The Anatolian Context of Philia Period Burial Types in Cyprus

Tillman, Jack

THE ANATOLIAN CONTEXT OF PHILIA PERIOD BURIAL TYPES IN CYPRUS

By

Jack W. Tillman

Cover Figure: Entrance of Tomb 103 of Vasilia-Kilistra (Swiny et al., 1988, fig. 58a).

The Anatolian Context of Philia Period Burial Types in Cyprus

By

Jack W. Tillman

S4025830

Global Archaeology MA Thesis (2425HS)

Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University

Supervised by Dr. Düring

Final draft submitted December 15th, 2024

Acknowledgments

This thesis would not have been possible without my family who have supported me and my passions throughout my life, the friends and academic colleagues who have challenged me and pushed me forward, and the professors who have opened my mind to the wonder and complexities of the human past and present.

I give special thanks to my supervisor Dr. Bleda Düring for his direction, attentiveness, and understanding throughout the creation of this text. Our discussions were essential to the nature of this thesis. He has truly inspired me both academically and in the field, and I appreciate all the time and energy he has given me.

Without the support of my partner Azra Say-Ötün, I likely would not have been able to complete this work. Her care and acumen have uplifted me in my most pessimistic moments and helped me push forward.

I want to thank all of those who have played an important part in my career in archaeology. Thank you to Dr. Jerry Ek Romero for being a formative professor to me throughout my undergrad at WWU; thank you to Dr. Lindy Crewe for introducing me to the world of Cypriot prehistory while excavating at Kissonerga-Skalia with the CAARI/HARP team; and thank you to the Chlorakas-Palloures team, including (soon-to-be Dr.) Maria Hadjigavriel, Dr. Victor Klinkenberg, and Dr. Bleda Düring, for teaching me the full scope of archaeological methods and to love the Cypriot Chalcolithic.

Lastly, thank you to my mother and father for the love and material support that has enabled me to pursue this path—I am forever grateful.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

1. Introduction

1.1 Research problem

The mid-third millennium BCE marks the "first globalization episode" in the eastern Mediterranean (Düring, 2021, p. 72), in which West, Central, and Southeast Anatolia and Syria-Mesopotamia became deeply interconnected (Şahoğlu, 2005, p. 344). During this time a major cultural transformation occurs in Cyprus with the introduction of novel technologies and material culture, in turn marking the emergence of the Bronze Age and the end of the Chalcolithic period (Steel, 2004, p. 121). Innovations in ceramics, metallurgy, and mortuary practices that reflect this transitional period between the Late Chalcolithic (2900-2500 BCE) and Early Cypriot period (2200-2000 BCE) are ascribed to the Philia period (2500-2200 BCE).

The causalities for the advent of the Philia Period have posed a significant problematic for researchers of prehistoric Cyprus. Many authors agree Philia material culture has striking parallels with contemporary material in Anatolia and the Levant indicating increasing connectivity between Cyprus and the mainland (see Knapp, 2008, p. 103, for a summary). But rather than a sudden influx or series of interaction events upon the advent of the Philia period suggested by previous models (Frankel & Webb, 1999, p. 38), researchers are now emphasizing the evidence for connectivity in the preceding Late Chalcolithic and understanding the Philia period as the outcome of a long-term *process* of interaction in the periods preceding the mid-third millennium BCE (Bolger, 2013, p. 2). This new emphasis on a macro-scale antecedent process of interaction before the Philia period presents new research avenues for comparing Philia period material to evidence from the mainland during the Anatolian Early Bronze Age I and II period (EBA I: 3000-2700 BCE; EBA II: 2700-2400 BCE).

The study of mortuary practice is particularly well suited for this comparison. The Philia period dataset is almost entirely composed of mortuary contexts, whereas settlement data is presently very scarce, only recovered from very limited and disturbed deposits at Marki-Alonia (Frankel & Webb, 2006) and debatably at Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Crewe, 2015, p. 133). The Philia period is characterized by what appears to be a stark break with Chalcolithic deathways with the introduction of metal-rich extramural cemeteries and novel burial types such as rock-cut chamber tombs and intramural pithos graves (Keswani, 2004, p. 37). Extramural rock-cut chamber tombs came to define the more well-known chamber tomb

tradition of the Cypriot Bronze Age, but extramural cemeteries and rock-cut chamber tombs were not entirely unknown on the island before the Philia period. Rock-cut chamber tombs first occur during the Middle Chalcolithic in the anomalous extramural cemetery of Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas (Peltenburg et al., 2019) and once again in intramural contexts in Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Peltenburg et al., 1998). Hence, these innovations associated with Philia period burial types have earlier precedents in the preceding Chalcolithic, presenting evidence for their longer-term development.

Though aspects of Philia period mortuary practices present continuities from the Chalcolithic, Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs are novel and distinct from their Chalcolithic antecedents. Philia period material culture that compose grave good assemblages, such as Red Polished Philia ware cut-away spouted vessels, terracotta biconical spindle whorls, and spurred annular pendants, compare well with EBA I-II Anatolian material culture (Bachhuber, 2014, p. 142). Moreover, the unprecedented consumption of metals within Philia period mortuary contexts has no antecedent in the Cypriot Chalcolithic, instead closely following mortuary trends of EBA Anatolia (Bachhuber, 2014, p. 144-5). Thus, Philia period mortuary practices present a unique combination of continuities with the Chalcolithic and innovations associated with connectivity and mainland mortuary practices. Comparing Anatolian burial types from the first half of the third millennium BCE with Philia period burial types in Cyprus presents an exciting opportunity to distinguish which aspects of Philia period mortuary practices, specifically burial type, relate to the mainland, and see how inter-regional burial type variability between Anatolia and Cyprus compares to evidence for connectivity.

The object of this study is to compare a broad synthesis of burial type variability in West, Central, and Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria during the EBA I-II period with burial type variability in Cyprus during the Philia period. Presently, no such large-scale synthesis has been made. It is the aspiration of this study that such a synthesis can contextualize the emergence of these new burial types in Philia period Cyprus vis-à-vis data on connectivity with Anatolia. By doing so, the relationship between connectivity and the emergence of novel mortuary practices can be tested rather than assumed.

The Philia period phenomenon for too long has been treated with uncritical diffusionism, in which all cultural changes during the Philia period, such as novel burial types, are explained through external stimulus, migration, colonization, and/or assimilation.

This is a problematic trend in much of Cypriot prehistoric and historical discourse, wherein Cypriots are treated as passive recipients of the culture of mainland conquerors or migrants, whether Mycenaean, Greek, Roman, French, Venetian, or Ottoman. In all of these narratives, the role of local Cypriots and their agency in their own history is either downplayed or entirely erased. Hence, interaction and connectivity need to be approached from a *bidirectional* rather than *unidirectional* paradigm (Bolger, 2007, p. 164). Following Bolger (2013), in this study, Cypriots are conceived of as active agents in interaction scenarios, wherein both Cypriots and mainlanders are capable of adopting and rejecting practices and material culture encountered between them in contact (p. 12). Bolger (2013) emphasizes Cypriot's *receptivity* to external factors during the Late Chalcolithic, wherein foreign material culture/practices were not passively assimilated, but differentially adopted, rejected, or re-negotiated and fundamentally changed (p. 2). Through the re-negotiation of foreign material culture/practices and the breaking down of notions of difference, Knapp (2008) suggests Philia period Cyprus was the product of a *hybridizing* process, wherein Philia period Cyprus' cultural milieu was neither entirely local nor foreign but emerged *through* interaction (p. 104). Therefore, understanding continuity with the Chalcolithic is just as necessary for understanding Philia period practices as connectivity is. This perspective seeks to emphasize the local, bottom-up, agent-based factors in which "connectivity" manifests and transforms society. This is important to emphasize because the local mechanisms of interaction *constitute* the macro-scale, long-term processes of cultural change in material culture and burial type during the Philia period that is the subject of this study. Thus, a multi-scalar perspective is necessary to avoid reproducing the overly simplistic top-down diffusionism that has plagued Cypriot prehistoric and historical discourse for so long.

Sensitivity to local, agent-based factors is especially important concerning mortuary practice. Anthropological data suggest mortuary practice is uniquely unstable and highly dependent on the particularities of mourners' circumstances and the choices they make in reaction to death (Ucko, 1969, p. 273). In turn, mortuary practices vary greatly within and between ethnic boundaries and material culture horizons. In this study, burial type is the primary variable under investigation, which is the materialization of just one aspect of mortuary practice. While variables such as grave good assemblages, demographic data, and the articulation of the skeleton are invaluable variables for understanding the complexity of funerary programs, the large-scale geographic scope of this study necessitates a more selective focus. Burial type will be the priority, while other variables of mortuary practice

will be compared to burial type without quantification. Through mapping burial type variability across space and time, this study will not demonstrate the distribution of distinct, bounded mortuary traditions, but rather the distribution and variability of *choices* regarding the mortuary infrastructure of the corpse in a diversity of local mortuary programs.

Below I will overview the guiding research questions regarding burial type variability and connectivity in Cyprus and Anatolia.

1.2 Research questions

Two general categories of research questions direct this study's investigation: (1) descriptive questions concerned with the formal similarities and differences of the material evidence, and (2) interpretive questions concerned with the social implications of the results in conjunction with additional data.

(1) Descriptive: What is the composition of inter-regional burial type variability in Anatolia and how does that contextualize Philia period burial types in Cyprus? What parallels exist in burial type between Cyprus and West, Central, and Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria? How do Philia period burial types in Cyprus inform/articulate with burial types and mortuary practices in EBA Anatolia? Do parallels in burial type correspond with parallels in other aspects of mortuary practice and material culture? Do inter-regional trends vary between extramural and intramural mortuary contexts?

(2) Interpretive: How do inter-regional burial type trends between Cyprus and Anatolia compare to data on connectivity? How does this data inform the broader discourse on directionality, migration, hybridity, and cultural transformation during the Philia period in Cyprus? Does this data challenge or corroborate specific models of Philia period causality?

To provide context for the investigation outlined above, I will now go over a brief account of Cyprus and Anatolia during the first half of the third millennium BCE and outline the evidence for the general organization of society, mortuary practice, regional trends, and their implication for increasing connectivity between regions. With this background, the different explanatory models for the emergence of the Philia period will be considered. To develop this study's theoretical perspective on the role of agents in mortuary change, some basic premises from practice and reception theory will be unpacked, alongside a brief exploration of the anthropology of mortuary practices. Then, the burial typology will be

introduced, and the limitations and methodology will be discussed. Lastly, the results will be presented with a discussion regarding the research questions presented above.

2. Cyprus and Anatolia during the early to mid-third millennium BCE

2.1 Chalcolithic Cyprus

2.1.1 Settlement data and material culture

The fourth and early third millennium BCE in Cyprus is known as the Chalcolithic period. Dikaios first defined the Chalcolithic while excavating Erimi-Pamboula, dividing the period into the Chalcolithic I and II (Dikaios, 1936, p. 1-89; Hadjigavriel, 2021, p. 81). Later informed by more data from new excavations, the period was then divided into the Early (4000/3900–3600/3400 BCE), Middle (3600/3400–2900/2700 BCE), and Late Chalcolithic (2900/2700–2400 BCE) (Dikaios, 1962, p. 184–189; Hadjigavriel, 2021, p. 81). Thus, the Late Chalcolithic makes up the majority of the first half of the third millennium BCE in Cyprus.

Society during the Chalcolithic in Cyprus can be considered small-scale, with populations not reaching more than 1000 people (Peltenburg, 1998, p. 255; Klinkenberg & Düring, 2022, p. 4). Most settlements ranged between three to five hectares, with outliers such as Kissonerga-Mosphilia at 12 hectares and Erimi-Pamboula at 15 hectares (Peltenburg, 1991a, p. 17-8), though it is questionable if all this land was occupied contemporaneously (Düring, 2024). There is no evidence of material or social stratification, though the absence of wealth inequality does not preclude the possibility of forms of social differentiation (Graeber & Wengrow, 2021). Settlements were composed of monocellular roundhouses that defined the architecture of the period, alongside silos and other auxiliary facilities, succeeding the ephemeral architecture of the Early Chalcolithic (Steel, 2004, p. 87). Subsistence consisted of horticulture and animal husbandry, alongside the hunting and gathering of wild resources (Klinkenberg & Düring, 2022, p. 40). Material culture during the Early Chalcolithic and Middle Chalcolithic is best represented by Red-on-White ware (RW), on which painted designs became increasingly complex and elaborate during the Middle Chalcolithic (Bolger, 1991; Bolger, 2013). Of the most distinct aspects of Chalcolithic material culture are picrolite figurines and pendants that reached a fluorescence during the Middle Chalcolithic, wherein the acclaimed cruciform type constituted an island-wide symbol (Peltenburg, 1991b, p. 114). These figurines and pendants often occur within mortuary contexts, especially within the graves of sub-adults (Peltenburg et al., 2019).

By the turn of the third millennium BCE, the Late Chalcolithic represented a combination of continuities and discontinues with the preceding Middle Chalcolithic. While

Middle Chalcolithic curvilinear architecture and subsistence remained largely intact, new ceramics, overseas connections, and socio-political relations defined the period. Standardization and regional variability of ceramics during the Late Chalcolithic indicate increasingly organized production above the household level (Hadjigavriel, 2021, p. 83). New ceramic forms, such as long-spouted vessels (Fig. 1a) reflect new food practices around the consumption of liquids, possibly alcohol (Crewe, 2015, p. 135). RW was replaced by monochrome wares, such as the Red-and-Black-Stroked-Burnished ware (RB/B), that exhibit thinner, finer, and harder fabrics, differential firing techniques, and surface decorations such as knobs, vertical ribs, and face designs (Kouka, 2009, p. 34; Bolger, 2013, p. 4; Hadjigavriel, 2021, p. 82). The new shapes and production techniques of long narrow spouts and relief decorations present strong parallels with West Anatolia (Fig. 1b), wherein a shift to red-and-black monochrome ware also occurred in the early third millennium BCE (Hadjigavriel, 2021) and long-spouted vessels, particularly cut-away spouted vessels are diagnostic of EBA Anatolia (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 65). Moreover, Peltenburg and Bolger (2014) argue that the shift to thinner and harder fabrics in Cyprus follows a broader "Aegean/Anatolian metalizing pottery tradition" (Crewe, 2015, p. 134). Bolger (2013) has argued that RB/B is also closely comparable to Khirbet Kerak ware from the Levant (p. 4). Hence, Late Chalcolithic ceramic data reflects Cypriot material culture articulating with broader inter-regional trends, evidencing connectivity between potters in West and/or Southeast Anatolia/the Levant.

Figure 1. (Left to right) RB/B spouted vessels featuring circular bosses below the spout from the Paphos Museum, Cyprus (photo by Jack W. Tillman) and distribution of circular bosses on EBA Anatolian and Late Chalcolithic Cypriot pottery (Peltenburg, 2007, fig. 2).

The ceramic data for interaction and foreign inspiration is corroborated by other aspects of material culture evidencing contact between Cyprus and the mainland during the Middle and Late Chalcolithic. In Middle Chalcolithic cemeteries of Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas, faience beads were recovered from grave good assemblages, which were

imports from overseas (Peltenburg et al., 2019, p. 231-2). Metallurgical data shows that Middle Chalcolithic metals are typically personal adornments produced of native coppers, whereas by the Late Chalcolithic, metals are typically fashioned into small tools (Peltenburg, 2011, p. 8) produced from both native copper and copper with tin alloys of likely Anatolian or Levantine origin, e.g., the axe from a Late Chalcolithic cache at Chlorakas-Palloures (Düring et al., 2018). Other imports and foreign-inspired material culture from the Late Chalcolithic includes stamp seals from Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Lemba-Lakkous (Peltenburg, 1998), comparable to stamp seals from EBA Tarsus (Goldmann, 1956). In addition, picrolite cruciform figurines wane in production during the Late Chalcolithic, replaced by new personal adornments such as spurred annular pendants recovered from Kissonerga-Mosphilia—a pendant of annular form featuring a spur or hanger motif—comparable to West Anatolia ring idols (Kouka, 2008, p. 35) and shell pendants from sites in Southeast Anatolia like Tell Bi'a and Hacınebi (Bolger, 2013, p. 10). Evidence for Cypriot exports rather than imports includes material in Anatolia, such as RW and Black Slip and Combed ware sherds recovered from EBA II Tarsus in Southeast Anatolia (Goldman, 1956, p. 130; Goldman, 1965, p. 12-13, 130; Mellink, 1991; Bolger, 2013, p. 4). Thus, Cypriot-mainland interaction during the Late Chalcolithic was bidirectional.

In conjunction with overseas connections defining the period, Peltenburg (1991) has argued the Late Chalcolithic represents the emergence of increasingly hierarchical relations derived from the unprecedented amount of wealth recovered from Building 3 (or the "Pithos House") of Kissonerga-Mosphilia (p. 29), wherein 58 storage vessels were recovered from a single household. But considering the lack of evidence for wealth differentiation and assuming the socio-economic relation of the preceding Middle Chalcolithic persisted, rather than wealth accumulation by a single powerful household, the wealth of the Pithos House can just as easily be interpreted as evidence for inter-household communal storage (Düring, 2023). Moreover, current evidence suggests the Pithos House and the wealth therein were likely deliberately destroyed given the challenges of burning down Chalcolithic buildings (Düring, 2023). Thus, if the wealth did belong to a single household, the destruction of the household wealth indicates material inequalities did not persist and material hierarchies were ephemeral (Düring, 2023).

2.1.2 Mortuary practices

Chalcolithic mortuary practices are typically intramural (Keswani, 2004, p. 37) with single inhumations in pit or scoop graves, often of sub-adults or young women, with few grave goods (Klinkenberg & Düring, 2022, p. 4). Before the Late Chalcolithic, pit graves with or without capstones, are the predominate burial type within settlements (Peltenburg et al., 1985; Bolger, 2013, p. 6). The major exception to this trend is the large Middle Chalcolithic extramural cemetery of Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas in the southwest of the island composed of pit/scoop graves typical of the period and the emergence of the novel rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tomb burial type (Peltenburg et al., 2019). Souskiou thus presents the first *secularly dated* rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs on the island before the Bronze Age. Most of the rock-cut tombs are principally vertical, with some widening towards the base to form a bell-shape. A few, such as Tomb 172 of Operation C (Fig. 2), feature a side chamber at the base of the central shaft with a chamber ceiling like the rock-cut chamber tombs of Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga-Mosphilia (discussed below). Also of note, the Souskiou cemeteries feature evidence of collective burial and secondary internments, evidencing the continuous reuse of tombs (Crewe, 2019). Whether or not this cemetery is a true anomaly without yet-to-be-discovered contemporary cemeteries, a precursor to Philia forms, or evidence of mainland contact, remains uncertain. Bolger (2013) suggests the rock-cut chamber tombs of late 4th millennium sites in the Levant, such as Early Bronze Age Jericho, present parallels with Souskiou (p. 7). While this can't be ruled out, grave assemblages and bodily treatment are distinctly Cypriot, and upon the Late Chalcolithic, rock-cut tombs re-emerge (Peltenburg et al., 1998). Hence, Souskiou represents the true advent of extramural cemeteries composed of rock-cut chamber tombs in Cyprus—mortuary practices that go on to define the Philia period.

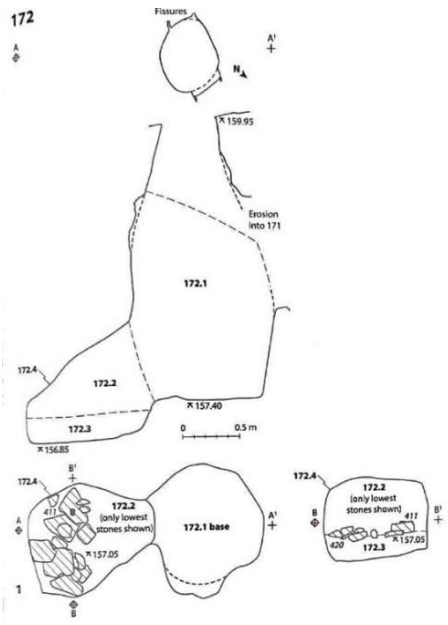


Figure 2. Tomb 172 from Operation C of Souskiou-Laona (Peltenburg et al., 2019, pl. 59).

While Souskiou presents the first secularly dated rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs in Cyprus, a likely earlier rock-cut chamber tomb that is not securely dated is worth discussing briefly. Outside the Ceramic Neolithic site of Philia-Drakos A in the Ovgos valley, a roughly circular rock-cut chamber tomb was recovered containing three burials, two located on a platform within the chamber, and a possible dromos evidenced with stamped clay flooring (Niklasson, 1991, p. 117). Karageorghis (1970) remarks no sherds or finds recovered from the tomb can provide an unambiguous date (p. 243). The sherds recovered from the collapse date to the Neolithic, but this would be expected relative to its proximity to and possible disturbance from Philia-Drakos A. Hence, if the tomb is associated with the latter site, it is the earliest manifestation of rock-cut chamber tombs in an extramural context on the island, rather than Souskiou (Say-Ötün, 2022, p. 25).

The next instance of chamber tombs is evidenced at the settlement of Kissonerga-Mosphilia during the Late Chalcolithic, representing a major break with previous deathways at the site. During P4, bottle-shaped earth-cut chamber tombs were recovered, the first of their kind outside of Souskiou and within an intramural context (Peltenburg, 1998) (Type 3 of Fig. 3). Most burials at Kissonerga are single internments, so Lunt et al. (1998) suggest the introduction of the chamber tomb in P4 was functional, meant to expand the pit grave to accommodate adults and multiple internments (p. 7). This follows the co-occurrence of this burial type and multiple burials evidenced at Souskiou. Tombs 505 and 526 present earth-cut

chamber tombs with multiple adult burials. Tomb 505 (Fig. 7a) contains four adults and features two connected chambers separated by a mud partition (Lunt et al, 1998, p. 71). Unlike Souskiou, this tomb presents a multi-chamber form, like the multi-chamber tombs of the Philia period that continued into the Bronze Age. Kissonerga also presents the first instance of a pithos burial during P5, the beginning of the Philia period (Type 4 of Fig. 3) (Lunt et al., 1998, p. 72). Of the two pithoi burials recovered, tomb 504 contained a subadult (Lunt et al., 1998, p. 72), similar to intramural jar burials of sub-adults in Anatolia (Wheeler, 1974, p. 416).

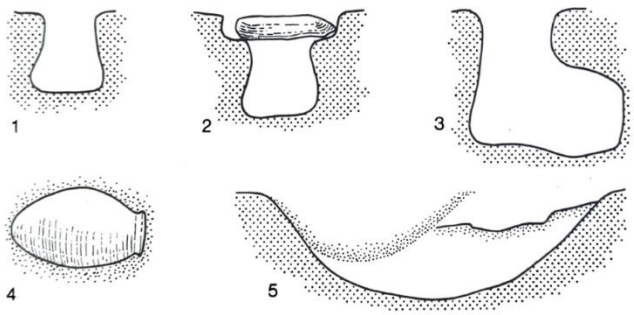


Figure 3. Burial types of Kissonerga-Mosphilia: (1) pit grave, (2) pit grave with capstone, (3) chamber tomb, (4) pithos grave, and (5) scoop grave (Lunt et al., 1998, fig. 4.1).

Hence, the Late Chalcolithic was a time in which connectivity with the mainland was gradually increasing, rather than abruptly surging upon the advent of the Philia period. The shift towards monochrome ceramics, pouring vessels, foreign-inspired material culture, import of metal, and novel burial types all reflect this new receptivity with the mainland. All of these changes observed between the Middle Chalcolithic and Late Chalcolithic are comparable in magnitude to the discontinuities between the Late Chalcolithic and Philia period, and therefore, it is suggested, that they both can be conceptualized as belonging to a common long-term process of inter-regional interaction with its beginning in the late 4th millennium BCE and substantially in the early to mid-third millennium BCE (Bolger, 2013). What's important to note is that the changes related to connectivity did not usher in a wholesale transformation of Cypriot society during the Late Chalcolithic, rather foreign elements were conservatively selected while much of Chalcolithic lifeways were retained. It is only by the Philia period Cyprus' degree of connectivity fundamentally transforms the cultural milieu of the island.

2.2 Philia period Cyprus

2.2.1 Settlement data and material culture

By the mid-third millennium BCE, the increasing connectivity of the Late Chalcolithic period resulted in the Philia period, wherein all aspects of society in Cyprus transformed and began to articulate with inter-regional trends in ceramics, metallurgy, and mortuary practices (Fig. 4).

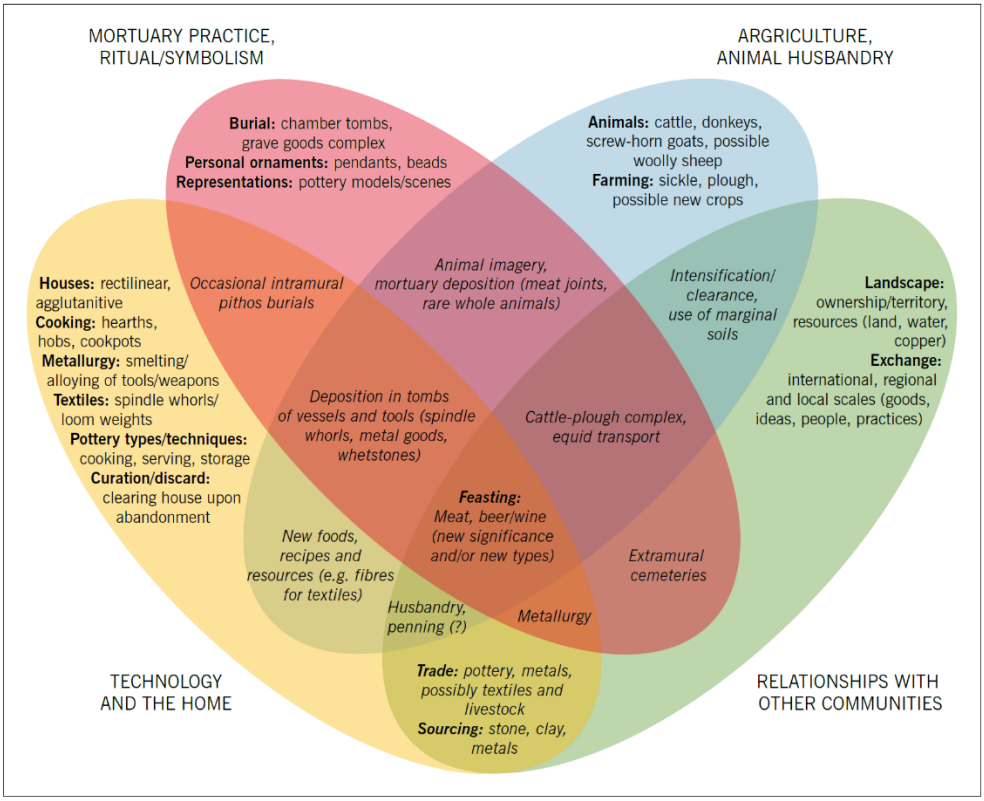


Figure 4. Ven diagram depicting material and social changes occurring during the third millennium BCE in Cyprus (Crewe, 2014, fig. 1).

Roughly after 2500/2400 BCE, the Philia period is defined by the diagnostic red monochrome ware known as Red Polished Philia ware (RPP), which establishes the ceramic trajectory to the Eary and Middle Cypriot periods (Frankel & Webb, 1999, p. 4). RPP ware follows the trend of red-slipped monochrome burnished wares in West Anatolia that continue into the EBA (Bachhuber, 2014, p. 143; Fidan et al., 2015, p. 65). In a study by Dikomitou-

Eliadou (2013), 75% of RPP sampled derived from a common source located on the north coast and present a high degree of homogeneity. Hence, the island became highly interconnected at this time, wherein the use of RPP became ubiquitous, but this shared material culture does not imply ethnic homogeneity—pots don't equal people (Rathje & Murphy, 2001; Knapp, 2001). The most characteristic Philia ceramic form is the cut-away spouted pitcher (Fig. 5) representing an evolution of the (potentially alcoholic) drinking practices associated with RB/B spouted vessels during the Late Chalcolithic. The cut-away spouted pitcher in Cyprus is closely comparable to the Anatolian cut-away spouted pitcher of the EBA I-II that spread throughout the mainland during the EBA II period (Bachhuber, 2014; Şahoğlu, 2005).

Figure 5. Red Polished Philia ware cut-away spouted vessels from the Levantis Municipal Museum of Nicosia, Cyprus (photo by Jack W. Tillman).

Of the most defining features of the Philia period was the significant increase in metallurgical production. Settlements are established within the cupriferous zone of Troodos foothills in previously uninhabited areas, which indicates the search for copper (Frankel & Webb, 1999, p. 7). Metal objects, such as toggle pins, spiral earrings, and blades become widespread, occurring across the island in mortuary assemblages (Keswani, 2004, p. 36). Lead isotope and typological analysis indicate these copper and bronze objects are composed of copper and tin that derive from a mixture of ores from local, Anatolian, and Cycladic sources (Webb et al., 2006, p. 276), revealing Cyprus' articulation in emerging inter-regional networks of procurement and trade of ores and/or finished ingots. The tin, which is absent in Cyprus, potentially derives from Göltepe-Kestel, the earliest specialized mining site in

Anatolia dating to the EBA, tentatively interpreted as a tin mine (Bachhuber, 2015, p. 42). Many of the metal objects that become diagnostic of the Philia period, such as copper spiral personal adornments and toggle pins first occur during the Late Chalcolithic, such as the metal objects recovered from L4 Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Peltenburg, 1991a), indicating the intensification of metallurgical production during the Philia period developed out of long-term process with its beginning in the Chalcolithic.

The curvilinear architecture of the Chalcolithic period is succeeded by agglutinative rectilinear architecture evidenced by the Philia period deposit at Marki-Alonia (Webb, 2006) and Early Cypriot deposits at Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003). Presently Marki-Alonia is the only site evidencing Philia period architecture, thus the degree of overlap between Bronze Age rectilinear architecture and the Chalcolithic roundhouse tradition still requires investigation. Some authors posit this shift to agglutinative rectilinear architecture follows the re-organization of familial units, but this is ultimately uncertain (Knapp, 2008, p. 80).

Regarding subsistence, the re-introduction of cattle and the development of plough-based agriculture resulted in new agricultural practices that defined new relationships with the land and the intensification of production as argued by Knapp (2008, p. 80). In respect to cattle, it can be inferred for a biologically viable population to be transported to Cyprus there must have been some degree of intentional settlement, wherein either Cypriots and/or mainlanders organized the movement of cattle.

New textile technologies are evidenced during the Philia period like terracotta biconical spindle whorls with striking similarities to Anatolian counterparts and the earliest known loom weights from Philia period deposits at Marki-Alonia (Bachhuber, 2014, p. 148). Though the expansion of spindle whorls is often discussed as an innovation in textile practices, considering the possibility of the use of wooden spindle whorls, no change in textile production would have occurred, thus some caution is required (Muti, 2022, p. 26).

Concerning personal adornments and figurines, the waning popularity of picrolite cruciform figurines during the Late Chalcolithic (Peltenburg, 1991a) was succeeded by the spurred annular pendant. During the Philia period, unlike the shell pendants from Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga-Mosphilia, spurred annular pendants during the Philia period began being produced in picrolite, representing a resurgence in the valorization of this material for pendant production. In Philia period grave good assemblages at cemeteries like Sotira-

Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003) and Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi (Hennessy et al., 1988), huge caches of picrolite spurred annular pendants were recovered (Fig. 6). Some of these pendants demonstrate a continuity not just in use of the picrolite material from the Chalcolithic, but also in the pendant's aesthetic vocabulary. The spurred annular pendants of Sotira-Kaminoudhia are composed of a tri-lobate form, recalling the tri-lobate anthropomorphic figurines of the Chalcolithic period. But most pendants lack this tri-lobe form, and only feature the ring shape and spur motif, more closely reflecting the form of EBA Anatolian ring idols, demonstrating differential reception to mainland aesthetics, discussed in more detail below.

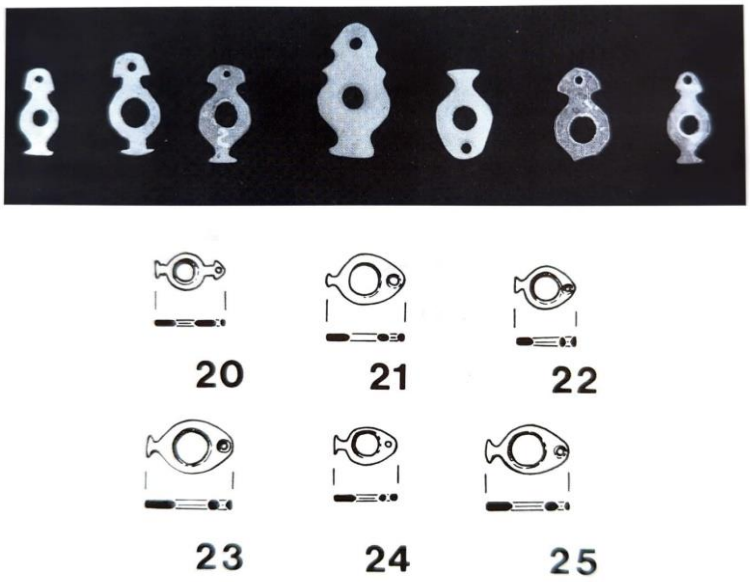


Figure 6. (top to bottom) Picrolite spurred annular pendants from Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003, Pl. 6.4a.) and Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi (Hennessy et al. 1988, fig. 20-25).

2.2.2 Mortuary practices

The shift in mortuary practice during the Philia period was significant, wherein the tradition of modest intramural single inhumation pit graves of the Chalcolithic gave way to the emergence of large extramural cemeteries composed of rock-cut chamber tombs containing multiple burials and featuring metal-rich grave good assemblages (Keswani, 2004, p. 37). During the Philia period, extramural cemeteries appear to be the most popular location for burial, presently no intramural burials have been recovered outside of P5 Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Lunt et al., 1998) and Marki-Alonia (Webb, 2006). Hence, most Philia period mortuary data derives from extramural cemeteries.

