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Alexander Ahrens and Federico Manuelli

Observations on John Garstang's Excavations at Kazanlı Höyük (Cilicia) in 1937

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Abstract: In 1937, British archaeologist John Garstang (1876–1956) excavated several trenches at the site of Kazanlı Höyük as part of the Neilson Expedition in Cilicia. The site is located in Plain Cilicia, approximately 2 km from the modern coastline (ca. 11 km east of modern-day Mersin, and 17 km west of Tarsus, roughly located by the ancient/modern road connecting these two cities). After these short trial excavations, however, Garstang's interest shifted to the site of Mersin/Yumuktepe, where he then excavated for a number of years. Apart from two very brief preliminary reports on his excavations at Kazanlı Höyük, which were published in the journal "Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Liverpool," not much is known about his work at the site. Unpublished photographs kept in the Special Collections of the University College London (UCL) shed new light on Garstang's work at the site.

Keywords: Kazanlı Höyük, John Garstang, Anatolian Archaeology, Cilicia, Bronze Age

I Introduction: Garstang's Excavations at Kazanlı Höyük

In 1937, British archaeologist John Garstang (1876–1956) started short-termed excavations at the site of Kazanlı Höyük.¹ The excavations were part of the "Neilson Expedition to Cilicia", which aimed to survey archaeological sites in Cilicia, a region located between Anatolia and the Levant that was archaeologically virtually unknown at that time.² Thirty years earlier, Garstang had conducted his 'Anatolian survey', which in turn had led to his seminal work "The Land of the Hittites", one of the first thorough assessments of Hittite history and archaeology at that time.³ Coming back to Anatolia after many years working in the southern Levant/Palestine, Garstang decided to conduct the survey in Cilicia accompanied with targeted test excavations at various sites there, among others the site of Sirkeli Höyük close to the town of Ceyhan (at that time still called Hamidiyeh), where he excavated in the winter of 1936–1937,⁴ and Çavuşlu Höyük, close to Mersin.⁵

The site of Kazanlı Höyük ("Mound of the Cauldron") is located in Plain Cilicia, approximately 2 km from the modern coastline, ca. 11 km east of the center of modern-day Mersin and 17 km west of Tarsus, roughly located by the ancient/modern road connecting these two cities (**Figs. 1–3**). It is unclear if the site was located directly at the coastline during the Bronze Age, or – more likely – situated in a more sheltered position a little bit further inland, as is the case with most of the 'coastal' sites in Cilicia. Yet, since the site appears to have

¹ For a detailed account of Garstang and his achievements for Anatolian archaeology, see Greaves (2015).

² Garstang (1937; 1938).

³ Garstang (1910).

⁴ Ahrens (2014) with further references on Garstang's work at the site.

⁵ Referred to as "Chaushli Höyük" by Garstang (1937; 1938).

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been extremely close to the coastline during much of the Bronze Age, a harbor is likely to have existed.⁶ It is unclear if Kazanlı Höyük served as a port for Tarsus, located further inland to the north.

