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Connecting crafting communities: reconstructing interactions between communities in and out of Cyprus in the early third millenium BC

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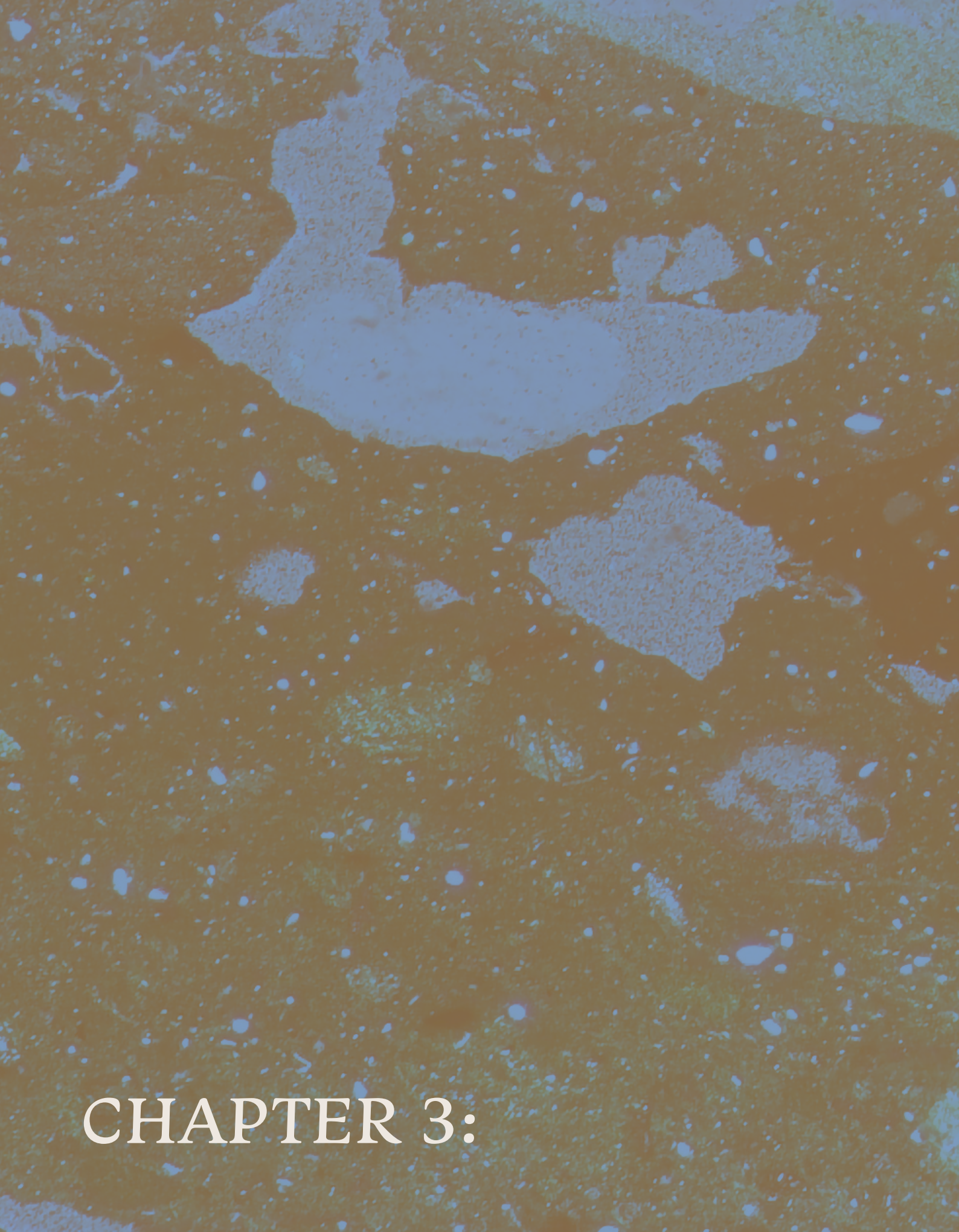


CHAPTER 3:

Pottery in Cyprus and Cilicia in the Third Millennium BC

Chapter 3 — Pottery in Cyprus and Cilicia in the Third Millennium BC

Pottery is an essential artefact category for this thesis, since it is the main indicator for interactions between Cyprus and Anatolia in the third millennium BC. In both regions, several developments in pottery technology, production and use occur in the third millennium BC, and some of these developments suggest increased contacts with neighbouring regions. These possible relations are the subject of ongoing debates among archaeologists. Although the earliest known imported vessel in Cyprus dates to Early to Middle Bronze Age contexts at the Vounous cemetery, scholars have proposed that the much earlier Cypriot red and black burnished wares of the Late Chalcolithic might also have been related to the coeval Red Black Burnished Ware of Anatolia and pottery from western Anatolia (Bolger, 2007; 2013; Peltenburg, 2007). Additionally, the Philia Red Polished Ware, the principal ware of the Philia, shows clear influences from Anatolian Early Bronze Age ceramics in shapes/morphology and technologies of production (Peltenburg, 2007; Webb & Frankel, 2007).

To move beyond the already investigated shapes and surface features of ceramics and how they compare, this thesis focuses on pottery production. Pottery from Cypriot sites is studied macroscopically and with archaeometric methods in order to identify possible technological similarities in raw materials, forming techniques, and surface treatments. A dataset from Anatolia is studied macroscopically, and all the above is paired with information from well-published pottery assemblages from Cilicia, and pottery from the Philia Phase in Cyprus. In this way interactions between ancient potters are reconstructed. First, an adequate understanding of pottery production and consumption in Cyprus and Cilicia in the third millennium BC is required. In this chapter, an overview of the pottery in the two regions is presented, followed by current debates and issues concerning the relations between them.

3.1. Pottery in Cyprus in the Third Millennium BC

3.1.1. Pottery Studies in Cyprus

In Cyprus, pottery is found in extremely large numbers at any site dating from the Ceramic Neolithic (ca. 5000-400/3900 BC) onwards (Steel, 2004, p. 63). Archaeological studies of prehistoric Cypriot pottery began in the early 20th century. In 1926, the first classification was published by the Swedish archaeologist Einar Gjerstad (1926), followed by the establishment of typologies and classifications of prehistoric pottery formed during the investigations conducted by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. These were formed and published by the leaders of the expedition and Dikaios, and they were based mainly on assemblages from Sotira, Erimi and Khirokitia (Dikaios, 1962; Barlow *et al.,* 1991, p. 2).

Although in most areas of the eastern Mediterranean pottery wares were named after a time period (e.g. Late Minoan IA), the site of primary identification (e.g. Khirbet Kerak Ware) or their presumed users (e.g. Philistine), the majority of Cypriot wares are based on their physical attributes (e.g. Red-on-White Ware). Occasionally, the site of first identification is added, such as in the case of the Philia Red Polished Ware (Barlow *et al.,* 1991, p. 1). Although it has been argued that this is an adjustable system since it does not bind pottery geographically or chronologically, several problems have arisen over the years that concern both terminologies and chronology. For example, the establishment of solid chronological seriations is blocked by the lack of superimposed deposits

and long-lived sequences (i.e. tell sites), the limited size of assemblages in terms of sherd number, and imbalances in the archaeological record (e.g. the Cypro-Geometric period is mostly known from funerary contexts) (Barlow *et al.,* 1991, p. 4).

Until the beginning of 1970s, issues concerning ancient ceramic technologies were not investigated much. In 1974 David Frankel published his PhD thesis on the spatial distribution of decorative patterns of the White Painted Ware, addressing the social dimensions of the production and distribution of this ware in the Middle Bronze Age (Frankel, 1974a). Subsequently, he studied whether regional differences could be reflected in clay composition using the method of optical emission spectroscopy for the first time on ancient Cypriot ceramics. In the 1980s, Richard Jones critically reviewed the applications of archaeological science to ancient Greek and Cypriot pottery and synthesized the results, in his book "Greek and Cypriot Pottery" (Jones, 1986). In the 1980s and 1990s, publications by several scholars focused on ceramic technologies (e.g. Bolger, 1988; Webb, 1994).

