

Mortuary Places, Rituals, and Memories: Anatolian Cemeteries in Context

by
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ABSTRACT

Extramural cemeteries are part of the visual, social, and symbolic landscapes of settlements. They can transform according to the needs of changing social conditions, but they also do not always reflect the circumstances of the living. This dissertation examines the role of landscape, rituals, and memories in the formation of mortuary traditions of Bronze Age Anatolia. The goal is to understand how social and ritual change was expressed materially in cemeteries, and how these expressions continued over time. This research analyzes mortuary evidence from western- and central-Anatolian cemeteries and evaluates them in a social and ritual context. Through an anthropological framework, I challenge the argument, widely-accepted in the study of Bronze Age Anatolia, that burials were direct expressions of one's wealth and identity. Mortuary data from third- and second-millennium cemeteries show that mortuary places, interactions with the dead, and burial objects were strongly influenced by social memories, local choices, and ritual practices more than they were by individuals' economic statuses. This research concludes that despite the local diversity in settlements and in burial objects, mortuary practices show clear similarities in different regions in western and central Anatolia. They continue —almost unchanged— for long periods of time. The communal aspect of the mortuary rituals and the location of cemeteries in the landscape play a central role in the continuity of cemeteries as important social and symbolic places.

ÖZET

Yerleşim dışı mezarlıklar yerleşimlerin görsel, sosyal, ve sembolik peyzajlarının bir parçasıdır. Değişen sosyal koşulların ihtiyaçlarına göre farklı şekillere dönüşebilirler, ancak her zaman yaşayanların hayat koşullarını da yansıtmazlar. Bu tez, Batı ve Orta Anadolu Tunç Çağı mezarlıklarında bulunan arkeolojik buluntuları analiz ederek bunları toplumsal ve ritüel bağlamda değerlendirmekte, ve ölü gömme geleneklerinin oluşumunda peyzaj, ritüel ve anıların rolünü incelemektedir. Buradaki hedef, mezarlıklardaki sosyal ve ritüel değişimin materyal olarak nasıl ifade edildiğini ve bu ifadelerin zaman içinde nasıl devam ettiğini anlamaktır. Antropolojik bir çerçeve içerisinde, bu tez Tunç Çağı Anadolu çalışmalarında yaygınca kabul edilen, mezarların kişinin servetinin ve kimliğinin doğrudan ifade ettiği yorumunun geçerliğini sorgulamaktadır. Bu çalışmanın sonuçları üçüncü ve ikinci binyıl mezar yerlerinin, ölümlerle etkileşimlerin ve mezar nesnelerinin toplumsal hatıralar, yerel tercihler ve ritüel uygulamalar tarafından güçlü bir şekilde etkilendiğini işaret etmektedir. Yerleşim yerlerinde ve mezarlığa ait buluntularda yerel çeşitlilik olmasına rağmen, mezar uygulamaları Batı ve Orta Anadolu'daki farklı bölgelerde açık benzerlikler ve uzun süreli devamlılıklar göstermektedir. Mezarlık ritüellerinin müşterek olarak uygulanması ve mezarlıkların olağandışı konumları, mezarlık alanlarının sürekliliğinde ve önemli sosyal ve sembolik mekanlar olarak kullanılmasında merkezi bir rol oynamıştır.

CHAPTER 1: Introduction

Mushroom suits, tree pods, biodegradable urns... Even though changing technologies offer new ways to dispose of dead bodies, cemeteries are nevertheless one of the most common solutions to the disposal of the dead. There is something about cemeteries that fulfills the human desire to leave a mark behind, and the need to have something or some place tangible to remember the dead. Cemeteries are designated places for a specific purpose: to bury the dead. Their function, however, is not limited to that. Cemeteries are places of remembering and forgetting; they are also places of mourning and celebrating. Most importantly, cemeteries are social spaces, they bring people together, old and young, dead and living.

This dissertation sets out to understand the functions of cemeteries and mortuary practices in the social and symbolic life of Bronze Age Anatolian communities. The analysis of the elements that form these practices are not limited to objects; the place, the rituals, and animal and human bodies all provide a context where the living interact with the dead and connect with their own past. Cemeteries, therefore, are important links between landscape, the material world, and people. They are places where memories and personal histories accumulate. They are often used over generations, sometimes reimaged and repurposed after they are out of use, which is why they cannot be studied in social, spatial, or chronological isolation.

In this research, I analyze western and central Anatolian mortuary data, starting with the earliest extramural cemetery in the Late Chalcolithic Period ¹ until the end of the Late Bronze Age.² This diachronic approach allows us to understand the long-term uses of cemeteries and the change and continuity in mortuary practices.

In the most basic sense, we can define cemeteries as burial grounds laid out expressly for the deposition or interment of the dead (Curl 1999). Cemeteries can be defined with a number of distinctive characteristics: location, perimeter (boundaries), a context for memorializing individuals (visible and physical features), and purpose and ownership (Rugg 2000). The cemetery, then, is a place where ritual and cultural practices can be readily accommodated in a specific place, and in specific ways. Moreover, cemeteries are unique places as they stand at the intersection between the living and the dead (Francis 2003). Based on these elements that form cemeteries, I focus my discussion around three major themes: interactions with the place, body, and objects and animals to understand landscape and memory, body and perceptions of death, and ritual practice. These themes are all inter-connected; both the living and the dead bodies are major elements in mortuary rituals, and rituals cannot be discussed without looking at social memory in the continuation of places and practices. Gosden suggests that we could divide the material world into two broad components: landscape and artifacts (1999: 152). The body is material itself, it also creates objects, and it exists in the landscape. Therefore, the body as a crucial component of materiality

¹ henceforth LC: 4300-3000 BCE.

² henceforth LBA: 1650-1200 BCE.

needs to be an important part of the discussion. Understanding the cultural significance of these mortuary elements and what kind of ideological, practical, and symbolic needs they fulfilled will help us place cemeteries in a larger social context, and will help us to reconstruct the materiality of death in Anatolia.

Only a year ago the Vatican has issued a new document on Christian burial and cremation, recommending that the bodies of the deceased be buried in cemeteries or other sacred places.³ Despite more practical and affordable burial solutions, it is apparent that cemeteries are not going to be replaced, at least not for a while. This dissertation analyzes the functions of some of the earliest public cemeteries in human history and looks at change and continuity in mortuary practices to understand the origins of this human phenomenon in Anatolia, in the hope of providing useful case studies for scholars interested in mortuary practices, perceptions and expressions of death and dying, and in change and continuity.

1.1 Research Questions, Goals, and Contributions

By using archaeological, osteological, spatial, and textual data, I analyze interactions between the dead and the living, and between people and their natural and material world. I have set out to answer three main research questions:

- What functions did cemeteries serve in the social and ritual life of Bronze Age Anatolian communities?

³ Vatican Radio website: http://en.radiovaticana.va/news/2016/10/25/vatican_issues_new_document_on_christian_burial_cremation/1267621

- What kind of rituals were taking place in the cemeteries? What was the perception of death and dead bodies in Bronze Age Anatolia? How were these expressed materially? How did people interact with dead bodies, burial objects, and spaces of death?
- Were these mortuary traditions kept or abandoned throughout time? Were there local preferences in rituals, places, or objects?

Through a comparative approach between different periods, different regions, and different sources of evidence, this research analyzes mortuary trends in Anatolia. The conservative nature of mortuary practices and the long occupation histories of Bronze Age sites in Anatolia make them ideal for understanding change and continuity in local traditions, and why and how they were transmitted or abandoned. Focusing on how and where people were buried, and what rituals took place around their burials can inform us about the social practices and help us understand the social contexts that formed these practices.

The significance and meaning of mortuary practices can only be interpreted contextually, as Keswani argues, preferably in a long-term historical framework (2004: 3, also see Parker Pearson 1993). So far mortuary practices of Anatolia have been discussed within bounded chronological frameworks. For example, the EBA mortuary practices were discussed only within the third millennium (e.g. Wheeler 1974, Bachhuber 2015), while second millennium BCE cemeteries were explored as separate phenomena (Akyurt 1998, Emre 1991). Hittite burial practices, on the other hand have been completely isolated from the earlier mortuary practices, and rarely discussed with a combination of textual and archaeological sources (e.g. van den Hout 1994). Here I

apply a diachronic approach, starting with the emergence of extramural cemeteries in the Late Chalcolithic, expanding the discussion into the Hittite Period to see connections between different periods, which are in most cases artificially constructed (see Chapter 2).

Scholars often use the “bridge” metaphor for Anatolia’s role in connecting cultural traditions (see for instance Özdoğan 1996). The role of local identities in the transmission of traditions, however, is not well understood. The general handbooks for the archaeology of Anatolia often discuss social and political changes in the Chalcolithic and EBA in relation to Mesopotamia (e.g., Sagona and Zimansky 2009), as if Anatolian communities were waiting for innovations to happen to them so that they could serve as a bridge to carry innovations to the rest of Balkans and Europe. This passive view of history is perhaps one of the reasons why the question “what does an Anatolian settlement/burial look like?” has never really been addressed. By considering regional and local varieties in mortuary remains, I hope to address this question.

This research is designed to transgress chronological, regional, and disciplinary boundaries. It engages the mortuary archaeology of Bronze Age Anatolian cemeteries with recent discussions about landscape, ritual practice, and identity. It aims to contribute to our understanding of mortuary practices and the functions of cemeteries by highlighting the role of place, memories, and local traditions. These themes are not accidental. Cemeteries stand at the intersection of people, places, histories, and practices. Cemeteries may not be made for those still alive, but they did serve the living, and therefore inform us about the ritual and social life of the living. Such ritual

and social functions often seem secondary in cemetery publications. This dissertation was inspired by the frustration that mortuary practices, which are one of the most interesting ways of accessing reactions to and perceptions of death and dying, have often been stripped down to typological discussions. The vast amount of literature on historic cemeteries (Tarlow 2000, Tarlow 1999, Holtorf and Williams 2006), European prehistoric burials (Barrett 1990, Williams 1998, Brück 2004), and New World mortuary practices (Scherer 2015, Gillespie 2001, Rakita *et al.* 2008) that make use of current theoretical discourses exemplify the usefulness of integrative approaches to the study of mortuary data. These studies take into consideration images, archaeological evidence, mortuary data, textual and historical sources, as well as bioarchaeological and anthropological methodologies. This project similarly engages in a holistic study.

This research aims to look more carefully at how people buried their dead, where, and why, rather than what they were buried with. The discussions here integrate theoretical approaches to the study of Anatolian mortuary practices, which is almost non-existent in the Anatolian Bronze Age literature. I combine different types of evidence to answer my questions (landscape, artifacts, images, architecture, texts, and animal and human remains) and borrow methodologies from different disciplines (landscape studies, art history, textual studies, thanatology, and anthropology). My goal is to place Anatolian mortuary practices and cemeteries in the framework of "Archaeology of Death and Burial", rather than considering them only in relation to culture-historical discussions or social organization arguments.

It is already well established that the most common burial type in Bronze Age Anatolia is pithos (large storage jars) burials, followed by cists and simple inhumations. The repetition of the percentages of different burial types is no longer necessary, nor does it add anything interesting to the current discourses about death and dying. The next step in Anatolian mortuary archaeology is asking socially-informed questions. Neolithic mortuary archaeology is already participating in current discussions about death, identity, and memory. Despite the amount of evidence from both third and second millennium cemeteries, recent publications that bring together memory, landscapes, and mortuary practices for the Near East such as *Remembering the Dead in the Ancient Near East: Recent Contributions from Bioarchaeology and Mortuary Archaeology* (Porter and Boutin 2014) do not include Anatolia, except one southeastern Neolithic site (Domuztepe). Why is the Bronze Age stuck in culture-historical discussions of half a century ago? Is it the lack of archaeological evidence? The lack of publications? As readers will see in the data chapters, there are plenty of mortuary data, either published in final publications of cemeteries, local/regional journals, or in the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*. The inaccessibility of the language in these resources may be one of the reasons for the exclusion of these data from larger discussions. In fact many of these articles and books are published in different languages (German [Demircihöyük, Ilıca, Osmankayası], Italian [Iasos], Turkish [Baklatepe, Alacahöyük, Yanarlar], and French [Alacahöyük, Harmanören]), which creates a disconnect in the study of these cemeteries. Therefore, a synthesis of these studies with new questions and approaches is desirable.

Mortuary practices give us interesting clues about societies, their perceptions of death, even their ideas about themselves and their material world. My ultimate goal is to understand how Anatolian communities perceived death, and how cemeteries played a role in this perception. I also aim to show that Anatolian cemeteries, too, are interesting and have the potential to contribute to cross-cultural discussions on death, dying, change, and continuity. The results of this research will be an interdisciplinary resource for art historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists interested in animal and human bodies, mortuary rituals, and cemeteries, as well as in perceptions of death. A detailed mortuary study that uses archaeological, osteological, and historical sources to understand death and dying in different regions and periods in Anatolia will provide valuable case studies for scholars in other humanistic disciplines interested in comparing cultural reactions to death and dying, and interested in continuity and change in mortuary traditions.

1.2 Chapter Breakdown and Methodologies

Chapter 2 “The Context” will set up the framework of the research by discussing the theoretical foundations of this dissertation, by outlining the methodology, and by summarizing the scholarship and the problems concerning the study of Anatolian mortuary practices. Readers will also find a short overview of the research area and sites that are used as the main case studies throughout this dissertation.

Chapter 3 “The Place: Interactions with the Mortuary Space and Landscape”

Extramural cemeteries, as places separate from the settlement, as places of the dead, and as places where the living have to interact with the dead, function as locations of separation and liminality (Van Gennep 1960 [1909]). “Culture changes landscapes and culture is embodied by landscapes” (Nassauer 1995: 229). Therefore, the relationship between cemeteries, landscape, and place is one of the main themes in this research. I define landscape as the larger spatial context of cemeteries — where they fit or stand out in the landscape, together with other natural and man-made landscape features. This spatial separation between the living and mortuary spaces gives us a unique opportunity to look at how the landscape shapes and is shaped by social, practical, and symbolic activities.

For Chapter 3, I collected spatial data to look at the use, setting, organization, location, direction, orientation, and visibility of burials and cemeteries. Are extramural cemeteries located in a certain distance from the settlement? For how long did the inhabitants walk to get to the cemetery? Is proximity to resources or natural features a factor in preference for the location? Do these factors continue to be considered in later uses of the same landscape? Answering these questions about the spatial dimensions of the mortuary practices provides an understanding of the choices for the location of burials and cemeteries throughout time and informs us whether place and landscape play a role in the continuous use of cemeteries in different periods.

This research required a detailed collection of relevant spatial data. With the support of Harriet and Leon Pomerance Fellowship by the Archaeological Institute of

America, I visited selected third and second millennium sites in western and central Anatolia that have an excavated settlement and cemetery: Karataş, Demircihöyük, Ulucak, Yortan, and Gordion (see Appendix 1). Demircihöyük and Ulucak have extensive and detailed publications. Unfortunately, most of these publications have limited information about the landscape. The open-source database of the TAY (Archaeological Settlements of Turkey) website provides geographical information about the location of some of these sites, but these are incomplete and do not include any documentation about the landscape either. With the help of a hand-held GPS device and photographic documentation, I gathered geographical information about the relationship between natural and geological features around the sites, as well as directionality and proximity of the cemetery in relation to its settlement and landscape. Visiting and documenting the sites with the above-mentioned questions in mind, building a database, and visualizing the collected data provided a better understanding of the ways in which settlements and cemeteries were incorporated in the landscape. Defining the role of landscape in the formation and continuation of the cemeteries and settlements can enlighten us about the reasons why burials are located in a specific location or oriented in a certain way, how people move in the landscape, and how people's daily and symbolic activities in these landscapes are affected by natural and man-made features. A good example of this kind of approach can be found in Branigan's analysis of Early Minoan landscapes (1998), where he questions the prominence of the tholos tombs in the landscape; and in Galanakis' study on LBA Greek tumuli and tholoi, where he analyzes the role of memory surrounding these monumental burial forms. Often

monumental burials (tumuli, tholoi, burial mounds) are discussed in relation to landscape. However, I suggest that the connections between man-made and natural elements around cemeteries and the size of areas cemeteries cover also make them prominent and visible, if not “monumental”.

Chapter 3 is inspired by the studies on mortuary landscapes in British prehistory (Barrett 1990, Chapman 1981), to first and foremost understand the spatial context of cemeteries. I do not go as far as Tilley’s phenomenological approach (1994) to reconstruct the “experience” in the landscape. Nonetheless, I still agree with the affect that landscape has on us, as it became much clearer to me how my perception of the landscape and scale changed when I actually visited sites. Cemetery plans make cemeteries look like a pool of dots, or a group of small floating pithoi with no connection to the landscape they are located in. It is conventional to start final cemetery publications with the location of the cemetery, but this location is not discussed as a spatial context for what is happening within the cemeteries. I underline these issues, and the potential of considering them in the formation of mortuary places, in the hope that these inspire future studies on mortuary landscapes in Anatolia.

Moving burials from indoors to an assigned space outside the settlement is a crucial switch in the conceptualization of death, which would clearly affect the way in which mortuary rituals are practiced. Therefore, Chapter 3 also discusses the tradition of the intramural burials, and how this tradition transforms into the extramural cemeteries in the fourth and third millennium. The fact that intramural burials continue throughout Anatolia’s Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Bronze Ages regardless of the social, political, and

economic changes, makes it necessary to see if they are indeed an uninterrupted or homogeneous phenomenon. The question why burials moved from indoors to extramural spaces is discussed in this section. Intramural burials have always been studied separately from extramural cemeteries (e.g. McGeorge 2011), but since intramural burials are part of the mortuary record, they will not be excluded from the study of mortuary practices in Anatolia in this dissertation.

Chapter 4 “The Body/Part 1: Interactions with the Interment”

The interactions with the body are discussed in two parts: Chapter 4 will discuss human remains, whereas Chapter 5 will analyze anthropomorphic depictions of the body. The decision to divide this chapter into two parts was made based on discussions that distinguish the body as a physical form, in other words the natural or “real” body (Harris and Robb 2013) from the socially-constructed body (Pluciennik 2002a), in other words the perception and the depiction of the body.

Chapter 4 analyzes the physical body, particularly the dead body —the main reason why cemeteries exist. Human remains in archaeological context have often been used to extract biological information, or they have remained in the background of discussions about burial objects and burial practices. Also in the case of Anatolian cemeteries, human remains found in cemeteries and burials have been mostly analyzed to determine sex, age, health, or diet of the individuals, but not to understand how they are treated as dead bodies. Since the 1990s archaeologists have become more interested in human remains to answer larger social questions about identity, gender,

and materiality of death (e.g., Hamilakis *et al.* 2002, Kus 1992, Borić and Robb 2008, Mina *et al.* 2016). The study of human remains requires placing archaeological bodies within a larger corpus of archaeological data, which provide a context — spatial, historical, and social — for a more holistic interpretation. I will consider the materiality aspect of human remains, a perspective that integrates the human and material worlds to demonstrate how each creates and shapes the other.

As bodies are the main reason for the very existence of cemeteries, it is surprising that they until very recently they were overshadowed by the study of objects and therefore had been almost invisible in archaeological discussion. It is true that material culture is the main archaeological proxy to real people in the past (Borić and Robb 2008). However, case studies in edited volumes such as the “Past Bodies: Body-Centered Research in Archaeology” (2008) or “An Archaeology of Prehistoric Bodies and Embodied Identities in the Eastern Mediterranean” (2012) clearly demonstrate that the body and bodily matters are accessible through archaeological and textual evidence. Having specific research questions in mind while analyzing bodies, and connecting these to the sequence of the interment practices, will transform bodies from passive sources of information about sex/age, to an active element in mortuary rituals that was created and reproduced through material culture and other mortuary remains (Joyce 2005).

The fact that many human bone assemblages from cemeteries excavated in the past have either disappeared, or been reburied or discarded due to lack of storage or for other unknown reasons makes it difficult to integrate the osteological study or re-

examination of these collections. The collections that do exist are often not easily accessible, especially when another scholar is working on them. Despite the lack of first-hand analyses, Chapter 4 uses osteological reports in cemetery publications or in other articles. It considers the different interactions with the body starting with pre-interment practices, and follows the process of burial (peri-interment and post-interment). The ways in which bodies were prepared, placed, modified, and buried gives us only a partial picture. Interactions with these bodies can continue after the interment process. This chapter analyzes these interactions to understand how dead bodies were perceived and treated during their initial burial and afterwards.

Past attempts to find a direct relationship between sexes/ages and burial types have failed; all ages and sexes can be found in all burial types regardless of the region and period. I myself have conducted an analysis on the quantity and quality of objects and burial types, ages, and sexes and concluded that there were no clear patterns or rules for who would be buried with what (Durgun 2012). The next step is to examine bodies, body positions, and burial types in relation to each other, since discussion of burial types (cist, pithos, simple inhumation pit) without the consideration of the bodies they contained is incomplete.

Nilsson Stutz underlines the importance of considering the dead body not only as the loss of the individual, but also as the emergence of the cadaver, "which is in an irreversible state of change and disintegration" (2010: 33). The decomposition process of the bodies would also affect the burial type, the interment practices, and the rituals surrounding the body. Decomposition processes and the body positions, then, also

need to be considered to understand how interactions with the bodies could have affected the choices in burial types. Treatment of the dead is deeply rooted in traditional ritualized actions. Anatolian burials show great variety in interment practices: there are multiple and single internments, inhumations and cremations, secondary and primary interments. These can exist within the same cemetery side by side. This variety needs to be further explored by questioning the functions of these differences in mortuary practices.

In connection to the memory and reuse section in Chapter 3, I also discuss the reuse of burials and bodies themselves. Secondary activities have often been referred to as later disturbances. Larsson, however, suggests that secondary activities “grant the participants a feeling of control over death, and through this the structuration of society” (2003: 153). It is necessary to question the function of secondary activities in the Anatolian cemeteries. Interacting with the dead body, or older dead bodies, is an interesting phenomenon that has the potential to give us clues about perceptions of death, dead bodies, and other ritual phenomena.

Another interesting phenomenon that occurs from the third millennium onwards is the burning of bodies. Rituals can transform the dead body in different ways, but in general they include the destruction of the body and the release of the body's immutable elements (Hertz 1996 [1907]: 43). The idea of the destructive aspect of fire may be a product of Western thought, as not only this idea is culture specific, but also different cultures have viewed cremation also as a transformative force (Oestigaard 2015). In this respect inhumation burials and cremation burials are considerably

different. It could be argued that inhumation burials show “respect for the integrity of the body” (Nilsson Stutz 2010), whereas cremation burials may aim for other symbolic priorities such as separating the soul from the body.⁴

In the Anatolian context, cremation burials have attracted interest from scholars trying to associate this practice with the arrival of the Indo-Europeans. One should keep in mind that studying cremations in isolation from inhumations and older burial practices would make cremation burials look unique and unusual. In order to see if this practice was in fact an import into Anatolia or a practice that locally developed, it is necessary to analyze similarities and differences in the ways cremation and inhumation burials were formed and treated in different periods.

The burial objects that are found in direct relation with the body such as ornaments, jewelry, and weapons will also be discussed in Chapter 4. I do not, however, assume that these objects corresponded to different categories of identities or social statuses, or that these could be “‘read off’ the body” (Joyce 2005: 142). Objects that are on or by the dead bodies, which often are either decorating the body or are connected to embodied performance (weapons, drinking vessels) could have a different functions from objects that are outside of burial containers. Therefore in addition to Chapter 6, where I discuss mortuary rituals, here I present evidence for objects that can be connected to the body itself.

⁴ In Hinduism, the soul is only released during cremation when the son ritually cracks open the skull with a bamboo pole (Oestigaard 2015: 67).

We can not disassociate people from things, or dead bodies from objects with which they are buried in mortuary context. Categorizing burial objects out of their context, by designating them to categories we create is not fruitful in understanding their roles in these mortuary rituals. In this chapter, I present the variety of available evidence from published cemeteries to demonstrate that the study of these objects can in fact tell us a lot about the way bodies were buried, the way rituals were conducted, and the way objects and bodies were treated in relation to one another. I use case studies that exemplify these in the best way, rather than listing all the objects found in these cemeteries. Such lists already exist in cemetery publications in the form of catalogues.

Chapter 5 "The Body/Part 2: Interactions with Real and Imagined Bodies"

Bodies in archaeology are two-fold: 1) the physical skeletal remains seen as a record of ancient diet, health, life span, and physical activities, and 2) representations through which cultural ideas are played out (Rautman and Talalay 2000). The first type of analyses are common in Anatolian cemetery and burial publications, since human remains are often used to look at these aspects. The second type of analysis, however, is almost non-existent.

Chapman's argument that "image making is a fundamental social practice and the body is frequently the object of such representations" (2000a: 175) makes it clear that the representations of bodies cannot be divorced from the actual bodies. Chapter 5, the second part of the "body" theme, concerns the depictions of bodies found in the

mortuary context. The dead body can be considered as an object in the cemeteries as it is transformed, manipulated, and utilized. It is also a tangible element of the mortuary rituals surrounding it. The living body has an active role in these rituals as it is the one transforming, manipulating, and using the dead body. Both living and dead bodies, however, act as corporeal mediators by embodying different types of actions and elements of the rituals. In the mortuary context, the body then, is both an object and a subject. This idea is based on the agency of bodies, and the integral part that bodies and objects play in routine bodily activities and in social affairs (Bourdieu's habitus).

I see three different types of body in the cemeteries: the dead bodies, the imagined bodies in the form of anthropomorphic figurines and vessels, and the living bodies who interact with the former two. As Joyce notes, "some archaeological analyses reflexively relate bodily practices to representational practices through which images were produced that served both as models for embodiment and as commemoration of selected experiences of embodiment" (2005: 142). I hope to achieve a similar approach by looking at "imagined bodies" to question whether there are any similarities between the actual interments and the depictions of human placed with them. Body forms, clothing, ornaments, gestures, and positions of the figurines will be compared to the bodies found in the cemeteries. Were these figurines depicting dead or living bodies? Was there a perception of such a difference? The discussion of dead bodies will ultimately contribute to our understanding of the perceptions of death in Anatolia.

Every study about figurines in the Anatolian Bronze Age starts with the history of figurines seen as symbols of “female fertility” or “goddesses”. I do not see the necessity of repeating these. Readers should find these discussions in Gimbutas’ work (2001, 1982), or in Bailey’s criticism of it (1994). The goal of this chapter is to demonstrate the types of questions that we can answer by focusing on common themes (the body) instead of merely focusing on the material or typological differences (figurines vs. idols, metal vs. clay, etc.). It is of course important to consider the materiality of figurines and anthropomorphic vessels in their production and use, but my main focus will be on the bodies and how they were perceived and represented. It is important to note that “figurines did not simply represent, they distilled, emphasized, and forged a specific set of choices and preoccupations. As such, they outlined specific perceptions of the human body and its various features, as particular sites of social attention and production” (Nakamura and Meskell 2009: 206). Following this approach, I will try to flesh out the images of body to understand the relationship between representations and the cultural ideas they represented.

Chapter 6 “The Ritual(s): Interactions with Animals and Objects”

The study of death and dead bodies often requires the study of mortuary rituals, since the creation of the burial is often not just a practical act, but also a symbolic one. Larsson is not wrong when he says that “understanding mortuary traditions is to a certain extent the same thing as understanding why humans have rituals at all” (2015: 14). Rather than labeling objects as “ritual” it is important to understand what the rituals

were for and how they functioned. Therefore, the symbolic and practical functions of rituals cannot really be separated from each other. As ritual is a form of practice (Bell 1992), it needs to be studied in detail as habitation or production practices are studied: objects should be considered in the contexts they are found, with which other objects and materials they were found, used, and discarded. Rituals are also not static; they change over time since they are not only created but also negotiated in dialogue with the people, animals, and objects participating in them. As with the bodies, objects and animals need to be considered as major elements of the mortuary rituals. Hodder's ethnoarchaeological studies in *Symbols in Action* (1982a) stress the importance of the roles that material culture plays in social relations. Rituals are products of social practices and material culture, but they also affect and change these practices.

Chapter 6 examines the interactions between people, animals, and objects in Anatolian cemeteries. From the simplest activities taking place in these cemeteries such as carrying the deceased to the cemetery, or opening a burial pit, to symbolic activities such as carrying out sacrifices, or placing a new body in an old burial, people are involved in some form of mortuary interaction with animals, objects, and other people. Analyzing where objects and animal remains can be found in relation to the burials helps us understand what kinds of mortuary activities were taking place in cemeteries. Moreover, considering the different ways in which animals and objects were used and buried informs us about the types of mortuary rituals and their functions, and gives us insights about the social interactions between the living people, but also the relationship between the living and the dead.

Chapman observes that the use of the term “mortuary practices” has downplayed the ritual side of these practices (2007: 69). While I do use the term “mortuary practices”, I believe that mortuary practices consist mostly of mortuary rituals. There are of course practical activities taking place in cemeteries such as opening the burial pit or bringing the deceased’s body from the settlement. But, these practical activities are often surrounded by ritual ones. As Taylor has noted, “the most direct archaeological evidence of ritual and religion is the context of human burial as a mortuary rite (or as part of one)” (2011: 93). Rituals play an important role in forming a sense of community, social identities, and traditions. Although we will not be able to fully understand the worldview, symbology and ideology behind these rituals, especially in the third millennium and before, we can nevertheless infer the types of ritual activities by evaluating the material remains in cemeteries.

Funerary performance and mortuary materials play an important role in the reproduction and transformation of mortuary traditions. The different materials, colors, smells, and sounds used and produced in cemeteries have potential to inform us about the phenomenological elements surrounding the mortuary rituals. The exploration of the senses is not merely about bodily experience (Hamilakis 2014: 112), which is in itself difficult to assess in archaeological cases. It is also about the experience of the place and time. Cemeteries are not only material places, but they are also performative and emotional places. Considering the intangible nature of these functions, often it is difficult to infer such elements from the partial remains of mortuary rituals. In the last section of Chapter 6, I present evidence for objects and materials that might have

contributed to these performative aspects of mortuary practices with their sensory aspects. However, I will use this evidence to understand the atmosphere in the cemeteries and the variety of senses that were stimulated, not to reconstruct how people experienced these rituals, or what these rituals meant. which is very subjective and therefore difficult —if not impossible— to reconstruct.

Chapter 6's goal is to understand the "lived experiences" (Meskell 2000) of the mortuary rituals, and the performative and sensorial aspects of the objects found in cemeteries and the roles of mortuary rituals. Rituals provide "the forum for both the expression of cultural identities and the articulation of social strategies" (Adams 2004: 26). By presenting evidence for the use of burial objects and the role of animals in feasting activities and in other rituals, I will demonstrate the differences and similarities in these rituals in different sites and regions. The purpose is to explore the preferences of local cultures as well as broader traditions that were adapted by communities living in different cultural regions in Anatolia.

Chapter 7 "The Retrospect: Interactions with the Past"

The past is a social construct. Traditions or cultural elements that are remembered, and that are continued but forgotten play an important role in the construction of ideas about the past. The transmission of these elements and traditions emphasizes either the duration of objects, places, and rituals as mnemonic devices, or the necessity of the practices in which these elements existed. By surveying what

changes and what continues, in Chapter 7, I aim to present intentional and unintentional interactions with the past.

Chapter 7 synthesizes the evidence presented in the previous chapters. Change and continuity in mortuary places, memories, and rituals will be discussed diachronically. These will be connected to the evidence from Hittite Period texts and evidence. The role of local Anatolian traditions in Hittite mortuary practices have not been studied or even discussed in detail before. As Tainter has argued, "If the archaeological study of mortuary practices does not ultimately contribute to the general anthropological study of social change, then our research may ultimately prove to be of limited interest." (1978: 105). Understanding social change requires understanding what aspects of mortuary traditions were kept or abandoned throughout time. The analysis of the retrospective interactions have the potential to demonstrate what an "Anatolian burial" looked like, and whether such a concept existed.

Chapter 7 aims to connect the Bronze Age past with the Hittite culture, which are often discussed separately from each other. Investigating the similarities between different regions in different periods necessitates a diachronic and cross-cultural approach. Through this approach it will become clear whether there were rules or taboos in Anatolia concerning mortuary practices, and if they continued into the Hittite period. Based on discussion about memory and reuse in previous chapters, I question the role of the past in the formation and execution of mortuary rituals throughout time.

CHAPTER 2: The Context

2.1. The Framework: Theoretical Foundations

"...death has a specific meaning for the social consciousness; it is the object of a collective representation. This representation is neither simple nor unchangeable: it calls for an analysis of its elements as well as a search for its origin" (Hertz 1960 [1907]: 28).

Following Hertz's argument, this research ultimately aims to understand the elements of mortuary practices and the perception of death in Bronze Age Anatolia. The analysis of the elements that form these practices are not limited to objects; the place, the rituals, and animal and human bodies all provide a context where the living interact with the dead, and connect with their own past. I will, however, not build my research questions around Hertz's structuralism. Hertz' structure can be formulated around a triangle, where the corners consist of "the soul", "the living", and "the body" (1960 [1907], also see Metcalf and Huntington 1991). His framework is useful in understanding the elements of mortuary interaction (between the living and the dead), and his work also provides an early example of embodiment theory. My approach takes into account these elements and Hertz' ideas about embodiment, however, I also consider these elements as active and changing cultural processes. For Anatolian cases, I also disagree with Hertz that "death destroys the social being grafted upon the physical individual" (1960 [1907]: 77), since as readers will see especially in Chapter 4 and 5, death does not really destroy the individuality of deceased, if anything it creates new forms of identities.

The idea that death, and rituals connected to death are "collective representations" has its roots in Durkheim's work, where he investigated the complexity of collectively held beliefs and concepts, and exploring how such "collective representations" unite individuals even while simultaneously specifying their separate identities (Metcalf and Huntington 1991: 29). Cemeteries do represent one of the clearest collective representations as a place created collectively for a collective purpose. Within these collective formations and representations, however, there is still ways of expressing individual choices. As readers will see, Anatolian cemeteries show a great variety and diversity of individual burial elements, while simultaneously emphasizing the communal role of cemeteries and mortuary rituals.

The framework within which I will be placing my research trajectories is based on Bourdieu's practice theory, which emphasizes the role of individuals that produce things and transform the world they live in. Bourdieu explains that objects "are constructed, not passively recorded" and that "... the principle of this construction is the system of structured, structuring dispositions, the habitus, which is constituted in practice and is always oriented towards practical functions" (1990: 52). Habitus is a useful concept in understanding the role of individual and collective groups, as well as daily and ritual practices. It informs us about the ways of acting and the ways of using the body, either as cultural concepts or as unconscious individual habits. Bell's application of Bourdieu's practice theory to the concept of ritual demonstrates that rather than reconstructing the meanings of rituals, focusing on the kinds of activities that were going on in these rituals has more potential to inform us about cultural processes (Bell 1992). Connected to this

idea, she uses the term “ritualization” as a strategic way of acting (*ibid.*: 7), which highlights the agency of individuals, as well as the active and changing nature of the rituals. As Bell herself also recognizes, ritualization might only be generalized to a certain degree, as these strategies of differentiation are culture specific (Bell (1992: 92, also see Berggren and Nilsson Stutz 2010). Instead of the concept of “ritualization”, I use the term “interactions” as a way of acting and engaging as a social and ritual act. In that sense, my notion of “interactions” are parallel to Bell’s ritualization.

The main function of cemeteries is to serve a practical need for disposing of dead bodies. But, cemeteries are also formed by objects, the rituals where these objects were used, by the human remains, and the interaction with these remains. These elements are dependent on how the living continue to use them, or decide to transform them. Foucault’s vision of past bodies as social constructions of a historically dominant episteme, which controls the lives of individuals (1970, also see Borić and Robb 2008) contradicts with my idea that mortuary elements from human bodies to objects are actively involved in the creation and formation of practices. Instead of a top-down “control” of past bodies on the lives of people, I suggest the opposite where people create the ideas about living and dead bodies, and other social constructions.

So far this active role of people and individuals, in other words the agency aspects of mortuary practices have been stripped away from the larger discussions about cemeteries in Anatolia. Without explicitly stating so, cemetery publications have presented cemeteries as places that can be mined to find objects of cultural identity or social classes. I will approach cemeteries as places where internalized practices (or in

Bourdieu's terms, *habitus*) are expressed in the form of continued traditions, rituals, or places. Instead of trying to distinguish between rich and poor burials based on objects, my aim is to look at how mortuary traditions were formed, and what implications they had for community-building, claims on the landscape, and social and ritual practice. In that sense, practice theory is used in my research as an overarching umbrella for understanding the role of objects, social interactions, and memories that surround mortuary practices and how people practice these.

I identified three major elements in Anatolian cemeteries: the place, bodies, and rituals. The discussion of the place of the cemeteries is influenced by theoretical and methodological approaches of landscape archaeology and anthropological theory surrounding landscapes, especially the formation of mortuary landscapes. Mortuary landscape "focuses on the phenomenological relation between death, disposal of the body in the environment and the social memory of the group participating in the remembrance of the burial" (Daróczy 2012: 202). Memory, rituals, and funerary activities are crucial parts of mortuary landscapes which need to be considered in the discussion of the social life of Bronze Age communities. In certain parts of the world, archaeologists can access practices such as veneration and commemoration of ancestors in and around cemeteries. For the Anatolian Bronze Ages, which include both prehistoric and historic periods, I will refer to "mortuary landscapes" and "memories" rather than ancestral veneration, which will cover not only memories of real or mythical ancestors, but also memories that do not have any association with past people, rather

with the past of the place itself. Nora (1989) calls these “lieux de mémoire” where the real environments of memory are either lost, or partially gone.

Extramural cemeteries are not only part of the “constructed” surroundings of a settlement; they can be “ideational” (i.e sacred or symbolic) at the same time (Ashmore and Knapp 1999). Attempts to explain this aspect of cemeteries utilized theories following Saxe-Goldstein’s argument that the emergence of formal cemeteries corresponded to the emergence of social systems that monopolized resources through inheritance. Can we suggest a similar interpretation for the emergence of extramural cemeteries in Anatolia? Are social interactions including territorial claims expressed through material and spatial elements in Anatolian cemeteries?

Landscapes cannot be discussed without memory, and social and cultural transformation. Memory stresses continuity (“longue durée”) in the landscape through reusing, repurposing, reinterpretation, and deterioration. This dissertation aims to question the role of landscape in the formation of memories, in people’s movement in and around cemeteries, to see if memory-making across the landscape surrounding cemeteries continues over time. Memory and reuse will include the secondary uses of mortuary spaces either during the original use of the burials and cemeteries, or in later periods.

Bodies take part in any production, consumption, social, and ritual activity, and are especially visible in the mortuary context. Even though physically we can only recover dead bodies from the past, bodies are accessible through other material and textual evidence. By analyzing the relationship between the real bodies (people and

human/animal remains) and the imagined bodies (perceptions and depictions of the human, divine, and non-human bodies) we can question the interactions between the living and the dead, the production of images of bodies, and their implications for identity and ideas of self vs. others. The body is therefore a crucial element in the understanding of past people as active players in cultural and social processes.

The concept of the body has become more and more central in archaeological discussions, especially with the influence of social theory in notions of agency, identity, and personhood (Gillespie 2001, Fowler 2004, Dobres and Robb 2000). This has been greatly influenced by the developments in bioarchaeology, which allowed archaeologists to think about bodies through different research questions. As Larsson notes, rituals that include dead human bodies are not essentially different from rituals that use any other object (animals, weapons, pots, incense, colour, flowers, musical instruments, etc.) (2015: 15). He suggests that the challenge for archaeologists then “is to try and ascertain, in as much detail as possible, in what ways the bodies were manipulated and modified in the mortuary process” (*ibid.*). The ways in which the living interacted with the bodies of the dead, before, during, and after the depositions needs to be considered to understand these manipulations and modifications. My analysis of these modifications and treatments of the dead is inspired by Duday’s thanatology, the study of bodily changes during and after death and how these affect interactions between the living and the dead (Duday *et al.* 1990, Duday 2009).

Bodies are also a source of information for understanding “lived experiences” (Meskell 2000). The body has an active role in daily, as well as mortuary

rituals. Both living and dead bodies act as corporeal mediators by embodying different types of actions in these rituals. In the mortuary context, the body, then, is an object and a subject simultaneously. This idea is based on the agency and materiality of bodies, and on practice theory, which emphasizes the roles bodies and objects play in routine bodily activities and in social affairs (Bourdieu's *habitus*).

The ways we study objects have also been influenced by the shifting importance of bodies: body ornaments became "ornamented bodies" (Joyce 2005), that is bodies became the foci of understanding the complex relationships between body practices, practices of representation, and the material world. As Ekengren and many others have argued, "it is in the interactions between people and things that the meaning of object is created" (2013: 181). Therefore, I will follow Ekengren's five important elements in understanding the meanings of burial objects: intentionality, ritual sequences, spatial arrangement, typology and physical properties, and fields of meaning (2013: 181-182).

Mortuary rituals with their material, sensorial, and embodied aspects are analyzed in this dissertation to understand the day to day practices taking place in the cemeteries, rather than trying to reconstruct the meaning of these rituals. Rituals are part of identity structuring processes. Nilsson Stutz, referring to the work of Bell, argues that "rituals are not viewed as expressing meaning, but rather, meaning is created through practice and experience, and it can vary between different individuals and over time" (2010: 35). By questioning what rituals do, we can come one step closer to understanding their role in social interactions.

Even though animals form a large part of the mortuary remains in these cemeteries, their role has never been investigated other than their economic value in relation to “elite” burials (see Massa 2014). By utilizing approaches of the “animal turn” and of social-zooarchaeology (Overton and Hamilakis 2013, Russell 2014), and by considering the different ways in which animals were interred in mortuary context, I also analyze the human-animal interaction beyond subsistence and economy. This approach enables us to move away from a passive view of the elements forming the rituals. Animals, like humans, were living and dying in these mortuary contexts, which necessitates an approach where they are not treated in the same way as objects.

2.1.1 From Objects to People

My theoretical framework places “people” as the focus of mortuary practices, and challenges the ways burial objects have been used in archaeological discussion of Anatolia. Mortuary materials do play an important role in the reproduction, transformation, and transmission of mortuary traditions. This, however, does not mean that we should focus on burial objects so much so that we lose sight of why we are looking at these objects. As archaeologists, we study cemeteries to learn about people. This may sound like a simple and obvious statement. Nevertheless, for a long time burial objects and types dominated the archaeological discussion about ancient burial practices while overshadowing the importance of the social aspects of cemeteries. The main reason for studying cemeteries is to understand ideas about death, and more importantly to understand how people reacted to death, and in what ways. As Knüsel

has argued “When one reads archaeological publications on funerary remains, one might think that the deceased was sacrificed to accompany the burial of a pot” (2010: 62). Typological discussions of the burial objects, and the quantitative documentation of objects and burial types in cemetery publications are important in recognizing regional trends, and technological and stylistic differences. But they have not helped us much in understanding mortuary interactions and rituals of Anatolian people and communities.

One of the major themes of discussion in Anatolian mortuary archaeology is the association between burial objects and social organization. The Early Bronze Age (3rd millennium BCE, henceforth EBA)⁵ is considered a period of “great transition” among Anatolian communities (Yener 2000: 67), when organized urban societies developed (Çevik 2007, Steadman 2011), and when “increasing social complexity” can be found in many Aegean sites (Pullen 2008: 30). This transition is usually attributed to the social, economic, and political transformations taking place during the EBA: the shift from villages to cities, from closely connected settlement plans to citadels, and from egalitarian lifestyles to the emergence of social hierarchies. In order to make mortuary evidence fit into this picture, cemeteries have been mostly used to make inferences about social organization, with “richer” burials indicating the presence of elites. Burials with objects in higher quantity and of better quality have been used as evidence for wealth and status. As a result, burials with few burial objects have been assigned to belong to a “poorer community” (Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004). The second-millennium cemeteries of central Anatolia such as Ilica, Yanarlar, Gordion, and Osmankayası, which

⁵ see Appendix 2 for the chronological tables of the Bronze Ages.

did not yield any metal weapons were for instance categorized as cemeteries of “common people” (Emre 1991: 4). Metal objects were also used as a means to support the idea that metal production and trade gave rise to the emergence of elites which resulted in formation of “local polities/ city-states” in the later part of the third millennium (Yakar 2011b: 345). Instead of making social organization and social status correlations between the burials and burial objects, I will focus on the functions of burial objects and how they were used in mortuary rituals. This kind of approach has the potential to demonstrate the importance of the social or ritual activities, and how these played a role in the social life of Anatolian communities.

The status-based categorization for Anatolian cemeteries starts with the introduction of metal objects in burials, especially in the Early Bronze Age. Especially for this period, burial objects have been studied by being divided either by their material (ceramic, stone, metal —see for instance the final publications of Mellink 1956; Emre 1978) or by being categorized as personal adornments, ritual objects, and status objects (Uhri 2010). Alacahöyük, the EBA site excavated in the 1930s famous for its “royal burials”,⁶ is probably the reason why archaeologists’ expectations from Anatolian cemeteries are skewed.⁷ Since then, the expectation that cemeteries would have to have evidence for the leaders of that community has remained almost unchanged. No

⁶ For Alacahöyük’s importance in the establishment of nationalism in Turkish archaeology, see Bachhuber 2015: 10-14.

⁷ Later discovery of a “royal burial” comes from Arslantepe in southeastern Anatolia with 4 other individuals sacrificed on top of its tomb where the main burial is located (Frangipane 2007; Frangipane et al. 2001).

other such “royal burials”, however, have been found in central or western Anatolia, not even in the Hittite Period.