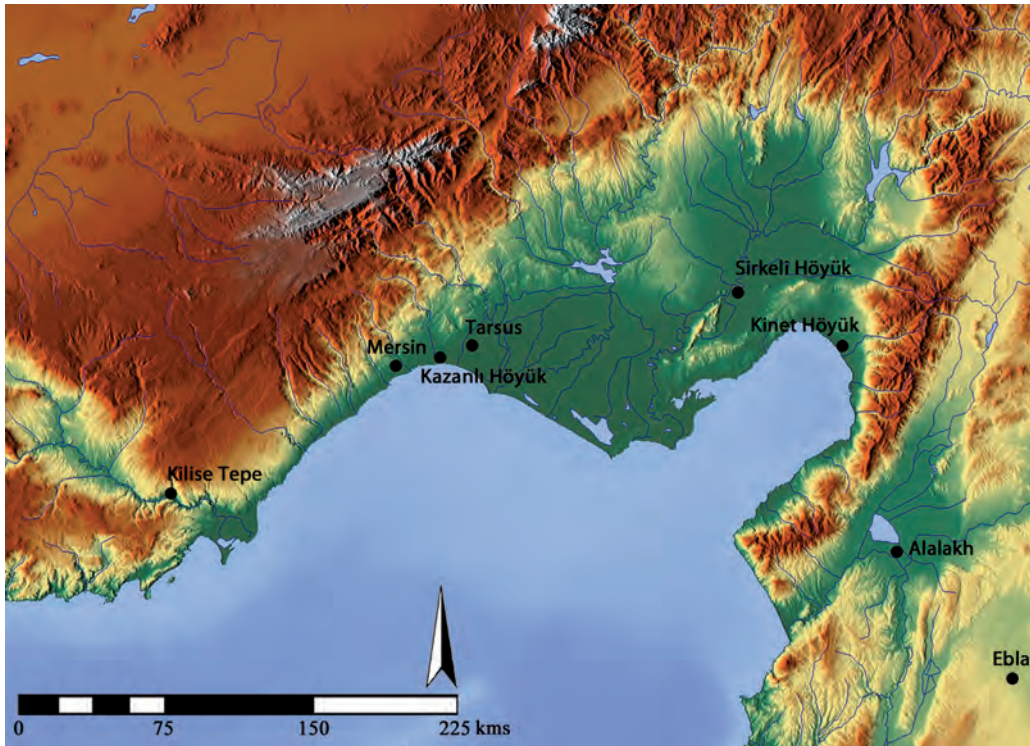


Fig. 1: Map of Cilicia with location of Kazanlı Höyük and selected sites mentioned in the text (map courtesy of Free Maps, compiled by authors).



Fig. 2: Location of Kazanlı Höyük (image courtesy of Google Earth, with additions by authors).

⁶ In an unstable marshy environment, these sites were located on high grounds, which also allowed for the monitoring the movement of ships. For a reconstruction of the coastline of Cilicia during earlier periods, see Blue (1997: 38–41); Erasmi et al. (2014); also Rutishauser (forthcoming).



Fig. 3: The site of Kazanlı Höyük today (image courtesy of Google Earth, with additions by authors).

During the excavations at the site, Garstang found material remains of the Bronze and Iron Ages, and also a considerable quantity of Aegean pottery.⁷ Whether or not the site is to be identified with the classical site of Anchiale – as presumed by Garstang – is unproven and unlikely.⁸ Apart from Garstang’s survey and excavation in 1937, the site has also been the subject of a number of other surveys: Gjerstad (in 1930) and Seton-Williams (in 1951) conducted surveys in the region of Cilicia, also visiting Kazanlı Höyük.⁹

Altogether, according to Garstang’s preliminary reports, six trenches (called “cuttings” by him; namely Trenches A–F) were excavated at Kazanlı Höyük, of which he published a sketch plan and a reconstructed section of Trenches A–D, located on the western site of the höyük (**Fig. 4**). Garstang presented the results of the excavations in two preliminary, short articles,¹⁰ before he shifted his interest to the site of Mersin/Yumuktepe, although he wrote that “this is an exceptionally fine site, compact, accessible, and well stratified, and it merits scientific excavation”.¹¹

Albeit Garstang published some of the pottery from these trenches in his preliminary reports (see below), a detailed account of his excavations and the stratigraphy of the site was never published.

⁷ Garstang (1938: pls. 7.3–4, 10.6). According to Seton-Williams (1954: 134–135, 160 no. 78), Goldman found one Mycenaean pottery fragment at the site (note that Seton-Williams apparently gives a false reference to this find in her gazetteer of sites). Both French (1975: 74) and Mee (1978: 131–132), in their detailed treatment of Mycenaean pottery from Tarsus and Cilicia, give significantly higher numbers of Mycenaean ceramics found at Kazanlı Höyük during Garstang’s excavations, which at the time of their study was stored in the magazines of the Archaeological Museum of Adana. The Mycenaean pottery from Kazanlı Höyük has much in common with that from Tarsus, apparently suggesting one center of production here (French 1975: 55, 74). See also Mommsen et al. (2011) for a provenance analysis of the Mycenaean pottery from Tarsus; and Kozal (2003: 74, fig. 1) for a distribution map of this pottery in Cilicia.

⁸ Garstang (1938: 20) apparently only found “very sparse indications of any early Greek, Hellenistic or Roman remains” at the site. Seton-Williams (1954: 160, no. 78), on the basis of the absence of the specific levels and associated material, rejects this identification as well. To the knowledge of the present authors, archaeological excavations at the site after Garstang’s initial exploration were never conducted. The site today is used as an agricultural plantation.

⁹ Gjerstad (1934); Seton-Williams (1954: 160, no. 78); see also Rutishauser (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Garstang (1937: 64; 1938: 12–20, pls. V–XIII).

¹¹ Garstang (1938: 13).