The first researcher to conduct analytical studies on the mineralogical characterization of ancient Cypriot pottery was Courtois (1970), who attempted to identify production centres based on whether clays were primarily igneous or sedimentary. The first substantial technological assessment of Middle Bronze Age pottery was conducted by Barlow, who examined whether ceramic fabrics could be used to reclassify Middle Cypriot Red Polished and White Painted and to define aspects of regional variations, using samples from Alambra-*Mouttes* (Barlow, 1985; 1991; 1994; 1996a; 1996b). Similar studies followed, like Knapp and Cherry's (1994) edited volume on provenience studies on Bronze Age Cyprus. Also, Hemsley (1992, after Dikomitou-Eliadou, 2012) studied pottery coming from the Middle Bronze Age cemeteries of Kalavassos-*Panayia* Church and Cinema Area for the hardness of fabrics. The first synthetic publication on pottery studies on Cyprus is that of the proceedings of "*Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*" which included ethnological, theoretical, and analytical considerations (Barlow *et al.*, 1991). In this publication major concepts in the study of archaeological ceramics were applied to Cypriot material. From the late 1990s onwards, numerous publications of prehistoric sites included reports on the mineralogical and technological characteristics of pottery, such as Alambra-*Mouttes* (Barlow, 1996b), Sotira-*Kaminoudhia* (Vaughan, 2003), and Marki-*Alonia* (Dikomitou, 2007), and several researchers used ceramic thin section petrography and other archaeometric methods to study Cypriot pottery (e.g. Dikomitou-Eliadou, 2012; Graham, 2013). Additionally, Joanne Clarke has worked on Neolithic pottery and other artefacts, showcasing interaction within Cyprus (e.g. Clarke, 2003; 2010; Clarke & Goren 2015). Chalcolithic pottery, has mainly been macroscopically studied (see Bolger & Webb, 2013; Paraskeva, 2015; Hadjigavriel, 2021). Archaeometric studies have been limited, including mostly unpublished reports and student theses (e.g. Robertson, 1989), or brief studies in excavation reports (e.g. Bolger, 2019).

Ceramic thin section petrography studies have triggered a new wave in Cypriot archaeology. Nowadays, several archaeological projects in Cyprus employ analytical studies of ceramics, including a large range of chemical techniques such as neutron activation analysis, energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence, X-ray diffraction, and energy dispersive spectroscopy scanning electron microscopy, and optical microscopy for ceramic petrography (e.g. Gomez *et al.,* 1996; Bryan *et al.* 1997; Brodie, 1998; Stephen, 1998; Mantzourani & Liritzis, 2006; Tschegg *et al.*, 2008; Weisman, 1996; Xenophontos *et al.,* 2000; Vaughan, 2003; Dikomitou-Eliadou, 2007; 2012; Dikomitou-Eliadou *et al.*, 2013). These studies enlarge our understanding of ceramics, helping us understand formation processes, clay provenance and forming and firing technologies. However, traditional technological analysis (e.g. studies of the *chaîne opératoire*) remain important, since they provide a wealth of information. One of the limitations of archaeometric methods is that they cannot be employed on the totality of an assemblage since they are time consuming and costly. Therefore, the researcher needs to study the

assemblage macroscopically first, in order to plan a successful sampling strategy. A mix of traditional and scientific methods of analysis results in the most adequate understanding of the material record, as it allows for both detail and effectiveness.

When it comes to ethnographic studies, the most substantial ethnographic studies of Cypriot potters have been done by London (2000; 2002; London & Father Dometios, 2015). Her work with traditional potters in villages like Agios Dhimitrios (Marathasa), Kaminaria and Konnos, has shed light on traditional pottery making on the island, many aspects of which are relevant for antiquity. For example, many of the potters she worked with produce pottery in the courtyards of their homes (London, 1989a; 1989b). This seems to be the case also in ancient Cyprus up until the Philia Phase and the Early Bronze Age, when pottery workshops are first attested in the archaeological record. Some examples of such specialized work spaces are in known from in Late Cypriot Athienou (Dothan & Ben-Tor, 1983), 14th century BC Sanidha (Todd *et al.*, 1991; Todd *et al.*, 1992), and Late Cypriot Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou*, where deposits imply a production work space (Vermeule & Wolsky, 1990).

The pottery wares central for this research date to the Late Chalcolithic Period and the Philia Phase. The first classification of Chalcolithic pottery was published by Dikaios, after his excavations at Erimi-*Pamboula* in 1933-35. Wares were categorized according to fabric, finish, and shape (Dikaios, 1936, pp. 25-40). In the 1980s, Diane Bolger re-classified this material (Bolger, 1988). More publications of Chalcolithic assemblages followed by Jennifer Stewart, Diane Bolger and Jennifer Webb (Stewart, 1985, pp. 59-69; Bolger *et al.,* 1988, pp. 93-147; Webb *et al.,* 2009a). An up-to-date corpus of Cypriot pottery in the third millennium BC has been published by Diane Bolger and Jennifer Webb in the regional Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (ARCANE) volume on Cyprus, and Charalambos Paraskeva has re-evaluated Chalcolithic assemblages around the island for his PhD research (Bolger & Webb, 2013, pp. 39-127; Paraskeva, 2015; 2017).

Philia Phase pottery was also first identified by Porphyrios Dikaios. During excavations of burial contexts near the modern-day village of Philia in 1946, an assemblage of Early Bronze Age pottery was unearthed. Dikaios named it the "Philia Culture", because he considered it to be older than the well-known Early Cypriot I pottery found at Vounous (Dikaios, 1962). By contrast, Stewart argued that this pottery was contemporary to the aforementioned Early Cypriot I assemblage (Stewart, 1962). The issue of contemporaneity – or not, of the Philia pottery with the Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age assemblages divided scholars for some decades. At first, Dikaios highlighted the innovative characteristics of the Philia Red Polished to claim that the local Cypriot Chalcolithic population groups were weakened when "*the Khirbet Kerak movement invades Cyprus" and that "little of the traditional culture survived*" (Dikaios, 1962, p. 202). Later, Hennessy suggested that Chalcolithic pottery elements developed into those of the Philia Phase, like the monochrome finishes (Hennessy, 1973, pp. 3-4). Currently, it is believed that the two pottery traditions overlapped, with local red burnished pottery evolving in the western part of the island during the Philia Phase, while in the north, unique pottery types were produced in one production centre and then distributed to the rest of the island (e.g., Stanley-Price, 1979, pp. 21-22; Karageorghis, 1982, p. 41; Knapp, 1990, p. 16; Bolger & Peltenburg, 2014, p. 187).

Since then, pottery ascribed to the Philia Phase has been found at several sites in the northern and central parts of the island, at Marki-*Alonia*, Sotira-*Kaminoudhia*, Kissonerga-*Skalia* and Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* Period 5. The best known corpus of Philia pottery is that of Marki-*Alonia*, published by Frankel and Webb (1996; 2006). Furthermore, Dikomitou-Eliadou has conducted macroscopic and petrographic analysis of Philia pottery from several sites for her PhD dissertation (Dikomitou-Eliadou, 2012). An overview of the pottery in the Philia Phase has been published in the Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean (ARCANE) volume on Cyprus, by Bolger and Webb (2013).

3.1.2. Pottery in the Middle and Late Chalcolithic Periods (ca. 3600/3400-2400 BC)

Overall, it is believed that pottery in the Chalcolithic was made at the household level and a preference for local clays is observed, so fabric diversity "*cuts across shape or finish typologies*" (Peltenburg, 1991c, p. 10). All pottery is handmade, as wheel thrown pottery is attested in Cyprus only from the Late Bronze Age onwards. Eight major wares have been identified for this period by Bolger and Webb (2013): the Red on White Ware (RW), Red Monochrome Painted Ware (RMP), Dark Monochrome Ware (DM), Coarse Ware (CW), Spalled Ware (SW), Coarse Painted Wares (Monochrome and Patterned) (CPM and CPP), Red and Black Stroke-Burnished Ware (RB/B), and Red Monochrome Massive Ware (RMP massive) (Table 6).

The most popular shapes consist of platters, bowls, cups, goblets, trays, jars, flasks, bottles, lids, and barrels. Further, there are a few anthropomorphic and figurative vessels from funerary contexts (Bolger & Webb, 2013, pp. 41-44; Figure 12). More details on each ware are listed in Table 6. The construction of a cross-site typology of Chalcolithic pottery has been a challenging task, since the assemblages are characterised by regional variability, and various scholars have used different terms in their publications (Peltenburg, 1991c, p. 11; Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 46).

