>344</sup> This level contains mostly 'plate ware', which is likely to be HMW. Although there is not information about the ceramic content of the building stated above, from their stratigraphical context, this building and the floor level at 15.93m at 'P' seem to be contemporary.

4.2.2. Middle Phase (Plan 3): The architectural remains of the following middle phase give better idea about the layout of the settlement. This town lacked in size of the buildings and quality of building technique with that the previous settlement possessed.<sup>345</sup> The buildings are smaller in size compared to the LBIIa settlement. However, the layout of the area possesses the same orientation

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<sup>342</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>343</sup> Slane, 1987, p. 84-85.

<sup>344</sup> D. H. Cox Field Diaries (unpublished), 1936, p. 228.

<sup>345</sup> For a detailed description of the architectural remains of this period see Goldman, 1956, p. 58.

with LBIIa. Again a street in north-south direction, although now less broad, formed the main axis of this part of the settlement.<sup>346</sup> Buildings were located on either side in Section B.

4.2.3. Late Phase (Plan 4): The late phase of the LBIIb was represented with a single building and some scanty floors and walls in Section B. The single architectural unit of this phase was presented together with the LBII b buildings within the Bronze Age publication.<sup>347</sup> It is located upon the remains of Lg and Lh buildings.<sup>348</sup> It seems like a rectangular large room, of which only the stone foundations are preserved. It lay below the western part of Unit U that belong to the earliest phase of EIA (EIA 1). Unfortunately we do not have information about the floor levels of this structure other than some level measures given in the original plan.

Some floors in 'the Area of P' can be associated with this building. In this unit, the floor level at 15.47 is associated with the latest phase of Hittite-Mycenaean pottery, and here assigned to EIA 1.<sup>349</sup> The floor level at 15.93m seems to be the earliest level after the destruction of LBIIa building in this section, and provided Hittite monochrome ware in abundance together with only one piece of Mycenaean LHIIC type of pottery.<sup>350</sup> Thus, this floor level can be associated with the other buildings of LBIIb level. In her field notes Cox identified wall strip at 15.67m and a floor at 15.79m, with a gradual increase in the number of Mycenaean type of pottery compared to preceding floor.<sup>351</sup> This trend culminated in the floor level of 15.47, which was described by the excavator as 'the heyday of the Mycenaean'.<sup>352</sup> Although we do not have information about the material that was found in the above mentioned building, its stratigraphical context is similar to the wall strip at

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<sup>346</sup> Ibid., p. 58.

<sup>347</sup> Ibid., Plan 24.

<sup>348</sup> Ibid., p. 59.

<sup>349</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 95. Also see below.

<sup>350</sup> D. H. Cox Field Diaries (unpublished), 1936, p. 227-228.

<sup>351</sup> D. H. Cox Field Diaries (unpublished), 1936, p. 227. Also in the Iron Age publication Hanfmann mentions about a floor level at 15.75m in this unit, see Goldman, 1963, p. 95.

<sup>352</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 95

15.67m and the floor level at 15.79m in the Area of P. Therefore, the large room in what is later Unit U and the floor with the elevation 15,79 in Area P are likely to be contemporary.

#### 4. 3. Early Iron Age

##### 4.3.1. Early Iron Age I (Plan 5):

This unit represents the last phase of the LB material culture at Tarsus-Gözlükule. However, it is presented along with the EIA remains within the Iron Age publication.

The most substantial structure of this phase is the building located at Unit U, of which only the long stone foundation was preserved. The wall curves westward in its northern end. Its western wall was not preserved. This structure seems to be the earliest phase of Unit U, and an early form the following apsidal building. It has a floor level at 15.70m.<sup>353</sup> Remains of four hearths and a mass of loom weights were uncovered on this floor.<sup>354</sup> Another wall fragment is attached to the southeastern part of this wall, but the function of this structure and its relation to the building is not clear.

There is a street to the north of this building.<sup>355</sup> Its floor level is at 16.40m. Beyond this street to the north remains of the stone foundations of a building were uncovered.<sup>356</sup> The rest of the building remains within the unexcavated area. To the east of the preserved foundation in Unit U is an open area, which seems to be a continuation of the northern street. All these structures are contemporary with the floor, on which the clay loom weights and hearths within the building were located.<sup>357</sup>

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<sup>353</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>356</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>357</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

To the south of Unit U no architectural remains were found. However, Hanfmann derived stratigraphic sequence of some floors according to associated pottery.<sup>358</sup> Here the so-called Phantom Unit is of prime importance.<sup>359</sup> This unit has its floor level at 15.47m, and is the latest level with Mycenaean pottery in abundance. The so-called Area of P at floor level of 15.15m, which did not contain any Mycenaean pottery, follows this level.<sup>360</sup> Therefore, the Phantom level at 15.47m should be associated with the early phase of Unit U, which corresponds to the latest phase of LBA.

No architectural remains have been detected in the western part of Section B in this period. Building Jw that was shown in the plan of the original publication belongs to the following phase of EIA (EIA 2).<sup>361</sup>

Within so-called Unit W, which is located in the southeastern part of Section B, an angle of stone foundation seems to be the earliest phase of this unit.<sup>362</sup> LBA floors of this unit were detected at 15.60 and 15.70m.<sup>363</sup> A rectangular oven was located to the east face of this structure.<sup>364</sup> There is no architectural remain between Unit U, Phantom Level and Unit W indicating that they are contemporary. However, according to the pottery this structure is contemporary with the earliest phase of Unit U.<sup>365</sup>

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<sup>358</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>359</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>360</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>361</sup> See following discussion about the dating of this structure and the preceding pit.

<sup>362</sup> Note that the measurements and the exact alignment of this structure were not given in the initial publication, so the depiction within Plan 5 may not represent the structure exactly.

<sup>363</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 96.

<sup>364</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>365</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

#### 4.3.2. Early Iron Age II (Plan 6):

Few architectural remains in Section B can be firmly attributed to this phase of the mound, and all of them are located in the western part of the section. The first one is the so-called great pit dug into the western part of the Unit L of the LB IIB period. This pit is quite large measuring over 13.00 m in length.<sup>366</sup> It seems to belong to earliest phase of the EIA, which is supported by the presence of Cilician painted ware in abundance on its floor.<sup>367</sup> Only few Mycenaean shards were uncovered together with these. Cilician Painted Pottery formed almost 8% of the pottery assemblage.<sup>368</sup> Therefore, Hanfmann dated the pit to the earliest phase of the EIA.<sup>369</sup>

Later this pit was filled up, and on top of it was built a structure called Jw by the excavators.<sup>370</sup> The lowest floor level of Unit Jw is at 15.80m.<sup>371</sup> The pottery found on this floor raises some questions about the dating of the structure in this period. Hanfmann interpreted the shapes of the plain ware found here as having “more Mycenaean echoes than those of standard Early Iron Age”.<sup>372</sup> Together with these, fragments of Cilician painted ware were also uncovered. This statement makes the dating of Unit Jw quite difficult, but it can be suggested that the building belongs either to the transitional level from LB to EIA or to an early phase of EIA. At this level Jw is a single room with an irregular rectangular shape approximately 5.50 x 2.50m. It has a stone foundation and a mud brick superstructure. No surrounding buildings or walls are associated with Jw in this period.

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<sup>366</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 58.

<sup>367</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 96.

<sup>368</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 96.

<sup>369</sup> *Ibid.*, 96

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.* p. 4.

<sup>371</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>372</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.

#### 4. 3.3. Early Iron Age III (Plan 7):

The Apsidal building at Unit U is the most important building in this phase of Gözlükule. It succeeds the preceding Unit U building at 15.70m floor level. It is a free-standing building. Its radius at the apse is about three meters and the preserved length of the structure is about twelve meters<sup>373</sup>. Only the stone foundations of the building are preserved. It has a floor level at 15.45 m. Unlike its predecessor, here traces of building's western wall are visible. Within the building no remains of internal divisions were found. Its interior space is around 52m<sup>2</sup>, which makes it largest single structure in this phase of EIA.

To the southwest of the apsidal building, an angle of a stone wall was found, which has a floor at 15.47m paved with pebbles.<sup>374</sup> To the northwest of this structure, another angular wall is visible. It can be remains of a room extending to the north and east. Its floor is 15.42m. In the Iron Age publication, no detailed specifications about this building are given. If it is not contemporary with neighboring Unit U and Unit T, it must be close to them in terms of time period.

To the south of Area T no architectural remains were found. This area is called Area of P.<sup>375</sup> Its floor level at 15.15m seems to be the successor of the Phantom level at 15.47m.<sup>376</sup> At this level Mycenaean pottery was totally replaced by Cilician painted ware. Therefore, this level belongs to an early phase of the EIA.

Unit Jw continued to be used in this phase.<sup>377</sup> It has a floor level at 15.50m and 15.44m. It mainly preserved its previous shape. The internal arrangement of this level is better preserved. There are two circular hearths within the building. The northern part is bordered with stones and covered

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<sup>373</sup> Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>374</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>375</sup> In the following Middle Iron Age levels Building P covered this area.