Some of these cemeteries were massive, such as Dhenia-Kafkalla described by the excavator as a “vast necropolis” (Astrom & Wright, 1962; Keswani, 2004). Within these large cemeteries rock-cut chamber tombs predominate and vary greatly in construction site-to-site. While most are modest in size and reflect the rock-cut chamber tombs of the Chalcolithic period, some demonstrate truly unprecedented ingenuity and grandeur, never before seen in the mortuary record of Cyprus. Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra located on the north coast present massive rectilinear tombs containing multiple chambers cut into the bedrock, featuring long dromoi paved with hard lime plaster (Hennesy, 1988). Within the dromoi of Tomb 1 and 2, rectilinear benches cut into the rock flank the stomion. Unlike tombs of the Chalcolithic period, a much higher degree of labor was invested in the construction of these tombs. As well, this is the first instance in Cypriot prehistory in which mortuary infrastructure was constructed for the living, constituting a designated place for funerary activity.

The advent of intramural pithos graves during the Philia period marks a novel mortuary practice without antecedent in the Chalcolithic. The aforementioned jar burials of Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Lunt et al., 1998, p. 72) and the intramural pithos graves of Marki-Alonia (Frankel & Webb, 2006, p. 70) are the only intramural burials evidenced during the Philia period, both containing sub-adults.

Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra and intramural pithos graves are emblematic of the novelty of Philia period burial types, but other Philia period burial types, such as the rock-cut chamber tombs from Sotira-Kaminoudhia and Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou (Fig. 7b) featuring relatively small globular chambers and narrow dromoi present more continuity with Chalcolithic rock-cut chambers tombs of Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas and Kissonerga-Mosphilia. As Lunt et al. (1998) argue, the advent of rock-cut chamber tombs during P4 Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Fig. 7a) was an innovation to accommodate more internments (p. 7), and Douglas (2021) finds throughout the Cypriot Bronze Age the MNI increases gradually, while rock-cut chamber tomb complexes expand and their number of chambers (p. 30). Hence, the shift towards collective burial and rock-cut chamber tombs begins in the Chalcolithic and becomes widespread during the Philia period and Cypriot Bronze Age.

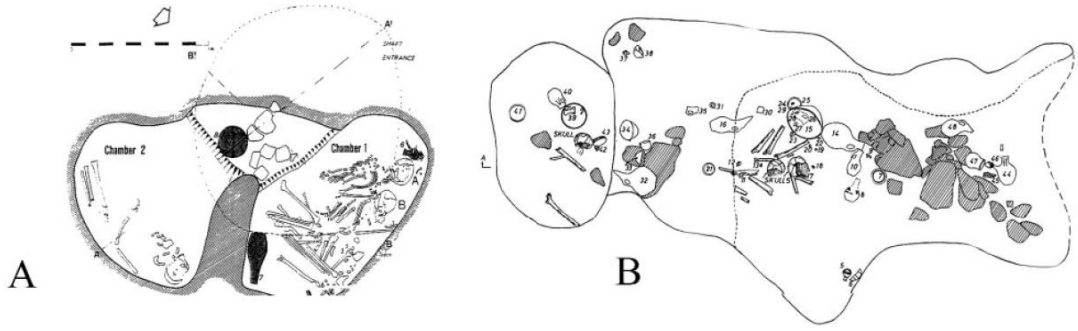


Figure 7. Tomb 505 of Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Peltenburg et al., 1998; Bolger, 2013, fig. 4) and Tomb 2 of Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 76; Bolger, 2013, fig. 4).

The sacrifice of large quantities of metal grave goods, typically of copper or bronze, also distinguishes Philia period mortuary practices. Unlike the Chalcolithic where metal grave goods are rare, Philia period tombs feature rich metal grave good assemblages including blades, razors, toggle pins, and spiral earrings and armlets (Keswani, 2004, p. 36). The unequal distribution of metal grave goods, in addition to the grand scale of some Philia period tombs like Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra, suggest the emergence of Cypriot "elites," but Keswani (2004) points out, that the metal grave goods present in these tombs are not qualitatively different from those in less elaborate tombs, they rather vary in their quantity (p. 83). The quantities of metals within tombs instead of reflecting the status of the individual interred, rather evidence the strategic display of metal sacrifice by mourners during mortuary ceremonies used to negotiate status among the living (Keswani, 2004, p.81). Moreover, if the mechanism of status is wealth sacrifice, this would negate the accumulation of persistent material inequalities typical of stratified societies.

Thus, while Philia period mortuary practices at first glance appear to represent a stark break with the Chalcolithic, featuring extramural cemeteries, metal-rich grave good assemblages, and elaborate rock-cut chamber tombs, the practice of multiple internments, rock-cut chamber tombs, and extramural cemeteries first occur in the Chalcolithic though rarely. In this way, Philia period mortuary practices present both continuities with the past and innovation.

2.3 Western and Central Anatolia

2.3.1 Settlement data and material culture

Traditionally the chronology of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) in West Anatolia has followed the Aegean convention of "EBAI-III" (Bachhuber, 2015, p. 24), but this chronology has become more refined to follow changes particular to Anatolia. The beginning of the Anatolian Bronze Age occurs at the end of the fourth millennium BCE, referred to as the "Transitional Period into the Bronze Age" (3200-300/2900 BCE), first introduced by Efe (1994). This transition period overlaps with the EBA I period (3000/2900-2700 BCE), followed by the EBA II period (2700-2400 BCE), dividing the first half of the third millennium BCE.

During the transitional period, Bachhuber (2015) observes numerous continuities between the Late Chalcolithic and EBA I period, e.g., radial enclosures, hand-made dark-burnished pottery, warp-weighted looms, extramural cemeteries, and tin-bronze metallurgy (p. 25). The significant discontinuity Bachhuber interprets as the defining feature of the beginning of the EBA is a substantial demographic shift and increase in archaeologically visible sites (Tbl. 1), which he suggests relates to a shift in the use of mudbrick rather than wattle and daub architecture (Bachhuber, 2015, p. 25). During the Late Chalcolithic in West and Central Anatolia, there was a decline in the settlement record, possibly indicating a population decline (Özdoğan, 2023, p. 11), or a shift to transhumance. So, in addition to new building materials, the spike in newly found settlements during the EBA I period also leads Bachhuber to argue for a population increase resulting from innovations in farming productivity and the advent of extensive horticulture (Bachhuber, 2015, p. 25), or as Özdoğan (2013) suggests, an influx of migrants (p. 30), but neither processual nor diffusionist explanation likely accounts for all causalities.

	Aceramic Neolithic 8000–7000 BC	Ceramic Neolithic 7000–6000 BC	Early Chalcolithic 6000–4500 BC	Late Chalcolithic 4500–3000 BC	EB I–II 3000–2500 BC	EB III 2500–2200 BC
Konya Plain, Çarşamba Fan[a]	6	1	15	15	38	7
Lakes District, Sagalassos Hinterland[b]	0	3	6	5	12	0
Lycia, Elmali Plain[c]	0	3	0	8	11	4*
The Troad[d]					30+	1

[a] Boyer *et al.* 2006: graph 2.
[b] Vanhaverbeke and Waelkens 2003: graph 2.
[c] Eslick 2009: 214, p1.1.
[d] Bieg *et al.* 2009: p1.1; S. Blum, pers. comm.
* Including Karataş which was abandoned early in EB III.

Table 1. Regional survey results showing the decline between EBAI-II and EBAIII (Bachhuber, 2014, tbl. 8.2).

There is considerable regional variability during the EBA I-II, the "Cultural Regions" argued by Efe (2003) defined by architecture, pottery, and figurine/idols from the transitional period in West Anatolia continue into the EBA I and become more distinct (Sari, 2021, p. 107). Architecture varies along the coast and inland areas; central courtyards, or the "Anatolian Settlement Plan" (Korfmann, 1983), and "Megara" became widespread throughout inland regions of Anatolia (e.g., the architecture of Demircihöyük), while individual rectilinear dwellings divided by streets where more common on the coast (e.g., Bakla Tepe and Liman Tepe) (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 67).

Settlement patterns present increasing differentiation. New types of settlements emerge during the EBA, such as Göltepe-Kestel, the first specialized mining sites in the upland tectonic landscape of South-central Anatolia (Bachhuber, 2015, p. 42), indicating increasing organization in the procurement of metals, specifically tin for the production of bronze. Yalçin (2000) suggests that the EBA marks the beginning of "regional production centers," wherein ores are smelted at specialized mining sites like Göltepe-Kestel and then distributed to centers in distinction to Chalcolithic procurement strategies, where ores would be brought to settlements and then processed (p. 26). It is this hypothesis of an emerging practice of metal prospection that many researchers argue was the driving force for Anatolian migration to Cyprus during the Philia period (Frankel & Webb, 1999).

Regarding material culture, at the very beginning of the EBA during the transitional period, dark-burnished pottery (except in the southwest) gives way to red-slipped and burnished pottery, featuring grooving, fluting, and relief decoration (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 65).

Spouted jugs of the Late Chalcolithic develop into the distinctive cut-away pitchers that define the EBA (Fig. 8) (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 65). As mentioned earlier, this vessel shape provides the best comparison for Philia period cut-away spouted pitchers in Cyprus, and though they are not perfect parallels, Mellink (1991) argues the difference between Cypriot period and Anatolian cut-away spouted vessels follows the same degree of variation found between different EBA I-II sites in West Anatolia (p. 173). Thus, by the turn of the third millennium BCE, both West Anatolia and Cyprus follow similar changes in drinking practices.

Figure 8. Cut-away spouted vessel from Karataş settlement (Bachhuber, 2014, fig. 8.2; Eslick, 2019, pl. 90e).

Anatolian ring idols, like Cypriot spurred annular pendants, are composed of a ring form and spur motif, but are distinguished by their production from metals (copper and lead), they are typically cast, and the spur is typically more emphasized forming a T-shape featuring a longitudinally oriented perforation (Fig. 9) (Keskin, 2008). They first occur in Anatolia during the latter half of the fourth millennium BCE (e.g., in Late Chalcolithic deposits at Ege Gübre, İkiztepe, and the Trabzon area), but become more well represented by the early third millennium BCE (Keskin, 2008). The pendants are likely introduced from Southeastern Europe via the Aegean and Black Sea littoral when they stop occurring in the Balkans after the mid-fourth millennium BCE (Zimmermann, 2007a, p. 26), reflecting increasing contact between West and Central Anatolia and neighboring regions. By the beginning of EBA, ring idols develop a unique “Anatolian type” (Mehofer, 2014, p. 472) distinct from their earlier Balkan and contemporary Cypriot counterparts, occurring in both mortuary and domestic

contexts at sites like Bakla Tepe (Keskin, 2008, p. 87), Aphrodisias-Pekmez (Joukowsky 1986, p. 288), Sardis (Mehofer, 2012, p. 472) and Poliochni (Keskin, 2008, p. 89). Kouka (2009) considers Anatolian ring idols and Cypriot spurred annular pendants as fundamentally related, reflecting elite Anatolian metalworking merchants in Cyprus that use these pendants to retain their Anatolian identity abroad (p. 35), but this account ignores the distinctly local nature of spurred annular pendants in Cyprus (e.g., picrolite material and tri-lobate form) and how they articulate with a local material and aesthetic values. Thus, these pendant traditions are certainly related, and reflect inter-regional communication, but each pendant type communicates differently within their local contexts and depending on their audience.

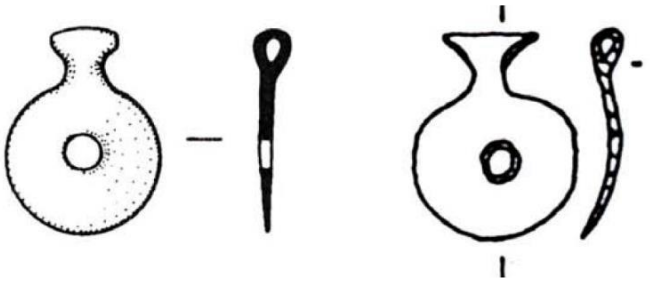


Figure 9. Two lead ring idols from Bakla Tepe (Keskin, 2008, fig. 1-2).

During the EBA II period, the cultural regions of the EBA I in West Anatolia remain stable (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 70). Alongside continued regionalization, Finad et al. (2015) argue the architecture and other findings of the EBA II period indicate increasing "political power" and the emergence of a ruling elite (p. 70). This inference derives from the expansion of defensive infrastructure and fortifications, the continuation of the trend of upper and lower towns, which during the EBAIII period, would develop into the "citadel," constituting an independent urban trajectory from Mesopotamia (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 70). But, during the EBA I-II period, Bachhuber (2015) argues these upper town or central complexes that emerged at the beginning of the third millennium BCE (e.g., the settlement of Karataş, Troy, etc.) present considerable ambiguity regarding how they materialize socio-political relations (p. 107). Bachhuber (2015) argues these complexes alone cannot suffice as evidence for emergent elite relative to the absence of evidence of exclusionary social practices associated with prestige goods, and that they just as easily could be interpreted as socially integrative, corporate institutions that follow the social logic of the village (p. 107).

Though there is considerable ambiguity regarding socio-political organization during the EBA I-II period, the transition into the EBA III ushered in the beginning of Anatolian

"urbanism" and potential political centralization with the advent of "politico-economic and religious architectural complexes" (Kouka, 2007, p. 33). Leading up to the EBA III period there is widespread site abandonment, destruction at sites like EBA IIB Tarsus and XIIIa Beycesultan (Kouka, 2007, p. 36), and subsequent nucleation in various centers (Buchhuber, 2015, p. 107). Şahoğlu (2005) argues the political centralization and nucleation into centers resulted from the development of inter-regional trade networks focused on the procurement and transport of metal across Anatolia known as the "Anatolian Trade Network" (Şahoğlu, 2005) or "Great Caravan route" (Fig. 10) (Efe, 2007), linking Western, Central, and Southeastern Anatolian, as well as Syria and Mesopotamia (p. 340). Proxies that evidence the integration into the Anatolian Trade Network include cut-away spouted vessels, two-handled cups, centralized citadel complexes, and metal-centric economies (Şahoğlu, 2005). However, the degree of political power assumed from large-scale infrastructure and trade alone is dubious and relies heavily on unilineal evolutionary arguments towards urbanism typically applied to Mesopotamia. Özdoğan (2023) points out that "urban" centers in EBA Anatolia lack monumentality, palaces, and temples and are comparatively smaller relative to Mesopotamia (p. 28). Thus, by the mid-third millennium BCE, Anatolia did see increasing connectivity, communities became more nucleated, and various centers had large-scale infrastructure, but like the EBA I-II period, the evocation of elites is not necessary to explain greater degrees of labor mobilization and cooperation (Graeber & Wengrow, 2021).

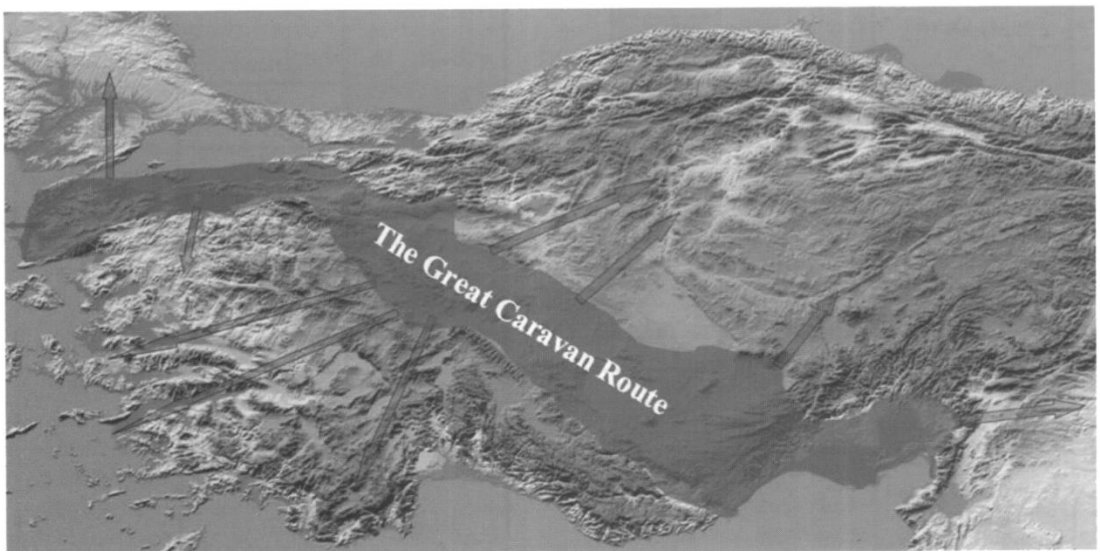


Figure 10. Map of areas involved in the "Great Caravan Route" or "Anatolian Trade Network" during the EBA III period (Efe, 2007, fig. 17a).

2.3.2 Mortuary practices

During the EBA, West and Central Anatolia, like Cyprus, saw the expansion of extramural cemeteries, some quite large containing as many as 500 internments (Massa & Şahoğlu, 2011, p. 164). The most typical form of burial at this time is the pithos grave, wherein the body is interred within a ceramic vessel and deposited into a pit (Wheeler, 1974, p. 415). Pithos graves typically occur in extramural cemeteries, rarely overlapping and occasionally organized in approximate rows featuring grave markers and retaining walls (e.g., Karataş-Semayük) facilitating their re-opening to inter more individuals later on (Fig. 11) (Wheeler, 1974, p. 417). These cemeteries alongside pithos graves also feature pit graves and cist tombs, the latter denoting a pit lined with stone slabs. Though Wheeler (1974) considers pithos grave cemeteries as the most characteristic of Anatolian funerary customs (p. 418), cemeteries often present mixed burial types in both the Western and Central regions (Messa and Şahoğlu, 2011, p. 167). Thus, Anatolian mortuary practices are highly variable and heterogeneous, reflecting differential treatment within the population.

Figure 11. Pithos graves at Karataş-Semayük featuring surface markers and retaining walls (Mellink, 1969, fig. 1-2).

Intramural burials typical of the Chalcolithic continue into the EBA, but instead of adults, infants and sub-adults are often interred within settlements (Wheeler, 1974, p. 418). Sub-adults are frequently buried within small pithos graves, either within jars or pots, at sites

with known extramural cemeteries for adults, e.g., Kusura and Beycesultan (Wheeler, 1974, p. 418).

Burials are often accompanied by grave goods, like pottery vessels, jewelry like ring idols, tools such as spindle whorls and toggle pins, and especially metal goods such as blades that often co-occur with individuals featuring injuries (Messa and Şahoğlu, 2011, p. 166).

By the EBA III period, during the end of the third millennium BCE, large stone-built cemeteries begin occurring in Central Anatolia like the "Royal Tombs" of Alaca Höyük featuring the richest metal grave good assemblages at the time in Anatolia (Koşay, 1944). But these large stone-built chamber tombs are almost completely absent during first half of third millennium BCE, and the few that are evidenced, like at Karataş-Semayük (Mellink, 1969) and Harmanören (Özsait, 2000), are distinct and don't contain rich grave good assemblages like later stone-built chamber tombs.

2.4 Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria

2.4.1 Settlement data and material culture

In Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria, the beginning of the EBA is defined entirely differently from Western and Central Anatolia. During the Late Chalcolithic, by the mid-fourth millennium BCE, the influence of the powerful urban centers of southern Mesopotamia reached Southeast Anatolia and the Upper Euphrates—this influence is known as the "Uruk expansion" (Rothman & Fuensata, 2003, p. 583). The influence of Southern Mesopotamia resulted in the development of large administrative urban centres featuring palatial economies in Southeast Anatolia at sites such as Samsat and Arslantepe (Rothman & Fuensata, 2003). The advent of the EBA is defined by the end of this period of urbanism, the collapse of the Mesopotamian-style settlement hierarchy of the Late Chalcolithic, and the establishment of newly founded, dispersed, small-scale settlements across the region (Ökse, 2011, p. 267). At Arslantepe, by the turn of the millennium, a fire destroyed the central palatial complex and was replaced by ephemeral seasonal settlements likely constructed by nomadic pastoralists (Frangipane, 2012, p. 981). Rothman and Fuensata (2003) have argued this "collapse" did not occur uniformly, and at many sites, the urban palatial systems of the Late Chalcolithic continued into the EBA (p. 598). Hence, the urban centers that emerged during the EBA III period, like Titriş Höyük, Carchemish, and Tilbeşar, resulted from the

political-economic foundations of the EBA I-II period (Rothman and Fuensata, 2003, p. 598) in which continuities with the Late Chalcolithic may have played a major factor.

Regarding material culture, the fluid and overlapping ceramic zones of the fourth millennium BCE gave way to distinct ceramic zones distinguishing east and west of the Euphrates by the EBA (Lebeau, 2000; Rothman & Fuensata, 2003, p. 585). Moreover, by the turn of the millennium, contemporary with the collapse of the Late Chalcolithic settlement hierarchy, the material culture horizon of the Karaz culture from Transcaucasia begins occurring across East Anatolia with the newly founded sites, extending south along the Southeast Taurus Range, and down into Palestine (Özdoğan, 2023, p. 13). Thus, the red and black burnished ceramics of the Karaz, along with the founding of ephemeral camps across Southeast Anatolia have been interpreted as the outcome of migration from Transcaucasia into East Anatolia (Özdoğan, 2023). The Karaz culture is often related to the particularities of the grave good assemblages at Alaca Höyük (Koşay, 1944).

Hence, the beginning of the EBA I-II in Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria is characterized by similar social processes as Western and Central Anatolia. Like the West, the EBA period in the Southeast is marked by a significant demographic shift, e.g., disjuncture with Southern Mesopotamia and an influx of Transcaucasian influence, but the regions differ greatly with respect to the continuities and discontinuities of socio-political organization at various centers.

2.4.2 Mortuary practices

Mortuary practice in Southeast Anatolia during the EBA is by far the most diverse throughout the third millennium BCE. Two large-scale reviews of burial type variability done by Carter and Parker (1995) and Cooper (2007) demonstrate this mortuary variability in the Upper Euphrates of Northern Syria and Southeast Anatolia. Like West and Central Anatolia, both intramural and extramural mortuary contexts are present (Cooper, 2007). Burial types evidenced in this region include pit graves, pithos graves, cists tombs, stone-built chamber tombs, rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs, monumental chamber tombs, and tumuli (Cooper, 2007). The most common burial types of the EBA I-II period are cist tombs for adults and pithos graves for sub-adults (Rothman and Fuensata, 2003, p. 603). By the latter end of the third millennium BCE, sites like as Jerablus Tahtani and Tell Banat, feature

monumental shaft-and-chamber tombs and tumuli, which denote tombs within giant earthen mounds.

Bolger (2013) observes rock-cut chamber tombs of the Middle Euphrates in Northern Syria, at sites like Halawa and Selenkahiye, present parallels with the rock-cut chamber tomb tradition of Chalcolithic, Philia period, and Early Bronze Age Cyprus (p. 7). Tombs in both regions feature multi-chamber forms and extramural contexts, but morphologically differ greatly, as will be discussed in more detail in chapter five.

2.5 Connectivity and models of Philia period Causality

2.5.1 Connectivity during the early to mid-third millennium BCE between Cyprus and Anatolia

In light of the general trends in Cyprus and Anatolia during the first half of the third millennium BCE discussed above, some basic observations regarding connectivity can be drawn. As noted by Peltenburg (2017) the ceramic data during the Cypriot Late Chalcolithic follows the changes in ceramic technology in EBA Western Anatolia, wherein Cypriot RB/B exhibits similar production techniques and surface decorations as the dark burnished pottery of West Anatolia, as well as becoming thinner and harder following the broader "Aegean/ Anatolian metalizing pottery tradition" (Crewe, 2015, p. 134). Ceramic forms in Cyprus began emphasizing pouring vessels and extended spouts, contemporary with the characteristic ceramic forms of the Anatolian EBA (Bachhuber, 2014). Alongside ceramic evidence for connectivity with West Anatolia, Bolger (2013) has demonstrated Chalcolithic Cyprus was also in contact with Southeast Anatolia and Syria, relative to RB/B comparing well with Khirbet Kerak ware and Chalcolithic sherds from Cyprus recovered from EBA II Tarsus (p. 4). Metallurgical data from the Chalcolithic, at sites like Chlorakas-Palloures, demonstrate metals of Anatolian and/or Levantine origins existing alongside an indigenous industry (Düring et al., 2018, p. 20). In respect to other classes of material culture, faience was imported to Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas (Peltenburg et al., 2019), and foreign-inspired material like stamp seals and spurred annular pendants indicate a general signature of Cypriot-mainland interaction (Peltenburg, 1998).

By the Philia period, all of these subtle markers of connectivity become fully expressed: Red Polished Philia ware is closely comparable to red slipped and burnished

Anatolian wares, Philia cut-away spouted pitchers articulate closely with Anatolian cut-away pitchers, Anatolian-inspired terracotta biconical spindle whorls emerge, the Cypriot consumption of metals increases and exchange intensified alongside Anatolia, cattle and donkeys are introduced to the island, rectilinear architecture emerged, spurred annular pendants compare to Anatolian ring idols, the expansion of extramural cemeteries and intramural jar burials and more all follow mainland Anatolian trends during the EBA I-II period, especially with the West and regions integrated into the Anatolian Trade Network.

Thus, it is clear that the developments of the Philia period emerged from a long-term process of receptivity to mainland practices and material culture throughout the whole of the first half of the third millennium BCE. Like during the Chalcolithic, foreign influence never "replaces" Cypriot material culture during the Philia period, as Knapp (2008) emphasized, Philia material is distinctly Cypriot and does not reflect any exact parallels with the mainland (p. 121-7). Rather, over the centuries, the way Cypriot material evidence connectivity is through the selective and differential adoption and transformation of mainland practices and material culture (Bolger, 2013, p. 11). Spurred annular pendants are an illustrative example of this process, wherein Philia period pendants feature a common set of motifs with Anatolian ring idols, but equally embody Cypriot values concerning material and form that connect them to Chalcolithic figurines and pendants. In this way, Cypriot spurred annular pendants are fundamentally hybridized and products of bidirectional interaction (Knap, 2008, p. 127), and it is suggested this metaphor can be extended to the whole of the Philia period cultural milieu in Cyprus.

How does this view articulate with other perspectives on the emergence of the Philia period in Cyprus throughout the history of the discourse?

2.5.2 Models of Philia period causality

To explain the novel suite of foreign-inspired innovations associated with the Philia period, researchers have often taken one of two major oppositional positions as defined by Knapp (2008, p. 103): that either (1) Philia period cultural elements are the outcome of migration/colonization from the mainland and local assimilation to migrant culture, or (2) Philia period cultural elements are the product of mostly internal evolutionary processes within Cyprus. The discourse on Philia period origins has roughly followed these two positions since Dikaios and Stewart disagreed on how to date and categorize Red Polished

Philia ware in the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV.1A*. Dikaios (1962) argued Philia material represented the very beginning of the Early Cypriot I period, antedating later Early Cypriot I material, and represents the signature of West Anatolian invaders who settled in Cyprus after pillaging Tarsus resulting in the EBA II-III "collapse" event (p. 202). Whereas Stewart (1962) viewed Philia material as a regional variant contemporary to the rest of Early Cypriot material rather than preceding it and geographically restricted to the central Ovgos valley, Early Cypriot I Larnaca, and Early Cypriot II Vounous (p. 269). Since this publication, researchers have elaborated and nuanced the "external" and "internal" models as theoretical perspectives changed over time, eventually giving rise to a third perspective that emphasized bidirectionality and hybridity between internal and external variables suggested by this study.

Catling (1971) modified Dikaios' diffusionist arguments and argued rather than West Anatolian invaders, the Philia were refugees escaping to Cyprus from EBA II-III turbulence in Anatolia (p. 808). Frankel and Webb (1999) moved away from the simple diffusionism of these earlier researchers but retained the essential argument of colonization by arguing that Anatolian migrants settled in Cyprus in search of copper resulting in a process of local assimilation to the migrant culture with which they conceptualize with Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, in which Philia period material reflects the embodied dispositions and habits of an Anatolian ethnic group and Cypriots assimilated to it (p. 103). Authors such as Knapp (2001) have critiqued this perspective arguing Philia material cannot evidence a particular ethnic identity, ethnic unity, or a direct parallel with Anatolian material that would indicate the origins of Philia period changes exclusively resulting from an intrusive migrant population (p. 103-10).

Researchers skeptical of a direct migration/colonization argument and disillusioned by diffusionism have theorized the Philia phenomenon as an outcome of entirely internal mechanisms within Cyprus through a principally processual lens. Manning (1993) and Knapp (2001) argued that Philia period material and the transition into the Bronze Age was the result of an entirely local process of cultural evolution driven by an emergent elite and the development of a prestige-good economy. But now most researchers acknowledge some degree of migration and/or foreign inspiration driven by long-distance interaction (Peltenburg et al., 1998) while acknowledging local Cypriot's active role in said connections.

This line of reasoning which emphasizes both local and foreign actors is best substantiated by Philia mortuary evidence. Keswani (2004) argues the metal-rich extramural

cemeteries evidence new ideologies involving competitive display and ancestor worship that likely derive from some level of Anatolian settlement and "fusion" between local and foreign practices (p. 81). Bolger (2013) goes a step further, focusing on the long-term evidence for interaction between Cyprus and the mainland throughout the late fourth and early to mid-third millennium BCE outlined in this chapter. In her view, rather than the Philia period representing a sudden influx of settlement or foreign inspiration, the mid-third millennium BCE reflects the outcome of a process of Cypriots' reception to and re-negotiation of mainland burial customs, ceramic, and metallurgical practices over the *longue durée* (Bolger, 2013). Knapp (2008) has also shifted towards this third perspective, wherein the local receptivity of Cypriots to mainland practices in conjunction with some degree of migration resulted in a *hybridized* Cypriot cultural milieu.

The view of Keswani (2004), Bolger (2013), and Knapp (2008) represents the rough hypothesis with which this study approaches mortuary data: that Philia period innovations in burial customs developed through a long-term process of interaction, through which Cypriots willfully re-negotiated and transformed mortuary rites already present on the island relative to new ideas and customs from Anatolia, whether introduced via direct migration or not.

How then *do* cultures "hybridize" during periods of interaction and under what circumstance? And most importantly for this study, how receptive are mortuary practices to this type of change? Are burial rites particularly conservative or unstable? How can anthropological data on mortuary practices help inform and delimit the range of possibilities within which mortuary practice can change over time?

3. Interaction and mortuary archaeology

3.1 Interaction and hybridity

Authors theorizing the role of interaction and hybridity in the transformation of Cypriot culture during the mid-third millennium BCE such as Knapp and Bolger have drawn from different disciplines of anthropology, sociology, and literary theory. Knapp (2008) draws from the robust literature of post-colonial studies to consider models of indigenous agency and hybridity in colonial situations and Bolger (2013) utilized the concept of receptivity from German literary theory as a metaphor for the active role of interpretation of de-contextualized material culture and practices introduced from abroad. What these theoretical borrowings assume are the general premises of Bourdieu's (1977) practice theory and Gidden's (1984) notion of structuration, wherein the human agent is the determining cause of history, mediating between top-down inherited social structures that dispose agents to particular habits (*habitus*), and agents' active role in producing and re-producing those structures bottom-up through their own choices. In this way, the agent both creates and is created by social structure, i.e., social structure is "both [the] medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices" (Giddens, 1979, p. 5). This practice-based school of thought emphasizes the individual agent's capacity to negotiate and redefine social structure based on their choices, interests, and sometimes, creativity—social structure ultimately is dependent on and constituted by the practices of agents. In contact scenarios, locals and migrants are introduced to novel practices encountered between groups with which they possess the capacity to integrate and transform into their lifeways, introducing new practices and ideas that subtly reshape their communities' social structure.

Knapp borrows post-colonial author Homi Bhabha's (1985) notion of cultural *hybridity* which he uses to deconstruct the dualism between the categories of local and migrant many authors assume when theorizing colonial or contact scenarios. Cultural hybridity denotes the "in-betweenness" that results from ambivalence and ambiguity regarding cultural differences when neither local nor migrant culture dominates (Knapp, 2008, p. 58). The fusion and mixture of practices and identities between groups that can be described as hybridizing results from the constant negotiation of differences and similarities between groups in contact that over time break down (Knapp, 2008, p. 59). In these circumstances, the inherited social structure any one group has inherited now exists within a multi-cultural landscape, wherein the recursive pattern of tradition begetting tradition is

disrupted, and through ambivalence and creativity, new traditions are acted out. When assessing abominable colonial apartheid systems in the recent past and present, when one group, particularly migrants/settlers, possess a monopoly of violence and cultural hegemony, this perspective is not as useful, but when describing specific migration events in prehistory, where no group is materially or politically dominant, the process of cultural hybridization provides great utility in understanding how incremental adjustments to practices generation after generation can result in the ethnogenesis of entirely novel cultural arrangements.

It is suggested the long-term process of reception to foreign material reflected by Chalcolithic material in Cyprus marks the beginning of this hybridizing process which by the Philia period resulted in the breaking down of boundaries between local Chalcolithic Cypriots and Anatolians with which they were in contact and potentially co-habiting with at certain sites. This breaking down of boundaries is reflected by the idiosyncrasy of Philia period material culture, wherein Philia period ceramics, mortuary practices, and personal adornments are distinct from both Chalcolithic and mainland Anatolian material.

While the general model of cultural hybridization may hold for certain domains of life, how can it be applied to the particular social dynamics of mortuary practice? This requires a brief review of the general variables relevant to mortuary ceremony to answer questions such as whether or not mortuary practice is uniquely resistant to change, or whether or not mortuary practice is unstable and uniquely sensitive to the choices of individual actors and groups. How do the dynamics of mortuary change articulate with contact scenarios and how do those scenarios result in intra-community variation and hybridization with other traditions? Lastly, how can ethnographic accounts of mortuary practice help inform the range of possibilities involved in the social dynamics that determine burial type in the past?