The most popular pottery type in the Early and Middle Chalcolithic is the Red-on-White Ware (RW) (Figure 13). Its emergence can be traced back to the fifth millennium BC, that is the Cypriot Late Neolithic. Since then, it occurs in several styles and develops until the latter fourth millennium BC. During the Middle Chalcolithic, RW ceramics have medium hard fabrics, a buff to off-white slip, red to brown decoration in mainly geometric, linear and lattice motifs, and sometimes a light polish (Bolger and Webb 2013, 41). Compared to the Neolithic period, Chalcolithic RW vessels have more detailed decorative designs and occur in more diverse shapes (Bolger, 1991b, p. 170; Knapp, 2013, p. 195). Interestingly, incised and relief decoration are observed on zoomorphic and anthropomorphic vessels and the building model found in Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 41). Additionally, RW pottery has been found in Tarsus-*Gözlükule*, in Cilicia (Goldman, 1956, p. 104, 112).

Table 6: : Overview of the main Chalcolithic wares (created by Maria Hadjigavriel after Bolger & Webb, 2013)

MAIN POTTERY WARES IN CHALCOLITHIC CYPRUS			
WARE	PERIOD	SHORT DESCRIPTION	VESSEL SHAPES
Red-on-White (RW)	MChal	Fabric: soft to medium hard; yellow to brown colours Surface: buff to off white slip with red painted decoration	Bowls; Spotted Bowls; Platters; Jars; Bottles; Lids; Anthropomorphic; Zoomorphic; Building Model
Red Monochrome Painted (RMP)	MChal	Fabric: soft to medium hard; yellow to brown colours Surface: red painted, sometimes unslipped	Bowls; Jars; Flasks; Platters; Barrels
Dark Monochrome (DM)	MChal	Fabric: soft Surface: painted brown	Small jar with relief knob; Lid
Coarse Ware (CW)	MChal LChal	Fabric: soft brown to black Surface: untreated or with a thin red wash on the exterior	Tray; Lid
Spalled Ware (SW)	LChal	Fabric: very hard, pinkish-buff with dark bluish-grey core Surface: often spalled, covered with dull red to grey or black slip, sometimes burnished or polished	Bowls; Jars; Flasks; Bottles;
Coarse Painted Ware (Monochrome) (CPW)	LChal	Fabric: medium hard, brown Surface: unslipped or self-slipped, covered with reddish-brown paint	Storage Jars
Coarse Painted Ware (Patterned) (CPW)	LChal	Fabric: dark brown medium hard Surface: thick cream-coloured slip and long thin cross-hatched strokes in reddish-brown paint	Storage Jars
Red and Black Stroke-Burnished Ware (RB/B)	LChal	Fabric: hard orange-pink to light red Surface: orange-pink to light red slip and highly burnished. Occasionally relief decoration	Bowls; Spouted Bowls; Jars; Spouted Jars; Flasks; Spouted Flasks; Platters; Cups
Red Monochrome Painted (Massive Ware (RMP massive)	LChal	Fabric: medium hard buff coloured Surface: similar to RMP, but lighter in colour and occasionally burnished on the exterior	Bowls; Spouted Bowls; Jars; Spouted Jars; Flasks; Barrel

Figure 12: Examples of popular vessel shapes in Chalcolithic Cyprus (created by Maria Hadjigavriel and Ermina Emmanouel after Bolger & Webb, 2013)

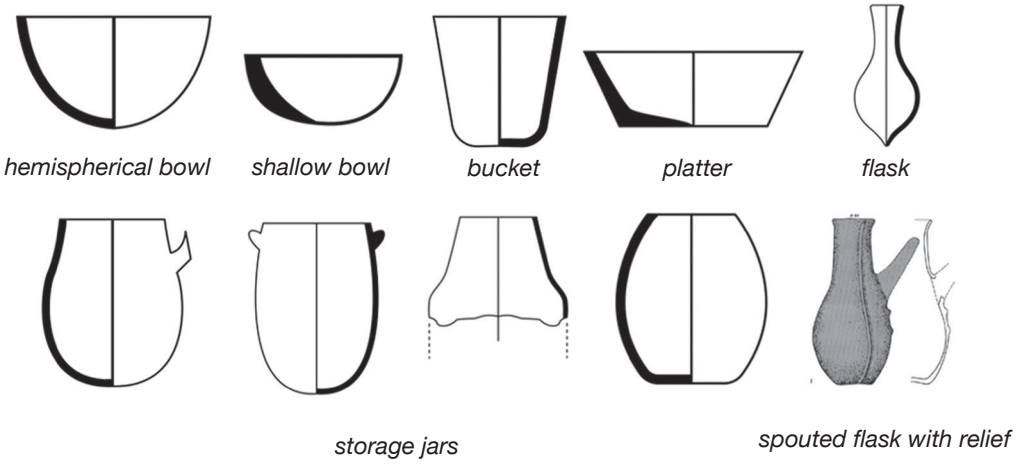
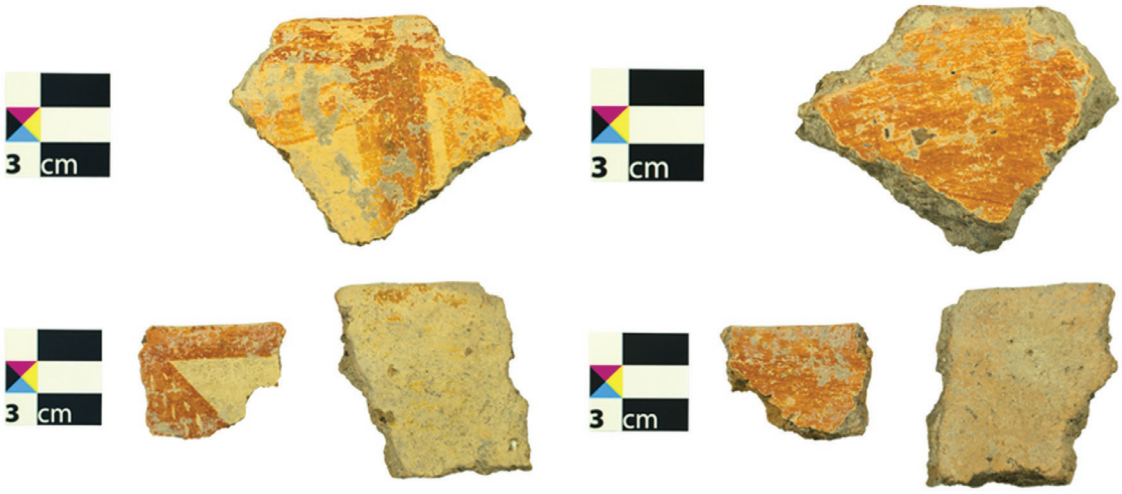


Figure 13: Red-on-White Ware sherds from Chlorakas-Palloures (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)



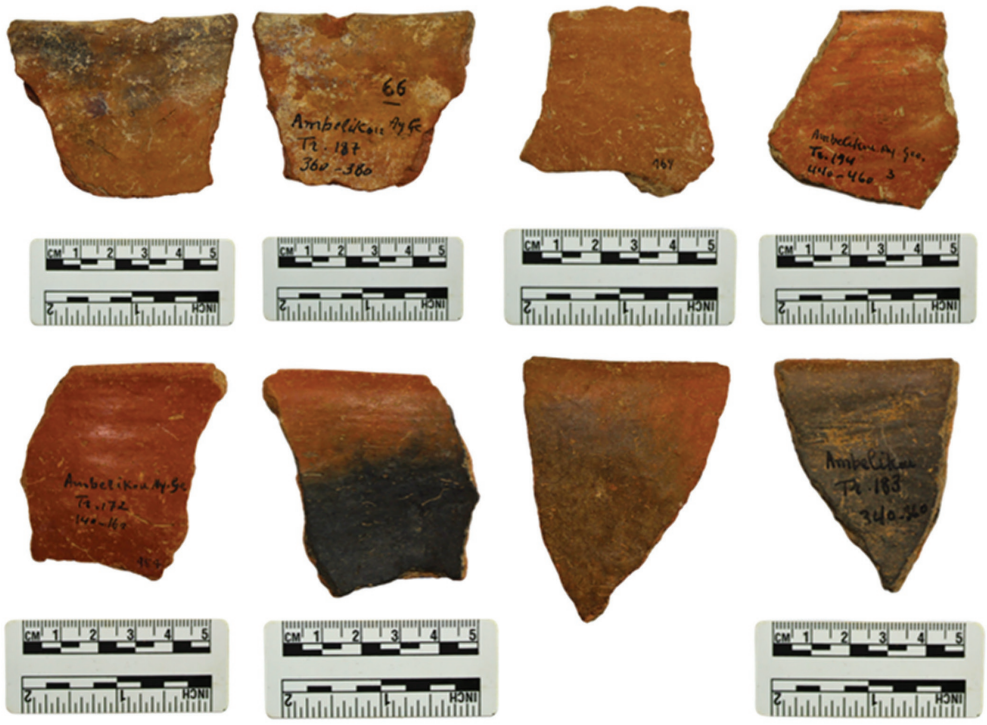
The RW remains predominant until the Late Chalcolithic, when it is replaced by red monochrome pottery wares. These have finer fabrics, thinner walls, and burnished surfaces (Bolger, 2013, p. 4; Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 45; Bolger & Peltenburg, 2014, p. 188). Several additional changes in pottery production can be observed. When it comes to fabric composition, there is a shift from calcareous to non-calcareous clays; and the use of angular chert as temper in the western part of the island; a decrease of organic tempers; clays are more thoroughly levigated and the inclusions are more uniform, indicating an increasing standardization in paste preparation. Fabrics are harder and thinner. It appears that the vessels were fired in steadily raised temperatures of ca. 650-800 C°, in oxidising firing conditions. Cross sections indicate uniform homogeneous fabrics but often with an inner core with defuse or sharp margins, as expected in oxidising firing conditions. Surface treatment is also characterised by novel traits such as relief decoration, burnishing in – occasionally distinct, stokes, and blackened surfaces. Finally, there is an increased production of specific vessel shapes such as small bowls and platters (Wallace, 1995; Bolger, 2007, p. 174; Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 45). Some novel shapes are introduced, like bowls with tab handles, jars, closed vessels with long narrow spouts for pouring, and one unique face pot from Lemba-*Lakkous* (Peltenburg, 1985, fig.62.5; Bolger & Peltenburg, 2014, p. 188).