<sup>376</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 95.

<sup>377</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

with pebbles. The room opened to the east via a doorway. There are traces of a wall extending from the northeast end of Jw. The excavators interpreted this wall as the northern wall of another room called Jo, which was located in the east of Jw.<sup>378</sup>

Unit W continued to be used in this phase of EIA. However, it is quite difficult to interpret the architectural remains. The angular wall of the EIA 2 seems to be replaced by an unintelligible mass of walls and floors.<sup>379</sup> It seems that the floor levels at 15.47m and 15.20m succeeded the structure with angular wall.<sup>380</sup>

#### 4.3.4. Early Iron Age IV (Plan 8):

In this phase the apsidal building in Unit U was no longer in use. Instead of this structure, an angle of stonewalls was found. The room is located in a similar alignment to the preceding apsidal building and extends in a northeastern direction. Its floor level is 15.25m.

To the south of Unit U a long wall seems to be the earliest architectural remain of Area P.<sup>381</sup> Actually this wall seems to be the eastern wall of the early Unit P building, which belongs to Middle Iron Age levels. It probably predates the final form of Unit P.<sup>382</sup> This wall extends southeastward for almost twenty meters and makes an angle westward. A Roman cistern cuts the wall. Only the stone foundation is preserved in the eastern section. This structure was interpreted by Hanfmann as a sign of continuation of the preceding levels of Unit U, but it is apparently an independent structure, separate from the preceding apsidal building. Moreover, the possibility of a street in SE-NW direction between contemporary Unit U structure and this Unit P building should be taken into consideration. However, the exact elevation of this building is ambiguous. If its early floor level is

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<sup>378</sup> Ibid., p. 4.

<sup>379</sup> Ibid., p. 3-4.

<sup>380</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

<sup>381</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>382</sup> Whole layout of the building P is depicted in the Iron Age publication. See Goldman, 1963, Plan II.



at 15.00m, it can be thought as contemporary with the Unit U structure at 15.25m floor level. This level was mentioned in the publication as the successive level of Area of P at 15.15m (EIA a).<sup>383</sup> Then it can be inferred that Unit U building at 15.25m and Unit P building at 15.00m were two contemporary buildings along a street. Unit W can be integrated with this complex, but the question of which levels and architectural aspects should be included remains unclear. Floor levels at 15.20 and 14.96m in Unit W can be associated with the above discussed features.

Jw was still in use in this phase of EIA, but it experienced significant modifications. It lost its closed room shape and turned into a corridor-like structure.<sup>384</sup> It has floor levels at 15.44m and 15.30m. The mud brick superstructure of the eastern wall was preserved. The Unit of Jo becomes more apparent in this phase of EIA. The passage from Jw into Jo is provided through a narrow doorway. It is bordered by walls in its northern and southern sides. No remains of walls enclosing the unit in the eastern side could be detected. Its floor is at 15.30 and contemporary with Jw. From the northern wall of Jo two mud brick walls radiate and form another room to the north, but the extension of this room remains ambiguous. Hanfmann's pottery analysis indicates that this structure was contemporary with Jo at floor level of 15.30m.<sup>385</sup> A tabulation of all above identified levels in conjunction with the associated ceramic assemblage presents the stratigraphic sequence in all its phases.

The areas, where LB IIa buildings were uncovered, must be part of the Hittite town. In both excavated areas the public and administrative buildings built in monumental scale were encountered. Building techniques were quite advanced and compatible with other contemporary Hittite buildings in Anatolia. Interior design of the buildings and their placements within the urban framework of the

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<sup>383</sup> Ibid., p. 95.

<sup>384</sup> Ibid., p. 4

<sup>385</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

town indicate that they were all parts of a single urban plan, possibly designed by the local Hittite administration.

The following LBIIb structures demonstrate a definite decline in the economic structure of the town. Although the buildings seem to have been built in the same alignment with that of the previous settlement, they were smaller in size and less well built. In this connection the LBIIb town was indeed a “squatter’s settlement” compared to the sophisticated LBIIa town.<sup>386</sup> The demise of the central political authority had a negative influence on the economic condition of the town as reflected in the architectural layout.

The plan of the successive EIA settlements is difficult to characterize since there is a lot of destruction due to continuous building activities of the following periods and intrusions. As a result the EIA habitation levels described above are composed of scattered building remains and floors, which do not give much idea about the entire layout of the area in each phase. It seems, however, clear that the EIA settlements were a continuation of the haphazard LB IIb town. These small villages were characterized by generally small-sized domestic buildings built with stone and mud brick. In other words there was an evolution, not destruction in the transition from the latest phase of the LBA to the IA at Tarsus. The inhabitants of the LBIIb, who were also likely to be the inhabitants of the LB IIa town, continued to live at Gözlükule in the EIA, too.

In addition to the continuity, there are also some new aspects among the scantily represented architectural remains of the EIA at Tarsus-Gözlükule. Among these the apsidal building is the most significant one. There is no predecessor to this apsidal architecture in the earlier levels. Apsidal buildings are generally encountered in the Aegean and western Anatolian context. The earliest

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<sup>386</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 58.

apsidal structures are encountered in Early Bronze Age sites either side of the Aegean.<sup>387</sup> In the post-Bronze Age period, this architectural form is known from the Aegean and western Anatolia. Oval buildings, related to the apsidal buildings in design, are frequently encountered in the settlements of the coastal western Anatolia. In Miletos an oval house is unearthed in the Südschnitt.<sup>388</sup> It is of 11,50m length and 6m width. The date of this structure is not clear due to the lack of finds from the building. However, its destruction is likely to be around 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>389</sup> Another oval building was found in Smyrna. Here, stone foundations along with the mud brick superstructure is preserved and it is dated to 925-900BC (i.e. the last phase of the Protogeometric Period).<sup>390</sup>

In Liman Tepe/Klazomenai a Protogeometric structure with apsidal plan was uncovered. It is dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> to 11<sup>th</sup> centuries BC based on the Submycenaean to Protogeometric ceramic found in this building.<sup>391</sup> This building form is reported from the later levels of this site as well. In the Feride Gül section in Klazomenai apsidal houses dated to the first quarter of 7<sup>th</sup> century BC were found. It seems that in the Subgeometric Period of Klazomenai houses with apsidal forms were preferred, but were discontinued in the following archaic period.

In Lesbos an apsidal building is reported from Pyrrha dated to 8<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>392</sup> There are two apsidal buildings unearthed in Antissa.<sup>393</sup> One is earlier and is dated to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> century (Early/Middle Geometric Period) and the other is dated to the end of 8<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>394</sup> The later building is better executed with polygonal stones and smaller stones used as fill. The continuity of this structure and central placement of the hearth indicate the possibility of a cultic function for this

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<sup>387</sup> Warner, 1977, p. 133 – 147.

<sup>388</sup> Kleine, 1979, p. 115.

<sup>389</sup> Ibid., p. 137.

<sup>390</sup> Akurgal, 1983, p. 17.

<sup>391</sup> Bakır et al., 2001, p. 26.

<sup>392</sup> Spencer, 1995, p. 281ff.

<sup>393</sup> The earlier one could be an oval building. See, Drerup, 1969, p. 26 & 29.

<sup>394</sup> Spencer, 1995, p. 285.

building.<sup>395</sup> An archaic temple of Kybele from Lesbos with an oval shape<sup>396</sup> might be an indication of the possibility of cultic use of such buildings.

The EIA apsidal building at Tarsus-Gözlükule may have been inspired by the west, western Anatolia or in the Aegean. However, we should seek the date for an initial western impact not in the EIA, but in the preceding LB IIb period. From the middle phase of this period onwards, Mycenaean type of pottery appeared at Tarsus-Gözlükule in substantial numbers.<sup>397</sup> Its local production indicates arrival of a new population from the west to the region. Likewise the so-called Transitional Painted Pottery, which might have an inland western Anatolian origin, appeared at Tarsus-Gözlükule in this period as well.<sup>398</sup> This new population might have brought this architectural form to Tarsus along with its ceramic tradition.

It is difficult to speculate about the function of this apsidal building. The size of the building, its free-standing location and the well executed stone blocks used for the foundations differentiate this building from any other building remains in the LB IIb and EIA at Tarsus-Gözlükule.

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<sup>395</sup> Drerup, 1969, p. 25 & 26.

<sup>396</sup> Spencer, 1995, p. 297.

<sup>397</sup> Recent analysis of the Mycenaean pottery recovered at Tarsus-Gözlükule show that this ceramic material was locally produced most probably by the newcomers of the LB IIb town. For a detailed discussion of this analysis see Mountjoy, 2005.

<sup>398</sup> See Ünlü, 2005.