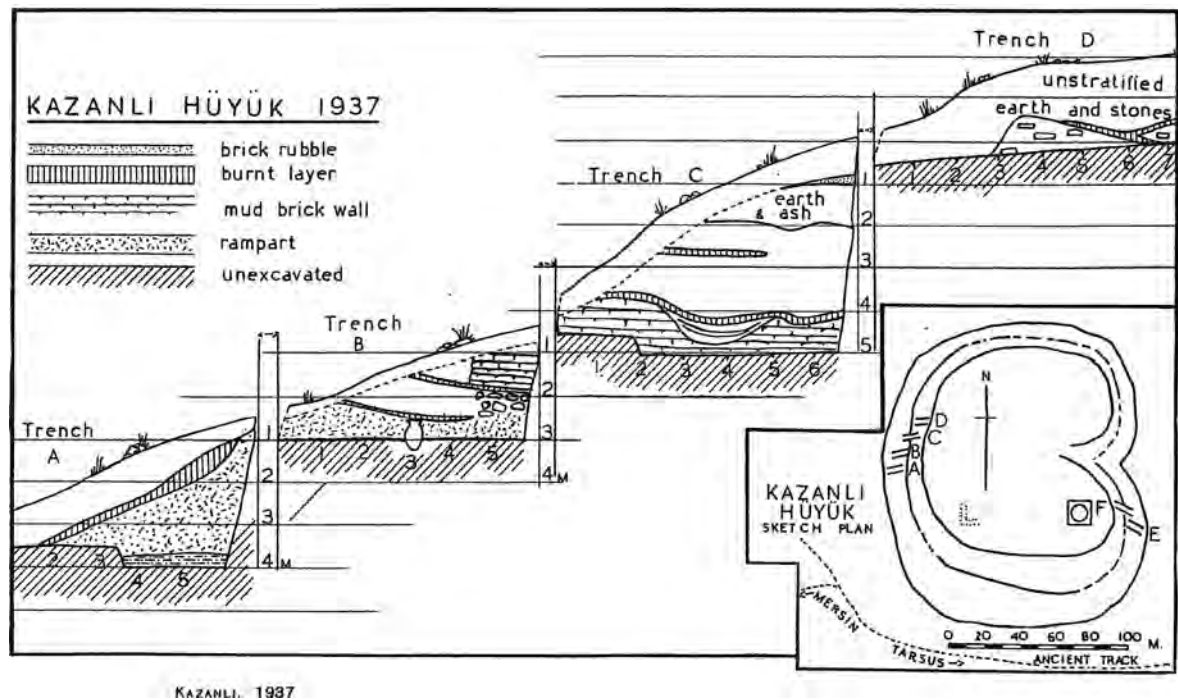


Fig. 4: Sketch plan of Kazanlı Höyük with location of Trenches A–D (see inset), and reconstructed section (after Garstang 1938: pl. V).

II Unpublished Photographs in the Special Collections of the University College London

Hitherto unpublished photographs provide new information on Garstang's work at the site.¹² One photograph shows four of the six trenches he excavated and marked in his preliminary report (Trenches A–D), that were located at the western side of the höyük (Fig. 5). Additionally, there is one photograph taken from an eastern viewpoint that shows the mound towards the west, according to the position of the site's distinctive *türbe* (i.e. shrine, tomb) on top of the höyük, which still exists today (Fig. 6). A number of photographs found in the Special Collections show pottery finds retrieved from the trenches, one of them showing a larger pithos found *in situ*, which according to Garstang's preliminary report was discovered in Trench B at the site.¹³

¹² One of the authors of the present article (A. Ahrens) was able to locate these photographs in the Special Collections of the University College London/UCL in July 2016 (see below, acknowledgements; see also Ahrens 2014). The study was made possible by a generous research grant from the German Society for the Exploration of Palestine (*Deutscher Verein zur Erforschung Palästinas*), which is to be heartily thanked for this. For further information on the photographs of John Garstang kept at the University of Liverpool, his research and his travels in Anatolia, see Greaves (2010; 2015).

¹³ Garstang (1938: 13, pl. VIII); see also below. According to the website database of the University College London's "Archaeological Collections Catalogue", altogether 351 objects from Kazanlı Höyük are reported to be stored in their archives (URL: <http://archcat.museums.ucl.ac.uk/brief.aspx>). These seem to be exclusively pottery sherds (mostly painted), as well as a small number of clay and flint objects. None of the vessels, however, correspond to the ones dealt with here. For the sake of completeness, it has to be noted that while over 600 entries are found for the site of Mersin, not a single entry lists material from the site of Sirkeli Höyük, which was excavated before Garstang worked at Kazanlı Höyük. The authors thank Anna Lucia D'Agata for having brought this material to our attention. Further material may possibly be stored in the magazines of the Archeological Museum Adana, but this would need further examination.