In western Cyprus, the prevalent red monochrome ware is the Red and Black Stroke Burnished Ware (RB/B) (Figure 14). It is found in Late Chalcolithic contexts at Lemba-*Lakkous*, Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*, Chlorakas-*Palloures* and in small quantities at Makounta-*Voules* (Stewart, 1985; Bolger *et al.*, 1998; Hadjigavriel, 2019; 2021; Lisa Graham, personal communication). The fabric of RB/B is in shades of light red, orange or pink. The surfaces are of the same colours but highly burnished with often visible stroke marks, which occasionally lead to crazing – cracking of the burnished layer of the surface due to extreme burnishing. It occurs mainly in bowls, jars, flasks and bottles – which can have spouts, and platters (Steel, 2004, p. 113; Bolger & Webb, 2013, pp. 42-44; Hadjigavriel, 2019, p. 81-85). The production of this ware throughout the Late Chalcolithic is marked by an increased standardization in shape, vessel dimensions and fabric composition (Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 45). Additionally, it has been suggested that this ware is indicative of experimentation with clays and slips, and maybe of a shift to a more specialised production than the household one (Wallace, 1995; Steel, 2004, p. 113).

Elsewhere in Cyprus, other variants of red monochrome burnished pottery are found. They are red and/or black burnished wares, made of local clays, with occasionally intentional reduction and relief decoration. For example, what Dikaios named Red Lustrous Ware (RL) and Black Red Lustrous Ware (RBL) have been found at several sites in the northern and central parts of the island such as Ambelikou-*Agios Georghios*, Philia-*Drakos B* and Kyra-*Alonia* (Dikaios, 1962, p. 111, p. 143, p. 154; Bolger, 2007, p. 173; Paraskeva, 2017; Figure 15). Also, similar types of pottery have been found at Politiko-*Kokkinorotsos*, labelled Fabrics A, B and D (Webb *et al.,* 2009a, p. 203). Bolger and Peltenburg have argued that all these wares belong to the same red monochrome burnished pottery tradition as the RB/B of western Cyprus (Peltenburg, 1991c; Bolger, 2007, p. 173; Bolger, 2013,p. 5; Bolger & Peltenburg, 2014, p. 188).

Figure 14: Red and Black Stroked-Burnished Ware sherd from Chlorakas-Palloures (photograph by Maria Hadjigavriel)

Figure 15: Red Lustrous Ware and Red Black Lustrous Ware from Ambelikou-Agios Georghios (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)



3.1.3. Pottery in the Philia Phase (ca. 2400-2350/2250 BC)

The Philia Phase is marked by the production of new types of pottery, mainly red monochrome, with apparent Anatolian influences in vessel shapes and surface treatment (Peltenburg, 1991c). Six major handmade wares have been identified for the Philia Phase: the Red Polished Philia Ware (RPP), Philia Red Slip Ware (PRS), White Painted (Philia) Ware (WPP), Coarse Ware (CW), Black Slip and Combed Ware (BSC), and Red Polished Coarse (Philia) Ware (RPCP) (Bolger & Webb, 2013, pp. 50-53). The most popular shapes consist of bowls (with or without spouts), jars (with or without spouts), jugs and juglets, bottles, storage vessels, cooking pots, and flasks. An overview of these wares and shapes is presented in Table 7.

Table 7: Overview of the main Philia Phase wares (created by Maria Hadjigavriel after Bolger & Webb, 2013)

MAIN POTTERY WARES IN THE PHILIA PHASE			
WARE	PERIOD	SHORT DESCRIPTION	VESSEL SHAPES
Red Polished Philia Ware (RPP)	Philia	Fabric: medium hard yellowish-brown with grey core Surface: red slip, highly polished. Occasionally incised decoration (sometimes filled with limestone), blackened surfaces and/or burnishing	Bowls; Spouted Bowls; Jars; Jugs; Spouted Jugs; Juglets; Flasks; Bottles; Pithoi; Baking Pans and Brazier; Composite/Cult vessels
Philia Red Slipped Ware (PRS)	Philia	Fabric: yellow-brown medium soft to medium hard Surface: matt to slightly lustrous flaking red slip. Occasionally visible burnishing strokes. Rarely incised decoration	Jugs; Juglets; Jars; Lamp; Dish; Bottles; Vat; Lids
White Painted (Philia) Ware (WPP)	Philia	Fabric: yellow-brown with thick dark core, medium soft to medium hard Surface: smoothed, often self-slipped, decorated with red to brow paint	Bowls; Spouted Bowls; Bowls with horned handles; Jugs; Lids; Composite/Cult vessels
Black Slip and Combed Ware (BSC)	Philia	Fabric: red-yellow-brown medium soft to medium hard Surface: Interior: often slipped, red-brown, matt or burnished Exterior: dark grey-brown-black decorated with parallel or criss-crossing red-brown bands	Jars
Red Polished Coarse (Philia) Ware (RPCP)	Philia	Fabric: brown with dark core, medium hard to hard Surface: red-brown with thin wash or matt or slightly lustrous slip and occasionally thick white coating	Jars; Pithoi; Cooking pots
Coarse Ware (CW)	Philia	Fabric: soft brown Surface: untreated	Used exclusively for an open-sided flat-based oval or circular “basin”

Figure 16: Cypriot Philia Period large jug with cut-away spout (https://ant.david-johnson.co.uk/catalogue/)

The most popular pottery type of the Philia Phase is the Philia Red Polished Ware (PRP), which has been found almost exclusively in the northern and central parts of Cyprus. Its fabrics are well-levigated, yellowish-brown in colour and medium hard, fine-textured, with thick grey cores and relatively thin walls. Surfaces are smoothed, red slipped and evenly polished. Occasionally, there is incised decoration filled with white limestone paste, black interiors and/or exteriors and irregular or band burnishing (Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 60; Figure 16). The shapes repertoire is remarkably homogenous in all known Philia sites, and it was used mainly for serving and presentation vessels: mainly small jugs and bowls, juglets with flat bases, cut-away spouts and 'plugged' handles (Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 60; Bolger & Peltenburg, 2014, pp. 189-190). Some of the most distinctive morphological shapes have been linked to alcohol consumption, just like it has also been argued for the RB/B thin bowls from the Pithos House in Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (Manning, 1993; Webb & Frankel, 2013; Bolger & Peltenburg, 2014). It seems that it was manufactured in one area with production centres and from there, distributed to the rest of the island. "*Evidence suggests a cohesive community network that was gradually to be replaced by more regional forms of social interaction and commodity exchange and a technological profile of a ceramic tradition that was rooted either in the Ovgos Valley or in Lapithos, and continued to evolve technologically in the centuries to follow*" (Dikomitou-Eliadou & Zomeni 2017, p. 101).