## Chapter 5 – Analysis of the Selected Plain Ware Shapes of Tarsus-Gözlükule

The material recovered during the Goldman excavations were kept in Adana Museum. This material consists of tablets, seals and seal impressions, ceramic material, both whole vessels, and thousands of ceramic fragments, stone, metal and clay artifacts. Some of the material, mostly whole ceramic vessels and artifacts of various materials, were inventoried, but a larger part of the assemblage composed of fragments. These second part forms the study collection of Tarsus-Gözlükule material. This material was transported to Tarsus from the depots of Adana Museum, and is currently kept in the Boğaziçi University Tarsus-Gözlükule Research Center at Tarsus.<sup>399</sup> The entire assemblage consists of around five hundred boxes of material. Most of this is formed by the ceramics. The rest consists of stone, glass, metal, and bone artifacts.

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<sup>399</sup> See Özyar et al., 2005, p. 32-33, for a full account of the transportation process of the Tarsus-Gözlükule Study Collection from Adana to Tarsus.

Today a total of 103 boxes form the majority of the Iron Age ceramic assemblage of Tarsus-Gözlükule. Forty-six boxes consist of plain ware pottery of the Iron Age. The re-evaluation of this material was carried out during the 2004 and 2005 field seasons at Tarsus-Gözlükule. As a result a catalogue encompassing the entire IA plain ware study collection of Tarsus-Gözlükule was prepared. This ceramic assemblage is composed mostly of body shards, but also a great amount of diagnostic pieces, i.e. rims, handles and bases. There are few complete vessels within this assemblage. Also there are more complete vessels with inventory numbers in the depots of the Adana Museum. During the re-evaluation process, all body shards are discarded unless they are diagnostic to define the vessel such as carination or part of neck and shoulder. As a result of this elimination a total of 1351 diagnostic shards were separated and examined. Around five hundred pieces were listed in the plain ware catalogue of the third volume of Tarsus-Gözlükule,<sup>400</sup> but only 149 pieces of this published material were found and recorded. The remaining more than two-thirds is not among the material transported to Tarsus from the Adana Museum.

Majority of the Iron Age plain ware were recovered in Section B, but some of the material came from the pottery ovens unearthed in Section A.

The first step was to record all 1351 shards in a database. For each listed fragment, information on ware, shape, elevation, and final location were added. The original box label (when applicable) as well as the present box numbers are recorded, too. Fragments previously published by Hanfmann are marked, and the pieces that are similar to those are noted. This process revealed that although the catalogue prepared by Hanfmann is representative of a greater part of the material, some fragments are not represented in Iron Age publication of Tarsus-Gözlükule.

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<sup>400</sup> Within the third volume of Gözlükule excavations see the section on the analysis of the ceramic assemblage prepared by Hanfmann: Goldman, 1963, p. 18f.

The second step was the periodization of the material. According to the chronological framework defined by Goldman, the Iron Age is divided into four sub-periods: EIA, MIA, Assyrian Period and 6<sup>th</sup> Century.<sup>401</sup> Two parameters have been used to determine the sub-periods of the diagnostic shards. These are shape and the find-spot indicated on the shards. In this context, both elevation (vertical location) and area/room (horizontal location), in which the shard was found, are needed. Unfortunately the majority of the diagnostic shards did not contain this information. Then, only the shape and fabric of these fragments were used as diagnostic features. They are not included in the final catalogue of the present study, either. The material found in intrusions are discarded as well. A large number of the shards have locus numbers. They denote the exact location of the pieces (both horizontal and vertical), but since the lists of locus numbers of Section B is lost, this information could not be used in the present study. In some cases, only elevation was given. However, the information related to the elevation of the shard by itself is not enough for determining the period due to the N-S elevation differences on the mound.<sup>402</sup> Just depth can be used to assign individual pieces to the general categories, i.e. LB IIa, LBIIb, or EIA, but to determine the exact period of each piece, i.e. LBIIb early or EIA2, we need the information of both horizontal and vertical location of the shard.

This analysis showed that the plain ware material in the 46 boxes belongs to a time span extending from LBIIa to 6<sup>th</sup> century BC according to the Goldman/Hanfmann chronology. Most of the recovered published material belongs to the MIA. The majority of the unpublished plain ware material is assigned to the MIA as well.

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<sup>401</sup> Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>402</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 51 & 58.

The third step was to identify the ceramic fragments of the transitional period, i.e. LB IIa, LBIIb and EIA. According to the stratigraphy, shards from the elevations roughly below 15.00m are likely to belong this transitional period. A total of 289 diagnostic shards have met this criterion. Then 160 rim fragments that are informative about the shape of the vessel were separated for further analysis. During this process it was observed that some fragments did neither match published pieces in the Hanfmann catalogue nor shapes in the LBA II catalogue of the Bronze Age publication of Tarsus-Gözlükule. These fragments, then, form the basis of the catalogue discussed in this chapter.

The initial publication of the LB II plain ware of Tarsus-Gözlükule was presented by Hetty Goldman in the Bronze Age volume.<sup>403</sup> In this study she made no stratigraphic distinction between the monochrome ware of LB IIa and LB IIb, because “no real change or development in either fabric or shape of the monochrome Hittite type of pottery could be detected between the two levels, . . . , of Late Bronze II except that during the first period the pots were more reddish and there was a sparing use of red slip and wash; in the second level the more drab colors of brown and buff predominated”.<sup>404</sup> In her view the primary change in the ceramic assemblage of Tarsus-Gözlükule from LB IIa to LB IIb is the appearance of Mycenaean pottery along with Hittite Monochrome Ware.<sup>405</sup> In the catalogue of this study a certain range of vessels are presented as the representatives of the monochrome ware. Among these, plates with thickened rims and rounded bases,<sup>406</sup> hemispherical bowls<sup>407</sup>, bowls with thickened rounded rims and flat bases<sup>408</sup> are the prominent bowl and plate shapes. In addition miniature bottles,<sup>409</sup> pitchers with pointed base and flaring rim,<sup>410</sup>

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<sup>403</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 203-205. For the catalogue of this analysis see p. 209 – 220.

<sup>404</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 203.

<sup>405</sup> *Ibid.*, 205 – 206.

<sup>406</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 384. 1121.

<sup>407</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 384. 1113.

<sup>408</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 384. 1127.

<sup>409</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 387. 1199, 1211.



various types of jars<sup>411</sup> are presented. These are indeed the most typical shapes of the HMW unearthed from many Hittite sites across Anatolia and Northern Syria.<sup>412</sup>

In her PhD dissertation Slane made a re-evaluation of the HMW in the light of her fine-tuned stratigraphic sequence.<sup>413</sup> In her sample catalogue, prominent shapes are typical HMW like hemispherical bowls, plates with thickened rims, bowls with thickened and rounded rims, jars of various shapes. All these are already present in the catalogue of the Goldman publication, but Slane presents a wider range of shapes for each of these main forms.

In the last two decades several detailed studies on the typological differentiation of the HMW have been undertaken. These studies focused mainly on the Hittite monochrome material recovered in Bogazköy-Hattusha,<sup>414</sup> but recently the ceramic material unearthed in the Hittite stronghold Kuşaklı- Sarissa in East-central Anatolia has increased our knowledge about the spectrum of monochrome ware.<sup>415</sup> These studies have provided the most detailed form spectrum for the HMW. As a result currently it is apparent that this indigenous ceramic assemblage has a much wider spectrum of shapes than previously assumed.

In the present study Cat. Nr. 1 - 24 belong to the LB II levels of Tarsus-Gözlükule according to their stratigraphic location. Nr. 1 - 4 are from LB IIa, and 5 - 24 belong to LB IIb layers. The majority of these shapes are not represented in the catalogues of Goldman and Slane. However, a

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<sup>410</sup> Ibid., Fig. 385. 1191.

<sup>411</sup> Ibid., Fig. 388-390.

<sup>412</sup> See the discussion in Chapter 4 in this study.

<sup>413</sup> See p. 70 in this study for the discussion of the new stratigraphical framework proposed by Slane. Also see Slane, 1987, p. 387 – 460 for the discussion and the sample catalogue of HMW of LBII a and LBIIb.

<sup>414</sup> Müller-Karpe, 1988, and Parzinger & Sanz, 1992.

<sup>415</sup> See Müller-Karpe, 2000 for the development and form spectrum of the HMW through the Middle and Empire periods of the Hittites.

close examination reveals that most of the forms are comparable with the shapes found in the empire period levels of Hattusha.<sup>416</sup>

Nr. 2 is a small jar with flaring simple rim. This piece has its exact parallel in Bogazköy.<sup>417</sup> The same shape is represented in the Hittite level of Porsuk Höyük as well.<sup>418</sup>

Nr. 15 and 16 are shallow bowls with similar forms. They have slightly thickened rims, and are slanted outward, the former rounded, the latter pointed. These pieces are exact parallels of *Schalen mit Hängelippe* found in the Empire Period phases of Hattusha.<sup>419</sup> These forms are also present in the transitional phases of Tell Afis,<sup>420</sup> Hattusha,<sup>421</sup> and in the Iron Age levels of Oylum Höyük.<sup>422</sup> In the EIA phases of Gözlükule they are not represented.