How can we determine which cultural or socioeconomic factors are chosen to be represented in the burial assemblage? Ekengren asks “How do we know whether the objects deposited with the deceased were possessions, gifts, offerings, ritual paraphernalia, or ceremonial scrap?” (2013: 174). It is important to remember that symbolic aspects of burial practices can be used and manipulated to disguise the social status of the deceased as much as reflecting it (Hodder 1982b). Ethnographic examples demonstrate how social statuses of the deceased could be manipulated and misrepresented in mortuary rituals (as it was the case for the Berevan of Borneo, Metcalf and Huntington 1991). Therefore, we cannot expect burial objects to mirror the circumstances of the living. Even if we agree with the possibility that burial practices reflect some form of social status, in many cases we do not know whether that status was based on the gender identity, on age, on wealth, or on social power. If certain objects were signatures of certain sexes or status groups, we would expect to find some burials that resembled each other. The detailed study of Demircihöyük’s burial objects, on the other hand, showed that there were no two burials that had the same assemblage of burial finds (Durgun 2012). Parker Pearson argued more than thirty years ago that: “The reconstruction of social organization through the identification of roles (whether in burial, craft specialization, settlement hierarchies etc.) can be challenged by the theoretical stance that social systems are not constituted of roles but by recurrent social practices” (1982: 100). Therefore, inferences about social differentiation made by

using the materiality of the burial practices cannot go further than being a speculation, especially in a prehistoric context. I do not think it is fruitful to assume that we would find patterns of people placing certain sets of objects to mark the burial of an elite man, or a poor woman. Using specific terminology such as “grave goods”, “burial gifts”, or “burial offerings” places some intended or unintended interpretation on objects that could have larger social meanings, or different functions. Therefore in this dissertation I will refer to the objects found in association with burials simply as “burial objects”.

site	cemetery's final publication	excavated in
Ilıpınar	2008	1998-2002
Demircihöyük	2000	1990-1991
Yortan	1982	1900-1902
Ulucak	2004	since 1995
Baklatepe	n/a	1995-1998
Iasos	1984	1961-1967
Karataş	n/a	1963-1974
Harmanören	n/a	1989-2005
Alacahöyük	1937, 1944, 1951	1935-1939
Horoztepe	1958	1954-1957
Kalınkaya	n/a	1971-1974
Yanarlar	1978	1975-1976
Osmankayası	1958	1952-1953
Ilıca	1967	1945, 1963-1964
Gordion	1956	1951-1953
Panaztepe	n/a	1985-1986
Arıbaş	n/a	1979, 1981, 1982

Table 2.1: The excavation and final publication dates of cemeteries used as case studies in this dissertation.

Interpretations that see a direct connection between social organization and burial objects are mostly a reflection of the time these cemeteries were excavated and published (Table 2.1). However, it is harder to explain more recent studies that argue similar connections between objects and status. For instance, most recently Massa has argued that Demircihöyük burials that yielded bronze weapons and cattle remains indicated “the chiefly nature” of these burials (2014). The attempt to infer the social and economic layers of societies by the study of monumental burials or elaborate burial objects goes back to the formation of processual approaches to death and burial. The scholars of this school of thought had a materialist view; they based their arguments on the qualitative aspects of material culture. Societies, then, were placed in social evolutionary types based on the quantitative study of their objects, subsistence strategies, social organization, population size, etc. (Service 1962). One of the most useful methodologies developed out of the ethnographic fieldwork on non-capitalist societies was the study of the formation of archaeological record (Binford 1971, 1978). The processes that led to a specific assemblage or specific activity traces were used to understand these activities. The detailed data collection methodologies of these studies in archaeological and ethnographic fieldwork are still valid today. As readers will notice, this dissertation also makes use of ethnographic examples and processual ideas.

Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices (Brown 1971) is one of the important works of this era that laid the foundation for connecting mortuary data to social organization. The argument that ideologies and beliefs, in other words the higher ranks on the “ladder of inference” (Hawkes 1954), were not as pivotal in

understanding death and burial as social organization (Binford 1971), however, was an idea that needed re-evaluation. Scholars within processual school of thought such as Goldstein (1976) highlighted the importance of looking at variety in burial practices rather than merely looking at similarities. The larger criticism of course came with post-processualism, a reactionary school of thought in the 1980s. Publications on Neolithic mortuary archaeology in Anatolia have adopted Hodder's (1982a, 1982b) and Parker Pearson's (1982) post-processualist arguments that mortuary evidence can provide idealized or inverted representations rather than the actual social circumstances. But Bronze Age mortuary archaeology seems to be stuck in the discussion of the 1960s. In this dissertation, I will make use of both processual and post-processual approaches, which both have valid contributions to make to the study of burials. One important element that both schools of thoughts agree upon is the fact that "death should not be studied in isolation" (Chapman 2013: 54), which is one of the major arguments of this dissertation.

As Scherer has stated, "reducing burial goods to measures of wealth ignores the objects' ritual function and social significance" (2015: 105). In this dissertation, instead of discussing objects within their typological categories, I will look at burial objects and human and animal remains in relation to each other to identify major activities going on in the cemeteries, and to understand their social significance. Contextualizing mortuary remains in this way will help us put the people back into the center of the discussion of mortuary studies, and will enable us to understand changes in mortuary practice over time. Moving beyond the typological comparisons of burial objects, or the "metals =

elites" approach, and placing cemeteries in their social and ritual context can help us better understand social phenomena that might have stimulated the need for extramural cemeteries.

Taylor's observation that "archaeological treatments of death in relation to belief divide sharply between those that deal with historical periods and those that are prehistoric" (2011: 89) is also valid for the study of Anatolian cemeteries. To overcome this divide, the case studies in this dissertation will range from prehistoric (Late Chalcolithic and third millennium) to historic examples (second millennium). The second millennium Hittite funerary texts only mention royal burial rituals, though the lack of material for such burials makes it difficult to correlate archaeological and textual information. Nevertheless, one of the aims of this dissertation is to explore whether any of the elements mentioned in the Hittite texts can be traced to older local Anatolian mortuary practices.

2.2. The Legacy: Historiography of Previous Work

The earliest comprehensive publication on mortuary practices in Anatolia is Özgüç's book *Burial customs in prehistoric Anatolia* (1948), which was based on his doctoral thesis finished in 1942.⁸ This work has served as a handbook for the mortuary evidence in Anatolia for many years. It was translated to German, but not into English.

⁸ In this book he could only present the evidence for Late Chalcolithic and Bronze Age burials, since at the time Neolithic sites in Anatolia were largely unknown.

The amount of data discussed over different periods in the prehistory of Anatolia is impressive for the time it was written. This book has also been influential in later studies that attempted similar comprehensive presentations of burial practices (see Akyurt 1998 for second millennium burial practices, and Uhri 2006 for the third millennium).

Since Özgüç's manuscript was published in 1948, burial practices in Anatolia have not been discussed diachronically and comparatively. 70 years of new burial and cemetery data and analyses have been published as dissertations (e.g., Akyurt 1998,⁹ Selover 2015, Welton 2010, Yazıcıoğlu 2015), as articles (e.g., Wheeler 1974, Emre 1991, Massa and Şahoğlu 2011), and as annual reports published in the *Kazı Sonuçları Toplantısı*¹⁰ in Turkish.

There are several scholarly trends in the study of Anatolian mortuary practices. The first of these is to adopt a regional and chronological approach, either of a certain burial type (e.g., Yılmaz 2006), or of all the different burial types within a specific time period (e.g., Wheeler 1974, Uhri 2006, Massa and Şahoğlu 2011, Perello 2011). Emre, who wrote one of the few studies on central Anatolian burial practices of the second millennium BCE argued that the main difference in burial practices between the Assyrian Colony Period (MBA) and Hittite Period (LBA) is that there are no extramural cemeteries for the Assyrian Colony Period (1991). But with the discovery of MBA

⁹ Akyurt died while working on this as his dissertation project. His colleagues published his work as a book after his death (see Uhri 2006, preface).

¹⁰ Excavation Results Meeting.

extramural cemeteries in sites such as Demircihöyük (Seeher 2000) and Ulucak (Çilingiroğlu 2004), for instance, such interpretations need to be re-evaluated.

Another theme that concerns especially the EBA cemeteries is the technological aspects of the metal objects found in burials (e.g., Yıldırım and Zimmermann 2006) and the focus on how the quality and quantity of such objects indicate differences in social status (e.g., Massa 2014). Final publications of cemeteries usually try to consider the role of cemeteries in the social organization of societies, and compare that specific cemetery to the other ones in the region in the same period. These comparisons are usually based on typological differences of the objects found in the burials, burial orientations, and burial types.

In recent years several important dissertations and studies have expanded our understanding of the mortuary practices of Anatolia not only by applying new methods such as isotopic analyses (e.g., Welton 2010, Yazıcıoğlu 2015), and aDNA analysis (Matney *et al.* 2012), but also by investigating a specific aspect of the mortuary data (i.e., violence by Selover 2015). These works show us that re-evaluating mortuary data with new methods and perspectives has great potential for better understanding Anatolian societies and their social interactions.

Even though the literature on Neolithic mortuary practices in Anatolia is very much concerned with the interaction between the living and the dead (e.g., Croucher 2012, Boz and Hager 2014) and how the study of the burials can tell us about the living (Larsen *et al.* 2013), for Bronze Age cemeteries and burials this has not been the case. If our aim is to create a context with a humanized reconstruction of the past (Tringham

2001), we need to look at intra-cemetery relations, which are crucial in understanding the social interaction between people, and between the living and the dead. Some of these themes have been heavily addressed by studies on the Neolithic mortuary practices in Anatolia (e.g., Meskell 2008, Düring 2001, Hodder and Cessford 2004), but they have not been discussed for the Bronze Age.

There is also an imbalance between the study of different regions in Anatolia. Southeastern Anatolia, again especially in the Neolithic Period, has been subject to discussions about consumption practices (Pearson *et al.* 2013), ritual practices, and their connection to identity (Verhoeven 2002). As part of the Mesopotamian cultural zone, southeastern Anatolia shows many similarities in ritual and mortuary practice to the rest of Mesopotamia. Therefore, in these discussions, western and central Anatolia are often excluded. One of the most recent discussions about western Anatolian burial practices comes from a short article in the exhibit catalogue of *Across: The Cyclades and Western Anatolia During the 3rd Millennium BC* (Massa and Şahoğlu 2011). In this article the authors give a very generalized summary of the ways in which the dead were buried. Social meanings and functions of these ways, however, are limited to the repetition of interpretations dating decades back (elaborate burials=leaders of the community, *ibid.*: 168). One important contribution of this article is the short comparison of Anatolian and Cycladic burial practices in the EBA.

There are also differences in the way mortuary practices are studied within the Bronze Age. The third millennium studies, as argued above, are more focused on finding clues about social organization, whereas the second-millennium cemeteries,

especially those of the Hittite Period, are often discussed in relation to textual evidence. The only discussion on ritual about second-millennium cemeteries is Patrier's short survey of food offering locations in the second-millennium cemeteries and monuments (2014). Social organization during this period is better known from written sources such as the Assyrian-colony documents or Hittite texts and sites. In both cases, objects play the major role in these publications. Human and animal remains, on the other hand, are usually found at the end of the final publications as separate discussions, written by the osteologist or zoo-archaeologists of the project. This kind of separation between different sources of information creates a disconnect in the study of mortuary practices. This dissertation hopes to combine these data in comparison to each other.

Akyurt's publication on second-millennium cemeteries, a book based on his dissertation, presents a summary of all intra- and extra-mural burials dated to the second millennium (1998). He first gives a summary of the sites region-by-region, then focuses on certain types of mortuary practices (interment type, burial types, burial objects) cross-regionally. This is a catalogue-type publication, and it is a good resource for those who need short summaries of the history of sites and archaeological evidence found in these sites. One of the reasons why I will not list all the evidence that exists in Anatolia is because sources like Akyurt's publication already contain all the data.¹¹ Emre's article on second-millennium cemeteries is a much shorter version of Akyurt's

¹¹ Up until 1998. New data that exist after that period will be integrated into the discussion in the data chapters.

work, where major second-millennium cemeteries are summarized in half-page paragraphs with their main mortuary elements (orientation, burial type, burial objects).

There are several articles published only in Turkish that focus on a specific mortuary aspect. Ekmen's article on cremation in Anatolia (2012) and his article on weapons in burials in Anatolia (2013) are useful resources where all the data for these specific elements are summarized period-by-period in one place. Similarly, the trephination articles by Açıkkol *et al.* (2009) and by Erdal and Erdal (2011) are useful sources for understanding these specific burial practices in different periods. These data, however, need to be placed in a larger context to fully understand their social importance and functions in cemeteries and in ritual practices.

For the third millennium, there are no written texts that can give us clues about the mortuary rituals. This changes in the second millennium, when there is a corpus of royal ritual texts explaining the process of the funerary rituals for the kings and queens (*šalliš waštaiš* texts). Rutherford discusses these texts and their performance aspect in comparison to Mycenaean rituals as they survive in Homeric epics (2007). Van den Hout's article on the same corpus, on the other hand, focuses on rituals in the context of the the body of the king: "his body natural" or dead body, his "political body" or position as the king (1994). This study also mentions the archaeological evidence from second-millennium cemeteries in relation to the texts.

One of the most commonly cited articles for western Anatolian EBA burial practices is Wheeler's article published in 1974. By following the structure of Özgüç, this article summarizes burial types, objects, and orientations in different sub-regions within

the EBA, then compares these to the other cultural regions in the Near East and in the Aegean to demonstrate any parallelisms. Despite the lack of discussions on the social and ritual aspects of these burial practices, this article's strength is in placing Anatolia in a larger geographic context by the comparison with different cultural regions around it.

Since Wheeler's article, no one has attempted a regional discussion on western or central Anatolian cemeteries in relation to other regions, until Bachhuber's recent book on citadels and cemeteries in EBA Anatolia. He compares citadels and cemeteries of western Anatolia especially to the Aegean. He distinguished between the "ancestral ideology" of the EBA villages and the "elite ideology" that emerges at the end of the EBA (2015: 107, 128–29). These ideologies do not need to be mutually exclusive. This dissertation will complement Bachhuber's study by looking at the long-term changes and continuities in "ancestral ideology", which I refer to as "interactions with the past". To be able to see whether ancestral ideologies continue into later periods, we need to look at the second millennium in connection to the third millennium.

Despite the fact that cemeteries form only one chapter in Bachhuber's discussion, his work is unique in its approach to the social aspects of cemeteries (2015). In this one chapter, themes such as secondary activities, and wealth and status, are briefly discussed and exemplified with the most well-known western and central Anatolian case studies such as Karataş, Demircihöyük, and Alacahöyük. By describing Alacahöyük as "social rupture", Bachhuber draws attention to the unusual character of this site. Nevertheless, most of the chapter is about Alacahöyük. Despite the lack of

detailed analyses of mortuary rituals, Bachhuber's work sets the scene for the potential of the mortuary elements I analyze in this dissertation.

The latest of the cemetery publications amongst the case studies in this dissertation is the third volume of Ilıpınar, *Life and Death in a Prehistoric Settlement in Northwest Anatolia* (Roodenberg and Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008). This publication has separate chapters on the Neolithic, Late Chalcolithic, and EBA burials, and discusses the internal spatial organization of burials, the sex/age analysis of the human remains, and briefly the burial objects. In some cases, there is also a short "meaning of the objects" section, which touches on a few interesting issues but does not go into detail on the functions of objects. Another detailed final publication is Seeher's on Demircihöyük's cemetery, which is progressive in terms of considering alternative possibilities for the object-status associations. For instance, Seeher argues that burial objects might have been a sign of respect rather than a sign of wealth (2000). In this publication, every burial is documented with its location, burial type, and burial objects in the catalogues, but these elements are also discussed separately in the text. Osmankayası (Bittel *et al.* 1958) and Yanarlar (Emre 1978) are also structured in a similar format. This dissertation could not have been produced without these detailed final publications. There are short articles and reports for the cemeteries of Baklatepe and Karataş, but their final publications are still awaited. Hopefully these publications will take into consideration the recent data in Anatolia as well as contemporary theoretical discourses produced for the Near East and for other parts of the world.

To summarize, most of the earlier studies concerning mortuary practices in Anatolia followed Özgüç's framework: burial types and burial objects were discussed by being divided into either regions or periods. More recent studies, however, focus on specific mortuary elements or themes, and analyze these in a specific period or diachronically. Recently there is an increasing number of dissertations coming out that evaluate mortuary evidence with more specific research questions, or new methodologies. Bachhuber's study is perhaps one of the most theoretically informed studies on EBA practices published so far. Other dissertations are also in the process of being published as books (e.g., that on violence in the EBA by Selover). This dissertation is designed to fill the gap of theoretically-informed diachronic and social studies on mortuary practices in Anatolia in the Bronze Age.

2.3. The Sites¹²

The case studies in this dissertation will start with the earliest extramural cemetery in the Late Chalcolithic (4300-3000 BCE). Yakar's chronological discussions for the Neolithic¹³ and Chalcolithic periods reflect the focus on social evolutionary approach to these periods (2011a: 59-60) with emphasis on socioeconomic and technological developments, which are discussed in relation to these changes in Mesopotamia. The Chalcolithic period is often considered a transition, especially in

¹² See Appendix 3 for the map of sites.

¹³ 8000-5500 BCE.

central and western Anatolia, where sites are smaller compared to their contemporaries in southeastern Anatolia. This idea of an eventless and unimportant period has affected the investigation and research questions surrounding this period. It is important to include this period in the discussion of emergence of cemeteries, since towards the end of the Late Chalcolithic (henceforth: LC), some Anatolian communities started to assign specific locations for all of their deceased outside of their settlements. This could be considered a major transition in the mortuary practices. Most archaeologists agree that the division between the LC and EBA (3000-2000 BCE)¹⁴ is “culturally artificial” (Yakar 2011a: 69; also see Düring 2011). Despite the roots of this practice being in the Chalcolithic, the EBA is considered the period that marks the beginning of the custom of burying the dead outside of the settlements, mostly in the form of collective, large-scale cemeteries.

Traditionally the chronology for the EBA has a tripartite division, but this division is very arbitrary, and does not fully reflect these social, economic, and political transformations taking place during this period in all the regions in Anatolia. Yakar defines the EBI in Anatolia as being “proto-urban” and as a “chiefdom system”, whereas the EBII is considered “early urban” (1985, 2011b). Labels such as “chiefdoms” or “proto-urban” are used inconsistently (Çevik 2007) and are problematic terms in themselves (Durgun 2012). However, sites in the process of urbanizing, with evidence for social changes can be attested in southeastern Anatolia already in the Late Chalcolithic. Arslantepe in Malatya exemplifies an urbanizing settlement especially in

¹⁴ EB1: 3000-2000, EBII: 2600-2300, EBIII: 2300-2000 (see Düring 2011: 260), also Appendix 2.

Level VII, with monumental structures, ceramic mass production, craft specialization and material evidence for personal property such as seals and sealings (Frangipane 1993: 135). On the other hand, western Anatolia does not show similar developments, especially not until the EBII with sites such as Külloba. In Külloba's late EBII levels a fortification wall was found that was enclosing the "upper town" where "administrative complexes" were located (Efe 2003: 274). These complexes are assumed to function as the residence of the ruler, due to its careful planning, monumentality, and location on the upper town (Steadman 2011). Sites like Külloba, which have yielded elements that scholars consider as evidence for urbanization or complex societies, have not yielded extramural cemeteries so far.

Most western and central Anatolian settlements excavated during the EBA are small-scale settlements with more or less similar sized structures. The extensive extramural cemeteries of the EBA belong to these small-scale villages and towns. This phenomenon needs to be further investigated by looking at the location of cemeteries to see whether this is due to the fact that larger sites have their cemeteries further away from the settlement, since this would make it more difficult for cemeteries to be detected in surveys around the settlements.

As noted by Düring, only some EBA Anatolian sites have "well published" and "well excavated" sequences (2011: 258). The study of the third millennium is further complicated by the fact that the number and scale of investigated sites in different regions differ considerably. In Cilicia and in the Black Sea Region, the EBA is represented only by several excavated sites, whereas in southeastern Anatolia more

sites with EBA strata are excavated (*ibid.*). Moreover, there are more excavated and published cemeteries for western Anatolia than any other region, which makes a comprehensive regional comparison of the period even harder.

The second millennium in Anatolia is divided between the Middle Bronze Age (MBA) and Late Bronze Age (LBA), and suffers from the same problems with the study of EBA sites. In many of the third and second millennium sites either the excavated settlements are missing their excavated cemeteries associated with it, or vice versa. This will of course, skew the number of known intramural burials and our understanding of whether the site did or did not have an extramural cemetery. Even though for the third millennium I focus on sites that have a cemetery and settlement, for the second millennium I will use cemeteries even when they do not have a contemporary settlement. The MBA and LBA cemeteries are considered together as second millennium cemeteries, the division based on the periods do not seem to be visible in the use of cemeteries.

The second millennium in Anatolia is dominated first by discussions about the Assyrian “colonies”, often solely by Kültepe (e.g., Sagona and Zimansky 2009), second by the study of the Hittites. The appearance of texts with the Assyrians and the emergence of an empire on the Anatolian soil steers the research on Anatolia towards more political and economic questions such as imperial power and inter-regional trade, which creates a notion that not much was happening in other places that did not participate in the trade networks or were not part of larger Hittite centers. Recently projects that consider social questions in areas peripheral to the Hittite Empire’s core

land have changed the course of Anatolian archaeology, such as Yalburt Yaylası Survey Project and the Cide Archaeological Project. Mortuary studies have the potential to contribute to our understanding of local cultures and preferences, if they also situate themselves in social discussions.

The reason why western and central Anatolia are discussed together in this dissertation is based on the similarities in burial practices between these regions. Southeastern Anatolia shows different mortuary trends, and the settlements in this region seem culturally closer to northern Mesopotamia than they are to western and central Anatolia. Western and central Anatolia also show regional differences in certain practices, as readers will see; however, I consider these two regions to be in the core area of “Anatolia” and therefore discuss them together. It is of course possible to divide these two regions (as they are also today) based on climate, environment, or based on other phenomena such as pottery styles (see Fidan *et al.* 2015), or architecture (Bachhuber 2015).

Western Anatolia is often considered an “in between place” between Europe and Asia, Aegean and Anatolia, East and West, the classical world and the Near East (Mac Sweeney 2011: 59). For these reasons Mac Sweeney suggests that this region is appropriate to investigate community identity (*ibid.*). Central Anatolia, too, especially as a region dominated by grandiose research trajectories, could benefit from a discussion on micro-scale practices that were part of the day-to-day life of central Anatolian communities.

Late Chalcolithic

Ilıpınar located in northwestern Turkey is the only site that yielded a Late Chalcolithic cemetery in Anatolia. The fact that the Late Chalcolithic settlement of Ilıpınar has not been found makes it a true extramural cemetery (Roodenberg 2008: 315). During the LC, there are 45 simple inhumation burials, which are side by side with the later Byzantine burials, which were interred in the same area. Ilıpınar will be the main case study for the LC. Çadır Höyük is another LC site mentioned in this dissertation for its intramural burials.¹⁵

Early Bronze Age

Even though there are more than a dozen extramural cemeteries in EBA Anatolia, each consisting of great number of burials, there are only very few sites with excavated cemeteries and settlements from the EBA western Anatolia. Unfortunately, not all of the EBA cemeteries have a detailed publication on the finds, positions, orientations, and bodies. Demircihöyük, Ulucak, and Ilıpınar have the most detailed publications for the EBA Anatolian extramural cemeteries. Demircihöyük and Ulucak also have MBA burials in their cemeteries, which enables me to use these in my analysis on change and continuity. Especially Demircihöyük with its 498 burials in its EBA cemetery overlaid with 78 MBA burials, 25 Hellenistic burials (Seeher 2000) will be the perfect case study to compare and contrast spatial and material patterns of longer

¹⁵ These burials are being prepared for publication by the Çadır team, Çadır will not be one of the major case studies in this dissertation.

periods of time. Demircihöyük's EBA and MBA settlements were excavated and published in detail. The EBA (mostly EBI) settlement forms a circular plan with houses sharing walls, which have their openings facing a courtyard, the main activity area of the settlement (Korfmann 1983). The detailed quantitative analysis of the different houses and rooms in this settlement showed that there were no clear differences in the materials or quantity of objects found in different houses (Durgun 2012). The courtyard yielded most of the production and consumption remains suggesting its central role in the daily life of the Demircihöyük community. In the MBA the architectural remains are partial and therefore not as clear as the EBA, nevertheless the spatial organization of the MBA settlement seems very different from the EBA due to disconnected rectangular houses with active areas in between houses (Kull 1988).

Ilıpınar's EBA cemetery was excavated in a long rectangular trench, which yielded 21 pithos burials, 4 simple inhumation pit burials, and three burials of children covered with broken sherds (Roodenberg 2008: 336). As mentioned above, the settlement of this EBA cemetery was detected from soundings in a nearby mound of Hacılartepi. Demircihöyük and Ilıpınar can be considered in the same cultural zone in inland northwest Anatolia.

Ulucak has 12 EBA, and 21 MBA burials, so it will be a smaller dataset than Demircihöyük, but the fact that these two sites have excavated mounds will contribute especially to the discussion of the relationship between cemeteries and landscape. The EBA settlement of Ulucak is very fragmentary. From the architectural remains the excavators concluded that the site consisted of rectangular structures with stone

foundations and perhaps a defense wall (Çilingiroğlu 2004). The MBA settlement of Ulucak has not been found.

Baklatepe, a coastal site like Ulucak, has a long continuity starting in the Late Chalcolithic. Even though there are no cemeteries found dating to this period, the EBA levels of the site yielded an extramural cemetery dated to EBI and another one dated to EBII. The EBI settlement is smaller than the LC one, and consists of a “protection wall” surrounding the settlement that has moved to the top of the wall (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012: 93). In this period there are rectangular houses with stone foundations and shared walls (*ibid.*). The cemetery of the EBI period consists of pithos, cist, and simple inhumation burials, sometimes containing a single body, sometimes including misarticulated bones of other interments. In the following period, the settlement of Baklatepe was abandoned, and moved to a nearby mound. The evidence for this period comes from the cemetery, which yielded more than 200 burials (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012: 95). Most of these burials were pithos burials (*ibid.*), but they showed more individuals interred in them. For this reason they were interpreted as “family burials” (Massa and Şahoğlu 2011: 167).

Iasos, also located on the Aegean coast, was a substantial classical and Roman sites, which is why most of the prehistoric remains are only partially exposed. There are for instance some EBA cist burials underneath the Stoa of Artemis, and some EBA material underneath the Basilica (Momigliano 2012). There is also an EBA cemetery on the mainland (see Pecorella 1984), not on the peninsula where most of the classical remains are located. Iasos does not have an excavated EBA settlement, but it is used to

demonstrate differences in cemetery locations, since there are burials appearing in these two different locations: one outside the borders of the settlement, the other under the classical remains.

Similarly Yortan, as one of the major sites that contributed to our understanding of what EBA mortuary material looks like, is going to be used as a case study mostly for its location and landscape elements. The mound of Çavdartepe was excavated in the hope to find the settlement of the Yortan cemetery, but since there are no records of what was excavated (Kamil 1980: 5), it is difficult to guess if the settlement was ever found. The cemetery itself consists of 107 burials, almost exclusively of pithos and jar burials (*ibid.*). The cemetery is not well published, but the pottery from the burials was published in detail by Kamil (1980).

The site of Karataş, located in southwest Turkey (in a region often referred to as Lycia) has an excavated EBA settlement and cemetery. The results of the EBA excavations for the cemetery were published by Mellink in the 60s as reports and later published in chronological volumes (by Eslick 1992 and Warner 1994). However, the cemetery publication still awaits. Karataş could be considered one of the key sites of western Anatolian EBII. From its earlier level onwards it has an oval wall surrounding a courtyard and a rectangular structure in the middle, surrounded by other smaller rectangular structures (Warner 1994). This structure was remodeled in later stages until level V (*ibid.*). The cemetery of Karataş moves around the settlement, in some phases overlapping the older habitation areas. But at no one time did the living and the dead share the same space. The southern cemetery ("main cemetery area") of Karataş

yielded 368 pithos burials, whereas the cemetery on the southeast yielded about 60 more burials.

Resuloğlu, Alacahöyük, and Horoztepe will be the main case studies for the EBA central Anatolian cemeteries. Alacahöyük's EBA settlement, as noted by Bachhuber, is "cursorily published" (2015: 97), and it did not help that the settlement is overlaid by the Hittite cult town, which is an archaeological park today. Therefore the site is often only discussed in the context of the 14 EBA "royal burials". These were large rectangular cist burials covered with timbers (Arık 1937). These burials are unlike any other burials in Anatolia due to the unusual character of the metal burial finds. The fact that there are only 14 burials suggests that the cemetery was only used for a small portion of the population, only for a short period of time. I will use Alacahöyük as a case study, not because of the burial objects, but to question their location and the role of objects played in the rituals around these burials.

Horoztepe in the same region has an identified EBA settlement and cemetery. The EBA settlement could not be excavated since the mound was destroyed by agricultural activities, but surface finds yielded Hittite and EBA pottery (Özgüç 1958: 4). The cemetery area was located in the southeast of the mound. The excavations in one of the trenches here revealed partial human remains and burial objects. Some of these objects were comparable in style to the ones found in Alacahöyük (*ibid.*).

Resuloğlu has three settlements dated to the EBA located on the southeast, north, and northwest of the cemetery (Yıldırım 2006: 1). The northwest and southeast settlements have typical mound characteristics, whereas the settlement on the north of

the cemetery was a flat one, which yielded some stone foundations. The cemetery consists of pithos, cist, and jar graves (*ibid.*). As one of the most recent excavations, Resuloğlu is especially important as it is one of the few EBA cemeteries in central Anatolia with associated settlements (*ibid.*: 13).

In addition to these main case studies I also use evidence from Harmanören (southwest/inland Anatolia), İkiztepe (northern Anatolia), Babaköy and Kalınkaya (central Anatolia).

2nd Millennium BCE (MBA&LBA)

The second millennium periods of MBA¹⁶ and LBA will be discussed together, since the emergence of the Hittite Empire¹⁷ does not seem to affect the burial practices drastically. The MBA marks the Assyrian colonies in central Anatolia, and the beginning of written sources in Anatolia. Perhaps due to this, archaeological evidence from other regions are rarely discussed even in comprehensive studies.¹⁸ Even though there are MBA cemeteries from sites such as Demircihöyük, the second millennium discussion on mortuary practices has focused on central Anatolia more than western Anatolia (Emre 1991, Patrier 2014). Western Anatolia has a comeback in the mortuary discussion in the LBA with sites like Baklatepe, Panaztepe, and Müsgebi.

¹⁶ 2000-1650 BCE.

¹⁷ 1650-1178 BCE.

¹⁸ Ancient Anatolia (2009), Oxford Handbook of Ancient Anatolia (2011).

Baklatepe's LBA is represented by only one chamber tomb and one pithos burial (Erkanal and Sahoglu 2012). The chamber tomb contained 8 cremation burials and several "Mycenaean" objects. Müsgebi similarly has not yielded a contemporary settlement (Özgünel 1987: 543). The rock-cut chamber tombs (some with a dromos, some without) found at the sites are divided into 3 areas and they total to up to 44 (Boysal 1967). One of the main western Anatolian cemeteries I discuss in this dissertation is Panaztepe, which is the largest excavated LBA cemetery in this region (Erkanal-Öktü and Karaaslan 2008). The large number of burials and the diversity of burial types makes Panaztepe a useful case study. The cemetery consists of urns, pithoi, cist, and chamber tombs/tholoi (Erkanal and Erkanal 1986). The work on the Harbor City area, what is presumed to be Panaztepe's settlement, still continues. Other cemeteries that are mentioned but not used as main case studies are Troy, Beşiktepe, and Kusura.

For central Anatolia, I use Gordion, Yanarlar, Ilica, and Osmankayası as my main case studies, which are extramural cemeteries excavated and published in more detail. These extramural cemeteries consist of different burial types (cist, pithos, inhumation, cremation). None of these extramural cemeteries has extensively excavated settlements,¹⁹ however, the fact there is continuous use of diverse burial types within the same cemetery, a tradition seen in the third millennium, complements my discussion on change and continuity. One interesting feature these cemeteries share is the lack of metal weapons found in the burials.

¹⁹ If we do not consider the settlement of Osmankayası as Hattuša.

Relatively little is known about the Bronze Age at Gordion, mostly due to the overlying monumental buildings of the Phrygian Iron Age period. The pottery unearthed from the settlement mound suggests that Gordion was occupied during the Bronze Age, mostly without large hiatuses in between periods (Gunter 1991). The extramural cemetery belongs primarily to the MB III–IV periods, which dates to the Hittite Period in Anatolia. There is also evidence for an EBA burial underneath a Phrygian tumulus (Mellink 1956), which suggest that the origins of the cemetery could go back to the third millennium.

Yanarlar cemetery consists of 36 pithos burials, and is dated to the first half of the 2nd millennium (Emre 1978). The settlement of Yanarlar has not been identified, which was explained by its excavator due to high erosion in the area (*ibid.*: 65). Despite the highly disturbed nature of the burials and human remains, Yanarlar still serves as a case study, especially for its unusual landscape.

Ilica has a settlement mound that was dated to the Bronze Age and Roman Periods, however, the settlement is not extensively excavated or investigated. The settlement mound's (Asarcık Höyük) level IV is dated to the Old Hittite Period (Orthmann 1965: 108). The cemetery has in itself three phases: pithos burials of the EBA (Phase A), simple inhumations and cremations, as well as a cist burial of 16th century BCE (Phase B); and simple inhumations covered with stones and chamber tombs dated to the Late Hellenistic or Roman Period (*ibid.*). The Hittite Period cemetery has 133 burials. Ilica is also unusual for its standing stones surrounding the cemetery area.

Osmankayaşı is a rock formation located halfway from Hattuša to the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. The western slope of the rock formation collapsed and created a cave-like structure where a cemetery was formed (Bittel et al. 1958). 23 simple inhumation burials (early phase: 15, late phase: 7) and in total 54 cremation burials (early phase: 2, middle phase: 22, late phase: 30) were found (*ibid.*). It was determined that the cemetery had begun to be used at about 1800 BCE or a little later at about 1600 BCE; the latest cremation burials happened around 1400 BCE, after that the burial ground was abandoned (Emre 1991: 4).

I also use some examples from Arıbaşı, which could be considered the only extramural cemetery dated to the second millennium with an extensively excavated settlement dated to the same period. Acemhöyük was used as a settlement area since the Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Ages, but it is known for its Old Assyrian Colony Period, in the Middle Bronze Age (Öztan 1998). Apart from private houses, the discoveries from the period include a monumental palace which was destroyed by fire. The EBA burials at the site are intramural, but in the second millennium there is a shift to an extramural cemetery. There are 112 cremations placed in urns, and 27 cremations that are buried without a container. There are 21 inhumations buried in simple pits, and 7 inhumations in pithos vessels (Berkcan 2006: 23).

Readers should not expect to find a detailed summary of the burial data from sites, since these are published elsewhere (Akyurt 1998). Here the data will be used to exemplify the themes discussed.

CHAPTER 3: The Place: Interactions with the Mortuary Space

Crazy Horse Memorial is the world's largest mountain carving located in the Black Hills of South Dakota. This mountain monument under construction, when completed, will be a depiction of Crazy Horse, a Native American war leader of the Oglala Lakota (Fig. 3.1). Crazy Horse is known to have taken up arms against the U.S. Federal government to fight for the territories and for the lives of the Lakota people in 1860-1870s.²⁰ When asked by a US Cavalry man, "Where are your lands now?" he replied, "My lands are where my dead lie buried."²¹



Fig. 3.1: Crazy Horse Memorial in progress (<https://crazyhorsememorial.org/>).

Cemeteries are places in the landscape where our dead lie buried. Cemeteries in the most basic sense, serve a practical purpose: the deposition or interment of the

²⁰ <https://crazyhorsememorial.org/crazy-horse-the-man.html>

²¹ *ibid.*

dead. But their function is not limited to that. Snodgrass for instance defines cemeteries as “a clearly designated area set aside, by some kind of communal decision, exclusively for burial use, with some degree of formality, and normally with few explicit criteria for exclusion or inclusion” (2016: 187). Cemeteries, then, are places of belonging (or not belonging). They also provide a place for remembering and forgetting the past, and for mourning and celebrating that past. The connections people have to their lands and to their ancestors can give us more information about identities, and social and ritual practices. “Meaningful places are the product of enduring locations where people’s practices accumulate, along with stories and memories shared about individual and collective experience there” (Ashmore 2014:40). Cemeteries are clearly “meaningful places” in that respect. Cemeteries, especially extramural cemeteries, are intrusions into the natural landscape. At the same time they are intentionally created and used, and therefore are part of the cultural landscape.

The dead are “multi-locational” (Pinch 2003: 444). As Pinch suggests, ideally, we need to understand the religious or symbolic life of communities by looking at burial practices as a whole: in houses, in cemeteries, in temples (*ibid.*). Burials underneath houses or within settlements, as opposed to cemeteries that are designated spaces outside the settlement, create clearly different contexts for interacting with the mortuary space and with the landscape. The first section of this chapter will look at the transformation from intramural to extramural burials spaces in order to identify what meanings may have changed regarding the living’s relationship to the dead. In the second section of this chapter, I examine the spatial relationship between extramural

cemeteries, the surrounding natural and man-made features, and their settlements in order to understand the role of landscape in the emergence of cemeteries, formation of connections to social identities and histories, and expressions of mortuary rituals.

3.1 Transformation from Intramural Burials to Extramural Cemeteries

The Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods of Anatolia witnessed the deposition of human burials and articulated or modified human remains within the settlements, underneath public and ceremonial buildings, and within houses —right underneath where people continued their daily living. The intramural burial tradition continued even after the emergence of extramural cemeteries in the Late Chalcolithic and during the wide-spread of cemeteries in the Bronze Age. However, intramural burials in western Anatolia before and after the emergence of extramural cemeteries differ in one important aspect: all age and sex groups were interred intramurally before the Bronze Age, whereas during the Bronze Age intramural burials were mostly reserved for babies, children, and a small number of adults.

In many publications, the documentation of these intramural burials has not gone further than reporting their presence, and when they are reported they are often studied separately from extramural cemeteries (e.g., McGeorge 2011). Intramural burials are part of the mortuary record, and therefore should not be excluded from the study of mortuary practices. Exceptions include Wheeler's evaluation of EBA burial practices (1974), and Akyurt's study on 2nd millennium burial practices (1998), where intramural burials are discussed extensively, together with extramural cemeteries.

The reason why intramural burials need to be addressed in the discussion of extramural cemeteries is to understand how the transformation from intramural burials to extramural cemeteries occurred, and what traditions continued or changed. The small number of intramural burials within settlements during the age of cemeteries is a phenomenon that needs further analysis. Unfortunately, not many intramural burials are documented in great detail; therefore in my discussion here, I will refer to the ones that have information on their locations, orientations and positions, burial objects, and other funerary elements.

3.1.1 Definitions

The terms intramural and extramural seem self-explanatory: “within the walls” and “outside the walls”. However, in discussing the prehistoric context of Anatolia, these definitions are often used without consistency. In fact, Anatolia is not the only place where these terminologies are inconsistently applied. Laneri who works on the third millennium burials in northern Mesopotamia, has also criticized how “there has been no attempt to clearly define the use of basic terminology, such as ‘intramural’...” (2013: 43). The term “intramural” in its most basic definition indicates the presence of a wall or an enclosure. In this definition, however, the location of the wall is ambiguous. During the Neolithic Period, when there were no fortified settlements in Anatolia, the term is often used to define funerary depositions within houses or other structures. For instance, at Çayönü, a Neolithic site in southeastern Anatolia, a deposit of primary and secondary burials were found under the floors of the

so-called “Skull Building” which is interpreted as a communal and/or ceremonial structure or a possible “house of the dead” (Özyar 1999a: 51). On the other hand, at Ilıpınar in northwestern Anatolia, Neolithic burials were found in the large non-residential spaces between structures, and they lacked the regularity and organization of a cemetery (Roodenberg-Alpaslan 2008). In this case “within the walls” implies within the limits of the settlement, even when it is not architecturally defined. At Çatalhöyük, many domestic structures had symbolic functions and multiple burials underneath the plastered house floors. Interestingly, there were also burial deposits and human remains built into, and between walls, as well as outside the structures (Boz and Hager 2014). The burials that come from outside of the structures are not necessarily within the walls, but since they are still within the settlement they are considered intramural.

There has been no distinction in the terminology for the variety in intramural burial locations; everything that is inside the settlement therefore can be categorized as intramural. Laneri (2013: 44) has attempted to fine-tune the intramural category, by suggesting the term “residential graves” for

- tombs that are embedded in the architecture
- tombs that have high visibility within the house
- tombs that have a direct and continuous relationship with residential architecture

The “high visibility” criterion for intramural burials in places other than Laneri’s case studies (third millennium southeastern Anatolia and northern Mesopotamia) may not be applicable. In his cases, “residential graves” are architecturally defined chambers connected to a house; they have dromos slabs to cover the chambers, and in some

cases these slabs were visible from the floors of the rooms (Laneri 2013: 47). Indeed, these markers enhance the visibility of these graves. On the other hand, in other cases where the burials are not architecturally distinct or marked with a different architectural element, the visibility needs to be questioned. At Çatalhöyük some burial locations were not marked with an architectural element,²² but with a known location: primary burials were most often found under house platforms (Andrews *et al.* 2005: 263). In many other cases the visibility of the burials would not be prominent because they were sealed underneath the plastered floors. Nevertheless burials kept being interred in the same location over long periods of time. The recurring use of the same location suggest an oral tradition around this practice, and/or a surface marker that marked the location that did not survive in the archaeological record.

It is important to note that in Neolithic Çatalhöyük burials have been found in all areas of the houses, although the highest number of individuals were found in the central room (Fig. 3.2). Both males and females and all age groups could be buried in this central room. However, infants and neonates were the most varied in their burial locations. The side rooms and foundations were mostly reserved for neonates (Boz and Hager 2014). The fact that some individuals were interred in middens and external areas (*ibid.*) distinguished these burials from other intramural burials. Except adolescents, all other age and sex groups could be buried in external areas. These burials were still in the settlement, but not within the structures.

²² Other non-material traces such as smell could also be marking burials.

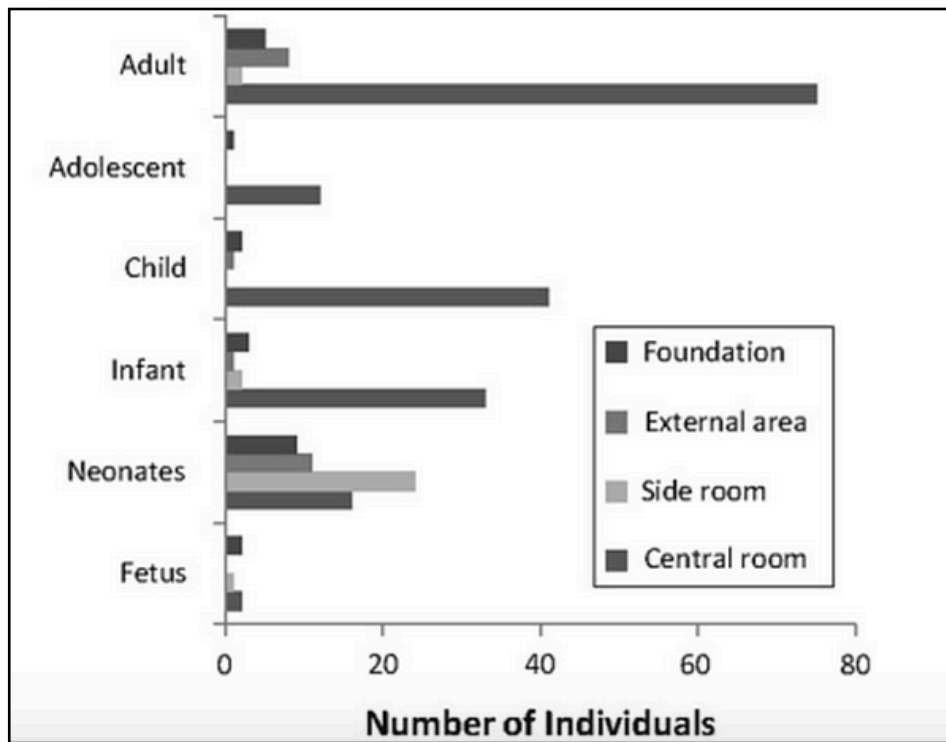


Fig. 3.2: Location of burials at Çatalhöyük (Boz and Hager 2014: Fig. 4).

Laneri's "residential grave" category helps us to distinguish the burials within houses from burials within other parts of settlements. However, it leaves out the problem of distinguishing burials located within the settlement in non-residential or public structures (e.g., Çayönü), or from burials within the settlement which are not associated with structures (e.g., Ilıpınar, Çatalhöyük). The purpose or function of a burial within a public structure or in a midden would presumably be different than one placed in a house. Therefore, both the residential/non-residential and intra/extramural divisions should be made carefully. In cases such as Çatalhöyük, where some of the houses contained a large number of individuals, such divisions become not only complex, but also problematic. For instance Building 1 at Çatalhöyük contained the largest number of

individuals (n=58). This number does not reflect the number of individuals who would have lived at the same time in the same house (Düring 2003). Düring's analysis showed that 54 of the 253 excavated buildings at the site contained burials, amounting to some 21%, thus only one in five buildings were used for burials (2003: 8). This shows that there was preference for certain houses to be used for communal burials. Therefore, it has been suggested that those houses with burials may have served a wider community than solely their inhabitants (Marciniak and Czerniak 2007, Düring 2003). In that case the burials are located in a "private" setting —the house in contrast to a public building, but the houses themselves might have had public functions.