Another red monochrome ware is the Philia Red Slip Ware (PRS), which is produced of coarser clays and occur in more rare vessel forms which, and in vessels that are, as Bolger and Webb (2013, p. 60) argued, "*loosely copy higher quality vessels or serve specific storage or industrial purposes*". By contrast, the Red Polished Coarse Philia Ware (RPCP) was used for storage vessels and cooking pots (Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 60). The two remaining wares, the White Painted Philia Ware (WPP) and the Black Slip and Combed Ware (BSC) comprise 5% of the Philia Phase pottery at Marki-*Alonia*. Meanwhile, WPP is found in larger quantities in burial contexts at Marki-*Davari*, which indicated that maybe vessels of finer quality were preferred fine grave goods (Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 61). In general, this ware occurs in a few shapes, such as bowls, open and closed vessels with flat bases; lids and pyxides (Stewart 1962, p. 359, Type IXAa fig. CLV.4). Vessels similar to the latter two have been found in Anatolia, the Cyclades (spool-shaped pyxides) and settlements in Early Minoan Crete (Stewart, 1962, pp. 189-194). The BSC is very rare in Philia sites, with small vessels being the most common shape type. Other shapes are one amphora found at Nicosia-*Ayia Paraskevi*, one pithos from Philia-*Vasiliko*, and a jug from Kyra-*Alonia* (Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 61; Dikaios, 1962, p. 172 fig 83.9; ibid. 153, fig. 72).

3.2. Pottery in Cilicia in the Third Millennium BC

Archaeological research on Early Bronze Age in Anatolia is regionally fragmented with regionally specific sequences and scholars working on different areas using different terminologies and periodizations. Additionally, as Bachhuber (2008, pp. 2-4) and Massa (2016, pp. 29-30) noted, it is dominated by a culture-historical approach which centres on classificatory studies of material culture, most notably pottery. Indeed, the study and periodization of EB Anatolia has traditionally been based on pottery typology. This poses severe obstacles when one attempts to conduct a synthetic overview, since the EB is marked by several regional ceramic traditions which are difficult to correlate or cross-date (Yakar, 1985; Efe, 2006). Therefore, this section has drawn information mainly from the publications of sites in Cilicia (e.g. Goldman, 1956; Eslick, 2021; 2024) and some synthetic articles and volumes on Anatolian archaeology (e.g. Sagona & Zimansky, 2009; Düring, 2011; McMahon & Steadman, 2011; Fidan *et al.,* 2015; Ünlü, 2009; 2011; 2016; Steadman, 1994; 2011), providing an overview of pottery production in Cilicia, with an emphasis on the Tarsus-*Gözlükule* assemblage, which is also the most relevant site for this study.

3.2.1. Pottery in Tarsus-Gözlükule in the EB I and II

The start of the EB in Tarsus-*Gözlükule* is marked by the first appearance of the Red Gritty Ware and of the pitcher. Nevertheless, some continuation of the preceding Chalcolithic culture is evident in the presence of Chaff-Faced pottery traditions (Mellink, 1989, pp. 319-320; Ünlü, 2011, pp. 2-3). Importantly, the introduction of the potter's wheel in Tarsus happened in the Late Chalcolithic, therefore, some of the wares were made with the use of the potter's wheel, such as the Light Clay Ware (Mellink,1993, p. 499). In general, pottery production in EB Tarsus can be divided into two broad categories: handmade pottery and wheelmade pottery, even though most of the locally produced wares are still handmade. For the purposes of this study, emphasis is given to the handmade wares of EB I-II, which are made with the pinch and draw, coiling, and slab building techniques (Matson, 1956, p. 361). Some of the Chalcolithic wares, like the Chaff-Faced Painted Ware, continue well into the EB II, while chaff is used occasionally up until the Iron Age, indicating the continuation and persistence of local techniques (Goldman, 1956, p. 82).

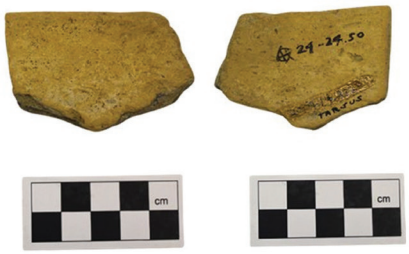
It should be noted that besides local pottery, some key imported wares have also been found at Tarsus-*Gözlükule*. For example, there is one Spiral Burnished Ware vessel which – according to Goldman, was imported from Syria. Most importantly though, two wares seem to be of Cypriot origin. The one is the Red-on-White Ware which Goldman calls Erimi ware, and the (Philia) Black Combed Slipped Ware, which Goldman calls Red and Black Streak-Burnished Ware (Goldman, 1956, pp. 112-113).

As far as pottery technology is concerned, Matson (1956, pp. 352-361), studied the pottery reference collection and produced a report on the potter's techniques in Tarsus from the Neolithic to the Middle Bronze Age. As he notes, one should keep in mind that this dataset is not necessarily representative of the overall assemblage, since it is too small for statical analysis and the selection of the sherds for export did not occur with variations of firing, texture, or colour distribution etc. (Matson, 1956, p.352). Ünlü's research added significantly to this, as it shed light on the production processes of the same assemblage (Ünlü, 2009).

3.2.1.1. The Chaff-Faced Wares

The Chaff-Faced Wares continue into the Bronze Age from the Chalcolithic. In EB I and II, the variety of the Light-Slipped Chaff-Faced Ware occurs. It is a handmade ware but it is often finished on the wheel, especially when making small bowls or jars. The fabric is buff, reddish, terracotta, or pink, and full of vegetable temper, mainly chaff. It low to medium fired. It is carefully slipped in orange, red or beige colours, with chaff-marks visible through the slip, and sometimes low-burnished. It occurs in a variety of bowls and jars. According to Goldman (1956, p. 105), at the beginning of EB II this ware represents 20% of the sherds recovered from the site, and it gradually disappears towards the end of the period. In addition to the standardized shapes of jars and bowls observed in EB I, there are also side-spouted pitchers featuring horizontal spouts, jars with small, finely crafted rims, and bowl rims delicately grooved (Goldman, 1956, pp. 82-83; Figure 17).

Figure 17: Light-Slipped Chaff-Faced Ware sherds from Tarsus-Gözlükule (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)



sherd number: 2009.14.212

sherd number: 2009.14.213

sherd number: 2009.14.208

sherd number: 2009.14.215

3.2.1.2. The Red Gritty Ware

The most relevant ware for this study is the Red Gritty Ware and its variants, which correspods to Ünlü's petrographic fabric Local Fabric III (Ünlü, 2009, pp. 81-96). Along with Light Clay Ware and the Fine Spiral Banded Ware, they represent the most long-lasting pottery traditions at the site, spanning for the whole EB, continuing into the EB III when all other local fabrics disappear (Ünlü, 2011, p. 7). The Red Gritty Ware and its variants are all are handmade and comprise 60% of the total sherd count. It should be noted that Red Gritty Ware sherds were found in large quantities (45% of the count) also at Kinet Höyük (Eslick, 2021, p. 75). There, Eslick (2021, p. 78) notes that its closest parallel is the Ware 5 at Kedikli Karahöyük in the Ishlahiye Plain (Duru, 2010, pp. 136-137, 142-143).

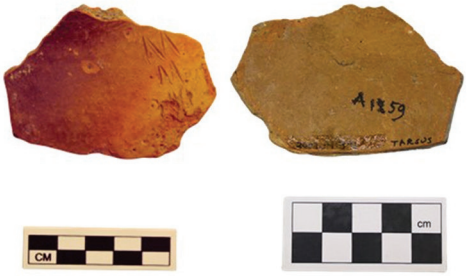
The Red Gritty Ware is an utilitarian ware which occurs primarily in closed shapes like jars and pithoi (Ünlü, 2009, pp. 83-84). There are three varieties of the fabric: one with brick-red clay blended with sand and grits such as limestone; a similar clinky hard-fired fabric but with proportionately more sand than lime mixed with the clay, the colour varies from red to grey and all shades of brown; and a much finer fabric of an apricot-like colour. The surface is covered with a red to orange slipped and often burnished. It occurs in steep-walled cups with flaring sides, bowls, and pitchers with rising spouts (Goldman, 1956, p. 94-95, 97, 108-110; Figure 18). It occurs in several variations, outlined in the table below (Table 8).