The *S-formig profilierte* bowls of Hattusha<sup>423</sup> are represented at LB levels of Gözlükule by Nr. 7. There are slight differences between the Gözlükule and Bogazköy examples. The rim of the Gözlükule piece is pointed whereas the rims of the Bogazköy examples are rounded, but they have the same format.

One of the most remarkable pieces of the present catalogue is Nr. 5. It is a small bowl with sharply everted ledge rim. There is a slight carination below rim. Form I.5.3 is the parallel in Hattusha,<sup>424</sup> but the Gözlükule example has sharper contours compared to the piece from Hattusha. Also the interior sharp turn below rim is a novel aspect of this piece. The Gözlükule example seems to be a finer version. However, both pieces seem to be from the same family.

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<sup>416</sup> In the catalogue of the present study the pieces, which are typologically similar to the forms in Bogazköy-Hattusha, are indicated.

<sup>417</sup> Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Tafel 47. 20.

<sup>418</sup> Dupre, 1983, Niveau V. No: 152.

<sup>419</sup> Ibid., Abb. 19. 5.1 & 5.2.

<sup>420</sup> Venturi, 2000, fig. 6, no: 8 & fig. 8, no 2

<sup>421</sup> Genz, 2000, Abb. 3, No: 3.

<sup>422</sup> Özgen et al., 1997, Abb. 17.12.

<sup>423</sup> Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, p. 26.

<sup>424</sup> Ibid., p. 26.

Nr. 12 is a bowl with a flat top slightly thickened on the outside. The same shape is present in the empire period levels of Hattusha.<sup>425</sup> This form became quite popular in the IA levels of Tarsus-Gözlükule,<sup>426</sup> and so it is an important indicator of the continuity of the LBA ceramic tradition into the IA.

Nr. 14 is a deep bowl with a thickened rim rounded on the outside. Shape I.5.4 in Hattusha forms the exact parallel of this piece.<sup>427</sup>

Nr. 21 is a jar with thickened flat top rim. The parallel of this vessel in Hattusha is form A.1.2.<sup>428</sup> The difference is that the short neck on the exterior of the Gözlükule piece is absent in the Hattusha example. The pithos form C.1.1<sup>429</sup> is closer parallel to the Gözlükule example, but it is a much bigger vessel.

These examples indicate that the LB II ceramic assemblage of Tarsus-Gözlükule has a wider spectrum than previously recognized. The majority of the forms presented here are closely related to the HMW repertoire redefined by the detailed studies of Parzinger and Sanz, and Müller-Karpe.<sup>430</sup> In this context these examples indicate that the monochrome repertoire of Tarsus-Gözlükule is wider than those of Gordion, Kinet Höyük, and Kilise Tepe according to current information.

The most of the ceramic fragments of the HMW presented here stratigraphically belong LB IIb phases of the mound. Hence, the continuity of the ceramics from LB IIa to LB IIb proposed by Goldman has been confirmed in the present study.

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<sup>425</sup> Ibid., Tafel 36, no: 5. Also see Abb. 19. I. 3. 2.

<sup>426</sup> Goldman, 1963, Fig. 117.194, Fig. 126.717.

<sup>427</sup> Parzinger&Sanz, 1992, Abb. 19.

<sup>428</sup> Ibid., Abb. 14.

<sup>429</sup> Ibid., Abb. 17.

<sup>430</sup> See above footnotes. 422 & 423.

In addition to forms closely related to HMW, some shapes do not have any similarity with the monochrome ware typology. Among these Nr. 19 is the most significant one. This piece is a deep bowl with thickened flat top rim slanted inward. Stratigraphically this piece belongs either to LB II b or the earliest phase of the EIA. However, it has no local predecessor at Tarsus. It is differentiated from the rest of the repertoire in terms of both its shape and fabric.

Nr. 24 is another piece, which seems to have no connection to the HMW repertoire. This is a flask with a flat top rim rounded in the exterior. The wall extends down to form the neck. Stratigraphically this piece is likely to belong to the latest phase of LBIIb. Closest parallel to this piece comes from Tell Jurn Kabir,<sup>431</sup> and Tell Sheikh Hassan<sup>432</sup> in Northern Syria. In Tell Jurn Kabir two flasks with similar rim and neck type form the closest parallel to the Gözlükule example. However, the Jurn Kabir examples are dated to the 9<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>433</sup> The Tell Sheikh Hassan fragments are dated to the period between 8<sup>th</sup> to 5<sup>th</sup> centuries BC.<sup>434</sup> In this context both parallels are later than the Gözlükule example.

The transition to EIA at Tarsus-Gözlükule brought about significant changes in the ceramic sequence of mound. The most significant change is the replacement of the Mycenaean type of pottery with the so-called Cilician Painted Pottery<sup>435</sup> but on the other hand according to Hanfmann, the plain wares are the primary indicators of continuity of the LBA traditions at Tarsus-Gözlükule in the EIA.<sup>436</sup> According to this view, the great amount of the plain ware forms evolved from the main shapes of the monochrome ware of the preceding period. Current analysis partly confirms

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<sup>431</sup> Eidem, & Ackermann, 1999, Fig.8 no: 12 & 14.

<sup>432</sup> Schneider, 1999, Abb. 14, Typ 25. 13-17.

<sup>433</sup> Eidem, & Ackermann, 1999, p. 315.

<sup>434</sup> Schneider, 1999, p. 329-330.

<sup>435</sup> For a detailed discussion about the emergence of Cilician painted pottery see Hanfmann, in Goldman, 1963, p. 95-98.

<sup>436</sup> Hanfmann, in Goldman, 1963, p. 105.

Hanfmann's conclusion. The continuity is most visible in jar types popular in the EIA phases of Gözlükule. In this respect Nr. 39 and 40 are the most instructive pieces about this continuity. They belong to the latest part of the EIA. These are jars with ledge rims slanted inward. The former has a shorter ledge compared to the latter. Nr 40 has a visible groove on the ledge. The shape of these vessels seems to reflect HMW origin. Jars with very similar forms were recovered from the LBA layers of Bogazköy.<sup>437</sup> Likewise in the LB II levels of Tarsus-Gözlükule this jar form was amply used.<sup>438</sup> Similar forms are present in transitional layers of Lidar Höyük<sup>439</sup>, and Tell Afis.<sup>440</sup> The pieces from these sites are earlier than the Tarsus examples.

Nr. 44 is a jar with thick ledge rim. The top slightly curves inward. This piece is recovered possibly in EIA IV. There are exact parallels of this jar shape from the LB II levels of Tarsus-Gözlükule,<sup>441</sup> and Boğazköy.<sup>442</sup> Similar forms are present in the EIA layers of Porsuk Höyük,<sup>443</sup>

Nr. 43 is another jar form that was popular during the IA levels of Gözlükule. This form was used in painted pottery as well.<sup>444</sup> The same form was popular in the transitional layers of Lidar Höyük.<sup>445</sup> The origin of this form must also be sought in the LBA monochrome tradition.<sup>446</sup> Again it seems to have changed very little from LBA to the end of EIA at Tarsus-Gözlükule.

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<sup>437</sup> Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14, A.2.2., A.2.3.

<sup>438</sup> Goldman, 1956, Fig. 389-390.

<sup>439</sup> Müller, 1999a, Abb. 3. CA01.

<sup>440</sup> Venturi, 2000, Fig. 6. No: 13 & 16, Fig. 8. no: 6.

<sup>441</sup> Goldman, 1956, Fig. 389. Form D & M, and Fig. 390. Form F. Here it should be noted that Form D in the Bronze Age publication has exactly the same shape. Hence, it is possible that Nr. 44 in the present catalogue may be an extrusion.

<sup>442</sup> Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, p. 16. Also see plates.

<sup>443</sup> Dupre, 1983, Niveau IV, Pl. 55. No: 76-80. These pieces are painted. No plain example of this form is present at this phase of Porsuk Höyük.

<sup>444</sup> Goldman, 1963, fig. 114. no: 39.

<sup>445</sup> Müller, 1999a, Abb. 2. AE01, & Abb. 4. AE02.

<sup>446</sup> Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 16. B4.1.b.

Nr. 41 is another example for the continuity of the monochrome ware at Gözlükule. It belongs to the latest phase of the EIA. This form is similar to the popular jars with ledge rim of the LBA monochrome ware.<sup>447</sup>

Nr. 46, 47 and 48 are indicators of continuity from the LBA levels of Tarsus-Gözlükule. All these forms are from the same family. The differences are in the shape of the rims. In Nr. 46 and 47 rims are almost horizontal whereas in Nr. 48 rim is significantly everted. These forms seem to have evolved from the jar forms of LBA at Tarsus-Gözlükule.<sup>448</sup>

Although jar forms are the most important indicators of the continuity of the LBA ceramic tradition at Gözlükule, some bowl forms have close affinities to the LB monochrome shapes as well. Among these Nr. 33, which was recovered in a late EIA context (EIA III or IV), is significant. This shape seems to be a direct descendant of the so-called s-formed profiled bowls of the LBA tradition.<sup>449</sup> Nr. 33 is a bowl with sharply everted ledge rim. This form seems to have evolved from bowls with *Hängelippe* of the preceding LBA tradition such as Nr. 5 in the present catalogue. The ancestor of this shape may be such bowls in Boçazköy-Hattusha.<sup>450</sup>

In addition to the familiar LBA monochrome types the EIA plain ware contains some new elements. Among these Nr. 26 and 27 are noteworthy. These bowls belong to EIA 2. They are contemporary with the earliest specimens of the Cilician painted pottery, so they appeared at Tarsus-Gözlükule right at the transition to IA. These bowls have triangular rim profiles but with pointed top. The latter has a slight carination on its body. A similar piece is included in the EIA catalogue

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<sup>447</sup> See particularly Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14. A3.3.