3.2 Anthropology of mortuary practice and diversity

The study of mortuary practice was foundational to the discipline of social anthropology, and the vast diversity of funerary rituals across space and time has provided some of the richest sources of anthropological inquiry in human society. A comprehensive literature review of the history of early anthropological discourse on mortuary practice and its relevance to archaeology has been discussed elsewhere (Binford 1971), and that is not the aim of this section. Rather, here I will highlight a few authors that provide relevant insights into the complexity of mortuary practices and demonstrate the wealth of variables involved in

the formation process of the mortuary record and the specific choices mourners make when treating the dead. Mortuary practices from the ethnohistoric record will be considered to explore the wide range of possibilities of how/why mortuary variability and change occur in the archaeological record, and how contact scenarios articulate with said mortuary change.

While it demonstrated that there are no true universal observations that unite all mortuary practices cross-culturally (Metcalf & Huntington, 1991), Van Gennep's *Les Rites de Passage* (1960), first published in 1909, provides a useful heuristic framework used by other archaeologists of mortuary ritual to structure interpretation of the mortuary record across space and time (e.g., Keswani). Van Gennep recognized mortuary rituals belong to a wider family of human ceremonies defined by transition: a "Rite of Passage." Like coming-of-age or marriage ceremonies, mortuary ritual represents the formalization of the transition from one state in society into another state—the transition from the community of the living to the community of the dead. Insofar as the body represents a universal referent for symbolic elaboration and variation following symbolic anthropologists and feminist thinkers, the body can be viewed as a universal referent of bodily transformation all cultures encounter. Thus, symbolically mortuary ritual possesses a tripartite structure: (1) the initial state of life, (2) the liminal state between life and death (decomposition and movement of the body to burial), and (3) the final state of death/after-life and final burial. Mortuary practice structures this liminal state both physically, from the advent of death to decomposition and final deposition of the corpse, as well as metaphorically, performing and reproducing narratives of the corpse's transformation into the afterlife or the transmigration of the soul. But Van Gennep resists this division between action and symbol, arguing Rites of Passage are always *physical transitions*, wherein the meaning of the ritual is always constituted by physical movement (Van Gennep, 1932, p. 276). In this way, the burial type, the final resting place of the body, is not just the arbitrary referent for elusive meanings lost to the archaeologists but represents the physical site of ritual transition that structures the symbolic meaning of the ceremony itself.

Hertz (1960) was one of the first anthropologists to take the premise of the liminality of mortuary practice and attempt to describe the complex relationships between the mourners, the body, and the conception of the soul during the transition between the initial death and final deposition of the body. Hertz focused on the overall holistic context and multiplicity of variables involved in this transition, instead of making an oversimplistic functionalist analysis as past scholars had. Hertz also coined the notion of primary and secondary inhumation/funerary rituals widely utilized by archaeologists of mortuary practice. Hertz's

project sought to exhaustively document the entanglement of all the diverse inter-related variables that constitute mortuary ritual during this liminal state, and by doing so revealed how the heterogeneity of society results in differentiation of bodily treatment, depending largely on the status of the deceased among other variable, like age and sex. In this way, Hertz's perspective emphasizes the dependency of mortuary ritual on the particularities of the actors involved, demonstrating the wide variety of factors that impact the choices people make when disposing of the corpse in its final resting place—the small fragment that is visible to archaeologists.

Kroeber (1927) posits the same thesis that mortuary practice is fundamentally unstable and diverse within single communities on similar grounds, that mortuary ritual is uniquely emotional, depending on the emotions of the actors, and can vary independently of history and culture-areas. While Kroeber's premise of the universality of a particular affect is not tenable relative to the wide variability of affect different cultures expect during mortuary ritual (Metcalf & Huntington, 1991), it still arrives at the same conclusion that mortuary practice will vary greatly relative to the diversity of mourners and their unique interests and concerns.

As discussed in the previous chapter, applying a practice perspective to better understand the mechanisms of mortuary variability, the suite of choices mourners make during the liminal state between death and final deposition of the corpse is multifarious, and the way actors navigate and negotiate their interests relative to practical and material variables can be the most determinative of factors of burial type. Firth (1951) emphasizes how "concrete activity" limits the range of possibilities of mortuary practice, such as the availability of resources for a feast or the costs involved in tomb construction (p. 35-40). Relative to evidence for the exhumation and secondary inhumation of bodies in Bronze Age Cypriot rock-cut chamber tombs, Keswani (2005) argues such a liminal state after death, or "dual obsequies," was likely in practice in Cyprus, and the delay between death and final internment provided time for mourners to organize the necessary "concrete" logistics needed to construct the rock-cut chamber tombs widely in use at the time (Keswani, 2005, p. 351). The mourners who do not have either the needed resources or available time between the death and the final funeral to construct a rock-cut chamber tomb might opt for a pit grave on material grounds rather than ideological. If the death occurs during an important agricultural period when mourners are busy, a quicker and less costly burial type might be employed even if the resources are available.

Notwithstanding concrete factors that influence the choices that constitute mortuary practice, the idiosyncratic will and personality of the actors involved can equally determine mortuary outcomes. For example, among the Berewan of Borneo, pot burials are practiced, wherein the same pots that are used to produce rice wine and other extracted products are used for the decomposition and final burial of corpses (Metcalf and Huntington, 1991). Metcalf and Huntington (1991) observe that often pots will be turned upside-down within homes, denoting pots that are not to be used domestically because they have been chosen for burial pots by elder members of the family (p. 56). The will of actors can also determine the location of burials within cemeteries, such as among the Shona, where individuals will choose the location of their tomb before their death (Ucko, 1979). In this way, the interests of the deceased can determine the burial type and location rather than codes defined by collective tradition (p. 276).

As for the interests of the mourners rather than the deceased, post-processual archaeologists have theorized extensively how mortuary practices can be used as a means for various social strategies of the heirs of the deceased to negotiate their desires. Keswani (2004) argues the metal-rich burial assembles of the Cypriot Bronze Age tombs can be explained in this way, evidencing competitive displays of wealth sacrifice performed by heirs for political gain. In this way, both the material limits, as well as the actual desires of the deceased and mourners factor into the variability observed by archaeologists in the mortuary record. In this sense, the composition of burial types and locations is produced by the bottom-up process of choice rather than the top-down codes of a mortuary tradition.

Now that it has been demonstrated that diversity and individual/group choice are fundamental to mortuary patterns archaeologically, how then can one understand change in mortuary practice when the range of variation within a community changes, and novel practices occur? Why do mourners make new choices regarding the treatment of their dead? Do these changes indicate changes in beliefs about death, a new status/class within a community, or evidence of the incorporation of ethnically distinct migrants?

The ethnographic record demonstrates that great caution must be taken in answering these questions, because a discontinuity in burial type may reflect no change in mortuary beliefs, while a continuity in burial type can obscure the emergence of totally new conceptions of death (Ucko, 1969). The material signature of mortuary practice that is archaeologically visible is only the final stage of corpse disposal and cannot reflect the suit of

ceremony, sacrifice, and societal re-organization that precedes final burial. Thus, claims regarding the wholesale shift in tradition relative to evidence of new grave goods or burial types can never be conclusive nor claims regarding the absolute stability of a tradition. Claims of ethnic intrusion derived from change in the mortuary practice are equally dubious as discussed by Knapp (2001). Internal variation makes it very difficult to equate one type of mortuary practice with the incursion of ethnically distinct migrants. Following Barth's (1969) notion of ethnicity as principally relational, defined by self-ascription, ethnicity is not founded on objective cultural traits but rather only socially negotiated boundaries wherein objective cultural elements might be actively used by ethnic groups as markers of difference, wherein other cultural elements are less emphasized. This view of ethnicity also corroborates Kroeber's observation that mortuary practice varies independently of ethnic boundaries or "culture areas" and will not reflect the migration of new peoples if new practices are evidenced. The Nuer of Sudan for example have little interest in burial and view it as a mere job of disposing of a corpse, thus mortuary ritual does not constitute or reproduce notions of identity or ethnicity and will vary based on logistical factors (Evans-Pritchard, 1951, p. 201-10; Ucko, 1969, p. 265). Hence, if mortuary changes among the Neur were to be interpreted as an ethnic intrusion it would be fundamentally misidentifying the formation processes in that context.

But at the same time, ethnographic data shows that mortuary traditions can vary with ethnic identity and define socially ascribed boundaries between ethnic groups. Decorse's (1989) study on the correlation between material culture and ethnic boundaries among the Limba, Yalunka, and Kuranko of Sierre Leone in West Africa shows that only patterns in mortuary practices were able to distinguish these groups when settlement patterns and architecture couldn't.

Other examples abound with respect to strictly defined burial practices among the world religions wherein mortuary practices will reflect ethno-religious groupings, such as the strict prohibition of cremation, entombment, and embalming in Jewish burial law which requires inhumation in the ground.

In essence, for the archaeologist asking questions of ethnicity and migration from mortuary data, it cannot be approached with an uncritical diffusionism. Ethnographic data shows changes in the mortuary record can and cannot reflect the presence of ethnically distinct groups, thus it is necessary to utilize the broader context of material culture.

In the case of the Philia period, Frankel and Webb (1999) have made such an argument of ethnic migration. But as discussed above, they don't consider the capacity for Cypriots to re-negotiate and hybridize with foreign influences, instead arguing for ethnic colonization and assimilation. As well, they use the notion of ethnicity as a flat and artificially unified entity derived from the equation of Philia material culture and *habitus*.

Ethnographic data provides examples of how interaction can stimulate changes in the choices people make in treating the dead that neither reflect an instance of ethnic assimilation nor direct transplantation of existing practices. For example, the Murngin of Australia upon contact with Malay peoples incorporated the designs of Malay ships into Murngin grave posts (Ucko 1969, p. 173-4). Jewish burial has changed in recent history via interaction with host country mortuary traditions among the diaspora, where some Rabbis tolerate cremation as long as long as the remains are buried (Polson, 1962). Among Hindus in India, cremation is viewed as necessary, required to free the soul from the body, but among Indian Christians, depending on the denomination, various attitudes exist regarding burial and cremation, presenting a vast diversity of hybridized mortuary practices (Immanuel, 1950).

In these examples, the evidence for interaction does not reflect the diffusion of one type of mortuary practice into a new culture horizon, rather it is expressed in the bottom-up practices changing in reception to new ideas and aesthetics introduced by ethnically distinct peoples in contact, wherein modular elements of different traditions are adopted and transformed—and in some instances, the differences between practices blur, and novel traditions can emerge.

4. Methods and typology

In this section, the approach taken to data collection will be outlined. First, the specific chronological and geographic scope of this study be defined, and the criteria and discourses upon which the temporal and spatial parameters were drawn will be explained. Second, issues regarding how the study's samples were collected will be discussed, such as the problem of representativity relative to the nature of how sites were excavated, reported, and published. As well, the limitations of the study's scope will also be described, and how certain stipulations were arrived at regarding the variables considered. Lastly, the burial typology will be unpacked, and a brief account of the general character and constitutive traits of each burial type will be described.

4.1 Chronology and geographic scope

4.1.1 Chronology

The unique nature of cemeteries and tomb reuse often makes identifying the precise duration of tombs challenging, alongside lacking discernable stratigraphic sequences and material appropriate to radiocarbon and/or dendrochronological dating. This is why grave good assemblages are often the only reliable source for estimating the earliest and latest dates for tomb contexts informed by established ceramic relative chronologies. In extramural cemeteries, this is the only means, that is further disturbed by looting, but within intramural contexts, site stratigraphy can additionally be utilized.

Since this study is limited to assessing published material, dates ascribed by publications cannot be easily challenged through alternative means or ground-truthing. Thus, the general chronological schema in which published material dates sites and tombs sampled in this study will be accepted and critiqued if appropriate. Below the chronologies utilized for defining the Philia Period in Cyprus and EBA I-II in Anatolia will be discussed and how mortuary contexts are dated within these chronologies.

4.1.1.1 Cyprus

Period	**Years**
Late Chalcolithic	2900-2400 BCE
Philia period	2500/2400-2300/2250 BCE
Early Cypriot I-III	2300/2250-2000 BCE

Table 2. Periodization of the third millennium BCE in Cyprus (Klinkenberg & Düring, 2023; Peltenburg et al., 2013).

As mentioned in Chapter two, Dikaios was right in antedating the Philia period to the Early Cypriot I period, which was unequivocally confirmed by the Philia period-Early Cypriot I sequence from Marki-Alonia (Frankel & Webb, 1999, p. 37-8). Radiocarbon dates from ARCANE define the boundary between the Philia period and Early Cypriot I at 2300/2250 BCE (Tbl. 2) (Peltenburg et al., 2013, p. 338, Tbl. 9.3). More controversial is the dating of the end of the Late Chalcolithic and beginning of the Philia period. Dikaios (1962) defined the end of the Late Chalcolithic between 2700-2400 BCE, but following modern chronologies, the present scholarly consensus dates the beginning of the Philia period at 2500/2400 BCE, but this likely didn't occur at the same time everywhere in Cyprus.

As discussed in the previous chapters, the development of the wide distribution of the Philia period material culture complex likely was not an even process and was differentially developed from site-to-site. Charalambos (2018) argues the Late Chalcolithic and Philia period sequences rather than being understood as linear, wherein one period succeeds the other, the chronology should follow a multi-linear chronology, wherein the Late Chalcolithic and Philia period substantially overlap around +/-2500 BCE. This latter model accounts for the differential process of hybridization and development of Philia period lifeways on the island, in which less connected communities' Chalcolithic lifeways endured contemporaneously with established communities fully integrated and connected to the Philia period cultural milieu. Thus, following this multi-linear chronology, and accounting for the *longue durée* of the emergence of the Philia period, which Bolger (2013) suggests developed from connectivity dating as early as the Middle Chalcolithic, the development of "Proto-Philia" lifeways could be as early as the beginning of the third millennium BCE. Bourke (2014) comparing Cyprus to the Levantine EBA chronology suggests the Philia period could begin as early as 2900/2800 BCE and end around 2600 BCE (Crewe, 2014, p. 135). Crewe

argues, that while the "long Late Chalcolithic sequence of international interaction" (2014, p. 135) is not problematic, it is not useful to refer to the entirety of this process that results in the highly visible Philia material culture as belonging to the Philia period, and that Philia period dating should be restricted to the distinctive Philia material culture complex of the mid-third millennium BCE.

This latter view that follows Philia material culture is the perspective adopted by this study principally because of the pragmatics of dating mortuary contexts. As discussed in Chapter two, the presence and absence of RPP are the primary variables in the identification of Philia tombs. This method is the best means with which to date tombs, where stratigraphy is unreliable and remains for radiocarbon dating are lacking. Hence, tombs that include RPP are considered to be from the Philia period in this study, and the inclusion of material post-dating the Philia period, such as Early Cypriot Red Polished wares, excludes a given tomb from the sample. This is problematic relative to the continued reuse of tombs and cemeteries first established during the Philia period like Sotira-Kaminoudhia that continued in use into the Early Cypriot period, but this limitation reduces this study sample strictly to the mid-third millennium BCE.

4.1.1.2 Anatolia

Period	**Years**
Transitional Period into the EBA	3200-2000/29000 BCE
EBA I	3000-2700 BCE
EBA II	2700-2400 BCE
EBA III	2400-2000 BCE

Table 3. Periodization of the third millennium BCE in Anatolia (Fidan et al, 2015).

In this study the first two periods of the Early Bronze Age, the EBA I (3000/2900-2700 BCE) and EBA II (2700-2400 BCE) periods are the specific chronological focus, limiting our dataset to the first half of the third millennium BCE (Tbl. 3) (Fidan et al., 2015). As mentioned in Chapter two, the general EBA chronology of Anatolia derives from the Aegean chronology established in Anatolian archaeology from the excavation at Troy. This

chronology was extended farther inland by Mellaart when he adopted this periodization excavating Beycesultan (Mellaart, 1954, p. 189; Fidan et al., 2015, p. 60). The earliest and latest parameters of the EBA were first defined in an uninterrupted sequence by Efe excavating Küllüoba, in which the "Transitional Period into the Early Bronze Age" was identified (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 62) This transitional period dates roughly to the latter quarter of the fourth millennium BCE (3200-3000/2900 BCE) overlapping with the beginning of EBA I at the beginning of the third millennium BCE. The specific processes that define the emergence of this period are hotly debated, but for this study, I will rely on the relative chronology afforded by ceramic material culture as with Cyprus, best fit to date tomb contexts. Thus, for Western Anatolia, the red-slipped and burnished ware and dark-faced burnished ware that emerged during the "Transitional Period" and later developed into distinct pottery zones by the EBA I and II period, e.g., Troy–Yortan Bithynia, Phrygia, Büyük Menderes-Upper Porsuk, and Lycia-Pisidia (Fidan et al., 2015, p. 68), will be used as diagnostic of the EBA I-II in mortuary contexts under review. Thus, at sites dated to the EBA II-III period which overlap into the EBA III period is present, only graves presenting the aforementioned diagnostic ceramics of the EBA II period will be included in the dataset.

The chronology of the EBA I-II is poorly understood in Central Anatolia. Some good ceramic data from Çadır Höyük presents continuity with the Late Chalcolithic period (Düring, 2011, p. 266), but this is the exception. After the EBA II period, more data is available with the emergence of a greater number of sites, but this does not clarify the earlier chronologies. Mellaart's (1958) essay on the chronology of the Early and Middle Bronze Age of Anatolia includes two Central Anatolian sites, Alişar and Kültepe, wherein the Late EBA III and Middle Bronze Age present good links with Cilicia and Syrian chronologies, but comparison to the early half of the EBA remained obscure. Today, the exact pan-regional content of the EBA I, II, and III in Central Anatolia cannot be regarded as fixed (Düring, 2011, p. 264; Bertram & Bertram, 2021, p. 52). Thus, this study cannot confidently rely on ceramics to date specific tombs there as is possible in West Anatolia, therefore sites and tombs will be recorded that are ascribed to the first half of the third millennium BCE based on holistic data. This method is far less accurate and requires greater dependence on local researchers and their interpretations rather than well-established scholarly consensus.

Like Central Anatolia, the chronology of Southeast of Anatolia and Northern Syria also presents many issues. There is no universal chronology utilized for the Northern Syrian Early Bronze Age (Jamieson, 1993, p. 36; Rothman & Fuensanta, 2003, p. 586) that overlaps

with our research area. Those working in Syria and Türkiye have used different chronological frameworks and have utilized different discontinuities in pottery to identify the beginning of the EBA I (Rothman & Fuensanta, 2003, p. 586). This is further complicated relative to different sites retaining Late Chalcolithic wares for different periods and the uneven introduction of Karaz pottery. Thus, with respect to the lack of consensus on a pan-regional relative ceramic chronology, this study also cannot rely on specific ceramics based on their differential definitions of the EBA I and EBA II. Rather, like Central Anatolia, this study will principally include mortuary contexts ascribed to the first half of the third millennium BCE based on holistic data. Despite these issues, the mortuary trend of the latter third millennium BCE associated with the urbanism and monumentality of the Akkadian period is identifiable, and thus easy to exclude from this study's dataset.

4.1.2 Geographic scope

The geographical scope of this study includes four regions spread across the modern nation-states of the Republic of Türkiye, Republic of Cyprus, the *de facto* sate of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, and the various political entities that govern Northern Syria. These four regions include (1) the island of Cyprus, (2) Western Anatolia, (3) Central Anatolia, and (4) Southeastern Anatolia and Northern Syria. Below I will unpack the boundaries adopted for each of these regions and the pragmatic decisions made in defining said boundaries, principally relative to geographic features (See Fig. 12 for reference).

Figure 12. Map featuring geographical toponyms for mountain ranges and passes (map by Jack W. Tillman using Bing satellite imagery).

First, the simplest region to define is Cyprus. The entire island of Cyprus has been included in this study, delimited by the island's coastline. The north coast of the island is hugged by the Kyrenia mountains, and in the northeast, the Karpaz peninsula juts out into the sea. South of the Kyrenian Mountains is the Mesaoria Plain, wherein the Kyrenian Pass connects the plains to the north coast. South of the Mesoaria plain, the Troodos Mountains extend throughout the southwest of the island.

Second, the regions of Anatolia are less clearly defined as Cyprus, so the geographic boundaries that shaped the movement of people in ancient times and today will be used to define regional boundaries. It should be noted that these regions are rather "super-regions" composing numerous sub-regions. West Anatolia is composed of the Anatolian part of the Marmara region in the northwest, the Aegean coast in the west, and the westernmost portion of the Mediterranean region in the southwest, hugged by the Western Taurus Mountains/Batı Toroslar, dividing Western Anatolia from the Gulf of Antalya. The eastern boundary of West Anatolia is the most fluid boundary, including the westernmost portion of the Anatolian plateau—this region also can be considered "West-central Anatolia" considering its place as a cross-roads equally between the Aegean coast/Western foothills and Anatolian plateau.

Third, Central Anatolia includes the Anatolian plateau south of the Pontic Mountains/Kuzey Anadolu Dağları in the north, excluding the Black Seas regions. The Central Taurus Mountains/Orta Toroslar in the south divide the Anatolian Plateau from the Mediterranean coast and Çukurova/Cilician plains in the Southeast, and the Inner Taurus defines the eastern boundary.

Lastly, Southeast Anatolia is defined by Çukurova in the west, wherein the Gülek Pass/Cilician Gate connects Southeast Anatolia with the Anatolian plateau. Perpendicular to the Central Taurus Mountains, the Nur Mountains/Alma-Dağ/Amanos Mountains run south and divide Çukurova from the Gaziantep province and north inland Syria. In the northwest of Çukurova, the Bahçe Pass/Amanian Gates connect Çukurova with the Gaziantep province through the Nur Mountains, and in the Southeast of the Hatay Province, the Belen Pass/Syrian Gate connects the Mediterranean coast with Northern Syria. Both the Bahçe and Belen passes provide the main arteries of movement connecting the Upper and Middle Euphrates with the Mediterranean coast. Though arbitrary, the eastern boundary of Southeast

Anatolia will be defined by the eastern side of the Euphrates, notwithstanding the sites located on its eastern banks.

4.2 Sampling and limitations

4.2.1 Data collection, sampling, and variables

Sites for analysis were first sourced from a variety of published reviews of mortuary variability in Cyprus (Niklasson, 1991; Frankel & Webb 1999), West and Central Anatolia (Wheeler, 1974; Bertram, 2021; Durgan & Selover, 2019), and Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria (Carter & Parker, 1995; Cooper, 2007). Sites were also collected from other published materials concerning the period and regions under analysis. From these sources, sites that met the general chronological and geographical criteria were selected to be assessed more closely. Data collection was principally concerned with the recording of three variables for a given site's mortuary contexts: location, chronology, and burial type.

First, the location of a given site's mortuary contexts were recorded. Rather than the exact location of each burial within a site plan, this variable denotes whether burials occurred intramurally (within a settlement), extramurally (outside of a settlement, in a cemetery), or both (burials occurring in both the former and latter in a given locality).

Second, the chronology of the site under review was ascertained. Once it was confirmed that the site likely belonged to either the Cypriot Philia period or the Anatolian EBA I/II period, the dating of the mortuary contexts was recorded. As discussed above, principally grave goods were used to gauge the temporal range of each mortuary context, as well as the estimation of the excavator in each report. For Cyprus, only burials dated to the Philia period were included in the dataset. Whereas for Anatolia, a broader range of periods have been considered, including EBA I, EBA I-II, EBA II, and EBA II-III. The latter period denotes either mortuary contexts whose earliest dates fall within the EBA II and thus this study's chronological scope but continued in use after the end of the EBA II period or dated to an ambiguous transitional period during the latter half of the mid-third millennium BCE. If any burials within the site dated to the EBA II-III period date to the EBA III they are excluded from the dataset.

Lastly, burial types were recorded for each site. Burial type denotes the particular mortuary infrastructure or furniture with which the body is interred. As will be discussed in

the section below, this study's burial typology includes (1) pit graves, (2) pithos graves, (3) cist tombs, (4) rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs, and (5) stone-built chamber tombs. Hence, data collection involved recording the presence-absence of each of these burial types per site, taking note of the quantities of each type if available, and recording the local variability within each burial type for each given site.

These data points were recorded into an Excel spreadsheet where sites were categorized by region (e.g., Cyprus, West Anatolia, Central Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria), and the source of each site was recorded. Then, once all of a site's variables outlined above were recorded, its geographical location/coordinates were identified, and the site was plotted on a Google Earth document. When data collection was completed, the site coordinates from Google Earth were moved to a QGIS dataset and the variables recorded in the Excel spreadsheet were transferred to the QGIS point's attribute table, and together multiple maps were rendered used in the results and discussion chapters.

4.2.2 Limitations

Four general limitations were encountered in collecting data, the first three relating to the nature of publications and the fourth concerning regional representativity: (1) issues involving variables not collected relative to the research agendas of published material, (2) uncertain representativity of a given sites burial type variability and ratio, (3) chronological uncertainty, and (4) large geographical gaps in available data on the regions under study.

This study is concerned with systematically quantifying only three variables (location, chronology, and burial type) collected across all sites across all regions. However, concerning the full plethora of variables utilized in mortuary archaeology used to reconstruct practices and rituals, e.g., the articulation of the skeleton, demographic data, types and location of grave good assemblages, and secondary mortuary practices, this study's number of variables is incredibly limited. This is the outcome of two factors. One, many older reports deriving from the late 19th and early to mid-20th century had radically different research agendas and excavation methods compared to the documentation practices of modern archaeologists. In the case of Cyprus, Stewart's excavation reporting of Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra (Hennessy, 1988) and Dikaios reporting of Krya-Kaminia and Philia Laksia tou Kasinou (Dikaios, 1962) entirely omit anthropological analysis of human remains. In the case of Anatolia, sites like Yortan excavated by Paul Gaudin in 1900-1901, osteological data is also

omitted and his original numbering system that associated burials with grave good assemblages was lost, and in turn, the latter variable could not be associated with particular burial types (Kamil, 1981). Thus, many variables couldn't be collected for every site because many were absent in reports altogether. The second reason is more pragmatic: relative to the large-scale, inter-regional scope of this study, collecting and comparing burial type as well as demography, grave good assemblages, and so on, would have resulted in a very different study of a far greater and time-consuming scope that was not possible.

The second limitation concerns the representativity of the burial type sample for a given site. Ideally, an excavation seeks to uncover as many burials as possible to provide a representative sample of burial types and ratios between types, but in many cases, this is not possible nor the aim of a project. Many of the sites from which data was collected were salvage excavations working under time constraints, and therefore could not provide a good samples. Excavations within settlements where intramural burials were stumbled upon and not the object of research, said graves cannot be reliably interpreted as representative of the mortuary practices of the whole settlement. Thus, for problematic studies, burial type was recorded at face value. This information at the regional scale is still informative, but cannot be reliably assumed to represent the full breadth of mortuary practices at a given site. Moreover, burial type ratios were recorded for sites that provided quantities and included in the results, but quantitatively analyzing this data is of limited utility.

Three, as discussed in 4.1.1., the chronology of the Anatolian EBA I-III still requires pan-regional synthesis, and relative ceramic chronologies are highly variable. Thus, a degree of uncertainty is present in the dating of most sites included, as well, sites misdated by reports may have been unfairly excluded.

Lastly, there are major geographical gaps: such as the South-central region of Anatolia, the Mediterranean coast south of the Taurus Mountains, and Çukurova of Southeast Anatolia. These regions still require greater surveying and until then the small samples collected for the Central and Southeast regions are incomplete.

4.3 Burial typology

Below I will review the five major burial types under study: (1) pit graves, (2) pithos graves, (3) cist tombs, (4) rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs, and (5) stone-built chamber

tombs (Fig. 13). The preference towards "lumping" rather than "splitting" has been adopted in this typology, thus each of these categories capture a considerable degree of variability that could be sub-divided further. What defines these burial types is their construction rather than a set of essential traits that characterize a specific and homogenous assemblage. The general approach to the construction of each burial type reveals roughly shared *chaîne opératoires* with shared material and logistical requirements, rather than a shared tradition or set of mortuary beliefs. This does not imply no similarity in ideation exists between sites with a common burial type, rather it indicates a shared (or minimally equifinal) technical knowledge for the construction of the particular burial type—this is especially true for more labor-intensive tombs, such as rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs—as well as a shared intention of interring the corpse in common final-resting-place in a given mortuary program's *Rite of Passage*.

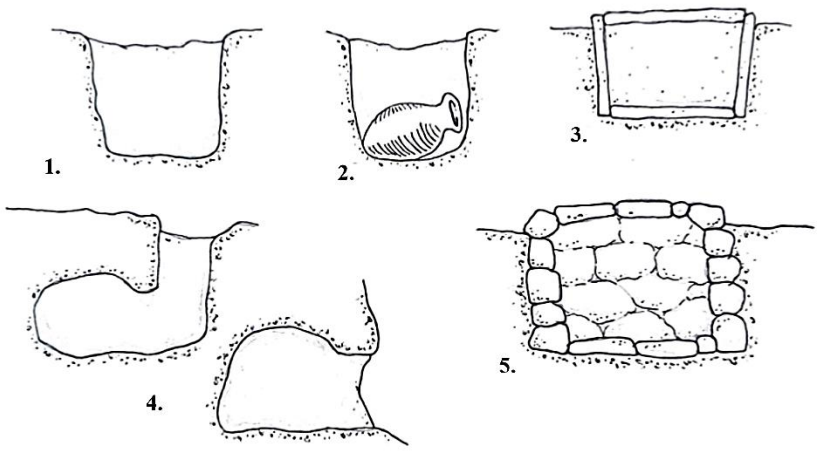


Figure 13. Schematic burial typology: (1) pit grave, (2) pithos grave, (3) cist tomb, (4) rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tomb, featuring both vertical and horizontal stomion, and (5) stone-built chamber tomb (figure by Jack W. Tillman). These depictions are idealized and do not represent a specific archaeological context.

This broader typology is employed in response to the large geographic scope of the study, where a high-resolution burial typology with a greater number of distinctions is less appropriate and a better fit for characterizing local variability where small differences can provide more secure inferences regarding similarity. Small similarities shared between entirely unrelated sites a great distance away from each other defined by a "splitting" typology would imply a false equivocation and genealogical relation that may not be present. This is not to say small differences and similarities will not be highlighted and figure largely

in discussion regarding connectivity, small-scale and nuanced comparisons will be unpacked case-by-case, wherein typology in this study provides the general framework.

4.3.1 Pit graves

Pit graves, sometimes also referred to as "earth burials," are the least costly and simplest of the burial types. They are composed of a cut into the earth into which the body is interred. The shape of the cut can vary between oval, rectangular, or irregular forms. Pit graves can vary in their depth. Shallow pit graves are often referred to as "scoop graves" in Cyprus (Peltenburg et al., 1998), while deeper pits that may cut into bedrock can be referred to as shafts or earth-cut chambers based on the degree of belling. However, in this study, the latter variant is excluded from the pit grave category. Some pit graves in the Upper Euphrates of Northern Syria, like pits graves from Tawi referred to as "dolmens" or *Galeriegräbern,* are deeper, longer, and narrower than typical pit graves and sealed by multiple stone slabs (Cooper, 2007, p. 57).

Like Tawi, some pit graves feature a capstone either on top of or within the fill of the pit. Any other built feature that lines the walls of a pit, like stone slabs or stone-built walling would exclude the burial from the pit grave category, and the burial would rather fall within the cist tomb or stone-built chamber tomb burial type.

4.3.2 Pithos graves

Pithos graves are burials in which the body is interred into a ceramic vessel, often large pithoi for adults or multiple internments, and in smaller pots or jars for sub-adults and infants. The pithos is placed within a pit dug into the earth, in most cases un-lined, but a few in which the pit is lined with stone slabs like that of a cist tomb, e.g., at Resuloğlu in Central Anatolia (Yıldırım, 2006), Birecik in Southeast Anatolia (Sertok & Ergeç, 1999) and Yortan (Kâmil, 1982) in West Anatolia. Pithos graves can vary in their orientation, the ceramic vessel is typically placed on its side but can also be placed vertically or at an angle. In Southeast Anatolia, vertically set pithoi are more common early on in the EBA, whereas horizontally oriented pithoi begin occurring more frequently in the latter half of the EBA and continue into the second millennium BCE (Cooper, 2007, p. 58). The mouth of the vessel is often sealed with a stone slab, a cluster of field stones, large ceramic sherds, and in some cases

complete ceramic vessels, such as bowls or entire pithoi—these are known as “double pithos graves” with examples from Demircihöyük-Sarıket in West-central Anatolia (Seeher, 2000).

There is considerable variation within the pithos grave burial type beyond typical pithoi, jars, and double pithoi. As mentioned above, pithos graves can be placed within cists, forming pithos-cist tomb hybrids. In many burials rather than interring the body within a complete pithos, the body is placed within pithos fragments, known as “sherd burials,” or the body is placed under two pithos halves bisected vertically, known as a “pseudo-pithos burials,” both of which are known from Kusura in West Anatolia (Lamb, 1937, p. 55).

Within extramural contexts, pithos graves can feature surface markers affording their identification from the surface and capacity to be re-opened for multiple internments and/or secondary mortuary practices. At the cemetery of Karataş-Semayük in West Anatolia, pithos graves feature retaining walls around their necks and surface markers allow continuous reuse (Mellink, 1969).

4.3.3 Cist tombs

Cist tombs share the general morphology of a rectangular pit burial, distinguished by the pit walls and flooring being lined by large stone slabs. Typically, cist tombs are longer than wide, thus more vertically set stone slabs are required for the lateral walls. However, some cists utilize individual slabs for each pit face. Cist tombs are capped with either a single stone slab used as a capstone, but some cist tombs feature up to six capstones, like at Ahlatlıbel in Central Anatolia (Yakar, 1985).