According to Ünlü (2011, p. 7), the sudden occurrence of the Red Gritty Ware must signify an intrusive event in the potting traditions of Cilicia, also due to its novel manufacture techniques. Indeed, originally Goldman argued that this ware is related to the Stone Ware tradition of the Middle Euphrates region (Goldman, 1956, p. 97). Others have suggested that it originates from the Niğde-Konya area in south-central Anatolia (Mellink, 1989, p. 320; Mellaart, 1963, p. 232). Later on Mellink revised her views and proposed the Bolkarmaden zone in the Taurus Mountains as the origin of this ware instead, where it has been found at the EB II layers at Göltepe (Yener, 2021, pp. 80-81). In

the same article she argued that the pitcher's origins and its distribution are closely related to a metallurgical tradition, which was initially developed in metal and then transferred into pottery (Mellink, 1993, p. 500). Additionally, it has also been argued that the Brittle Orange Ware from the İslahiye region and the Red Gritty Ware group are connected (Kühne, 1976, p. 56). However, there is a critical chronological problem in assigning the origin of the Red Gritty Ware to the Brittle Orange Ware, since the Red Gritty Ware occurs before the Brittle Orange Ware (Alkım, 1966, p. 43; 1967, p. 8; Braidwood & Braidwood, 1960, p. 351). The Red Gritty Ware has also been retrieved at Kinet Höyük and Mersin-Yumuktepe (Caneva *et al.*, in Novák *et al.*, 2017, p. 159; Eslick *et al.*, in Novák *et al.*, 2017, p. 178). More on this ware and its possible origin is presented later in this thesis (Chapter 7).

Figure 18: Red Gritty Ware sherds from Tarsus-Gözlükule (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)

sherd number: 2009.14.433



sherd number: 2009.14.391

sherd number: 2009.14.620

sherd number: 2009.14.655

Table 8 Overview of the Red Gritty Ware variations in EB I and II (created by Maria Hadjigavriel after Goldman, 1956)

RED GRITTY WARE VARIATIONS IN EB I AND II			
WARE	PERIOD	SHORT DESCRIPTION	VESSEL SHAPES
Red Gritty Ware *or* Sandy Ware *or* Plain and Burnished Red Gritty Ware	EB I-II	Fabric: three varieties ‣ brick-red clay mixed with sand and larger grits of which much is limestone. ‣ hard-fired but with proportionately more sand than lime mixed with the clay. It is clinky when struck. The firing sometimes turns the colour from red to grey and all shades of brown, usually, though not always, with a surviving tinge of red. ‣ much finer and has a more apricot colour. Surface treatment: red to orange slip, burnished. When its painted, there are stripes in white and dark, sometimes purplish red paint.	‣ Steep-walled cups with flaring sides ‣ Bowls ‣ Pitchers with rising spouts
Red Gritty Pithos Ware	EB I-II	Fabric: thicker variety of the Red Gritty Ware's fabric Surface: slipped with a slightly different shade of red, often pitted. In EB II a contrasting slip is now used in addition to red, usually confined to the rim and consists of simple incised angular patterns and punched circles.	‣ Storage jars ‣ Pithoi
Painted Red Gritty Ware	EB I	Fabric: same as Red Gritty Ware Surface treatment: same as Red Gritty Ware. Decoration: stripes in white and dark, sometimes purplish red paint.	Pitchers with rising spout
Red Gritty "Cross-Stich" Incised Ware	EB II	Fabric: brick-red or orange, well-levigated, no obvious lime inclusions, but stone sand and glittering particles as temper. Surface treatment: red-slipped exterior, untreated interior. Decoration: horizontal patterns of wavy lines, zigzags, cross-hatched zones, cross-hatched lozenges, and other variants.	Jars
Red Gritty Corrugated Ware	EB II	It seems to be a local imitation of the fine light clay ware of Syrian affiliation, for unlike the bulk of the red gritty sherds, these are wheelmade.	Bowls; Jars; Flasks; Bottles;
Red Gritty Combed Ware	EB II	Fabric: as a coarser and more irregular variety of the corrugated ware. Surface treatment: combed and incised surface	‣ Jars ‣ Bowls
Fine Red Gritty Ware with Incised and Plastic Ornament	EB II	Fabric: finer hard-fired gritty variety and often more pink than red in colour. Surface treatment and decoration: incision, rouletting and delicate plastic cord patterns.	‣ Jars ‣ Pitchers with rising spouts
Red Gritty Chevron Incised Ware	EB II	Fabric: same as Red Gritty Ware but with finer temper and occasionally light pink in colour. Surface treatment: tournette finished or wheelmade and smoothed on the inside. The outside surface and the interior of the neck is covered with a medium burnished slip varying in colour from dark brown or black to a bright orange or apricot shade. Decoration: chevrons.	‣ Jars ‣ Pitchers with rising spout

3.2.1.3. The Red or Black Burnished Wares

A variety of wares which are red and or black burnished, plain or with (white-filled) incised decoration occur in EBI-II in Cilicia. These are all handmade and occur in bowls, jars, cups and pitchers. The Plain Black Burnished Ware and the Black Burnished White-Filled Incised Ware have grey fabric, uniform in cross section with organic temper. They are black/grey burnished but unslipped, and sometimes brown, red or buff due to firing errors. The incised variation is decorated with incised white-filled vertical bands of chevrons interspersed with lozenges. In EB II, the decoration is mainly geometric. On the other hand, the Plain Red Burnished Ware and the Red Burnished Incised Ware have reddish-brown to buff fabric and are red slipped and highly burnished. When they are incised, the motifs are chevrons, bands of short dashes between enclosing lines, dotted bands, and lozenge motifs (Goldman, 1956, pp. 95-96, 108, 110, 112; Table 9; Figures 19 and 20). Similar pottery types have also been retrieved at Kinet Höyük (Eslick *et al.*, in Novák *et al.*, 2017, p. 178).

Figure 19: Plain Black Burnished Ware (above) and Black Burnished White-Filled Incised Ware sherds from Tarsus-Gözlükule (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)

sherd number: 2009.14.338 *sherd number: 2009.14.671*

sherd number: 2009.14.446 *sherd number: 2009.14.460*

Figure 20: Plain Red Burnished Ware (above) and Red Burnished Incised Ware sherds from Tarsus-Gözlükule (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)

sherd number: 2009.14.403

sherd number: 2009.14.387

sherd number: 2009.14.402

sherd number: 2009.14.390

Table 9: Overview of Red and Black Burnished Wares in EB I and II (created by Maria Hadjigavriel after Goldman, 1956)

RED OR BLACK BURNISHED WARES IN EBA I AND II			
WARE	PERIOD	SHORT DESCRIPTION	VESSEL SHAPES
Plain Black Burnished Ware	EB I-II	Fabric: grey to black, uniform in cross section, temper consists of grits, lime, mica, and organic. Surface treatment: burnished, unslipped. When the firing is not correct, brown, red, and buff in colour.	‣ Handle-less bowls ‣ Bowls with horizontal handles ‣ Steep-walled cups ‣ Jars
Black Burnished White-Filled Incised Ware	EB I	Fabric: the same as Plain Black Burnished Ware. Surface treatment: same as Plain Black Burnished Ware. In EB II, usually unslipped and burnished either to a highly lustrous or to a medium finish. Decoration: incised white-filled decoration of vertical bands of chevrons interspersed with lozenges. In EB II, mainly geometric.	‣ Steep-walled cups ‣ Bowls (in EB II)
Plain Red Burnished Ware	EB I	Fabric: reddish-brown to buff, temper consists of grits, lime, sand, chaff and shell. Surface treatment: red slipped and highly burnished	‣ Bowls ‣ Jars ‣ Cups ‣ Pitchers (one maybe from Cyprus)
Red Burnished Incised Ware	EB I-II	Fabric: same as Plain Red Burnished Ware but thick, heavy and more uniform, with moderate amounts of mica and grits. Surface treatment: slipped and highly lustrous and the bases are unslipped. There seems to be use of white filling but it is not consistent. Decoration: incised motifs: chevrons, bands of short dashes between enclosing lines, dotted bands, and lozenge motifs.	‣ Open bowls ‣ Steep-walled cups ‣ Pitches

3.2.1.4. Cooking Pots

Cooking pots in EB I-II Tarsus-*Gözlükule* are all handmade. First, there's the Hard Gritty Cooking Pot Ware, which has a reddish-brown fabric with grits, shell, lime, sand, chaff and mica, and the surfaces are brown, dull, slipped or smoothed. On the other hand there's the Soft Gritty Cooking Pot Ware which is also reddish-brown but it is not well-fired; it crumbles easily, and it is mostly slipped, occasionally burnished. They occur in jars, pans, pitchers, casseroles, cups and goblets. Lastly, the Light-Slipped Cooking Pot Ware occurs only in EB I and is similar to the Soft Gritty Cooking Pot Ware (Goldman, 1956, pp. 96-97, 110; Figure 21).