<sup>448</sup> Compare these forms with Goldman, 1956, Fig. 390.B.

<sup>449</sup> Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, p. 26.

<sup>450</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

prepared by Hanfmann,<sup>451</sup> but it belongs to a late phase of the EIA. Nr. 26 is unique among other pieces in the present catalogue due to the quality of its surface treatment. It is very well polished. These shapes are not preceded in the LB IIb period. In this respect they represent a novel element in the EIA plain ware. The closest parallel to these fragments come from Tell Jurn Kabir.<sup>452</sup> However, stratigraphically the similar bowl in Jurn Kabir belongs to 9<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>453</sup> so it is later than the EIA pieces at Gözlükule.

The discussion presented above indicated two points. First of all, HMW has a broad shape spectrum at Tarsus-Gözlükule in the LBII period. Secondly, plain ware material of the EIA phases of Tarsus-Gözlükule exhibits a remarkable continuity from the LBA tradition. Some shapes, particularly jar forms did not changed much. Some forms exhibit slight changes in their rim profiles, but it is apparent that they evolved from the LB monochrome forms of Tarsus-Gözlükule. Also some bowl and jar forms showed significant resemblance to the vessels recovered in Tell Jurn Kabir, and Tell Ahmar, northern Syria.

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<sup>451</sup> Goldman, 1963, Fig. 120. 268.

<sup>452</sup> Eidem & Ackermann, 1999, Fig. 8. Group C, nr. 6.

<sup>453</sup> Ibid., p. 315.

## 5.1. Catalogue

Important notes related to the terminology used in the catalogue:

Locus Numbers: These are codes given by the excavators to the specific excavation units denoting the exact location (both horizontal and vertical) of the recovered artifact (A212 or B113). For

Section A and Section B separate lists were prepared, but the latter is lost.

Abbreviations: D. refers to diameter of the vessel. Th.R refers to thickness of rim, and Th.W. denotes thickness of wall. In some cases a range is indicated for the thickness of the wall

Elevations: Elevations are determined in relation to a zero point, which was once on eastern summit of the mound.



Box numbers: According to digital photo archive of the Tarsus-Gözlükule Project, IA means Iron Age, & BA means Bronze Age. The first three digits after the initials represent the box number. The last two digits are the bag numbers within the boxes.

All pieces unless indicated are wheel-made.

For the ware descriptions Hanfmann's terminology was kept (Goldmann, 1963, p. 25-26). According to this, the adjectives sparse, medium and heavy are used for concentration within the paste; fine, medium, coarse, very coarse are used to indicate the size of the inclusions ('fine' under 0,33mm, 'medium' under 0.66mm, 'coarse' under 1mm, 'very coarse' over 1mm).

Description: The shape of the vessel is described based on the fragments. Also significant features like incisions or visible wheel marks are noted.

In case of similarity between Tarsus-Gözlükule and Bogazköy-Hattusha material, reference is given to Parzinger and Sanz, 1992.

1.	Shape:	Deep bowl.
	Locus no:	B306
	Location:	
	Elevation:	17.70m
	Box no:	BA120-01
	D.:	24cm
	Th.R:	1.1cm
	Th.B:	1 cm

- Fabric: Light brown porous clay. From medium to very coarse temper. Fine to medium lime particles. Core gray due to firing.
- Description: Flat-top rim. Perforation on body.
- Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.
- Period: LB IIa
- Plate: 1 & 9
2. Shape: Small jar
- Locus: B259
- Location:
- Elevation: 16.80m
- Box no: BA120-05
- D.: 12cm
- Th.R: 0.9cm
- Th.B: Varies from 0.6 to 0.7cm
- Fabric: Gray clay with fine to medium temper.
- Description: Everted simple rim. Short neck between rim and body. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Tafel 47.17)
- Surface treatment: Exterior applied with red slip containing fine to coarse temper.  
Interior wet-smoothed.
- Period: LB IIa or IIb
- Plate: 1 & 10

3.     Shape:                 Large storage jar
- Locus no:             B259
- Location:
- Elevation:             16.80m
- Box no:               BA120-03
- D.:                    ca. 40c
- Th.R:                 2.3cm
- Th.B:                 Varies from 2 to 1.1cm
- Fabric:               Gray clay with medium to very coarse temper. From medium to coarse lime particles.
- Description:         Thickened rounded rim. Wall gets thinner downward. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Tafel 32.1)
- Surface treatment:   Exterior brown slipped with mica inclusion. Interior wet-smoothed.
- Period:               LB IIa or IIb
- Plate:                 1 & 11
- 
4.     Shape:                 Jar
- Locus no:             B267
- Location:
- Elevation:             17.70m
- Box no:               BA120-06
- D.:                    26cm
- Th.R:                 1cm

- Th.B: 0.8cm
- Fabric: Light brown clay with fine to very coarse temper. Organic inclusions.
- Description: Sharply everted rounded rim with horizontal ledge handle. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 19. A2.1c)
- Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.
- Period: LB IIa
- Plate: 1 & 12
5. Shape: Shallow bowl
- Locus no: B206
- Location: La, s. End.
- Explanation:* *Room La (Plan 3), south end.*
- Elevation: 15.70m
- Box no: IA035-08
- D.: 14cm
- Th.R: 0.5cm
- Th.B: Varies from 0.5 to 0.3cm.
- Fabric: Buff clay with fine to medium temper. From fine to coarse lime particles.
- Description: Rim sharply everted forming a ledge. Top pointed. Slight below rim. Wheel marks on lower body. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19. I5.3.b)

- Surface treatment: Burnished except the exterior area right below rim.
- Period: LB IIb (Middle)
- Plate: 2 & 13
6. Shape: Shallow bowl
- Locus no: B260
- Location: S.w.corner.
- Elevation: 15.70m
- Box: IA035-27(02)
- D.: 10.6cm
- Th.R: 0.6cm
- Th.B.: 0.5cm
- Fabric: Light brown clay with a sparse concentration of fine lime inclusion.
- Description: Everted ledge rim. Slight carination on body.
- Surface treatment: Exterior buff-slipped and burnished. Interior just buff-slipped.
- Period: LB IIb (Middle)
- Plate: 2 & 14
7. Bowl
- Locus no: B206
- Location: La, s.End
- Explanation:* *Room La (Plan 3), south end.*
- Elevation: 15.70m

Box: IA035-26  
 D.: 18cm  
 Th.R.: 0.8cm  
 Th.B: Varies from 0.7 to 0.5cm  
 Fabric: Light red clay with fine to medium temper. Mica in very sparse concentration. Fine to medium lime in medium concentration.  
 Description: Flaring pointed rim. Carination on body. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19. I4.4)  
 Surface treatment: Self-slipped  
 Period: LB IIb (Middle)  
 Plate: 2 & 15

8. Bowl

Locus no: B206  
 Location: La, s. End.  
*Explanation: Room La (Plan 3), south end.*  
 Box no: IA090 – 05  
 D.: 24cm  
 Th.R.: 0.8cm  
 Th.B: 0.7cm  
 Fabric: Dark gray clay with fine to coarse lime in medium concentration.  
 Description: Simple rim slightly pointed. Slight carination on body.  
 Surface treatment: Exterior burnished. Interior dark-slipped and burnished.

Period: LB IIb (Middle)

Plate: 2 & 16

9. Plate

Locus no: B206

Location: La. S. End

*Explanation:* Room La (Plan 3), south end.

Elevation: 15.70m

Box no: IA035-36

D.: 28cm

Th.R: 0.5cm

Th.B: 0.6cm

Fabric: Clay with fine to medium temper. Medium concentration of lime from fine to medium. Mica in sparse concentration. Core gray due to firing.

Description: Flaring ledge rim. Sharp wheel marks below ledge.

Surface treatment: Burnished.

Period: According to stratigraphy, this piece belongs to LB IIb (Middle), but the form is more similar to MIA plates, so It can be intrusion.