Fig. 5: Kazanlı Höyük, with Trenches A–D during excavation (courtesy of the Special Collections of the University College London, Institute of Archaeology).



Fig. 6: The site of Kazanlı Höyük, photographed from the east towards the west (courtesy of the Special Collections of the University College London, Institute of Archaeology).

Clearly visible in one of the photographs is Garstang's distinctive technique of excavating test trenches (**Fig. 5**), with several such trenches at successive heights along the slopes of the höyük, each "slanted slightly to the left as it rose up the slope", thus replacing one continuous step trench in order to avoid accidents and collapse of sections, but also to allow for easy removal of debris.¹⁴ While this approach led to fast results in terms of obtaining a preliminary dating of the archaeological sites surveyed and excavated, and helped to swiftly expose parts of the ancient architectural building remains and their associated finds, it remained impractical and inefficient in terms of the accuracy of stratigraphical observation, since distinctive floor levels, pits cutting levels, and details of other features were rarely detected or exposed with certainty.¹⁵ The finds and results of the test trenches ultimately resulted in a reconstructed section, which clearly cannot be regarded as an accurate depiction of the stratigraphy, but rather an artificial merging of the sections of each of the four excavated trenches.

Furthermore, albeit not explicitly mentioned or explained by Garstang himself, the numbering system of the excavated objects – especially concerning pottery – can be reconstructed from find numbers assigned to specific pottery specimen: the objects were labeled according to the trench (i.e. "A" to "D") in which they were retrieved, and also received an additional number referring to the approximate depth at which they were actually found, thus forming find numbers consisting of a letter followed by a number (e.g. "B-400" referring to a vessel found in Trench B at a depth of ca. 4 m). This specific system was employed throughout Garstang's survey in Cilicia, e.g. at the site of Sirkeli Höyük.¹⁶

Fortunately, it is possible to reconstruct the approximate find spot of the pottery specimens featured in the photos, since these were labeled – most probably by Garstang himself – on the paper prints, although these photographs were ultimately never published in the preliminary reports.

III Pottery Vessels and Their Association with Garstang's Preliminary Reports

Five unpublished photographs of vessels discovered by Garstang at Kazanlı Höyük were found in the Special Collections at UCL. The first photograph shows the discovery of a large pithos *in situ* (**Fig. 7**). The second photograph depicts two small vessels, an incised decorated beaker and a triple-pot with a basket handle (**Fig. 8**). A third picture shows two painted specimens, the upper part of a high-necked jar and the body and neck of a handled jug (**Fig. 9**). The other two photographs are not included in this presentation, as they depict the three above-mentioned vessels from a slightly different angle, and thus belong to the same series of photographs that were probably taken at the same time. All the vessels presented here were only sketchily described by Garstang in his preliminary report (**Fig. 10**).¹⁷ The discovery and presentation of these unpublished photographs are important, as a more detailed assessment of the material is now possible, allowing further discussions of the whole assemblage.

¹⁴ Garstang (1938: 12).

¹⁵ A similar approach was also employed at the site of Sirkeli Höyük, which was likewise surveyed and excavated during Garstang's survey in Cilicia, see Garstang (1937: pl. XIV); see also Ahrens (2014).

¹⁶ Garstang (1937; 1938).

¹⁷ Garstang (1938: 13–17, pls. VII–IX, XII).



Fig. 7: Kazanlı Höyük, *in-situ* pithos from Trench B (courtesy of the Special Collections of the University College London, Institute of Archaeology).