Figure 21: Cooking Pot sherds from Tarsus-Gözlükule (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)

sherd number: 2009.14.518

sherd number: 2009.14.322

sherd number: 2009.14.517

sherd number: 2009.14.514

3.2.1.5. The Light Clay Ware & the Fine Spiral Banded Ware

The Light Clay Wares and the Fine Spiral Banded Ware are wheelmade and low fired, without overall smooth glass formation. Therefore, vessel bodies are relatively porous. They are both wheelmade and together they comprise 30% of the total sherd count from Tarsus-*Gözlükule* (Ünlü, 2009, p. 65; 2011, p. 7). The surface of the Fine Spiral Banded Ware is wet-smoothed with a pared spiral band, created by removing the surface with a tool such as a brush, with the spiral beginning at the centre of the base. According to Goldman, this ware a transitional one between the chaff-faced varieties of the Chalcolithic and the Light Clay Bowls of the EBA II (Goldman, 1956, pp. 93-94). They occur mainly in open vessels such as bowls and goblets, and some jars and jugs in EBA II (Goldman, 1956, p. 106). Interestingly, the shapes and surface of bowls and goblets show strong affinities with the north Syrian/Amuq Simple Ware tradition (Ünlü, 2009, p. 66; Goldman, 1956, p. 107). This changes only in EB III, when tankards, depata and other standard western Anatolian shapes are being produced in these wares (Ünlü, 2009, pp. 66-67; 2011, p. 7).

The Light Clay Wares occur primarily in EBA II, and include Light Clay Bowls, the Light Clay Corrugated Ware, the Light Clay Reserve Slip Ware and the Light Clay Miniature Lug Ware (Table 10; Figure 22). To start with, the Light Clay Bowls are wheelmade and distinctive when it comes to surface treatment and shape. They date exclusively to EBA II and are a popular and standard ware. In terms of fabric, the clay colour varies from buff-yellow to pink and orange, with almost no visible temper. When visible, inclusions consist of sand, some organic matter, grits. They are self-slipped or slipped, in reddish colours. These bowls are usually plain hemispherical bowls, although a noteworthy variation is the bowls with two suspension holes and with rim pressed to shape a spout. Both are standard shapes manufactured in substantial amounts`(Goldman, 1956, pp. 105-106). Jugs with rising spouts, multiple pots and two-handled jars are also produced in the same fabric. Another type, the Light Clay Reserve Slip Ware also has similar fabric, but the slip is applied horizontally and regular bands are generated, by wiping or by removing it with a comb or brush-like tool to give a striped effect, particularly in the neck and shoulders of pitchers. The lower section of the pot is always plain slipped (Goldman, 1956, p. 107).

Alternatively, the Light Clay Miniature Lug Ware is distinguished by the fact that it occurs in small, and sometimes unpierced lugs which don't seem to have any practical use. The fabric is similar to the other varieties of Light Clay Wares, but the surface treatment is different: vessels are either burnished and decorated with purplish-red paint or covered with a thin purplish slip. It occurs in handle-less or two-handled jars with cylindrical neck, pitchers with rising spout, and some form of side-spouted vessel (Goldman, 1956, p. 107). Finally, the Light Clay Corrugated Ware has a very distinct fabric in buff, grey or pink colours with green ting and with sand, shell and fine grits used as temper. It is well fired, thin, and it occurs only in wheelmade jars and goblets (Goldman, 1956, p. 107).

Figure 22: Light Clay Wares sherds from Tarsus-Gözlükule (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)

sherd number: 2009.14.372 *sherd number: 2009.14.373*

sherd number: 2009.14.412 *sherd number: 2009.14.413*

Table 10: Overview of the Light Clay Wares in EB I and II (created by Maria Hadjigavriel after Goldman, 1956)

LIGHT CLAY WARE VARIATIONS IN EB I AND II			
WARE	PERIOD	SHORT DESCRIPTION	VESSEL SHAPES
Intermediate Light Ware	EB I	Fabric: same as Light-Slipped Chaff-Faced Ware Surface treatment: similar to other Chaff-Faced Wares but with unusual decoration which resembles that of painted Syrian Bottles.	
Light Clay Bowls	EB I-II	Fabric: clay varies from from buff-yellow to pink and orange. At the beginning little and only fine temper is observed, probably fine sand. Later on, more sand, some organic matter, grits and lime are observable. Surface: wheel-marks in the slipped interior surface. The exterior is roughly smoothed with markings of scraping and paring. The slip may be a self-slip or a lighter slip applied to more reddish clay. *Other shapes* Fabric: similar to bowls. Surface treatment: the interior surface is the same as the bowls. The exterior is slipped, on reddish ware this is often a self-slip, but cream and white slips also occur. Decoration: incised strokes and punches, usually on the handles, inside rim or shoulder of pitchers.	‣ Plain hemispherical bowl ‣ Jars ‣ Jugs
Light Clay Corrugated Ware	EB II	Fabric: clay mainly green, but also grey, buff or pink, well levigated and sand, shell and fine grits as temper. Well-fired, hard and clinky.	‣ Jars ‣ Goblets
Light Clay Reserve Slip Ware	EB II	Fabric: same as Light Clay Bowls. Surface treatment: slip horizontally applied and then regular bands are produced. Lower part of the vessel always plain slipped.	‣ Jars ‣ Pitchers
Light Clay Miniature Lug Ware	EB II	Fabric: same as Light Clay Bowls, but thinner, with more sand temper and the clay is redder. Well-fired. Surface treatment: medium burnish and a painted decoration in purplish-red paint, or only a thin purplish slip. A darker glossy red paint occurs usually on a somewhat harder fabric; the execution is careless. Decoration: simple rim bands, rippling or wavy vertical lines, and an occasional amorphous vaguely quadruped design.	‣ Jars ‣ Pitchers with rising spout ‣ Some form of side-spouted vessel

3.3. Bridging the Gaps: Connections between Cypriot and Anatolian Pottery in the third Millennium BC

3.3.1. Investigating Interactions within and outside Cyprus in the Third Millennium BC

The ways the culture of islands and the interactions between islanders and other regions have been studied are vital for the understanding how archaeologists have dealt with prehistoric societies on Cyprus and contacts in the third millennium BC. As discussed in Chapter 2, for Cyprus in the third millennium BC, traditional approaches explain contacts with the mainland in terms of migration, colonization, and more recently, hybridization (e.g. Dikaios, 1962; Webb & Frankel, 2007; Kouka, 2009; Knapp, 2013). Conventionally, Cyprus is considered to have been relatively isolated in later Prehistory, with some periods of intense contact with the neighboring regions, namely during the Aceramic Neolithic and the Bronze Age. Other periods, with sparse indications of foreign contacts, have been interpreted as times of seclusion and cultural isolation. However, several scholars have argued that the apparent scarcity of interaction with the mainlands from ca. the seventh to the third millennia BC does not in fact indicate isolation but rather a choice to not incorporate or import foreign material culture elements (Clarke, 2003, p. 212-215; Broodbank, 2000, p. 20; Rainbird, 2007, p. 86; Bolger, 2013).

In the last decades, more and more evidence for extra-insular interactions in the Chalcolithic has accumulated: faience beads at Middle Chalcolithic burials at Souskiou-*Laona* and Souskiou-*Vathyrkakas*, and chlorite and faience found at Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* (Todd & Croft, 2004, p. 219; Peltenburg, 1991a, p. 109; Knapp 2013, 206). Imports found in Late Chalcolithic contexts include faience beads at Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*, and a copper axe at Chlorakas-*Palloures* and other metal objects from Kissonerga-Mosphilia and the Souskiou cemeteries (Peltenburg, 1998, pp. 193-194; 2003, pp. 93-95; Düring *et al.*, 2021; Kassianidou & Charalampous, 2019, pp. 285-286). Additionally, as stated before, arguments have been made that pottery technologies during the Late Chalcolithic could indicate extra-insular contacts (e.g. Bolger, 2007; 2013; Peltenburg, 2007; 2018). This topic is further elaborated in Chapter 6.