With the emergence of extramural cemeteries, the "public" aspect of the burials becomes more prominent. However, what is important to note is that non-residential or public burials had already existed during the Neolithic period; they did not suddenly appear with emergence of extramural cemeteries. The burials that are outside settlements are also not randomly placed; in most cases they are extensive, organized cemeteries. Therefore I do not see any problem with using "extramural cemeteries" instead of "extramural burials" for the EBA and MBA/LBA, because the term "cemetery" itself implies an organized spatial separation between burials and the habitation spaces, which is the case for cemeteries in Bronze Age Anatolia.

The terminology for burials can vary from site to site, since every site has a different spatial organization of public and private structures, or different domestic and settlement boundaries. Defining the terminologies we use, no matter how basic they are, is necessary; even the most basic terms like intra/extramural may come with

intended or unintended implications. In the following sections, I distinguish between intramural burials and extramural cemeteries. This distinction indicates the difference between the location of burials but also between their functions. Extramural cemeteries are more open and public than intramural burials that are often found within structures.

3.1.2 The Transition

Even though it is difficult to trace a linear evolution in the burial traditions in Anatolia, the transition from intramural burials to extramural cemeteries seems to start with the types of burials. The intramural burial tradition of the Neolithic continued in the Chalcolithic Period with an important difference: during this period burials begin to be placed in ceramic jars and pots. Organic containers such as baskets were used during the Neolithic (Boz and Hager 2013), but the earliest examples of burial jars come only towards the end of the Chalcolithic. Individuals placed in these jars are invariably infants or children. Adult burials in this period are very few, and they only appear in the form of simple inhumations, and never in ceramic vessels.

There is only one known Chalcolithic extramural cemetery in Anatolia dated to the end of Chalcolithic: Ilipinar. The Late Chalcolithic burials excavated at Ilipinar (42 in total) are not connected to any known contemporary occupation debris, indicating that this was an extramural cemetery (Roodenberg 2008a). Roodenberg suggests that the settlement of this cemetery was located below the unexcavated orchard north of the cemetery (2008: 315). The possibility of extramural burials existing by the Late Chalcolithic Period then, cannot be dismissed.

The absence of a large number of adults within settlements could suggest another location or form of burial for the rest of the population. The excavators of both Kuruçay's and Hacılar's²³ Chalcolithic levels suggest that the rare appearance of burials within the settlements implies the presence of an extramural cemetery that has not been discovered yet (Mellart 1970: 36, 88-91). We know from Neolithic Çatalhöyük that only a small portion of the population was buried in specific houses. Therefore it is possible that not everyone living in the same community was buried in the same location.

The transition from the Chalcolithic to the EBA is considered "culturally artificial" (Yakar 2011b: 69), and there is evidence for clear cultural continuity between these two periods (Düring 2011). Therefore, it would not be surprising if the tradition of extramural burials started in the late phases of the Chalcolithic and became more widespread during the EBA. In the EBA, just as in the Chalcolithic, intramural burials within domestic structures were reserved only for a small number of individuals, mostly infants and children. The intramural adult burials were in most cases young females (e.g., Baklatepe EBI, Troy EBII). Even though males are also attested in intramural burials (e.g., Ahlatlıbel), the fact that EBA extramural cemeteries such as Yortan and Babaköy have not yielded child burials suggests that the locations for certain ages were different — a tradition that existed since the Neolithic. The Chalcolithic practice of burying individuals

²³ Only twenty- two individuals were interred within the Chalcolithic Hacılar. This relatively small number w indicates that an extramural cemetery may lie nearby. A looted EBA cemetery noted in the vicinity of Hacılar led the excavators to assume that perhaps the Chalcolithic cemetery was also located there (Mellaart 1958). It is possible there is still an unexcavated public structure, similar to Çayönü, with intramural burials, or an extramural cemetery.

in ceramic vessels continued into the EBA and in fact became the most common burial type across Anatolia, not only for children and infants but also for all age and sex groups.

3.1.3 The Transformation: Emergence of Extramural Cemeteries

In 1970, archaeologist Arthur Saxe proposed in his dissertation that the appearance of extramural cemeteries was linked to emergence of descent groups, and to their monopolization of the rights to access critical resources by using the ancestral dead (Saxe 1970). Goldstein re-evaluated these hypotheses by also looking at ethnographic case studies, and she presented evidence for settlement organization, resources, and subsistence patterns of about 30 societies (1976). Her work criticized Saxe's argument by suggesting that cultures have more variability and therefore do not have to have to utilize or ritualize the elements of their culture in the same way (1981). This work demonstrated that societies with similar economic or social conditions were not always organized in the same way. Since the 1990s, when the discussion of Saxe's controversial hypotheses were being replaced with post-processual approaches (Morris 1991), there have been no substantial studies that have tried to answer the question why extramural cemeteries emerged in the first place. Keswani, who studied mortuary practices in Bronze Age Cyprus, has suggested that rising population densities, coupled with plow cultivation and cattle herding, could have created a perception of land scarcity and a growing emphasis on social boundaries and group membership (2007). It is possible that both practical and ideological reasons might have had played a role in

why the cemetery needed to be moved from within the houses to a more visible place on the outside of the settlement.

Frangipane, who has worked in Mesopotamian and southeast Anatolian sites, has noted that in the Late Uruk period, which is the period marking the genesis of urban life, no evidence has been found of burials inside the settlements both in Mesopotamia and in the peri-Mesopotamian areas (2007: 174). She argues that:

“This might be partly due to the fact that it probably became increasingly common to bury the dead in cemeteries outside the cities, though such cemeteries have been rarely found so far. This custom, well documented in the third millennium Mesopotamia, might be related, among other things, to the radical political – and hence social – change (urbanization and political centralization) which took place in the crucial Uruk period, whose consequences were the increasingly well defined specialized functions of the urban spaces, the loss of importance of kinship structures and ties in favor of the gradual establishment of the «civil» identity of the population, and the stronger links between the «city» and its «territory»” (*ibid.*).

In Anatolia, urbanization — the shift from closely connected settlements that existed in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic villages, to settlements with upper and lower towns in the second half of the third millennium BC (Çevik 2007) — is often cited as evidence for the emergence of extramural cemeteries. Most of the excavated extramural cemeteries in EBA Anatolia date to the beginning of the EBA (EB I–II periods). Even though the emergence of extramural cemeteries in Anatolia is contemporary with the emergence of so-called “proto-urban centers”²⁴ such Troy and Külloba, the earliest extramural cemeteries that have been discovered so far are only

²⁴ I do not prefer to use this term, since it implies that there was a homogenous stage or form of settlement pattern before urbanization. However, most literature refers to these sites as proto-urban or early urban centers. For further discussion on this term see Çevik 2007.

fortification wall surrounded a highly organized settlement plan with streets, suburbs, and administrative quarters (Laneri 2007). A large extramural cemetery dated to the mid- EBA was located about 400 m west of the Titriş settlement. The late EBA period of the Titriş settlement is characterized by a major change in the socioeconomic organization: during this period a fortification wall was built, and the city plan increased in the number of private dwellings. This “radical transformation” (Laneri 2007: 250) can also be traced in the mortuary practices, where we see the abandonment of the extramural cemetery in favor of intramural chamber tombs (*ibid.*). In the case of Titriş, social changes together with changes in settlement plan and organization seem to have led to the shift to intramural burials. Laneri suggested that “the necessity of incorporating within a family’s house selected dead, thereby transforming them into familial ancestors, appears as pivotal to the reinforcement of the household lineage in moments of dramatic socioeconomic transformation” (2011: 121). It is possible that changes in social structures or circumstances affected the changes in burial practices, but this does not hold true for all urbanized sites. In fact, in some cases the extramural cemetery emerged when the settlement became smaller. At Baklatepe’s Late Chalcolithic level, intramural burials consisted of only children and infants, and no contemporary extramural cemetery was found. In the EBI, however, there was a radical change in the settlement size that decreased from a diameter of c. 300m to c. 90m, and it was during this period that the extramural cemetery emerged (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012: 485).

Bachhuber argues that a primary difference between the intramural burials of the Neolithic and the extramural cemeteries of the EBA Anatolia is a distinction between “private and intimate setting” versus “open, farming landscapes” (2015: 94). Echoing some of the ideas of Saxe/Goldstein hypotheses, he suggests that

“If human remains in Neolithic settlements were bound into the life cycles of individual households, then human remains in the extramural cemeteries of the EBA were bound collectively into a village’s historical claim to the landscape. Extramural cemeteries were salient corporate features of geographical communities, whose identity was formed in part by relationships with the people of their past who farmed the same landscapes.” (2015: 94).

It is not clear to me why early farming villages of the Neolithic did not need to make such claims, since they were also farming and hunting in the same landscape, and therefore needed access to resources and probably made claims on the surrounding areas of their settlement. The shift from a household organization to a larger social organization could be one of the reasons for the emergence of the extramural cemeteries, where everyone in the community would be participating in the public ceremonies, and everyone in that community would be buried in the same place. However, the formation of identities in connection to the past or to the landscape is not a phenomenon that starts with the EBA, or with the emergence of extramural cemeteries.

Morris, who reevaluated Saxe’s hypothesis, acknowledged the connection between cemeteries and property, but suggested that claims over property cannot be completely separate from beliefs and ideologies surrounding ancestors (1991). Connections to ancestors have also been suggested for the Neolithic (see for example

Kuijt 2001), especially with the reuse of skulls, and other secondary burial activities. Laneri argued that “funerary depositions that were planned as part of the domestic architecture could have functioned as a clear point of reference for the living family in the process of revising the memory of their ancestors” (2013: 44). Similarly Cooper suggested for EBA cities along the Euphrates that the appearance of extramural cemeteries alongside intramural burials could be due to kinship ideologies (2008). She argued that group identities were expressed in extramural cemeteries, whereas in intramural burials household members continued their connections to the ancestors to maintain social status (*ibid.*, also see Yazıcıoğlu 2015). The alternative suggestion was that intramural burials belonged to newcomers who did not have ties in their new homelands (*ibid.*). The expression of connections to “ancestors”, however, is not limited to intramural burials. It is known that monumental burial forms that were not necessarily in direct association with specific households, such as tumuli or tholoi, were used and re-used over long periods of time “to legitimate the present using the past” (Antonaccio 1994: 401).²⁶ These interpretations consciously or unconsciously refer back to the ideas of Saxe/Golstein hypotheses: ancestors, claims on resources, and the connection of these to status. These elements might have played a role in the emergence of extramural cemeteries; however the question then is why it did not happen in the Neolithic Period, when there were also connections to the ancestors, to the landscape. The closely connected settlement plans of the Neolithic sites with multiple shared walls such as at Çatalhöyük and Aşıklı Höyük seems to change in the

²⁶ The issue of reuse and memory will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.2.

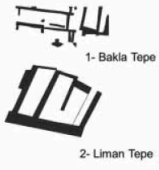
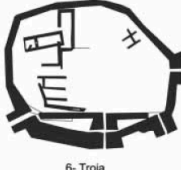
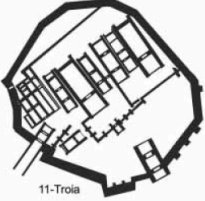
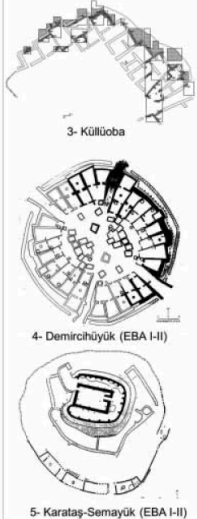
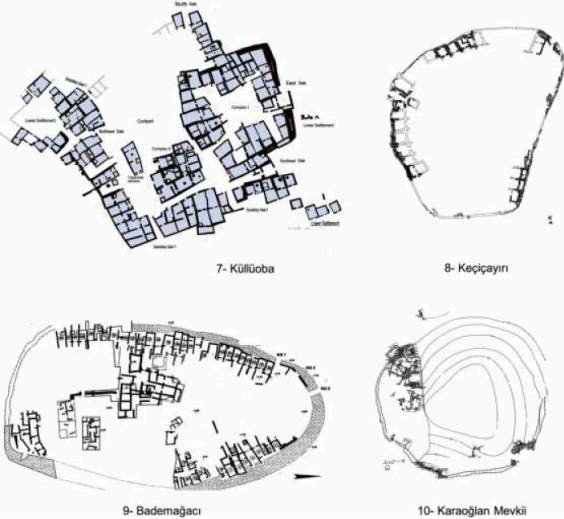
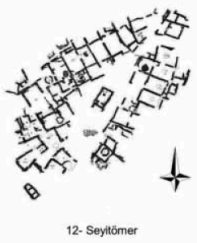
	Transitional Period into the EBA / EBA I	Early Bronze Age II	Early Bronze Age III
Coastal Region of Western Anatolia	 1- Bakla Tepe 2- Liman Tepe	 6- Troia	 11- Troia
Inland Western Anatolia	 3- Küllüoba 4- Demircihöyük (EBA I-II) 5- Karataş-Semayük (EBA I-II)	 7- Küllüoba 8- Keçiçayırı 9- Bademağacı 10- Karaoğlan Mevkii	 12- Seyitömer

Fig. 3.4: Early Bronze Age settlement plans. 1) Bakla Tepe, 2) Liman Tepe, 3) Küllüoba, 4) Demircihöyük, 5) Karataş, 6) Troia, 7) Küllüoba, 8) Keçiçayırı, 9) Bademağacı, 10) Karaoğlan Mevkii, 11) Troia, 12) Seyitömer (Fidan et al. 2015: 65, Fig. 2).

EBA into settlements with a central focus in the middle open spaces or courtyards for more communal activities (Fig. 3.4).²⁷ It is not clear if the communal interactions changed during this period, but what is clear is that extramural cemeteries contributed to the communal nature of settlements. The fact that some of these EBA sites are not larger in terms of population size than the Neolithic sites (in fact often there is a smaller number of houses found in the EBA sites in western and central Anatolia) suggests that population pressure was perhaps not the driving force in the emergence of cemeteries. It is likely that a combination of reasons, such as the emergence of fortification walls,

²⁷ Also see Chapter 7 for this settlement plan.

changes in settlement plans, increasing connections to ancestors, village history, or landscape may have played a role in the emergence of new burial types or locations.

Even in more recent historic periods the emergence of cemeteries can be associated with different motivations. As Tarlow has cited in her study of 19th century garden cemeteries, the foundation of British cemeteries has three phases:

“first were the cemeteries set up by companies of dissenters for religious reasons; then the rhetoric of founding companies was dominated by concerns for public health and, finally after the founding of the burial boards in the 1850s, the cemetery was considered primarily as a civic amenity and adornment.” (Rugg 1997, in Tarlow 2000: 221).

As it is seen, all these reasons are a combination of social, economic, and cultural concerns. I agree with Tarlow, who suggests that instead of trying to find a “single galvanizing factor to explain the inception of cemeteries” (*ibid.*), we need to think about the desires of the people who designed and used them, and shift our focus to understanding the social circumstances surrounding mortuary practices, and to the roles of cemeteries in these people’s life. Instead of looking at the emergence of extramural cemeteries as an instant result of urbanization or as directly connected to claims over landscape or resources, I suggest that instead we need to view it as a gradual transformation of long-standing mortuary traditions, which were affected by changing social circumstances differently in different places.

3.1.4 The Tradition

Even after the emergence of extramural cemeteries, the tradition of intramural burials continued to be practiced. Intramural burials in Bronze Age Anatolia can be divided into two categories: 1) architectural tombs (chamber tombs), and 2) non-architectural tombs (inhumation, cist, and pot burials). Chamber tombs exist mostly in southeastern Anatolia starting with the EBA, whereas in western and central Anatolia chamber tombs are not as common.²⁸ Different from the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, intramural burials in the Bronze Age, especially in western Anatolia, are used for a smaller portion of the population: mostly for children and infants.

The practice of newborn, infant, and child²⁹ burials within domestic structures, especially under platforms, within foundations, or underneath public buildings emerged in the Neolithic Period, possibly in Anatolia (Bacvarov 2008: 61, McGeorge 2011:2). This phenomenon is attested cross-culturally and throughout different periods; intramural child burials were found in the rest of the Near East, in the Aegean and in Egypt, starting as early as the 10th millennium. As McGeorge rightly argued, this “may or may not suggest an underlying koine of belief, because given the complexity of human nature and the infinite variety of expression of human culture and beliefs there need not necessarily be a single explanation for this phenomenon at all times and in all

²⁸ The only sites that have yielded architecturally independent burials were found at Beşiktepe, Panaztepe, Colophon, and Baklatepe.

²⁹ Newborn usually refers to babies from birth to about two months of age. Infants are defined as babies from two months to one year old.

places” (2011: 1). It is surprising that such a common phenomenon has not received much attention.

One important outcome of the analysis of intramural burials and extramural cemeteries together is that sites with extramural cemeteries in the EBA do not yield contemporary intramural adult burials. For instance, at İkiztepe in the Black Sea region, in addition to the EBA cemetery, occasional intramural burials outside the cemetery area were excavated, but these generally consisted of jar burials of infants in habitation areas (Bilgi 2005: 17-18). These burial types were found in levels dated by the excavators to the Early Bronze I and the Middle Bronze periods, but none appear to date to the period during which the extramural cemetery was in use (Bilgi 2005: 17-18). This might mean that in the EBA the appearance of intramural burials and extramural cemeteries is mutually exclusive.³⁰ In cases where there are only intramural child and infant burials, excavators often have suggested that adults should have been buried in an extramural cemetery (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012, Mellaart 1958).

At Karataş and Demircihöyük’s EBA levels both adults and children were buried in the cemetery, and there is no evidence for intramural burials in the settlements. However, this starts to change with the MBA. At Demircihöyük, for example, the MBA extramural cemetery has yielded both children and adults (sometimes buried separately, sometimes together), in addition to infant and child burials found in the settlement (Seeher 2000).

³⁰ This seems not to be the case for the second millennium cemeteries (e.g. Arıbaş cemetery).

The preparation and treatment of children and infants in intramural burials can provide us with more information on how they resemble or differ from extramural cemeteries. At Baklatepe, EBA jar burials were often covered with a bowl used as a cap (Şahoğlu 2008: 485). This tradition of closing burials with stones can also be attested in some of the extramural cemeteries with pithos burials (e.g. Demircihöyük), and continued into the MBA. At second millennium Gordion, for instance, the intramural burial tradition of babies in smaller jars was transferred to the second millennium extramural cemetery, where 5 burial jars of infants were buried in the cemetery, closed up with stones and mud (Mellink 1956: 16).

The location of child and infant intramural burials changes from site to site; there is no pattern within sites either. At Çadır Höyük's Late Chalcolithic structure with large walls, two infant burials were found; one was covered with a bowl, the other with a storage jar (McMahon 2015: 26). Due to its plan and the lack of domestic items, excavators concluded this was a public building (*ibid*). At Beycesultan, in the EBI level infant burials were found in the debris of the inner enclosure walls (Lloyd and Mellaart 1958: 113).³¹ Also in the EBI levels of Çadır Höyük, several infant burials, in large jars, were found tucked into the corners of the unused stone gateway, some were also dug into the floor/wall of the eastern guard/storage room (Steadman et al. 2008: 74). The excavators reported that burials did not appear to be dug very far into the ground, and were not inside EB I rooms or under floors; it is possible that they were simply placed

³¹ It is also known that infants in the Neolithic were buried within walls and thresholds as part of the construction (see Çatalhöyük burials, Moses 2008).

on the ground rather than actually buried (*ibid.*). In Kusura's LBA phase, 4 inhumations of babies were found in the corners of a room (with a hearth), and one was across a wall. One of the babies had stones on its head (Lamb 1938: 23). Similarly, at Büyükkale in Boğazköy's level Va (LBA), a child was buried on the first layer of stones of the corner wall (Neve 1982: 19). Neve also noted that such a practice was not attested anywhere else in the Near East (*ibid.*), suggesting Anatolian origins for this practice. The locations of child and infant burials vary from debris layers to public structures and within walls, which makes it clear that some of these (if not all) were intentional burials.

In Neolithic Çatalhöyük we have seen that there was a clearer pattern to where certain age groups were buried. In general most of the internments were located in the northern and eastern part of structures (Box and Hager 2013: 420). Considering that in the Neolithic there were larger numbers of people buried intramurally than in the Chalcolithic or EBA sites, it is perhaps not surprising that no pattern can be found in the location of the Bronze Age intramural burials. In central Anatolian second millennium cases (Kültepe, Alishar, Boğazköy), intramural burials are often located underneath kitchen areas (Akyurt 1998: 91).

There seems also no specific preference for the type of burial containers. At Beycesultan, intramural children and infants in jars can be found in Late Chalcolithic and EBI levels, but this tradition disappears in EBII. Both the Late Chalcolithic and EBI burials were placed in domestic ware with a reddish, unburnished fabric, mainly single- or double-handled jars and pithoi. These vessels were used in the kitchens and as containers for infant burials below the floors (Lloyd and Mellaart 1958). Also at Çadır

Höyük black burnished simple storage or cooking pots were used for the burials (Steadman *et al.* 2008: 74). As we will see in the following sections, pithoi used for adult burials were also used in the settlement for other purposes such as storage.

The intramural children and infants were often interred in a hocker position³² (e.g., Baklatepe, Şahoğlu 2008: 485). At MBA Alişar it was noted that, even though there was no clear pattern for body orientations, the head would be placed in the jars first, leaving the feet facing the opening of the jar (Osten 1937: 84). Some of the most detailed pieces of information about the body positions of EBA intramural child and infant burials come from Çadır Höyük. Here head orientations varied from west to east, and body orientations were north-south or south-north, sometimes laying on their left (Stephanie Selover, personal communication). The bodies were in hocker position, sometimes with the knees spread out, or arms and legs placed tightly in the front of the body (*ibid.*). One of these burials was placed in a box, therefore the legs were tightly flexed, with the feet placed under the individual's bottom, suggesting that the remains would have been very tightly bound in position in order to fit into the box, either in a shroud or with ropes of some sort, although no traces of such restraints remained (*ibid.*). In most cases no burial objects were associated with child or infant intramural burials. In other places, some exceptions were stone beads (EBA Baklatepe, Şahoğlu 2008: 485), lead rings (MBA Demircihöyük, Kull 1988: 20), copper bracelets (LBA Boğazköy, Schirmer, 1969: 28), and several ceramic vessels, including small juglets and a feeding bottle (EBA Beycesultan, Lloyd and Mellart 1958: 122). The locations and treatments of

³² for further discussion on hocker position see Chapter 5.

the intramural burials in the Bronze Age definitely points to a great diversity. Extramural cemeteries, too, show great variety of burial locations, forms and burial objects; this might be a parallel to the intramural burials.

Several suggestions have been made to explain the widespread phenomenon of these burials. Moses (2008) criticizes archaeologists for playing it safe when they avoid addressing the function of these burials by only reporting the location of these burials:

“It is much easier and frankly, safer, as archaeologists to leave the mode unaddressed where it is not readily obvious, noting only that the child’s body was in a wall, a floor, or other structures after-the-fact as a ritual deposit. But does this failure to explore likely death scenarios based upon contextual differences and their subsequent implications, minimize our potential understanding of ritual child burials?” (Moses 2008: 45).

Even though I agree that context is the main element that helps us understand the function of these burials, the evaluation of Bronze Age intramural child and infant burials does not seem to show any evidence for a special ritual use different from any other burial in the extramural cemeteries.³³ Infant burials could be covered with stones as was the case with MBA Demircihöyük (Kull 1998: 20) and MBA Kusura (Lamb 1938: 234); however this practice can also be observed in the extramural cemeteries. I do not dismiss the possibility that these burials had a different meaning or function; however, it was not a practice reserved only for intramural child and infant burials.

Osteological analyses revealed that thalassemia³⁴ (or possibly sickleemia) was common in the Bronze Age (Angel 1978: 10). McGeorge has also noticed that neonatal

³³ see Chapter 6

³⁴ Mediterranean anemia.

and infant mortality throughout the prehistoric period was high and probably rose during the Bronze Age owing to greater population densities stimulating an increase in pathogenesis (2011: 2). Having to deal with constant child and baby deaths must have had different social and emotional outcomes. It has been suggested that high child mortality “perhaps prompted parents to have a less emotional bond with the offspring until they overcame the most critical period. This attitude seems to be reflected not only in the custom of intramural burials, but also in the lack of grave offerings for the majority of infants” (Massa and Şahoğlu 2011: 165). It is true that the number of infant and children burials within houses are fewer than adults. This could imply that only selected individuals were buried intramurally. Moreover, infants and children in extramural cemeteries are in some cases buried together with adults,³⁵ or sometimes by themselves in a variety of burial types.³⁶ Therefore, I disagree with Massa and Şahoğlu’s conclusion that the lack of burial objects can be directly correlated with the lack of emotional bond between the parents and the infant/children. Moreover, as we have seen, some of these intramural burials did have burial objects in and around them. We also need to keep in mind that mortuary rituals that involved the interments of infants could have had sensory elements or organic materials that did not survive in the archaeological record. New data for intramural burials has been excavated in sites like Çadır Höyük and Hacimusalar Höyük, which await publication. With new

³⁵ for instance in EBA Karataş (Mellink 1967: 254).

³⁶ in Demircihöyük they can be found in all the burial types that the adults are buried in (Seeher 2000).

technologies available to us, and with more awareness on the excavation of these burials, we may be able to detect more bioarchaeological data that could answer our questions about kin and relationship between individuals.

Transformations in mortuary traditions can be affected by the changing social, political, and economic circumstances. However, they do not suddenly appear from nowhere; they are continuations of deeply rooted older traditions. The emergence of extramural cemeteries, therefore, is not an instant result of urbanization, especially not everywhere in Anatolia, but instead a gradual transformation of long-lived mortuary traditions, which were affected by social circumstances differently in different places.

3.2 Landscape, Place, and Memory

“Culture changes landscapes and culture is embodied by landscapes” (Nassauer 1995: 229).

Landscape is a built environment; it is constructed by practical and symbolic interactions people had with the places around them. It is physical and tangible; at the same time experiencing the landscape involves intangible elements such as senses, time, and emotions. Phenomenological approaches, especially in discussions on prehistoric Britain (e.g., Tilley 1994, Barrett and Ko 2009), have highlighted the importance of the lived experiences in the landscape, and how the sensorial aspects affected the formation and perception of that landscape. On the other hand, the subjective assumptions in the reconstruction of past experiences attracted criticism (see Ingold 2005). I agree that the experience of the landscape would be culturally-specific,

and that any reconstruction of this experience would be subjective, if not speculative (*ibid.*). Therefore, here I divide landscape-related features into more quantifiable parts such as visibility, distance, orientation, elevation, and location. I consider these as the characteristics of a place that contribute to the perception and use of the landscape. These characteristics of course were also changing through time, and were therefore viewed or experienced differently depending on the season, point of view, or distance. My goal here is to understand if any of these characteristics played a role in the choices of cemetery location, and if so why.

The spatial separation between habitation areas and mortuary spaces gives us a unique opportunity to look at the relationship between people and their surrounding landscape. Putting cemeteries in a larger landscape context can help us understand how landscape shapes and is shaped by social, practical, and symbolic activities. While doing so it is important to recognize the following four main principles suggested by Nassauer (1995) for landscape ecology:

1. Human landscape perception, cognition, and values directly affect the landscape and are affected by the landscape.
2. Cultural conventions powerfully influence landscape pattern in both inhabited and apparently natural landscapes.
3. Cultural concepts of nature are different from scientific concepts of ecological function.
4. The appearance of landscapes communicates cultural values.

The placing of cemeteries in the landscape can be loaded with cosmological, social, and political significance (e.g., Carr 1995: 183; Parker Pearson 1993: 206). Was this also the case for Anatolian cemeteries? In this section, I demonstrate how Anatolian

communities interacted with their landscape in the mortuary context, and how these interactions were affected by practical, symbolic, or other cultural concepts.

There are numerous studies, again mostly from British prehistory, illustrating the deliberate placing of the dead with reference to topographical features in the landscape and the changing relationships between cemeteries and settlement sites (e.g. Williams 1998; Parker Pearson 1993; Sharpies 1985). In some of these studies it has been observed that landscape played a major role in the reuse of monuments. As the “temporal context” section will show, memories of places that once belonged to ancestors, or to a time in the forgotten past, often connect to specific landscape features, or are marked within the landscape. The landscape can act as a divider, but also as a unifier of the natural and anthropogenic world. Did Bronze Age Anatolian communities see a connection between the place their dead were buried and their past? Did the social memory surrounding the place of burials contribute to the sense of community or ownership? Or were cemeteries a more practical response to the disposal of bodies? In this section, I analyze the spatial relationship between extramural cemeteries, their surrounding natural features, and their settlements to demonstrate why cemeteries were located where they were. I also question if and how cemeteries play a role in the continuation of social memories and ritual practices.

3.2.1 Spatial context

3.2.1.a. Location

The small number of identified contemporary settlements for many of the third and second millennium cemeteries makes it difficult to look for patterns in the location of the cemeteries. Cemeteries that do have an associated settlement are often located within a few hundred meters from the settlement, although greater distances are attested with larger sites (Table 3.1). The distance between settlements and cemeteries raises the question whether there was an idea similar to the Roman pomerium that stimulated the emergence of cemeteries outside of settlements. The pomerium was the sacred boundary of the city of Rome, and it was forbidden to bury the dead inside this

site	cemetery location in relation to settlement	distance from settlement (m.)	burial orientation (head-body)
Demircihöyük	SW	300	SE-NW
Harmanören	NW	300	E-W
Iasos	NW	700	E-W
Ilıpınar Hacılartepe	N	300	S-N
Baklatepe	NW	100	E-W
Karataş	SW (and NW)	150	E-W
Ulucak	SE	150	SE-NW
Horoztepe	SE	400	E-W
Gordion	NE	700	SE-NW
Panaztepe	SW	200	SW-NE, SE-NW
Ilıca	S	800	E-W

Table 3.1: Settlement and cemetery relationships.

boundary (Beard *et al.* 1998). The cultural view of the “pollution of death” strongly influenced the treatment and placement of the burials. It is interesting that a similar reason was considered when cemeteries were first introduced in number in the 18th and 19th centuries in the UK and in the United States. Many of these historic cemeteries were laid out about half a mile away from the more populous areas of town (Rugg 2000). This was due to a conscious attempt to relocate the corpse, which by the 18th century was increasingly deemed to be a danger to public health, from inner-city churchyards to a site at the edge of town (*ibid.*: 261).

In Bronze Age Anatolian cemeteries there is considerable evidence for the reuse of burial containers, and secondary burial activities such as disarticulated human remains.³⁷ This means that people were interacting with dead bodies when they could have opened another burial pit to avoid this interaction due to an idea or taboo about pollution. In addition, there is evidence for the reuse of mortuary spaces for non-mortuary functions: at EBA Karataş, the habitation areas dated to Period V (EBII-III) in Trench 35/37 are built on top of Period IV (EBII) burials (Warner 1994), which again shows us that Bronze Age communities in Anatolia were not refraining from interaction with corpses, skeletons, or building on top of burials due to an idea of pollution. On the other hand, it should be noted that at Karataş, at no time were tombs placed in or among occupied houses (Wheeler 1974: 416). Perhaps there was still a certain time that needed to pass for the mortuary space to be adequate for habitation purposes.

³⁷ see Chapter 5.

If not pollution, was convenience a factor in the placement of cemeteries in the landscape? At EBA Ulucak, the cemetery was placed in the flood bed of the Nif Stream located in the south of the settlement, and therefore was placed in lighter, looser alluvial soil (Fig. 3.5). The burials in the cemetery were placed right on top of the river bed's pebbly surface (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004). It is safe to assume that the softer soil of the river bed made it easier to dig burial pits into the ground.³⁸ Even though this area could have been a good place for agriculture, due to the loose and fertile soil and the proximity to the settlement, it was chosen for the cemetery.

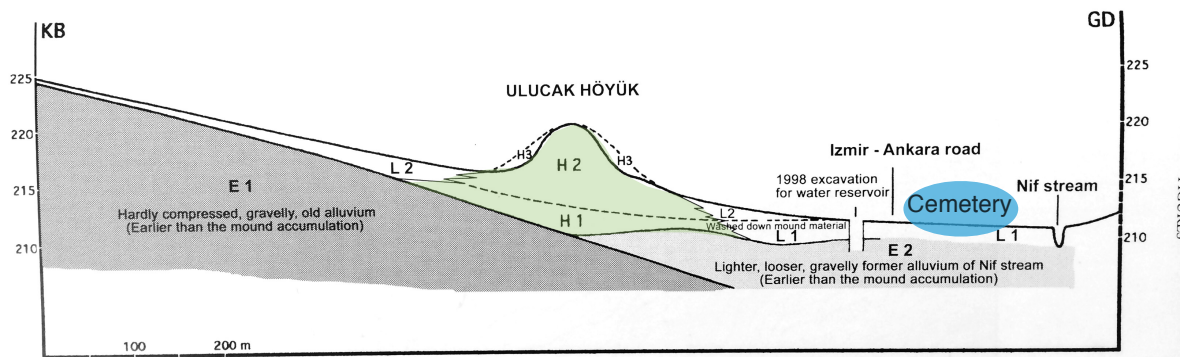


Fig. 3.5: Ulucak's settlement and cemetery in relation to the surrounding area (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2008: 85, Fig. 5, additions by the author).

At the EBA mine of Kestel, a burial containing twelve to fifteen children, who were presumably killed while working in the mine, was found in one of the abandoned shafts (Yener 2010). This mortuary chamber contained a number of different burial traditions—pithos burials, stone-built tombs, simple internment, and rock-cut chamber tombs, a tradition that can be found in regular cemeteries. It is possible that in both

³⁸ Ilıpınar's EBA cemetery is also located in an area that consisted of erosion deposits suitable for burials (Roodenberg 2008b: 335).

Ulucak and Kestel the place could also have a symbolic meaning, but the main reason for the location of the burials in these cases seems due to practical advantages, and the convenience of the location.

On the other hand, there are also examples where cemeteries are located in more agriculturally inconvenient areas. At Yortan for example, the EBA cemetery sits on a trachyte platform, which is a volcanic rocky outcrop that rises above the surrounding plain (Fig. 3.6 and 3.7). The rocky platform presumably was not an easy location for opening burial pits. We could argue that this location was chosen due to practical reasons because it was close to the settlement mound, and that the volcanic rocky platform was not suitable for farming or other agricultural activities. The nearby mound



Fig. 3.6: Trachyte rocks at Yortan, TAY website.
[http://www.tayproject.org/TAYmaster.fm\\$Retrieve?](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYmaster.fm$Retrieve?YerlesmeNo=2934&html=masterengdetail.html&layout=web)
[YerlesmeNo=2934&html=masterengdetail.html&layout=web](http://www.tayproject.org/TAYmaster.fm$Retrieve?YerlesmeNo=2934&html=masterengdetail.html&layout=web)

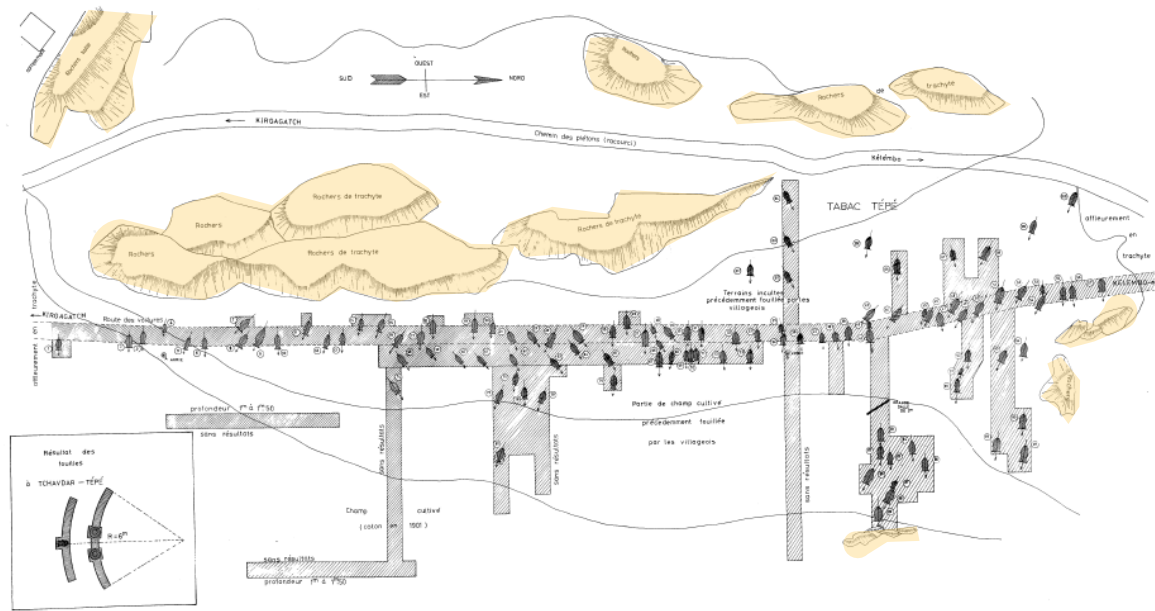


Fig. 3.7: Trachyte rocks surrounding the Yortan burials (Kamil 1980, colored additions by the author showing the rocky outcrops).

of Çavdartepe to the north of Yortan was excavated, however, none of these excavations were published, which makes it difficult to say if there was a contemporary settlement here (Kamil 1980: 5). The rocky outcrop which stands out in the flat land around it could have functioned as a way to mark the cemetery's place in the landscape, instead of being chosen for its practical aspects.

Osmankayası, the second millennium cemetery is located on the north of Büyükkaya at Hattuša, on the road to the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. Osmankayası is a large rock niche formed by calcerous masses, sticking out in the landscape. The cremation urns were placed inside the rock niche, whereas other burials were placed in a cave-like structure that was formed due to the collapsing roof (Bittel et al. 1958).

Similar to Yortan, Osmankayası's location was clearly marked in the landscape, even though the burials were still somewhat protected and hidden.

If convenience or practicality was the main element that determined the location of cemeteries we would expect to find contemporary settlements and cemeteries to be in close proximity to each other. When we look at Table 3.1, where I listed cemeteries that have an identified contemporary settlement, we can see that the distance between the settlements and their cemeteries varies between 100 and 800 meters. If a person walks an average of 3.8 kilometers per hour, it should take under 2 minutes to walk 100 meters (the minimum distance between a contemporary settlement and cemetery), and about 10 minutes to walk for instance from Ilica's settlement to its cemetery (the maximum distance between a contemporary settlement and cemetery). This might seem like an easy walk. However, one should keep in mind that Bronze Age cemeteries mostly consist of pithos vessels made and used in the settlements, and these pithoi could be as tall as 2 meters. Carrying these vessels would have necessitated considerable energy and a group effort. As excavation pictures clearly demonstrate, at least 8 people are needed to lift these pithoi (Fig. 3.8). Carrying huge vessels in a large group for 10 minutes is not the most efficient or the most convenient way to bury the dead when one could bury them right outside the houses or the settlement wall. There are no extramural cemeteries located within a distance less than 150 meters (2 minutes walk), which might have been the limit of separation of the places of the living and the dead.



**Fig. 3.8: Moving of Karataş pithos
(Mellink 1966: Plate 57, Fig. 10).**

Branigan (1998) has looked at the relationship between third millennium Minoan tholos tombs, the landscape, and settlements in order to understand the preferences of tholos locations. In Branigan's cases there was no correlation between the tomb locations and prominent natural features or man-made features in the landscape. The only pattern that came out from this study was that tholoi were located in close proximity to the settlements (1998), the same pattern I observed in the Anatolian cemeteries. The placement of the cemetery in relation to the settlement differs from site to site, and there is no regional pattern either. In Figure 3.9 we can see that even within

the same region cemeteries are placed on different sides of the settlements. This means that the placement of the cemetery was not determined based on a shared, or regional cultural tradition.³⁹ On the other hand, there is still a practicality and ownership aspect to placing tholos tombs or cemeteries close to the settlements. One should also keep in mind sites like Resuloğlu where the EBA cemetery is surrounded by three contemporary settlement mounds on the north, northeast, and southwest (Yıldırım 2006). It is possible that the archaeological evidence is not sufficient to be able to see specific local or regional preferences in cemetery locations.

3.2.1.b. Orientation

If the idea of pollution, differences in proximity, and convenience cannot explain the choices for where the cemetery is situated, can the orientation of the cemetery tell us more about the preferences for location? Rahtz groups burial orientations under several general categories: toward mythical or holy places, settlement or house sites, areas of origins, vital resources or occupations, gates, walls, paths, roads, natural features, other graves or bodies, astronomical observations (1978: 2-3). Even though many of these orientational elements are not always archaeologically accessible, it is important to consider different possible reasons for orienting burial openings in a certain direction, or placing cemeteries in a specific location.

³⁹ Cemeteries are found on all directions in relation to their settlements, except south and west.

The settlements that have an identified cemetery are almost always located on a flat alluvial plain surrounded by mountains, and in close proximity to water sources, whereas the orientations of the cemeteries do not necessarily correspond to a specific landscape feature. Bachhuber has argued that the höyüks elevated “their inhabitants onto a dry, defensive and commanding vantage point above the domesticated landscape” (2015: 52). We can presume that the settlement was established first, and therefore the settlement location might be the the main element dictating the location of the cemetery.



Fig. 3.9: Cemetery, settlement, and burial orientations (map by the author [base map: Google Earth]).

The spatial orientation within the cemeteries yields a clearer pattern: the heads of the interred bodies or the openings of the burial jars in both third and second millennium cemeteries are mostly oriented in an eastward direction, away from the settlement (see Fig. 3.9, Table 3.1). The only exceptions are Ilıpınar and Ulucak, where burials are oriented directly towards their settlements. At Ilıpınar/Hacılar-tepe the orientation of the burials is towards the south where the settlement is located. The reason for this could be due to the fact that the settlement of Ilıpınar shifts to Hacılar-tepe (which is located 300 meters to the south of Ilıpınar) in the EBA, when Ilıpınar becomes a mortuary site (Roodenberg 2008b). If there is a relationship between the location of the settlement and the burial orientations in other cemeteries, this is not as clear as it is at Ilıpınar.

Cross-culturally the most common burial orientation is the solar orientation, either to the sunset or sundown (Rahtz 1978). The common east-west orientation is also attested in Anatolia: at Karataş, Baklatepe, Demircihöyük, Horoztepe, Gordion, Ilıpınar, and Yanarlar the burial opening and heads are most commonly oriented towards east or

Head/burial orientation	Number of sites attested	Number of burials	Percentage (based on number of burials)
East/North-east/South-east	22	1208	96.4
West/North-west/South-west	5	19	1.5
North	4	4	0.4
South	4	21	1.7
TOTAL	35	1252	100

Table. 3.2: Burial orientations in EBA Anatolia, based on Uhri 2006, Table 7.

southeast (Table 3.2). This orientation occurs regardless of the burial types within the cemeteries (pithos, cist, or simple inhumation) or the interment type.⁴⁰ The east-west orientation has often been explained with the idea that burials were oriented towards the sunrise and sundown (see Wheeler 1974, Seeher 2000, Uhri 2010), which seems plausible considering that the orientation of some burials within a cemetery can show variability between southeast, northeast, and east. This variability allows us to see the seasonal changes of the sun (Rahtz 1978). As Seeher notes, the sun in Anatolia does not directly rise from the east at the summer solstice (2000: 24). Interestingly, the openings of tholos tombs also mostly face to the east (Branigan 1998: 19). Both in Anatolian cemeteries and in Minoan tholoi, there are no clear landscape features to dictate this E-W directionality, which means that there was a common cultural tradition practiced in different regions, regardless of where the cemeteries or burials were located. Orientation towards the sun could explain this commonality. Other features of the landscape that are less obvious today, or less obvious or visible to us (a tree or a rock for example) could have been used as the reason for the orientation. Orientation to a landscape feature then, cannot be eliminated completely as a determining factor in orienting the bodies or burials.

One interesting phenomenon that can be observed at EBA Karataş is that in areas where there is overlapping habitation and mortuary activity, the houses and the burials are oriented towards the same direction. As seen on Fig. 3.10, the overlapping

⁴⁰ At Ilica the spout of the beak spouted urns are tuned towards east (Orthmann 1967: 36), just like the the heads of the simple inhumations.



Fig. 3.10: Karataş Trench 35/37 houses Periods III-IV (Warner 1994: Plate 22).

houses and burials have their entrances and openings towards east/southeast. If this orientation was towards the south, we could assume that this was to take advantage of the sun and warmth, or if it was towards the north it was to keep the house cooler. Perhaps the east had a non-practical but symbolic advantage: it might be a coincidence that on the east of the settlement there is a prominent peak visible in the series of mountains in the Elmalı Plain, called Kızlar Sivrisi (Fig. 3.11), since orientations toward prominent natural features are not attested in other sites. In any case it is important to note that direction and orientation could be due to a combination of practical, visual, and symbolic reasons. Interestingly, the parallel alignment between the houses and



Fig. 3.11: View from Karataş (Trench 35/37) to Kızlar Sivrısı (highest point in the area) and other mountains flanking east edge of Elmalı Plain (Warner 1994: Frontspiece).

intramural burials can also be attested at Ilıpınar during the Neolithic, when burials inside houses of the earliest settlement phase (Phase IX) follow the alignment of the houses. The houses are not all oriented towards the same direction, which can also be observed with the variety of orientations in the intramural burials. In Neolithic Çatalhöyük the heads of intramural burials were mostly (65%) pointing towards the west and south (Boz and Hager 2013: 421). Boz and Hager argue that given that 79% of the bodies are placed in the northern and eastern locations in the buildings, bodies were parallel to the center space of the rooms or with their heads pointing towards it, with the feet facing to the wall (*ibid.*). This may indicate that the orientation of burials could be in direct relation to specific architectural features.