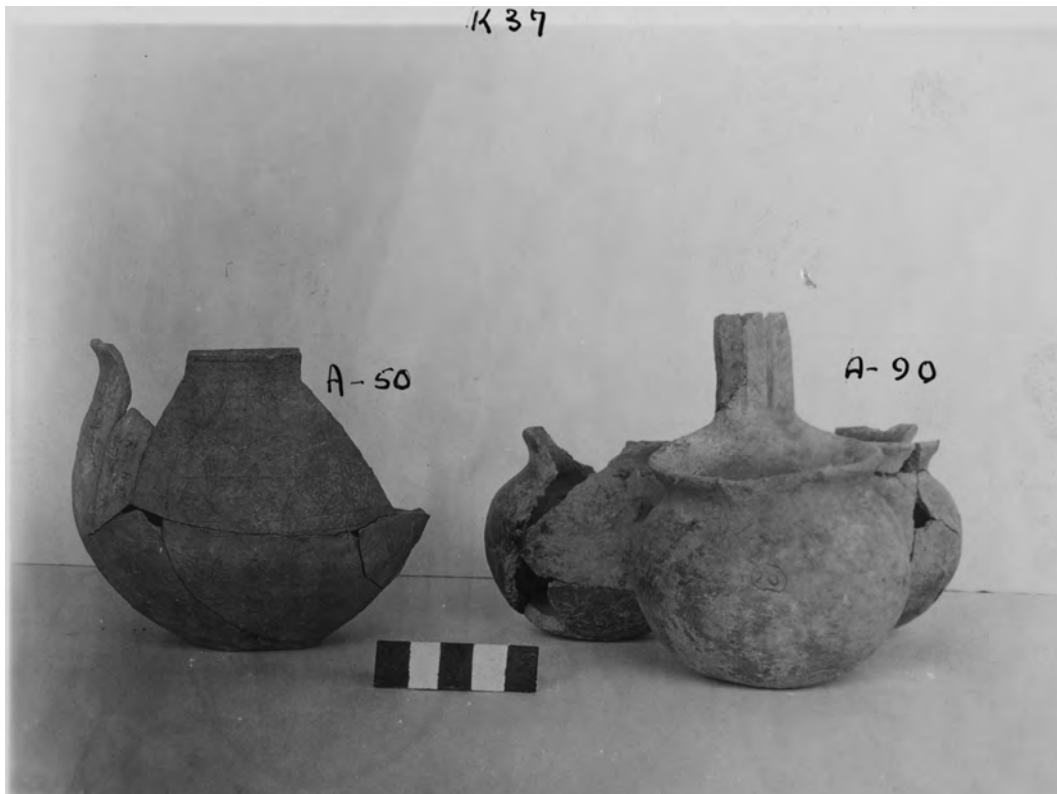


Fig. 8: Kazanlı Höyük, globular body beaker and triple-pot (courtesy of the Special Collections of the University College London, Institute of Archaeology).



Fig. 9: Kazanlı Höyük, high-necked jar and handled jug (courtesy of the Special Collections of the University College London, Institute of Archaeology).

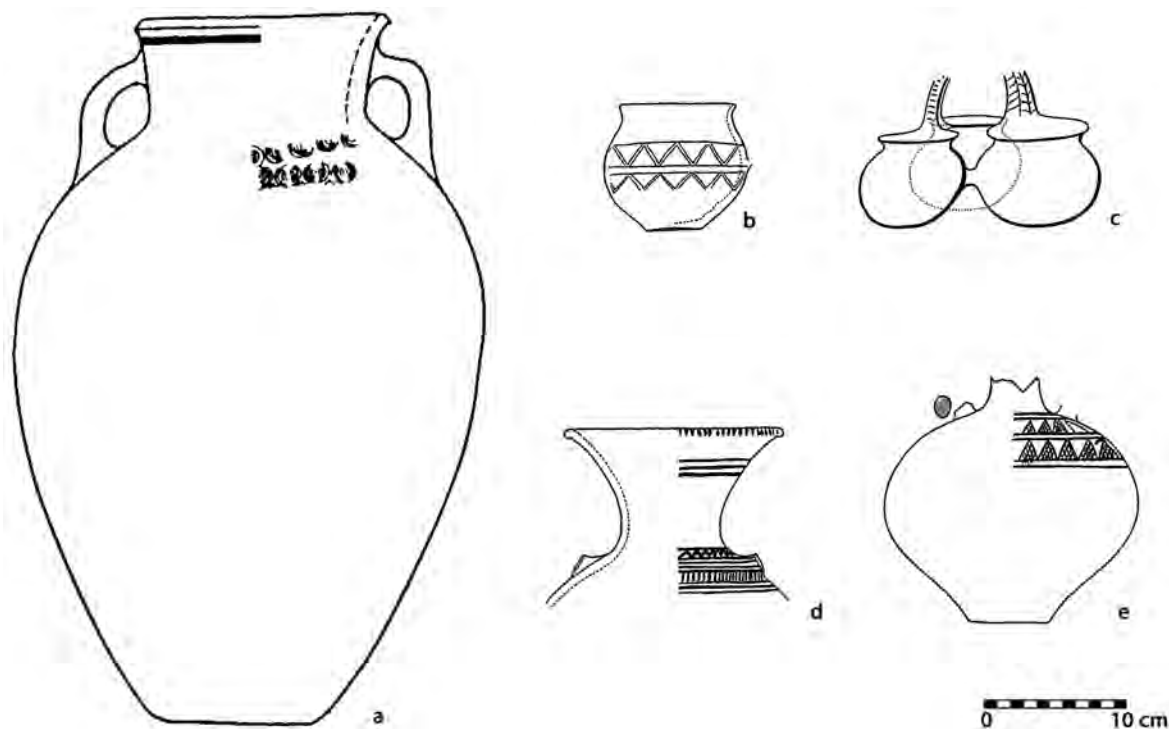


Fig. 10: Compilation of pottery vessels as reproduced by Garstang in his preliminary report (arrangement compiled by authors, drawings taken from Garstang 1938: pls. VII.8.10, VIII.10, IX.15 and XII.9).