Cist tombs vary relative to the size and shape of the pit and the stone slabs that line it. Cists can vary between a rectangular structure, wherein the cist tomb’s length is greater than the width, to roughly square cists. This variation occurs both within and between sites as well as between extramural and intramural contexts. At Birecik cemetery both square and rectangular cists occur (Sertok & Ergeç, 1999), while at Tilbes Höyük the only cists recovered are two small square cists containing infant burials within an intramural context (Fuensanta et al., 2019, p. 58).

Some cist tombs feature pithoi directly abutting the cist tomb’s walls and capstone, like from Bakla Tepe in West Anatolia (Şahoğlu, 2008), or pithos graves are nearby within mixed pithos grave and cist tomb cemeteries. Hence, considering the aforementioned pithos-

cist tomb hybrids from Resuloğlu, Biricik, and Yortan, cist tombs and pithos graves demonstrate an interesting relationship.

4.3.4 Rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs

Unlike the previous three burial types, rock-cut, earth-cut, and stone-built chamber tombs are a type of mortuary infrastructure that affords an interior space not just for the body but depending on the scale and navigability of the chamber, also for the mourners and relatives of the deceased. In the same way the cemetery constitutes a mortuary place in distinction to a domestic place, the chamber tombs provides an even more specialized mortuary place at a smaller scale for the dead and those mourning. This innovation in burial type enables a higher degree of activity within the burial place compared to the previous burial types, such as easier tomb reuse, multiple internments, and a diversity of mortuary rituals.

Rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs are distinguished from stone-built chamber tombs by their construction method being *negative*, wherein the chamber interior is hollowed out or reduced from the bedrock or earth. Through this reductive method, a chamber interior is formed, composing walls, a floor, and a ceiling. The chamber is entered through a stomion. The stomion can be oriented either horizontally, along one of the chamber walls, or vertically, accessed through the ceiling. The stomion is entered outside of the chamber either through a horizontally oriented dromos, the pathway cut through the bedrock or earth to make accessible the stomion, or a vertical shaft. Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs typically feature horizontally oriented dromoi, like from Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou (Dikaios, 1962) or Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra (Henessy, 1988), while Chalcolithic examples from Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas (Peltenburg et al., 2019) and Kissonerga-Mosphilia (Peltenburg, 1998) present vertically oriented shafts. In Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria, shafts are the most common entrance to rock-cut chamber tombs, wherein the burial type is frequently referred to as “rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs” (Cooper, 2007). The stomion, dromos, or shaft are often sealed. In the case of stomion, stone slabs or plaka are used, like at Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003), and dromoi can be sealed by stone-built walls, like at Tomb 1 and 2 of Vasilia-Kafkallia (Hennessy, 1988) or Tomb 1 from Tell Banat in Northern Syria (Porter, 1995).

Chamber can vary greatly in scale, morphology, instances of tomb elaboration, and the number of chambers. In Cyprus, the chambers of rock-cut chamber tombs are typically circular or globular, and some are irregularly shaped, bulging in sections of the walls, like at Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou (Dikaios, 1962). In the Gaziantep province of Southeast Anatolia, rock-cut tombs are reported to also be circular and globular in shape like Cyprus (Tekin, 2008). Along the Upper Euphrates in Northern Syria, rock-cut chamber tombs can be both curvilinear as well as rectilinear, with examples of the former at Tell Halawa (Orthmann, 1981), and the latter at Tawi (Kampschulte, 1984). Instances of multiple chambers and tomb elaboration are very rare. Multiple chambers are known from Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra, Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga-Mosphilia, Tawi, and Tell Banat. Only a few examples of tomb elaboration occur, such as chamber niches and benches in the dromos of Tomb 1 and 2 of Vasilia-Kafkallia (Hennessy, 1988), a rock-cut bench in the chamber of T6 at Tawi, and rock-cut steps from the base of the shaft into the chamber of Tomb 1 at Tell es-Sweyhat (Zettler, 1997).

4.3.5 Stone-built chamber tombs

Stone-built chamber tombs are defined by a *positive* construction technique, wherein the chamber interior is constructed through the addition of building resources, principally stone. Stone-built chambers can be built underground, by lining a pit or rock-cut/earth-cut chamber(s) with horizontally oriented stone cobbles, cut-stone, or clay/mud bricks. Stone-built chamber tombs can also be built above ground by building up a chamber interior with the latter material, as well as timber and earth. Hence this burial type articulates with a much broader range of construction practices utilized outside of mortuary infrastructure when compared to the latter burial types. When stone-built chamber tombs are constructed underground, they are often entered through a vertical stomion, whereas when they are constructed above ground, a horizontal stomion is common.

This burial type is by far the rarest example in this study. The vast majority of stone-built chamber tombs within our study area post-date the EBA II, typically dating to the EBA III or later, such as the “pseudo chambers” of Kaklık Mevkii (Topbaş, 1998) or “Royal Tombs” of Alaca Höyük (Koşay, 1944) in Central Anatolia, or the numerous examples from Southeast Anatolia, such as Gre Virike (Ökse, 2005), Lidar Höyük (Müller, 1999), and Oylum Höyük (Özgen and Helwing, 2003). The few examples that fall within the EBA II period, like

at Karataş-Semayük (Mellink, 1969) and Harmanören (Özsait, 2000) reflect a particular "Kurgan" style mound burial (Parlıtı & Yücel, 2020) and are total outliers in their respective cemeteries.

5. Results

A total of 60 sites have been included in this study's dataset: 12 sites in Cyprus, 22 sites in West Anatolia, 10 sites in Central Anatolia, and 16 sites in Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria. Originally 83 sites were collected, but 23 were excluded for falling outside of the chronological scope. Below burial type variability will be presented for each of these sites in the regions overviewed: (1) Cyprus (Fig. 14; Tbl. 4-5), (2) West Anatolia (Fig. 23; Tbl. 6-7), (3) Central Anatolia (Fig. 27; Tbl. 8-9), and (4) Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria (Fig. 30; Tbl. 10-11). First extramural mortuary contexts will be presented, followed by intramural mortuary contexts.

5.1 Cyprus

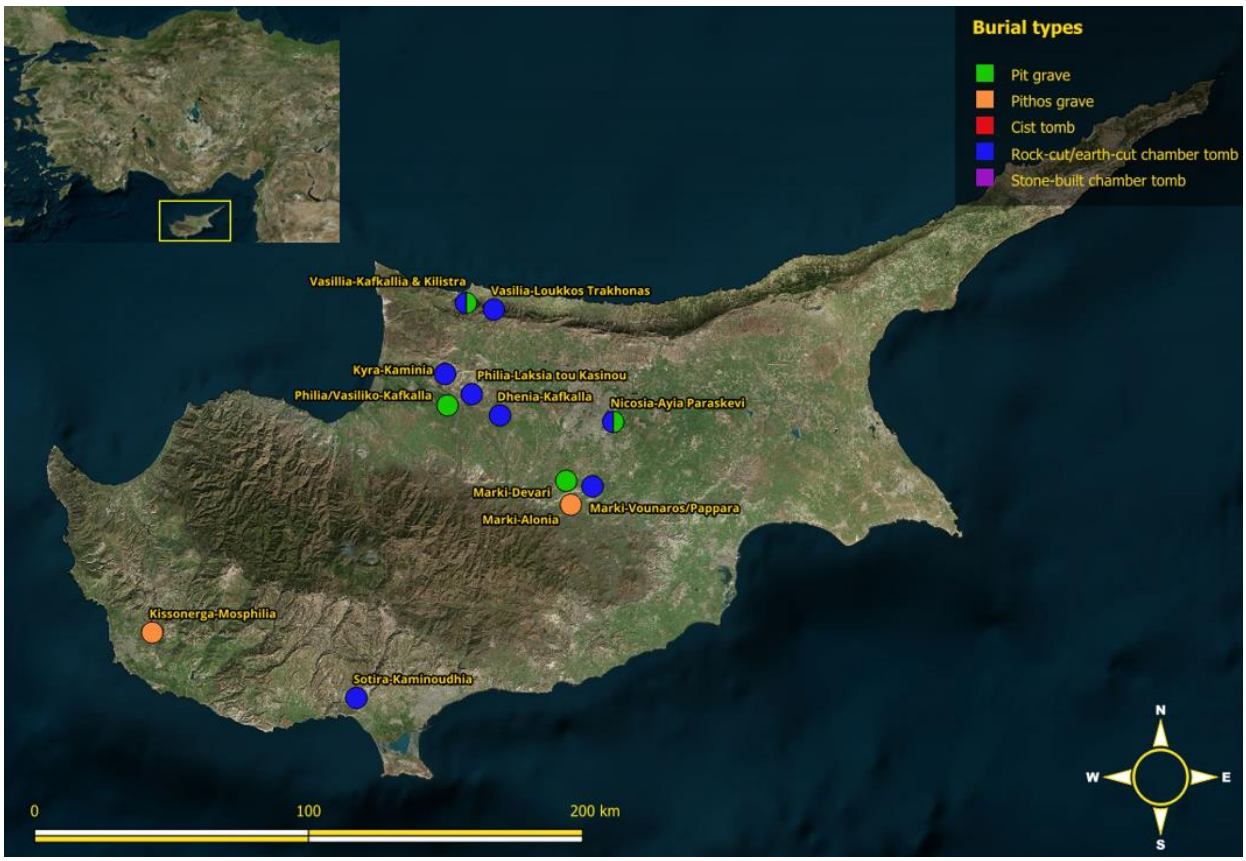


Figure 14. Map of Cyprus featuring Philia period burial type variability (map by Jack W. Tillman using Bing satellite imagery). Note that pie charts do not represent ratios, but presence-absence.

Extramural sites	Period	Pit grave	Pithos grave	Cist tomb	R/E-c ch.	S-b ch.	Source
Dhenia-Kafkalla	PP				?		Nicalaou & Nichalou, 1988
Kyra-Kaminia	PP				?		Dikaios, 1962
Marki-Davari	PP	x					Frankel & Webb, 1999
Marki-Vounaros/Pappara	PP				?		Frankel & Webb, 1999
Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi	PP	x			?		Hennessy et al., 1988
Philia/Vasiliko-Kafkalla	PP	x					Frankel & Webb, 1999
Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou	PP		?		x		Dikaios, 1962
Sotira-Kaminoudhia	PP				x		Swiny et al., 2003
Vasilia-Kafkallia & Kilistra	PP	x	?		x		Hennessy et al., 1988
Vasilia-Loukkos Trakhonas	PP				?		Frankel & Webb, 1999

Table 4. Extramural Burial type presence-absence in Philia period Cyprus (table by Jack W. Tillman).

Intramural sites	Period	Pit grave	Pithos grave	Cist tomb	R/E-c ch.	S-b ch.	Source
Kissonerga-Mosphilia	PP		x				Peltenburg et al., 1998
Marki-Alonia	PP		x				Frankel & Webb, 2006

Table 5. Intramural burial type presence-absence in Philia period Cyprus (table by Jack W. Tillman).

5.1.1 Extramural contexts

The vast majority of mortuary contexts in Philia period Cyprus are located in extramural cemeteries and the predominant burial type is rock-cut chamber tombs. Pit graves are the second most frequent burial type, though their ratio to chamber tombs in most cemeteries is unclear. Moreover, many burials ascribed as pits or rock-cut shafts can potentially be re-classified as collapsed chamber tombs. Two uncertain cases of extramural pithos graves have been reported by Dikaios (1946) from Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou and Stewart in Vasilia-Kafkallia (Hennessy et al., 1988), but neither example provides convincing evidence for the burial type's presence in extramural contexts. Most sites lack anthropological data, but those that do provide evidence of multiple internments, e.g., Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou (Dikaios, 1962), Kyra-Kaminia (Dikaios, 1962), and Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003).

Rock-cut chamber tombs in Cyprus generally present three elements: (1) a main chamber which is typically circular, semi-circular, ovoid, or irregular in form, (2) an entrance stomion, and (3) a horizontally oriented dromos. A few cemeteries provide evidence for the sealing of chamber stomion with stone slabs, such as Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003) and Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra (Hennessy et al., 1988), or walls fashioned out of field cobbles built within dromoi, such as Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra (Henessy et al., 1988) and possibly Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou (Dikaios, 1962). The majority of Philia period chamber tombs lack complete chambers and dromoi resulting from formation processes including erosion and looting, requiring these elements to be inferred from subtle traces of their construction.

Beginning in the Mesoaria plain within the Ovgos Valley, Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou presents one pit grave and four rock-cut chamber tombs cut into the border of a rocky plateau dated to the Philia period (Dikaios, 1962, p. 160). Tomb 1 and 2 show evidence of multiple internments, the former containing potentially three individuals and the latter containing two. Tomb 1 (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 75) is partially disturbed and presents a chamber bulging along three faces. Tomb 2 (Fig. 15a) (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 76) presents a relatively smaller ovoid chamber and a long narrow dromos bulging out along its edges. Tomb 3 (Fig. 15b) (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 77) possesses the largest chamber, wider than it is deep with a short dromos. Tomb 4 (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 78) is also wider than deep, but with a sloping irregular ceiling unlike Tomb 3. All of these tombs possess clusters of stones either concentrated around the dromos or built up near the chamber stomion, likely reflecting either walls fashioned from field cobbles or fill to seal the chambers. These chamber tombs present considerable variation in morphology but follow a common object of a roughly ovoid chamber roofed by the plateau entered through a horizontal dromos. Tomb 5a (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 79), west of the other tombs, likely representing another cemetery known as Philia/Vasiliko-Kafkalla, which is labeled a pit grave, but it is heavily disturbed, and a concentration of cobbles abut the majority of grave goods in the west possibly indicating the location of a chamber stomion, suggesting Tomb 5a identification as a heavily eroded chamber tomb—but there is not enough evidence to challenge its ascription as a pit. Dikaios (1946) alludes to a pithos grave at Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou in 1946, but this grave is excluded from the site's description (as "Philia-Vasiliko") in its full publication in 1962. Thus, the status of this burial type's presence at Philia is uncertain.

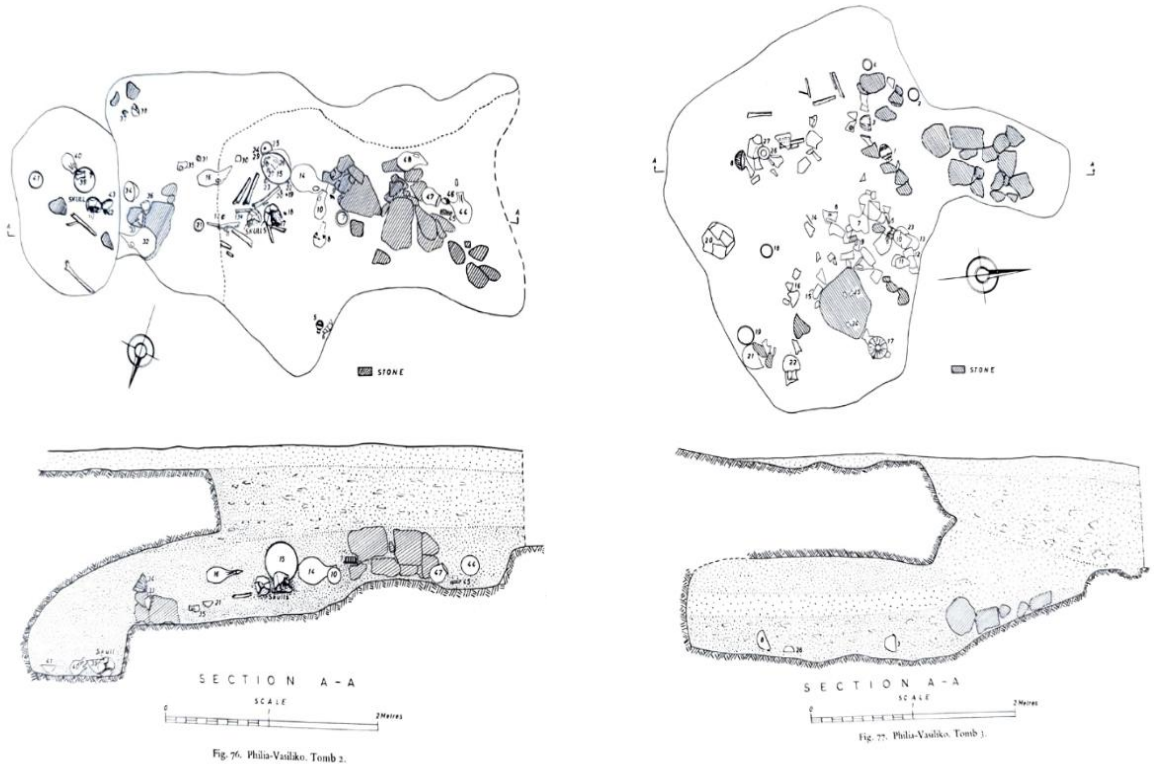


Figure 15. (Left to right) Tomb 2 and 3 of Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 76-7).

A single Philia period burial, Tomb 1 (Fig. 16), was recovered from Kyra-Kaminia, east of Philia in the Ovgos Valley (Dikaios, 1962, p. 158). Frankel and Webb label Tomb 1 a pit grave (1999, p. 6), but it is suggested Tomb 1 can be considered an eroded rock-cut chamber tomb. Tomb 1 (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 73) of Kyra-Kaminia is roughly circular cut into the bedrock and Dikaios described it as a "simplified version of a chamber tomb preceded by a dromos" ((Dikaios, 1962, p. 158). Moreover, the wall of the tomb overhangs the chamber interior before it is cut off from collapse, likely composing the remnant of the chamber ceiling. Hence, Tomb 1 in all likelihood is a heavily disturbed and eroded rock-cut chamber tomb given the limited evidence and its similarity to other collapsed chamber tombs in Cyprus as well as Anatolia.

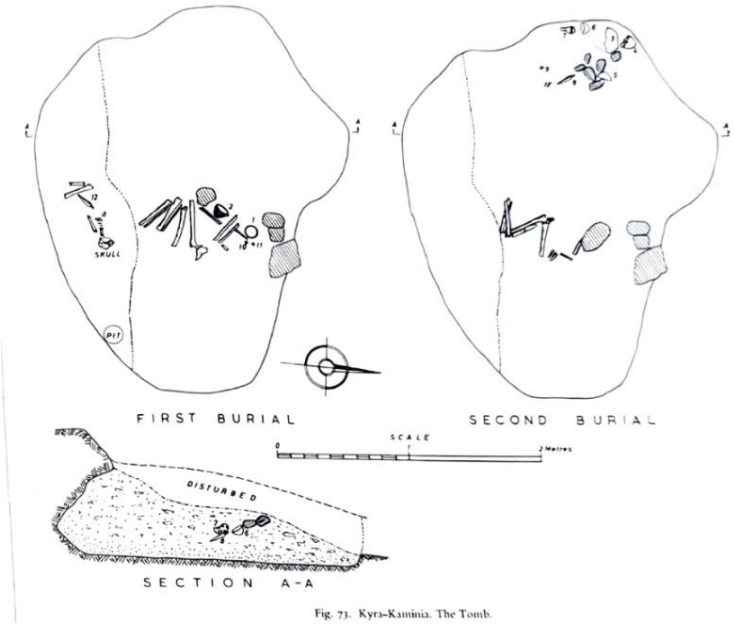


Figure 16. Tomb 1 of Kyra-Kaminia (Dikaios, 1962, fig. 73).

Southeast of Kyra and Philia in the Ovgos Valley, Dhenia-Kafkalla presents a vast necropolis of rock-cut chamber tombs in use from the Philia period throughout the Early Cypriot Period featuring tombs that post-date the Philia period similar to Philia-Kaksia tou Kasinou (Nicalaou & Nicalaou, 1988, p. 71). Yet, the only tomb dated to the Philia period is Tomb 166 (Fig. 17a), described as “a large shaft sunk in the rock” by Nicolaou and Nicolaou (1988, p. 105) and pit by Frankel and Webb in their burial type table (Frankel & Webb 1999, p. 6). Like Tomb 1 of Kyra-Kaminia, Tomb 166 of Dhenia-Kafkalla only presents the bottom floor and walls of the chamber interior, but unlike Kyra-Kaminia, Tomb 166 does not present any lipping of the chamber wall suggesting the remnants of a roof. The excavators report this tomb was heavily looted in addition to natural erosion, hence the roof likely collapsed long ago. This shaft is rock-cut rather than dug into the earth and larger than typical pit graves. In comparison to the rock-cut chamber tombs featuring complete chambers and dromoi immediately post-dating the Philia period, like Tomb 48 in use between the Early Cypriot-Late Cypriot periods (Fig. 17b), and the complete lack of pit graves in the cemetery, in all likelihood, Tomb 166 is a heavily disturbed rock-cut chamber tomb belonging to the burial type of the rest of the cemetery.

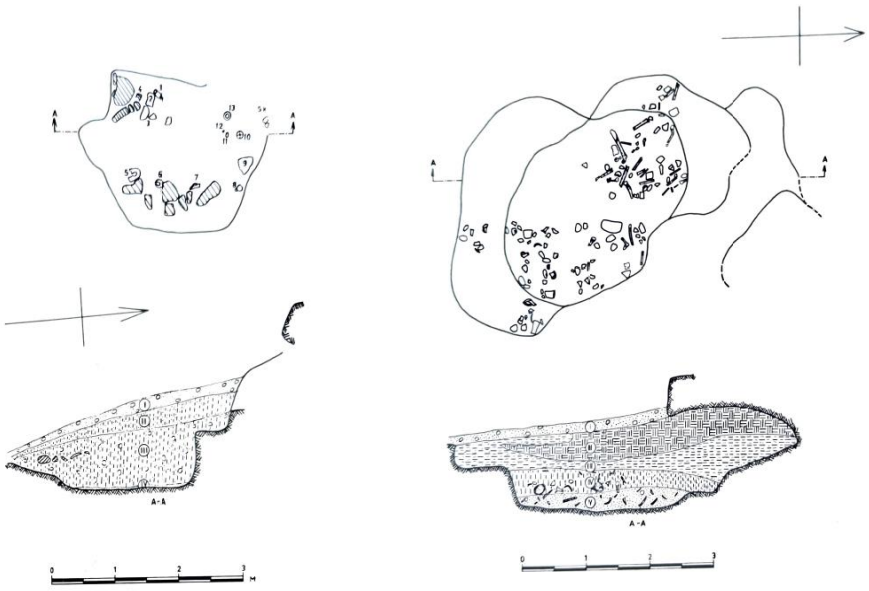


Figure 17. (Left to right) Tomb 166 and Tomb 48 of Dhenia-Kafkalla (Nicalaou & Nicalaou, 1988, fig. 2, 13).

Moving east into the Mesaoria plain, the cemetery of Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi is located below a shallow rock scarp and was used from the Philia period into the Middle Cypriot period (Hennessy et al., 1988, p. 12). Of the six burials dated to the Philia period, they are all pit graves except for Tomb 3 and 3a which are considered an eroded rock-cut chamber tomb and dromos (Fig. 18). Both Tomb 3 and Tomb 3a contain artifacts, but relative to their concentration in Tomb 3, Tomb 3a is likely the dromos connected by a narrow stomion into the main chamber. This tomb plan can be compared to the more complete tombs of Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou. The pit burials of Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi dated to the Philia Period (e.g., Tombs 4, 6,9,12, and 14a) are round and shallow. Ultimately, Tomb 3 and 3a are so heavily disturbed, that their designation as either a rock-cut chamber tomb or pit grave is unclear, with only its plan suggesting the former.

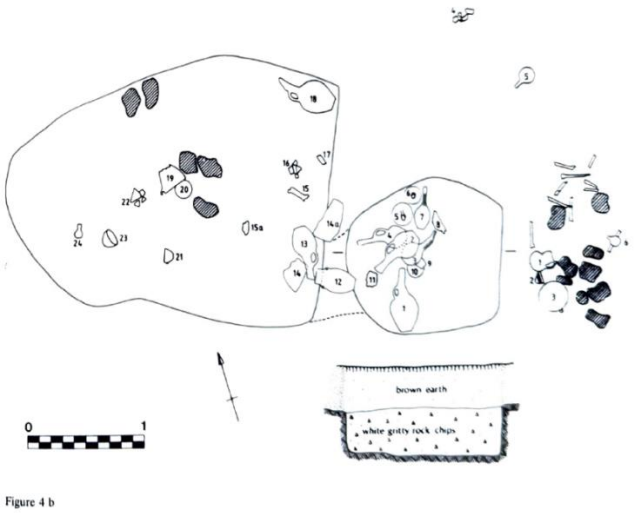


Figure 18. Tomb 3 and 3a of Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi (Hennessy et al., 1988, fig. 4b).

In the area around Marki-Alonia, the only settlements featuring Philia period domestic deposits, several cemeteries have been discovered, such as Marki-Davari and Marki-Vounaros/Pappara, containing hundreds of tombs dating to the Philia, Early Cypriot, and Middle Cypriot periods (Fig. 19) (Monahan, 2010). All of these cemeteries are heavily looted, and Philia material is rare, but several graves have been dated to the Philia period. From Marki-Devari, a pit grave containing RPP ware and copper spiral earrings was recovered and from Marki-Vounaros/Pappara a possible rock-cut chamber tomb is indicated by Frankel and Webb (1999).

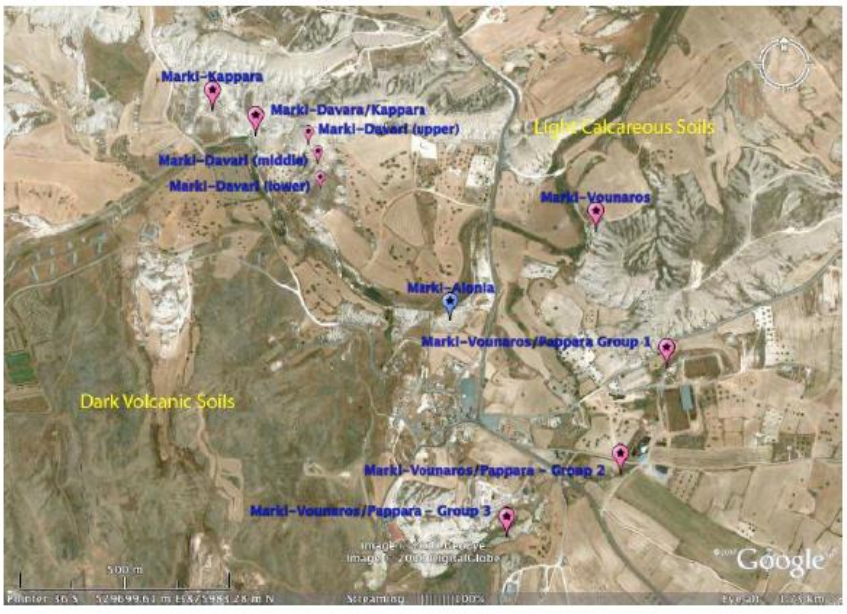


Figure 19. Cemeteries around Marki-Alonia (Monahan, 2010, fig. 12).

On the south coast, Sotira-Kaminoudhia presents a cemetery dating to the Philia period and used into the Middle Cypriot period. Most of the tombs of the Early Cypriot-Middle Cypriot period present small dromoi set at an angle, sloping down and functioning as a step into the main chamber, and are often sealed by stone slabs or plaka. The four tombs belonging to the Philia period are all in Cemetery A and are considered rock-cut chamber tombs by the excavators, despite their heavily eroded state. Like eroded chamber tombs reviewed so far, only the chamber floor and walls remain, and two instances of stomion capstone. Tomb 1 was excavated by Dikaios in 1947 and is only evidenced by his brief report and its location in the 1948 site plan (Dikaios, 1948, pl. VI), but the plan of the tomb could not be found in the Cyprus Museum Archive by the authors of 2003 publication of Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003). The tomb supposedly featured a dromos, chamber, and capstone sealing the stomion, but none of these features were located by the most recent excavators (Swiny & Herscher, 2003, p. 105). The rest of the Philia period tombs excavated by CAARI, Tomb 6, Tomb 10, and Tomb 15, are in a very poor state of preservation, wherein only circular rock-cut chamber floor and walls are identifiable. Tomb 15 (Fig. 20), like Tomb 1 of Kyra-Kaminia, presents a portion of the chamber wall that still overhangs the interior, transitioning into the chamber ceiling and contains three individuals (Swiny & Herscher, 2003, fig. 3.5). Tomb 10 is in the worst condition dated to the Philia period but is the only tomb other than Tomb 1 that features a capstone. Without reference to the tombs dated later to the Early Cypriot period that feature the clear dromos and chamber plan, the heavily eroded Philia period tombs would be unrecognizable as such. Like Dhenia-Kafkalla, considering the tradition of the cemetery as a whole, there is enough evidence to concur with the ascription of rock-cut chamber tombs to the Philia period graves.

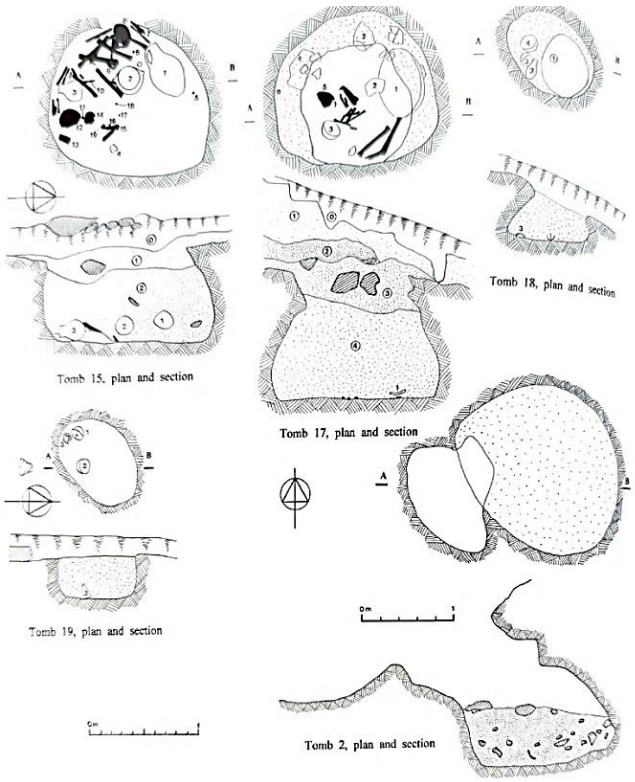


Figure 20. Tombs 15 from Sotira-Kaminoudhia (Swiny et al., 2003, fig. 3.5).

Unlike the ambiguous status of rock-cut chamber tombs for many of the tombs reviewed so far, there is no ambiguity regarding the magnificent rock-cut chamber tombs of Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra on the north coast hugged by the Kyrenia Mountains. A total of five rock-cut chamber tombs were investigated by Stewart: Tomb 1 and 2 in Vasilia-Kafkallia and Tomb 101, Tomb 103, and Tomb 104 in Vasilia-Kilistra (Hennessy, 1988). Swiny also reports a "considerable cemetery of simple pit graves" nearby (Hennessy, 1988, p. 25). All of these chamber tombs were cut into the rocky outcrops wrapping around the hillside, following the local geology. This cemetery was only used during the Philia period, unlike most cemeteries which continued in use into the Early Cypriot, Middle Cypriot, and Late Cypriot periods (Hennessy, 1988, p. 25). All of these tombs feature large rock-cut chamber interiors and long narrow dromoi paved with hard lime plaster, but differ from each other in specific architectural features (Hennessy et al., 1988, p. 25). Tombs 1 and 2 (Fig. 21) in Kafkallia are two rectilinear chambers connected by a branching lime plaster paved dromos. The stomion of Tomb 1 is flanked by two rock-cut benches and the stomion of Tomb 2 is blocked by several stone-built walls within the dromos. Inside both chambers, a rock-cut

pillar buttresses the rear wall dividing the chambers into a bilobate form. Inside the chamber of Tomb 2, two rectangular niches are cut into the chamber wall, right of the entrance. Both tombs were heavily looted mostly containing Philia ware sherdage, except for rich finds recovered from the dromos, such as Philia ware jugs, copper and bronze armlets, and a copper dagger (Hennessy et al., 1988, p. 26)

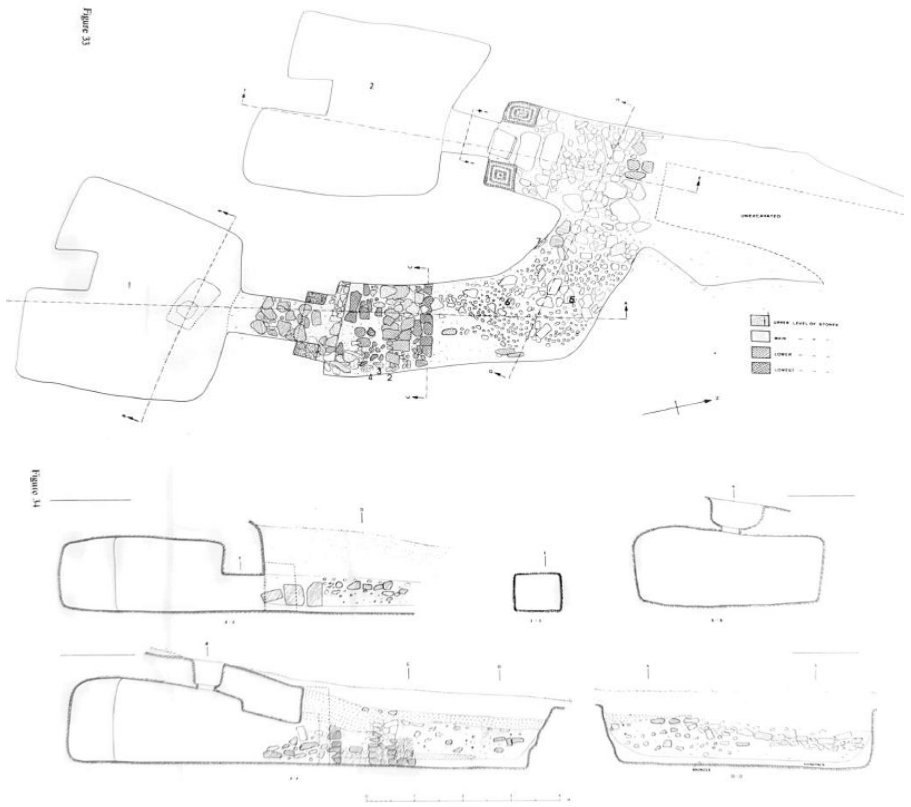


Figure 21. Tomb 1 and 2 of Vasilia-Kafkallia (Hennessy et al., 1988, fig. 33-4).