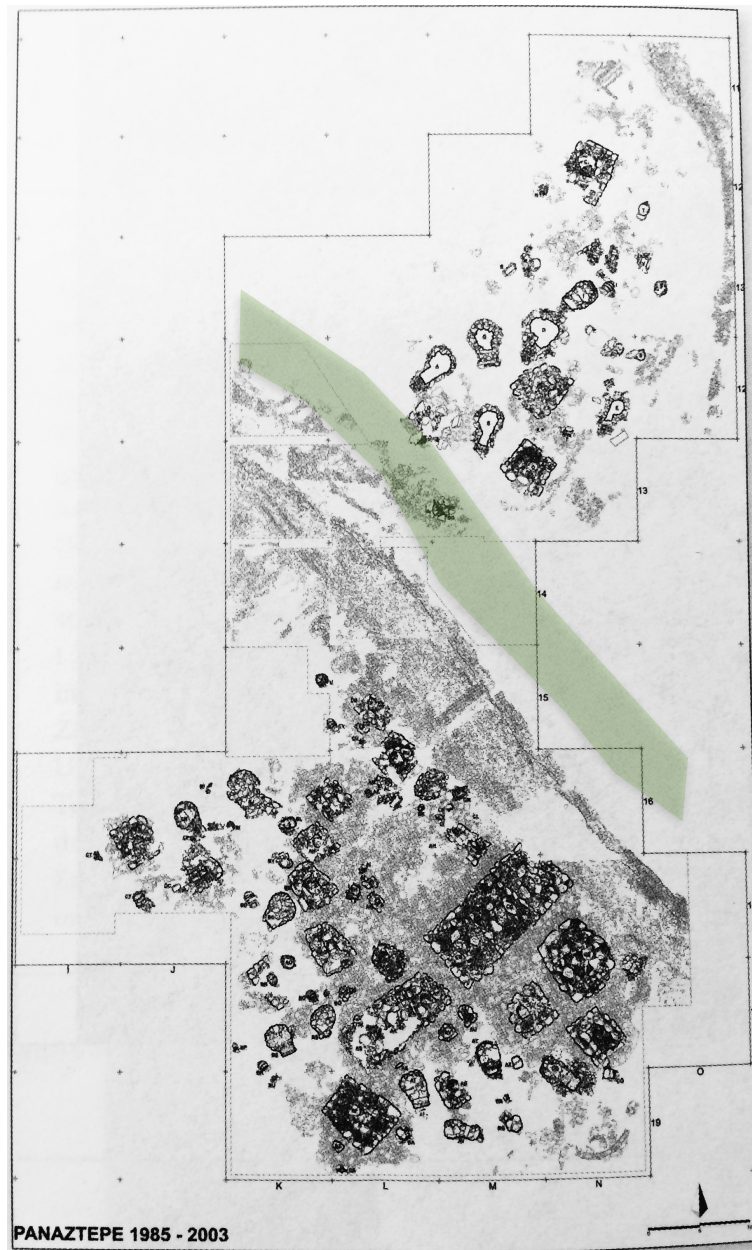


Fig. 3.12: Panaztepe plan of the LBA western cemetery area with the wall marked in green (Erkanal and Öktü 2008: 72, Fig. 4).

At the second millennium cemetery of Panaztepe, where the cemetery is divided with a NW-SE aligned wall (Erkanal-Öktü 2008), all the burials located on the northeast of the wall have openings toward southwest, whereas the ones located on the southwest of the wall face southeast (Fig. 3.12). This separation of the cemetery space, and the opposition of the burial orientations seems unique to Panaztepe. The variation

in the orientation of the same burial type (tholoi can be found oriented towards north, northeast, and southeast) indicates that there was no specific orientation assigned to a specific burial type.

It is a well-known practice that Islamic burials are oriented towards the qibla⁴¹ and that Christian burials are buried with their heads to the west. As Rahtz has complained in his paper on grave orientations, such generalizations can create fallacies: "any grave with its head to the west, in the Roman period or later is that of a Christian; and that conversely all other orientations (including of course prehistoric burials) were non-Christian" (1978: 1). At Ilipinar for instance, both the Byzantine period burials and the Late Chalcolithic burials are oriented mostly with their heads to the west and feet to the east (see Roodenberg 2008a: 322-323). More strikingly, in trenches where there are slight variations for the prehistoric orientation (southwest-northeast, instead of east-west), the Byzantine period burials follow these variations. If the EBA cemetery of Ilipinar had the same orientation, we could suggest that there was a continuation of a tradition in orientation that lasted millennia. However, the fact that the EBA burials at Ilipinar are oriented mostly with their heads to the south shows a shift in the orientation, again perhaps due to the shift in the cemetery location. The complete animal burials found at Ilipinar's Late Chalcolithic cemetery are oriented with their heads to the east and feet to the west, whereas the human burials are interred in the opposite direction (Roodenberg 2008a: Fig. 14-18). The opposition of the animal and human body orientations shows us that orientation was more than a random decision.

⁴¹ the direction that one should face when praying. Direction of the Kaaba in Mecca.

A distinction can be made between the orientations of the burial containers and the bodies placed in these containers. In many of the Anatolian cemeteries, the body is placed in the pithos vessels with the feet towards the bottom and head towards the opening. However, at the EBA cemetery of Kusura, the opening of the burial jars is towards east, whereas the head of the bodies are oriented towards the west (Lamb 1937). This shows us that either there were local variations in this practice, or the placement of the body and its orientation did not matter as much as the burial jar orientation.

There are no clear patterns for the orientation of the cemeteries either in relation to the settlement or to a landscape feature. However, the exceptional cases such as Ilıpınar and Karataş show us that we cannot completely eliminate the role of orientation to natural or man-made features in the selection of the cemetery location or orientation. Moreover, the intentional orientation of the heads and burial jars in an eastward direction is suggestive of a cultural tradition (or a cultural taboo?) that goes beyond one region.

3.2.1.c. Visibility

Another factor we need to address is the visibility of these mortuary spaces in the larger landscape. Generally what comes to mind when talking about mortuary landscapes are monumental burial forms that are visible interventions into the landscape, such as dolmens, tumuli, or tholos tombs. The Early Bronze Age cemeteries in Anatolia are not monumental in the same way: there is no monumental architecture

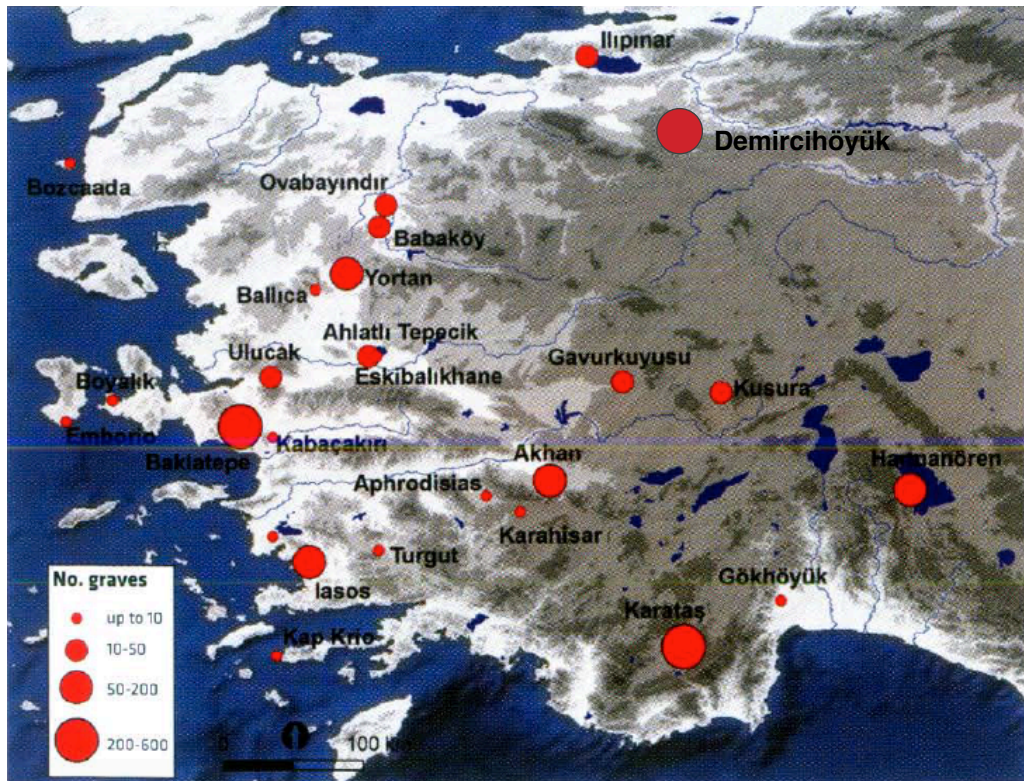


Fig. 3.13: EBA cemeteries and the number of graves
(Massa and Şahoğlu 2011: 164, Demircihöyük added by the author).

associated with the burials,⁴² but cemeteries can contain up to 500 burials, which can take up large areas (Fig. 3.13). Although lacking monumental architecture, they would still be recognizable in the landscape, especially if they had surface markers or if they were placed in higher elevations.

In southern Levant, dolmens appear at the same time as the emergence of earliest urban settlements in this region in the EBA (c. 3700-3000 BCE) (Fraser 2015), as it has also been suggested for Anatolia. Because of this reason, and because dolmens are also not monumental in their size, they provide a good comparison to Anatolian cemeteries. Even though it had been argued that Jordanian dolmens served as highly

⁴² in the EBA and MBA. In the LBA we see tholoi at Panaztepe (Erkanal-Öktü 2008).

visible territorial markers (Phillip 2003), recent GIS studies on dolmens have shown that dolmens were not used to mark territory, but were instead built in locations that maximized the inter-visibility between sites throughout the wadi system (Fraser 2016). Dolmens are usually located on the slopes and ridges overlooking steep wadis where little cultivation is possible (Prag 1995). Similarly, the Minoan tholoi are located on mid-slopes or low ground (Branigan 1998) indicating that the visibility of the tombs was not always prioritized. Sometimes the settlements would be located on higher ground and overlook the tholos tombs and vice versa, but in some other cases the tombs and the settlements would be at the same elevation (*ibid.*: 15). Both the dolmens and the tholoi therefore, do not seem to be located in a position that seeks prominence in the landscape.

The EBA cemetery of Demircihöyük is also located on the slope of a hill overlooking the settlement mound, which sits on a natural hill (Korfmann 1978). At Panaztepe the cemeteries are located on the foothills of the Panaztepe and Dikentaş, where the tholos tombs make use of these slopes by structurally leaning on the hills (Erkanal-Öktü 2008: 73). The settlement mounds are also focal points in the landscape (Wilkinson 2003, Bachhuber 2015), therefore it is difficult to determine whether the settlements or the cemeteries (or dolmens/tholoi) were more prominent than the settlements in the perception of the place. What became apparent during my site visits is that in addition to the cemetery and settlement, the fields and orchards were also very dominant in the landscape. Cultivated landscapes are easier to recognize visually,



**Fig. 3.14: Karataş EBA cemetery in Trench 98
(Mellink 1969: Plate 71, Fig.1).**

which could have made them more useful in distinguishing the natural and anthropogenic surroundings of the settlement.

We do not know the extent of the cultivated land around these sites. However, considering that even today the areas where the sites are located are surrounded by fields and orchards suggests that the immediate landscape of the settlements would be dominated by agricultural activities. Anatolian extramural cemeteries are usually located

on flat areas, therefore they would not be visible from greater distances. Nevertheless, they would be a visual and spatial break in the agricultural and cultivated surrounding of the settlement (Fig. 3.14). An inhabitant of that settlement, or an outsider would know when he or she is crossing someone's field or un-farmed land; the same could be said for the cemeteries.

The view shed analysis of Demircihöyük cemetery shows that the cemetery is visible from the settlement mound, mostly because it is located on a natural hill (Fig. 3.15). The same analysis demonstrated that at Gordion's cemetery for example, which is not located on a natural hill, is also visible from the settlement mound (Fig. 3.16). On the other hand, when a point was taken from the rocky ridge 1-1.5 kilometers away from the cemetery, the cemetery was not really visible (Fig. 3.17). This shows us that Anatolian cemeteries were visible from their settlements, but they were not necessarily

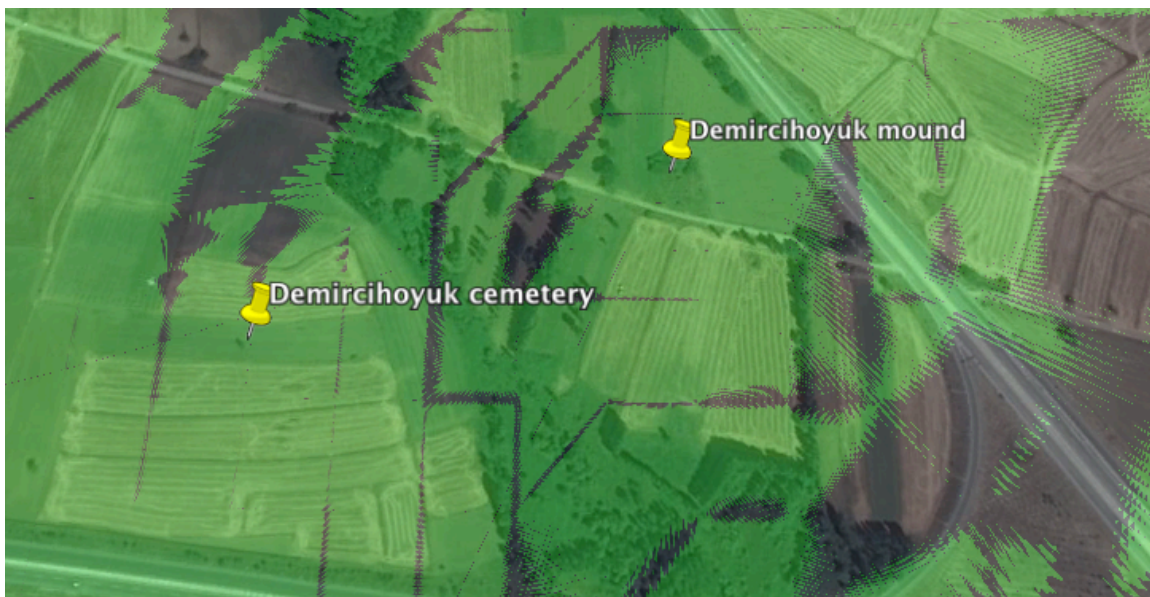


Fig. 3.15: The view shed analysis of the Demircihöyük mound in Google Maps Pro. The cemetery and the surrounding fields and orchards are clearly visible from the settlement (green indicates visibility).

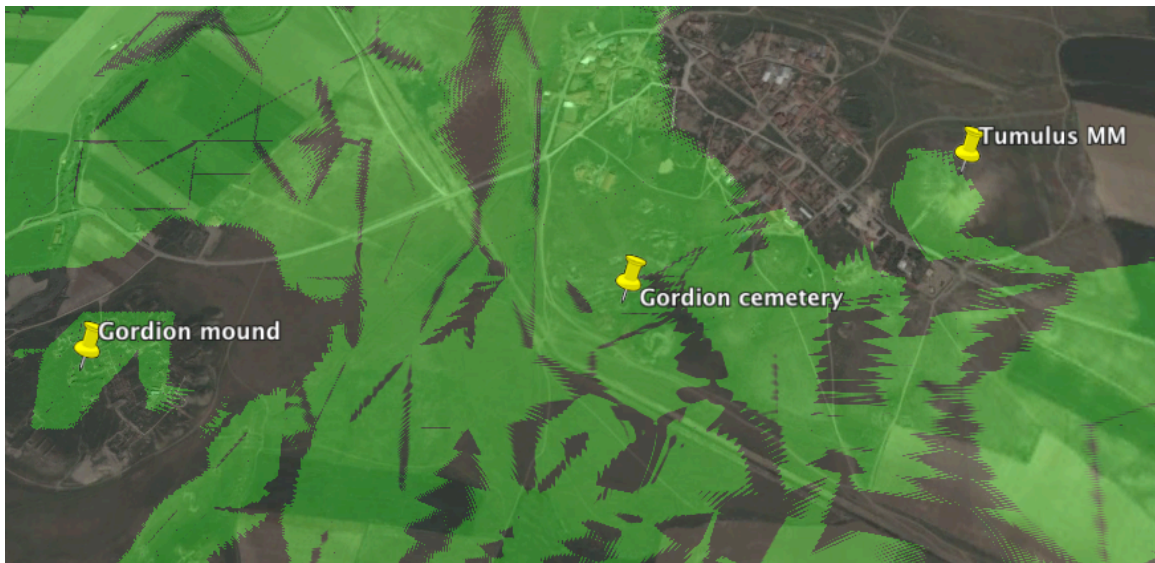


Fig. 3.16: The view shed analysis of the Gordion mound in Google Maps Pro. The cemetery (and part of the Iron Age tumulus [Tumulus MM]) are visible.

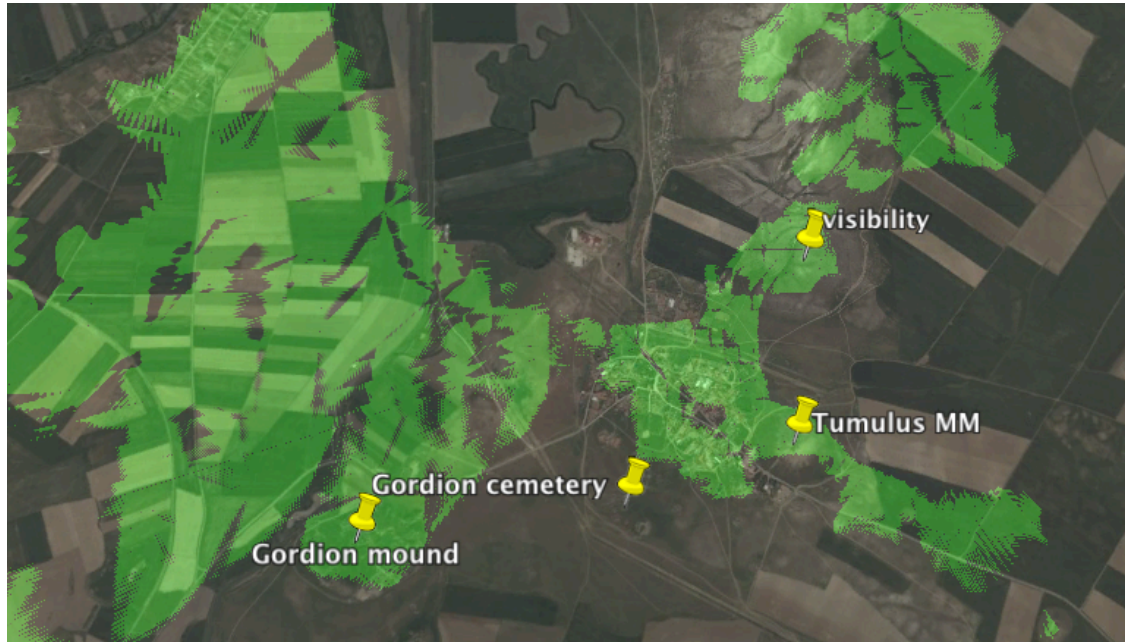


Fig. 3.17: The view shed analysis of the point on the natural ridge approximately 1.5 km away from the cemetery. The cemetery is not visible.



**Fig. 3.18: The Koz mountain Valley and Yanarlar cemetery
(Emre 1978: Plate III-I, colored additions and texts by author).**

placed in the most visible areas in the landscape.

Despite the lack of explicit visibility, Anatolian cemeteries were nevertheless marked, often with outstanding features in the landscape. The second millennium Yanarlar cemetery in central Anatolia, for example, lies across a ridge from the foothills of the Koz mountain. The western slopes and foothills of the Koz mountain consist of geological shaft formations that are similar to the more well-known examples from the Cappadocian region. The cemetery faces these shafts on its southernmost border, where a deep valley formed by the Akdere stream forms a ridge that separates the foothills from the shaft formations (Fig. 3.18).⁴³ Similar to Yortan's rocky outcrop platform, the shaft formations of Yanarlar made the location of the cemetery more recognizable from a distance. The settlement of Yanarlar cemetery has not yet been

⁴³ The cemetery occupies 6 hectares of land and is surrounded by deep flood beds. The land is not very suitable for agriculture, nevertheless today the area is used for crop cultivation and orchards (Emre 1978), which means it could have been used for the same purpose in the past.

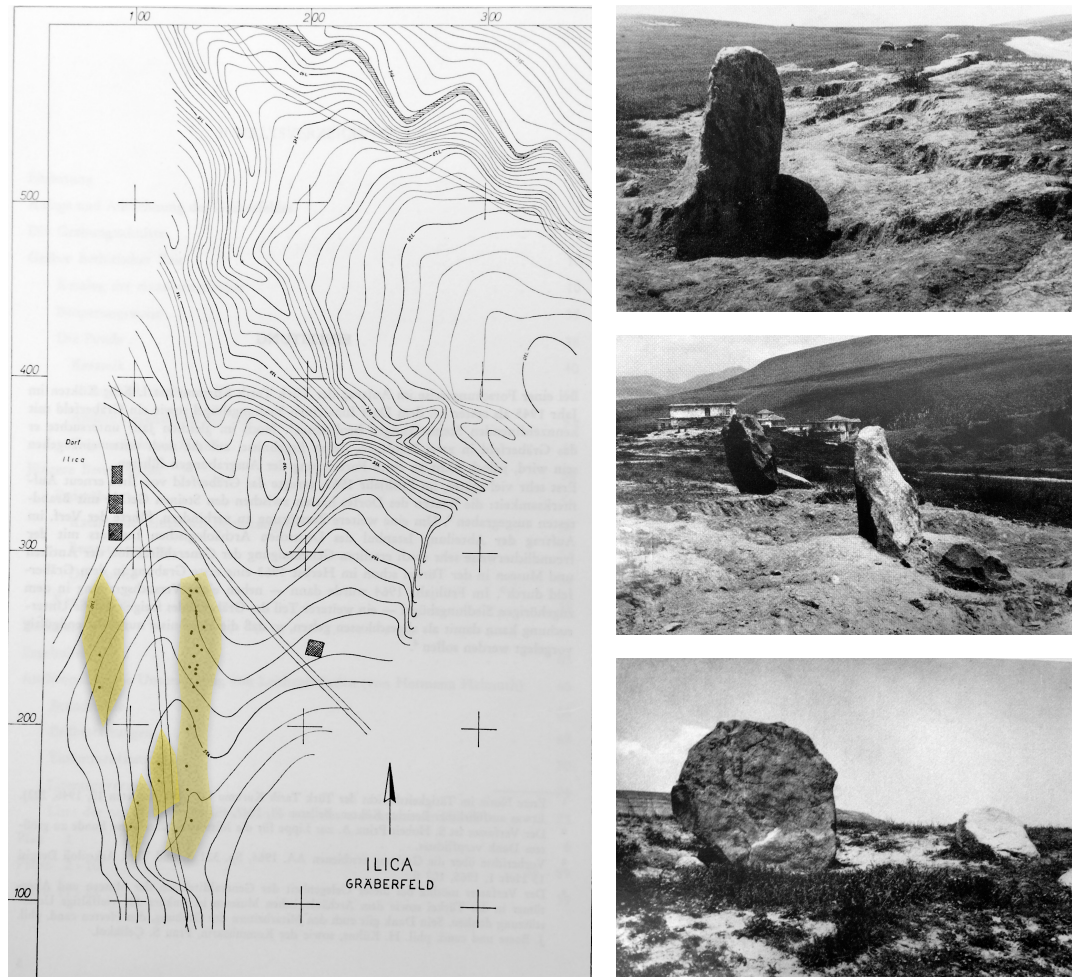


Fig. 3.19: Ilica standing stones (Orthmann 1967: Tafel 8, b,c,d) and their location (Orthmann 1967, Plan 1, [squares indicate excavated trenches] colored addition by the author).

discovered. It is possible in these cases the settlement was not located in the immediate vicinity of the cemetery, and that the landscape features served as a landmark or a mnemonic device for the location of the cemetery.

The cemetery of Ilica was established in the EBA and continued to be used in the second millennium and in the Late Hellenistic and Roman periods (Orthmann 1967). The mortuary landscape in this case was marked not with natural landscape features, but also with man-made markers: large standing stones. These stones are in a north-

south alignment (Fig. 3.19) and vary in size. The villagers reported that once there were many more of these stones in the area, which were in time reused as building materials (Orthmann 1967: 7). The settlement of Ilica is 800 meters away from the cemetery area, which is perhaps why it needed clear markings.⁴⁴ We do not know to which phase these stones belong, but they clearly mark the mortuary space in the surrounding area.

Surface markers, similar to the standing stones, were used to increase the visibility of individual burials. At Karataş, burials were marked by stone circles on the surface or were covered with piles of stones (Fig. 3.20). At Baklatepe's EBI cemetery standing pithos vessels filled with stones were placed by cist burials, which were interpreted as a form of burial markers (Şahoğlu 2008: 486). Even the simple inhumations were surrounded by rows of stones (*ibid.*). Moreover, at Baklatepe's EBII

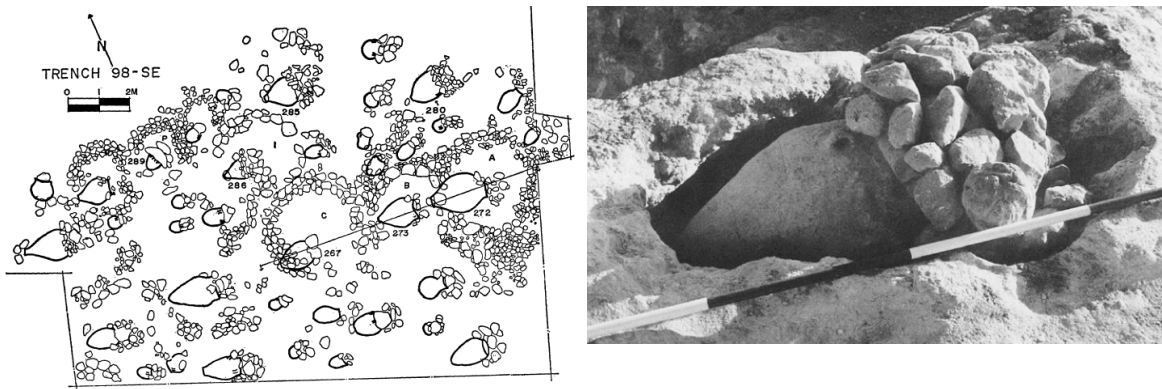


Fig. 3.20: Surface markers in Karataş Trench 98 (Mellink 1969: Illustration 1) and Tomb 86 closed with stone pile from Karataş (Mellink 1965: Plate 59, Fig. 3).

⁴⁴ It is possible that the greater the distance was, the more there was a need for marking the cemetery in the landscape. This distance is perhaps why the settlements of Yanarlar for instance has not been located. The flatness of cemeteries contributes to the difficulty of detecting cemeteries that are further away from the settlement. If the cemeteries are further away from the settlement and not marked with markers that survived until today, it would be impossible to locate them, which is perhaps the case with Troy's or Külloba's cemeteries.

cemetery, the mouths of the pithoi were closed with stones and some stones were placed at the sides of the pithoi. Together with evidence for multiple burials in the pithoi (see also Chapter 5), the excavator suggested that the graves were at least partly visible on the surface, or that the capstones also functioned as grave markers (Şahoğlu 2008: 491). At Resuloğlu, only pithos burials were marked with stones surrounding the surface (Yıldırım and İpek 2010: 25). In other third and second millennium cemeteries in Anatolia stone circles and surface markers are rarely attested. However, this does not necessarily mean that these cemeteries did not have surface markers: at third millennium Demircihöyük, burials were marked with heaps of earth instead of stone circles, which is perhaps why there are only a few over-lappings of burials in the cemetery. This suggest that surface markers might have been used in other cemeteries but might have disappeared due to agricultural activities and other formational processes. The marking should have been visible for a long time, since as can be observed at Ilipinar, the Byzantine burials never overlaid the Late Chalcolithic burials despite the time difference of almost 5 millennia (Fig. 3.21).

Similar examples of surface markers are known from other contemporary sites in the Aegean: one example is the EH II Cemetery R at Steno on Lefkas in Greece (Müller Celka 2012). At Cemetery R the surface markers of the burials consisted of circles arranged in rows of joining or slightly intersecting circles (*ibid.*). They contained several primary inhumations and secondary burials, in pithoi, cist tombs and built chambers (Müller Celka 2012: 418). There seems to have been no restriction on what type of burial types received surface markers. This is also the case for the Anatolian cemeteries.

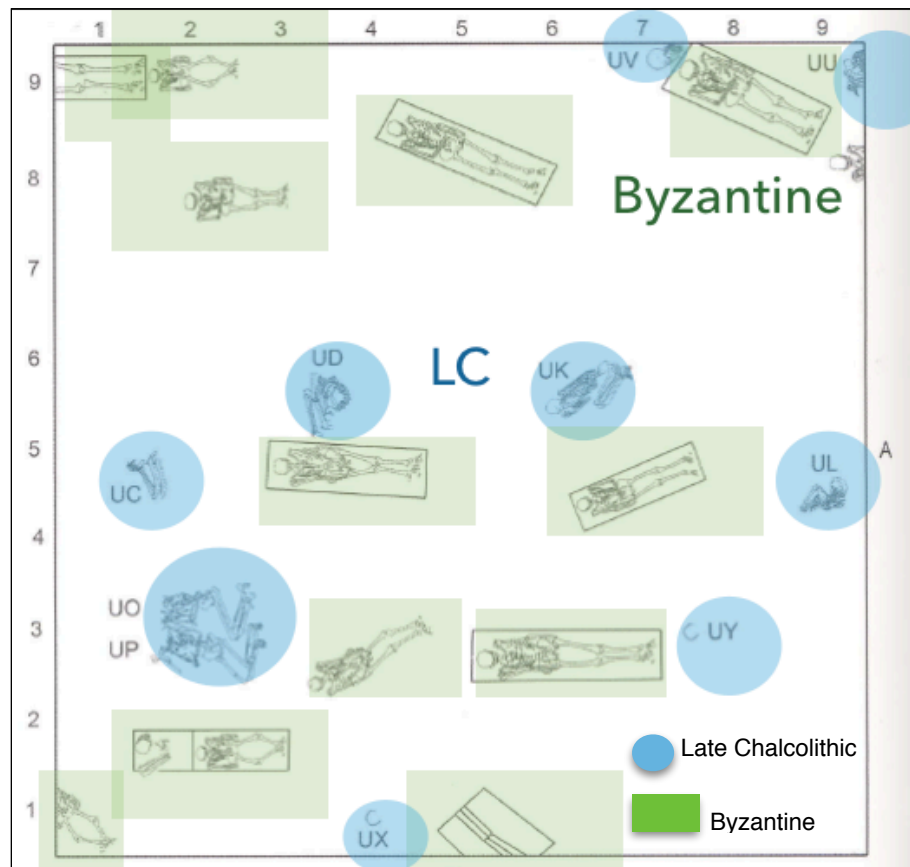


Fig. 3.21: Ilıpınar Late Chalcolithic and Byzantine burials (plan by Roodenberg 2008a: 322, Fig.1, colored additions by the author).

At Karataş both the stone-lined tomb and the pithoi had stone circles as surface markers (Mellink 1969).

All these examples raise an important question: Why was there a need to mark cemeteries in the landscape? Monumentality and visibility of mortuary structures or cemeteries is often associated with property claims and ownership. As discussed above, a number of archaeologists, most notably Arthur Saxe, have proposed that the appearance of extramural cemeteries is linked to claiming rights to access critical resources by using connections to ancestors (Saxe 1970). This argument became so widely accepted that it started to become the standard explanation, especially for the

emergence of monumental burial forms. Murphy, for instance, stated that the second millennium Minoan tholos tombs marked resources and legitimized the community's right to these resources (1998: 27). There is however no clear evidence in third and second millennium Anatolia that the marking of the cemeteries with landscape features, standing stones, stone circles, or earth piles was to secure claims over resources.

Monumentality and visibility are important elements that influence the way people recognize places and navigate through the landscape. In the case of Iberian prehistoric megalithic monuments, Murrieta-Flores argues that megalithic monuments were not only an important element structuring prehistoric landscapes, but also that they tend to sustain spatial relationships with historical pathways, especially in pastoral routes (2014: 99). I suggest that cemeteries in Anatolia, especially the ones that were marked in the landscape with the standing stones and with the specific location on rocky outcrops served as mnemonic landmarks, maybe even in some cases were connected to navigation. For instance, Osmankayası is located half-way between Büyükkale, one of the oldest parts of Hattuša, and Yazılıkaya (Bittel *et al.* 1958). It has been argued that the routes to Büyükkale from Hattuša were steep and uncomfortable, making it is easier going upstairs by avoiding the gorge (Blasweiler 2014). This route might be especially important because of the rocky scenery and the stream, which are important elements of the Hittite landscape and cults (Harmanşah 2015). This difficult route that led to the north side of the city, where Osmankayası is located, was probably a cult route. It is possible that the same route led people from the city of Hattuša to the cemetery area. Another example for cemeteries used as place markers is Ilıpınar. In the

EBA, the settlement of Ilipınar moved to a nearby mound (Hacılar-tepe), and the older LC settlement area became the EBA cemetery (Roodenberg 2008b). In this case, the cemetery was formed in an older place, either as a result of ancestral ideas, or as a result of the connection people had to this place. These examples, however, do not explain why the burials in Karataş needed to be marked on the surface, since the settlement and cemetery areas kept shifting. In Karataş's case, it is likely that the surface markers were intended to mark the individual burials to avoid overlap, rather than marking where the cemetery is. Markers in mortuary context then, seem to have served two main functions:

- 1) to mark the mortuary space in the landscape
- 2) to mark the location of individual burials within the cemetery

In either case these markings distinguished the cemetery in the landscape from its surroundings, and provided a mnemonic device. As we have seen, according to Bachhuber extramural cemeteries are part of what formed the identity of people and their relationships with past communities and landscapes (2015: 94, see above). Cemeteries were perhaps not as dominant in the landscape as the habitation mounds or the fields around the settlements in marking claims to resources. Nevertheless, they were useful landmarks by functioning as important connection points between people and landscape, people, and their past. It is perhaps this connection that caused the long-term uses of cemeteries.

3.2.2 Temporal and Social Context: Memory and Reuse

The location of Anatolian cemeteries and their relationship with other landscape features and with the settlement must have played an important role in the ways people moved in the landscape and practiced rituals in these cemeteries. Cemeteries are an important link between the landscape, memories, and people. They provide a place where the living can interact and connect with their own past. Recent archaeological and anthropological literature has shown us that the interest in the past is not a phenomenon that is peculiar to modern societies; people in the past perceived and manipulated the past in order to use it for various purposes (e.g. Yoffee 2007, Van Dyke and Alcock 2003). The spatial evaluation of the Anatolian cemeteries and the burial forms of the neighboring regions shows evidence for the reuse of the places due to spatial, geographical, or historical properties. The practice of reusing mortuary spaces, or places in the landscape from the (known or unknown) past might indicate mythical, historical, or cultural connections to that landscape or place.⁴⁵

I suggest that with the separation between habitation areas and mortuary spaces, and with the marking of burials in the landscape, cemeteries became not only important communal places for the living, but also landmarks for commemorating local or regional histories. One of the best examples for the commemoration of the past comes from Alacahöyük. EBA Alacahöyük, despite the small number of burials,

⁴⁵ Such connections between a historical/mythical past and the burial places can be attested at the Iron Age tumuli at Sardis, which are not only connected to the Bronze Age past but also to the symbolic meanings of the Gyean Lake (Luke and Roosevelt 2016).

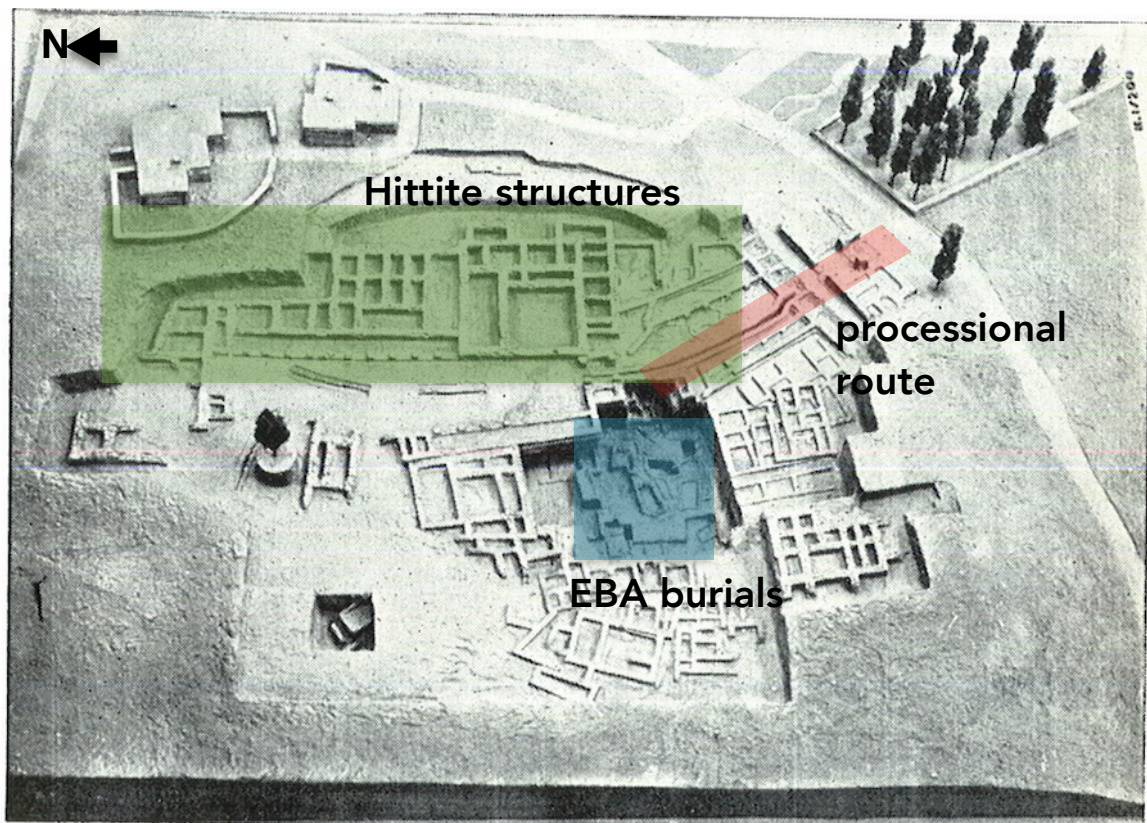


Fig. 3.22: Alacahöyük general plan
(Koşay 1954, colored additions by the author).

exemplifies how the location of the burials in the landscape created a ceremonial place. The burials at Alacahöyük were located on the south-facing crest of the settlement mound within a horseshoe-shaped bend. This enclosed the cemetery into a kind of elevated stage, or into a “natural theatre” (Özyar 1999b: 82). It has been suggested that the mortuary ceremonies could be held above an audience to the south, from the direction of a possible processional route (Fig. 3.22). It is striking that the same route was revisited and monumentalized in the Hittite town and cult center of Alacahöyük, with the construction of the Sphinx Gate that provided passage into the town along the same slope (Özyar 1999b: 80).

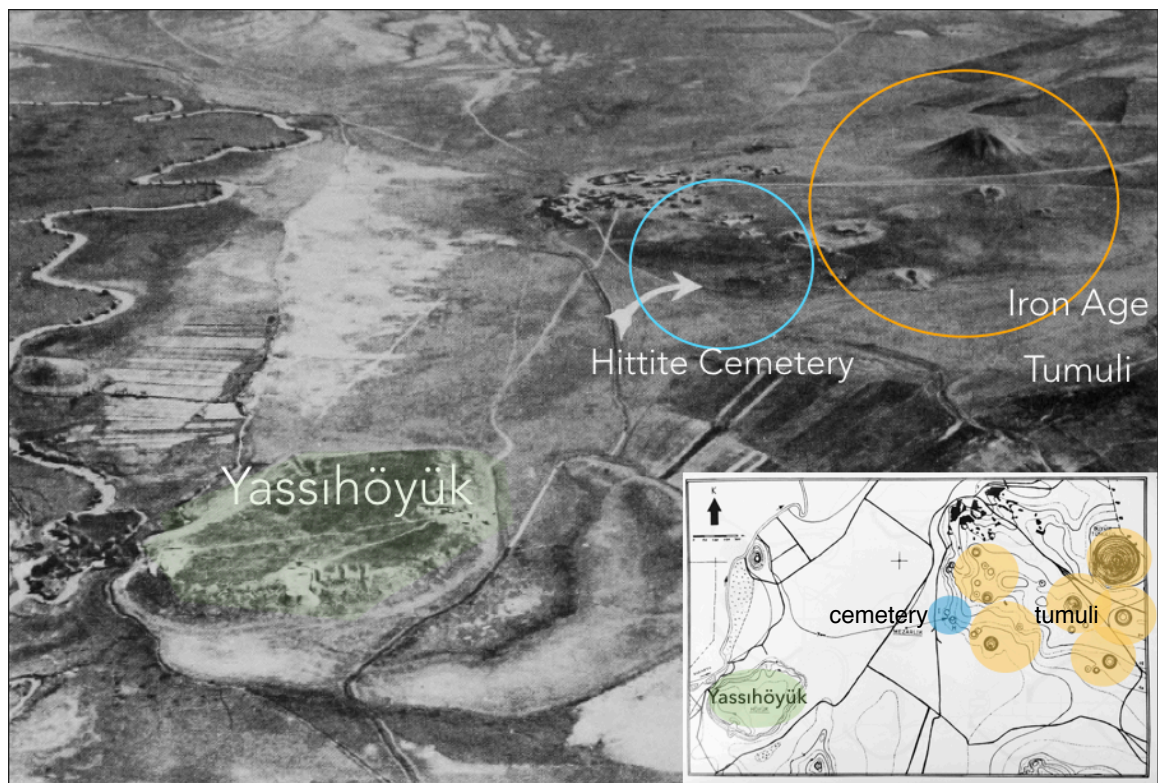


Fig. 3.23: Yassihöyük/Gordion (Mellink 1956) and the location of burials (Mellink 1956: Plates 1&2, colored additions by the author).

We can observe a similar continuation of the importance of mortuary places at Gordion. The second millennium cemetery of Gordion is located to the northeast of the large settlement mound. This area continued to be used as a mortuary space in the Iron Age with the Phrygian tumulus burials. In fact the second millennium cemetery is overlaid with one of those tumuli (Fig. 3.23). Another interesting spatial element of Gordion's mortuary landscape is that many of the tumuli, including the largest of these (tumulus MM) and the second millennium cemetery, are all located between two mounds on either side of the mortuary space (Fig. 3.24). The cemetery and the tumuli stand at the midpoint, flanked by natural landmarks. The rest of the area is flat, and



Fig. 3.24: The mound ridges at Gordion marked with yellow, flanking the mortuary area (map by author [base map: Google Earth]).

mountain ridges are the only landscape features that stand out in the immediate visual proximity of the settlement.

Another example of the reuse of mortuary space is Demircihöyük, where the third millennium EBA cemetery was overlaid with MBA burials, which in turn were overlaid with 4th century BC burials (Fig. 3.25). More interestingly, the cemetery was used for Hellenistic tumuli even though there is no Hellenistic occupation found in the proximity of the older settlement or the cemetery. This means that the Hellenistic

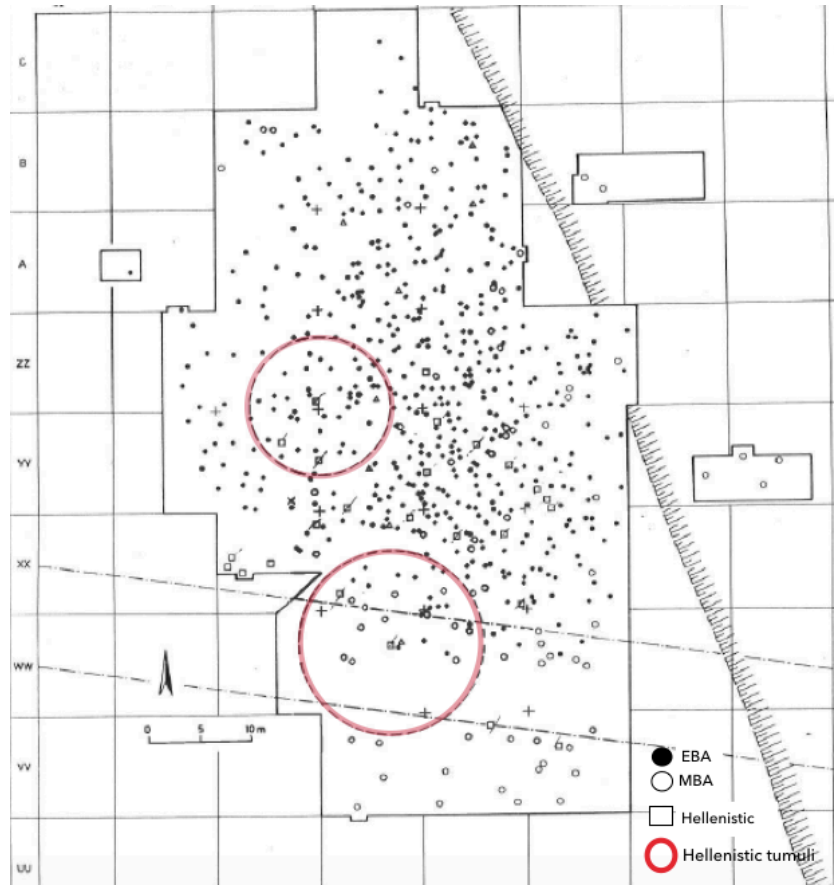


Fig. 3.25: Demircihöyük's cemetery with burials of different periods (Seeher 2000:4, Abb. 2).

settlement was not in the immediate proximity of the cemetery, and/or the Hellenistic community continued to use an old mortuary landscape as a symbolic or political statement.