Plate: 3 & 17

10. Jar

Locus no: B258

Location:  
Elevation: 16.25m  
Box no: IA031-06  
D.: 26cm  
Th.R: 1.05cm  
Th.B.: 0.6cm  
Fabric: Light brown clay with fine to coarse temper in medium concentration. Lime and mica in sparse concentration.  
Description: Rim thickened and rounded in exterior. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 16. I4.3)  
Surface treatment: Sparse burnishing.  
Period: LB IIb  
Plate: 4 & 18

11. Storage Jar

Locus no: B204  
Location: T4-5W  
Elevation: 15.50m  
Box no: IA092-01  
D.: 32cm  
Th.R.: 2.2cm  
Th.B: 1.8cm



Fabric: Red clay with heavy concentration of medium to coarse stone and lime particles.

Description: Flaring rim of a storage jar. Thick walled. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.15. A4.3)

Surface treatment: Buff-slipped in the exterior. Interior self-slipped.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 4 & 19

12. Bowl

Locus no: B184

Location: M

Elevation: 16.70m

Box no: IA029-14

D.: 24cm

Th.R: 1.3cm

Th.B: 0.8cm

Fabric: Brown clay with heavy concentration of medium to very coarse stone. Medium concentration of fine to coarse lime particles. Mica in medium concentration.

Description: Thickened flat-top rim. Very slight carination on body. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19. I3.2)

Surface treatment: Exterior burnished, interior wet-smoothed.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 2 & 20

13. Bowl

Locus no: B169

Location: Kb

*Explanation:* Room Kb (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)

Elevation: 16.00m

Box no: IA088-06

D.: 24cm

Th.R: 1.3cm

Th.B: 0.7cm

Fabric: Buff clay with heavy concentration of medium to very coarse stone and lime particles. Sparse use of mica.

Description: Thickened flat-top rim slightly slanted inward. Smooth carination below rim. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19. I8.2)

Surface treatment: No surface treatment.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 2 & 21

14. Bowl

Locus no: B184

Location: M

Elevation: 16.70m

Box no: IA035-14  
D.: 18cm  
Th.R: 0.9cm  
Th.B: 0.7cm  
Fabric: Brown clay with fine to coarse lime particles in sparse concentration. Sparse use of mica. Core dark gray due to firing.  
Description: Thickened rim rounded on the exterior. Wall thickens downward.  
(See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19. I5.4.)  
Surface treatment: Interior and exterior dark slipped and burnished.  
Period: LB IIb  
Plate: 2 & 22

15. Locus no: B184  
Location: M  
Elevation: 16.70m  
Box no: IA029-09  
Shape: Bowl  
D.: 22cm  
Th.R: 0.8cm  
Th.W: 0.5cm

Fabric: Light red clay with medium to very coarse stone particles in medium concentration. Fine to coarse lime in sparse concentration. Sparse use of mica. Core gray due to firing.

Description: Thickened rim slanted outward. Wheel marks on the exterior. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 19. I.5.1.)

Surface treatment: Interior burnished. Exterior wet-smoothed.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 2 & 23

16. Bowl

Locus no: B262

Location: N.end.

Elevation: 16.60m

Box no: IA035-30

D.: 22cm

Th.R: 0.9cm

Th.B: 0.73cm

Fabric: Brown clay with sparse use of fine to medium lime particles. Core gray due to firing.

Description: Rim thickened slanted outward. Wheel marks on the exterior. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19. I.5.1.)

Surface treatment: Buff-slipped on both sides and irregularly burnished on exterior.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 3 & 24

17. Bowl

Locus no: B184

Location: M

Elevation: 16.70m

Box no: IA029-09

D.: 24cm

Th.R: 0.6cm

Th.B: Varies between 0.8 and 1.1cm

Fabric: Brown clay with medium to very coarse stone and lime particles in medium concentration.

Description: Simple rim slanted outward. Wavy wall on both sides. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19.I5.1.)

Surface treatment: Light-slipped. Mica inclusion in slip.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 3 & 25

18. Deep bowl

Locus no: B265

Location:

Elevation: 16.48-16.80m

Box no: BA120-04

D.: 32cm  
Th.R: 1cm  
Th.B: 0.7cm  
Fabric: Light brown clay. Fine to coarse stone and lime particles in medium concentration. Medium use of mica. Core gray due to firing.  
Description: Flat-top rim slanted inward. Wall make a slight turn outward at bottom.  
Surface treatment: Exterior and interior irregularly burnished.  
Period: LB IIb  
Plate: 3 & 26

19. Deep bowl

Locus no: B169  
Location: Kb  
*Explanation:* Room Kb (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)  
Elevation: 16.00m  
Box no: IA037-09  
D.: 32cm  
Th.R.: 2.25cm  
Th.B.: Varies between 1.7 & 1.3cm  
Fabric: Coarse ware. Brown clay with medium concentration of medium to very coarse stone particles. Medium concentration of lime particles. Medium use of mica. Core gray due to firing.

Description: Flat-top slanted inward, rounded on the exterior. Wall thickens below rim.

Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 3 & 27

20. Jar

Locus no: B169

Location: Kb

*Explanation:* Room Kb (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)

Elevation: 16.00m

Box no: IA088-02

D.: 16cm

Th.R.: 1.8cm

Th.B.: 0,6cm

Fabric: Dark brown clay with fine to coarse lime particles in medium concentration. Medium use of mica.

Description: Thickened rim triangular shape in section. Horizontal loop handle below rim now missing. Visible wheel marks in the interior.

Surface treatment: Black slip but no burnishing.

Period: LB IIb

Plate: 3 & 28

21. Closed jar
- Locus no: B183
- Location: nw
- Elevation: 16.75m
- Box no: IA092-09
- D.: 24cm
- Th.R: 2.7cm
- Th.B: 0.6cm
- Fabric: Brown clay sparse use of fine to medium lime. Spars use of medium to very coarse stone. Medium use of mica.
- Description: Horizontal ledge rim. Short neck connected to body. (See Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14. A.1.2.)
- Surface treatment: Exterior irregularly polished. In the interior only parts close to rim are polished. The rest wet-smoothed.
- Period: LB IIb
- Plate: 3 & 29
22. Flask
- Locus no: B184
- Location: M
- Elevation: 16.70m
- Box no: IA090-12
- D.: 18cm



Th.R.: 1.6cm  
 Th.B.: 1.1cm  
 Fabric: Dark brown clay with sparse concentration of fine to medium lime.  
 Sparse mica inclusion.  
 Description: Flaring rim thickened and rounded outward. Top slightly pointed.  
 Surface treatment: Black-slipped and burnished.  
 Period: LB IIb  
 Plate: 4 & 30

23. Jar

Locus No: B183  
 Location:  
 Elevation: 16.75m  
 Box no: IA029-28  
 D.: 16cm  
 Th.R: 1.9cm  
 Th.B.: 0.8cm  
 Fabric: Brown clay with heavy concentration of medium to coarse lime particles. Medium concentration of mica. Core gray due to firing.  
 Description: Flaring thickened rim slanted outward.  
 Surface treatment: Buff slip on both interior and exterior.  
 Period: LB IIb  
 Plate: 4 & 31

24. Flask
- Locus no: B265
- Location:
- Elevation: 16.48-16.80m
- Box no: BA120-02
- D.: 12cm
- Th.R: 1.8cm
- Th.B: 0.5cm
- Fabric: Brown clay with fine to coarse lime particles in heavy concentration.
- Description: Thickened rim rounded on the exterior. Neck turns to body at bottom.
- Surface treatment. Thin layer of buff slip
- Period: LB IIb
- Plate: 4 & 32
25. Storage jar
- Locus no:
- Location: Under n. end of 'P'
- Explanation: Under north end of area of 'P' (Plan 6-7)*
- Elevation: 15.15-15.55m
- Box no: IA051-06

D.: 24cm

Th.R: 1.8cm

Th.B: Varies between 1.3 - 12cm

Fabric: Pinkish red clay with sand concentration. Medium to coarse shell fragments. High concentration of mica.

Description: Rim slightly thickened and everted. Neck makes a slight turn to shoulder. Interior wall of neck is groovy. On neck and shoulder incised decoration.

Surface treatment: Interior and exterior applied with a buff slip with mica content.

Period: EIA I or II

Plate: 6 & 33

26. Bowl

Locus no: B131

Location: Jw

*Explanation:* Room Jw (Plan 5)

Elevation: 15.80m

Box no: IA035-40

D.: 18cm

Th.R.: 1.3cm

Th.B.: 0.5cm

Fabric: Core slightly gray due to firing. Sparse use of fine lime particles. Medium use of mica.

Description: Thickened rim slanted outward. Top pointed. Wall curves gently toward base.

Surface treatment: Very well burnished surface.

Period: EIA II

Plate: 5 & 34

27. Bowl

Locus no: B131

Location: Jw

*Explanation:* Room Jw (Plan 5)

Elevation: 15.80m

Shape: Bowl

D.: 16cm

Th.R.: 1.8cm

Th.B.: 1.1cm

Fabric: Light brown clay medium concentration of fine coarse lime particles. Sparse use of mica. Also fine to coarse use of stone particles in medium concentration.

Description: Ledge rim slanting outward. Blow rim carination.

Surface treatment: Interior buff-slipped. Exterior wet-smoothed.