The tombs of Kilistra (Tomb 101, Tomb 103, and Tomb 104) share certain elements with the Kafkallia tombs but differ in important respects. All of the tomb's dromoi are similarly rectilinear, but only Tomb 103 shares the square benches next to the stomion like Tomb 2 (Fig. 22). Tomb 101 and Tomb 102 feature large stone slabs blocking their stomion. With respect to chamber morphology, none feature the niches of Tomb 2, nor the rectilinear plan of the chambers of Tomb 1 and 2. Tomb 101 is similarly bilobate featuring a pillar dividing the interior into two sub-chambers. Tomb 103 is unique in respect to featuring an initial antechamber leading to a second passage into a small inner chamber (Hennesy et al., 1988, p. 29). Within the antechamber, the pithos recovered was interpreted as a potential pithos grave by Stewart, but no body nor grave goods were within (Hennessy et al., 1988, p.

29). From the plan of Tomb 104, it seems from the chamber's length it may have had a central inner chamber and antechamber, but this chamber was never fully cleared and therefore this is uncertain (Hennessy et al., 1988, p. 25).

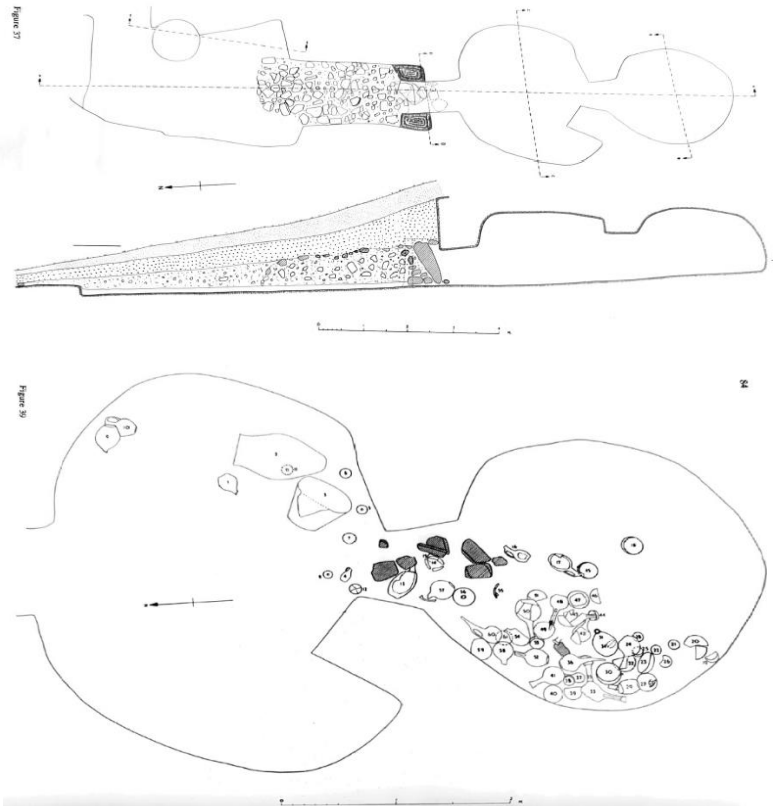


Figure 22. Tomb 103 of Vasilia-Kilistra (Hennessy et al., 1988, fig. 37, 39).

In summary, the rock-cut chamber tomb type varies between two general groups: (1) the smaller, more modest circular chamber tomb, featuring a short/abbreviated dromos oriented horizontally or at an angle. These tombs are smaller in scale and are often have collapsed. The tombs of Sotira-Kaminoudhia, Dhenia-Kafkalla, and Kyra-Kaminia fall into this category. (2) larger-scale chambers that deviate from a roughly circular plan, featuring longer dromoi and more built features include the tombs of Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra and the Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou by virtue of scale, though it lacks aspects of tomb elaboration.

Lastly, the status of the pithos burial type in extramural contexts in Cyprus during the Philia period is debatable. As mentioned above, in the antechamber of Tomb 103 of Vasilia-Kilistra, a large empty pithos was recovered which Stewart suggests could be a possible burial (Hennessy, 1988, p. 29). As well, at Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou, Dikaios alludes to a pithos burial (1946) which is excluded from site's description in the *Swedish Cyprus*

Expedition IV.1A. (1962). Thus, the two examples above are dubious and cannot be confirmed.

5.1.2 Intramural contexts

Presently the data for intramural mortuary practices during the Philia period in Cyprus is incredibly limited, but from the two sites where data is available a clear pattern is discernable, though the sample is far from adequate. At Kissonerga-Mosphilia and Marki-Alonia, children were interred in pithoi within the settlement demonstrating a stark discontinuity with the preceding Late Chalcolithic.

In the southwest of Cyprus at Kissonerga-Mosphilia, inhabited from the Early Chalcolithic to the Philia period, two pithos burials were recovered from P5 (Philia period) deposits: Tomb 504 and Tomb 530. Both tombs contained infants in burial pithoi of Late Chalcolithic ware (T405 in CPW and T530 in RB/B) placed horizontally and fit tightly within pits (Lunt et al., 1998, p. 72). At Marki-Alonia in the Mesoaria plain, first settled in the Philia period and through the Middle Cypriot period, one pithos burial was recovered in Red Polished Philia ware containing a two-year-old in Unit XCIX-12 (Frankel & Webb, 2006, p. 70). Thus, a total of three intramural burials are known from the Philia period, and they all belong to the pithos burial type and contain infants/sub-adults.

When more Philia period settlement data is available and more burial samples are discovered, the present picture of intramural mortuary practices could change rather quickly.

5.2 West Anatolia

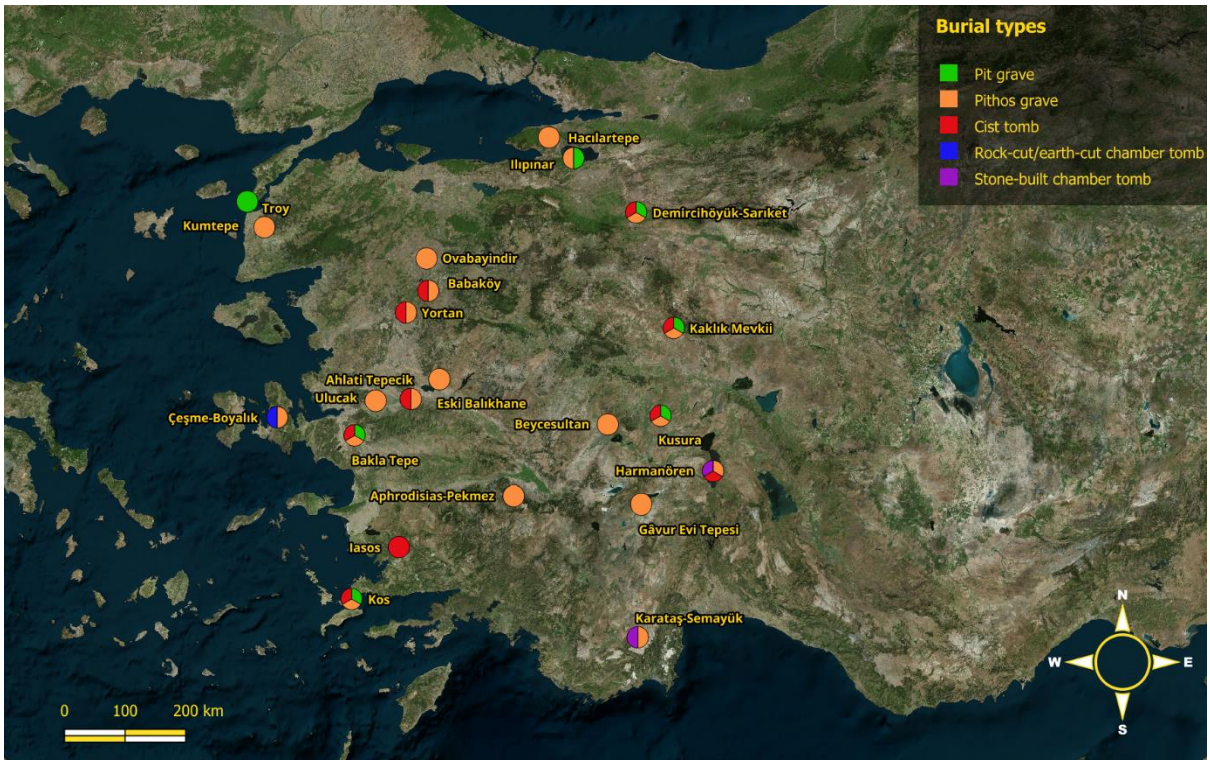


Figure 23. Map of West Anatolia featuring EBA I-II burial type variability (map by Jack W. Tillman using Bing satellite imagery). Note that pie charts do not represent ratios, but presence-absence.

Extramural sites	**Period**	**Pit grave**	**Pithos grave**	**Cist tomb**	**R/E-c ch.**	**S-b ch.**	**Source**
Ahlati Tepecik	EBA I		x	x			Mitten & Yüğrüm, 1968
Eski Balıkhane	EBA I		x				Mitten & Yüğrüm, 1968
Kusura	EBA I	x	x	x			Lamb, 1937
Gâvur Evi Tepesi	EBA II		x				Vandam et al., 2013
Babaköy	EBA II		x	x			Bittel et al., 1939
Bakla Tepe	EBA II	x	x	x			Şahoğlu, 2008
Çeşme-Boyalık	EBA II		x		x		Şahoğlu, 2024
Demircihöyük-Sarıket	EBA II	x	x	x			Seeher, 2000
Iasos	EBA II			x			Wheeler, 1974
Ilıpınar	EBA II	x	x				Roodenberg, 2008
Karataş-Semayük	EBA II		x			x	Mellink, 1969
Kos	EBA II	x	x	x			Wheeler, 1974
Ulucak	EBA II		x				Çilingiroğlu et al., 2004

Yortan	EBA II-III		x	x			Kâmil, 1982
Kaklık Mevkii	EBA II-III	x	x	x			Topbaş et al., 1998
Harmanören	EBA II-III		x	x		x	Özsait, 2000

Table 6. Extramural Burial type presence-absence in EBA I-II West Anatolia (table by Jack W. Tillman).

Intramural sites	**Period**	**Pit grave**	**Pithos grave**	**Cist tomb**	**R/E-c ch.**	**S-b ch.**	**Source**
Beycesultan	EBA I		x				Lloyd et al., 1962
Kusura	EBA I		x				Lamb, 1937
Troy	EBA I		x				Wheeler, 1974
Kumtepe	EBA I-II	x					Sperling, 1976
Ovabayındır	EBA II		x				Akurgal, 1958
Aphrodisias-Pekmez	EBA II-III		x				Joukowsky, 1986
Hacılartepe	EBA II-III		x				Roodenberg, 2008

Table 7. Intramural Burial type presence-absence in EBA I-II West Anatolia (table by Jack W. Tillman).

5.2.1 Extramural contexts

5.2.1.1 Pithos graves

The predominant form of burial in Western Anatolia during the Early Bronze Age is extramural pithos graves. These pithos graves vary between single and double pithos graves, jar graves, and sherd graves. Pithos graves typically contain multiple internments. Pithoi mouths typically are oriented towards the east or southeast. When pithos graves occur, they most frequently co-occur with cist tombs. Only a handful of cemeteries are exclusively composed of pithos graves, such as Eski Balıkhane (Mitten & Yüğrüm, 1971), Gâvur Evi Tepesi (Vandam et al., 2013), and Ulucak (Çilingiroğlu et al., 2004). Both Ilıpınar (Roodenberg, 2008) and Karataş-Semayük (Mellink, 1969) feature almost exclusively pithos graves, but the former features a single pit grave and the latter a single stone-built chamber tomb.

Eski Balıkhane is a small cemetery located on a rocky outcrop south of Lake Marmara where five pithos burials were recovered (Mitten & Yüğrüm, 1971, p. 192). Two of the burials, EB 69.1 and EB 69.2 were smaller vessels placed without orientation that the

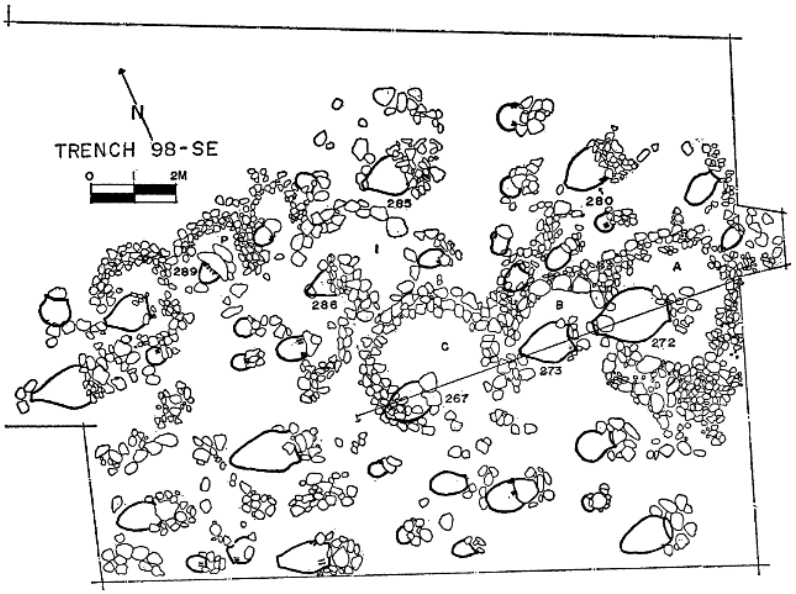
excavators suggest were for children. The other three burials, EB 69.3, 4, and 5, were large pithos graves, in which the vessels were laid on their side with their mouth facing east containing adults and grave goods.

The cemetery of Gâvur Evi Tepesi used during the EBA and MBA in Southwest Anatolia in the Burdur province was heavily disturbed by gravel mining but it is estimated to have extended three hectares (Vandam et al., 2013, p. 224). Most of the pithos graves were disturbed. 21 "pithos holes" were recovered and only eight contained *in situ* pithoi. Six different pithoi types were recovered, but the most common was the necked pithos dated to the EBA II period, while other types, such as the ribbed pithoi date to the MBA.

Ulucak near the Aegean coast in the Izmir province presents a cemetery used between the EBA and MBA containing pithos graves with their mouth facing east/Southeast and capped with a slab or capstone (Çilingiroğlu et al., 2004). Very few human remains or grave goods were recovered; one pithos contained only stones.

Ilıpınar located in the Marmara region, dated to the EBA II period, presents a cemetery of 17 pithos graves, and one pit grave (Roodenberg, 2008, p. 92). The pithoi were placed horizontally in pits and typically faced south or southwest, and most pithoi contained multiple internments evidencing reuse (Roodenberg, 2008, p. 91). Sub-adults were typically either placed in smaller jars or sherd burials.

Karataş-Semayük, one of the best-investigated pithos cemeteries in Southwest Anatolia (Antalya province) contains nearly only pithos graves, but this site is distinguished by the presence of a stone-built chamber tomb (Mellink, 1969, p. 326) which will be addressed with the other stone-built chamber tombs below. Pithos graves were marked by circular stone surface markers, preventing graves from overlapping (Fig. 24). The pithoi are set at an angle, so their mouths are accessible from the surface, with their necks set in place by a stone retaining wall. Pithoi mouths typically faced east and capped with stone slabs, clusters of stones, or pithos sherds. Pithos graves were reused, the displacement of the bones of earlier individuals by multiple internments was common, and tomb 112 contained minimally eight individuals (Mellink, 1969, p. 321).



Ill. 1. Trench 98, SE part: circular surface markers and (heavier lines) burial pithoi

Figure 24. Trench 98-SE of Karataş-Semayük featuring pithos graves and surface markers (Mellink, 1969, ill. I)

5.2.1.2 Pithos graves, cist tombs, and pit graves

Cemeteries featuring both pithos graves and cists tombs include Ahlati Tepecik (Mitten & Yüğrüm, 1968), Kusura (Lamb, 1937), Babaköy (Bittel et al., 1939), Bakla Tepe (Şahoğlu, 2008), Demircihöyük-Sarıket (Seeher, 2000), Harmanören (Özsait, 2000), Kos (Wheeler, 1974), Kaklık Mevkii (Topbaş et al., 1998), and Yortan (Kâmil, 1982). When pithos graves and cist tombs do co-occur, pithos graves frequently outnumber cists tombs.

At the cemetery of Kusura dated to the EBA I period in the Afyon province, pithos graves outnumber cist tombs and pit graves (Lamb, 1937). The pithos graves recovered vary between three types: true pithoi, "pseudo-pithos burials," and sherds burials. Four burials (Graves 1, 6, 7, and 13) are in true pithoi, three burials (Graves 3, 8, and 11) are "pseudo-pithos burials" wherein a single pithos is bisected longitudinally and placed over the body, and one burial (Grave 12) is a "sherd" burial" where the body is placed on a large pithos sherd and then covered with broken jar sherds (Lamb, 1937, p. 55). Grave 8 was placed on top of a mudbrick platform. Three burials (Graves 2, 4, and 5) are cist graves without any variation, composed of large stone slabs, and a single pit grave (Grave 14).

At the cemetery of Bakla Tepe dated to the EBA II on the Aegean coast in the Izmir province, the pithos graves compose roughly a quarter of burials, while another quarter are cist tombs, and half are pit graves (Şahoğlu, 2008). Most cist tombs contain infants, but some

include adults. A handful of cist tombs present interesting relationships with pithoi: the covering slab of Grave 40 was cut to allow a vertically oriented pithos to directly abut its eastern side (Şahoğlu, 2008, p. 170). Another cist tomb, Grave 107, was abutted by a large vertically oriented pithos filled with only stones (Şahoğlu, 2008). Like other pithos graves in West Anatolia, the mouths of pithoi faced east and were capped with sherds. The pithoi themselves vary considerably, some feature vertical handles running along both sides. The majority of burials were pit graves, which were not repeatedly used like cists and pithoi, and contained the most grave goods in the cemetery.

At the cemetery of Demircihöyük-Sarıket dated to the EBA II, located in Eskişehir province, roughly along the boundary of Western and Central Anatolia, is one of the best-investigated cemeteries of the Early Bronze Age (Seeher, 2000). Pithos graves outnumber cists and pits by a great margin. Burial types recovered include: 221 single pithos graves, 136 double pithos graves, 33 cists tombs, 47 pit graves, 37 pit graves lined with stones, and a single "clay tub burial" (Massa, 2014, p. 78). Very few burials were reused, only 43 of the 474 analyzed (9%), but slightly more common among cist tombs (16 out of 33) (Massa, 2014, p. 80).

The cemetery at Yortan located in the Manisa province, dated from the EBA I through EBA III, presents pithos graves and one cists tomb on a rocky outcrop. 107 pithos and jar graves were recovered, with their mouths oriented to the southeast, east, and sometimes northeast (Kâmil, 1982). Like Karataş-Semayük, the pithos graves evidenced successive burial, averaging 2 individuals per pithoi, and one grave, No. 23, presenting six individuals. Like other pithos graves reviewed so far, they were capped with a stone slab, sometimes trimmed to fit as a lid, or with ceramic bowls. The cist grave, No. 80, presents a type of hybrid case, wherein two stone slabs hug an incomplete pithos, capped by another stone slab (Kâmil, 1982)

At Babaköy in the Manisa province north of Yortan, dated to the EBA II period, many pithos graves were recovered, most facing east either capped with a stone slab or cluster of stone which likely would have been visible from the surface to be re-opened (Yakar, 1985, p. 166). The cemetery only features two cist tombs with no grave goods (Bittel et al., 1939).

The cemetery of Kos, an island directly offshore from the Southwest Anatolian coast features pithoi, pits, and a cist grave. The pithos graves are like those of West Anatolia evidencing multiple burials, and mixed among them is a single round cist tomb (Wheeler,

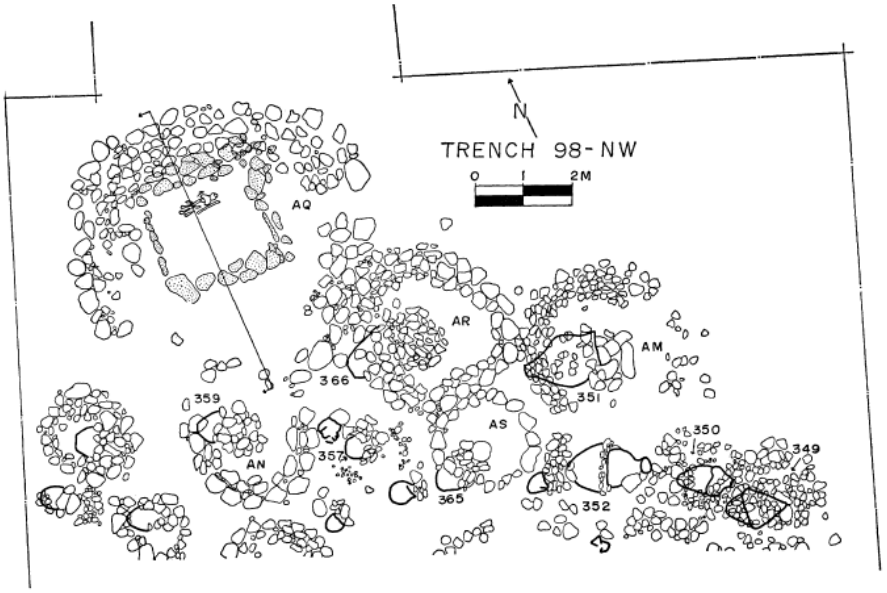
1974, p. 419). Thus, it can be observed that pithos graves outnumber cists at most sites they co-occur as at Kusura, Bakla Tepe, and Demircihöyük-Sarıket, and sites like Yortan, Babaköy, and Kos they are very rare and a complete outlier among mostly pithos graves.

The only instance of a cemetery where cists tombs outnumber pithos graves in West Anatolia in this study's sample occurs at the cemetery of Ahlati Tepecik (Mitten & Yüğrüm, 1968), east of the Manisa province, dating to the EBA I period. Though the exact burial type ratio is unclear, cist tombs seem to predominate (Wheeler, 1978, p. 417). Pithos graves all face east, whereas the cists graves present no particular orientation (Mitten & Yüğrüm, 1968). The only instance of a cemetery exclusively composed of cist graves is at Iasos on the Southwest Aegean coast. Cists occur in regular rows, most on an east-west axis. 16 of the 85 excavated tombs contain more than one person, which is uncommon among Cycladic cist tombs that typically contain single burials (Wheeler 1974, p. 418-9).

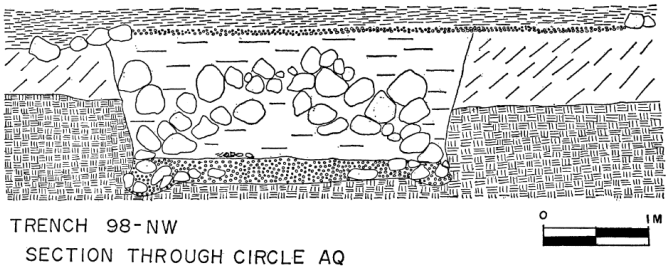
5.2.1.3 Stone-built and rock-cut chamber tombs

The least common burial types are by far the two chamber tomb burial types. There are arguably two instances of stone-built chamber tombs in West Anatolia from the EBA I-II: Karataş-Semayük (Mellink, 1969) and Harmanören (Özsait, 2000). The only example of a rock-cut chamber tomb occurs at Çeşme-Boyalık (Şahoğlu, 2024).

As mentioned previously, Karataş-Semayük features a unique stone-built chamber tomb among the pithos graves (Mellink, 1969). Burial AQ (Fig. 25) was a mound-shaped chamber composed of a very low stone-built wall and roof covered in earth, forming a small tumulus, which was likely entered through a potential "stomion" closed by a limestone slab set in a niche cut into the bedrock (Mellink, 1969, p. 326). Within the chamber, a floor of gravel featured four post holes evidencing a wooden platform on which the disarticulated burial would have been deposited (Mellink, 1969, p. 326). Since the individual was disarticulated, it is inferred by Mellink that the body was moved there from an earlier burial location, evidencing a type of "dual obsequies."



Ill. 3. Trench 98, NW part: large circle AQ with smaller tombs to S and SE



Ill. 4. Section N-S through tomb under circle AQ, looking E

Figure 25. Top view and section of Tomb AQ from Karataş-Semayük (Mellink, 1969, ill. 3-4)

At Harmanören, one of the largest cemeteries of Western Anatolia located in the Isparta region of the southwest, 163 pithos graves were recovered varying in size and shape, and only one cist tomb (Özsait, 2000). The stone-built chamber tomb, Ü4, is comparable to Burial AQ of Karataş-Semayük. In Ü4, the skeleton was disarticulated, wherein the cranium and long bones were covered in a layer of stones on top of which two large stone blocks were placed. Parıltı and Yücel (2020) consider both AQ of Karataş-Semayük Ü4 of Harmanören as a common type of stone-built chamber tomb capped by a hill (or tumulus/kurgan). Kaklık Mevkii, north of Harmanören, presents 15 pithos graves and four cists tombs dated to the EBA II period, but by the very beginning of the EBA III pit graves and "pseudo-chamber tombs" occur (Topbaş et al., 1998). Though these tombs post-date this study's scope, they are useful to reference to the latter two stone-built chamber tombs.

Lastly, Çeşme-Boyalık, located in the Izmir region dated to the EBA II period, presents the only extramural cemetery comparable to burial types of Philia period Cyprus. At Çeşme-Boyalık six burials have been recovered, five of which are rock-cut chamber tombs,

and one pithos grave (Şahoğlu, 2024, p. 3). Many of the chamber ceilings have collapsed, like in Grave 1, wherein only the circular chamber floor and walls remain, not unlike Sotira-Kaminoudhia or Dhenia-Kafkalla. Of the best-preserved chambers is Grave 2 (Fig. 26), this tomb presents a short dromos, or entrance shaft, that provides access to the chamber's horizontally oriented stomion, ceiled by a vertically placed stone slab. The chamber itself is circular with a domed chamber ceiling. The pithos grave, Grave 3 (Fig. 26), is located at the base of the stomion's capstone in the dromos and is hugged by small stones. The pithos features four vertical handles, two on the shoulders and two around the base, and the pithos is undisturbed, indicating Grave 2 was never opened (Şahoğlu, 2024, p. 9). Grave 4 and Grave 5 are both circular rock-cut pits of the type of Grave 1, that likely are eroded chambers. Between Graves 1-5, a channel appears to have been cut into the bedrock that might have been a central dromos connecting the various tombs (Şahoğlu, 2024).

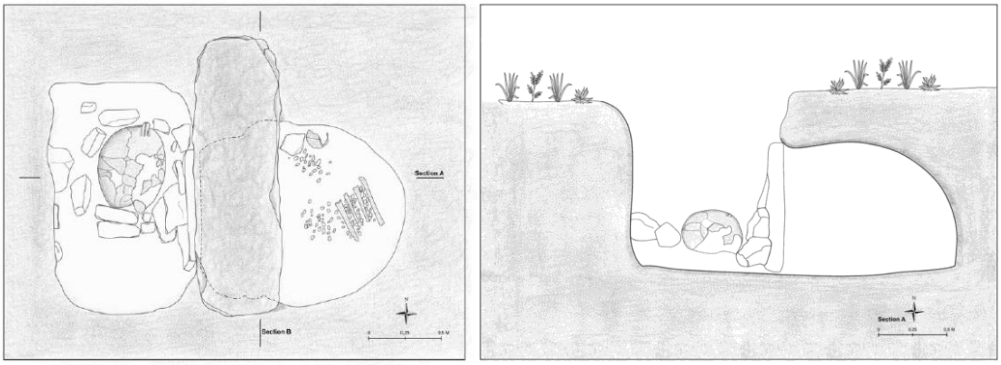


Figure 26. Top view and section of Grave 2 and 3 of Çeşme-Boyalık (Şahoğlu, 2024, fig. 9)

5.2.2 Intramural contexts

Intramural burials are less frequent than extramural cemeteries in West Anatolia during the EBA I and EBA II periods, and like Cyprus, there is a clear pattern towards a particular mortuary practice associated with intramural contexts: the burial of infants/sub-adults in pithoi or jars.

At Aphrodisias-Pekmez intramural pithos graves were recovered dating to the EBA II-III. In Trench 1, a pithos grave facing east and capped with a mudbrick plate contained the remains of three burnt children (Joukowsky, 1986). At Ovabayındır, pithos graves containing infants were recovered but information is very limited. The larger pithos graves are comparable to those from extramural cemeteries like Yortan (Akurgal, 1958). Six pithos graves containing infants were recovered from Troy on the Aegean Coast (Wheeler 1974),

and five infant burials in jar graves were recovered from Beycesultan farther inland (Lloyd et al., 1962). Intramural pithos graves are also reported at Hacılartepe (Roodenberg, 2008) and Kusura (Lamb, 1937).

Kumtepe is the only intramural context absent of pithos graves, instead presenting the only example of intramural pit graves in this study's sample, in which two women are interred within the settlement in the hocker position of their right side with arms crossed (Sperling, 1976).

5.3 Central Anatolia

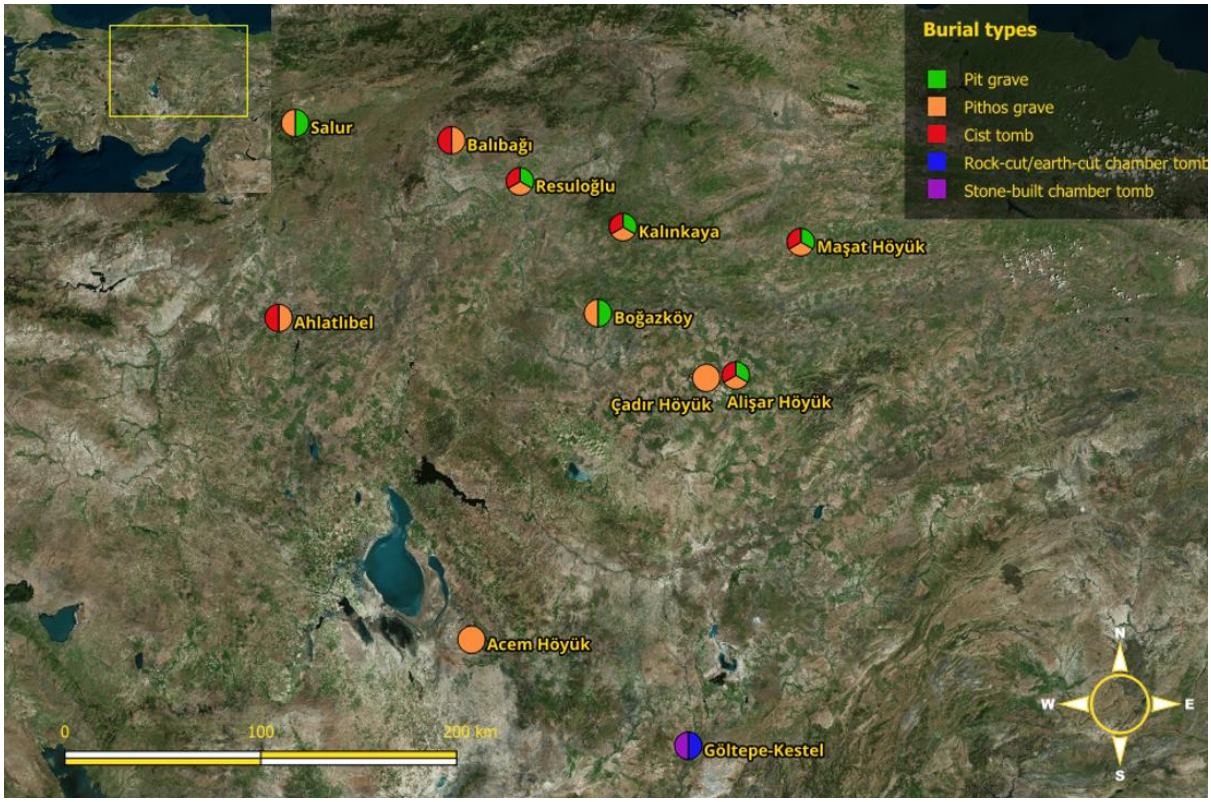


Figure 27. Map of Central Anatolia featuring EBA I-II burial type variability (map by Jack W. Tillman using Bing satellite imagery). Note that pie charts do not represent ratios, but presence-absence.

Extramural sites	Period	Pit grave	Pithos grave	Cist tomb	R/E-c ch.	S-b ch.	Sources
Balıbağı	EBA II		x	x			Bertram & Bertram, 2021
Salur	EBA II	x	x				Bertram & Bertram, 2021
Kalınkaya	EBA II-III	x	x	x			Zimmermann, 2007b
Resuloğlu	EBA II-III	x	x	x			Yıldırım, 2006

Table 8. Extramural Burial type presence-absence in EBA I-II Central Anatolia (table by Jack W. Tillman).

Intramural sites	Period	Pit grave	Pithos grave	Cist tomb	R/E-c ch.	S-b ch.	Sources
Çadır Höyük	EBA I		x				Steadman et al., 2015
Acem Höyük	EBA I-II		x				Özgüç, 1993
Boğazköy	EBA I-III	x	x				Hauptmaan, 1969
Maşat Höyük	EBA I-III	x	x	x			Özgüç, 1978
Alişar Höyük	EBA II	x	x	x			von der Osten, 1939
Ahlatlıbel	EBA II-III		x	x			Yakar, 1985
Göltepe-Kestel	EBA II-III				x	x	Jones, 2021

Table 9. Intramural Burial type presence-absence in EBA I-II Central Anatolia (table by Jack W. Tillman).