So far, theoretical frameworks on how interactions between communities occur and how these can be traced in the archaeological record, especially via pottery technology, have been discussed. However, how can we apply these to the study of Cyprus in the (early) third millennium? Dikomitou-Eliadou (2012, p. 68) has stated that "*In the study of the Cypriot Early and Middle Bronze Age, pottery is the only artefact type which is found in abundance in every contemporary site, providing the basis for inter-site comparisons and the development of broader island-wide arguments*". It is also essential that Cyprus is not treated as a single entity in Prehistory, since different traits can be seen in different regions (Peltenburg, 2013, p. 4). This is also the case in the Late Chalcolithic and the Philia Phase. However, the degrees and gradients of contact between the island's communities in Late Chalcolithic Cyprus require further investigation. Pottery technology is ideal to reconstruct the diverse relationships and developments of various regions (Frankel, 2009, p. 23). In order to investigate inter-insular interactions in the Chalcolithic, building upon the approaches presented above, a comparative study of pottery technology during the Late Chalcolithic is conducted.

3.3.2. Investigating Connections between Cypriot and Anatolian Pottery in the Third Millennium BC

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the possible similarities between pottery in Cyprus and Anatolia in the third millennium BC have sparked a vivid debate among scholars. To begin with, the replacement of the Red-on-White Ware with red monochrome burnished wares in the Late Chalcolithic has been interpreted as the result of increased contacts with Anatolia and the Levant. Several archaeologists have suggested that these new developments in pottery technology on Cyprus were triggered by contacts with the nearby mainlands, especially Anatolia (Peltenburg, 1998, pp. 256-258; 2007, pp. 146-149; Bolger, 2007, pp. 164; Bolger *et al.*, 2014). According to Peltenburg, certain attributes of the Late Chalcolithic monochrome burnished wares found at Lemba-*Lakkous* and Kissonerga-*Mosphilia*, such as the red and black highly burnished surfaces, relief decoration and the emergence of spouted pouring pots, can be seen as the result of cognisance and emulation of pottery traditions of western Anatolia. Peltenburg claimed that parallels of these pottery characteristics can be seen at sites in the Aegean and western Anatolia, such as Thermi, Karataş, Aphrodisias, Demircihöyük, Beycesultan XVI and Troy II a-d (Peltenburg, 2007, pp. 146-149).

Bolger and Peltenburg have further suggested that the RB/B could be influenced by the Red Black Burnished Ware (hereafter RBBW) of the Kura-Araxes cultural horizon and the Khirbet Kerak Ware (hereafter KKW), its variant in the Levant, indicating extra-insular communication already during the Late Chalcolithic (Peltenburg, 2007, p. 154; Bolger, 2013, p. 5; Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 46). Bolger has argued for a possible connection of these traditions with the RBBW of the Kura-Araxes cultural horizon, which extends from the Caucasus to Anatolia and the Levant. The basis for this argument is that the highly burnished red and/or black surface and relief decoration, which are the main diagnostic traits of RBBW, have not been attested on Cyprus before the Late Chalcolithic (Bolger, 2013, p. 4). The Kura-Araxes pottery comprises of numerous red and black burnished pottery traditions with shared characteristics of both technology and appearance (Wilkinson, 2014, p. 205; Figure 23). Even though one could claim that the red and/or black burnished pottery traditions from Chalcolithic Cyprus differ noticeably from this Kura-Araxes pottery tradition, there are some similarities in vessel shapes, forming techniques and surface treatment (Peltenburg, 2007, p. 154; Bolger, 2013, p. 5; Bolger & Webb, 2013, p. 46; Hadjigavriel, 2019, pp. 106-109). So far, the only existing comparative study of RBBW to the Cypriot assemblages is the one I conducted for my master's thesis (Hadjigavriel, 2019). Although the results were encouraging and the similarities between the two pottery traditions were verified and established, due to the small amount of the sample of Anatolian pottery (136 sherds from Tepecik, stored at Istanbul University), further research is required to establish whether the pottery traditions are actually related.

Figure 23: Examples of RBBW from Tepecik, eastern Anatolia (photographs by Maria Hadjigavriel)

On the other hand, the pottery from the Philia Phase can be more profoundly correlated with Anatolian pottery wares. The first to argued for "Anatolianising" traits of the Philia culture was Dikaios, who based his argument on the beak-spouted and handled pitcher vessel forms of PRP (Dikaios, 1961, pp. 13-15). For Dikaios, these traits suggested migration of Anatolian populations on the island, an interpretation which was drawing upon Mellaart's argument for Indo-European invasions across Anatolia. Similar migration scenarios are present in more recent literature as well (Kouka, 2009, p. 36). By contrast, other scholars have interpreted the Philia phenomenon as the result of local developments and of stimulus diffusion (e.g. Knapp, 1990; Manning, 1993). The Philia Red Polished Ware (PRP) has been central to this debate, since it might have represented novel drinking behaviour connected to the production and consumption of alcohol (Manning, 1993, p. 45; Webb & Frankel, 2013, pp. 62, 70). As Bachhuber argued "alcohol consumption has been interpreted as one way for groups to consolidate and convert agricultural resources into a kind of social capital in contexts of hospitality and conviviality, something purportedly learned through contact with Anatolian communities" (Bachhuber, 2014, p. 143). The Philia pitchers were central to this discussion, although, as Mellink noted, they are not exact duplicates of known Anatolian ones. Variations between Cypriot and Anatolian forms, however, are comparable to variations between examples from different EB I–II sites and regions across Anatolia (Mellink, 1991, p. 73).

The high burnishing, polishing and firing which characterize Philia pottery have been taking place in Anatolian pottery production already since the Late Neolithic/Early Chalcolithic (Bachhuber, 2014, p. 143). In EB I and II, pottery production is characterized by several novelties such as increased experimentation with vessel forms and plastic decoration, attempts to recreate metallic shapes and surfaces, paying great attention to the presentation of vessels for pouring liquids (Lloyd & Mellaart, 1962, p. 117; Bachhuber, 2014, pp. 143-144).

In other words, the elaborate vessel shapes – especially the ones linked to alcohol consumption, the red and black monochrome slipped and burnished surfaces, and the relief and incised decoration were interpreted as "*Anatolianising*" features that were brought to the island by migrants from Anatolia. However, as seen above, several of these traits were already present in the Late Chalcolithic, therefore challenging views that see migration as the only way of transfer of pottery technology (e.g. Frankel, 2000; Webb & Frankel, 2007, pp. 200-201; for an overview of this debate see Chapter 2). Moreover, the excavations at Marki-*Alonia* have showed that there is no apparent distinction between potentially elite activities of Philia pottery use (e.g. a mortuary event) and non-elite ones, despite the fact that mortuary contexts are marked by an emphasis on alcohol consumption rather than eating (Webb & Frankel, 2007, p. 201; Webb & Frankel, 2008, p. 289). Finally, when it comes to pottery production in the two regions there is one significant difference: the ceramic wheel appears in Anatolia at the beginning of EBA III but is completely absent from Cyprus up until the Late Bronze Age (Mellink, 1991, p. 173). In any case, Bachhuber argued that both the Late Chalcolithic and the Philia pottery from Cyprus belong to "*a mosaic of broadly similar albeit localised ceramic traditions that should include western and southern Anatolia during EB I–II*" (Bachhuber, 2014, p. 143). One should keep in mind that the Philia Phase pottery production is much more than just drinking sets, and drinking vessels are already present in the Late Chalcolithic (Boger & Peltenburg, 2014). However, most of the literature dealing with interactions between Cyprus and Anatolia has indeed been focused on these drinking sets. A different and more nuanced approach is presented later in this thesis (Chapters 7 and 8).

3.4. Concluding Summary

To conclude, this chapter has provided an overview of the pottery production of the regions in question in the third millennium BC. In both regions, various advancements in pottery technology, production, and usage emerged during that time, hinting at potential increased interactions with neighbouring areas. These potential relationships have sparked ongoing debates among archaeologists. While the earliest imported vessels found in Cyprus date back to the Middle Bronze Age period at the Vounous cemetery, scholars have suggested that the Cypriot red and black burnished wares from the Late Chalcolithic might also be linked to contemporaneous pottery from Anatolia, and that there's a link between the Philia Phase pottery production and Anatolian populations on the island (e.g. Bolger, 2007; 2013; Peltenburg, 2007; Webb & Frankel, 2007). To address this, the main pottery wares from Cyprus and Cilicia are presented in this chapter, followed by a literature review on the possible technological similarities in pottery production between the two regions. This chapter sets the framework for Chapters 5-7, where pottery datasets from the two regions are analysed in detail and the issue of interactions between sites is tackled further.