The pithos found is characterized by a high, straight neck and everted rim (**Figs. 7, 10a**). The shoulder is well marked and rounded, the body is ovoid, and the base is flat. Two handles link the shoulder with the neck. The diameter of the mouth is ca. 20 cm and the vessel height is around 60 cm. Only slightly visible is the stamped decoration on the vessel’s shoulder. This is described by Garstang as a pattern arranged in “concentric circles in two overlapping rows”.¹⁸ He also adds that this represents “possibly a measure of its content”. The vessel comes from Trench B and was found at a depth of ca. 4 m below the surface. It was most probably associated with a floor level.¹⁹

The beaker has a globular body and a flat base (**Figs. 8, 10b**). The shoulder is slightly convex, the neck is short and constricted, while the rim is everted with a rounded edge. The joint for a vertical handle is visible above the point of maximum expansion of the body. Both the vessel’s height and mouth diameter are around 9 cm. An incised geometric decoration composed of two superimposed bands of zigzag motif divided by two horizontal lines is visible on the body. The vessel had been made from a fine and pale clay and the surface was most probably originally burnished.²⁰ It comes from Trench A and was found at a depth of approximately 0.50 m below the mound surface,²¹ in association with the upper filling of the so-called earthen rampart. This does not represent its original context.²²

The triple-pot consists of three small-sized jars with compressed globular bodies, constricted necks, everted rounded rims, and flat bases (**Figs. 8, 10c**). The vessels’ rims are joined through a vertical basket handle. The latter starts from the edge of one of the rims and is broader where it connects with the other two jars. The handle section is flattened and has an incised decoration. It is composed of two deep, grooved lines,

¹⁸ Garstang (1938: 17).

¹⁹ Garstang (1938: 13).

²⁰ Garstang (1938: pl. VII.8).

²¹ Garstang (1938: pl. VII.8).

²² Garstang (1938: 13).

running along its length, and a series of oblique strokes in a herringbone pattern. Each jar has a height of ca. 7 cm and a rim diameter of approximately 5 cm. The total vessel height is around 12 cm. It is handmade from a pale brown paste and its surface is slightly burnished.²³ The vessel was found in Trench A, ca. 0.90 m below the surface. Its context of discovery is the same as the abovementioned beaker.²⁴

The large high-necked jar is the only fragmentary vessel of the assemblage (**Figs. 9, 10d**). It is characterized by a partially preserved straight shoulder with a constricted, narrow neck, and an everted rim. At least one handle was joined to the upper part of the shoulder. Its rim diameter is around 14 cm, while its preserved height is ca. 12 cm. A geometric black painted decoration covers the whole preserved part of the vessel. A series of vertical strokes are seen on the rim and three horizontal lines on the upper part of the neck. More complex is the pattern found on the shoulder. Here, a motif composed of a wavy line and ladder pattern framed by a single horizontal line, alternate with horizontal bands of double lines, is attested. The vessel had been made from a pale brown paste, and a slight slip is also visible on its surface.²⁵ It was found in Trench D, at ca. 1.50 m below the mound surface. Material from this trench has been classified by Garstang as “stratigraphically not conclusive”.²⁶

The handled jug has a round expanded body tapered in its lower profile and a flat base (**Figs. 9, 10e**). An oval section handle is attached to the upper part of the convex shoulder. The neck is narrow and straight, and the rim and upper part of the handle are missing. The preserved height is around 18 cm and the maximum body length is ca. 17 cm. A geometric black decoration had been painted on the shoulder. It consists of a double overlapping series of cross-hatched triangles between a set of horizontal lines. The vessel had been made from a pale and fine paste, and its surface is slightly slipped.²⁷ It comes from Trench C and was found at ca. 3.50 cm below the mound’s surface. According to Garstang, the material coming from this context is also not stratigraphically reliable.²⁸

IV Chronological and Cultural Contextualization of the Pottery

The abovementioned vessels have been tentatively contextualized by Garstang within their chronological and geographical setting.²⁹ The progress in the reassessment of the pottery sequences of the main sites of the Syro-Anatolian region, allows a re-evaluation of the described material.