Period: EIA II

Plate: 5 & 35

28. Jar
- Locus no: B180
- Location: T-4
- Explanation:* Area of Room T (Plan 7)
- Elevation: 15.47-15.74m
- Box no: IA035-19
- D.: 16cm
- Th.R.: 1.3cm
- Th.B.: Varies betw. 0.8 – 0.7cm
- Fabric: Light brown clay with fine to coarse lime particules in low concentration. Vegetable temper in medium concentration.
- Description: Flaring thickened and slanted outward. Top flattened.
- Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.
- Period: EIA II or III
- Plate: 5 & 36
29. Basin (?)
- Locus no: B180
- Location: T
- Explanation:* Room T (Plan 7)
- Elevation: 15.60m
- Box no: IA095-02
- D.: 44cm

Th.R.: 1.2cm  
Th.B: 1.8cm  
Fabric: Extremely porous brown clay with fine to very coarse stone and lime particles. Few shell and mica.  
Description: Almost vertical wall with flat top rim. Rim gets thinner compared to wall. Impressed decoration with some kind of string.  
Surface treatment: No surface treatment. Perhaps wet-smoothing.  
Period: EIA II or III  
Plate: 6 & 37

30. Pithos

Locus no: B180  
Location: T  
*Explanation:* Room T (Plan7)  
Elevation: 15.60m  
Box no: IA090-04  
D.: 36cm  
Th.R.: 2.3cm  
Th.B.: 1.5cm  
Fabric: Brown clay with medium concentration of medium to coarse stone particles. Fine to medium lime in sparse concentration. Medium use of mica. Core gray due to firing.

Description: Simple thick rim everted. Top slightly pointed.  
Surface treatment: Surface applied with a buff slip. Slip thicker on the exterior than on rim and interior.  
Period: EIA II or III  
Plate: 7 & 38

31. Jar

Locus no: B129  
Location: Jsw  
*Explanation:* Southwest of room Jw (Plan 7)  
Elevation: 15.50m  
Box no: IA092-11  
D.: ca. 44cm  
Th.R.: 3.8cm  
Th.B.: 1.1cm  
Fabric: Porous reddish clay with fine to very coarse stone and lime particles in medium concentration. Mica inclusion. Core gray due to firing.  
Description: Ledge rim slanting outward. (Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 19. A3.2.)  
Surface treatment: Thin buff slip applied on both sides.  
Period: EIA III  
Plate: 7 & 39

32. Pithos
- Locus no: B113
- Location: Jo
- Explanation:* Room Jo (Plan 7)
- Elevation: 15.60m
- Box no: IA092- 15
- D.: ca. 40cm
- Th.R.: 1.9cm
- Th.B.: 1.9cm
- Fabric: Light brown clay with medium concentration of fine to coarse stone and lime particles. Sparse use of mica. Core gray due to firing.
- Description: Everted rim. Short neck make a sharp turn to the shoulder.
- Surface treatment: Both interior and exterior applied with a thin buff slip.
- Period: EIA III
- Plate: 7 & 40
33. Bowl
- Locus no: B126
- Location:
- Elevation: 15.40m
- Box no: IA089-02
- D.: 18cm
- Th.R.: 0.6cm
- Th.B.: Varies betw. 0.5 - 03c



Fabric: Brown clay with fine lime and stone particles in sparse concentration. Sparse use of mica.

Description: Flaring simple rim. Carination below rim. ( see Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19. I4.4.)

Surface treatment: Irregular burnishing strokes on both sides.

Period: EIA III or IV

Plate: 5 & 41

34. Bowl

Locus no: B144

Location: K

*Explanation:* Room K (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)

Elevation: 15.31m

Box no: IA088-09

D.: 10.8cm

Th.R.: 1.8cm

Th.B.: 0.7cm

Fabric: Well-lavigated light brown clay. Few medium stone particles. Thin gray core due to firing. Few mica inclusion.

Description: Flat ledge rim slightly pointed.

Surface treatment: Burnished on both sides.

Period: EIA IV

Plate: 5 & 42

35. Bowl
- Locus no: B117
- Location: Jw
- Explanation:* Room Jw (Plan 8)
- Elevation: 15.00m
- Box no: IA035-27
- D.: 16cm
- Th.R.: 0.9cm
- Th.B.: 0.7c
- Fabric: Brown clay fine to coarse lime and stone inclusions. Occasional large shell particles. Thin gray layer in core due to firing.
- Description: Ledge rim sharply everted and slanting outward. (Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb.19, I5.3.b, d)
- Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.
- Period: Late EIA
- Plate: 5 & 43
36. Bowl
- Locus no: B126
- Location:
- Elevation: 15.40m
- Box no: IA090-19

D.: 22cm  
Th.R.: 0.9cm  
Th.B.: 0.65cm  
Fabric: Brown clay with fine to medium lime particles in medium concentration. Heavy mica concentration.  
Description: Thickened rim slightly inverted. (Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 19. I2.1.)  
Surface treatment: Black-burnished.  
Period: EIA III or IV  
Plate: 5 & 44

37. Jar

Locus no: B167  
Location: s.Kb  
Explanation: South of Room Kb (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)  
Elevation: 15.35m  
Box no: IA035-36  
D.: 14cm  
Th.R.: 0.9cm  
Th.B.: 0.5cm  
Fabric: Buff clay with fine to medium stone and sand particles in medium concentration.

Description: Flaring rim thickened and rounded in the outside. Grooves on the interior wall.

Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.

Period: EIA III or IV

Plate: 5 & 45

38. Flask

Locus no: B126

Location:

Elevation: 15.40m

Box no: IA089-01

D.: 22cm

Th.R.: 1.9cm

Th.B: 0.9cm

Fabric: Brown clay with medium to very coarse stone and lime temper. Few mica inclusion. Core gray due to firing.

Description: Thickened ledge rim. Bottom of the ledge pointed. Wall turns sharply to shoulder.

Surface treatment: Buff-slipped. Strokes of the slipping process are visible.

Period: EIA III or IV

Plate: 6 & 46

39. Jar

Locus no: B173  
Location: n. of. Jo.  
*Explanation:* North of Room Jo (Plan 7 – 8)  
Elevation: 15.00m  
Box no: IA091 – 03  
D.: 28cm  
Th.R.: 1.4cm  
Th.B.: 1.1cm  
Fabric: Sparse use of fine to coarse lime particles. Fine to coarse stone temper. High concentration of vegetable temper. Sparse use of mica. Core gray due to firing.  
Description: Ledge rim slanting inward. On the exterior visible wheel marks. ( see Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14. A. 2.2.a)  
Surface treatment: Thin buff slip on both sides.  
Period: Late EIA  
Plate: 6 & 47

40. Jar

Locus no: B118  
Location: Jw  
*Explanation:* Room Jw (Plan8)  
Elevation: 15.00m  
Box no: IA092-13

Shape: Jar  
D.: 36cm  
Th.R.: 1.4cm  
Th.B.: Varies betw. 1 – 0.8cm  
Fabric: Porous light brown clay with fine to very coarse lime inclusion in medium concentration. Few mica. Core gray due to firing.  
Description: Ledge rim slanted inward. Middle of the ledge grooved. (see Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14. A2.2.a.)  
Surface treatment: Self-slipped.  
Period: Late EIA  
Plate: 6 & 48

41. Jar

Locus no: B124  
Location:  
Elevation: 15.10m  
Box no: IA031-03  
D.: 28cm  
Th.R.: 1.3cm  
Th.B.: 0.6cm  
Fabric: Light brown clay with fine to coarse stone and lime particles. Some shell fragments. Sparse use of mica. Core gray due to firing.

Description: Ledge rim thickened and slanted outward. ( see Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14. A3.3)

Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.

Period: Late EIA

Plate: 7 & 49

42. Jar

Locus no: B117

Location: Jw

*Explanation:* Room Jw (Plan 8)

Elevation: 15.00m

Box no: IA029-17

D.: 30cm

Th.R.: 2.1cm

Th.B.: 0,85cm

Fabric: Brown clay with heavy concentration of fine to very coarse stone and lime particles. Also shell particles. Few mica inclusion.

Description: Simple horizontal rim thickened inward. Rim makes a sharp turn to shoulder.

Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.

Period: Late EIA

Plate: 7 & 50

43. Jar
- Locus no: B144A
- Location: K
- Explanation:* Room K (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)
- Elevation: 15.25m
- Box no: IA088-02
- D.: 32cm
- Th.R.: 1.7cm
- Th.B.: 0.75cm
- Fabric: Brown clay with medium concentration of fine to medium lime particles. Sparse use of mica.
- Description: Ledge rim slightly slanting outward. Handle below rim. ( see Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 16. B4.3.b)
- Surface treatment: Both interior and exterior buff slip with medium concentration of mica.
- Period: Late EIA
- Plate: 7 & 51
44. Jar
- Locus no: B167
- Location: Kb
- Explanation:* Room Kb (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)
- Elevation: 15.35m



Box no: BA-IA01  
 D.: 40cm  
 Th.R.: 4.2cm  
 Th.B.: 1.4cm  
 Fabric: Porous clay. Fine to very coarse stone in medium concentration.  
 Fine to coarse lime particles in medium concentration. Some use of mica. Core gray due to firing.  
 Description: Ledge rim thickened and slanted outward. Visible wheel mark on the wall. ( see Parzinger & Sanz, 1992, Abb. 14. A. 3.2)  
 Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.  
 Period: EIA IV  
 Plate: 8 & 52

45. Published material. See Goldman, 1963, Fig.61.226a.

Jar

Locus no:

Location: N.of J.