5.3.1 Extramural contexts

Extramural cemeteries from the first half of the third millennium BCE appear to be less common compared to intramural burials in Central Anatolia. The majority of extramural cemeteries known from Central Anatolia begin occurring by the end of the EBA II period and are most widespread by the EBA III period, e.g., grand, metal-rich cemeteries of Alacahöyük, Horoztepe, İkiztepe, Oymaağaç, Yarıkkaya, and so on. Thus, our data suggests cemeteries began occurring later in Central Anatolia compared to the West. From the small sample available from the first half of the third millennium BCE including Balıbağı (Bertram & Bertram, 2021), Salur (Bertram & Bertram, 2021), Kalınkaya (Zimmermann, 2007b), and Resuloğlu (Yıldırım, 2006) a preliminary picture of what burial types occurred in these early cemeteries in Central Anatolia can me identified. What is clear is that pithos graves, like in West Anatolia, are the most common type, frequently mixed with cist tombs and pit graves.

The cemetery at Resuloğlu, dated to the EBA II-III period, located in the Çorum province and set on a high ridge is associated with three different EBA settlements. In 2005, 90 pithos graves, 21 cist tombs, and seven jar graves were recovered (Fig. 28) (Yıldırım, 2006, p. 6), but by 2021, 287 graves total had been recovered, including a pit grave and mudbrick chamber (Bertram & Bertram, 2021, p. 277). Pithos graves and cist tombs seem to be the most common burial type. Pithos graves were often placed at a slight inclination supported by stones or in some cases mudbricks. Most faced the east, but some faced southwest, west, and northwest. The way many pithos graves were capped presented strong affinities to cist graves: like other pithos graves, their mouths were capped with bowls or flat stone slabs, but some had thin stone slabs placed on both sides or on top of the entire pithos (Yıldırım, 2006, p. 6) forming a type of pseudo-cist tomb containing a pithos grave, arguably representing a pithos-cist tomb hybrid burial type. Cist tombs varied in shape between rectangular to roughly square and occasionally were surrounded by stones and capped by slabs and several large stones (Yıldırım, 2006, p. 7). Like cists in West Anatolia, many are associated with pithos graves placed next to or up against their capstone.

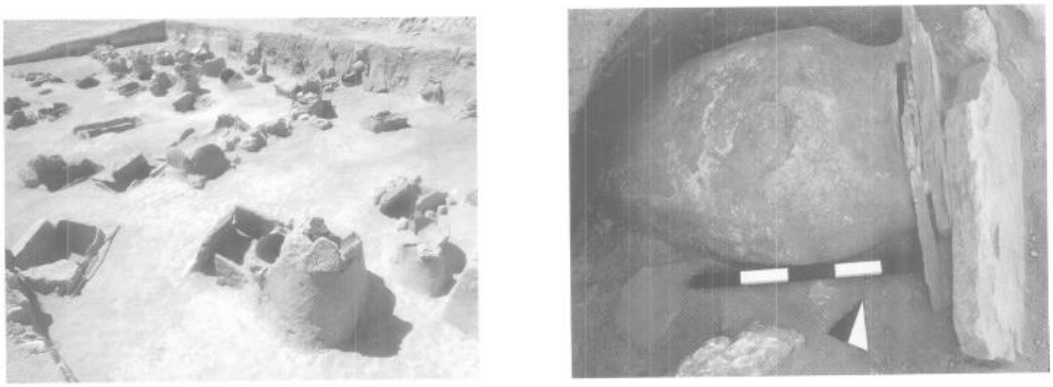


Figure 28. Cist tomb and pithos graves from Resuloğlu (Yıldırım, 2006 fig. 3-6).

At the cemetery of Balıbağı also located in the Çorum province, dating to the EBA II period and used until the MBA, the total number of graves is unclear, but 83 have been recorded by Bertram and Bertram (2021, p. 109) derived from the original excavation plans. The cemetery included at least 50 pithos graves, 33 cist tombs, and an undetermined number of pit graves. Unlike other cemeteries, the distribution of burial types clusters spatially, wherein cists concentrate in the north and west sections of the cemetery, while pithos graves concentrate in the Southeast (Bertram & Bertram, 2021, p. 112).

Salur, located in the Çankırı province, was first settled in the Late Chalcolithic and occupied throughout the EBA. At the cemetery a total of 20 graves were recovered: 13 pithos, one double pithos, four sherd burials, and two pit graves (Bertram & Bertram, 2021, p. 280). Most graves were oriented along an east-west axis and nearly all graves were single burials of young adults and adults. Six graves contained metal objects which were all pins.

Kalınkaya also located in the Çorum province was occupied from the Late Chalcolithic up to the MBA (Zimmermann, 2007b, p. 279). The cemetery was heavily disturbed and lies directly on top of the domestic and funerary deposits from the Chalcolithic. 42 pithos graves were recovered with no discernible orientation. Two examples of double pithos graves were recovered, as well as a single jar burial containing a child. Pithos graves were capped with stone slabs as well as ground stones. Interestingly, many pithos graves presented clear perforations at the bottom of the vessels. Two examples of "crude" cist tombs were recovered with irregularly shaped stones with heavily disturbed remains, and seven pit graves were recovered with no discernible orientation (Zimmermann, 2007b, p. 279-80).

5.3.2 Intramural contexts

Pithos burials are the predominant burial type in intramural contexts in Central Anatolia, but unlike in Western Anatolia, a considerably greater degree of variation is present. Intramural pit graves are present at Alişar Höyük (von der Osten, 1939), Boğazköy (Hauptmaan, 1969), Maşat Höyük (Özgüç, 1978) and intramural cist tombs are present at Ahlatlıbel (Yakar, 1985), Alişar Höyük (von der Osten, 1939), and Maşat Höyük (Özgüç, 1978). Thus, many of the burial types that begin to occur in extramural cemeteries occur first intramurally in Central Anatolia. Also, rather than only infants and sub-adults being interred intramurally, both adults and sub-adults are buried within settlements.

Acem Höyük and Çadır Höyük, both dating to the EBA I period, are the only sites that present exclusively intramural pithos graves in Central Anatolia. Both sites roughly follow the tradition observed in Western Anatolia of the internment of infants and sub-adults in pithos or jar graves under buildings, wherein adults are absent. At Acem Höyük, two pithos graves, both containing infants, were found under the stone foundation of a building (Özgüç, 1993). Several infant jar burials were recovered from EBA I deposits inside the settlement of Çadır Höyük, buried in pits while the settlement was still in use, rather than

merely being placed in the corner of buildings as was the case during the Chalcolithic (Steadman et al., 2015, p. 95).

At Ahlatlıbel, located in Central Anatolia, 18 burials of both pithos graves and cist tombs dated to the EBA II period were recovered containing children and adults (Yakar, 1985). Eight pithos graves were recovered, seven of which were located under the floor of buildings. One pithos grave, No. 11, was surrounded by a circular wall of stones (Özgüç, 1948, p. 33). Five cist tombs were present, and unlike other cist tombs reviewed so far, these burials were capped with upwards of six capstones.

Alişar Höyük located in North-central Anatolia, occupied from the Chalcolithic to the EBA presents a long sequence of intramural burial where the stratigraphy is not always clear. But from what is considered the EBA I ("Chalcolithic") and EBA II ("Copper Age"), pithos graves, pit graves, and cist tombs are known (von der Osten, 1937). According to von der Osten's (1937) publication, burial quantities recovered from the EBA I (layers 19M to 12M) include four pit graves, six "pot burials" or jar graves, two cist tombs, and a "wooden box" burial (p. 208-30). Burial quantities recovered from the EBA II (layers 11a-cM to 7M, 13T, and 14T) include 11 pit graves, six pithos graves, 21 "pot burials" or jar graves, three "stone boxes" or cist tombs, and one "mudbrick cist" (von der Osten, 1937, p. 109-150). Burials included both children and adults.

At Boğazköy also known as Çamlıbel Tarlası, west of the great site of Hattuşa, 17 graves are known from inside the settlement, but only very general information is available (Bertram & Bertream, 2021, p. 123). 10 pit graves were recovered, which contained children and adults. Seven jar graves were recovered, all containing infants. All burials were located either under buildings or near their perimeter (Bertram & Bertream, 2021, p. 123).

Maşat Höyük in North-central Anatolia, occupied from the Late Chalcolithic to the Iron Age, presents a total of 10 intramural burials (Emre, 1996). Four pit graves and six pithos graves were recovered. All burials are single inhumations, and no trend in orientation is discernible (Emre, 1996).

On the northern extent of the Central Taurus mountains, the mining site of Göltepe-Kestel sits in between Central and Southeast Anatolia (Jones, 2021). Dated between the EBA I-III Göltepe-Kestel presents a variety of intramural burials within the mining caverns, though their dating is uncertain, they are worth discussing. Within Mortuary Chamber 1 of Kestel Mine 2, human remains were recovered scattered on the floor, around which rock-cut

and stone-built chambers were found (Fig. 29) (Jones, 2021). These tombs were cut into the base of the chamber walls, forming globular chambers that dipped below the floor, featuring stone-built walls lining their medial face. The stone-built chambers, referred to as cists, are circular pits entirely lined with stones, unlike the single face of the rock-cut chambers .

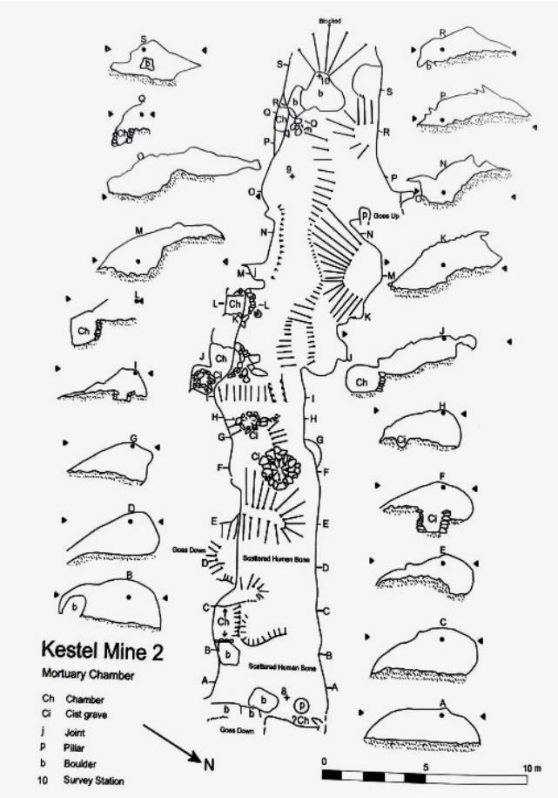


Figure 29. Kestel Mine 2 featuring rock-cut and stone-built chamber tombs (Jones, 2021, fig. 90).

5.4 Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria

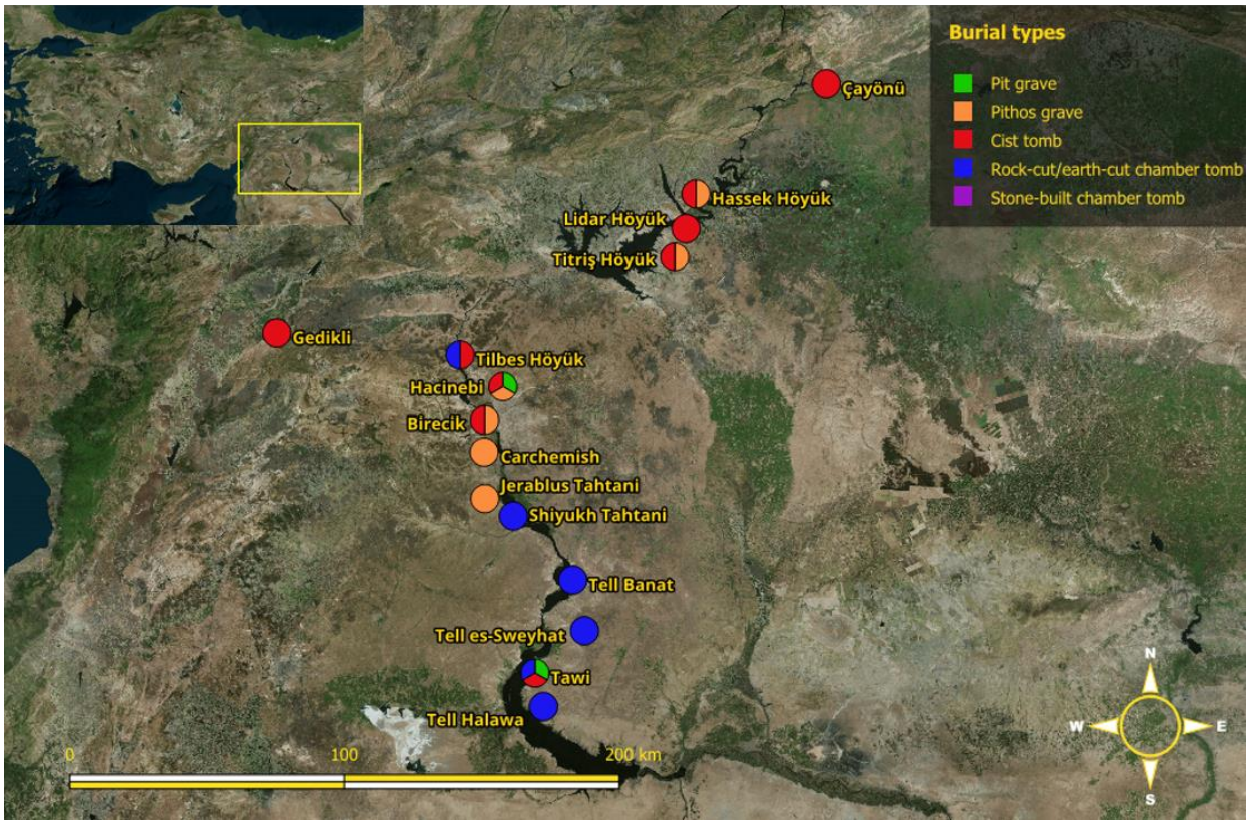


Figure 30. Map of Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria featuring EBA I-II burial type variability (map by Jack W. Tillman using Bing satellite imagery). Note that pie charts do not represent ratios, but presence-absence.

Extramural sites	Period	Pit grave	Pithos grave	Cist tomb	R/E-c ch.	S-b ch.	Source
Hacınebi	EBA I	x	x	x			Stein et al., 1997
Birecik	EBA I-II		x	x			Sertok & Ergeç, 1999
Hassek Höyük	EBA I-II		x				Behm-Blancke et al., 1984
Titriş Höyük	EBA I-II		x	x			Laneri, 2007
Gedikli	EBA I-II			x			Duru, 2000
Lidar Höyük	EBA II-III			x			Hauptmann, 1983
Tell Halawa	EBA II-III				x		Orthmann, 1981
Tell es-Sweyhat	EBA II-III				x		Zettler, 1997
Tell Banat	EBA II-III				x		Porter, 1995
Tawi	EBA II-III	x		x	x		Kampschulte, 1984

Table 10. Extramural Burial type presence-absence in EBA I-II Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria (table by Jack W. Tillman).

Intramural sites	Period	Pit grave	Pithos grave	Cist tomb	R/E-ch.	S-bch.	Source
Çayönü	EBA I-II			x			Çambel & Braidwood, 1980
Hassek Höyük	EBA I-II		x	x			Behm-Blancke et al., 1984
Titriş Höyük	EBA I-II			x			Honça & Algaze, 1998
Tilbes Höyük	EBA II			x	x		Fuensanata et al., 2019
Shiyukh Tahtani	EBA II				x		Sconzo, 2006
Jerablus Tahtani	EBA I-II		x				Peltenburg et al., 1997
Carchemish	EBA II-III		x				Sconzo, 2014

Table 11. Intramural Burial type presence-absence in EBA I-II Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria (table by Jack W. Tillman).

5.4.1 Extramural contexts

5.4.1.1 Cist tombs and pithos graves in Southeast Anatolia

In Southeast Anatolia, during the EBA I-II period, cist tombs were the most frequent burial type within extramural contexts, distinguishing the Southeast from Western and Central Anatolia where pithos graves predominate. This burial type is most concentrated in the northern portion of the Euphrates located within the Turkish portion of the Upper Euphrates. When pithos graves do occur in extramural contexts, they typically contain sub-adults rather than adults, except for Hassek Höyük (Behm-Blancke et al., 1984). A few sites exclusively feature cists, including Lidar Höyük (Hauptmann, 1983) and Gedikli (Duru, 2000). Within the "Big Bend" of the Middle Euphrates in Northern Syria and a handful of sites in the Gaziantep province, rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs begin to occur in the late EBA II period at sites like Tell es-Sweyhat (Zettler, 1997), Tell Halawa (Orthmann, 1981), and Tawi (Kampschulte, 1984) which date mostly to the latter end of the third millennium BCE.

The cemetery at Birecik Dam is located south of the Southeast Taurus Mountains in the Euphrates Valley of the Gaziantep province. The cemetery is dated to the EBAI-II period and features 312 cist graves and 13 jar burials (Fig. 31) (Sertok & Ergeç, 1999). Cist tombs at Birecik were constructed like elsewhere in Anatolia, but differ in some respects. Cist tombs were capped not always with a single slab, but two to three arranged widthwise with small stones to fill the gaps (Sertok & Ergeç, 1999, p. 80). Sometimes the bottom or the west end of the cist tomb was left open without a stone slab. Most cist tombs were oriented northwest to

southeast. Pithos graves were interred often between cist tombs, scattered “randomly” around the cemetery. Like the pithos-cist tomb hybrid of Resuloğlu, pithos graves were lined and covered with stone slabs like cist tomb (Fig. 31) (Sertok & Ergeç, 1999, p. 90). Traces of a wooden chest was found in the cist tomb of M282; thus, the excavators suggest, pithoi and other containers may have served to contain the bodies in most cist tombs (Sertok & Ergeç, 1999, p. 90). Though the majority of pithos graves are of infants.

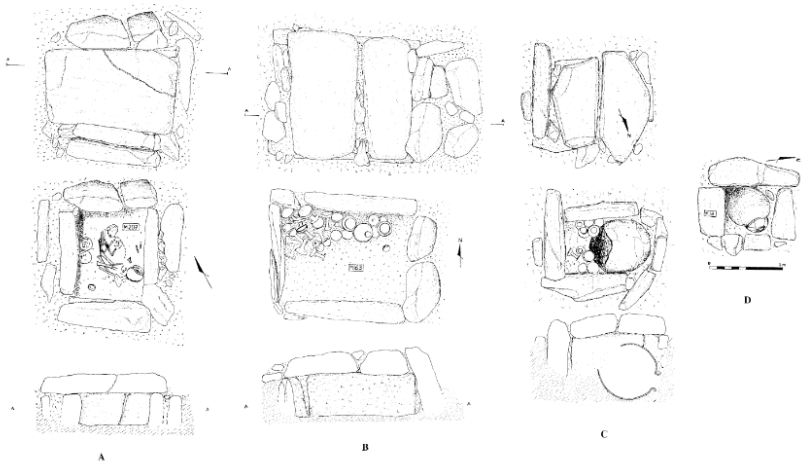


Figure 31. Cist tombs and pithos-cist tomb hybrid from Birecik (Sertok & Ergeç, 1999, fig. 6).

Hacınebi located in the Upper Euphrates north of Birecik Dam contains multiple cemeteries. In Area A in the north of the site, an EBA I cemetery without an associated settlement was recovered, presenting four cist tombs, and no pithos burials, leading the excavators to infer it was a cemetery for adults (Stein et al., 1997, p. 117). The four cist tombs were constructed out of crudely hewn stone slabs and capped with three to four stone slabs. The tombs were oriented northeast to southwest and evenly spaced without overlapping. In Area B, in the south, another cemetery dated to the EBA I, contemporary with the latter cemetery was recovered, in which cist tombs, pithos graves, and pit graves were found in which both adults and children were interred (Stein et al., 1997, p. 117). Eight burials were found including four infant burials in jar graves (of reused cooking vessels), two adults in simple pit graves, and two cist tombs composed of both stone slabs and mudbrick. Burial 153 east and west sides were lined with stone slabs typical of a cist tomb, but the north

was lined with a mudbrick wall. These cist tombs are some of the earliest examples in the region (Stein et al., 1997).

Titriş Höyük located farther up the Euphrates than Birecik and Hacınebi, dated to the EBA II period, presents evidence for multiple extramural cemeteries, but the west cemetery presents the most data. Burial types in the West cemetery include cist tombs, pithos graves, and a stone-built chamber tomb, B94.54, which likely dates to the EBA III based on its similarities to later dating intramural chamber tombs (Laneri, 2007, p. 249). The cemetery is composed of 41 cist tombs and only three pithos graves. These cist tombs are larger and more elongated compared to cist tombs from the EBA I (Honça & Algaze, 1998, p. 105). The majority of cist tombs were oriented east-west and show evidence of multiple-deposition funerary customs (Laneri, 2007, p. 250). The pithos burials were so damaged, no information is available (Honça & Algaze, 1998, p. 106). The other cemeteries include the cemetery in the eastern portion of the Outer Town presenting two cist tombs, and a possible third cemetery in the western lobe of the Lower Town including one cist tomb, and four robbed cist tombs on its western edge (Honça & Algaze, 1998).

The cemetery of Hassek Höyük, directly north of Titriş Höyük on the Euphrates, dated to the EBA I-II period, presents the only cemetery in this region entirely composed of pithos graves, much like Western or Central Anatolia. The cemetery is composed of 97 pithos graves, ordered along an east-southeast and west-southwest axis (Behm-Blancke et al., 1984). Some pithoi necks were broken to fit into their burial pit, and pithos graves were capped by sherds and small stones. The only comparison for extramural cemeteries principally composed of pithos graves in the region derives from the Late Chalcolithic at sites like Tarsus-Gözlü Kule and Byblos outside the Euphrates region. At the cemetery of Tarsus-Gözlü Kule located in the Çukurova, pithoi were also broken at the neck and placed within pits like Hassek Höyük (Goldmann, 1956, p. 6-8). At Byblos on the Mediterranean coast of the Levant, a cemetery composed of a staggering 2,059 jar burials dating to the Late Chalcolithic reflect the extent of the tradition within the Levant (Artin, 2024, p. 59).

The only cemeteries exclusively composed of cist tombs are found at Lidar Höyük, dated to the EBA I-II period, composed exclusively of cist tombs, numbering 205 burials (Hauptmann, 1983), and at Gedikli, where most burials belong to the late third to second millennium BCE, several cist tombs date to the EBA I-II period without pithoi or pit graves (Duru, 2000).

5.4.1.2 Rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs in Northern Syria

By the mid to late third millennium BCE, rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs become ubiquitous in the "Big Bend" of the Middle Euphrates in Northern Syria at sites like El Qitar, Tell Banat, Shams ed-Din, Tell al-Abd, Djerniye, Tawi, Tell Halawa, Selenkahiye, and Weide (Cooper, 2007). This tomb type also extends south throughout Syria and Palestine, but the vast majority of these rock-cut chamber tombs date to the EBA IV period, post-dating the chronological scope of this study (Cooper, 2007, p. 67). As well, many sites in the Gaziantep province of Southeast Anatolia feature circular or globular rock-cut chamber tombs, e.g., Tilbes Höyük, Oğuzeli, Sam Village, Konak, Dibecik, Lohan Höyük, and Zincirli (Yılmaz, 2006, p. 75-6). But these examples from Gaziantep either present uncertain dates or are poorly published. There are only a few sites with rock-cut chamber tombs that date to the second and third quarter of the third millennium BCE, during the EBA II, that can be included in this study (Bolger, 2013; Porter, 2002).

Tell es-Sweyhat located on the Euphrates presents an extramural cemetery wherein five rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs were recovered. The excavators speculate that based on the distribution of tombs across roughly one hectare, there may be as many as 100-150 tombs (Zettler, 1997, p. 50). Tomb 1 (Fig. 32) features a rectangular shaft that leads to a chamber entered by two steps. The chamber is oval-shaped and presents a domed ceiling. No slab sealed the chamber's stomion within the shaft, but a slab was recovered that likely sealed the shaft entranced. The shaft of Tomb 2 was heavily disturbed from collapse, but the chamber was in better condition than Tomb 1, presenting the stomion capstone on the floor and containing two individuals (Zettler, 1997, p. 53). Tombs 1 and 2 are believed to date between 2600-2450 BCE, thus EBA II.

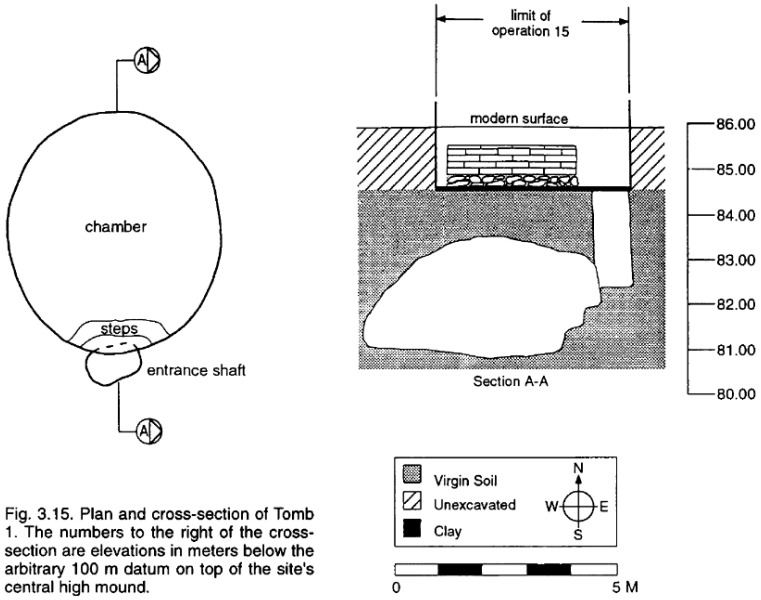


Fig. 3.15. Plan and cross-section of Tomb 1. The numbers to the right of the cross-section are elevations in meters below the arbitrary 100 m datum on top of the site's central high mound.

Figure 32. Tomb 1 from Tell es-Sweyhat (Zettler, 1997, fig. 3.15).

The site of Tawi, south of Tell es-Sweyhat on the Euphrates presents several cemeteries that mostly dates to the EBA III-IV period featuring large stone-built chamber tombs, but the few burials that date to the EBA II include one rock-cut chamber tomb, T6 (Fig. 33), a cist tombs, T65, and long narrow collective pit graves capped by multiple capstones, T19-20, T24, T25, T70, T71 (Kampschulte, 1984). T6 is of the rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tomb type composed of two chambers facing each other connected by a rectangular shaft (Kampschulte, 1984, p. 14; Porter, 2002). Chamber A is located in the east and Chamber B in the west, but only the former has been investigated and included in the figure (Fig. 33) (Kampschulte, 1984, p. 15). Chamber A is roughly rectangular and features a pillar that buttresses the center of the eastern wall—an aspect of tomb elaboration only comparable in this dataset to Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra. The ceiling is irregularly vaulted and becomes lower and narrower towards the eastern face. Along the wall of the northern side of the entrance, a step/bench is cut into the rock.

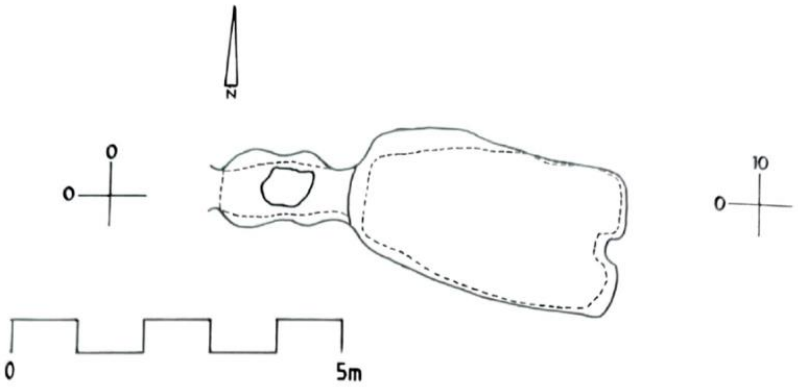


Figure 33. Tomb 6 from Tawi (Kampschulte, 1984, fig. 4).

Tell Halawa, south of Tawi on the Euphrates is composed of two tells:, Tell A dates to the EBA III-IV and Tell B to the EBA II and abandoned at the beginning of EBA III (Orthmann, p. 270). Around these tells, there are numerous rock-cut chamber tombs furnished with benches, platforms, and niches. H70 (Fig. 34) is a badly eroded rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tomb, wherein the ceiling has completely collapsed (Orthmann, 1981, p. 54). The shaft could not be identified, but the stomion to the chamber was still visible in the rock Orthmann, 1981, p. 54. The chamber presents an irregular shape and two burials. Though poorly preserved, H70 represents the earliest rock-cut chamber tombs of this type at Tell Halawa during the EBA II period.

Figure 34. H70 from Tell Halawa (Orthmann, 1981, tafel. 39).

Tell Banat, north of the latter three sites in the middle Euphrates, is one of the largest sites in this dataset from the mid-third millennium BCE: a complex composed of five different sites, and a truly monumental mortuary record, featuring tumuli, and grand multi-

chamber stone-built tombs, like Tomb 7 (Porter, 1995, p. 1). But relative to the priorities of this study, Tomb 1 will be the focus. Tomb 1 (Fig. 35) is an earth/rock-cut chamber tomb on the west slope of the Tell composed of two main arched chambers: Chamber 2 and chamber 3. These chambers connect to Chamber 1, the antechamber, which hosts the tomb stomion in the west, which was sealed by a wall, two-courses wide composed of large field stones (Porter, 1995, p. 2). The most obscure aspect of Tomb 1 is the two tunnels, T1 in the north of Chamber 3, and T2 in the southwest of Chamber 2. T1 has not been investigated, but T2 presents a very narrow passage (51 cm deep, 62 cm wide), that leads to a dead end as it descends two meters deep. The tunnels are so narrow, that Porter (1995) suggests they were dug by children (p. 2). All chambers contained human remains, minimally five individuals, and a great wealth of ceramic and metal grave goods.

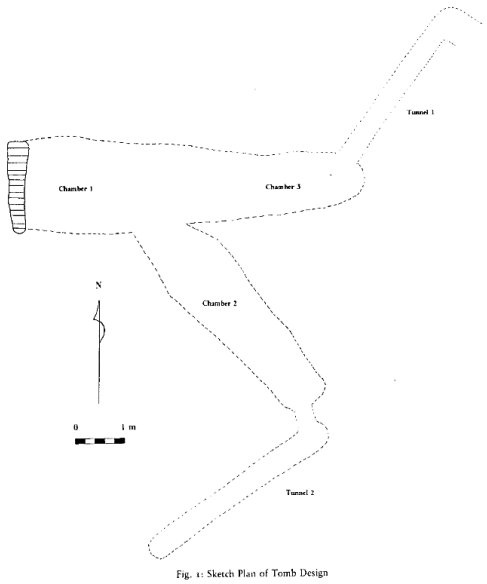


Fig. 1: Sketch Plan of Tomb Design

Figure 35. Tomb 1 from Tell Banat (Poter, 1995, fig. 1).

5.4.2 Intramural contexts

Within the settlement of Titriş Höyük a single intramural cist tomb was recovered from the EBA I period (Honça & Algaze, 1998, p. 104). This tomb, B93.41, was composed of stone slabs like other cist tombs, and capped by a single slab, comparable to cist tombs from Hassek Höyük. The settlement of Hassek Höyük also presents an intramural cemetery composed of both cist tombs and pithos graves. The cist tombs are less frequent than the pithoi, and the majority of pithos graves are oriented on an east-west axis (Behm-Blancke et

al., 1984). At Çayönü, a cist tomb was recovered containing a single individual dated to the EBA I-II (Çambel & Braidwood, 1980).

At Tilbes Höyük, along the Upper Euphrates, near the border between Türkiye and Syria, the settlement dates from the EBA I to the EBA III period. During the EBA II, in the second phase of the "Shrine" building, two cist burials were recovered (Fuensanata et al., 2019). These cist tombs are unique compared to Western or Central Anatolia in respect to their scale and shape. Both cist tombs are almost perfectly square-shaped and miniature, and each contains the remains of children (Fig. 36) (Fuensanata et al., 2019, p. 58). According to Cooper (2007) near Tilbes Höyük, a rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tomb has been identified by Fuensanata, but this awaits publication and the date is uncertain (p. 60).

Figure 36. Intramural cist tombs from Tilbes Höyük (Fuensanata et al., 2019, fig. 5b).

By the end of the third millennium BCE, south of the Turkish portion of the Upper Euphrates in Northern Syria, many sites present monumental intramural tombs, like the stone-built chamber tombs of Jerablus-Tahtani. But before the EBA III period, burial types that occur intramurally at Jerablus-Tahtani follow the variability of EBA I-II Southeast Anatolia. In the earliest levels of the pre-fortification phase (considered second-quarter of the third millennium BCE, i.e., EBA II) a jar burial was recovered oriented vertically in a pit (Peltenburg et al., 1997, p. 3). The jar was capped by a dish used as a lid likely containing an infant. Peltenburg compares this burial to the "chalcolithic pot burials" at Carchemish (Woolley & Barnett, 1952, p. 214-17), but recent chronological evaluations indicate this

practice continued into the EBA II-III period at Carchemish, such as the pithos grave at the base of the Great Staircase on the acropolis (Sconzo, 2014).