The *in situ* pithos was considered by Garstang as belonging to Pre-Hittite Syro-Cilician times.³⁰ A specimen identical to the one from Kazanlı Höyük has been found at Tarsus in a context dated to the Early Bronze Age III.³¹ Another suitable comparison, although it has a more bi-conic body, was found at Mersin/Yumuktepe, in a context generically dated to the first half of the 3rd Millennium BC.³² Moreover, at Tarsus, sherds associated with stamped or cylindrical seal impressions, similar to the one on the Kazanlı pithos, are attested during the Early Bronze Age III.³³ As far as the geographical distribution of this shape is concerned, it does not seem to have been diffused outside Cilicia.

The incised beaker has undoubtedly a broader chronological and geographical diffusion, and has been dated to the Middle Bronze Age by Garstang.³⁴ Undecorated comparanda come from the Early Bronze Age

²³ Garstang (1938: pl. VII.10).

²⁴ Garstang (1938: 13).

²⁵ Garstang (1938: pl. XII.9).

²⁶ Garstang (1938: 14).

²⁷ Garstang (1938: pl. IX.15).

²⁸ Garstang (1938: 13).

²⁹ Garstang (1938: 15–17).

³⁰ Garstang (1938: 17).

³¹ Goldman (1956: 156, pl. 364.637).

³² Garstang (1953, fig. 127.10).

³³ Goldman (1956: pl. 397.5–12).

³⁴ Garstang (1938: 15).

levels at Tarsus,³⁵ though this shape continues until the mid-2nd Millennium BC.³⁶ At Mersin it seems that plain versions of this beaker are mainly attested during the second half of the 3rd Millennium BC.³⁷ In Northern Syria and the Levant, the shape is also widespread. Slight variations, especially regarding some body details and the presence of handles, are attested at Alalaḫ, in the Middle Bronze Age IIB burials and the Late Bronze Age levels,³⁸ and at Tall Ṭūqān, mostly at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age occupation.³⁹ Further comparable examples come from the Middle Bronze Age IA levels at Tall Mardīḫ/Ebla and Hama,⁴⁰ while the diffusion of this shape in Anatolia is also attested in the *Nordwesthang* (Level 9) of Büyükkale at Boğazköy.⁴¹ Incised pattern decorations, comparable to those of the Kazanlı Höyük beaker, occur at Kilise Tepe during the final Early Bronze Age.⁴²

The small-sized triple-pot can be assigned to a precise temporal and spatial framework. As in the case of the pithos, Garstang provides a dating to the Middle Bronze Age.⁴³ However, according to comparisons the vessel is certainly earlier. An example similar to the one from Kazanlı Höyük, although with an undecorated handle, comes from an Early Bronze Age III context at Tarsus.⁴⁴ A re-evaluation of the latter material, by means of a statistic-combinatory approach, has recently been published, leading to a dating of the Tarsus example to 2600–2300 BC.⁴⁵ Similar small-sized triple-pots also characterize the Early Bronze Age repertoire at Mersin.⁴⁶ Multiple-pots originated in Western Anatolia during the mid-3rd Millennium BC. Interesting examples comparable with the one from Kazanlı Höyük come, for instance, from the cemetery at Yortan⁴⁷ and at Elmalı-Karataş.⁴⁸

The two painted vessels belong to a well-known Middle Bronze Age ceramic tradition, noted as Cilician, Syro-Cilician, or Amuq-Cilician Painted Ware. The origin, development and association with other 2nd Millennium BC painted pottery traditions, such as Levantine Painted Ware and Khabur Ware, and its exact chronology have long been debated by scholars.⁴⁹ In the specific case of the Cilician territory, its attribution exclusively to the Middle Bronze Age I has recently been revised in light of the Kinet Höyük evidence, where this ware continues to be produced at least until 1600 BC.⁵⁰ Further examples come from Sirkeli Höyük⁵¹ and the *kārum* levels at Kültepe.⁵²

As far as the two examples from Kazanlı Höyük are concerned, Garstang dated the high-necked jar to the Middle Bronze Age and the handled jug to the Early Iron Age.⁵³ The first vessel actually has suitable comparisons only in Cilicia. At Tarsus and Mersin some specimens similar in shape and decoration to the Kazanlı Höyük one come from Middle Bronze Age levels,⁵⁴ while further examples are also attested at Kinet Höyük.⁵⁵

³⁵ Goldman (1956, 140, pl. 274.455).

³⁶ Slane (1987: 472–473, pl. 116.504).

³⁷ Garstang (1953: 198, fig. 123.8).

³⁸ Heinz (1992: 145–149); Horowitz (2015: 166–167, fig. 7.4.3).

³⁹ Ascalone (2011, 45–48, fig. 40.6, 10).