The reuse of the places is not limited to old cemeteries; old settlement mounds are also preferred for later period burials. At Iasos, Geometric burials were found dug into the Bronze Age levels, and as a result prehistoric pottery and obsidian were found right under the Geometric burials (Momigliano 2012: 9). Also at Baklatepe, Roman, Byzantine, and 13th century BC (chamber tomb and a pithos) burials were found on the EBA occupation mound (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012). Moreover, Baklatepe was

abandoned after EBI, and the settlement moved to a nearby mound at Lemberatepe (Şahoğlu 2008). However, a cemetery dated to EBII was found on the skirts of the Baklatepe settlement mound (see Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012, Şahoğlu 2008). This means that the EBII people did not re-settle in the old settlement, but nevertheless it was the preferred location for their burials.

Dated to the end of EBII, a thin layer of occupation with remains of stone foundations was found in the eastern end of the Late Chalcolithic mound of Baklatepe (Şahoğlu 2008: 490). What is interesting about this deposit is that it includes dark burnished, typical EBII wares, and wheel-made gray wares and trefoil jars which are characteristic of the early MBA (*ibid.*). Since there are no other occupation traces dated to EBII, this deposit is evidence for repetitive visits to the older settlement mound in the EBII and MBA periods. The long-term use of this deposit shows us that old places persist in the memories surrounding certain rituals or practices.

Iasos exemplifies a more complicated picture of reuse of older places, and raises the important point that not all re-uses can be connected to the memory of the place. At Iasos there are examples of later burials on top of the EBA cemetery,⁴⁶ later burials on the Bronze Age settlement, and later buildings placed on earlier burials (Fig. 3.26). In this case, the reuse might be due to the strategic location of the peninsula, which resulted in the settlement expansion and long occupation of the same areas. During the Roman period, villas were constructed on top of the EBA cemetery (Momogliano 2012, Pecorella 1984), changing this place's function completely.

⁴⁶ which is located outside the main peninsula.

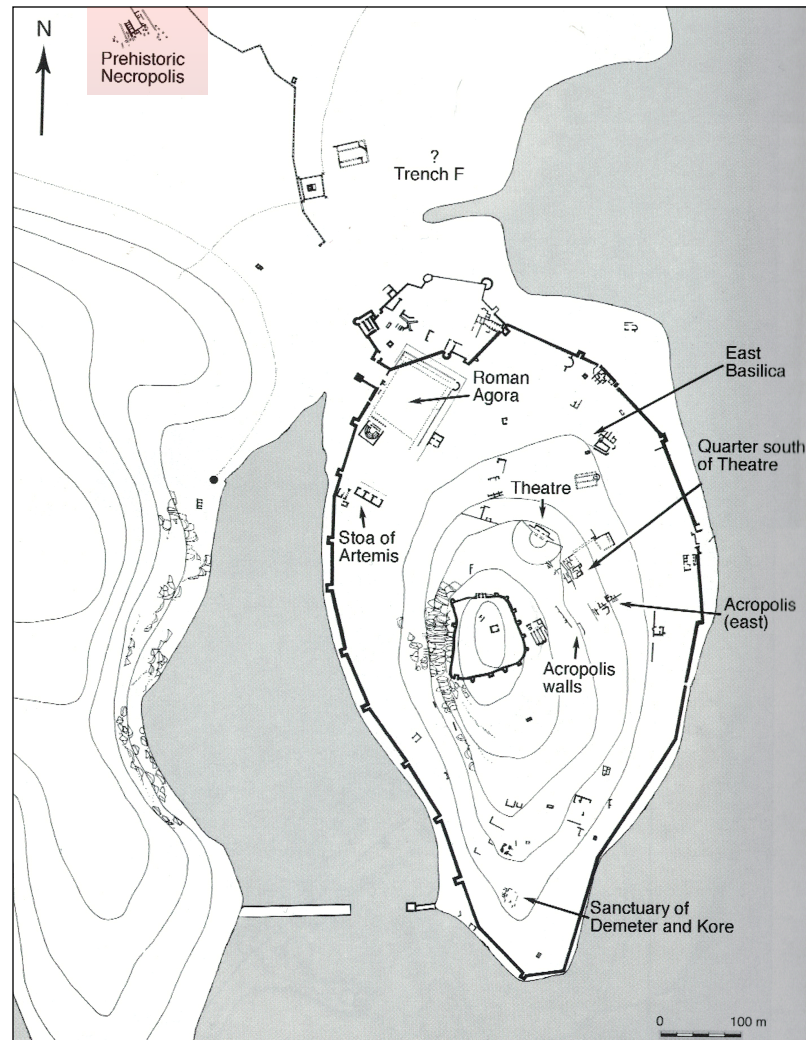


Fig. 3.26: Iasos' prehistoric cemetery marked on the mainland (Momigliano 2012: Fig. 6).

To contrast the memory and reuse of places, we can look at the EBA phases of Demircihöyük and Karataş. The analysis of the house sizes at Demircihöyük suggested that there would be around 130 people living at the site (Korfmann 1983). The contemporary cemetery yielded around 500 burials, which means that the cemetery continued to be used over several generations. As we have seen, even after the EBA, and after the settlement was abandoned after the MBA, the cemetery space continued to be used. At Karataş, however, both the habitation and cemetery areas shift over the

course of the settlement history, which could mean that there was no long-term attachment to older mortuary spaces. The fact that the habitation is overlaid with burials, and then again with habitation is an indication that, unlike at Demircihöyük continuity was not the main concern of the inhabitants of Karataş. Also the central complex at Karataş was in use for 300 years and was not rebuilt after its abandonment at the end of EBI (Warner 1994), which indicates that the power was perhaps shifting between different groups or families. This could be one of the main reason why Demircihöyük with its continuous use of the cemetery as well as the continuity of the settlement plan kept being settled even after the EBA. Karataş on the other hand, was not re-settled in the following periods after its abandonment by the end of the EBIII.

As Galanakis has suggested for the tholoi and tumuli in Messenia, mnemonic landscapes “can unite but can also divide by demarcating spatial relationships and renegotiating the ways in which the surrounding environment is approached, envisaged and used” (2011: 222). The continuous use of mortuary spaces then could be a result of uniting histories by reusing and commemorating, or dividing histories by reusing and forgetting the initial meaning. It can be argued that the re-occupation and reuse of earlier sites/cemeteries could imply the lack of memories about that place, since the remembering and forgetting of the place might result in the same archaeological traces. However, the choices of the locations of these sites show that remnants of memories of the EBA places continued, either as a place that had a special symbolic importance or a marked prominence in the landscape. As seen in Table 3.3, many Bronze Age cemeteries are reused in later periods, or were placed on earlier mortuary places: in the

burial on burial	periods	burial on settlement	periods	buildings on burial	periods
Horoztepe	Islamic burials on EBA cemetery	İasos	Geometric, burials on BA settlement	İasos	Roman stoa on EBA burials
Demircihöyük	MBA and Hellenistic burials on EBA cemetery	İlıpınar	later Neolithic burials on earlier Neolithic settlement	İasos	Roman villas on EBA cemetery
Babaköy	Late Roman/ Early Byzantine burials on EBA cemetery	Karataş	MBA burials on EBA settlement	Alacahöyük	Hittite cult center on EBA burials
Ulucak	MBA burials on EBA burials	Karataş	EBA burials on earlier abandoned EBA structures	Karataş	EBA structures on earlier EBA burials
İlıpınar	Byzantine burials on Late Chalcolithic burials	Baklatepe	EBI burials on Late Chalcolithic settlement	Troy	Hellenistic and Roman walls on the LBA cemetery
İasos	Geometric and Hellenistic burials on EBA cemetery	Baklatepe	EBII burials in vicinity of abandoned EBI mounds		
İlıca	MBA and Late Hellenistic/ Roman burials on EBA burials	Baklatepe	LBA burial on the EBA mound		
Gordion	Phrygian tumuli on second/third millennium cemetery	Baklatepe	LBA burial inside Roman settlement		
Panaztepe	Roman and Ottoman cemetery on the second millennium "western cemetery area"	Resuloğlu	Later EBA cemetery on earlier EBA settlement		

Table 3.3: Reuse of mortuary/settlement space.

case of Horoztepe, the EBA cemetery was covered with Islamic burials (Özgüç 1958). At Babaköy the EBA burials were overlaid by Late Roman/Early Byzantine burials (Bittel et al. 1939). At Ulucak there was no gap in the use of the cemetery during the EBA and MBA (Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004). At Baklatepe the LBA chamber tomb was placed on the EBA mound to make use of the elevation and prominence of the mound (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012). At Troy's LBA cremation cemetery, Early Archaic ritual activity traces were found (Chabot Aslan 2011).

Wickholm, who works on the reuse of Finnish cemeteries, argued that "By re-using a site the dead becomes a part of a shared past and the same group of ancestors" (2008: 89). I am not suggesting that the Hellenistic, Islamic, or Roman/Byzantine communities knew exactly how deep in the past the EBA cemeteries went, or that they saw a lineal or emotional connection to older burials. Nevertheless, it is clear that these later communities recognized the old mortuary space either as a place that had a long history, or an appropriate place for mortuary and ritual activities, or as a place with prominence in the landscape.⁴⁷ Even modern place names still carry faded memories of old cemeteries and burial places: the second millennium cemetery area of Yanarlar is locally known as Küpyeri ("the pithos place"). The tumulus in the Troad, where a sarcophagus depicting the death of Polyxena was found (Rose 2013), is called in Turkish Kızöldün "girl died". These examples underline the importance of mortuary

⁴⁷ The tradition of reusing older settlement mounds for burials is commonly attested with EBA mounds, but larger Neolithic mounds are also often reused as a mortuary space in later periods. The Neolithic mound of Çatalhöyük was selected for with Hellenistic burials, and the east mound of Çatalhöyük was used for Byzantine burials (Moore and Jackson 2013).

place, which represent people's connection to histories, to known or unknown pasts, and to the landscape. These connections accumulate over time and transform mortuary places into "lieux de mémoire" (Nora 1989), a place where the significance or function of that place is present in group remembrance.

3.3 Discussion

"By viewing burials in a larger landscape context, including other activities conducted in other places, it is possible to shape an idea of what kind of places that were selected for burials and also their relationship to areas that were not used for burials. The selection of locations and spatial relations of burials should be considered an expression of the norms and values that were important for the society that created the burials and organised the landscape, i.e. the burials were situated in a socially constructed and culturally meaningful landscape" (Hackwitz and Lindholm 2015: 144).

The importance of landscape in the placement of Anatolian cemeteries has become clear throughout the study of place in this chapter. I agree with the observations in this quote that to understand the importance of the cemetery place, one needs to understand the long-term perception of the landscape in which the cemeteries were located. The diachronic analysis of the landscape context of cemeteries showed that the unusual landscape elements around cemeteries such as rock outcrops, standing stones, and volcanic formations contributed to the long-term use of these specific places. Cemeteries served as social spaces, commemorative places in the landscape, and as places that were "different" from their surroundings.

Even though some similarities can be traced among cemeteries in different regions, no formulas for "choosing the perfect cemetery place" can be suggested for

Bronze Age Anatolia. One of the main reasons why almost no clear pattern emerged from the orientation or location of cemeteries is because they were responses to cultural, geographical, and social needs, which were different for each site. On the other hand, the importance of prominent natural features of the places where these cemeteries were located makes it clear that there was a need to mark the cemeteries in the landscape somehow.

The places we bury our dead matter. From the earliest intentional Neanderthal burials, to our modern day cemeteries, we often do not place dead bodies randomly. In this chapter, I tried to demonstrate how our interactions with the burial space changed, transformed, and continued from intramural burials to extramural cemeteries, and how this affected the way Bronze Age communities situated death in their surroundings. With the transformation from intramural to extramural mortuary spaces, cemeteries became not only spatially separate, but also more of an “other” place. Their placement in an open-air space away from the settlement, and their orientations connected them to the world around them: the sun, the mountains, the settlement. They expanded the ritual and symbolic horizons of the settlements.

Many of the traditions surrounding the space, and placement of burials were a result of the continuation of customs that existed since the Neolithic. As we have seen, already in the Neolithic, some intramural burials were serving as communal burials especially when they were located in public structures, or when they were multiple burials. Extramural cemeteries did not really change the public nature of the mortuary practices, they continued it.

In this aspect, the transition from intramural burials to extramural cemeteries has parallels to the transition from church graveyards to the emergence of “garden cemeteries” in 19th century Britain and in the United States. As Tarlow suggests, the moral, aesthetic, and emotional concerns were more important than hygiene issues, and at least as significant as the economic reasons in the emergence of cemeteries (2000: 228). The park-like qualities and the landscape elements of these cemeteries were of central importance. The emergence of an idea of ownership can be suggested for these garden cemeteries, however, it is more difficult to suggest a similar idea for the Anatolian cemeteries. Intramural burials, as they are connected to the house, were perhaps no less connected to ownership ideas than extramural burials. As Snodgrass also points out, even in the Mesolithic hunter-gatherers were burying their dead separately from their settlement areas (2016), which suggests that Saxe’s model that connects cemeteries to land ownership may not be applicable universally.

Cemeteries served as functional, symbolic, and emotional places in the landscape. They provided an open space that connected to the landscape, and therefore they became one of the few places outside the settlements where certain social and ritual practices could be expressed. The proximity of cemeteries to the settlements and their integration into outstanding landscape features was not purely due to convenience. The marking of mortuary places affirmed people’s connection to the land and to the history of the place. In this sense, it is possible to suggest that cemeteries were connected to the ownership histories of the place more than territorial or economic ownership.

The spatial evaluation of Anatolian cemeteries has shown us that cemeteries may not have served as boundary or territory markers, or as a direct outcome of urbanism or population pressure. In his model of megalithic tombs as territorial markers in segmentary societies, Renfrew suggests that it would be expected for such societies to have a dispersed distribution of tombs, but he also acknowledges that in some cases there was a concentration of megalithic tombs (Renfrew 1979: 221). This suggests that there is no direct correlation between the social organization of the settlement and the spatial organization of the cemeteries.

As I suggested in Chapter 1, the landscape features around Anatolian cemeteries, or the man-made markers make these cemeteries a prominent space and a visible break in the surrounding landscape of the settlements. The fact that cemeteries are often in direct spatial relation with settlements and that burials are often located in a more concentrated area, especially in the EBA, suggests that they were probably not “territorial markers” in Renfrew’s terms. On the other hand, the emphasis on their visibility, and on the prominence of the place itself raises the possibility that these were important places in the landscape, perhaps visual markers, in other words landmarks in the landscape, which were loaded with symbolic meanings that underlined their “oldness”. The use of older cemetery spaces in later periods indicates a connection to the memories surrounding these places, whether recognized as “ancestral” places, or as places with symbolic importance. In the case of Iron Age tumuli, such “ancestral” connections are associated with elite ideologies and formations of these elite identities (Luke and Roosevelt 2016). It is harder to suggest the same for Bronze Age cemeteries,

since “elite identities” are not as explicit as they are in the Iron Age, neither architecturally or mortuary-wise.

Gebauer suggests that burials that are found on older houses and other structures might validate important family relationships and notions of ownership to the land, whereas burials that are away from the settlement on a higher or more visible location were a conscious decision to keep the ancestors at a distance from the community while still keeping them within the margins of the domesticated landscape (2015). A similar distinction could be made in Anatolian cemeteries: 1) Karataş, İlasos, and Alacahöyük, where the burials were integrated into the older structures or overlapped habitation areas; and 2) Demircihöyük, Ulucak, Baklatepe, and Gordion, which had clearly separated domestic and mortuary areas. This distinction does not correspond to regions, therefore it could point to more local preferences, or responses to local social needs.

Reuse and remembering may overlap in many ways; however, the reuse of the same mortuary place does not necessarily indicate remembering. Even in the antiquity there were concerns about tombs being reused and reconstructed from the ruins of other burials and monuments. The instruction for King Merikare in Middle Kingdom Egypt warns tomb builders:

Do not destroy the monuments of another;
You should quarry stone in Tura!
Do not build your tomb-chamber from ruins,
For what is done will be what will be done. (Parkinson 1998: 222)

At Resuloğlu, excavators found a two-phase settlement close to the EBA cemetery. They reported that some of the stones that were used as covers for the burials came from architectural elements of this settlement. Reuse, therefore, could be a practical response to finding a place or materials, as it was also in Merikare's case, instead of an intentional emotional attachment to the memories or to the place. The same cemeteries that have been used for centuries, for example, are still in use today (as it is the case in New England).

On the other hand, examples such as Alacahöyük and Gordion shows us that in Bronze Age Anatolia people's connection to the landscape where their dead lie buried play an important role in the formation and continuation of their communal identities, mortuary practices, and social histories. The location of burials and cemeteries, the setting of the cemetery, its relationship with other landscape features and with the settlement play an important role in rituals and ceremonies that were practiced. These rituals were partly structured by the physical and spatial setting they employ (Barrett 1990: 182). The following chapter will focus on these ceremonies, the treatment and placement of bodies and objects (which show more evidence for reuse of burials), burial traditions, and materials.

CHAPTER 4: The Interment: Interactions with the Body

"Confront a corpse at least once. The absolute absence of life is the most disturbing and challenging confrontation you will ever have." (David Bowie)

Our reactions to death and dead bodies are shaped by our cultural values, social taboos, and religious and other ideologies. Today, in Mexico there is a cult where death is personified as a female deity (Santa Muerte) and is depicted as a skeleton (Chesnut 2012). On the other hand, in China the skeleton and bone depictions in World of Warcraft are censored and altered to have flesh on them (Lindtner *et al.* 2008). In Indonesia, the Toraja people of Sulawesi keep the corpse of their family member at home for a long time—from several months to even several years—while awaiting the later ceremony (Yamashita 1994: 72), something the late David Bowie would have found "most disturbing and challenging." The degree to which we react to and interact with the dead, with corpses, and the ways we dispose of dead bodies (whether we inter, cremate, or keep them) are directly affected by our social and cultural reactions to death and dead bodies. These different ways people deal with dead bodies has the potential to influence ideas about death and life, about body and the individual, and about the society in which these ideas are formed (Nilsson Stutz 2003). Interactions with the dead body, therefore, inform us about the reactions towards death and dead bodies within communities and cultures.

Despite the growing literature on the body in archaeological theory, Anatolian burials, especially after the Neolithic period, have not been studied in the context of "the body." Readers will notice that this chapter is the longest of all the chapters in this

dissertation, and rightly so; dead bodies are the reason why there are burials and why we study cemeteries. As Scherer rightly argues: “It is unfortunate that many books that are ostensibly about ancient graves say very little about the bodies they contain” (2015: 11). Cemeteries facilitate the transition of the deceased from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead (van Gennep 1960) and reinforce the relationship between past and present generations. Cemeteries are one of the few places where the living and dead bodies come together, which gives us a unique opportunity to question how the living interacted with dead bodies, how they perceived them, and how the dead bodies were prepared and treated before, during, and after the burial.

Especially in the context of cemeteries, bodies are omnipresent. Therefore cemeteries provide us with a variety of ways to study the body: the physical features, alterations of the skeletons, body ornaments or clothing associated with the body, the representation and perception of human body, the burial treatments of bodies of adults, of children, of males and females. In this chapter, I will not discuss the Cartesian dualism on the division between body and mind;⁴⁸ instead my aim is to make use of this variety of evidence to question the role of the dead body in mortuary rituals, as well as how Bronze Age communities of Anatolia interacted with dead bodies. To move away from “abstract” discussions about the body (Hamilakis 2002), and to connect the perception of death to the actual practices, I will analyze the burial treatments of the body, and the burial objects in relation to bodies to understand the stages of mortuary rituals that involved interactions with the actual and imagined body.

⁴⁸ For that discussion see Lloyd 1993; Knapp and Meskell 1997.

Not all mortuary rituals and activities took place during the initial interment. Understanding how bodies were interred, and what the different stages of the rituals were, has the potential to inform us about the process of the rituals and of the burial itself. Did, for instance, interactions with the dead body continue after the initial interment? If so, what do these secondary interactions tell us about Anatolian communities and their perceptions of death?

Death is material by its nature. The decaying body, the corpse, and the skeleton are all material. The burial containers where the body is placed and the burial objects that are used in the rituals during the disposal of the body are material. People interact as much with materialities as they do with each other (Fahlander and Oestigaard 2008: 4), and therefore it is important to understand the materiality of the dead body, as well as the material world in the cemeteries, and how these were connected to each other. By looking at the relationship between decomposition and burial types, the placement of the bodies and the objects will also enable me to challenge the assumption that "burial types/objects equals identity/status".

4.1 Ashes, Flesh, and Bones: Burial Treatments and the Body

"The corpse makes death visible" (Gramsch 2013: 462). Dealing with the decomposing body is not only dealing with death itself, but also with changes in a person's appearance, sometimes even in their identity. The disposal of dead bodies is not a simple event; there are social, symbolic, and even ideological transformations happening at the same time. In many cases, especially in prehistoric contexts, these are

difficult for archaeologists to access. However, considering the several different steps in the preparation of the burial and the body before, during, and after the interment process can help us understand ideas about dealing with death and dead bodies.

Based on Van Gennep's rites of passage, the pre-burial treatments could be placed in the separation category, where the individual is prepared for a new identity as a dead person. Hertz argued that it is not until the body has decayed that it can pass out of the liminal state; for the living this is a painful process of disintegration (1960 [1907]: 86). Pre-burial treatments are also a "liminal" moment for the body; the body is neither in the world of the living nor in the world of the dead yet. Many (including Van Gennep) have argued that stages of separation and liminality are often not clearly divided, "but can themselves involve acts of repeated separation and liminality, for example periods of interaction with the dead before as well as after burial of their remains (Gramsch 2013: 463). Nilsson Stutz uses the concept of liminality by V. Turner to explain how the dead body is "at once no longer and not yet classified (1969: 96, in Nilsson Stutz 2014: 4). This liminal stage of the body is important as it is also the stage where the body is transformed.

Differences in the way the body was disposed of (inhumation, excarnation, partial burning, cremation) and the way it was placed in a burial container have the potential to yield information about the act of burial and the depositional sequence, which are often overlooked. As Galanakis has argued, this is "not least because of practical difficulties in reconstructing these events and the ephemeral and often ambiguous nature of the evidence" (2016:189). There is a variety of evidence within

cemeteries to reconstruct some of these treatments, at least partially. For example, post-burial interactions with decomposing bodies and skeletons can be reconstructed by looking at secondary activities that involve handling these remains. All of these different stages of interactions can contribute to our understanding of how bodies are handled in cemeteries, what kind of rituals included interactions with the body, and how the living cared (or not cared) for their dead.

In the following section, I will divide the burial treatments as “pre-interment”, “peri-interment”, and “post-interment”. Structuring burial treatments in this way will help us move away from the burial objects and focus on the deceased; the reason why objects ended up in cemeteries in the first place. However, readers should be aware of the fact that burials can be (and are) reused, and therefore some of these stages may overlap. Nevertheless, the presentation of the evidence for interactions with the body, regardless of what stage they belong to, is an important part of understanding the mortuary rituals that surrounded the dead and living bodies.

4.1.1 Pre-interment Treatments and Interactions with the Body

The transition from life to death can be categorized into three main stages: clinical, biological, and social death (Sudnow 1967). Clinical and biological death are physical; it is the end of human life as an organism, while social death is considered the end of an individual’s social identity (Sweeting and Gilhooly 1992). Different cultures have diverse divisions or moments when these deaths occur. Sweeting and Gilhooly

have even argued that “in most non-western societies, death is not seen as a single event, but as a process where the deceased is slowly transferred from the land of the living to the land of the dead” (1992: 252). This is a phenomenon not only peculiar to non-western cultures since, again, it depends on what kind of death we are referring to: social or physical. A commonly cited study on this subject is Glaser and Strauss (1966), which also suggests a distinction between physical and social death. In their study, Glaser and Strauss describe how awareness of a person’s dying determines social interaction, and therefore this social interaction is one of the determining factors of social death.

For Bronze Age Anatolia (especially for the EBA due to lack of written evidence), we do not have insights into whether there was a differentiation between physical and social death among Anatolian communities. What we do have, however, is evidence for the preparation of the body for the burial, and for interactions people had to have with these bodies. In the pre-burial phase, archaeologically inaccessible stages such as washing the body, shaving,⁴⁹ anointing, or body painting could have existed,⁵⁰ in addition to stages that would leave archaeological traces such as clothing, wrappings, or objects left by or on the body for specific purposes. Such modifications could be done in order to preserve the body and to slow down the decay process, but they could

⁴⁹ In the cemetery of Deir el Medina (Egypt) for example, a child was wrapped in linen and his hair had been shaved (Meskell 1996: 12).

⁵⁰ For instance, alabaster vessels that could have contained materials connected to such activities become a standard part of Mycenaean burials (Voutsaki 2012).

also be done to achieve a certain appearance or body position dictated by the space, or for ritual, symbolic, or practical reasons.

4.1.1.a. Preparing and Placing the Body

As discussed in Chapter 3, Anatolian cemeteries are not located directly outside the settlements, so a certain amount of walking and effort was required to take the deceased to the burial location. Especially in the cases of pithos burials, it is hard to determine whether bodies were prepared in the settlement and were carried in the pithos to the cemetery, or if the dead body and the burial container were brought to the cemetery separately, and the body was prepared for burial there. Given the size of the pithoi found in the cemeteries (up to 2 meters), adding the weight of the body to the weight of the pithos would not be the most practical way to carry the burial from

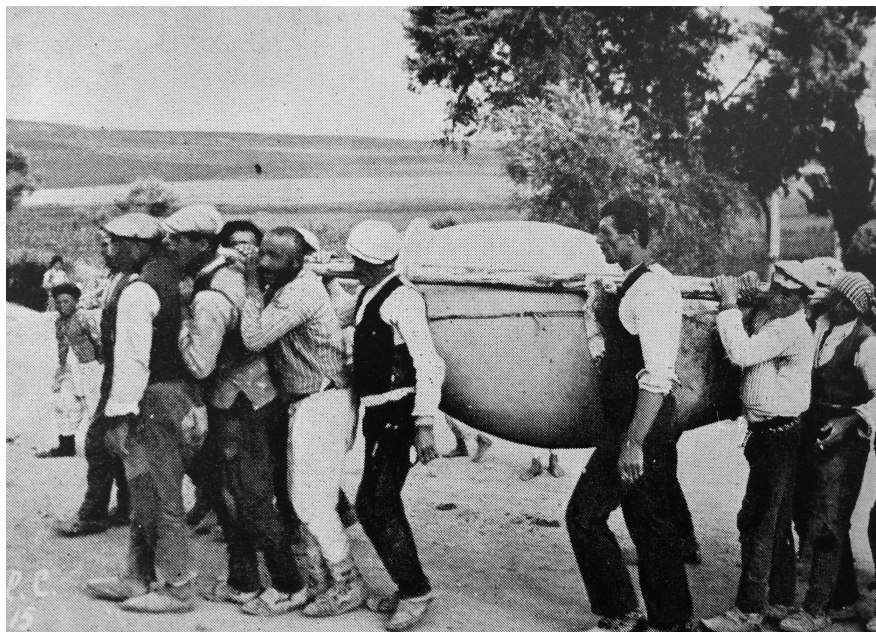


Fig. 4.1: About 10 people carrying a pithos-sized Hittite jar at Alacahöyük (Koşay 1954, plates).

the settlement to the cemetery (Fig. 4.1). People's choice on the visibility of the dead body might have affected the decisions of whether to carry the body in the pithos (not visible during the transfer from the settlement to the cemetery), to carry it separately on a stretcher or wooden planks, as was the case for Neolithic Ilipınar burials (Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008: 35).

Once the body was cleaned either by washing or by the use of oils and perfumes (see also Chapter 6), it was prepared to be placed in the burial space. In the case of the Bronze Age cemeteries, this space could be a pithos, a smaller jar (for infants or children), an urn, a cist burial, or a simple inhumation pit. So far these different types have been discussed in terms of the relationship between the man-hours, materials, and effort spent to put together these burials, which resulted in the assumption that the cist burials were the "wealthiest" burial form. Some have even suggested that pithos burials were primarily for poorer individuals, while cist graves were for the wealthier classes (Bryce 2005: 179). Mellink argued that the cemetery of Gordion was a "commoner" cemetery due to pithos burials and lack of metal objects (1958). It surprised the excavators of Demircihöyük's cemetery that the cist burials did not contain the highest number of burial objects, since due to their "expensive" construction these should have been the graves of "privileged people" (Seeher 1993: 13). This is what led the excavators to the conclusion that the cist burials at Demircihöyük were robbed (Seeher 1992: 366). However, the fact that cist burials were relatively well preserved (Durgun 2012), robbing might not be the explanation for this

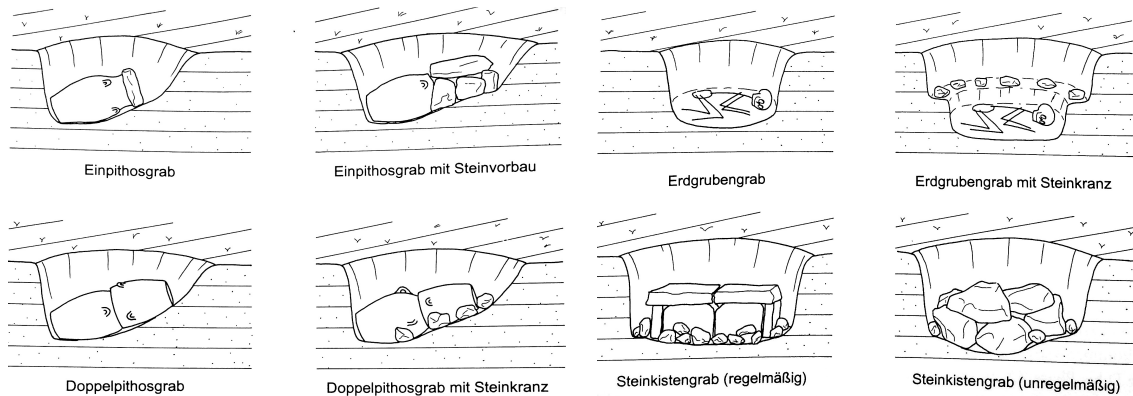


Fig. 4.2: Burial Variations at Demircihöyük cemetery (Seeher 2000, Fig. 9).

phenomenon.⁵¹ The differences in the burial containers could be a result of the availability of the containers, the requirements of the ritual, or the decision to whether or not the burial was going to be reused.

All these different burial types can exist within the same cemetery (e.g., Baklatepe, Demircihöyük, and Kalınkaya). Pithos burials, simple inhumations, and cist burials all show diversity within themselves as well (Fig. 4.2). However, the quantitative analysis of these different burial types has shown no clear correlation between the burial type and number of burial goods (Durgun 2012).

Another misconception about the burial container type is the association of a type with a specific culture. The early EB I–II cemetery at Baklatepe near the Aegean coast, for example, has been described as “international” because different burial types of cists, pithoi, and pit burials were found dating to the same phase of the cemetery (Şahoğlu 2008). This earlier EB I cemetery is contrasted with the later EB II–III cemetery at Baklatepe that is composed exclusively of pithos burials and therefore interpreted to

⁵¹ See below, “absence of bodies” section 5.3.c.

have a local Anatolian culture (*ibid.*). Another example for this cultural association is a cemetery of cist burials in coastal lasos in southwestern Anatolia, which has been described as a possible Cycladic colony (Pecorella 1984) based on the fact that it lacks the “traditional Anatolian” pithos burials, and that cist graves are more common in the Cycladic Islands.

Oxygen and strontium isotope analyses can provide us with information of migration and movement of peoples, but such analyses for Anatolia are rare. This is partly due to the fact that some of the earlier excavated skeletons are missing (Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008), or lost (in the case of lasos), or were reburied at the site of excavation (Seeher, personal communication). The other reason is the difficulty of conducting these analyses outside of Turkey, because due to permits and regulations samples are not allowed to be taken outside of Turkey, unless the analysis cannot be done within the country. Despite these difficulties, Welton has managed to analyze the burials of the extensive İköztepe extramural cemetery in the Black Sea region. Her analysis has shown quite convincingly that cultural differences are not necessarily marked by burial types. The isotopic analyses identified individuals whose bone chemistry showed that they were possible long distance immigrants to the site of İköztepe. They also revealed the existence of a group of mobile individuals who may represent a transhumant segment of the İköztepe population (Welton 2010). The immigrant individuals and nomadic or semi-nomadic segments of the population do not seem to have been distinguished in any observable way from their sedentary local counterparts, displaying similar burial types, grave goods, and spatial locations. The

burials within the İkiztepe cemetery also were not kin-structured (*ibid.*). Titriş Höyük, a site in southeastern Anatolia yielded both intramural cist and chamber tombs towards the end of the EBA, when there was already an extramural cemetery. Even though social changes occurred during this time, excavators observed cultural continuity in the material culture when this shift happened (Laneri 2007). Therefore, the transition in mortuary practices cannot be fully explained with an assimilation or replacement of a culture. The differences in the burial containers (or the lack of a burial container) might have had another function. Could this be connected to the body position or body placement in these burials?

The position where bodies had flexed legs and arms, laid on one side of their body (i.e., hocker position) has been most common way of placing bodies in burials since the Neolithic Period. The long-term continuation of this body position can be best traced at Ilıpınar. At Ilıpınar, all Neolithic burials were in a hocker position (Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008: 35). In the Late Chalcolithic phase burials were moved outside the settlement, and some bodies were placed in burial jars (infants). Even with these changes in the burial practices, this body position was continued in the Late Chalcolithic. With the exception of an extreme hocker, the limbs of the skeletons in this cemetery were not tightly compressed, which according to the excavators pointed to primary burials (Roodenberg 2008a: 318). Roodenberg states that even the way the skeletons had fallen apart indicated that decomposition of corpses had taken place in an open space (*ibid.*), that is the burial was not filled with dirt and that the body was not bound. There is no further comment on how the excavators came to that conclusion,

but the completeness of the bones and their almost intact location indicates that they decomposed at the burial site, and were not brought here from another place where the bodies decomposed first. It is interesting that even in simple inhumations, where there is more space for bodies to be placed straight or spread out, hocker position was still preferred. The infants in the jars, as well as the adults buried in pits, were in a flexed body position (Fig. 4.3). This suggests that the practice of placing the bodies in a certain way was a shared tradition that continued for long periods of time.



Fig. 4.3: Double burial of a grown-up child (left) and an adult (right) from Ilipinar's Late Chalcolithic cemetery (Roodenberg 2008a: 326, Fig. 7).

In the Early Bronze Age, at Ilipinar and at other cemeteries, bodies continued to be buried in this contracted position. At Resuloğlu, the body positions are described in great detail: the feet would often be laid towards the left, whereas the arms would be placed on the chest under the chin, and the face would be also turned to the left or to

the south (Yıldırım and İpek 2008: 445). Also at Ulucak, the feet were pulled towards the stomach and the arms towards the breast and with the hands resting underneath the head (Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004: 54). The excavators of Ulucak argued that in order to keep the body in the hocker position, the arms and the legs may have been wrapped in cloth, and that this preparation for burial probably took place immediately after death before the body lost its heat (Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004: 54). Similarly Emre also argued that the bodies at Yanarlar must have been placed into the pithoi before rigor mortis set in; otherwise it would have been difficult to place a body in some of the pithoi which have quite narrow orifices (Emre 1991: 5-6).⁵² What is important to know is that rigor mortis is a temporary state. Rigor mortis is the stiffening of the body that begins at death and usually becomes noticeable after 2– 4 hours. It results from the loss of adenosine triphosphate (ATP) from muscles, and at room temperature this tends to peak within 12 hours and disappear by 24 – 48 hours following death (Klepinger 2006: 117).⁵³ This means that even if the bodies were placed into the burial container within 2-4 hours of death, no body position would be maintained after that. This makes it clear that this hocker position was perhaps not an objective, but rather a byproduct of the

⁵² There are different stages of decomposition after death, where the body transforms into different looks, colors, and states of stiffness. To shortly summarize, I will refer to Klepinger's (2006) explanation about what happens to the body after death: upon death the body turns pale (*pallor mortis*), and the body temperature begins to drop. The rate of postmortem drop in body temperature is called *algor mortis*. As mentioned before, *rigor mortis* is the stage where the body stiffens, starting at the time of death, and becomes noticeable after 2-4 hours (Klepinger 2006: 117). *Livor mortis* is the purplish discoloration of the skin that is caused by the pooling of blood after circulation stopped (*ibid.*: 118). Onset times for rigor and livor mortis are about the same as (manifested in 2–4 hours) and become "fixed" or permanent in 8–12 hours (*ibid.*).

⁵³ Rigor usually begins in the small muscles of the head and relaxes first in that area. The elderly and infants, who have little muscle mass, exhibit poorly developed rigor (*ibid.*).

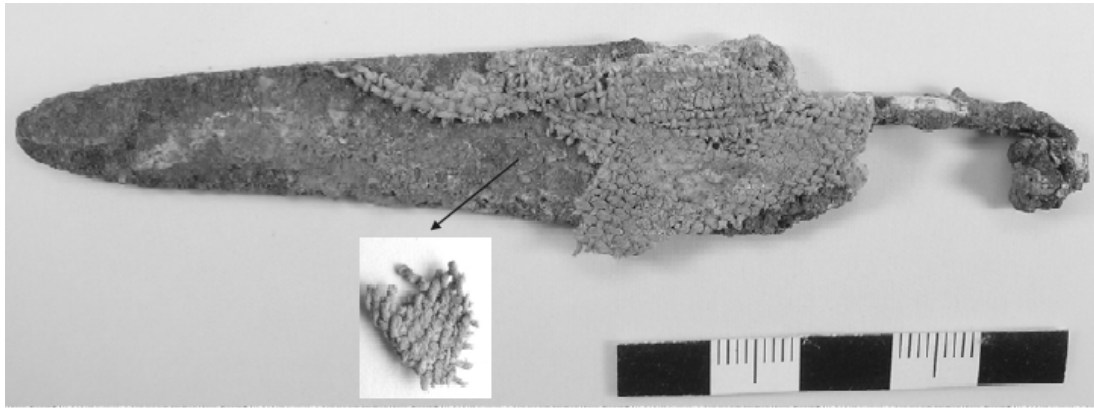
way the bodies were placed in the burials. In some cases, external factors supporting the body such as wrappings and tyings were used, which could have resulted in the contracted body positions. Bodies could have been tied or wrapped to be placed more easily into pithos burials. It is possible that tying or wrapping the body was an important part of the burial ritual sequence and therefore had to be done to all bodies, whether they were placed in a pit, or in any kind of burial container.

4.1.1.b. Cutting, Tying, and Wrapping the Body

Post-mortem modifications to the bones often go unnoticed or unreported in excavation reports. Cut marks are a good way of determining if the body was modified and how this was done. The case of Körtik Tepe is a good example to see how cut marks can tell us information about mortuary practices to which we can otherwise have no access. Half of the ten individuals analyzed from Körtik Tepe, a Pre-Pottery Neolithic site in southeastern Anatolia, have yielded cut marks on their crania only while the other five have cut marks on both their cranial and post-cranial bones (Erdal 2015). The team doing the bioarchaeological analyses concluded that these cut marks were not traces of animal-chewing, but that they were made on fresh cadavers suggesting that individuals with cut marks were subject to human intervention in the decomposition process. This was identified as a post-burial practice rather than a secondary burial. Unfortunately such detailed bioarchaeological analyses have not been conducted on most Bronze Age sites in Anatolia. One Bronze Age example for such post-mortem cutting activities comes from a burial from Troy's LBA cemetery. In urn #2 at Troy, some of the partially

cremated bones of a woman had traces of cutting with a sharp tool (Angel 1951: 13), which could mean that the remains that did not burn up completely were cut down into smaller pieces to make it fit the small urn (Akyurt 1998: 10), or that some of the bones were subject to post-mortem modifications due to a ritual or other symbolic purpose. The fact that a bigger burial container was not chosen shows us that practicality might not be the primary reason why a small urn was chosen for the burial. This is a good example to remind us that bodily modifications are important elements of preparing the body for interment or an attempt to quicken the decomposition, and can give us information about the nature of the burial practice (post-mortem, secondary vs. primary).

A way to detect bodily modifications is to look at external features that are in relation with the body. Textiles are known to be used for various mortuary purposes, including but not limited to wrapping. One body in Çatalhöyük "Temple VI.1" yielded a fine textile ball placed inside the skull (Mellaart 2003: 148, 161, Fig. 99). It has been suggested that it was placed in the skull after the removal of the brains, but it is also possible that the cloth was in there after the body decomposed and skeletonized. Despite the scarceness of preserved textiles in the archaeological record of Anatolia, there is some indirect evidence for wrapping in Bronze Age burials. In a third millennium burial at Tekeköy, excavators found a dagger on top of the humerus of the skeleton. This dagger had traces of cloth imprints (Kökten *et al.* 1945: 386). The imprints were found on the side that had contact with the arm, which can be considered as evidence for the dead being buried in clothing, or wrapped in some sort of textile.



**Fig. 4.4: Dagger with cloth remains from Resuloğlu
(Tütüncüler 2006: 147, Resim 2).**

Also at Alacahöyük, in one of the third millennium burials (burial MC), the copper dagger had similar cloth imprints, whereas burial MA yielded a textile fragment (Koşay 1938: 79).⁵⁴

At Resuloğlu, textile pieces were found on various metal burial objects in pithoi and stone-cist graves (Tütüncüler 2006). It was determined that the fabric that was on one of the daggers (Fig. 4.4) had been woven with linen threads and it had been dyed. Other burial objects from Resuloğlu, such as the bent bronze cups, also showed fragments and imprints of textiles (*ibid.*). It is of course possible that the burial objects were separately wrapped in cloth, since the bronze cup for instance was not found in direct contact with the body. Nevertheless, other evidence such as the metal pan (found in the same burial with the dagger wrapped in cloth) that was leaned against the back of the body, had the imprint of textiles (*ibid.*: 141). Tütüncüler who analyzed these textiles concluded that the thickness of the material and the quality of the weaving was

⁵⁴ The skeleton in burial MA was lying on its back (dorsal) with the usual position of the knees bent (*ibid.*).

different on the objects from the ones that were in contact with the body. This means that the shroud or clothing that was on the body was different than the ones used for wrapping objects.

The metal pins found in Aribaş's cremation burials also had imprints of textiles on them. The excavators suggested that the burned remains would be wrapped in cloth and this cloth would be secured with a pin (Ekmen 2012: 33, Öztan 1998: 170-171). Pins, therefore, are another indirect indication of the use of textiles and cloths used to wrap objects, as well as burned remains and unburned bodies. Metal pins are the most common finds in burials after ceramic vessels and objects (Seeher 2000, Roodenberg 2008b), especially in the EBA.

The detailed documentation of the find spots of pins in burials can tell us where the cloth on the body was secured. At Resuloğlu bent pins⁵⁵ were left mostly at chest level and under the chin, whereas the unbent ones were on the arm or leg bones (Yıldırım and Ediz 2008: 446). At Ilıpınar as a rule pins were found at breast level (Roodenberg 2008b: 337). At Kalınkaya pins were also found underneath the back of the skull (Zimmermann 2005: 279)⁵⁶ suggesting that pins were not always secured in the front or the side of the body.

If bodies were individually wrapped, we would expect to find the same number of bodies and pins. However, at Demircihöyük for example, a single burial could contain up to 3 pins, whereas a burial with 7 bodies contained only 2 pins (Seeher 2000, Durgun

⁵⁵ Intentionally bent, see Chapter 6.

⁵⁶ In this case it was a simple inhumation.

2012: 126). This means that pins (or cloths the pins were holding) were not placed in a burial according to the number of bodies in the burial. The use of pins or cloths could not be explained with the differences in burial types⁵⁷ or age difference either; they were placed in all burial types with all ages. At Kalinkaya, in some burials that did not contain any bones pins were found (Zimmermann 2005). All this evidence suggests that either pins were used for several different purposes including the wrapping of the body, and/or that it was not a necessity to wrap every body before it was buried. Yazıcıoğlu argues that pins were a significant element of fashion, with which subtle differences in wealth and prestige could be communicated (Yazıcıoğlu 2015: 265). At Demircihöyük, a few examples of copper pins were also found in the settlement (Korfmann 1983) showing that pins were not only used for mortuary clothing, but that they were part of daily use. However, for mortuary contexts the evidence is not complete enough to make any further comments on exactly how the pins were used other than the possibility that they secured clothing for wrapping bodies, cremated remains, or objects.

As discussed before, metal weapons and objects are almost always cited as evidence for displays of status and wealth of the deceased (most recently see Massa 2014). As I argued before, I disagree with this simplistic explanation in the case of Anatolian cemeteries. The fact that some of these metal objects were wrapped in cloth is another convincing evidence showing us that some of these objects were not displayed, but instead concealed from view. The evidence for bodies and cremated

⁵⁷ At Demircihöyük the numbers of pins found in simple inhumation and pithos burial are very close to each other (Durgun 2012).

remains having clothing, a shroud-like cover, or a cloth container (in case of the cremated remains) suggests that bodies and body parts were also concealed or partially covered.