The site of Shiyukh Tahtani is one of the only examples of an intramural rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tomb in the region. Shiyukh Tahtani is located on the Euphrates, southwest of Jerablus-Tahtani, and north of the "Big Bend' where most of the rock-cut chamber tombs occur. This site contains an intramural cemetery of over 30 oval pit graves dating to the EBA IV period (Sconzo, 2006, p. 343). But located under a small room east of a narrow north-south street within the settlement, Tomb 83 (Fig. 37) was located, a rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tomb. Unlike most of the rock-cut tombs mentioned above, this tomb is intramural rather than extramural. The tomb shaft is rectangular and very narrow leading to a tiny funerary chamber with the stomion on the eastern side of the shaft with no capstone (Sconzo, 2006, p. 344). The tomb chamber contained a single child deposited on large pithos sherds with four shell rings, a copper toggle pine, beads, and ceramic vessels—presently children in rock-cut chamber tombs are rare in Northern Syria. The ceramic assemblage of Tomb 83 mirrored that of another tomb, Tomb 52, dated to 2600-2450 BCE (Sconzo, 2006). Thus, dating the tomb to the mid-third millennium BCE, squarely in the EBA II.

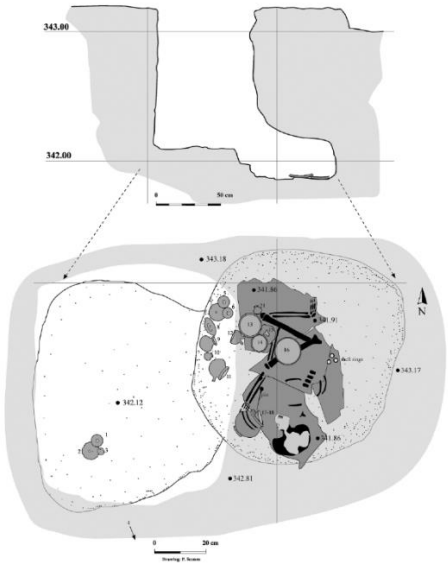


Figure 37. Tomb 83 from Shiyukh Tahtani (Sconzo, 2006, fig. 1).

6. Discussion

Below each burial type will be assessed independently, in which trends across space and time will be discussed, followed by how each burial type articulates with broader mortuary practices within and between regions. Once each burial type is presented, the broader Anatolian context of Philia period burial types in Cyprus will be analyzed and compared to evidence for inter-regional connectivity.

6.1 Inter-regional burial type variability

6.1.1 Pit graves

Figure 38. Inter-regional map of pit grave location and period (map by Jack W. Tillman).

A total of 19 sites contain pit graves spread across all regions (Fig. 38). With respect to location, pit graves inter-regionally occur overwhelmingly within extramural cemeteries. They occur intramurally most in Central Anatolia at Boğazköy, Maşat Höyük, Alişar Höyük. Hence, our data suggests pit graves were less common within settlements during the EBA. In respect to periodization, the data suggests pit graves were most common after the EBA I

period, but sites are generally less common during this time, thus it is likely the low incidence of pit graves during the EBA I period reflects this general trend.

The vast majority of pit graves occur within mixed cemeteries, most frequently alongside pithos graves and cist tombs, constituting a pit-pithos-cist burial type complex, a trend also observed by Massa and Şahoğlu (2011, p. 167). In Western Anatolia, pit graves, pithos graves, and cist tombs occur together in extramural cemeteries at Bakla Tepe, Kusura, Kos, Kaklık Mevkii, and Demircihöyük-Sarıket. In Central Anatolia the pit-pithos-cist complex occurs in extramural cemeteries at Kalınkaya and Resuloğlu, and intramurally at Maşat Höyük and Alişar Höyük. Massa and Şahoğlu (2011) associate the pit-pithos-cist complex with the first quarter of the third millennium BCE (p. 167), but our data demonstrates its continuation into the second quarter of the millennium.

Within mixed cemeteries, pit graves are almost always the least represented burial type, except for making up nearly half of the burials at Bakla Tepe in Western Anatolia. They compose a substantial portion of Demircihöyük-Sarıket (37 pit graves) but still compose under half of the total burials. When they occur outside the pit-pithos-cist complex, they also number the least, but with a few exceptions such as at Boğazköy in Central Anatolia where pit graves occur with pithos graves and not cists and represent over half the total graves (10 pit graves), and in Cyprus, at Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi, where pit graves total four out of five burials. Thus, pit graves are widespread, but often the less popular burial type where they occur.

Concerning custom, there are no trends discernable regarding particular attributes of the pit grave. Relative to pit graves being the simplest means of burial, they are ubiquitous and developed independently across space and time.

6.1.2 Pithos graves

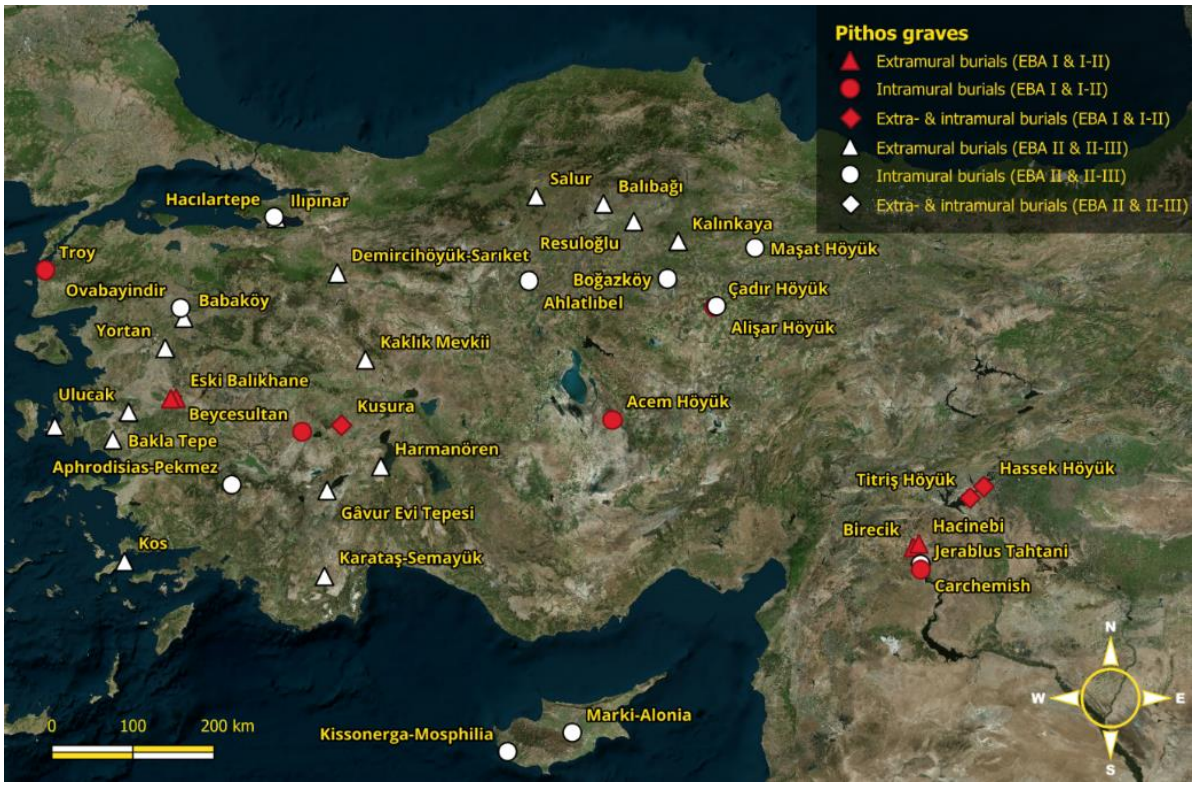


Figure 39. Inter-regional map of pithos grave location and period (map by Jack W. Tillman).

A total of 33 sites includes pithos graves, which occur across all regions (Fig. 39). As stated above, pithos graves occur predominantly in extramural cemeteries in Western and Central Anatolia and are the most popular burial type in the latter regions. Pithos graves are the preferred intramural burial type for sub-adults in all regions except Southeast Anatolia where pit graves and cist tombs occur as frequently. In the Southeast, pithos graves occur frequently in Late Chalcolithic cemeteries, like at Byblos and Tarsus-Gözlü Kule, but become rare by the EBA period, only represented by Hassek Höyük in this study's dataset. Pithos graves only continue in use in Southeast Anatolia for sub-adults either in predominantly extramural cist tomb cemeteries or within settlements. The practice of intramural pithos graves has no Chalcolithic antecedent in Cyprus and represents the expansion and local adoption of this inter-regional custom. This is significant, considering the lack of extramural pithos graves in Cyprus, reflecting differential reception to Anatolia mortuary practice likely introduced following the expansion of the Anatolian Trade Network (Şahoğlu, 2005).

Pithos graves represent the largest sample for the EBA I period, mostly occurring intramurally. By the EBA II, extramural pithos graves become far more frequent, especially

in Western and Central Anatolia. Massa and Şahoğlu (2011) associate the EBA II period with the expansion of the "family pithos" tradition, wherein six to eight individuals are interred in successive episodes within a single pithos grave (p. 167). This study's sample supports this pattern in Western Anatolia, e.g., Yortan's grave No. 23 containing six individuals (Kâmil, 1982, p. 9), a pithos grave at Bakla Tepe containing six individuals (Şahoğlu, 2008, p. 174), and Karataş-Semayük's tomb 112 containing eight individuals (Mellink, 1969, p. 321). As well, the use of surface markers at Karataş-Semayük and removable pithos mouth sealings across all regions enables easy reuse. Hence, by the second quarter of the third millennium BCE, in West Anatolia pithos graves reflect a predominantly collective burial practice, involving the continuous reuse of tombs that may be associated with families or particular social groups.

In Central Anatolia, the context of pithos graves is distinct from the West. As Massa and Şahoğlu (2011) observe, the distribution of family pithoi stops at the central plateau (p. 167). While pithos graves still are the most frequent burial type within extramural contexts in Central Anatolia, they do not reflect a collective tradition as in the West, and cist tombs compose a greater proportion of burials when they co-occur with pithos graves, e.g., 50 pithos graves and 33 cist tombs at Balıbağı. Within intramural contexts, pithos graves also tend to co-occur with intramural pit graves and cist tombs more often than alone, whereas intramural pit graves and cist tombs are either rare or absent in the West. Hence, pithos graves in both extramural and intramural contexts occur most frequently within the pit-pithos-cist complex in Central Anatolia. Thus, pithos graves in Central Anatolia occur within generally more diverse burial-type contexts and do not follow the collective burial customs that define pithos graves in Western Anatolia.

In all regions, the particularities of pithos graves present a high degree of variability, reflecting diverse local customs site-to-site when compared to other burial types. While pithoi varying in size is common, wherein larger pithoi are used for adults or multiple internments and jars or pots for sub-adults, double pithoi and sherd burials are more unique. Double pithoi occur at Demircihöyük-Sarıket, Salur, and Kalınkaya, thus extending from northern to western portions of Central Anatolia. Sherd burials are slightly rarer, occurring at only Kusura and Salur, as well, pithos sherds were placed under the body of the intramural rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tomb at Shiyukh Tahtani. In this way, the practice of depositing the body within pithos sherds cuts across burial types. This also is true for complete pithoi, wherein the practice of placing pithos graves within cist tombs, constituting a pithos-cist

tomb hybrid burial type, is evidenced at Yortan, Resuloğlu, and Birecik—represented in all regions except Cyprus where cist tombs are absent. Other examples of pithos grave variation include a wall of stones built around the pithos grave No. 11 at Ahlatlıbel in Central Anatolia, and that pithos graves were perforated at their base at Kalınkaya in Central Anatolia.

The wide distribution of these less common pithos graves, like double pithos graves and sherds burials, in highly variable mortuary contexts suggests their principally independent development and highlights the fundamentally unstable nature of mortuary practice as discussed in Chapter Three. Rather than shared inter-regional customs, these outliers demonstrate the situational, local, and heterogenous choices of mourners iterating upon common material entanglements with pithoi as a means of burial.

Unlike the unique circumstances of pithos grave variants discussed above, the regional distribution of the family pithos grave practice in Western Anatolia and pit-pithos-cist complex widespread in Central Anatolia through the EBA I-II periods suggests a difference in custom identifiable at the macro-scale, corroborating Massa and Şahoğlu (2011) observations. But this trend is only relative to the custom of bodily deposition and tomb reuse. Site-to-site, the way these customs manifest must be understood as locally variable, each likely reflecting idiosyncratic mortuary practices invisible to archaeologists that differ greatly between and within communities.

6.1.3 Cist tombs

Figure 40. Inter-regional map of cist tomb location and period (map by Jack W. Tillman).

A total of 24 sites present cist tombs, occurring in West, Central, and Southeast Anatolia (Fig. 40). In the West, cist tombs occur almost exclusively within extramural contexts except Kusura. The only site exclusively composed of cist tombs in West Anatolia occurs at Iasos. As discussed previously, cist tombs articulate with the pit-pithos-cist complex in both extramural and intramural contexts in Central Anatolia. In Southeast Anatolia, they occur in both extramural and intramural contexts, but most frequently in extramural cemeteries composed mostly of cists, wherein pithos graves are a minority and used for sub-adults, e.g., Birecik, Titriş Höyük, Lidar Höyük.

In respect to periodization, cist tombs occur mostly during the EBA II period in West and Central Anatolia, whereas they occur most frequently during the EBA I period in the Southeast.

Nowhere do cist tombs make up the majority of tombs in Anatolia except for the Upper Euphrates of Southeast Anatolia and the outlier case of Iasos in West Anatolia. For the Southeast, Cooper (2007) also recognizes this trend of cist tombs in the Upper Euphrates and identifies their boundary in Northern Syria where rock-cut chamber tombs begin to

predominate in the “Big bend” of the Middle Euphrates (Tbl. 12) (p. 65). Cooper’s study makes an ambitious ethnic argument to explain this burial type distribution. Cooper interprets this trend, with caution, as potentially reflecting an ethnic distinction between a Hurrian cist tomb tradition in the north and a Semitic Amorite rock-cut chamber tomb tradition in the south (Cooper, 2007, p. 67). Cooper finds the distribution of these burial types follows closely with the distribution of Hurrian and Amorite place names in contemporary textual sources from Ebla (Bonechi, 1998). The emic ascription of ethnic identity is impossible to ascertain without local textual sources from each cemetery and the relationship between ethnicity and mortuary practice is dubious, but whether cist tombs relate to Hurrian identity or not, the textual sources follow a clear burial type trend and supports the identification of regional custom in the northern portion of the Upper Euphrates distinct from cist tomb contexts in Western and Central Anatolia.

Euphrates Valley EB Site	*Cist Grave*	*Earth or Rock-Cut Shaft Grave*
Hassek Höyük	♦	
Lidar Höyük	♦	
Titris Höyük	♦	
Tilbes Höyük	♦	♦
Hacinebi	♦	
Birecik Dam Cemetery	♦	
Şaraga Höyük	♦	
Gre Virike	♦	
Carchemish	♦	
Jerablus Tahtani	♦	
Tell Amarna	♦	
Tell Ahmar	♦	
Hammam Kebir	♦	
Qara Quzaq	♦	
Tell Banat		♦
el-Qitar		♦
Tell es-Sweyhat		♦
Tell Hadidi		♦
Shemseddin	♦	♦
Tell el-‘Abd	♦	♦
Djerniye		♦
Tawi	♦	♦
Halawa		♦
Selenkahiye		♦
Wreide		♦

Table 12. Cist tomb and rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs in EBA Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria (Cooper, 2007, tbl. 4.1).

The cist tomb cemetery of Iasos is explainable with respect to the cist tomb tradition of the Cyclades and increasing contact between the Aegean and Western Anatolia following the expansion of the Anatolian Trade Network during the EBA II period (Şahoğlu, 2005). Wheeler (1974) recognizes the close relationship between the cemetery of Iasos and Cycladic

cist tomb cemeteries but also identifies important differences that reflect Anatolian mortuary practices (p. 419). Both Cycladic cist tombs and Iasos cist tombs share an extramural location and single slab capstones, but Iasos cist tombs vary greatly in shape which is uncommon in the Cyclades, and Cycladic tombs rarely contain multiple burials, whereas 20% of tombs at Iasos presented multiple internments (Wheeler, 1974, p. 419). This intermixture of customs is also present on the Aegean island of Kos, where Anatolian pithos graves compose the majority of burials and single round cist tombs are present.

Thus, West and Central Anatolia are both border zones between regions where cist tombs predominate, the Cyclades and Southeast Anatolia, resulting in a radiation of cist tomb variation from both the east and west, wherein cist tombs articulate with Anatolian pithos graves in a variety of contexts as discussed in the pithos grave section above. While in the Cyclades and Southeast Anatolia, cist tombs reflect a discernable regional custom, the West and Central regions are characterized by mixed cemeteries and the hybridization of mortuary practices. It is suggested this intermixture is the result of a process of differential receptivity to foreign customs and creative integration into local practices, constituting unique hybridizing burial types and mortuary customs that cannot be easily characterized as either local or foreign. This pattern of high variability does not suggest migration from the Cyclades or Southeast Anatolia, but principally local mortuary practices changing via increasing contact.

6.1.4 Rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs

Figure 41. Inter-regional map of rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tomb location and period (map by Jack W. Tillman).

A total of 16 sites present rock-cut and earth-cut chamber tombs, the majority of which occur in Cyprus, second most in Northern Syria, and a few outlier cases, such as Göltepe-Kestel in South-central Anatolia and Çeşme-Boyalık in Western Anatolia (Fig. 41).

Rock-cut chamber tombs almost exclusively occur in extramural cemeteries. Shiyukh Tahtani represents the only intramural example within a settlement, and the chamber tombs of Göltepe-Kestel occur within Kestel's mining galleries in association with the nearby mining settlement.

No rock-cut chamber tombs occur within the EBA I period. All 16 occur in the second quarter or beginning of the third quarter of the third millennium BCE, notwithstanding Göltepe-Kestel's uncertain dating, but the latter likely dates post-EBA I like the rest of the chamber tomb sample.

While Cyprus and Northern Syria are the two regions with the most rock-cut chamber tomb contexts, are geographically proximate, and rock-cut chamber tombs principally occur within extramural cemeteries in both regions, their tomb morphology differs significantly. Instead, the vast majority of Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs are most closely comparable to Çeşme-Boyalık in West Anatolia. Philia period chamber tombs are typically entered through a horizontally oriented stomion occasionally sealed by stone slabs, with small, circular, or globular chambers, and the tombs of Çeşme-Boyalık mirror these attributes, featuring horizontally oriented stomion sealed by stone slabs with circular chambers. Şahoğlu (2024) makes the same comparison, considering the Philia period tombs in Cyprus of the "Çeşme-Boyalık type" related to the expansion of the Anatolian Trade Network (p. 25). Grave 2 of Çeşme-Boyalık in particular is closely comparable to Philia period and Early Cypriot period chamber tombs at Sotira-Kaminoudhia and Dhenia-Kafkalla, and possibly Kyra-Kaminia. Grave 2 is also comparable to Philia-Laksia tou Kasinou relative to the stomion orientation, construction, and location, but differs relative to chamber shape and dromoi. Moreover, the collapsed tombs of Grave 1 and Grave 4 of Çeşme-Boyalık present the same formation process of erosion, leaving only the circular chamber flooring and walls, observed at many Philia sites like Kyra-Kaminia, Dhenia-Kafkalla, and others.

Grave 2's vertical shaft sets it apart from all the Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs but is closely comparable to Chalcolithic examples in Cyprus, such as the intramural bell-shaped chamber tombs of Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga-Mosphilia and intramural rock-cut shaft-and-chamber tombs of Middle Chalcolithic Souskiou-Laona. The burial type composition of Çeşme-Boyalık's cemetery differs from Cypriot cemeteries with respect to the presence of Grave 3, the pithos grave, wherein extramural pithos graves have not been adequately demonstrated to occur in Philia period Cyprus relative to the uncertainty of Philia-

Laksia tou Kasinou and Vasilia-Kafkallia. Thus, the tombs of Çeşme-Boyalık present the closest parallel to Philia period rock-cut chamber tomb morphology, while still reflecting a distinctly Anatolian mortuary practice.

Comparing Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs to Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria as Bolger (2013) and Keswani (2004) have, present both strong modular similarities and differences, wherein no tomb is similar, but only particular elements provide parallels. For the most part, the majority of Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs are fundamentally different from those of the Euphrates region, wherein the majority of Syrian tombs prominently feature vertical shafts rather than horizontal dromoi and differ drastically in chamber shape. Despite this, a few instances of chamber shape and tomb elaboration are comparable exclusively to Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra. Tomb 6 at Tawi and Tomb 1 and 2 of Vasilia-Kafkallia are the only rock-cut chamber tombs in this study's dataset that feature both a rectangular chamber shape and a rock-cut pillar buttressing the rear walls. Tomb 6 of Tawi presents a rock-cut bench, and the later tombs at Tell Halawa present niches, benches, and platforms. These features are comparable to Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra tomb's rock-cut benches and niches. Vasilia's multi-chamber form is comparable to Tomb 6 of Tawi and especially Tomb 1 of Tell Banat. Tell Banat hosts the only rock-cut chamber tomb in Northern Syria and Southeast Anatolia whose horizontal stomion and monumentalism are comparable to Vasilia's. Tomb 1's entrance was built up by thick stone walls just like the tomb stomion of Vasilia and features an antechamber like Tomb 103 of Vasilia-Kilistra. Tomb 1's dual chamber can be compared to Vasilia-Kafkallia's Tomb 1 and 2, but differ relative to the former's two chambers connecting within the antechamber and the latter's chambers connecting at the dromos.

Cypriot tombs, barring Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra, that provide the second-best parallels to those of Northern Syria are the shaft-and-chamber tombs of Middle Chalcolithic Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas and Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga-Mosphilia. Kissonerga-Mosphilia's L4 chamber tombs are the only intramural context of rock-cut chamber tombs besides Tomb 83 of Shiyukh Tahtani. Both site's tombs present vertical shafts and small, modest chambers within the settlement. While most of Kissonerga-Mosphilia's tombs' shafts and chambers connect to form a bell shape, differing from Tomb 83 of Shiyukh Tahtani, Tomb 505's dual chambers are separate from their shaft like Tomb 83. The closest parallel to Tomb 83 can be found in Souksiou-Laona's Tomb 172, which also presents a clearly defined shaft and miniature chamber tomb.

In the Gaziantep province of Southeast Anatolia, many rock-cut chamber tombs are reported with uncertain dates that are thought to belong to the EBA period as discussed in Chapter Five (Yılmaz, 2006, p. 75) which provide descriptions that differ from the chamber tombs of Northern Syria and present closer comparison to Philia period tombs. A rock-cut chamber tomb recovered in the Konak district is described as semi-globular, and a rock-cut chamber tomb found near Dibecik Village is described as oval-shaped (Yılmaz, 2006, p. 76). These tombs are smaller and more modest than their more elaborate Syrian counterparts, and their scale is only comparable to Philia period tombs in Cyprus and even the chamber tombs of Göltepe-Kestel.

Cooper (2007) argues the rock-cut chamber tombs north of the Middle Euphrates in the highlands of Southeast Anatolia correspond with the outlier Semitic place names found outside of Northern Syria referenced in the Ebla archive, suggesting these tombs could reflect Amorite migrants from Northern Syria (p. 67-8). While migration is entirely possible, especially during this period of increasing connectivity, the tombs of Gaziantep and Northern Syria differ considerably in the same way the latter tombs contrast Cypriot rock-cut chamber tombs. In 2011, Şahoğlu and Massa (2011) made a similar migration argument to explain the anomalous rock-cut chamber tombs of Çeşme-Boyalık in West Anatolia, suggesting that the widespread tradition of rock-cut chamber tombs on the Greek mainland and Cyclades during the EBA indicates that Çeşme-Boyalık could reflect the presence of Aegean migrants (p. 169). But in Şahoğlu's 2024 publication of the site, he emphasizes its local character, arguing it more closely articulates with West Anatolian mortuary practices relative to its grave good assemblages (Şahoğlu, 2024, p. 25), as well, the presence of a pithos grave within the cemetery. Thus, the rock-cut chamber tombs in Southeast Anatolia, rather than requiring the explanation of Amorite migrants from Northern Syria, can just as easily be understood as the adoption of this burial type within local mortuary practice. Like cist tomb inter-regional variability, rock-cut chamber tombs in Western and Southeastern Anatolia appear to reflect selective reception to and hybridization with mortuary practices from regions where rock-cut tombs predominate, like Cyprus, the Cyclades, and Northern Syria. This is why there is no perfect parallel that would suggest direct migration, rather site-to-site, tombs vary greatly and articulate with local customs.

Establishing directionally is incredibly dubious, and it is hard to say which region provides a "source" for the burial type. Since rock-cut chamber tombs occurred later in the latter half of the third millennium BCE in Northern Syria and (potentially) Southeast Anatolia

compared to Cyprus and the Cyclades (Cooper, 2007, p. 67), it is tempting to argue a Cycladic or Cypriot source for the burial type in other regions, but rock-cut chamber tombs vary greatly between regions and such an argument would fall into an uncritical diffusionism. This study suggests instead that the diverse inter-regional variability of this burial type emerged *through* long-term bi- or multi-directional interaction rather than *from* discrete unidirectional migration events between regions. In this way, there is no source, but simply regions in exchange, selectively adopting and transforming modular elements of mortuary practice. This helps explain anomalous tombs like Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra that present a hybridization of Northern Syrian and Cypriot features, neither reflecting a local nor foreign burial type.

Notwithstanding the high degree of diversity, it is worth differentiating between which regions present more or less affinity in burial type construction. It is suggested the "Çeşme-Boyalık type" rock-cut chamber tomb strongly suggests a close relationship between the Cyclades, West Anatolia, and Cyprus upon the emergence of the Anatolian Trade Network during the mid-third millennium BCE. The way Cypriot rock-cut chamber tombs throughout the Chalcolithic and Philia period articulate with rock-cut chamber tomb variability in Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria reflects a longer-term process of interaction and intermixture that resulted in less obvious modular similarities and differences that are more difficult to disentangle. However, by the Early Cypriot period, parallels in tomb construction between Northern Syria and Cyprus are clearer (Keswani, 2004, p. 55).

6.1.5 Stone-built chamber tombs

Figure 42. Inter-regional map of stone-built chamber tomb location and period (map by Jack W. Tillman).

Only three sites present stone-built chamber tombs, the smallest sample in this study, limited to Western and Central Anatolia (Fig. 42). The two examples from Karataş-Semayük and Harmanören occur within extramural contexts and the stone-lined chambers of Göltepe-Kestel's occur intramurally, within Kestel's mine galleries alongside the previously mentioned rock-cut chamber tombs.

As discussed in Chapter four, stone-built chamber tombs were not common until the end of the third millennium BCE in Anatolia, thus all stone-built chambers in our dataset date to the EBA II period representing the earliest manifestation of the burial type in Anatolia.

The stone-built chamber tombs of Göltepe-Kestel are totally unlike Karataş-Semayük and Harmanören, rather they appear to be an iteration of the rock-cut chamber tombs within the site featuring greater elaboration through the lining of the tomb walls with stones. Presently, they are unique and don't reflect any similar construction in Central or Southeast Anatolia in this dataset.

The stone-built chamber tombs of Karataş-Semayük and Harmanören are comparable in their mound construction. Parıltı and Yücel (2020) suggest both belong to "Kurgan" style burials that they identify with the stone-built chamber tomb tradition of Eastern Anatolia and the Caucuses during the end of the third millennium BCE, suggesting contact between Western and Eastern Anatolia (p. 228-30). They argue the monumentality of these graves reflects elite burials that function strategically as a regional sign for claiming pastureland (Parıltı and Yücel, 2020, p. 225). But with a closer look, the Western Anatolian examples of this burial type betray this account. For example, the grave good assemblage of Tomb AQ of Karataş-Semayük is incredibly sparse compared to the wealth sacrifice typical of "elite" burials (Mellink, 1969, p. 326). Mellink (1969) suggests this was because the tomb was looted but there was no evidence of disturbance under the massive stones (p. 326). Moreover, both tombs at Karataş-Semayük and Harmanören occurred during the EBA II period, pre-dating the differentiation and socio-political changes of the EBA III period, suggesting persistent wealth inequalities were not present. Also, it is unlikely these cemeteries hosted Caucasian migrants in respect to the majority of burials of each cemetery being composed of pithos graves and cist tombs of the local Anatolian type, as well as containing assemblages of local material culture, but this can't be entirely dismissed in light of the increasing interaction of the period. Hence, these tombs likely belonged neither to elites nor Caucasian migrants.

Instead, it is suggested rather than elites, these tombs likely did belong to exceptional individuals highly regarded by their communities. This type of differentiation in burial type among societies that lack wealth inequality is not uncommon in the archaeological record as demonstrated by Graeber and Wengrow (2021) in their discussion of Palaeolithic "princely burials" (p. 119). Hence, it is not necessary to evoke political hierarchy to explain said differentiation in funerary customs. It is possible these individuals were community leaders playing a political role, but not ones that wielded coercive political power or enjoyed inter-generational wealth. And if the construction of these chamber tombs at Karataş-Semayük and Harmanören is related to Eastern Anatolian or Caucasian mortuary practices as Parıltı and Yücel suggest, like the discussion of rock-cut chamber tombs above, they likely reflect the local reception and transformation of these mortuary practices within local customs rather than the direct transplantation of Caucasian mortuary practices via migration.

6.2 The Anatolian context of Philia period burial types in Cyprus

In light of the distribution and variability of each burial type, as posed in chapter one: what is the Anatolian context of Philia period burial types in Cyprus? In summary, Western and Central Anatolia is best characterized by extramural pithos graves and cist tombs. In the West, extramural pithos graves are typically collective, whereas in Central Anatolia single inhumation are more frequent. In Central Anatolia, cemeteries are frequently mixed, reflecting the pit-pithos-cist complex, which is less common in the West and occurs earlier during the EBA I period. Intramural pithos graves of sub-adults are ubiquitous across all regions but occur more frequently in mixed contexts in Central and Southeast Anatolia. Southeast Anatolia is defined by extramural cist tombs, which are often mixed with pithos graves of sub-adults, and in Northern Syria rock-cut chamber tombs predominate. Rock-cut chamber tombs are incredibly rare in West and Central Anatolia, like the distribution of stone-built chamber tombs, with only a few examples. All regions of Anatolia are characterized by a high degree of diversity, both with respect to the heterogeneous composition of burial types within cemeteries and settlements, as well as the particularities of burial construction site-to-site.

Thus, Philia period burial types within extramural contexts defined by rock-cut chamber tombs are, regarding inter-regional trends, fundamentally dissimilar to Anatolia, whereas intramural pithos graves of sub-adults articulate very closely to all regions in Anatolia, especially West Anatolia where intramural graves are less mixed. The difference in comparability relative to location follows the broader pattern of *differential reception* to both Anatolian mortuary practices and material culture during the Philia period in Cyprus following Bolger (2013). While the expanded use of extramural cemeteries, sacrificing metal grave goods, multiple internments, and intramural pithos graves follow EBA trends in Anatolia, the burial types within these cemeteries in Cyprus remain distinctly Cypriot, lacking extramural pithos graves and cist tombs. Though Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs present modular parallels to Western Anatolia, Southeast Anatolia, and Northern Syria, they are also comparable to Chalcolithic antecedents in Cyprus that occur earlier, e.g., Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas, Kissonerga-Mosphilia, and potentially Philia-Drakos A. This mixture of continuities with the Chalcolithic and discontinuities related to mainland trends reflect the selective adoption of mainland cultural elements and the active re-negotiation of said elements into local Cypriot mortuary practices. This process of selective adoption differed greatly within the island, as demonstrated by contrasting burial types of

Vasilia-Kafkallia and Kilistra with the rest of the period, suggesting that some communities were in contact with different regions of the mainland to varying degrees.

The Philia period material culture complex articulates closely with West Anatolian material that became ubiquitous across Anatolia during the EBA II following the expansion of the Anatolian Trade Network (Şahoğlu, 2005), liking the Aegean to Mesopotamia. But what is important to note, like mortuary practices, Cyprus' reception to the elements associated with the network is uneven and heterogeneous too, unlike regions in Anatolia that become more deeply integrated into the network. While Cyprus adopts Anatolian elements of mortuary practices outlined above, monochrome and burnished wares, the cut-away pitcher ceramic form, and a new economy featuring intensified metallurgical production and exchange, Philia period Cyprus lacks large-scale infrastructure, citadel complexes, and the potter's wheel associated with the Anatolian Trade Network (Şahoğlu, 2005, p. 340). Hence, Cyprus was involved in the network to some degree, wherein Cypriots integrated elements of mainland culture and some degree of Anatolians must have arrived in Cyprus, but the degree of interaction differs greatly compared to regions in Anatolia. Thus, the selective reception of Anatolian mortuary practice is comparable to the selective reception of elements of the Anatolian Trade Network.

In this way, the differential reception to mainland mortuary practices as demonstrated by this study's results and differential reception to the Anatolian Trade Network/mainland material culture trends corroborates the hybridity model of Philia period causality in Cyprus. Following the external model, if direct migration/colonization and assimilation to migrant culture was the primary mechanism of the emergence of the Philia period, extramural pithos graves and cist tombs would be expected minimally after initial migration, but these burial types are wholly absent in Philia period Cyprus, and Philia period material culture is distinct from Anatolian counterparts though it articulates with inter-regional variability. Following an entirely internal model, the numerous lines of evidence linking Cyprus to Anatolia outlined above, like intramural pithos graves, are inexplicable assuming completely insular development. Thus, the cultural milieu of Philia period Cyprus necessarily emerged through both Cypriot and Anatolian actors in contact, wherein local Cypriots adopted and re-negotiated Anatolian cultural elements and Anatolian migrants adopted and re-negotiated Cypriot cultural elements resulting in the breaking down of boundaries and the emergence of new hybridized cultural makeup in Cyprus.