⁴⁰ Nigro (2002a: 102).

⁴¹ Orthmann (1963: pl. 2.108–109).

⁴² Symington (2007: 314–317).

⁴³ Garstang (1938: 15).

⁴⁴ Goldman (1956: 154, pl. 278.621).

⁴⁵ Mallegni/Vacca (2013: 210).

⁴⁶ Garstang (1953: 198, fig. 123.16).

⁴⁷ Kâmil (1982: 104, pl. XV.238, fig. 74.238).

⁴⁸ Eslick (2009: 28, pl. 11.MU3).

⁴⁹ Seton-Williams (1953); Tubb (1983); Nigro (2002b: 312–313); Bagh (2002: 92–93; 2013).

⁵⁰ Gates (2000: 85; 2011: 184–185).

⁵¹ Haider (1999: fig. 29.a).

⁵² Özgüç (1950: 198–199, pl. LXII.360).

⁵³ Garstang (1938: 15).

⁵⁴ Goldman (1956: 185, 195–196, pl. 374.878–888); Garstang (1953: 230, fig. 148.8).

⁵⁵ Gates (2000: 97, fig. 6.9).

More abundant is the repertoire of comparisons for the handled jug. Although Tarsus, Mersin and Kinet Höyük still offer the most valuable examples,⁵⁶ further comparanda are attested especially in Northern Syria. A jug almost identical to the one from Kazanlı Höyük has been found at Ra's Šamra in a burial dated to "Ugarit Moyen 1" (ca. 2100–1900 BC).⁵⁷ Very interesting is also the repertoire from the Middle Bronze Age necropolis of Ebla. Examples found in the "Tomb of the Princess" and the "Tomb of the Lord of the Goats", although characterized by specific peculiarities concerning their handle shape and positioning, as well as the complexity of their painted motives, can be compared with the jug from Kazanlı Höyük,⁵⁸ as well as specimen from the Royal Tomb of Qatna.⁵⁹

V Conclusions

While the material presented here only consists of a small sample of the overall assemblage of pottery retrieved during John Garstang's short excavation at Kazanlı Höyük, it nevertheless highlights the potential of archival studies for the lesser known archaeological sites in Cilicia. The material provides an example of the archaeological potential of a re-evaluation of older excavation material. The results presented here, together with the pottery sherds stored at the University College London, would also provide a basis for any potential restart of investigations at the site.

As Garstang has already noted,⁶⁰ the site probably reached its zenith during the so-called "Cilician, Pre-Imperial" Hittite period, i.e. the Early and Middle Bronze Age. His statement becomes even more significant in light of the development in Anatolian ceramic studies during recent years. Indeed, an overview of the material published by Garstang in his preliminary report shows that the presence of the typical North-Central Anatolian Hittite types and monochrome wares at the site is extremely limited. As a consequence, one might wonder why the site, unlike Tarsus and Mersin, does not seem to have been an important settlement in terms of its relationship with the Hittite core during the Late Bronze Age II. This may seem to reflect the known historical facts about the region during the Bronze Age, in which Cilicia is an independent political entity known as "Kizzuwatna" at least from the mid-2nd Millennium BC until its annexation and subsequent assimilation by the Imperial Hittite Empire. In this light, Kazanlı Höyük indeed appears to have been an important Early and Middle Bronze Age site with significant connections to Northern Syria, and Central and Western Anatolia. Its connections with the Aegean are also noteworthy, as indicated by the number of Late Helladic IIIC Mycenaean type pottery found, and the possibility that the site may have served as a port for Tarsus.

The nature of the settlement, as well as the chronological development of the site during the 2nd and 1st Millennia BC, clearly requires further analysis. Despite the occurrence of Cypriote Geometric pottery of the Iron Age II, the general scarcity of Iron Age features is remarkable, as is the presence of a hiatus in occupation at the beginning of the Iron Age. Moreover, the absence of material dating later than the Persian period makes it likely that the site was completely abandoned during the course of the late Iron Age, albeit for unknown reasons. A steady infilling of the port with sand, or change of the coastline may have resulted in the discontinuation of settlement at the site.

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⁵⁶ Goldman (1956: 165, pl. 195.866); Garstang (1953: 230, fig. 148.7); Gates (2000: 97, fig. 6.5; 2011: 187, fig. 13.b).

⁵⁷ Schaeffer (1949: fig. 99.27).

⁵⁸ Matthiae (1989: 305–308, figs. 2.a, 6).

⁵⁹ Paoletti (2011: 303–306, figs. 17.32–33).

⁶⁰ Garstang (1938: 20–21).

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