Williams suggests that the careful deposition of artefacts and the specific position of the corpse could be displayed during the ritual, but then these were rapidly transferred to memory through their burial and concealment (2001). "Display and concealment" (Gramsch 2013) then could be a factor in the choice of burial container: pithos burials would conceal the body completely, even before they were placed in the ground, whereas cist burials could be displayed and then concealed with a stone cover whenever necessary. The simple inhumation burials on the other hand would be completely exposed until they were covered with dirt. Was the burial clothing providing concealment for burial types that were exposed? The dagger from Resuloğlu with cloth remains on it was found in a cist burial. Pins in all cemeteries are found in all burial types. These show us that burial clothing was not correlated with the burial container type.

Tying the arms and legs would result in skeletons with their hands and feet in a specific position. For example, the sacrificial individuals found in the burials at the Moon Pyramid at Teotihuacan had their hands and feet crossing one above the other at the level of the distal radii and ulnae, carpals, or metacarpals (Spence and Pereira 2007). This positioning suggested that they may have had their hands bound in front of them (*ibid.*: 151). Recognizing such body positions would require a detailed anthropological analysis of the bodies in situ, as well as detailed analyses of individual

bones after they are excavated. For the Anatolian cases, most anthropological and bioarchaeological analyses on skeletal remains are concerned with sex/age identification, health, diet, and disease of the individuals when they were alive (Angel and Biesel 1986, Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008, Yazıcıoğlu 2015). One exception⁵⁸ to this is the detailed osteological study of human and animal bones found at Neolithic Domuztepe (southeastern Turkey). Deliberate hammerstone impact damage (for the purpose of marrow and grease retrieval), pot polish (a beveling of sharp ends produced by repeated contact between bone ends and a ceramic surface as fragments are stirred during cooking), and the co-occurrence of small non-carnivore tooth pits and depressed fractures on the fractured ends were found on the human bones from this pit (Kansa et al. 2009). The human carcass processing closely resembled how animals were processed for food, especially from the neck down (*ibid.*). This led the excavators to the conclusion that cannibalism might have been practiced at Domuztepe (*ibid.*).

The mortuary treatment of the body for the burial, cut marks, tying or binding, and other bodily modifications are not reported in detail either for humans or for animals in the Bronze Age sites. One example of such a modification has been reported from Babaköy, where the legs of an individual in a double burial were so pulled back that the excavators suggested that the lower legs and thighs were tied (Fig. 4.5).

As noted before, the contracted body position was not only due to the constraints of placing the body in a burial jar, or due to spatial limitation. Both cist

⁵⁸ another exception is Erdal's study on the cremated remains of LBA Baklatepe burials (2002), see below 4.3.a.

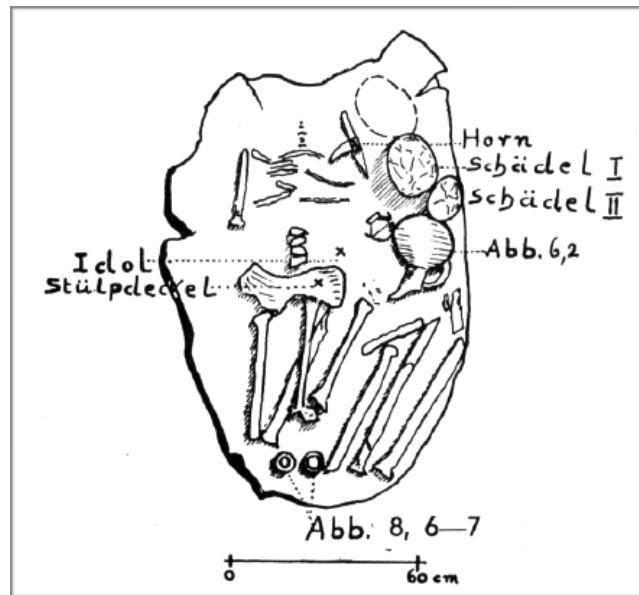


Fig. 4.5: Pithos XIV from Babaköy.
(Bittel et al. 1941: 6, Abb.5).

burials and simple inhumation burials have yielded bodies in hocker position. For example at Demircihöyük, in the EBA and in the MBA cemeteries the simple inhumations were placed in hocker position, and some of them were then surrounded by stones (Seeher 2000). The cist burials of the EBA created a space that was about 120x50 cm (*ibid.*: 101), not too different than some of the pithos sizes. Simple inhumations and cist burials could have been formed in a way that allowed the body to be in a supine position, but this body position was clearly not preferred. The space could also been extended to be larger, if the bodies needed to be placed in different ways. The body position then, does not really explain why different ways of burying were chosen for different interments. I suggest that the constrained position is a continuation of the Neolithic/Chalcolithic intramural burial traditions, where burials would be interred in more spatially limited areas, such as pits underneath houses or platforms (see Chapter 3).

As seen, there is not much evidence for bodies to be tied or modified before they were buried. It is possible that the hocker position was achieved without the use of tying; however, burial clothing or wrappings could have been used as a way to wrap the body or body remains, as well as the objects placed in the burial. The continuation of body positions used for burials is a good indication that the knowledge that bodies needed to be placed in this way, the tradition of the hocker position, was transmitted through generations.

4.1.1.c. Burning the Body

Burning of bodies requires interactions with the dead body as a corpse, as fire, and as ashes, and witnessing the transformation of the human body into a different matter. Fire, the smells, and the smoke combined with the affect of death and a dead body have the ability to create strong sensorial and emotional experiences. Cremation “encouraged distinctive forms of engagement with the physicality and materiality of the dead” (Williams 2004: 263). Burning of the body is on the one hand an interesting phenomenon archaeologically, but on the other hand it makes it very difficult to reconstruct the burial sequence and the bodies (number of individuals, age, sex) due to its destructive nature. Exposure to heat incorporates several additional variables. The results of cremation and burning depend on various external variables such as the sediment in which bone is deposited, duration of exposure to a heat source, and the interval between burial and burning, which all affect the degree and extent of the

alteration in bones. Cremated bones become burnt, oxidized or calcined (heating to high temperatures). Oxidation and dehydration can cause bones to change color from white, to yellow blue, to black, and to show horizontal cracking lines (Erdal 2002: 118-120). Bones crack when they are dehydrated during incineration, and the fresher they are the greater the tension and the more marked the cracks (Larsson 2003: 165). Dry bones which have lost their organic material gradually over time will crack the least, while fresh bones will have many, deep and often elliptical cracks (*ibid.*). The coloring and the cracks on the bones can help us understand the temperatures at which the bones were cremated. Erdal suggests that the Baklatepe bone remains that were burned at low temperatures (under 800°) were darker in color, whereas the ones that were exposed to fire over 950° were white and whitish-blue and were highly fragmented and shortened (*ibid.*: 120).

Bones that are fully burned can be easily overlooked or missed while collecting the remains and ashes from a pyre. Perhaps due to the difficulties of retrieving full samples and due to the lack of detailed reports on cremation burials, many burned remains in Anatolian cemeteries have not been studied in detail. The location of burned remains, the color, and even the amount of ashes collected can provide us with useful mortuary information. For example, from modern cremations it is known that adult bodies produce about 5 pounds (2.2 kg) of ashes, and this weight can vary from 3 pounds all the way up to 10, depending on the size and density of the deceased's bones. Of course archaeologists can only recover a partial amount due to collection techniques, preservation, and due to the possibility that ashes were distributed to

places other than the burial. A study of British EBA cremation burials reports that the ashes and fragmented bones recovered from urns of females were about 730 grams, whereas for males this was 1,261 grams average (Brück 2011: 133). The excavators of Troy suggested that the several buildings around the MBA cemetery were used as the burning place based on the pottery (similar to the urns in the cemetery), architectural features (ventilation openings), and traces of burning on the plastered walls (Blegen *et al.* 1953: 393).

Most of the discussions concerning cremations in Anatolia focus on the cultural connotations of this practice as an Indo-European cultural element, and therefore do not go further than documenting the appearance of cremation burials in different periods or regions (see for example Ekmen 2012)⁵⁹. Here, I will discuss the different stages and processes in burning bodies and will present the evidence that exists in Anatolia for these stages and processes. My aim is to understand the process of burning the body, and the interactions with the burning body in contrast to an inhumation burial, and how these changed over time.

Bodies that are treated with fire can be divided into two categories: full cremations, where the body is broken down into ash,⁶⁰ and bodies that were exposed to fire but were not cremated. For non-Turkish speakers these categories would be hard to distinguish in the Turkish publications, since the Turkish phrase used for all of these

⁵⁹ This is a useful source for a detailed documentation of all the cases of cremations in Anatolia. I will therefore not repeat all the evidence for cremation found in Anatolia here.

⁶⁰ In some cases cremations can be partial due to low temperatures and result in ashes mixed with bones.

categories would be "ölü yakma" (burning of the dead). There is no separate word for "cremation" in Turkish, other than "tathir", which is sometimes used to mean "burning for cleansing", a subjective term especially in the prehistoric cases, where we do not have evidence for the meaning of the act of burning. Burning the dead can mean completely burning or partially burning. The terminology is perhaps also one of the reasons why there has not been much discussion on the differences in cremated and burned bodies in Anatolian archaeology. Similar complaints have been expressed by scholars working in other parts of the world. For example McKinley, who works on



Fig. 4.6: Possible reconstruction of the collection of cremated remains from a burning site or pyre. Drawing: Mark Weber (in Gramsch 2013: 470, Fig. 25.5).

cremation in the UK, reports that any deposit of cremated bone is described as “a cremation, when it actually refers to ‘the remains of a cremation burial’” (2013: 148).

These distinctions are important because cremation requires high temperatures, and specific steps of burning, cooling down, and collecting bones (Fig. 4.6), whereas exposing a body to a fire might not necessarily involve these steps. The location of the pyre where the burning takes place is also important, since most cremations did not take place in the same location as the burial. Therefore, in most cases cremation burials are secondary deposits (Duday 2009: 145).

Not many excavation reports document details about the process of cremation. The ones that do report them often do not observe traces of burning around the body. At Gedikli-Karahöyük in southeastern Turkey, dated to the end of the third millennium and second millennium, excavators suggested that bodies were burned somewhere else since there were no signs of burning around the burials. By looking at the partially burned bones, and the completely burned bones (ashes), they argued that the deceased were not fully cremated (Alkım and Alkım 1966). The partially burned bones were interpreted as a result of putting out the fire quickly with water, since extinguishing fire with liquids would cause more fragmentation (Gramsch 2013: 468). The completely burned and partially burned remains were then wrapped in a cloth, fastened with a pin, and placed in the urn together with burial objects. The burial was finally covered with ceramic sherds or stones (*ibid.*: 14). The treatment of the cremation burial is notably similar to the preparation of the inhumation burials discussed above. Moreover, cremation burials were placed in urns or pithoi, in some cases by themselves or with

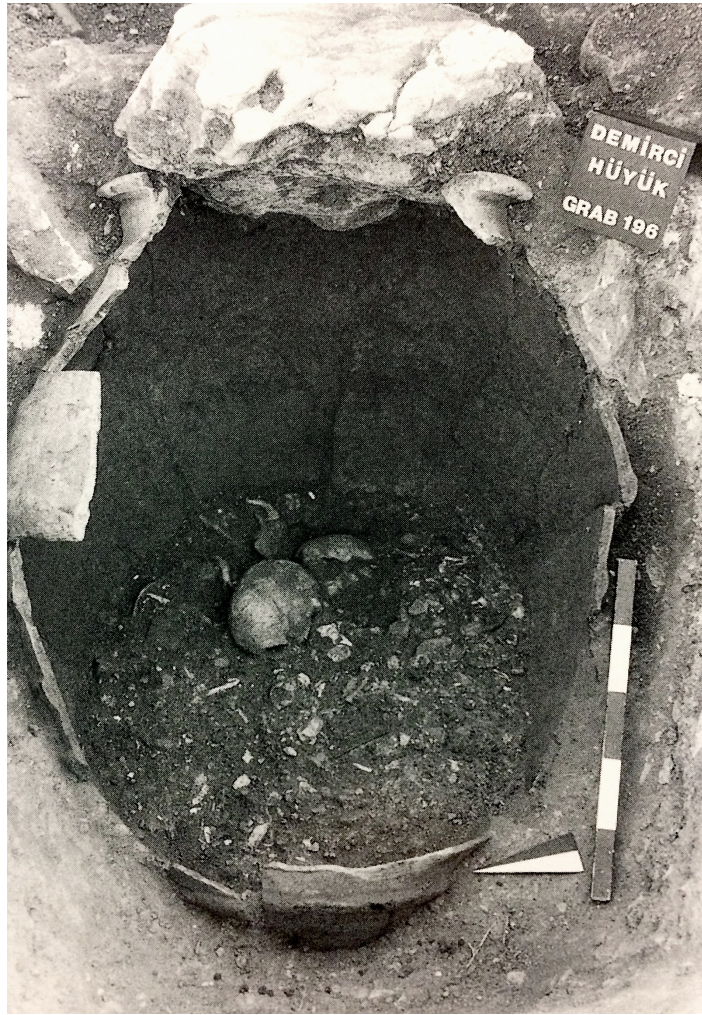


Fig. 4.7: Cremation remains mixed with inhumation remains in a pithos at Demircihöyük (Seeher 2000: 181, Tafel 20/2).

inhumation burials (Fig. 4.7). At Demircihöyük's MBA cemetery 4 out of 8 full cremation burials were buried in vessels by themselves, 3 of the cremation were buried together with inhumation in pithos burials, and one was found in a cist burial mixed with unburned bones (Seeher 2000: 181). This is a good indication that cremation burials were not perceived too differently than inhumation burials in terms of treatment and placement.

The continuation of the image of the deceased, or as Nilsson Stutz calls it “the integrity” of the body, can be seen with inhumation burials (2010a: 37), where the individual still resembles the living at the time of interment. The same cannot be said for cremation burials. In the case of the cremation burials, the body was transformed from its living appearance once it was set on fire. Nevertheless, the fact that they are buried in the same manner to inhumations implies that the integrity of the body was not the most crucial factor in the process of preparing burials or interring bodies.

Cremations, similar to inhumations, can be found both intramurally and extramurally. One of the earliest sites with cremated remains is Aşıklı Höyük in central Anatolia dated to the Neolithic, where the burned remains were found in the burials under house floors (Özbek 1993). Özbek argued that the burning at Aşıklı was at low temperatures (about 200 °C) but was aimed for the whole body. One adult burial at Aşıklı yielded burned wood and charcoal on the body, which led the excavators to the conclusion that the bodies were buried right after the burning (Özbek 1993: 206). With the emergence of extramural cemeteries in the EBA, the practice of cremation continued with few examples in cemeteries such as Afyon-Kaklık (Topbaş *et al.* 1998: 77). At the end of the EBA cremations were more common. The cemetery of Gedikli-Karahöyük in southeast Anatolia, for example, consists of about 270 cremations dated to the end of the third millennium and the second millennium (Duru 2006: 57). The second millennium in Anatolia marks the wide spread of the practice of cremation, both intramurally and extramurally. In the second millennium settlement of Acemhöyük in central Anatolia, a cremation burial was found in one of the houses (Öztan 2006:

395-396), whereas the cemetery located 500 meters to the southeast yielded 139 cremation burials (Öztan 1998: 168-169).

Due to the nature of cremated bones, it is hard to identify sexes and ages. However, in cases where an anthropological identification was possible, both adults and children were represented in cremation burials (e.g. Ulucak; Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004: 58). In most cases cremation burials were single interments. However at Troy's LBA cemetery for example 13 urns with 15 cremated bodies were found, with both multiple and single interments. At Troy all age and sex groups were found in cremation burials (Angel 1951). By looking at the youngest ages identified in second millennium burials at Troy, Beşiktepe, Ilıca, and Osmankaya, the infants between ages of 0-1 were never cremated at these sites (Akyurt 1998: 127).

The second category, "bodies exposed to fire but not fully cremated", is often considered as results of cleansing rituals. As I have suggested above, bodies could be cleaned before they were placed into the burial,⁶¹ but there is no archaeological evidence to suggest that bodies were washed before or during the interment, other than Hattušili's⁶² words to his queen in his oration: "Wash my body, as is seemly; hold me to thy bosom, and at thy bosom bury me in the earth" (Gurney 1952: 168).

Emre has suggested that the grey burned-looking bones in one of the burials at Yanarlar was due to the cleansing of the burial by fire, and therefore the burial was not a

⁶¹ Surprisingly no one has suggested that the ceramic vessels left at the burials could have been used to pour water to cleanse the body or the burial, which is a possibility.

⁶² ca. 1650-1620 B.C.

cremation (1978: 64). A similar explanation has been suggested for one of the “royal” burials at Alacahöyük (Özgüç, 1950: 54-55, 57), and for a cist burial at Karum Kaneš (Kültepe; Emre 1978: 64), and the “tholos” tomb at Panaztepe (Erkanal 1987: 257). At Müsgebi, a site that has yielded a considerable amount of Mycenaean materials,⁶³ many burials and bodies were exposed to fire (Mylonas 1966: 113). At Karum Kaneš, the central Anatolian Assyrian trading colony, an intramural cist burial yielded evidence for burning on some parts of the bodies and on some of the burial objects. The excavators concluded that this was due to “tathir”, the burning for cleansing (Özgüç 1950: 54-55, 57). Blegen also argued that burned remains, and especially the presence of charcoal in tombs, was a result of “fumigation” – every time the tomb had to be opened for a new internment, charcoal was burned to dispel the stench (1937: 250–2; also see Galanakis 2016). The excavator of Osmankayası, Bittel, argued that the fumigation practice needed to be distinguished from actual cremations attested at places like Osmankayası (Bittel *et al.* 1958: 30). With fleshed bodies certain parts of the skeleton will be exposed to fire before others, different than in cremations and/or burning of dried bone. Unfortunately, not much can be said about the pattern of burning on the bones, since these are not reported.

Similarly, the practice of “cleansing” the burial with fire has been also suggested for LBA Mycenaean chamber tombs. In the late 19th and early 20th century, after Schliemann discovered Mycenae, traces of burning were often interpreted as

⁶³ Some consider Müsgebi a Mycenaean settlement with “a significant admixture of local Anatolian elements” (Bryce 1989: 2).

evidence for cremation inspired by Homeric practices⁶⁴ (Galanakis 2016). It soon became clear that these traces were not remnants of primary cremations, but were linked either to primary practices associated with the inhumation of an individual or, more commonly, with post-funeral actions (Galanakis 2016: 189). Galanakis argues that the burning of the tomb structure marked the end of the tomb's use, and that "some of these fire episodes may have also marked the complete physical breakdown of the body and its incorporation and entanglement to a new body of things" (*ibid.*: 193). This could of course be said also for inhumation burials, where bodies decay and turn into new matter. In this case the transformation is slower than cremation, but especially in the case of multiple interments, where another body is interred in the same burial, the living would face the decomposing bodies or skeletons. Secondary inhumation burials and cremation burials are similar to each other in terms of interactions with body parts, since in both cases the living will have to collect either burned, decomposed, or disarticulated remains, and prepare them for interment.

Burning of bodies, especially cremation has played an important role in the discussion in the cultural history of Anatolia. Cremation burials were often associated with the emergence of the Indo-Europeans within Anatolia, and were considered as evidence for the Hittite culture dominating over local Anatolian cultures (e.g. Makkay 1993). Selover argues that it is possible that the use of cremation was a Hurrian tradition (2015: 118). She bases this argument on the Hittite use of the Hurrian word for fire, "tarri", in a ritual text dealing with the incineration of a corpse (Haas 1995 in Selover

⁶⁴ Burial of Patroclus and Hector [*Iliad*, book 23, 24].

2015). Even though there are no royal Hittite burials found to this date, Hittite ritual texts explaining the fourteen-day royal funerary ceremonies “šalliš waštaiš” (great sin)⁶⁵ tell us that the corpse of the king (or queen) was buried after the burning process. The texts are partial; especially the parts of the final (fourteenth) day are missing. From what is preserved scholars have divided the ritual into two major parts: the first leads up to the cremation of the body on the night between Days 2–3 and the disposal of the bones; and the second is a sequence of micro-rituals focused on a statue of the king or queen, which occupies Days 8–14 (Rutherford 2007, van de Hout 1994). There is not much evidence about the locations where these rituals took place. Rutherford argues that performance must have been at or near the Hittite capital (at least usually), referring to a place of cremation, the “eternal place,” and also a “stone house” (E.NA) where the royal bones would be taken, and which was also the place of the cult of the dead king (2007: 224).⁶⁶ A tablet describing the second and third day of the ritual suggests that bones were gathered from a pyre, making it clear that the body was burned if not fully cremated:

“At dawn the women go to the ukturi-pyre to gather the bones. They extinguish the fire with ten vessels of beer, ten vessels of wine, and ten vessels of walhi. They take a silver huppar vessel, filled with fine oil; they take out the bones with silver tongs and put them in the vessel; then they take them out and lay them down on a linen cloth. Then they put the bones of a throne, if it’s a man or on ‘benches’ if it’s the queen.”⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Referring to the death of the king or queen. For a detailed study and translation of the *šalliš waštaiš* see Kassian et al. 2002, Rutherford 2007, Kapelus 2008.

⁶⁶ The locations of both of those are also unknown. See van den Hout’s suggestions for the “stone-house” (1994: 48-52).

⁶⁷ Translations taken from Rutherford 2007, and Kapelus 2008. (KUB XXX 15+, KKS 261–).

Similarities between the cremation rituals in these texts and the Homeric description of the cremation of Patroclus and Hector has led some archaeologists to believe that the practice of cremation, which is hardly known in Greece during Late Helladic IIIA–B (LBA in Anatolia), was introduced into Greece from Anatolia during the thirteenth–twelfth centuries BC (Rutherford 2007). Iliad Book 24 describes Hector’s funeral as following:

“For nine days' space they brought in measureless store of wood, [785] but when the tenth dawn arose, giving light unto mortals, then bare they forth bold Hector, shedding tears the while, and on the topmost pyre they laid the dead man, and cast fire thereon. But soon as early Dawn appeared, the rosy-fingered, then gathered the folk about the pyre of glorious Hector. [790] And when they were assembled and met together, first they quenched with flaming wine all the pyre, so far as the fire's might had come upon it, and thereafter his brethren and his comrades gathered the white bones, mourning, and big tears flowed ever down their cheeks. [795] The bones they took and placed in a golden urn, covering them over with soft purple robes, and quickly laid the urn in a hollow grave, and covered it over with great close-set stones. Then with speed heaped they the mound, and round about were watchers set on every side, [800] lest the well-greaved Achaeans should set upon them before the time. And when they had piled the barrow they went back, and gathering together duly feasted a glorious feast in the palace of Priam, the king fostered of Zeus. On this wise held they funeral for horse-taming Hector.”⁶⁸

The gathering of the bones, putting the bones in a vessel, and covering the vessel with textiles are practices that are very similar.

For the Hittites, the grave was merely a transitional stage between this world and the next (Bryce 2002: 179). The spirit of the deceased was independent of the physical body. Once the burial rituals were performed and the spirit of the deceased was prepared for the underworld, the body did not have any further use (*ibid.*). This is considerably different than the understanding of the dead body in the Mycenaean

⁶⁸ <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0134%3Abook%3D24%3Acard%3D776>

world, or in the Egyptian world during the LBA. In the Old Kingdom Hittite text “the Testament of Hattušili I”, a proclamation dealing with the royal succession (Bryce 2002: 86), however, Hattušili asks his wife (or daughter?) Haštayar to wash him, and protect him “on your (her) bosom from the earth” (Testament 23, in Bryce 2005: 94). This could indicate that during the early phases of the Kingdom, royals were inhumated, instead of being cremated, as some have suggested (Alp 2001, Ekmen 2012). On the other hand, since urns are also buried in the earth similar to the inhumation burials, it is possible that Hattušili was trying to emphasize his fear of being buried in the earth, and did not mention the cremation of the body. Either way, to this date no royal Hittite burial has been found. Scholars have suggested that Yazılıkaya, the outdoor sanctuary of Hattuša, and the inscribed rocky outcrop of Nişantaş at Hattuša could be “stone houses”,⁶⁹ the mausolea of the Hittite royals (van den Hout 1994). Funerary texts do mention that cremated remains were brought here and animals were sacrificed for their souls:

“[The...] have brought from the palace two oxen (and) two times nine sheep. One [ox (and) nine sheep] they dedicate to the Sun goddess [of the Earth], the other ox and nine sheep [they dedicate to the should of the] deceased. [...the b]ones they pick up and from the pyre they [...] them and bring [them] into his Stone-house. In the inn[ermost] of the Stone-house they set up [a be]d, t[ake] away the bones from the throne [and] place them on the bed, that was set up. A lam[p weighing] ...shekels with fine oil they out infant of the bones [... . The]n they dedic[ate] one ox and one sheep to the should of the deceased.”⁷⁰

The period-based study of mortuary practices has unfortunately hindered the study of cremation. The long history of cremation in Anatolia has been especially

⁶⁹ NA4 hekur (SAG.UŠ).

⁷⁰ Translation taken from van den Hout 1994: 48-49.

ignored by scholars interested in the classical periods of Asia Minor. Some have even suggested that cremation was not a Greek (or Anatolian) practice, but instead a Roman phenomenon (e.g. Morris 1996). Ahrens argues that this assumption is based on the work of ancient writers who referred to cremation as “*mos romanus*”, and to inhumation as ‘*mos graecus*’⁷¹ (2015: 187). As we have seen, burning the bodies for either primary, secondary or cleansing purposes has existed in Anatolia since the Neolithic period. Anatolian communities at western sites like Ulucak, Demircihöyük, Baklatepe, and Panaztepe might have played a role in the wide spread of this practice in the Bronze Age, especially across the shores of the Aegean Sea.

4.1.2 Peri-Interment Treatments and Interactions with the Body

4.1.2.a. Decomposition and Burial Types

Once the body was cleaned, wrapped, and prepared, it was time to inter it in a burial. “Burial type” in traditional cemetery publications can refer to the way the body was disposed of (cremation, inhumation), and to the type of burial it was placed in (pithos, simple inhumation pit, cist, chamber tomb). Here I will make a distinction between the two. It is clear to me that burying the deceased in a pit or in a stone lined cist does not affect the body too differently, whereas burning a body and burying a

⁷¹ After Tacitus, *Annales* 16.6, and Petronius, *Satyricon* 111.2.

body are substantially different. The degree that one needs to interact with the body also differs in cremation and inhumation burials and in different burial types.

The degradation of the body starts immediately after death. While the body is changing in color and stiffness in a very short time after death, the decomposition of the body stretches over longer periods of time. The progress of decay has been variously divided into about four to six arbitrary stages, five perhaps being the most common: fresh, bloat, active decay, advanced (rancid) decay, and dry remains (Klepinger 2006: 118). Autolysis (the breakdown of tissues by internal enzymes) and putrefaction (anaerobic decomposition of tissues) are the main causes of the “smell of death”, the foul-smelling oxidized products. As autolysis and putrefaction is happening, the microbes that are trapped under the skin cause bloating. The skin discolorations, blisters, and peeling of the hands and feet usually occurs within about 4–7 days (*ibid.*). The decay process depends on external factors such as clothing on the body, the time of the year, temperatures, type of soil, the depth of the burial, and also on how long after death the body was placed in the burial.

The cemeteries in western Anatolia are in the Mediterranean climate zone, where summers are dry, often hot, and winters are wet mild to cool. Ulucak, Iasos, Baklatepe, and Panaztepe, which are closer to the coast, are more humid than more inland and highland sites such as Harmanören, Karataş, and Yortan. Central and northwestern Anatolian cemeteries such as Kusura, Alacahöyük, Kalınkaya, Resuloğlu, Yanarlar, Ilica, Gordion, Osmankayası, and Demircihöyük, fall under the inland climate,⁷²

⁷² “karasal iklim” in Turkish.

where the summers are dry and hot, and winters are cold and snowy. Inland, rainfall is less than in Mediterranean climate areas, although in the summers western Anatolia does not get a lot of rainfall either. Ilıpınar is in the Marmara Region, which is considered a transitional region between Black Sea and Mediterranean climates. Time of the year and other factors being equal, it is more likely for bodies to decompose faster in the Mediterranean and Marmara climatic regions, than inland central Anatolia. Despite this climatic difference, all disposal and burial types are found in all these



Fig. 4.8 : The most common burial types in the EBA cemeteries (Perello 2011: 31, Fig. 2).

regions. Cist burials are more common in central Anatolia as seen in Fig. 4.8; however, they were also used commonly in some of the other cemeteries in the west.⁷³

I agree with Bachhuber who rightly argues that differences in burial types may not be as important as the similarities in mortuary practices (2015). However, what is also important is that the different burial types would affect the interaction with the dead and decomposing body. If the burial is a pit in the ground, one person or several people can lay the body inside this pit without any difficulty. The same can be said for cist burials, where the stone box basically serves as the burial pit. In a pithos burial on the other hand, considering the smaller opening at the mouth of the jar (Fig. 4.9), the



Fig. 4.9: A body placed in a pithos burial. Reconstruction of Karataş burials at Antalya Museum (photo by the author).

⁷³ Readers can find extensive discussion on the percentages of different burial types in the cemeteries in publication of these sites and other mortuary studies (Durgun 2012, Perello 2011, Bachhuber 2015, Massa and Şahoğlu 2011).

body needs to be pushed inside the jar, which probably would not allow several people to do the placement.⁷⁴ The pithoi are almost always placed in the burial pit in a slanted position, which would make it easier for bodies to be slipped into them. The pithoi can get as big as 2 meters (Fig. 4.10), and this would allow even a full adult body to fit. In cases where the body did not fit, the head of the skeleton would be hanging from the pithos and a second pithos or jar would be used to cover the head (Seeher 2000,



**Fig. 4.10: Pithos (burial 84) from Karataş, with a one meter scale.
(Mellink and Angel 1966, Plate 57, Fig. 9).**

⁷⁴ A body that was pushed inside the jars would have a distinct body position, see Fig. 4.14.

Yıldırım and Ediz 2008).⁷⁵ The amount of effort and contact with the dead body seems higher in placing bodies in a pithos (or double pithos) burial than any other burial type.

At Resuloğlu bodies were placed with their heads both at the bottom and the mouth of the pithos jar, with the faces turned towards the south (Yıldırım and Ediz 2008). Also at Ulucak the dead were put head first into jars in the hocker position (Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004). In other cemeteries it is more common for the heads of the bodies to be at the mouth of the pithos, and the feet to be placed at the bottom. Slipping the body into the pithos with head or feet first might not make a big difference practically, again depending on the state of body decomposition. To be able to place a body in a hocker position with the head oriented in a specific direction, one needs the body to be intact. Is it then possible that pithos burials were preferred for individuals who died more recently?

It would be faster (and easier) to find a pithos jar than finding larger stone slabs and carrying them to the cemetery to prepare a burial in the case of an unexpected death, since pithos jars are also used in the settlements. That being said, a simple pit would be the easiest burial to prepare. Moreover, the fact that bodies buried in pits and cist burials were also found in hocker position, as primary burials, shows us that there was no strict rule for placing bodies at a certain decomposition phase in a certain burial type. Pithos burials, however, allow for easier reopening and reentrance, and therefore

⁷⁵ Creating a "double pithos" burial.

may have been preferred for multiple burials.⁷⁶ The same could be suggested for chamber tombs, which are not common in western and central Anatolia until the LBA. Müsgebi has yielded about 44 rock-cut chamber tombs (Boysal 1967), and some of these had dromoi, tunnel-like structures that would provide easier access to the burial chamber. The LBA chamber tomb at Baklatepe yielded 8 cremation burials (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012), which could also suggest that the places with easier access were proffered for multiple burials, similar to the pithoi. Although comparing the pithos and the chamber tombs, one would see that it is much more easier and practical to re-inter the chamber tombs.

It is known from Neolithic Ilıpınar that some bodies were laid on wooden planks while others were covered with them. This was also confirmed by wood fibers found on bones (Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008: 45). At İkiztepe's EBA cemetery, pieces of wood were found placed both under and on the body; these "wooden floors" were found in approximately 20 of the burials (3.9%; Doğan 2006: Table 168 in Welton 2010). A few other examples in Bronze Age cemeteries show us that the floors of the burials and burial containers might have been prepared for laying the body. At Karataş, the floor of the chamber tomb AQ was paved with a thick layer of pebbles (Mellink 1969). Several simple inhumation burials at Kalınkaya had surfaces that seemed to be tamped soil of a mixture of sand and earth (Zimmermann 2006: 279). At Baklatepe's EBI cemetery, the floors of several simple inhumation pits were covered with sand (Erkanal and Özkan

⁷⁶ See below for further discussion in "secondary activities" section 4.3, also see Bachhuber 2015.

1999: 340). It is also a common practice in Baklatepe for burials to have wheat grain (Erkanal and Özkan 1998), but it is not clear if these were sprinkled over the bodies or on the floors. At Resuloğlu one of the cist burials had a stone-paved floor (Yıldırım and İpek 2010: 26), but this was an exception within the cemetery. At Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery, burials 243 and burial 517 showed evidence for a charcoaly soil mixed with broken sherds and ash, which led the excavators to believe that some amount of soil from the settlement or from the deceased's house could have been brought to lay the dead body upon it (Seeher 2000: 27).

Cremated bodies were placed in urns, which are often beak-spouted jugs or small jars. Pitchers, cups, plates, and bowls can also be used as urns but they are less common. So far plates and bowls used as urns have only been found at Arıbaş (Özkan 1998: 168). At Arıbaş, the shapes and forms used for the urns can also be found in the settlement, and therefore it seems that urns were not produced especially for the burials (*ibid.*: 167), as is also the case for pithos vessels. At Demircihöyük's MBA cemetery cremations were found in urns and a small pithos, but burned and unburned bones can also be found together in a cist burial (Seeher 2000: 181). Even though cemetery publications put a lot of emphasis on what kind of burial container is used, I do not think the type of vessel matters as much as how bodies were prepared and placed in these containers. For example, in cases where the cremated remains were analyzed (e.g. Osmanakayası), most urns yielded only one individual in the urn, but there were also a few instances where adult-adult, adult-adolescent, and adult-child combinations were found (4 burials out of 73, Bittel *et al.* 1958). This shows us that

either people were cremated at the the same time, or the urns were reused for a second burial. It is known that urns were sometimes placed in the ground by themselves as in Konya-Karahöyük and Arıbaş, where urns were found in shallow pits (Alp 1954, Öztan 1998). In other cases urns were actually placed within another burial structure. At Demircihöyük, one MBA urn was buried inside a cist burial (Seeher 1993: 368-369). At LBA Panaztepe, cremation urns were found by the inner wall of the "tholos" tomb (Erkanal 1987: 257), and Baklatepe cremations were found inside the chamber tomb (Erkanal and Özkan 1998). As discussed above, in either case it is clear that urns were treated similarly to inhumation burials, where bodies could be placed in burial containers or in simple pits.

In some cases burned body remains were altered to fit in the urns. The osteological analyses on cremations from Troy indicated that some long bones were cut in order to make them fit into the container (Angel 1951: 13).⁷⁷ This means that people who collected the cremated remains were less concerned about finding the "right" vessel than they were with fitting the remains in the urn. This, again, is an indication that perhaps we are putting too much emphasis on where bodies and ashes were placed, than how they were placed there. On the other hand, cutting the bones to make them fit a certain vessels could also mean that vessel size (or a particular vessel) for example, did matter.

⁷⁷ Or they would be smashed since cutting bones is very labor-intensive.

4.1.2.b. Objects and Bodies

Objects are extensions of the human body; “they can act as sensorial prostheses” (Hamilakis 2014: 113). Objects placed inside the burials with the bodies will be discussed here, since the placement of some of these objects can tell us about how the body was adorned, or how objects were seen in relation to bodies. As we will see in Chapter 6, some objects can indicate several different uses in different rituals, therefore I will not assume that jewelry, for instance, was always placed in the burials as personal adornment, unless it is found directly in relation to the body.

As discussed before, in the case of pins, some can be associated with the body, and therefore could be considered as evidence for being used to hold clothing in place (daily clothing or special clothing for mortuary purposes). The bent pins such as the ones found at Resuloğlu (at the chest level and under the chin) could indicate a different, perhaps a symbolic meaning, rather than a way to secure a piece of clothing. The bronze cups at Resuloğlu were also bent and then left on the chest level or by the arms (Yıldırım and Ediz 2008). In either case, it is an over- simplification to call any object found in the burials as a “burial gift”. The same can be said for personal adornments such as rings, beads, earrings, and bracelets.⁷⁸

It is of course difficult to determine if the individual was wearing these adornments in their lifetime, or if they were adorned for the burial. At Resuloğlu, stamp-seal like gold earrings were found under the head and around the neck of a skeleton

⁷⁸ Smaller personal adornments i.e. beads are easily moved around within the burials so a systematic study of their exact location when they were initially buried is difficult.

(Yıldırım 2010), indicating that they might actually have been on the body when it was buried. A male skeleton found at Baklatepe's EBI cemetery had a silver bracelet on each arm, and a metal amulet-like pendant on his chest (Erkanal and Özkan 1998: 411). At Harmanören a bronze bracelet was found on the arm of a child, who also had hoop earrings by the skull (Özsait 1998: 610). At Kalinkaya a body of a female yielded a small spiral gold ring on her right hand, which was lying on the breast, and a chain with 37 rock-crystal beads around the neck (Zimmermann 2006: 279). At Ulucak MBA cemetery two bronze bracelets, a ring, and two earrings were found on the arms of a female skeleton in a hocker position (Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004: 60). In all these examples the find spots of the objects indicate that these were worn by the deceased. What is interesting is that such objects can also be found in burials that did not contain any human remains: at Harmanören a pin, a bronze bracelet, and a serial hoop earring was found in burial K2 that did not contain any bones (Özsait 1998: 611).⁷⁹

Metal pieces, metal sheets, and sheet fragments are not commonly found in cemeteries, except at Alacahöyük and Demircihöyük.⁸⁰ At Demircihöyük, some of these sheets are in complete form and therefore are called "diadems". Most of these "diadems" were found close to the head, and some were even found directly on the forehead (Seeher 2000: 61-62). Since these are often perforated, Seeher suggested that they could be attached to a garment or piece of cloth (*ibid.*). If this was the case, we could assume that some of these objects were used to adorn the dead body.

⁷⁹ for further discussion on this, see "secondary interactions" section 4.3.

⁸⁰ also at Karum Kaneš (see Heffron [forthcoming]).

Metal weapons can also be found in direct relation to the body. At Ilıpınar's Late Chalcolithic cemetery daggers were found close to the head (Roodenberg 2008a: 325), whereas in the EBA cemetery, a male was buried with a shaft-hole axe at his waist (Roodenberg 2008b: 337). At Baklatepe's EBI cemetery, two daggers were found in front of the face of the individual (Erkanal and Özkan 1998). Another burial (male) has also yielded a metal dagger right at the top of the head (*ibid.*). At Ahlatlıbel, male burials were found with daggers on the hip (see Arcan 2012: 22). In an EBA burial at Demircihöyük, a copper mace head and a copper/bronze dagger was found behind the head of the adult male whose face was facing north and who had a golden "diadem" on his forehead (Seeher 2000, Plate 16/4). The position of the weapons around the waist area could be explained by the possibility that these were either worn around the waist, or were placed to look like they were worn. A similar explanation can be suggested for the so-called diadems placed on the foreheads. On the other hand, the ones found closer to the head and face cannot be explained in the same way. The fact that the location of the weapons changed in different periods of Ilıpınar suggest that this practice was not regionally determined.

Weapons made of obsidian and other stone, such as axes, knives, and projectile points (arrow heads, spears) were left with intramural burials starting with the Neolithic. Towards the end of the Chalcolithic, in sites like Ilıpınar we start to see copper and alloyed metal weapons being placed in burials (Roodenberg 2008a: 319). Despite the long history of weapons in burials, some scholars have interpreted metal weapons in the EBA as a result of the ideas of property, competition, and ownership (e.g. Darga



Fig. 4.11: The İköztepe skull with sharp force trauma (Erdal and Erdal 2012: 84, Fig.8).

2013), whereas the weapons before the EBA are interpreted as hunting tools (Ekmen 2013: 20). Anthropological analyses show that violence was part of Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and EBA life; osteological indications of interpersonal violence and trauma, such as parry fractures, and cranial (skull) injuries, caused especially by blunt and sharp weapons (see Erdal and Erdal 2012), can be found in the skeletal remains throughout these periods.⁸¹ At Karataş and Demircihöyük about 10% of the adult male population yielded evidence for sharp force trauma (see Angel 1970, Seeher 2000). However, the placement of weapons with the individual does not directly point to a “warrior” burial or a fallen soldier, unless the weapon is the cause of the death. At İköztepe healed and unhealed cranial fractures were found on a male individual⁸² (Fig. 4.11). In this case, a

⁸¹ Selover (2015) presents all the available evidence from EBA Anatolia for these osteological indications, therefore I will not repeat them here.

⁸² SK 569; old adult male.

spearhead in a grave from the site matched the puncture wound, and was the cause of death (Erdal and Erdal 2012).

In cases where bodies could not be assigned to a sex, burial objects have been used to determine the sex of the individual. For example, when there were no physical anthropologists at the 1960s excavations at Çatalhöyük, burials were not sexed or aged by specialists in the course of those campaigns (Düring 2003). The excavator Mellaart argued that male graves would have weapons (stone maces, obsidian daggers and points) or personal adornments such as bone belt hooks. In contrast, the graves of women would contain jewelry (necklaces, rings and bracelets) as well as obsidian mirrors and spatulas (1963: 94-5; 1967: 208-9). Later studies showed that only a very few burials actually fit into Mellaart's assumption (Hamilton 1996a: 254, 259). At Ilıpınar a double pithos burial yielded a female with a pin and a jug close to her body,⁸³ whereas the male laid next to her was accompanied by a jug near the head and a shaft-hole axe at waist level (Roodenberg 2008b: 337). Roodenberg stated that this burial "meets the usual expectations" of sex associations with objects (*ibid.*). Such expectations are mostly met at İkiztepe, where axe-heads were found only in male burials. On the other hand, weapons such as spearheads and daggers were recovered both from male and female adult burials (e.g. Karataş, Demircihöyük, Kalınkaya, and İkiztepe). Detailed quantitative analyses of the sex/age of the individuals and burial objects they are buried with showed no correlation at Demircihöyük (Durgun 2012). Associations between mortuary practices, burial objects, and the identity of the

⁸³ Burial UN.

individual when they were alive cannot be made so easily. There is no correlation between age/sex and the type of burial either; the preference for the burial type and burial objects then were not related to these factors.

Metal weapons play a big part in the discussions about Early Bronze Age mortuary practices. Studies about social stratification and status (Massa 2014) and metal production (Pernicka 2000, Zimmermann and Yıldırım 2008, 2006) have focused on the objects rather than the individuals with whom they were found. Selover's study on violence is an exception to this, since she considers metal weapons together with analysis of trauma in the human remains, changes in fortification systems and settlements, and iconography (2015). Even Selover, however, associates weapons with the profession and status of the person while they were living: "the presence of arrows, a knife and macehead in a single grave would seem to indicate a warrior and his weapons rather than a farmer and his tools" (2015: 191). Metal weapons are usually not found in settlements. The studies that focus on the production and use of metal weapons in daily life, therefore, look at weapons found in cemeteries. This is a problem. The weapons that are found in burials are not hard and durable. Some of them were not strengthened through the addition of alloying agents (Zimmermann *et al.* 2009). An intentionally bent dagger from the Resuloğlu cemetery for example, consists of unalloyed copper, too soft for practical use (*ibid.*). The same softness is observed in a copper macehead from the same site. Therefore, it is possible that these "weapons" were produced for symbolic use, not for actual combat or for another practical reason.

Compared to the third millennium, the appearance of metal weapons in burials decreases considerably in the second millennium. Especially in the first half of the second millennium in western and central Anatolia this tradition is almost non-existent (Ekmen 2013).⁸⁴ The burials and cemeteries that do yield metal weapons are located mostly in south-central and south-eastern Anatolia, regions that have more cultural contacts (and perhaps influences) from Mesopotamia and especially northern Syria. Karum Kaneš, the Assyrian colony, is one of the sites that has revealed most of the metal weapons during the second millennium (Ekmen 2013: 23). Ekmen suggests that this could be due to the intense trade contacts or to the presence of Mesopotamian merchants (*ibid.*: 29). It is also possible that the function of the metal weapons in whatever ritual they were used could have changed during the second millennium.

Vessels found inside burials are often placed either directly on or next to the deceased. At Gordion, in simple inhumation pits vessels were found in front of the chest, whereas in other burial types vessels were left by the upper body, especially close to the head and the back (Mellink 1956). When they are placed outside, they can be found by the mouth of the pithos or outside the pithos (Yanarlar), outside the cist burials (EBA Demircihöyük), and even amongst the cover stones (Gordion). As Patrier has pointed out, the location of the objects and object deposits varies greatly from site to site (2014: 265). The change and continuity in the placement of burials can be best observed at Ilıpınar: in the Neolithic intramural burials, the few vessels that were found

⁸⁴ Müsgebi, Troy and Beşiktepe (Troy's extramural cemetery in the LBA) are notable exceptions to this.