Therefore, the Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs can be understood as a continuation of the Chalcolithic rock-cut chamber tomb burial type that underwent significant modification and re-negotiation relative to Western and Southeast Anatolian and Northern Syrian influence. This influence resulted in the other mainland Anatolian mortuary practices becoming common in Cyprus like the expanded use of extramural cemeteries, metal-rich grave good assemblages, multiple internments, and intramural pithos graves, but Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs do not present as clear mainland parallels as the latter examples. Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs represent a uniquely hybridized Cypriot mortuary practice that reflects the retention and transformation of local Chalcolithic antecedents (e.g., Souskiou-Laona and Vathyrkakas, Kissonerga-Mosphilia, and potentially Philia-Drakos A) through the adoption of modular elements of Anatolian burial types rather than Philia period mortuary practices reflecting a total replacement of local Cypriot deathways with mainland practices. Moreover, since rock-cut chamber tombs occur before the expansion of rock-cut chamber tombs in Southeast Anatolia, Northern Syria, and the outlier case of Çeşme-Boyalık in West Anatolia, they can be interpreted as an outcome of Cypriot influence as much as the latter regions influenced Cyprus, reflecting a bidirectional process of interaction.

These modular changes to mortuary practice, wherein new elements were adopted whereas others were retained and re-negotiated, are the product of the changing choices of individual Cypriots in how they chose to treat the dead in an increasingly connected inter-regional landscape. The way these abstract, macro-scale regional "influences" actually manifested was through the concrete activity of Cypriots and migrants that soon became Cypriots exchanging practices and modifying them in the way they constructed burial facilities, where they built them relative to their homes, and what types of grave goods they sacrificed. Rather than one bounded mortuary tradition succeeding the previous, what is happening in Philia period Cyprus are increasingly heterogeneous communities of mourners making new decisions that iterate on both the past of Cypriots and mortuary practices of Anatolia. But over time, these heterogenous communities and the new mortuary choices they were making would congeal into the hybridized mortuary traditions that would define the beginning of the Cypriot Bronze Age.

7. Conclusion

This study has provided the first major synthesis of EBA I-II burial types in Anatolia with Philia period Cyprus. Before this study, no such inter-regional synthesis had been composed that systematically investigated the relationship between burial type changes in Cyprus and Anatolia during the first major globalization episode in the Eastern Mediterranean during the mid-third millennium BCE. This study's results have demonstrated, contrary to the popular perception that the Philia period represents a time of mainland migration and cultural assimilation in Cyprus, that Philia period burial types are fundamentally dissimilar to most burial types in extramural cemeteries of Anatolia. Rather, Philia period rock-cut chamber tombs are uniquely Cypriot, representing a retention of rock-cut chamber tombs of the early third millennium BCE that transformed via bidirectional interaction with the mortuary practices of Anatolia and the Levant. The outlier site of Çeşme-Boyalık in West Anatolia represents the closest extramural comparison to Philia burial types in this study, while the tombs of Northern Syria at sites like Tell es-Sweyhat, Tawi, and Tell Halawa provide modular parallels. Thus, no region presents a strong trend in burial types that directly mirrors extramural cemetery burial types in Cyprus.

Modular similarities in mortuary practices between Cyprus and Anatolia have been identified, such as intramural pithos graves for sub-adults, the use of extramural cemeteries, metal-rich grave good assemblages, and multiple internments. These elements of Philia period mortuary practice compare well to all regions in Anatolia, but particularly the West. In this way, Philia period mortuary practice is composed of a conjunction of both local and mainland elements, demonstrating the selective reception to mainland influence and re-negotiation of Chalcolithic continuities. In conclusion, the Anatolian context of Philia period burial types in Cyprus demonstrate the unique nature of Philia period burial types and the inter-regional connections of other aspects of mortuary practice. In turn, this study's results support and corroborate the model of bidirectional interaction and hybridization between Cyprus and Anatolia and the Levant proposed by Bolger (2013) and Knapp (2008).

Future investigation is required to elucidate many of the gaps and open questions that emerged from this research and its limited methodology. Regions such as South-central Anatolia and Çukurova/Cilicia require greater surveying to identify EBA I-II mortuary contexts to provide a more representative sample for comparison. Within this study, sites located in Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria were almost entirely represented by the

Euphrates region, thus sampling from a more even distribution of sites south of the Southeast Taurus mountains would improve representivity. Moreover, in the future, more sites can be incorporated into the dataset from publications that were inaccessible or missed, composing a more exhaustive dataset.

There are numerous ways the present study could be geographically expanded. Regions that provide great promise for comparison such as the Levant and Palestine in the east and the Aegean islands in the west have great potential for contextualizing the trends observed in cist tomb and rock-cut chamber tomb variability. Synthesizing this dataset with trends in grave good assemblages provides massive potential in assessing the relationship between connectivity and burial type. Demographics such as age and sex can be compared to understand how cemeteries with mixed burial types reflect differential treatment within communities. Systematically collecting MNI per tomb could test the general trends in the number of internments observed in this study. As well, the systematic incorporation of evidence for secondary mortuary activities can further incorporate the scope of mortuary practices investigated.

However, with the limited number of variables investigated, the difference in burial types between Cyprus and the different regions of Anatolia has much to contribute to the discourse on Philia period causality and Cypriot history generally. The results suggest, like burial type, other aspects of Philia period material culture consist of both local and mainland elements that have become intermixed and require disentangling in reference to earlier local forms and inter-regional parallels. Moreover, all periods of Cypriot prehistory and history could benefit from this analysis to unpack the ways mainland influence, rather than replacing Cypriot culture, articulated and hybridized with Cypriot lifeways resulting in new cultural arrangements. Much discontent in recent history and the present has been the outcome of a fundamental misunderstanding of this process of ethnogenesis resulting from the movement of people and cultural hybridization. Diffusionist narratives rarely reflect history and are weaponized by politicians to justify artificial monocultural nation-states, which argue a single people begets another and claims sovereignty over the land. Rather, all cultures are essentially hybrid, the outcome of a multiplicity of genealogies, and all land has hosted a rich multi-cultural landscape of people in movement changing in reaction to those they encounter.

Abstract

The mid-third millennium BCE marks the first major globalization episode in the Eastern Mediterranean, during which Cyprus underwent a cultural transformation that resulted in the advent of the Cypriot Bronze Age. The transitional period between the Late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age is known as the Philia period and is defined by changes associated with connectivity with the mainland. Among these changes is an upheaval in mortuary practices characterized by extramural cemeteries composed of rock-cut chamber tombs featuring multiple internments and metal-rich grave good assemblages. This study contextualizes these changes in mortuary practice with inter-regional mortuary trends on the mainland by systematically comparing burial types between Cyprus and West, Central, and Southeast Anatolia and Northern Syria. Through comparing inter-regional burial type variability, this study distinguishes between which aspects of Philia period mortuary practice relate to mainland connectivity, and which reflect continuities with the Chalcolithic. This study's results demonstrate Philia period burial types are generally dissimilar to Anatolia, instead Cypriot mortuary practices compare on a modular level to the mainland, featuring a unique combination of local continuities and novel innovations related to connectivity, constituting a hybridized mortuary program.

Bibliography

Akurgal, E. (1958). Yortankultur-Siedlung in Ovabayindir bei Balikesir. *Anatolia*, *3*, 156–164.

Al Khabour, A. (2018). Burials and funerary practices along the Middle Euphrates Valley during the Early Bronze Age. *ISIMU*, *20*, 165–195.

Bachhuber, C. (2014). The Anatolian context of Philia material culture in Cyprus. In A. B. Knapp & P. van Dommelen (Eds.), *The Cambridge Prehistory of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean* (pp. 139–156). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781139028387.012

Bachhuber, C. (2015). *Citadel and cemetery in Early Bronze Age Anatolia*. Equinox.

Barth, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Waveland.

Barthe, F. (1969). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Boston : Little, Brown and Co. http://archive.org/details/ethnicgroupsboun0000unse

Behm-Blancke, M., Hoh, M. R., Karg, N., Masch, L., Parsche, E., Wiener, K. L., Wickede, A. v., & Ziegelmayer, G. (1984). Hassek Hoyük. Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in den Jahren 1981-1983. *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*, *34*, 31–149.

Bertram, J.-K., & Bertram, G. I. (2021). *The late Chalcolithic and early Bronze Age in central Anatolia: Introduction, research history, chronological concepts : sites, their characteristics and stratigraphies*. Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

Bhabha, H. K. (1985). Signs taken for wonders: Questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817. *Critical Inquiry*, *12*(1), 144–165.

Binford, L. R. (1971). Mortuary Practices: Their study and their potential. *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, *25*, 6–29.

Bittel, K., Stewart, J. R., & Angel, J. L. (1939). Ein Gräberfeld der Yortan-Kultur bei Babaköy. *Archiv für Orientforschung*, *13*, 1–31.

Bolger, D. (2007). Cultural interaction in 3rd millennium BC Cyprus: Evidence of ceramics. *Mediterranean Crossroads*, 163–188.

Bolger, D. (2013). A Matter of Choice: Cypriot interactions with the Levantine mainland during the late 4th–3rd Millennium BC. *Levant*, *45*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1179/0075891413Z.00000000014

Bolger, D. L. (1991). The Evolution of the Chalcolithic painted style. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, *282–283*, 81–93. https://doi.org/10.2307/1357263

Bolger, D., & Peltenburg, E. (2014). Material and social transformations in 3rd millennium BC Cyprus, evidence of ceramics. In J. Webb (Ed.), *Structure, Measurement and Meaning. Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus in Honour of David Frankel* (pp. 187–198).

Bombardieri, L. (2023). Close to us or far from them? Unusual funerary spaces in early and middle Bronze Age Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Society of Overseas Research*, *390*, 1–19. https://doi.org/10.1086/726144

Bonechi, M. (1998). Remarks on the III millennium geographical names of the Syrian Upper Mesopotamia. *Studies Devoted to Upper Mesopotamia*, *1*(IV,1), 219.

Bounni, A. (1977). Preliminary Report on the archeological excavations at Tell al-'Abd and 'Anab al-Safinah (Euphrates) 1971-72. *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, *44*, 49–61.

Bourdieu, P. (1977). *Outline of a theory of practice* (R. Nice, Trans.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511812507

Bourke, S. J. (2014). Taking an axe to Cypriot prehistory: Jordan and Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age. *Akkadica Supplementum*, *12*, 71–94.

Çambel, H., & Braidwood, R. J. (1980). The joint Istanbul-Chicago Universities' prehistoric research project in southeastern Anatolia: Comprehensive view: the work to date, 1963–1972. *Prehistoric Research in Southeastern Anatolia*, 33–64.

Carter, E., Parker, A., Campbell, S., & Green, A. (1995). Pots, people and the archaeology of death in Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia in the latter half of the third millennium BC. In *The archaeology of death in the ancient Near East* (pp. 96–116). Oxbow Books. https://www.academia.edu/40320007/Carter_E_Pots_People_and_The_Archaeology_of_Death_in_Northern_Syria_and_Southern_Anatolia_in_the_latter_half_of_the_Third_Millennium_BC

Catling, H. W. (1971). Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age. In C. J. Gadd, I. E. S. Edwards, & N. G. L. Hammond (Eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History* (3rd ed., Vol. 1, pp. 808–823). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521077910.019

Çilingiroğlu, A. (2004). *Ulucak Höyük: Excavations Conducted Between 1995 and 2002*. Peeters Publishers.

Cooper, L. (2007). Early Bronze Age burial types and social-cultural identity within the northern Euphrates Valley. In E. Peltenburg (Ed.), *Euphrates River Valley Settlement: The Carchemish Sector in the Third Millennium BC* (Vol. 5, pp. 55–70). Oxbow Books. https://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1cfr99p

Crewe, L. (2015). Expanding and shrinking networks of interaction: Cyprus c. 2200 BC. In *22oo BC – A climatic breakdown as a cause for the collapse of the old world?* (pp. 131–149). https://www.academia.edu/24992613/Expanding_and_shrinking_networks_of_interaction_Cyprus_c_2200_BC

DeCorse, C. (1989). Material aspects of Limba, Yalunka, and Kuranko ethnicity: Archaeological Research in Northeastern Sierra Leone. In *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity* (pp. 125-139.). https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203111147

Dikaios, P. (1937). *The excavations at Erimi, 1933-1935: Final report*. Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

Dikaios, P. (1946). Early Copper Age Discoveries in Cyprus: 3rd Millennium BC Coppermining. *Illustrated London News*, *2*, 244–245.

Dikaios, P. (1948). Trial excavations at Sotira, site Teppes, on behalf of the University Museum Cyprus Expedition. *Bulletin of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania*, *13*(3), 16–23.

Dikaios, P., & Stewart, J. R. (1962). *The Swedish Cyprus expedition. Vol. 4, prt. 1a, The Stone Age and the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus*. The Swedish Cyprus expedition.

Douglas, S. (2021). The Osteological dataset for Bronze Age Cyprus (Philia–LCIA). In M. Gamble (Ed.), *Overcoming Issues of Past Preservation: Recent Research in Bioarchaeology in Cyprus* (pp. 25–38). Verlag Holzhausen GmbH. https://www.academia.edu/84438158/The_Osteological_Dataset_for_Bronze_Age_Cyprus_Philia_LCIA_

Durgun, P., & Selover, S. (2019). Reexamining Burials and Cemeteries in Early Bronze Age Anatolia. In S. Steadman & G. MacMahon (Eds.), *The Archaeology of Anatolia Volume III: Recent Discoveries (2017-2018)* (pp. 271–282). Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Düring, B. S. (2011). *The prehistory of Asia Minor: From complex hunter-gatherers to early urban societies* (1st ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511778926

Düring, B. S. (2024). Shifting Societies in Chalcolithic Cyprus. In B. S. Düring & J.-H. Plug (Eds.), *The Archaeology of the 'Margins'. Studies on Ancient West Asia in Honour of Peter M.M.G. Akkermans* (pp. 195–204). Sidestone Press. https://www.sidestone.com/books/the-archaeology-of-the-margins

Düring, B. S., Klinkenberg, M. V., Paraskeva, C., Kassianidou, V., Souter, E., Croft, P., & Charalambous, A. (2018). Metal artefacts in Chalcolithic Cyprus: New data from Western Cyprus. *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry*, *18*(1), 11–25.

Duru, R. (2000). Gedikli Karahöyük ve Kırışkal Kazıları. İn O. Belli (Ed.), *Türkiye Arkeolojisi ve İstanbul Üniversitesi* (pp. 154–157). İstanbul Üniversitesi.

Efe, T. (2003). Pottery distribution within the Bronze Age of Western Anatolia and its implications upon cultural, political (and ethnic?) entities. In *Archaeological Essays in Honour of Homo amatus: Güven Arsebük için Armağan Yazılar* (pp. 87–105). Ege Yayinlari.

Efe, T. (2007). The theories of the 'Great Caravan Route' between Cilicia and Troy: The Early Bronze Age III period in inland western Anatolia. *Anatolian Studies*, *57*, 47–64. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0066154600008498

Efe, T. (2011). Eskişehir yöresindeki bazı höyüklerde saptanmış olan «İlk Tunç Çağı'na geçiş evresi» çanak çömleği (5 levha ile birlikte). *Anatolian Research*, *13*, Article 13.

Emre, K. (1996). The Early Bronze Age at Maşat Höyük. In M. no M. Takahito (Ed.), *Essays on ancient Anatolia and Syria in the second and third millennium B.C*. Harrassowitz.

Fidan, E., Sari, D., & Türkteki, M. (2015). An overview of the Western Anatolian Early Bronze Age. *European Journal of Archaeology*, *18*(1), 60–89. https://doi.org/10.1179/1461957114Y.0000000070

Firth, R. (1951). *Elements of Social Organization*. Routledge. https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315017525

Frangipane, M. (2011). Arslantepe-Malatya: A prehistoric and early historic center in Eastern Anatolia. In G. McMahon & S. Steadman (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia: (10,000-323 BCE)* (pp. 968–992). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195376142.013.0045

Frankel, D., & Webb, J. (2006). *Marki Alonia. An Early and Middle Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 1995–2000*. Paul Åström Forlag. https://www.academia.edu/44453658/Marki_Alonia_An_Early_and_Middle_Bronze_Age_Settlement_in_Cyprus_Excavations_1995_2000

Frankel, D., & Webb, J. M. (1999). Characterizing the Philia Facies: Material culture, chronology, and the origin of the Bronze Age in Cyprus. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *103*(1), 3–43. https://doi.org/10.2307/506576

Frankel, D., & Webb, J. M. (2000). Marki Alonia: A prehistoric Bronze Age settlement in Cyprus. *Antiquity*, *74*(286), 763–764. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003598X00060336

Fuensanta, J., Mederos Martin, A., & Muminov, O. (2019). Early Bronze Age I-III shrines and burial rites at Tilbes Höyük, Southeastern Turkey. *Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología de La Universidad Autónoma de Madrid*, *45*, 51–67. https://doi.org/10.15366/cupauam2019.45.003

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central problems in social theory: Action, structure, and contradiction in social analysis*. University of California Press.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. University of California Press.

Goldman, H. (with Mellink, M. J., Gelb, I. J., Matson, F. R., & Institute for Advanced Studies). (1956). *Excavations at Gözlü Kule, Tarsus. Vol. II, From the Neolithic through the Bronze Age*. Princeton University Press.

Graeber, D., & Wengrow, D. (2021). *The dawn of everything: A new history of humanity* (First American edition.). Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Hadjigavriel, M. (2021). A tale of red and black: Reconstructing transfer of knowledge in Late Chalcolithic Cyprus. *Archaeological Review from Cambridge*, *35*, 80–97. https://doi.org/10.17863/CAM.71850

Hauptmann, H. (1981). Lidar Höyük. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, *46*, 93–111.

Hennessy, J. B., Eriksson, K. O., & Kehrberg, I. C. (1988). *Ayia Paraskevi and Vasilia: Excavations by J.R.B. Stewart*. Åström.

Hertz, R. (with Evans-Pritchard, E. E.). (1960). *Death and the right hand*. Cohen & West.

Hockings, P. (2001). Mortuary Ritual of the Badagas of Southern India. *Fieldiana Anthropology*, *32*, i–72.

Honça, M. D., & Algaze, G. (1998). Preliminary Report on the Human Skeletal Remains at Titris Höyük. *Anatolica*, *24*, 101–141. https://doi.org/10.2143/ANA.24.0.2015478

Immanuel, R. D. (1950). *The influence of Hinduism on Indian Christians*. Leonard Theological College.

Jamieson, A. S. (1993). The Euphrates Valley and Early Bronze Age ceramic traditions. *Ancient Near Eastern Studies*, *31*, 36–92. https://doi.org/10.2143/ANES.31.0.525733

Jones, E. J. (2021). Human remains collected from the Mortuary Chamber (Area VIII, Mine 2) of the Kestel Tin Mine in 1992. In A. Yener (Ed.), *Göltepe excavations: Tin production at an early Bronze Age mining town in the central Taurus Mountains, Turkey* (pp. 177–182). INSTAP Academic Press.

Joukowsky, M. (1986). *Prehistoric Aphrodisias: An account of the excavations and artifact studies*. Brown University, Center for Old World Archaeology and Art.

Kâmil, T. (1982). *Yortan cemetery in the Early Bronze Age of Western Anatolia*. British Archaeological Reports.

Kampschulte, I. (with Orthmann, W., & Kunter, M.). (1984). *Ausgrabungen bei Tawi 1975 und 1978*. Habelt.

Karageorghis, V., Philippa-Touchais, A., & École Française d'Athènes. (1970). Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1969. *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, *93*(2), 431–569.

Keskin, L. (2008). The ring-idols from Bakla Tepe: The distribution of this type in Anatolia with particular references to the Aegean and the Balkans. In O. Menozzi (Ed.), *SOMA 2005 Proceedings of the IX Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology* (pp. 87–95). Oxford. https://www.academia.edu/40865225/_The_Ring_Idols_from_Bakla_Tepe_The_Distribution_of_this_type_in_Anatolia_with_particular_references_to_the_Aegean_and_the_Balkans_O_

Menozzi_et_al_eds_SOMA_2005_Proceedings_of_the_IX_Symposium_on_Mediterranean_Archaeology_Archaeopress_BAR_S1739_Oxford_2008_87_95

Keswani, P. (2004). *Mortuary ritual and society in Bronze Age Cyprus*. Equinox Publishing Ltd.

Keswani, P. S. (2005). Death, prestige, and copper in Bronze Age Cyprus. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *109*(3), 341–401.

Klinkenberg, V., & Düring, B. S. (2023). Inequality before the Bronze Age: The case of Chalcolithic Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, *42*(1), 2–16. https://doi.org/10.1111/ojoa.12260

Knapp, A. B. (2001). *Archaeology and ethnicity: A dangerous liaison*.

Knapp, A. B. (2008). *Prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, insularity, and connectivity* (1st ed.). University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199237371.001.0001

Korfmann, M. (1983). *Demircihüyük: Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1975 - 1978*. von Zabern.

Koşay, H. Z. (1944). *Ausgrabungen von Alaca Höyük: Ein Vorbericht über die im Auftrage der Türkischen Geschichtskommission im Sommer 1936 durchgeführten Forschungen und Entdeckungen*. Türkische Geschichtskommission.

Kroeber, A. L. (1927). Disposal of the dead. *American Anthropologist*, *29*(3), 308–315. https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1927.29.3.02a00090

Lamb, W. (1937). Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar. *Archaeologia*, *86*, 1–64. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261340900015332

Laneri, N. (2007). Burial practices at Titriş Höyük, Turkey: An interpretation. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, *64*(4), 241–266.

Lloyd, S., & Mellaart, J. (1962). *Beycesultan: The Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age levels. Vol. I.* British Institute at Ankara.

Lunt, D., Peltenburg, E., & Watt, M. (1998). Mortuary practices. In E. Peltenburg, D. Bolger, & E. Baxevani (Eds.), *Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia* (pp. 64–92). Åström.

Manning, S. W. (1993). Prestige, distinction, and competition: The anatomy of socioeconomic complexity in fourth to second millennium B.C.E. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, *292*, 35–58. https://doi.org/10.2307/1357247

Mehofer, M. (2014). Metallurgy during the Chalcolithic and the Beginning of the Early Bronze Age in Western Anatolia. In *ISBN* (Vol. 1, pp. 463–490). Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. https://hw.oeaw.ac.at?arp=0x00320871

Mellaart, J. (1954). Preliminary report on a survey of pre-Classical remains in southern Turkey. *Anatolian Studies*, *4*, 175–240.

Mellaart, J. (1958). The end of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia and the Aegean. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *62*(1), 9–33. https://doi.org/10.2307/500459

Mellink, M. J. (1969). Excavations at Karataş-Semayük in Lycia, 1968. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *73*(3), 319–331. https://doi.org/10.2307/503513

Mellink, M. J. (1991). Anatolian contacts with Chalcolithic Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, *282–283*, 167–175. https://doi.org/10.2307/1357270

Metcalf, P., & Huntington, R. (1991). *Celebrations of death: The anthropology of mortuary ritual* (2nd ed.). Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803178

Mitten, D. G., & Yüğrüm, G. (1968). Excavation at Ahlatlı Tepecik the Gygean Lake. *Türk Arkeoloji Dergisi*, 122–128.

Müller, U. (1999). Die eisenzeitliche Stratigraphie von Lidar Höyük. *Anatolian Studies*, *49*, 123–132. https://doi.org/10.2307/3643067

Nicolaou, I., & Nicolaou, K. (1988). The Dhenia Kafkalla and Mali tombs. In *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* (pp. 71–120, Abb. Taf).

Niklasson, K. (1991). *Early prehistoric burials in Cyprus*. Åström.

Ökse, A. T. (2005). Early Bronze Age chamber tomb complexes at Gre Virike (Period IIA) on the Middle Euphrates. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, *339*, 21–46. https://doi.org/10.1086/BASOR25066901

Ökse, A. T. (2011). The Early Bronze Age in Southeastern Anatolia. In G. McMahon & S. Steadman (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia: (10,000-323 BCE)* (p. 0). Oxford University Press. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195376142.013.0011

Orthmann, W. (with Boessneck, J.). (1981). *Halawa 1977 bis 1979: Vorläufiger Bericht über die 1. bis 3. Grabungskampagne*. Habelt.

Özdoğan, M. (2023). The making of the Early Bronze Age in Anatolia. *Old World*, *3*(1), 1–58. https://doi.org/10.1163/26670755-20230007

Özgen, E., & Helwing, B. (2003). On the shifting border between Mesopotamia and the West: Seven seasons of joint Turkish-German excavations at Oylum Höyük. *Anatolica*, *29*, 61–85. https://doi.org/10.2143/ANA.29.0.2015512

Özgüç, N. (1993). An early bronze age pot is a child from Acemhöyük. In M. Frangipane, H. Hauptmann, M. Liverani, P. Matthiae, & M. Mellink (Eds.), *Between the rivers and over the mountains: Archaeologica Anatolica et Mesopotamica Alba Palmieri dedicata* (pp. 517–520). Dipartimento di scienze storiche, archeologiche e antropologiche dell'antichità, Università di Roma "La Sapienza."

Özgüç, T. (1948). *Ön tarih'te Anadolu'da ölü gömme âdetleri*. Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Özsait, M. (2000). 1998 yılı Harmanören (Göndürle Höyük) mezarlık kazısı. *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*, *21*, 371–380.

Paraskeva, C. (Director). (2018, September 27). *Late Chalcolithic to Early Bronze Age Cyprus: From Unilinear to Multilinear Socio-Cultural Change* [Video recording]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4TT3DDkbs-k

Parlıtı, U., & Yücel, Ç. (2020). Chamber tombs in Anatolia between the beginning of 3000 BC and the beginning of 2000 BC and their implications in regional communication. *Atatürk Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi*, *64*, 221–241.

Peltenburg, E. (1991a). Kissonerga-Mosphilia: A major Chalcolithic site in Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, *282*(282/283), 17–35. https://doi.org/10.2307/1357260

Peltenburg, E. (1991b). Local exchange in prehistoric Cyprus: An initial assessment of picrolite. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, *282–283*, 107–126. https://doi.org/10.2307/1357265

Peltenburg, E., Bolger, D., & Baxevani, E. (1998). *Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia*. Åström.

Peltenburg, E., Bolger, D., & Crewe, L. (2019). *Figurine makers of prehistoric Cyprus: Settlement and cemeteries at Souskiou* (1st ed.). Oxbow Books. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv13gvh3h

Peltenburg, E., Campbell, S., Carter, S., Stephen, F. M. K., & Tipping, R. (1997). Jerablus-Tahtani, Syria, 1996: Preliminary report. *Levant*, *29*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1179/lev.1997.29.1.1

Peltenburg, E., Frankel, D., & Paraskeva, C. (2013). Radiocarbon. In *ARCANE (Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean)* (pp. 313–338). Brepols Publishers.

Peltenburg, E. J. (2007). East Mediterranean interactions in the 3rd millennium BC. In S. Antoniadou & A. Pace (Eds.), *Mediterranean crossroads* (pp. 141–161). Pierides Foundation.

Philip, G., Clogg, P. W., Dungworth, D., & Stos, S. (2003). Copper metallurgy in the Jordan Valley from the third to the first millennia BC: Chemical, metallographic and lead isotope analyses of artefacts from Pella. *Levant*, *35*(1), 71–100. https://doi.org/10.1179/lev.2003.35.1.71

Polson, C. J. (1962). *The disposal of the dead* (2nd ed.).

Porter, A. (1995). Tell Banat-Tomb 1. *Damaszener Mitteilungen*, *8*, 1–50.

Rathje, W. L., & Murphy, C. (2001). *Rubbish!: The archaeology of garbage*. University of Arizona Press.

Roodenberg, S. (2002). Preliminary report on the human remains from Early Bronze Age cemetery at Ilıpınar-Hacılartepe. *Anatolica*, *28*, 91–107. https://doi.org/10.2143/ANA.28.0.2011762

Rothman, M., & Fuensanta, J. (2003). The archaeology of the Early Bronze I and II periods in Southeastern Turkey and North Syria. In M. Özdoğan, H. Hauptmann, & N. Başgelen (Eds.), *From villages to towns: Studies presented to Uluk Esin* (pp. 583–610). Arkeoloji ve Sanat Yayınları.

Şahoğlu, V. (2008). Liman Tepe and Bakla Tepe: New evidence for the relations between the Izmir Region, The Cyclades and the Greek Mainland during the late fourth and third millennia BC. In H. Erkanal, V. Hauptmann, V. Şahoğlu, & R. Tuncel (Eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium The Aegean in the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and the Early Bronze Age* (pp. 483–501).

Şahoğlu, V. (2024). The Early Bronze Age cemetery at Çeşme–Boyalik in coastal Western Anatolia. *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 1–30. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0068245423000102

Sari, D. (2021). The figurine/idol types of Western Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age. In L. K. Harrison, A. N. Bilgen, & A. Kapuci (Eds.), *The Early Bronze Age in Western Anatolia* (pp. 97–109).

Say-Ötün, A. (2022). *Childhood and death: A social approach to the treatment of subadults in Early Prehistoric Cyprus* [Unpublished BA Thesis]. University of Cambridge.

Sconzo, P. (2006). Sombrero lids and children's pots: An Early Bronze Age shaft grave from Tell Shiyukh Tahtani. In *Bahdader Mitteilungen* (pp. 343–357). Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. https://www.academia.edu/937243/Sombrero_lids_and_children_s_pots_An_Early_Bronze_Age_shaft_grave_from_Tell_Shiyukh_Tahtani

Sconzo, P. (2014). 'The grave of the court pit': A rediscovered Bronze Age tomb from Carchemish. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*, *146*(1), 3–16. https://doi.org/10.1179/0031032813Z.00000000079

Seeher, J. (with Jansen, H. G., Pernicka, E., & Wittwer-Backofen, U.). (2000). *Die bronzezeitliche Nekropole von Demircihüyük-Sariket: Ausgrabungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts : in Zusammenarbeit mit dem Museum Bursa, 1990-1991*. Wasmuth.

Sertok, K. (2007). *Euphrates River Valley settlement: The Carchemish Sector in the third millennium BC* (Vol. 5). Oxbow Books.

Sertok, K., & Ergeç, R. (1999). A new Early Bronze Age Cemetery: Excavations near the Birecik Dam, Southeastern Turkey, preliminary report (1997–1998). *Anatolica*, *25*, 87–108.

Sperling, J. W. (1976). Kum Tepe in the Troad: Trial Excavation, 1934. *Hesperia*, *45*(4), 305–364. https://doi.org/10.2307/147895

Steadman, S., McMabon, G., Ross, J., Cassis, M., Şerifoğlu, T., Arbuckle, B., & Adcock, S. E. (2015). The 2013 and 2014 excavation seasons at Çadirhöyük on the Anatolian north central plateau. *Anatolica*, *41*, 87–123.

Steel, L. (2004). *Cyprus before history: From the earliest settlers to the end of the Bronze Age*. Duckworth.

Stein, G., Boden, K., Edens, C., Pearce Edens, J., Keith, K., McMahon, A., & Ozbal, H. (1997). Excavations at Hacinebi, Turkey–1996: Preliminary report. *Anatolica*, *23*, 111–171.

Swiny, S., Rapp, G., & Herscher, E. (2003). *Sotira "Kaminoudhia": An Early Bronze Age site in Cyprus*. American Schools of Oriental Research.

Tekin, D. Y. (2008). Burial customs of the chamber tombs in Southeast Anatolia during the Early Bronze Age. *Anadolu (Anatolia)*, *31*(1), 71–90. https://doi.org/10.1501/Andl_0000000338

Topbaş, A., Efe, T., & İlasli, A. (1998). Salvage excavations of the Afyon archaeological museum, part 2: The settlement of Karaoğlan Mevkii and the Early Bronze Age cemetery of Kaklık Mevkii. *Anatolia Antiqua*, *6*(1), 21–94. https://doi.org/10.3406/anata.1998.889

Ucko, P. J. (1969). Ethnography and archaeological interpretation of funerary remains. *World Archaeology*, *1*(2), 262–280.

Van Gennep, A. (1960). *The rites of passage*. University of Chicago Press.

Vandam, R., Kaptijn, E., Problome, J., & Waelkens, M. (2013). The Bronze Age cemetery of Gavur Evi Tepesi, SW Turkey. *Anatolica*, *39*, 241–259.

von der Osten, H. H. (1937). *The Alishar Hüyük: Seasons of 1930-32*. University of Chicago Press.

Webb, J. M., Frankel, D., Stos, Z. A., & Gale, N. (2006). Early Bronze Age metal trade in the Eastern Mediterranean: New compositional and lead isotope evidence from Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, *25*(3), 261–288. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0092.2006.00261.x

Wheeler, T. S. (1974). Early Bronze Age burial customs in Western Anatolia. *American Journal of Archaeology*, *78*(4), 415–425. https://doi.org/10.2307/502755

Yakar, J. (1985). *The later prehistory of Anatolia: The late Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age*. BAR.

Yener, A. (1997). *The Oxford encyclopedia of archaeology in the Near East*. New York : Oxford University Press. http://archive.org/details/oxfordencycloped0003unse_j2f8

Yıldırım, T. (2006). An Early Bronze Age cemetery at Resuloğlu, near Uğurludağ, Çorum. A preliminary report of the archaeological work carried out between years 2003-2005. *Anatolia Antiqua/Eski Anadolu*, *14*(1), 1–14. https://doi.org/10.3406/anata.2006.1061

Zettler, R. L., & Armstrong, J. A. (1997). *Subsistence and settlement in a marginal environment: Tell es-Sweyhat, 1989-1995 preliminary report*. Museum Applied Science Center for Archaeology MASCA, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.

Zimmermann, T. (2007a). Anatolia and the Balkans, once again – Ring-shaped idols from Western Asia and a critical reassessment of some 'Early Bronze Age' items from İkiztepe, Turkey.

Oxford Journal of Archaeology, *26*(1), 25–33. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0092.2007.00271.x

Zimmermann, T. (2007b). Kalinkaya-Toptatepe: A Chalcolithic-Early Bronze Age settlement with Necropolis in the northwards central Anatolia: The grave findings of the campaign from 1971 and 1973. *Mitteilungen Des Deutschen Archaologischen Instituts Abteilung Istanbul*, *57*, 7–21.