*Explanation:* North of building J (Plan 8)

Elevation: 15.30m

Box no: IA051-11

D.: ca. 36cm

Th.R.: 3.7cm

Th.B.: Varies betw. 1.7 – 1.1 cm

Fabric: Porous brown clay with fine to very coarse stone inclusion in heavy concentration. Fine to coarse lime. Some visible shell particles.  
Core gray due to firing.

Description: Wide ledge rim. Below rim oblique strokes on plastic band.

Surface treatment: Exterior buff-slipped, interior wet-smoothed.

Period: EIA IV

Plate: 8 & 53

46. Pithos

Locus no: B126

Location:

Elevation: 15.40m

Box no: IA029-12

D.: 34cm

Th.R.: 1.5cm

Th.B.: Varies between 2.1 - 1.7cm

Fabric: Reddish porous clay. Fine to medium temper in medium concentration. Sparse use of mica. Thin layers on the exterior and interior well fired. In between a thick gray core.

Description: Simple rim sharply everted from the shoulder.

Surface treatment: Wet-smoothed.

Period: EIA III or IV

Plate: 8 & 54

47. Locus no: B121  
 Location: j (oven)  
*Explanation:* Room J, oven (Plan 8)  
 Elevation: 15.25m  
 Box no: IA092-14  
 Shape: Pithos  
 D.: 44cm  
 Th.R.: 2.2cm  
 Th.B.: 1.6cm  
 Fabric: Reddish porous clay. Heavy concentration of medium to very coarse lime and stone particles. Shell particles added. Sparse use of mica. Core gray due to firing.  
 Description: Almost horizontal rim with flat top. Rim thickened below top.  
 Surface treatment: Exterior wet-smoothed, interior applied with a buff slip.  
 Period: EIA IV  
 Plate: 8 & 55
48. Pithos  
 Locus no: B144A  
 Location: K  
 Explanation: Room K (Goldman, 1963, Plan II)  
 Elevation: 15.25m

Box no:	IA092-04
D.:	32cm
Th.R.:	1.6cm
Th.B.:	1.4cm
Fabric:	Porous clay. Medium concentration of fine to very coarse lime. Medium concentration of fine to coarse stone particles. Medium use of mica. Core gray due to firing.
Description:	Simple thick rim sharply everted.
Surface treatment:	Wet-smoothed.
Period:	Late EIA
Plate:	8 & 56

## Chapter 6 – Conclusion

There is a continuous stratigraphic sequence at Tarsus-Gözlükule from LB IIa to the latest phase of EIA. There seems to be no hiatus following the destruction of the LB IIa town. On the other hand architectural remains of this period indicate a visible decline in the economic conditions of the LB IIb settlements compared to the Hittite town of LB IIa. In LB IIb the settlement at Gözlükule turned into a ‘squatter’s settlement’<sup>454</sup> composed of small-sized domestic buildings from an important center of the Cilician plain, in which administrative, cultic and domestic buildings covered the layout according to an urban framework possibly designed by local Hittite administration.

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<sup>454</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 59.

Although it is difficult to attest the entire layout of the EIA settlements of the mound due to the deteriorated state of architectural remains, it may be argued that the settlement remained as a small town in this period as well. LB IIB town continued into this period with little change.

The apsidal building discovered in the EIA layers is unique at Tarsus-Gözlükule and in the Cilician plain. Current archaeological data indicates that apsidal building like megaron building was an architectural tradition prominent in the Aegean and Western Anatolia during the Bronze Age and the following Iron Age. Hence the idea of apsidal building might have been brought to Gözlükule from a western source. The chronological origin of this development should be sought in LB IIB, in which new ceramic types of the Aegean and possibly Western Anatolian origin appeared at the Tarsus-Gözlükule.<sup>455</sup>

The HMW was the prominent ceramic type of the LB IIA town at Tarsus-Gözlükule. This tradition survived the catastrophe that destroyed the LB IIA town, and formed the main ceramic comparanda of the LB IIB period. There were some minor changes in the surface color of the pottery, but not in shape.<sup>456</sup> In addition, on the basis of the recent studies carried out on Bogazköy-Hattusha material to clarify the typology of HMW, current study showed that the form repertoire of the monochrome ware in the LB IIB period of Tarsus-Gözlükule has a wider spectrum previously unrecognized. Some vessels (Nr. 5) have quite developed forms compared to their counterparts from Bogazköy-Hattusha. These indicate that potters' of HMW did not leave Tarsus-Gözlükule after the destruction of the Hittite town. They continued to do their profession in the town without a significant change in LB IIB.

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<sup>455</sup> See below.

<sup>456</sup> Goldman, 1956, p. 203.

Toward the middle of LB IIB two types of painted pottery emerged at Tarsus-Gözlükule. These are the Mycenaean type of pottery and the so-called Transitional Painted Pottery.<sup>457</sup> Both are new elements at Gözlükule, and indicators of new groups of people coming from the west.

According to Hanfmann, the EIA plain ware is a continuation of the LBA monochrome tradition.<sup>458</sup> He made this observation in a scientific environment, where a detailed typological analysis of HMW was not present. The re-evaluation of the selected sample in the present study confirmed this view. It can be argued that some monochrome forms exhibit no change until the end of EIA. Particularly jar forms remained almost the same. Also, some bowl forms show continuity of Late Bronze monochrome tradition.

In addition to continuity, there are some new elements in the EIA plain ware. Some bowl and jar forms seem to be closely related to the ceramic traditions prominent in Northern Syria during the IA. Although the Gözlükule examples predate the pieces from Northern Syria, both are related in terms of their typology.

Does the archaeological data obtained from Tarsus-Gözlükule overlap with historical sources? The destruction of LB IIA town might have happened before the final destruction of Hattusha. At this point the historical sources left by Suppiluliuma II are informative. Suppiluliuma's sea battle and the following land battles with 'the enemy from Alasia'<sup>459</sup> might have happened somewhere in Southern Anatolia. In this context Cilician plain and the entire southeastern coast of Anatolia are the main candidates for the battlefield between the Hittite army and the invaders, and

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<sup>457</sup> See Mountjoy, 2005 for the characteristics of the Mycenaean pottery. Characteristics and western Anatolian connection of the Transitional Painted Pottery is discussed in Ünlü, 2005.

<sup>458</sup> Goldman, 1963, p. 105.

<sup>459</sup> See Chapter 2 about the discussion of the historical framework.

the LB IIa town of Tarsus-Gözlükule might have been destroyed during this period. The destruction of Hattusha possibly corresponds to a later date. In this context the continuation of HMW in LB IIb with almost no change from the preceding LB IIa is an important topic for further analysis. This situation might be an indication of the survival of the Hittite political authority for a while after the destruction of the LB IIa town. The Hittites might have held the strategic routes leading to the Central Anatolia, i.e. the Cilician Gates to the north of Tarsus-Gözlükule. After the destruction of the capital, Hattusha, the last remains of the Hittite administrative control are likely to have disappeared in Cilician plain. In contrast to Tarsus-Gözlükule, at Kinet Höyük there is a significant break between the Hittite level and the following post-destruction levels in terms of their ceramic assemblage. Hence it seems that two different material cultures seem to have existed at the same time in the western and eastern edges of the Cilician plain after the destruction of the Hittite towns. On the western part of the plain Hittite material culture survived. On the eastern part a new culture replaced the LBA culture right after the destruction.

The continuity of the monochrome shapes to the EIA shows that the Hittite monochrome tradition survived at Tarsus-Gözlükule well into the 9<sup>th</sup> century BC,<sup>460</sup> a situation, which cannot be observed in none of the sites discussed in Chapter 3.<sup>461</sup> In Lidar Höyük, Melid (Malidiya) or Tell Afis, where HMW tradition continued in the EIA, it was a result of the political continuity of the Hittites in Southeastern Anatolia and Northern Syria. According to current data, the same argument cannot be applied to Tarsus-Gözlükule in the EIA. Hence we cannot assume a connection between

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<sup>460</sup> According to the chronological framework defined by Hanfmann, EIA is dated between ca. 1100 – 850 BC, see Goldman, 1963, p. 20.

<sup>461</sup> Porsuk Höyük is an exception to this observation, but there is an ongoing discussion concerning the chronology of this mound defined by Dupre. See p. 53-54 and footnotes.

the political continuity and the persistence in the ceramic tradition at Gözlükule, but it is very likely that the EIA culture of Tarsus-Gözlükule had a substantial heritage from the preceding LBA culture.

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