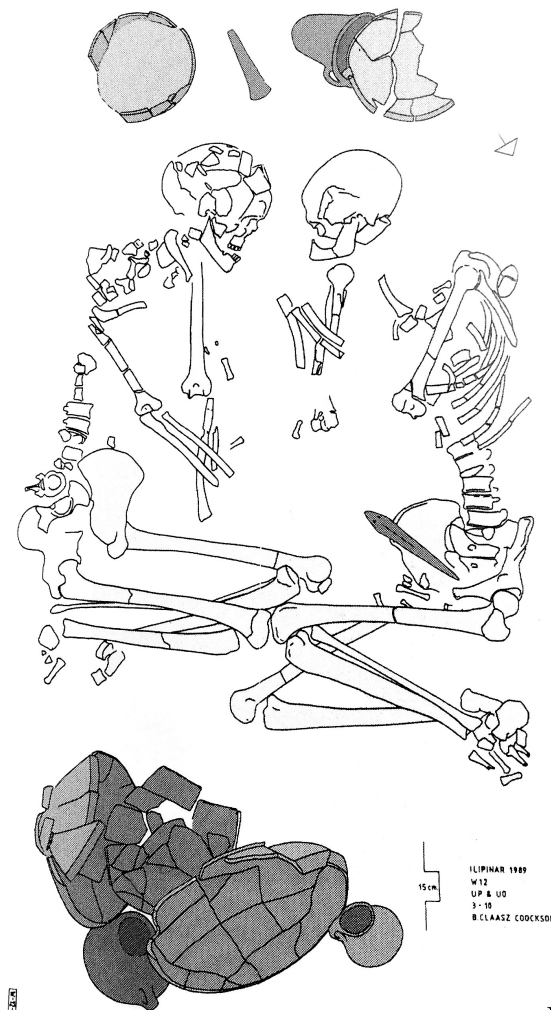


Fig. 4.12: Twin burial from the Late Chalcolithic cemetery of Ilipinar, with a female (left) and male (right) buried with vessels and weapons (Roodenberg 2008a: 325, Fig. 5).

were placed by the head, whereas in the Late Chalcolithic cemetery, associated finds were recovered near the head and near the feet (Fig. 4.12). Sometimes they were even placed at a distance from the burial (Roodenberg 2008a: 318). On the other hand, in the EBA cemetery the rule seems more established with pottery vessels placed next to the head and toggle pins placed at breast level (Roodenberg 2008b: 337). It is common to find burials that do not contain any human remains but have burial objects. At

Harmanören, vessels were found in and around the pithos in a similar manner to burials that did contain human remains (Özsait 1998: 609).⁸⁵

Also in cremation burials, objects are found both inside and outside the urn. At Ilica, bronze rings, bracelets and pins were recovered from both cremation and inhumation burials (Orthmann 1967). At Osmankayası, vessels, shells, and a Hittite stamp seal were among the various burial objects found in cremation urns (Bittel *et al.* 1958: 29). Outside and under the urns animal remains were also unearthed (*ibid.*). Beads in the shape of a spindle whorl were found in an urn at LBA Panaztepe, and were interpreted as parts of necklace (Erkanal 1987: 70). Spindle whorl-shaped beads and actual spindle whorls were commonly placed in Anatolian burials. At Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery spindle whorls were the second most common clay objects after ceramic vessels (Durgun 2012). The presence of spindle whorls could be due to wool production as suggested by Cannon (2010), but it could also be connected to the idea of death and spinning, which appears in Hittite texts as Gulšeš deities, who spin the thread of life and have the power to cut it (van den Hout 1994: 39). This mythological idea of death is very similar to the classical **Μοῖραι**, the Fates. Spindle whorls found in Bronze Age burials are therefore interesting, and show us that not only practices but also ideas and myths about death can span longer periods of time. I do not suggest that the spindle whorls in the EBA burials were necessarily connected to the same myth of deities

⁸⁵ See "absence of bodies" section 4.3.c.

spinning and cutting the thread of life, but it is possible that the EBA use of spindle whorls in connection to the mortuary context could have inspired the LBA Hittite myth, which was then transferred to classical mythology.

At Ulucak's MBA cemetery no objects were found in the cremation urns, but the scarcity of burial objects in inhumation burials indicates that at Ulucak objects were rarely placed in burials, regardless of the type of burial or type of body disposal. Clearly urns were treated as any other burial type in terms of the rituals practiced around them, since the objects associated with cremation burials are not different from inhumation burials. The question is whether the objects placed inside the urns were burned with the body or they were placed after the cremation process. Even though this is often not observed (or not recorded in the publications), in some cases we know that objects were burned with the bodies. The multiple intramural cremation burial found at Yümüktepe's⁸⁶ Chalcolithic level yielded ceramic vessels that were crushed and blackened due to exposure to fire (Garstang 1953: 111). At Baklatepe's only LBA chamber tomb, burned human and animal remains were found scattered with broken ceramic vessel fragments (Erkanal and Öztan 1998: 403). Metal animal figurines found in this burial were also burned and partially melted. The proximity of Baklatepe to the Mycenaean world, the similar burial type, and similar burial ritual (burning of the tomb) could indicate similar mortuary practices between the Anatolian and Greek shores of

⁸⁶ Mersin, southern Turkey.

the Aegean during this period. It is not clear if Baklatepe's burial is a full cremation; however, the fact that humans, animals, and objects were treated the same way is important.

In general the objects that are found in direct relation with the body, or inside the burial are considered "personal belongings" (Patrier 2014: 266, Roodenberg 2008b: 337), whereas the ones on the outside are often associated with feasting and offering activities (*ibid.*). The evaluation of the placement of objects in relation to the body and their treatment shows us that there could be a differentiation of function, meaning, or a differentiation in the time when the rituals including these objects occurred (Fig. 4.13). Bachhuber argues that the objects found in burials, especially the ones of a more exotic character (such as Syrianizing bottles), could indicate the relative status or importance of the individuals by symbolizing their connectedness to people that existed outside their own circle of social interaction (2015: 96). This is more visible in the LBA with Egyptianized scarabs and Levantine seals (found in burials at Panaztepe). I do not disagree with Bachhuber, but I believe that, especially in the prehistoric context, the meaning of an object will always be mostly speculative. The exotic nature of "foreign" objects may not be related to a social meaning, but could be due to the foreign look and style of the objects. Nevertheless, as we have seen in this section, objects may have had various different functions; sometimes they were in direct connection to the body as decorative or personal items, sometimes they were used in a certain stage of the

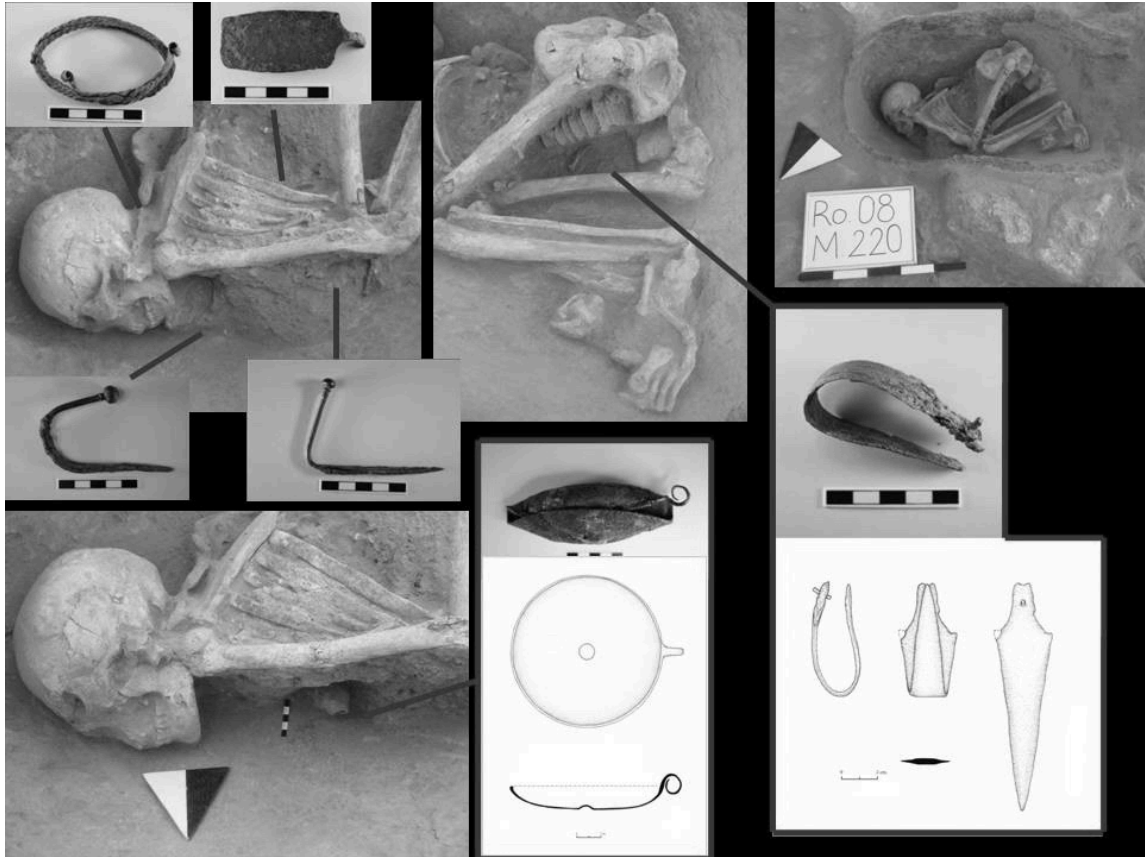


Fig. 4.13: Metal objects found in relation to the body in Burial 220 at Resuloğlu (Yıldırım and İpek 2010: 35, Fig. 13). Note the position, where the body was pushed inside the burial head first.

burial process or burial ritual, in some cases it is even possible that the meaning or function of the objects was transformed with the interment or by cremation. Today too we leave objects at burials; families leave flowers, figurines, religious symbols, and in some cases even toys (Fig. 4. 14). Visitors to the burial of famous writer H.P. Lovecraft often leave an object that can be found in anyone's pocket or purse such as coins, broken jewelry, pens, bottle caps, and sometimes more unusual objects such as spoons, feathers, and American flags (Fig. 4.15). Some of these objects are not directly related to the person's identity, nor they are connected to the person, but some indeed are. It is



Fig. 4.14: Burial objects at a Christian double burial at North Burial Ground, Providence RI (Photo by author).



Fig. 4.15: Objects left at H.P. Lovecraft's burial in the Philipps Family Plot at Swan Point Cemetery, Providence RI (Photo by author).

also very likely that objects that belonged to the people visiting the grave left objects of that belonged to them, and not to the deceased. When I left one of my green earrings at the tombstone of H.P. Lovecraft, I did not intend it to be an elaborate tribute to the author. Nevertheless, I still thought of Cthulhu, a cosmic entity created by Lovecraft. I thought of a giant green being and left the only green thing I could part with. Therefore, we should be careful in assuming that we understand which burial object falls in which category.

Another possibility for the function of burial objects could be similar to the ideas in the Epic of Gilgamesh and in the The Death of Ur-Namma (Ur-Namma A)⁸⁷. In these texts objects are left at the burials not for the kings, but for the gods and priests who would assure the safe passage in the netherworld. Gilgamesh for instance summons craftsmen and makes a funerary statue of his friend Enkidu, and from his treasury he selects the grave goods that Enkidu will take to the Netherworld to win the goodwill of the deities who dwell there. As part of the wake a great banquet is held, and then treasures are offered to the gods of the Netherworld and ritually displayed in public (George 1999: 62). Not all burial objects then were associated with the deceased him/herself, but they can be evidence for the rituals they were used in.

4.1.3 Post-interment Interactions with the Body

After the body was prepared and placed in the burial, it was covered or closed. The most common way of closing burials in Anatolian cemeteries is to cover the mouths of the pithos vessels or urns with stones (e.g. Harmanören, Karataş, Ulucak), mudbrick (e.g. Gordion), or with broken sherds (e.g. urns at Ilica). The urns in the cemetery of Troy (VIA) and Osmankayası were for example closed in a variety of ways: flat stones, plates, kylix vessels, or mud bricks (Blegen *et al.* 1953: 371; Bittel *et al.* 1958: 23). At

⁸⁷ The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature: <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/section2/tr2411.htm>

Demircihöyük, Resuloğlu, Harmanören, and Karataş a second pithos vessel could be placed at the mouth of some of the pithoi. In some cases an external structure would be added to the burial either as a marker or as a way of closing the burial. At Panaztepe, a rectangular wall was built around one of the pithos burials and was filled with rubble (Erkanal 1986: 70). Another pithos burial at Panaztepe was covered with a large flat stone, which led the excavators to the interpretation that it functioned also as a funerary stele (Erkanal 1986: 70). The EBA burials of Karataş have stone retaining walls by the mouths of the pithoi, which created a stone facade for the entrance of the burial. Karataş has also yielded an exceptional burial with an external structure, previously mentioned Tomb AQ, which was called by its excavators as “pseudo chamber tomb” due to the dromos, and the postholes suggesting a wooden structure on top (Mellink 1969: 324). Some of these external installations and covers can be interpreted as a way of marking the burials location on the surface, as we have already seen in Chapter 4. Most bodies in these cemeteries are already covered with either stone slabs (cist burials), sherds, stones, or with pithos jars themselves, and therefore additional structures cannot be directly correlated with providing extra protection for the deceased’s body.

The interactions with bodies and the process of interring bodies continued even after the closing of the burials. As Bachhuber has noted, “graves were not sealed permanently: they were often built to be re-entered” (2015: 85). The structures at the mouths of the pithoi or the stones covering burials can therefore be a way of marking

the entrance of the burials for re-entry. Many burials in Bronze Age Anatolian cemeteries have yielded evidence for reuse of the burials.

It is necessary to make a distinction between multiple burials and secondary burials, which sometimes are all considered as “secondary interments” (see for example Bachhuber 2015: 84-89). When burials are re-opened for adding another burial, which can happen both in a relatively short time period or after a longer period, if the new burial is a primary burial (with an intact body), this can be considered a multiple burial. The second interment is secondary to this first one, but it is not a secondary burial, if the body is interred for the first time. On the other hand, secondary burials refer to bodies that decomposed somewhere else, and were then brought to the final burial location. In other words, when disarticulated human remains are interred in a burial either by themselves or with other interments, this will be considered a secondary burial. Cremations for example, in the case of Anatolia, are secondary burials, because there is no evidence suggesting that bodies were cremated at the site of the burial. There are traces of burning in the cemeteries; however, these are often found in relation to animal bones, drinking vessels, and other objects, which are therefore interpreted as part of a consumption ritual rather than cremation locations (see Chapter 6).

Duday, who coined the term “anthropologie du terrain” (recently renamed “Archaeoethanatology” [Nilsson Stutz 2010b]), has had a great impact on the study of death and burial, especially in France, by emphasizing the importance of taphonomical processes. Duday defines “secondary depositions” as “dry bones that have become separated from their organs and ligaments” (Duday 2009: 89). According to Duday, the

criteria for secondary burials include: preplanning, disorder in the arrangement of bones, absence of bones, defleshing or burning the body. One should not forget that in some cultures the mortuary ritual is not considered completed until a second ceremony is held, which generally includes reburial and/or some kind of treatment of the body such as sorting, cleansing and/or reburial of the bones (Larsson 2003). The evidence from Anatolia suggests that such treatments played important roles in mortuary rituals. Therefore I organize the post-interment interactions section similar to Duday's criteria: 1) multiple burials, 2) dismemberment and re-interment, and 3) absence of bodies. The discussion of multiple burials in this case will cover both multiple primary burials, and multiple interments that include secondary burials.

4.1.3.a. Multiple Burials and Secondary Interactions with the Body

When Hamlet asks the gravedigger "How long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot?", the gravedigger answers "Faith, if he be not rotten before he die—as we have many pocky corpses nowadays that will scarce hold the laying in— he will last you some eight year or nine year" (Act 5, Scene 1). Even though the rotting, or the decay of soft and hard tissue —flesh and bone— does not depend on the moral degradation of the person, it is influenced by the period between death and burial (Boddington 1987: 5). It is of course difficult for prehistoric cases to assume at what stage exactly bodies were interred in a burial. The Hittite royal funerary rituals discussed above suggest that bodies were cremated and bones were collected for burial by the second day. It is,

however, not clear for how long un-cremated bodies would be kept with the family or somewhere else before they were buried.

As we have seen above, temperatures and other external factors also affect the length of decay and decomposition. Other things being equal, decay is slower for buried corpses than for surface remains and slower with deep burial than with shallow burial (Rodriguez and Bass, 1985; Klepinger 2006: 118). A study conducted at the research facility of the University of Tennessee Department of Anthropology looked at the different rates of decomposition of 6 different individuals buried under different conditions, except that all the bodies were buried at the field research facility within 48 hours of their death. Subject 2, buried at a depth of 0.6 m (2 ft) for a period of six months, exhibited little decomposition, whereas Subject 3, buried at a depth of 0.3 m (1 ft) for three months, exhibited extensive decomposition (Rodriguez and Bass 1985: 843).

The depths of the burials found in Anatolian cemeteries vary. Burials are often close to the surface, sometimes placed in an angle. At Harmanören this angle was often between 15-45 degrees (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2011: 1), whereas at Karataş it was often around 30 degrees (Mellink 1964: 272). Here the rims of the pithoi might be as little as 25 cm below ancient surface level but in some cases would be hidden as deep as 1 m (Mellink 1969). At Troy's Level VI cemetery some urns were close to the surface, some were in a 50-60 cm depth (Blegen *et al.* 1953: 374). Similarly at Ilıca, urns were buried in 60-80 cm depth (Orthmann 1967: 36). Seeher gives a very detailed explanation to the depth of the burials at Demircihöyük (2000). According to his observations, burial pits

would have usually been 1-1.5 m below the surface, but with time, erosion, and agricultural activities, burials now appear to be about 70 cm below the modern day surface. The 1-2 m depth of the initial burial pit would have caused a longer period of decomposition than the ones closer to the surface that were in the 50 cm range.

The five major stages of decay discussed above are often accompanied by insects and other arthropods, especially with fly larvae (maggots), which lay their eggs within a few hours, or in some cases within an hour of death (Klepinger 2006). This means that depending on the time of the reopening of the burial, the living would have to face maggots, or the smell of decomposition, which can still be present for months or years after the soft tissues have disappeared (*ibid.*). In the Epic of Gilgamesh, Gilgamesh mourns for Enkidu by saying:

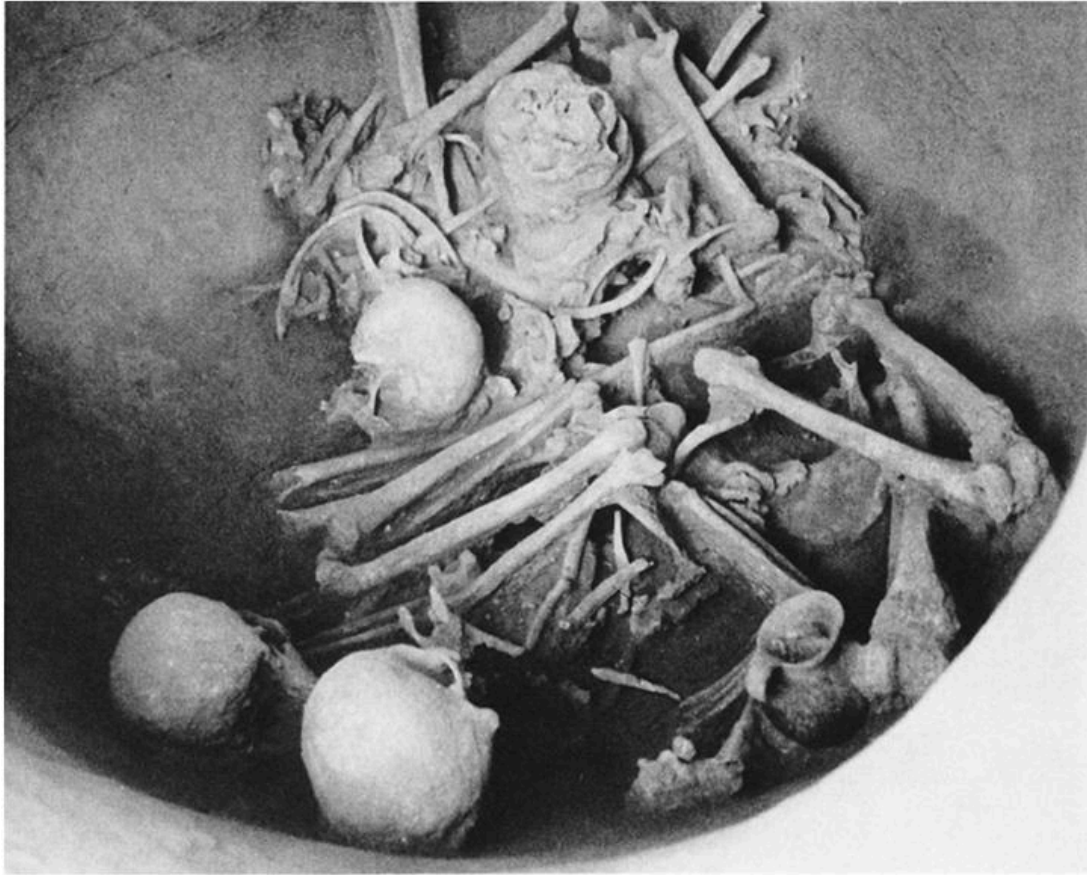
"Six days I wept for him and seven nights.
I did not surrender his body for burial,
until a maggot dropped from his nostril"
(Tablet X 60, in George 1999: 78).

It is possible that in some cases people held on to the bodies until decomposition was visibly happening. Simple inhumations, bodies that were interred directly in the ground, would decompose faster compared to the pithos burials and cist burials, which are in a more protected environment due to the burial containers. Is it possible then, that the specific burial types were chosen for a specific preference in the speed of decomposition? Would one want the body in the burial to be completely decomposed to avoid stench and other unpleasant elements such as maggots, while interring a second burial? Or is it easier to identify the necessary body parts when the body is not

fully decomposed to collect, to keep, push aside or discard the body parts when the second burial is interred?

Pithos burials are more commonly preferred for multiple interments. At Baklatepe, Babaköy, and Karataş multiple burials are found mostly in pithos burials. At Karataş for example, the jars were reopened, and the remains of the original burial were brushed aside to the base of the pithos, in order to make room for the next interment (Mellink 1964: 273). At Babaköy, pithos XIV, which we have already seen above (Fig. 4.5), contained two individuals. One of these individuals was almost intact with the arms, vertebrae, pelvis, and upper legs poorly preserved but more or less intact. The skulls and the ribs were pushed aside. Another body was found in this pithos; fragments of a skull, upper and lower leg bones were pushed to the side (Bittel *et al.* 1941: 6-7). This was clearly the first body placed in this pithos, which was then pushed to the side to open up space for the new body.

Baklatepe is a good example for demonstrating change in post-interment practices. In the EBI cemetery multiple interments were placed in several burials, whereas by the EBII period almost all burials were used multiple times. The bones in the EBI multiple burials were often mixed together and placed as a mixed assemblage either inside or outside pithos and cist burials. In the EBII burials however, the earlier burials would be pushed aside to open up space for the new ones. In these cases, even though the bones of the first burial are in a disarray, it is still not accurate to call these "secondary burials". These were primary burials, and were moved around due to a second interment. Therefore, calling these "secondary interactions" would be more



**Fig. 4.16: Pithos burial 84 from Karataş with bones of 4 adults.
(Mellink 1965: Plate 60, Fig. 5).**

precise. In the case of multiple burials, then, it should be expected to find the last burial interred to be more or less intact, whereas the previous ones to be disarranged, and pushed aside. In some cases, due to the high number of individuals buried in a jar, all the bones would get mixed up and create a disarray of bones (Fig. 4.16).

Up to six bodies were placed in a single pithos at Karataş (Mellink 1964) and Yortan (Kamil 1982), and up to eight bodies were found in Baklatepe's EBII pithoi (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012) and Panaztepe's LBA pithoi (Erkanal-Öktü and Karaaslan 2009), suggesting that this process could be repeated several times. Bachhuber suggests that the preference for pithoi for multiple interments was due to the function

of the pithos: pithoi are storage jars and therefore are used to store and retrieve things (2015: 85). The angled openings and closing-stones (so that dirt and other things would not fill the jar), could all be due to pre-planning for later burials. This can also be supported by Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery, where 131 out of 140 burials that did not contain any bones were pithos burials. Mellink, on the other hand, thinks that "pithoi are less easy of access" compared to the cist burials (1964: 273). She suggests that stone cist burials were constructed for re-entry (*ibid.*). However, reused burials have been observed in every part of the Karataş cemetery (*ibid.*), and multiple burials can be found in all burial types. For example at Demircihöyük, out of 23 multiple interment burials, 10 are simple inhumation pits, four are in double pithoi, three are in pithoi, and two are in cist burials (Seeher 2000), indicating that not one type of burial was preferred specifically for multiple interments. At Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery, simple inhumation pits were more commonly preferred for adding another body. The practicality of being able to re-open the burial container, then, was not crucial, or is not a central concern everywhere.

Similar to third millennium inhumations, some of the second millennium burials yielded multiple cremations. At Ilica, even though most of the cremation burials contained remains of one individual, 4 urns contained evidence for remains of 2 individuals, and one urn contained remains of 3 individuals (Orthmann and Helmuth 1967). Similarly at Osmankaya, where 54 cremations in total from 3 different phases of the cemetery were excavated, 5 urns yielded cremated remains of an adult together with a child (Bittel et al. 1958). At Demircihöyük's MBA cemetery, cremated and

uncremated bodies were placed in the same burial (Seeher 2000: 181). One of the urns at Troy that contained the cremated remains of a female, also yielded unburned remains of an adult male (Angel 1951: 13). On the other hand, at Gordion, all the 29 pithoi contained single interments (Mellink 1956). As can be seen there are site-based differences in the preference for multiple burials, but both cremations and inhumations could contain multiple individuals.

At Baklatepe's EBI cemetery, one burial contained a primary adult male burial and a mix of bones belonging to a child. The adult skeleton's lower body was covered with medium-sized stones (Erkanal and Özkan 1998: 411). In this case the adult was the second interment. The common combination of children and adults in the multiple burials has been often interpreted as family burials (Mellink 1964: 273, Seeher 2000: 181, Massa and Şahoğlu 2011: 167). At Baklatepe's LBA chamber room at least 12 individuals were buried and were interpreted as a family or a specific group (Erdal 2002: 121). Metric and non-metric observations on both deciduous and permanent dentitions from Neolithic Çatalhöyük have shown that the phenotypic patterning of individuals buried within the same buildings did not really show close resemblance (Pilloud and Larsen 2011). This means that at Çatalhöyük "membership within a house cemetery was not solely defined on the basis of biological affinity, such as in a family group" (Pilloud and Larsen 2011: 519). Çatalhöyük provides a good reminder that we should not assume individuals buried in the same burials have to be kin-related. On the other hand, in the EBIA cemetery at Bab edh-Dhra' in southern Levant, an organized, massive complex was composed of below-ground tombs with small chambers, which contained

related individuals (Sheridan *et al.* 2014). The issue of relatedness of the bodies interred in the same burial can be understood by osteological (e.g. dental), isotopic, and aDNA analyses, which do not exist for the Bronze Age Anatolian burials in western and central Anatolia.⁸⁸

The interactions with dead bodies and skeletons can be best observed with multiple interments. Multiple burials are important for several reasons: they show us that most Anatolian communities did not refrain from interacting with decomposing bodies or skeletons; in some cases they actually preferred reusing burial pits and jars to opening up new burial pits or bringing new burial containers to the cemetery. It is possible that practicality played a role in this decision, or symbolic or ritual concerns were taken into consideration. The fact that adults are usually buried with children may indicate a taboo against having children be buried by themselves, rather than a familial relationship. On the other hand, in sites like Gordion, multiple burials were completely avoided, which could demonstrate the different ritual or practical preferences of the people of Gordion, or a different kind of cultural taboo against multiple interments, or dealing with corpses. Multiple burials also show us that some burials were initially prepared with the intention to be reused, especially in cases where burials were placed at an angle. In general, all burial types were used for multiple interments. Even though pithoi are the most common type used for multiple interments, in some sites other burial types yielded more multiple interments. Clearly there are site-based preferences

⁸⁸ The only aDNA study I am aware of is from EBA Titriş Höyük, in southeastern Turkey. See Mattney *et al.* 2012.

in the types of burials. But what is again obvious is that cremations were not treated differently than inhumations in terms of reuse, were used to contain more than one individual's cremated remains, and sometimes were even buried with inhumations.

4.1.3.b. Dismemberment and Re-interment as Secondary Interactions

Secondary activities include the use of the burial for a second interment, but also the reuse of burials for dismembered and disarticulated remains. The Neolithic Period in the Near East is well-known for secondary activities and post-interment treatments such as skull removal and rearrangements of the bones (Kuijt 2008, Verhoeven 2002, Rollefson 2000). These practices are fascinating, and perhaps are also the main reason why the study of Neolithic mortuary practices have overshadowed later periods. This section aims to present the evidence for Bronze Age dismemberment and re-interment practices to question how these affected the interactions with dead bodies in cemeteries.

Dismembering, removing, and moving skulls around is a common practice in Anatolian cemeteries. Evidence for such activities can be found in third millennium burials of Karataş, Kusura, Yortan, Demircihöyük, Kaklık, Baklatepe, and in second millennium burials such as Osmankayası, Ilıca, Arıbaşı, and Kusura. In some of these cases, the skull is separated from the rest of the skeleton and placed by itself or with other skulls. At Karataş burial 271 contained no other bones than a child's skull, disproportionately large for the container (Mellink 1968: 258). At Harmanören cranium

fragments were dispersed amongst the burial finds at the bottom of pithos M5 (Özsait 1999: 475), and in N7 for example the cranium was buried together with long bones. At Ilica two out of three sherd covered burials, and one out of four simple inhumations contained only skulls (Orthmann 1967). In some other cases, skulls were deposited in relation to other burials. At Karataş for example, in burial 240, which consisted of a large adult-size pithos with only a single adult male inside, three more skulls (two adult females and one adult male) and some long bones were found stored outside, neatly arranged (Mellink 1968: 256). Also at Karataş, even when bones were mixed up, skulls would be neatly arranged along the sides or the base of the burial jar (1964: 273). Even though long bones are often found together with skulls, in several cases at Harmanören long bones were also found by themselves. The long bones in Burial K1 for example, were retrieved from the double pithos (Özsait 1998: 610). One of the most interesting skull practices comes from the second millennium cemetery of Osmerkayası. In burials 1, 3, and 22, the disarticulated skulls were surrounded with mid-size stones in an orderly manner (Bittel et al. 1958: 14, 16).

A case of trephination in the MBA cemetery of Arıbaşı raises the possibility that removed skulls were subject to some additional body modifications. A trephinated skull belonging to a c. 45 years-old female was found at Arıbaşı, but her facial bones, mandible and post-cranial skeleton were missing (Açikkol et al. 2009: 31). The reason behind this trephination remains unclear. In the absence of lesions affecting the bone, it is difficult to determine the precise aim of trephination (*ibid.*). It was reported that no signs of trauma or paleopathological lesion were found that could have affected the

bone (*ibid.*: 36). The hole is located on the lambdoid suture, which is unusual, since sutures are areas to be avoided when performing a trephination procedure. Even though the time of the trephination was not reported (peri-mortem or post-mortem), the unusual placement of the opening could mean that the skull was actually drilled post-mortem. Whether the trephination was the reason for death or a post-mortem modification is not specified.

Another trephination comes from Baklatepe's EBII cemetery,⁸⁹ where the body of an adult female was placed in a pithos by herself with her bones piled up (Erdal 2006). Besides the trephination, the other unusual aspect of this burial was a bone seal shaped in the form of a bird, which is unique for this period and region (Massa and Şahoğlu 2011: 168). As a result of the unusual object and body treatment, this woman was interpreted as an important member of the Baklatepe community (*ibid.*). In Anatolia, all cases of trephination were observed on adults (Erdal and Erdal 2011: 510). There are various suggestions for why brain surgeries may have been performed in prehistoric societies such as medical treatments or ritual purposes. At Arıbaş, the excavators suggested that this skull could be related to some form of cult ritual involving the separation of the skull from the body after death (Açikkol *et al.* 2009). Therefore, even though it is possible that certain individuals received such treatments or bodily modifications as a marker, this marker may or may not be related to one's importance in the community.

⁸⁹ the period when multiple burials were more common (see below).

In cases where the post-cranial body is lacking, it is often difficult to determine how the rest of the body was separated from the skull. Articulations that decompose faster are called “labile articulations” (Duday *et al.* 1990: 31). These articulations are foot and hand bones, cervical vertebrae, scapulo-thoracic, and costo-sternal (connecting ribs to the sternum) articulations. They can remain intact (depending on the environmental circumstances) from several weeks to a few months after death (*ibid.*). On the other hand, the articulations of the atlas and the occipital suture, lumbar vertebrae, sacrum and ilium, femur and pelvis, and the articulations between the bones of the knee are some of the most persistent ones and the latest to decompose (*ibid.*). The articulations between the occipital bone and the cervical vertebrae, especially the atlas (C1- the topmost vertebra), which along with the axis connects the skull to the spine, are some of the most persistent articulations. Therefore, for the skull to be separated naturally from the neck one would have to wait for a few years (*ibid.*). If the skull was not separated from the spine naturally, cut marks and other micro-wear on the bones can be helpful in providing us with information about secondary post-mortem treatments. Other than the cut marks found on the woman’s bones at Troy (4.1.1.b), no such treatments are reported for Bronze Age human remains. There is the example of Neolithic Domuztepe, in the context of cannibalism, where all the humans found in the “death pit” were reported to be decapitated prior to burial (Kansa *et al.* 2009). All the human and animal remains from the pit were analyzed for post-mortem treatments (Fig. 4.17), which showed that skulls were subject to most of the thermal alterations and cut marks. Some of these skulls were de-fleshed before placement in the pit, while others

were completely crushed and scattered throughout the pit (Kansa *et al.* 2009). Similar micro-analyses for Bronze Age human remains have the potential to provide more detail in post-mortem treatments of bodies.

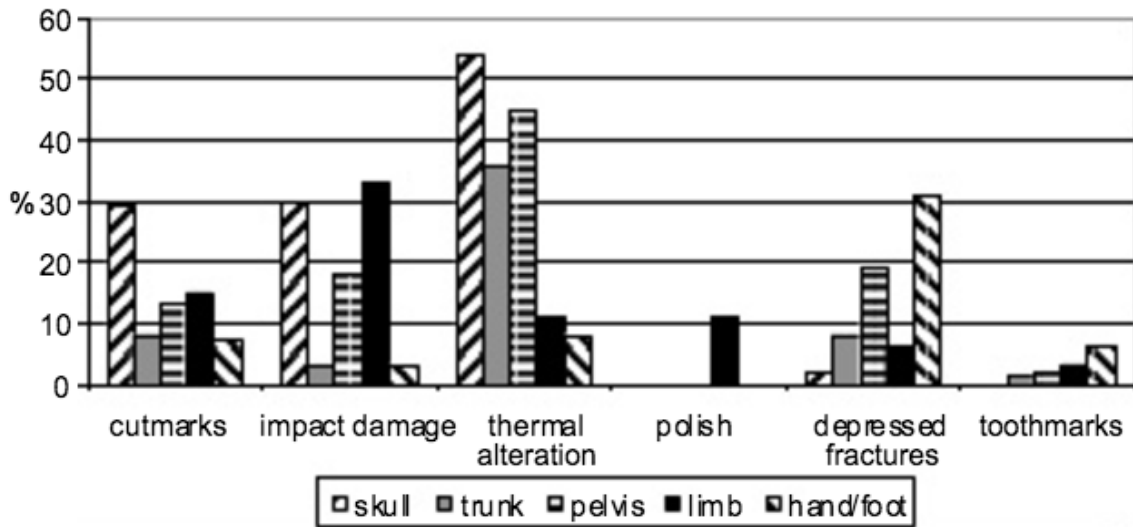


Fig. 4.17: "Processing damage" on human bones from the "Death Pit" at Domuztepe (Kansa *et al.* 2009:167, Fig. 5).

At Domuztepe 90% (n = 25) of the human crania was found complete enough for assessment (Kansa *et al.* 2009: 168). These crania showed evidence of blows to the head, sometimes destroying large sections of the vault. However, despite these blows, they were only partially fragmented, with 60% (n = 17) being more than half complete. The completeness of the skull was interpreted as a sign of the "individualized portion of the body" and therefore was considered important in terms of personal or social identity (Kansa *et al.* 2009: 168-169). I agree that skulls are more individualized than other body parts. Skulls are not only more personal, but they are an important element of the human body both symbolically and emotionally. Skull trophies are known from

different cultures both in ritual and warfare context; skulls can be kept as a sign of ancestor veneration, memorabilia, or as souvenir-like objects both in the ancient world (e.g Neolithic plastered skulls) and in historic cultures (Tibetan Kapalas “skull cups”). It is therefore not surprising that in the context of Bronze Age cemeteries, skulls were treated with more care and attention compared to other parts of the body.

As argued above, in Anatolia cremation burials are secondary deposits, meaning that they are burned, and then buried somewhere different than their burning location or pyre. Cremation burials, besides being secondary deposits, were also subject to secondary interactions. At Ilica for example, human bones were found scattered around the cemetery, which were interpreted as the result of secondary activities (Orthmann and Helmuth 1967). It is also possible that the bones belonged to cremation burials and were the parts that were not burned.

Tomb AQ at Karataş is often considered as one of the best examples for EBA secondary activities (see Bachhuber 2015). This burial had a square stone chamber and a pebble pavement, and was marked on the surface by a large stone circle (Mellink 1969). Mellink describes the position of bones as a “re-assembled package of bones” (*ibid.*: 325): the pelvis lay right behind the skull, partly leaning on it. Arm and leg bones were neatly arranged, but not in their original position. The burial, then, was transferred from a primary tomb to some intermediate stage (*ibid.*: 324).⁹⁰ Due to its unusual architecture, the excavators expected the burial to reveal more and better quality burial objects. Mellink explained the sparseness of objects by the possibility that

⁹⁰ It was a secondary burial that was arranged to look more similar to a primary burial.

not all the objects were deposited with this individual, when he was transferred to this secondary burial location (*ibid.*). The taking out, reusing, and reburying of burial objects are other components of secondary interactions with burials. At Troy's MBA cemetery (level VI- 1800-1600 BCE) pithos vessels nos. 1 and 2 contained Hellenistic and Roman pottery fragments (Blegen *et al.* 1953: 371-372). This shows us that some of the Bronze Age burials were visited long after they were out of use. This phenomenon of visiting older Bronze Age tombs has also been attested in the Classical and Hellenistic period in Greece (Antonaccio 1995, 1994; Alcock 1991). The use of older tombs in these cases have been connected to the circulation of Homeric literature (Antonaccio 1994, or with the power and comfort they provided for the community, especially in periods of social conflict and change (Alcock 1991). In the case of the western and central Anatolian cemeteries, it is clear that the reuse of tombs and circulation of human remains has been part of mortuary rituals since the Neolithic. However, due to Troy's close connections to the rest of Aegean and to its place in Homeric epic, it is possible that people of Troy were also practicing a similar idea of "ancestor veneration".

Practices of dismemberment can be understood as a way of transformation or preservation. The change of the body from an individual to a corpse or skeleton could have changed the way the body or the individual was perceived (Nillsson Stutz 2014). Removal, plastering, and circulation of skulls are secondary practices that are often associated with social memory (Hodder and Cessford 2004, Goring-Morris 2000, Kuijt 2001). However, as Morris argues, not all mortuary ritual is about ancestral cults (1991). Even if these skulls did not represent an ancestor, I believe that the moving of long

bones, the separation of skulls from the body, and the special attention given to the preservation of the skull show us that there was an importance placed in old burials and dead bodies, and that the interactions with these were an important part of the mortuary rituals surrounding bodies.

4.1.3.c. Absence of Bodies

As Bachhuber has noted, a relatively high percentage of burials in Bronze Age Anatolian cemeteries were found with no bone remains (2015: 88). This was attested in several EBA sites including Karataş, Harmanören, Baklatepe, Kusura, Ulucak, Kaklık, and Demircihöyük, but also at second millennium sites such as Yanarlar. Even some of the urns in the cemetery of Ilıca did not contain any ashes or bones (Orthmann 1967). These urns were beak-spouted jugs, which led the excavators to question if these were actually used as urn or as jugs, or if the cremated remains were lost (Orthmann 1967: 36). At Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery, about 140 burials (28.3 %) did not contain any bones (Seeher 2000: 27). Seeher has suggested that these empty burials could be considered "cenotaphs", memorials for those who could not be buried (*ibid.*).

The absence of bones in burials can be explained by several other reasons: bones might have been lost during the transportation of the bones from the decomposition location to the burial location. Duday also raises the possibility that in some cases archaeologists may not have been careful enough while excavating, and

have overlooked some smaller bones (2009: 89). If longer bones and skulls were removed from these “empty” burials, what would be left would be smaller bones such as phalanges, carpals, tarsals.

As Duday has noted, there is a difficulty in distinguishing true secondary burials from disturbed or robbed primary burials (Duday 2009: 90; also see, Galanakis 2016, Cook 1999). In the case of EBA Ulucak for instance, where the burial was found intact, we can surely suggest that this burial was reused in antiquity. Moreover, burial 141 at Demircihöyük, and Karataş pithos 325, are some examples where the burials did not contain any bones but still yielded burial objects (also see Bachhuber 2015: 88). These examples suggest that they were probably not robbed, and that objects (just like the secondary human remains) were in circulation. Excavators of EBA Ulucak have suggested that the burials with incomplete skeletal remains were “disturbed”, even though some of the covering stones at the mouth of the pithoi were still intact (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004: 54). Similar to Seeher, they suggest that these were either symbolic burials (cenotaphs) for those who died violently, or they were disturbed by animals (*ibid.*).

In some cases the absence of bodies has been explained with the possibility that the graves belonged to infants and children (see Seeher 2000), who have smaller and not fully developed bones, which dissolve more easily. At Yanarlar the absence of bodies in or outside one of the burial jars was explained with the possibility that the grave belonged to a child, and this was confirmed also by the small size of the jar (Emre

1978: 23). It seems more likely that the bones in these burials were moved as part of a secondary burial activity.

Another interesting phenomenon that occurs in the “empty” burials is the reuse of the burials for a completely different function. One of the jars at EBA Ulucak that contained only a few bones was filled with stones (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004: 54). This was explained by the excavators as a ritual act (*ibid.*), whereas at the Baklatepe EBI cemetery jars filled with stones and placed upright were interpreted as burial and boundary markers (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012: 94). The recovery of only few bones in the Ulucak example can be an indication of this burial jar being used for decomposition, and once the bones were removed from it, it was transformed in meaning or function. As Hockey and Draper suggest, the absence or invisibility of the human body alone is “insufficient grounds for social ‘non-existence’” (2005: 45). The “empty” burials could have been used as markers or as cenotaphs, where the burial jar with no human remains still functioned as a memorial or burial place to which people could return to. It is true that the “absence of the physical body in the cenotaph can not be taken as the absence of the social body” (Chapman 2000b: 122). It is possible that whatever or whoever the burial represented, continued this representation after the bodies were taken out. Chapman considers cenotaphs as the mortuary equivalents of hoards (*ibid.*). But, looking at the number of examples for dismembered skulls and long bones, one could argue that in the Anatolian cases these empty burials were the primary place for decomposition of some bodies, which were later taken to be buried in another burial location. It would make sense for some burials to be used only for the purpose of

decomposition, whereas others (maybe the multiple burials) were used for final burial. In either case, it is clear that these Anatolian communities were in constant interaction with corpses, skeletons, and bones.

4.2 Discussion

"Ancient bodies surround us, in representations, in burials, in the nourished senses behind foodways, in hands holding tools, in the responsive presences centered within architecture and monuments." (Borić and Robb 2008: 1).

Cemeteries and burials provide us with unique evidence in terms of understanding ancient bodies and the perception of dead bodies: we can observe how the living bodies handled, prepared, buried, reburied and interacted with dead bodies. In Anatolia interactions with dead bodies were not limited to the moment of burial, but were continued afterwards as well. Bodies and body parts were moved around, replaced, and reinterred. Dead bodies were part of the mortuary rituals, even after they decomposed and became skeletalized.

Mortuary practices and interactions with the body are complex, multi-staged, and long-term processes that are influenced by earlier traditions. Unfortunately, in many Anatolian cases, secondary activities have been regarded as "disturbances". The idea of "disturbing dead bodies" is of course the result of our own perception and level of comfort in dealing with dead bodies today. Anatolian communities in the Neolithic and throughout the Bronze Ages did not see any problem with re-opening burials, removing bones, re-placing them with other bodies, burning them, or cutting them. The careful preparation of burial floors, the placement of the body, the care put in closing the

burials, all show us that burials were not just places of disposal. They were lively places where cultural, social, and symbolic practices intersected.

Anatolian burials were designed to be reused. The continuation of body positions and preparations of the burials make it clear that the treatment of bodies was highly influenced by the social memory surrounding mortuary practices. It is difficult to say if secondary burial interactions were a result of remembering the dead as ancestor veneration, or a result of burial ritual that necessitated the reorganization or reuse of burials or body parts. These, however, do not need to be considered mutually-exclusive: "there are many different bodies which can be understood in different ways at different points of time" (Harris and Robb 2013: 16). When people were interring a body in a pithos burial for the first time, they did not have to interact with older bodies. In that case the dead body was more vivid and complete in the memory of the people who interred him/her. On the other hand, when later another body was interred in the same pithos, people interring the body had to interact with two types of dead bodies: the new dead body and the old one(s). The careful placement of the body in a certain body position in the burial pit or container, opposed to the older burials which would be pushed aside to make room for the new body, seem to indicate conceptually different bodies: the body with a bodily integrity, which was still a recognizable individual, and the body that was now decomposing matter or a skeleton. Dead bodies then, were treated differently in secondary activities than they were in primary interments. These differences in treatment depended perhaps on the time passed, but also on the appearance of the body. If there was an ancestral connection to the older

body, this ancestor did not represent the individual him/herself, but an imagined or idealized body that became part of the communal past. This accumulation of the bodies consequently led to the accumulation of the pasts (Gamble 2004, Hamilakis 2014).

The fact that burials were marked and reused for long periods of time indicates that there were social rules on how dead bodies should be treated. The short-term memories in the cemeteries attested in the form of reuse of burial containers, revisits to the burial, secondary burial activities, and the continuous practice of conducting rituals show us that the cemetery experience was a multi-temporal one (Hamilakis 2014). When people were visiting the burials they were experiencing the presence of old burials, older objects, old bones, as well as the present moment. The cemetery was a sensorial, and corporeal place, and these senses and embodied experiences contributed to the memories surrounding the cemeteries.

Sexual division was not expressed in the ways bodies were treated or interred. Burial objects also do not correspond to sex or age divisions. Since burials were not sealed contexts, attempts to associate burial objects with certain ages, sexes, identities, or statuses are likely to be misleading. In Bronze Age Anatolia, considering the secondary activities occurring in cemeteries, it is more likely that the burial objects were not necessarily associated only with the individual that was interred at that moment in that burial, but rather with the rituals that were taking place during or after the burial.

The analysis of the location of objects found in relation to dead bodies has shown us that almost every site had a different preference as to where to place the burials. Objects that were in direct relation to the bodies could be considered to be

buried with that individual. However, it is not clear if these were placed with this individual because they belonged to them, if they were placed on the body for the burial occasion, or if they were worn during their lifetime. Various evidence for wrapping or clothing bodies and objects were found in different sites, which makes it clear that bodies were often covered either with textiles or with objects. Again, the locations of objects should not be seen as permanent locations since, like the bones, objects were also moved around burials and cemeteries.

As more recent analyses have shown, there is no evidence for a connection between the burial type and the person found in that specific burial type. Practical reasons, such as preparation of the burial, difficulties in placing the bodies in a burial, or carrying the burial container from the settlement, all contribute to the choices of burial types. Moreover, it is also clear that different burial types had different advantages and disadvantages in terms of decomposition speed, display, and concealment of the body, which might have affected the choices in burial types. The reuse of all types of burials indicate that there was no specific type that was reserved for multiple burials, secondary or primary interments.

The multiple burials in Anatolian cemeteries may or may not have represented familial or kinship groups. This question needs to be further investigated by osteological (e.g. dental), isotopic and aDNA studies that focus on the question of familial and genetic relationships. Familial connections were not requisite for being buried in the same burial as the case for Neolithic Çatalhöyük has shown. But such family burials were found in the EBA in other cultural areas (southern Levant). It is

possible that starting with the EBA familial/ancestral connections became more important, but this needs to be validated with more empirical data.

As I have suggested before, cremating or burning a body is a completely different task and experience than placing a complete corpse in a burial. However, the fact that other than the burning, both cremations and inhumations are treated similarly in terms of the preparation and objects, indicates that cremations do not necessarily represent new cultural groups arriving (suggested for example by Akyurt 1998). Cremated remains in different sites and regions are placed in vessels characteristic of that site or region, together with objects found in inhumation burials, which indicates that cremation was a different way of preparing the body, but it was still practiced within the rules of local traditions. Cremation could have emerged as an experimentation, or a new ritual element that involved fire. Since burned animal remains were also found in cemeteries it is not unlikely that fire was part of mortuary rituals, and that these rituals were extended to the burning of the bodies. These observations suggest that assumptions about funerary practices as important indicators of cultural identity may represent an over-simplification of complex patterns of interaction within populations and cultural groups. As it was suggested for İköztepe, different groups did not have different burial practices (Welton 2010). The emergence of cremation in Greece is often associated with influences from Anatolia (Musgrave 1990), showing how these culture-historical interpretations are affecting our understanding of ritual elements and burial practices. This suggestion is likely to be true geographically, that is cremation could have spread from the Anatolian shore of the Aegean to mainland Greece. However,

labeling cremation as an "Anatolian" element implies that there was a clear difference between the "Greek" culture and "Anatolian" culture. As a future project, it would be interesting to compare western Anatolian mortuary practices to the rest of the Aegean to see where the "Anatolian" mortuary elements stop and where they are replaced by "Greek" mortuary practices.

CHAPTER 5: Real and Imagined Bodies: Representations and the Body

"Figurines are about human identity. They negotiate, manipulate, dictate and determine the connection between the self, the other and the world." (Bailey 1996: 293).

Anthropomorphic figurines are defined as "miniature human representations modeled in clay or stone" (Hamilton 1996b: 281). Figurines have an artistic value. They also have an evolutionary value in terms of understanding our "self awareness" as a species (*ibid.*), and in understanding how humans view themselves, their bodies and their place in the world. Some scholars have emphasized their skepticism in separating the boundaries between the body and the material world (e.g., Soafer 2006), suggesting the the living and the dead body, the cultural subject and the material object, are not always clearly distinct or separable (*ibid.*: 62). The secondary interactions with body parts, especially with skulls, suggest that even after the fragmentation of the body, the body parts can still act as the whole (Fowler 2008), or can be transformed into a new form that is more objectified. Because it is so difficult to categorize body parts that have become objects, or objects that represent bodies, the discussion on bodies cannot be complete without the discussion of material representations of human bodies. Moreover, since the Anatolian Bronze Age is frugal in terms of depictions of death and dead bodies, it is crucial to complement the discussion of bodies with the depictions of human bodies.

Image-making, as Chapman argues, is a "fundamental social practice and the body is frequently the object of such representation" (2000b: 133). I suggest that the body in the context of anthropomorphic figurines is three-fold: the dead body, the body

of the figurine that is placed with the dead body, and the living body that made or placed the figurines with the dead body. The figurines found in mortuary context give us a unique chance to study representations of bodies — “imagined bodies” —in direct relation to human remains — real bodies.

One aspect that real and imagined bodies share is their performative abilities. Budden and Soafer’s study on Hungarian Bronze Age looks at the transmission of knowledge about how to make pottery and how this serves to create the identity of a potter (2009). Making pots, they suggest, is an embodied performance and therefore is similar to an operational chain, where the body itself learns through the repeated performances (*ibid.*). This idea is influenced by Mauss’ “body techniques”, which can be defined as “ways in which from society to society, men know how to use their bodies” (1979: 97). These concepts have inspired archaeologists to apply ideas of embodiment to the production and use of objects (Joyce 2005). In the case of human depictions, especially figurines, both the production and use of the objects are embodied practices. In addition to that, figurines are also products the embodied practices of the real body. Individual bodies making these figurines then are not just abstract social actors (Insoll 2000), but are both the subject and the object. Mauss also suggest that embodied forms of knowing, understanding, and making are social, which means that their principles are communicated and passed on through networks (1979, also see Crossley 2007). We can suggest that figurines and other depictions of human bodies acquire social meaning by the way they were produced and used.

Fired clay figurines are the earliest ceramic objects made by people (Sinopoli 1991:1). Even though they predate vessels by about 16.000 years (*ibid.*), their study has never been as systematic or analytical as for pottery. If ones move away from the materialistic definition to a more conceptual definition, figurines are three-dimensional representations of a living or unanimous beings, but particularly the anthropomorphic figurines are about human identity. They negotiate, manipulate, dictate and determine the connection between the self, the other and the world" (Bailey 1996: 293). They are "durable", "tangible", and "mobile" (*ibid.*: 391), loaded with different functions and meanings.

The interpretation of figurines should be based on "the detailed examination of the figurines themselves, the archaeological context of the figurines, and relevant anthropological evidence" (Ucko 1962: 38, also see Marcus 1996). As obvious as this statement is, in the context of Anatolia, studies of figurines have focused mostly on the discussion of regional and temporal styles of the figurines (e.g Makowski 2005, Aydingün 2006, Bilgi 1979),⁹¹ rather than their contextual examination. Elsewhere in the Mediterranean, recent literature on the study of figurines has focused on corporeality and materiality (see Hamilakis *et al.* 2002), or on embodiment and identity (Mina *et al.* 2016), but Anatolia is missing from these discussions. This is definitely not due to the lack of figurines in Anatolia, but due to the way scholars have studied them. In this section, my aim is to examine the representation of the human body, in the light of the above-discussed interment practices and other interactions with the body, to see if

⁹¹ The same trend can be observed for other places in the Aegean (Papadatos 2016).

there is any connection between the actual bodies and the bodies figurines embody, and to see what we can learn about perceptions of the body in Anatolia.

5.1. Body, Body Parts, and Dismemberment

Anthropomorphic figurines in Anatolia are often categorized as figurines and idols: figurines are more naturalistic-looking and are often made of clay, whereas schematic ones are often stylized and are made of stone, especially marble (Makowski 2005). These schematic stylized figurines can also be referred to as “idols”. Although clay figurines existed in Anatolia since the Neolithic, stylized stone idols are a new type that started to appear in the EBA. Aydingün suggests that they represent a different concept than earlier Neolithic figurines (2006). This is perhaps true, considering that visually the figurines and idols are considerably different, and in some cases the idols are so abstracted that it is hard to say if they actually depict human bodies. As we will see, the ways idols and figurines are treated in the mortuary context, however, is quite similar.

The featureless figurines (idols) become less and less popular after the EBA. MBA and LBA cemeteries in western and central Anatolia have not yielded any figurines and therefore most of the discussion here will be on the EBA.⁹² I should also note that figurines and idols are not commonly found in burials. At the Demircihöyük EBA cemetery there are about 500 burials and only four of them yielded figurines and idols

⁹² Sites that have yielded figurines for the MBA and LBA periods are not considered local Anatolian in nature, such as Kültepe (the Assyrian colony) and Atchana (considered to be in a northern Mesopotamian cultural zone).

(Seeher 2000). Figurines and idols are also not specific to the mortuary context; in fact more of them are found in settlement contexts.

Many figurines in the Bronze Age mortuary context are females as represented by breast and pubic triangle, while the rest (mostly the stylized ones) do not have any features that can be associated with sex. Male figurines only start to appear towards the end of the EBA (EBIII). So far, attempts to correlate figurines and idols with a specific burial, and with the age (child vs. adult) or sex (female vs. male) of the deceased have failed. At Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery figurines and idols were found in adult male and in child burials, as well as burials with no bones, and even outside of burials without any direct connection to a human body (Seeher 2000). In Karataş idols are said to be found in correlation with children burials (Mellink 1967), but also in burials with secondary activities. In tomb 15 at Karataş, for example, the bones were badly disarranged. Here, one headless idol lay near the wrist with the bracelet, and a cluster of three headless idols underlaid the best preserved leg bone, but the head of one of these was found a little to the east (Mellink 1964: 277). Also in tomb 8 at Karataş, where two headless idols were found, the bones were described as "rather chaotic" due to secondary burial activities (Mellink 1964: 277). The secondary activities associated with burials where these idols and figurines were found, reminds us that perhaps looking for an age/sex correlation with figurines is in vain, since burials were used for multiple individuals, and for multiple burial activities. It is also difficult to determine at which stage the figurines were deposited in these burials.

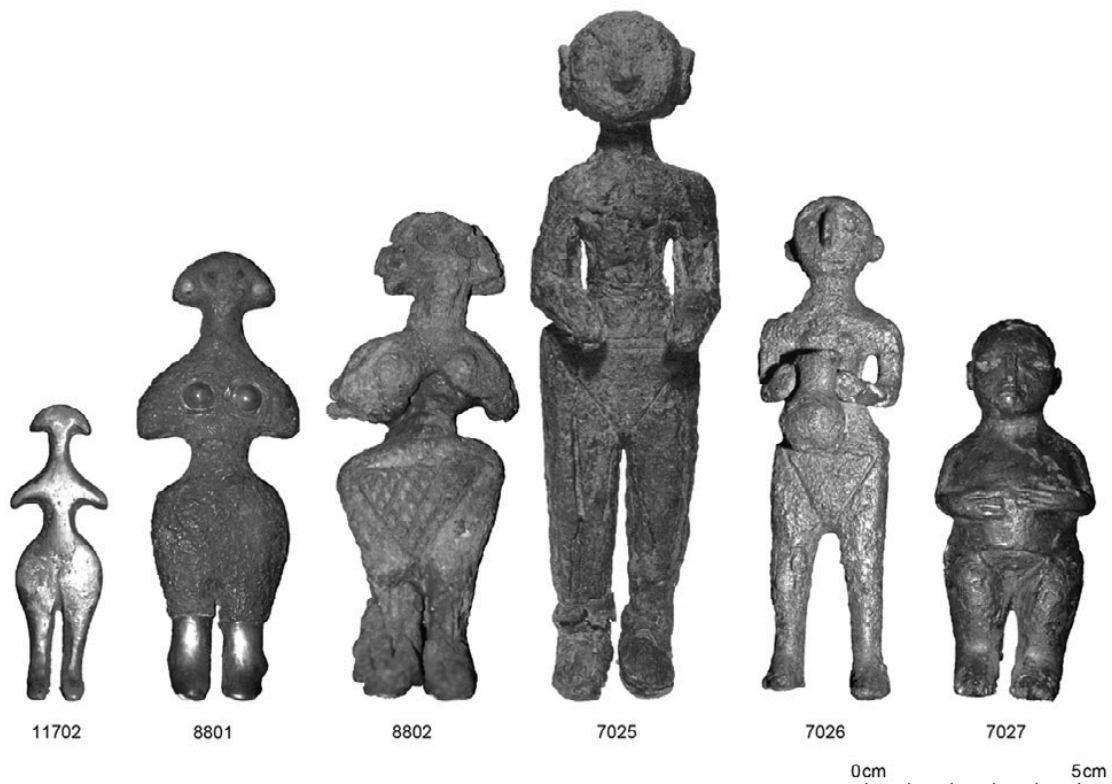


Fig. 5.1: Early Bronze Age figurines from the 'royal' burials of Alacahöyük (Zimmermann and Özen 2016: 21, Fig. 7).

The identification of the sexes of the figurines themselves is more straightforward. The depiction and selection of which body parts to represent or emphasize, especially in the case of naturalistic figurines, is very specific. The female figurines often have their eyes, noses, breasts, and pubic triangles depicted. Eyes are often marked either by incisions (e.g., Demircihöyük) or by additional materials: the Horoztepe "nursing woman" was reported to have white paste with black color inside both of the eyes when it was excavated (Özgüç and Akok 1958: 17). Pubic triangles are also often exaggerated as seen in the Alacahöyük examples (Fig. 5.1). In some cases this also causes the hips to be abnormally wide. The Alacahöyük examples are also

interesting because of the emphasis on breasts, especially in the case where the breasts and feet are made of gold (#8801 in Fig. 5.19). The Hasanoğlu female figurine is not from a mortuary context but shows similar emphasis on the breasts, pubic triangle and especially on the head (Fig. 5.2). The body of the figurine is made of silver, but the head and the breast, as well as the band ornament is made of gold mixed with silver (Zimmermann and Özen 2016). No shoes, clothing, head or breast covers (masks, plates, etc.) have been found in relation to bodies in the burials or cemeteries in Anatolia.⁹³ It is possible that different materials were used to highlight specific body parts, or create a contrast between different body parts. The emphasis on the head and its difference from the rest of the body is important to note, since skulls in burials are also often found separate from the rest of the body. Skulls are also moved around more often than any other body part. The different color and material of the head could indicate an idea of the importance of the head. Or could this be due to a difference in the perception of dead and living bodies in the form of figurines?

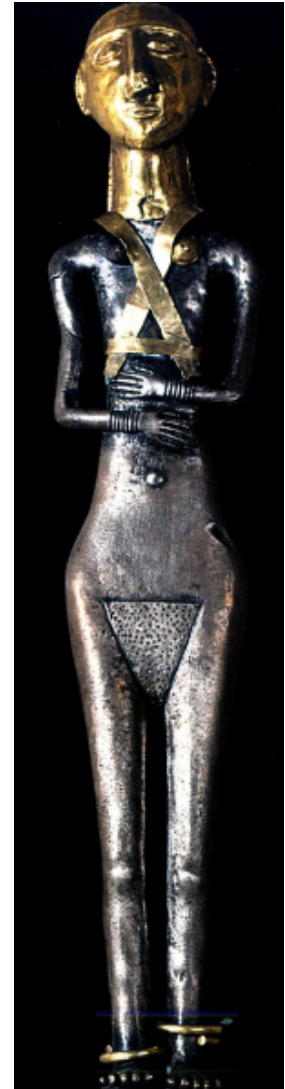


Fig. 5.2:
Hasanoğlu
figurine
(Anadol 2011: iv).

⁹³ One ceramic shoe representation was found at Karataş's settlement fill, which had white painted straps (Mellink 1970: 250). It was made of typical EB II Karataş ware. Some skulls found at Kültepe also have gold sheets on their faces and gold sheet hats (Heffron forthcoming), but this is atypical for Anatolia.

One important feature of both figurines and idols found in burials is that they are very rarely found complete. The ones that are found complete are almost always made out of metals (e.g., Alacahöyük's bronze and silver figurines, Horoztepe's metal figurine). Demircihöyük's complete clay figurine, found in pithos Burial 295, is an exception. This figurine has a flat shape and its body form looks like a hybrid between the wide-hipped clay figurines, and the long-necked stylized idols (Fig 5.3). The rest of the figurines found in Anatolia are broken or fragmented. This has been interpreted by many archaeologists as a result of "killing" of the object or intentional breakage before burial (Mellink 1967). The breakage is often found at the neck of the idols, which is the most fragile part. People reopening and reentering the burials could have caused the breaking and scattering of the figurines. But the following example from Karataş shows us that the breakage was not always due to post-depositional events: Tomb 191 contained only a child's molar⁹⁴ and yielded burial objects including a small black pitcher, three idols, a silver pin, and a small bronze spatula (Mellink 1967: 254). The black beak-spouted pitcher was of the very fragile variety. The two idols, on the other hand, which are made of white marble, were lying in fragments near the pitcher (Fig.

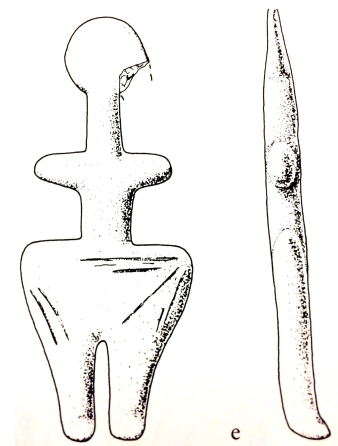


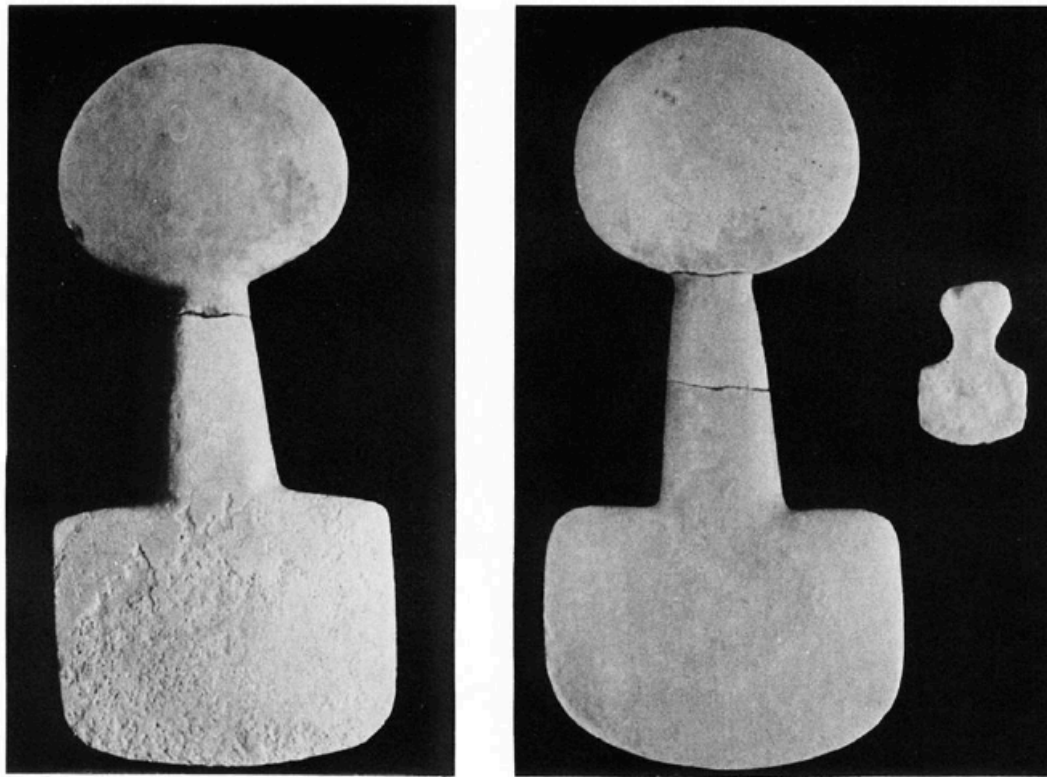
Fig. 5.3:
Demircihöyük's
complete clay
figurine from EBA
burial 295 (Seeher
2000: 152, Abb. 36).

⁹⁴ And therefore was interpreted as a child's burial. But the lack of any other bones makes it difficult to assign this burial to a specific age group. As discussed in the previous chapter, the molar could have ended up here as a secondary activity. This of course affects the interpretation that more child burials contained idols and figurines.

5.4). Mellink argues that they could not have been accidentally broken by the plough or by human action after the time of the burial, since the pitcher itself would then not have escaped damage (*ibid.*). It was concluded that the idols were intentionally broken by having their heads knocked off. The third idol did not break but had a nick in the contour of the head. Mellink thought that this idol was too small to be broken (Fig. 5.5), although an attempt was made to knock its head off (*ibid.*). A similar small idol found in tomb 144 was more successfully broken. Breaking is not peculiar to figurines or idols; as



Fig. 5.4: Tomb 191 from Karataş with broken idols and pitcher (Mellink 1967: Plate 75, Fig. 5).



**Fig. 5.5: Marble idols from tomb 191 at Karataş.
(Mellink 1967: Plate 77, Fig. 13 and Fig. 14).**

will be discussed in Chapter 6, metal objects are often bent, and ceramics can also be found deposited broken. This type of practice where objects are broken or bent is clearly an embodied and performative one, as well as a sensory one involving the actual body in the disposal or “killing” of the object.

The breaking of the heads, however, seems more analogous with the separation and re-deposition of skulls, rather than with the breaking of ceramics or bending of metal objects. Figurine and idol fragments can be found scattered around the cemeteries as well, which is a good indication that they were taken out from burials, then sometimes re-deposited inside burials, sometimes left outside. At Demircihöyük, for example, female figurines were found considerably more in fragments than the other

find-types (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder 1996: 279). This does not really correlate with secondary burials, which can consist of male, female, and child bones.

Stylized idols are often found in groups in the same burial. Tomb 15 at Karataş had a stack of three decapitated idols in situ with only one of the heads preserved in the pithos (Mellink 1964: 277). Similarly, in Demircihöyük burial 213, a double pithos with remains of a 0-6 year old, four marble idols⁹⁵ were found (Seeher 2000: 146). The mixture of complete and partial figurines reminds us of the multiple burials, where a mix of earlier burials can be found together with the more intact last interment. The possibility that these figurines and idols represent dead bodies or that they were treated similarly during the rituals cannot be fully dismissed.

The posture of the idols and figurines, on the other hand, does not resemble the body position of primary interments. In the case of Chalcolithic Cyprus, Lorentz has suggested that the cruciform stone figurines with their knees pulled towards their bodies either imitated a birth-giving position or the hocker position of bodies found in burials (2010). No such positions were observed with Anatolian figurines. Most of the complete figurines and idols are either standing or in an upright pose. Especially in western Anatolian examples figurines are often just standing; they are not depicted in action. The figurines found in central Anatolia on the other hand, especially the metal ones, are sometimes shown holding cups, holding their breasts (Fig. 5.1), and holding

⁹⁵ One head, two headless bodies, one body with its head broken.



Fig. 5.6: The “nursing” figurine from Horoztepe (Özgüç and Akok 1958: Plate 10).

and nursing a baby (Fig. 5.6).⁹⁶ These activities do not necessarily imitate the postures of the dead; however, in the case of holding cups, one can associate this act with mortuary rituals including the use of cups and drinks (see Chapter 6). The nursing figurine is a unique find, not only due to its unusual imagery and style, but also because it was found in a burial pit together with other unusual burial furniture, such as zoomorphic table legs, tables, a bull statue, and mace heads (Özgüç and Akok 1958), which could have been used for mortuary rituals (see Chapter 6). The burial contained

⁹⁶ Sitting figurines are known from settlement contexts (e.g. Demircihöyük: Baykal-Seeher and Obladen-Kauer 1996: Fig. 187).

the remains of a crushed and scattered skull and arm bones. The context and the figurine do not have an obvious connection (child burial or female burial who died at childbirth, etc.).

In addition to the typological differences between western and central Anatolian figurines, such differences can also be observed between figurines found in the settlement context and in the mortuary context as in Demircihöyük (Seeher 2000). This may suggest that there was a certain way of making figurines for daily use and another for mortuary use. However, the difference might also be due to chronological differences or artistic choices, or the producer's familiarity with making them.

The ethnoarchaeological study of ceramic objects in the Sinagua region of Arizona, has shown that craft production activities are acquired at a very young age (Kamp 2001), and that children learn crafts by first observing the producer, sometimes by instructions given by the adults, by imitating the activity as a game or by actually producing the clay objects and figurines as play-things. In this study finger-prints on clay objects were analyzed to estimate the age group who produced these objects: most of the clay figurines and miniature vessels were made by younger children, whereas full-sized vessels were produced by older children (*ibid.*). The differences in production or style then cannot always be attributed to chronological or stylistic differences.

Similarities between secondary burials such as skull removal, and the breaking and scattering of figurines and figurine parts, suggest that objects and bodies could have received similar burial treatments, especially in their secondary uses. On the other hand, the imagery of figurines does not give us an analogy about the dead bodies they

are buried with. It is then necessary to see if elements external to the body such as jewelry and ornaments were reflected on the imagery of the figurines.

5.2. Body and Ornaments

Anatolia is definitely not ancient Egypt in terms of the preservation of burials. This is, however, not only due to climate or environment; cemeteries are often located in agricultural areas, which have been used for agricultural activities up until today. Some of these cemeteries have suffered from ancient and modern looting. Moreover, as we have seen, even during the time the cemeteries were in use, no burial was sealed for eternity; they were often reopened, reorganized, and reused. These conditions result in a limited evidence for the appearance of the bodies (hair, skin, etc.) and its visible physical elements (tattoos, piercings, etc.). With the limited evidence that is preserved, we can nevertheless investigate body ornamentation by looking at figurines and other objects.

Clothing, body ornaments, and jewelry are ways to display ideas, symbols, personal preferences, and in some cases even statuses by using the body as a surface for display. As Joyce notes, costume, ornaments, and identity are important in the discussion of economically and socially stratified societies (2005: 142). As discussed above, it is not always clear if people were buried with the clothing and ornaments they were wearing in their daily life. It is very possible that bodies were adorned for the

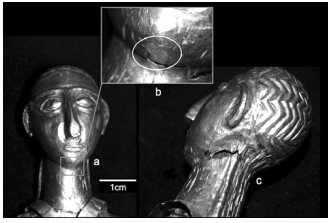


Fig. 5.7: Details of the Hasanoğlan figurine's head (Zimmermann and Özen 2006: Fig. 4).

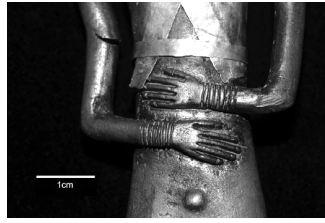
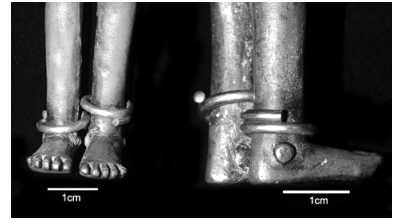


Fig. 5.8: Details of the Hasanoğlan figurine showing the body ornaments (Zimmermann and Özen 2006: Fig. 3, 5).



burial occasion. Therefore, here I will focus on the ornaments in connection with the perception of the body, rather than in expressing identity or status.

Very rarely is the hair or hairstyle depicted on these figurines. In the case of Horoztepe the hair is in a bun, or as the excavators have suggested is held with a hairpin. The Hasanoğlan figurine has wavy lines on the back of her head, which could be depicting hair (Fig. 5. 7).⁹⁷ The more stylized versions of figurines are often depicted with a round head with no evidence for hair, hair ornaments, or headdresses. As noted before in this chapter, the golden bands found on the foreheads of the Demircihöyük burials have been described as “diadems”. No such head ornaments were found on figurines. Burials have yielded bracelets, necklaces, and earrings in direct relations with the dead body, but other than the Hasanoğlan example no such jewelry was found on figurines.

Headdresses and clothing become more prominent in the second millennium depictions of females, but during the third millennium figurines are often nude,

⁹⁷ Readers should be ware of the uniqueness of this figurine, and the fact that it was not found in a mortuary context, not even in a secure context (Zimmermann and Özen 2016).



Fig. 5.9: Alabaster figurine found in a pithos burial at Resuloğlu (Yıldırım and Ediz 2008, Fig. 14).



Fig. 5.10: Incised jar from settlement level V of Karataş (Mellink 1967: Plate 84, Fig. 49).

meaning that they do not have clothing, but sometimes are nonetheless depicted with ornaments and jewelry. Going back to the Hasanoğlu figurine, the female is wearing a gold band crossing her torso, as well as golden ankle bracelets (Fig. 5.8). She also has lines on her wrists, but these are appliqué; they are incisions on the body. In Makowski's stylistic categorization of figurines, C1-type clay figurines also have these motifs of crossing bands on their torsos (2005: 14). This type of clay figurine is not found in mortuary context,⁹⁸ but a stone idol with similar bodily ornament was found in a pithos burial at Resuloğlu (Fig. 5.9). The excavators describes that the lines on the body

⁹⁸ the clay figurines found in Demircihöyük's EBA settlement fit this category.

as “dress straps” and the lines on the neck as “ornaments” (Yıldırım and Ediz 2008: 447). Another common feature of these idols and figurines is their marked pubic triangles.

What is more interesting than these bodily ornaments is the fact that similar decorations can be found on pottery vessels. A jar from Karataş’s settlement has bands on the body and the neck of the jar, as well as an upside-down drawn pubic triangle towards the base (Fig. 5.10). The similarities of the decoration of this vessel and some figurines found in central Anatolian sites (Fig. 5.11) is striking. This is a phenomenon that has not been discussed (or noted) by previous studies. Also at Babaköy, a flat figurine was found by the pelvis of the second body placed in pithos XIV. The head and lower body of this figurine were broken and missing. The chest is marked with two small breasts, and the pubic triangle was also marked by smaller dotted incisions, but only a small part of the pubic triangle has survived. The body had similar linear decorations on her chest, which were interpreted by the excavators as belts (Bittel *et al.* 1941:7).



Fig. 5.11: A series of baked clay idols from central Anatolian Early Bronze Age sites (Yalçın and Yalçın 2013: 47, Fig. 14).

Interestingly the lines resemble the linear decorations found on the beak spouted jug from this burial as well (*ibid.*). It is very possible that the linear decorations were representing clothing, a body decoration, or a wrapping of the dead body as discussed in Chapter 4. The fact that the human body parts are in a way transferred to an object, or that an object can possess humanly features is something that needs to be discussed in more detail. The Cycladic “frying pan” vessels also have pubic triangles and linear decorations, showing that this concept of transferring body parts to vessels was perhaps shared amongst Aegean communities.

Goula’s study on the EBA folded-arm-figurines from the Cycladic Islands and other mortuary material culture such as pottery, bone tubes, and diadems demonstrates that the decorations styles (especially grooves and zigzags) played an important role in the performance of Early Cycladic burial customs (2016). Some of the vessels found in Anatolian burials also have zigzag patterns incised on them, similar to the ones found on figurines and spindle whorls (e.g. Demircihöyük). Goula suggests that this common visual language contributed to the performative aspect of the EBA burial rituals. A similar suggestion can be made for the Anatolian cases, considering the physical proximity and the shared cultural values between western Anatolia and the Cycladic Islands. It is difficult, however, to find a correlation between certain bodily ornaments (or figurines with bodily ornaments) and the age or sex of the individuals they are found with. Therefore, how much of these decorations are about identities is questionable. On the other hand, the fact that the decorations are applied to different media and materials, and that these objects are found in mortuary and habitation contexts, suggest

that decorating bodies, real or imagined, played a part in the visual context of the cemeteries as well as of settlements.

5.3. Body as an Object and Subject

Physical characteristics of the body can be given social meaning through repetitive performance (Perry and Joyce 2001). In the case of Bronze Age Anatolia, the perception of body and body parts was often transferred to objects, especially to ceramic vessels. Vessels are also known to be “seen as double metaphors for the body, both individual and societal” (Pluciennik 2002b: 173). This may not be surprising to archaeologists, who are used to using terms that refer to body parts for ceramic vessels (neck, shoulder, lip, etc.). However, it is interesting that anthropomorphic vessels, or human bodies represented as objects, are almost as common as figurines and idols.

Anthropomorphic vases are known in western and central Anatolia from the Neolithic onwards. Neolithic examples include the vase from Ulucak, which has red body-paint on its chest, back, and face, and is in the shape of a full human body (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004, Fig. 58), and the “face pot” from Çatalhöyük (Hodder 2011), which is basically the representation of a human head with intricate details. The head cup from Late Neolithic Hacilar (Fig. 5.12) is similar to the Çatalhöyük example in concept, where the vessel stands for the head, or vice versa. Neolithic figurines are known to have detachable heads (Talalay 2004). Throughout the Bronze Age such anthropomorphic vessels continue to appear both in settlement and cemetery context. The transfer of humanoid features onto vessels is common in EBA vessels; especially



**Fig. 5.12: Head cup from Hacilar VI burial. H. 10.4 cm.
(Talalay 2004, After Mellaart 1970b: 265, fig. 57.3).**

facial features are depicted. At Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery, a fragment of a ceramic spout that had a depiction of a human face was found in burial 376, a pithos burial with remains of two male adults (Seeher 2000: 110). In this case the head and the nose were formed around the spout as high relief, whereas the eyes were carved out. At Baklatepe one of the vessel shapes found in the EBII cemetery was the "face pots". These vessels were not as common at Baklatepe, as they were in the nearby settlement of Limantepe; however, their appearance throughout the Bronze Age is evidence for their continuous production and use (Erkanal and Özkan 2000: 265). The one found in the EBII cemetery of Baklatepe was a more miniature version and had its eyes, eyebrows, eyelids, and nose depicted in high relief (*ibid.*). The breasts are indicated in the shape of two small knobs attached to the body. This vessel is stylistically similar to the one found at Karataş's settlement where the eyes, eyebrows, and nose were highlighted as high relief on the neck, and the mouth and the arms were depicted again in high relief on the body (1994: Plate 166, KA 602). Similar imagery continued into the MBA; a beak-spouted jar found in a pithos burial at Demircihöyük's MBA cemetery had eyes and

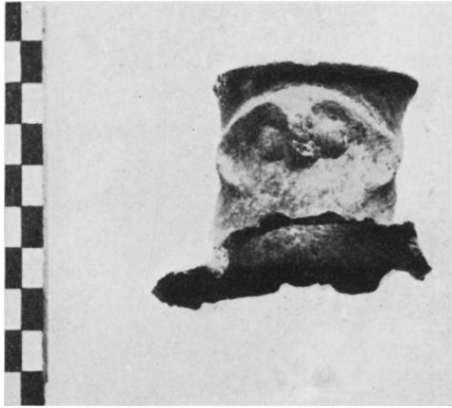


Fig. 5.13: The “bird-like” human face on the neck of a vessel (Blegen 1934: 9, Fig. 3).



Fig. 5.14: The “owl-like” face of the Karataş vessel (Mellink 1970: fig. 22).



eyebrows on the shoulders, as well as two depictions of the same kind of (what appears to be a quadruped) animal (Seeher 2000: 210, Abb.64). In some cases, even the pithos jar that contained the bodies possessed anthropomorphic features. The pithos jar 41 at Karataş had an incised eye-design on the neck, and also contained two headless idols (Mellink 1964: 277).⁹⁹ The emphasis on the features of the head can again be explained by the individualized nature of the human head. Here what is also important to note is the human form of the pithos, which is also used to contain human bodies. The pithos jar from Karataş emphasizes this aspect of the pithoi, and perhaps could explain why they were used as burial containers in the first place.

The abstraction of the human body that we have seen with idols can also be attested with the vessels. At Troy a fragment of a jar had a stylized representation of a face on its neck (Fig. 5.13), which was interpreted as a “representation of a bird-like

⁹⁹ The head of one of the idols was found in the fill, outside of the pithos. Since this tomb contained five burials, the idols can easily have been damaged in the process of reopening, and the discarded head confirms this (Mellink 1964: 277).



Fig. 5.15: "Face pot" from Level II at Kültepe (Özgüç 2005: 196, Fig. 231).

human face" (Blegen 1935: 9). A similar interpretation was given to the EBII neck fragment of a gray bottle from Karataş's settlement fill, which had incised human features (Fig. 5.14). The fragment was reported to be "owl-like" (Mellink 1970: 250). Aydingün also thinks that more abstract depictions of the human body such as the idols represent a new type and a different concept than earlier figurines (2006). However, the examples from Troy and Karataş are still recognizably a head and a face of a humanoid being, and it is not clear if the makers of these intended for them to be perceived as something else. The Kültepe "face-pots" are in some cases interpreted as representing the face of the deceased (Fig. 5.15), but in the case of more abstract or animal-like representations this argument would be hard to suggest.



Fig. 5.16: Double-headed Kültepe idol in Kayseri Museum (Şentürk 2006: 159, Fig. 18).

The abstract idols mostly disappear in the MBA,¹⁰⁰ whereas the figurines continue throughout the Bronze Age. According to Makowski the disappearance of stone idols is a consequence of changing social circumstances, especially after the appearance of urbanism in the EBA (2005: 29). I do not see how such a conclusion can be made with so little evidence. Examples of EBIII Kültepe idols (Fig. 5.16), with their very abstract bodies and double heads do in fact show that even in more urbanized sites such as Kültepe abstract representations of human bodies can still continue. Papadatos's suggestion why stone was preferred for EBA Cycladic idols is more convincing; he suggests that the light surface of the marble was more appropriate for painting than clay or other colored stones (2016: 13). No painted stone idols are known

¹⁰⁰ MBA examples only appear in several cases: Aphrodisias, Troy, Kusura, and İkiztepe.

from Anatolia, but this could be due to preservation or lack of studies that examine the “paint ghosts”, traces of paint found in areas of low relief as result of differential weathering (*ibid.*: 12). There is no evidence from the Cyclades, or from Anatolia that figurines were garbed.

The body is a scene of display, and at the same time it could be an artifact (Joyce 2005). And as we have seen in this section, objects can become bodies as well. The rare appearance of figurines in general, but especially the rareness of the naturalistic figurines in burials, cannot be fully explained by their function of display, as suggested by Makowski (2005: 24). The fact that idealized abstract bodies are represented in stone, and that naturalistic-looking ones are made of both clay and metals shows us that the abstract form is not due to the difficulties of working with these materials; metal idols would be easier to produce than naturalistic bodies. It is speculative, but also possible that the difference between materials used could be an indication of the state of the body —living or dead. This of course does not explain why female figurines outnumber male figurines, both in settlement and mortuary context.

Bailey, in his study on changes in southeastern European mortuary practices has suggested that the changes in mortuary practices could be explained by the shift from intramural burials to extramural cemeteries, which caused a change in the display spheres of genders: female representations were dominating the domestic sphere, whereas male representations dominated the mortuary sphere (1994). In his case studies, sexless figurines were represented equally in mortuary and domestic contexts, and are therefore suggested to be representations of children (*ibid.*). The lack of explicit

male figurines in EBA Anatolia, and the more common appearance of stylized figurines in the mortuary sphere, makes such conclusions more difficult. What is clear is that there is no clear correlation between idols, figurines, and the sex or age of the individual with which they are buried.

5.4 Discussion

Dead bodies are only one aspect of the way we perceive and interact with bodies. During the interment the living body is in engagement with the dead body; the dead body is modified to fit a certain position, skeletons are disarticulated, and bones are moved around, forming a different kind of body. Similarly, when the living body forms the clay or the stone into an anthropomorphic image, it produces an image of how it perceives itself, its own body. These depictions of the body can give us clues about the changing relationships between the material and symbolic world. It also informs us about the embodied practices such as making the images of bodies, and using these images in other embodied practices such as breaking the figurine and burying it with the dead body. Bodies, then, are involved in every stage of the mortuary rituals; not only as the main reason for the burial and the rituals around it, but also the producer of the burial itself, the image of the dead body (or body parts), and the human representations left at these burial sites. Gell argues that art objects often have a second-class agency (1998), since objects themselves have agency only because they are produced and used by humans. In this sense, it could be argued that figurines and

anthropomorphic vessels had a double-agency aspect, as they were intentional productions of the human body, but they also mediated the subject (body) through the material representations as objects.

To answer the question posed in the previous chapter, if there was a different perception between dead and living bodies resulting in differences in the representation of the body, it seems that there is. There is a difference in the depiction of different body parts both in naturalistic depictions and in stylized depictions. The emphasis on certain body parts could be to mark the humanness of the objects, since very individualized body parts such as the face, the head, and genitalia are often emphasized. These body parts are also transferred to the anthropomorphic vessels, which is a good indication that this emphasis was not accidental. The exaggeration of certain body parts shows us that human bodies were imagined differently when they were being materialized.

Despite material and stylistic differences, the ways idols/figurines and human bodies are treated in the mortuary context is very similar. Both figurines and real bodies could be buried broken or incomplete, or in Chapman's terms "fragmented" (2000b). They were also part of secondary burial rituals where they were scattered or re-buried. The body positions of the figurines do not directly correlate with how the dead bodies were interred in the burials (contracted position), however, the linear geometric decorations around the chests of the figurines could also be replicating the wrapping of the dead bodies suggested in Chapter 4.

Most figurines seem to be depicted in a static pose; only several exceptions are depicted as doing things (such as nursing a baby, or holding a cup). In this sense the static figurines could be replicating the stillness of a dead body. Since "the pattern of death reinforces a societal ideal which is only part of what exists in practice" (Hodder 1982a: 143), the ideal living body and the ideal dead body could be two different things. The fact that the figurines in actions are far less common could suggest that figurines found in the mortuary space were more likely to be depictions of the dead body ideal. As Chapman has also argued, different schemes in the perceptions of the body could separate the the body itself from the representation of the body (2000b, also see Bourdieu 1990: 72-73). In the case of the Anatolian mortuary figurines, it seems that the separation between the living and dead body was recognized in the form of action and poses.

There is no correlation between the position of dead bodies and the poses of figurines. The naturalistic figurines, especially the ones that are depicted in an action (nursing, carrying a jar) could be representing living people engaged in daily (or mortuary) activities, dead people while they were alive, or not real people but an idealized version of a human body. Therefore my answer to "Can we interpret figurines?" (Hamilton 1996b) would be negative especially in prehistoric cases. I do not think that prehistoric figurines can be interpreted for one specific function or meaning; but, as I have tried to demonstrate here, they can be helpful in understanding people's perception of human and non-human bodies, body parts, and self.

CHAPTER 6: The Ritual(s): Interactions with Objects and Animals

"There can be no clearer a priori demonstration of ritual in past societies than the archaeological uncovering of a formal human burial" (Taylor 2011: 89).

Rituals in their most basic sense are structured repeated performative actions (Renfrew 2007: 115) —secular and/or religious— that are expressed through symbols, objects, gestures, and acts. More importantly, they are a series of transformations in the relationship between the living and the dead (Hertz 1960 [1907]). Despite the fact that rituals are a constant part of our daily life, "ritual" is a word that archaeologists are much more cautious to use nowadays, due to its overuse in the formational phases of the discipline and due to its potentially speculative connotations. This caution of course stems from culture-historical studies that tended to use ritual as a "dump heap" for anything that was difficult to explain (Hastorf 2007: 81), which became a well-known joke among scholars of the ancient world that "if you can't explain what's going on, it's ritual." This caution made some scholars such as Insoll to even ask "Are archaeologists afraid of gods?" (2004). Processual archaeologists approached rituals as activities that were influenced by economic phenomena. These rituals also included mortuary practices (Binford 1971, Saxe 1970). On the other hand, post-processualist archaeologists, with the influence of post-modernist, feminist, and social theory recognized the connection between people, practices, and objects (Barrett 1991; Bell 1992; Hodder 1992). As self-criticizing the ritual joke is, rituals are a form of self-expression and group membership that help us explain "the mysterious side of

life" (Oswald 1999: 11). Death being a rite of passage (van Gennep 1960) and one of the major things humans have tried to explain and understand, I do not shy away from using the word "ritual" in the context of mortuary practices.¹⁰¹

Definitions of rituals do not really reflect the complexity of their functions and the many layers of meanings they symbolize and convey. And of course the characterizations of the ritual depend on the context in which ritual is being discussed (McClymond 2016). There is no consensus on what ritual means in archaeological context (Kyriakidis 2007), and as Bell argues definitions are "heuristic terms" for us to communicate (2007: 284), not to uncover exactly what ancient peoples might have thought about what we think constitutes a "ritual". Durkheim's distinction between sacred and profane (2001 [1912]) is not useful in this case, not only because the western understanding of what is secular and what is religious is very binary and redundant (Hamilakis 2011: 211), but also because it is difficult to point to a line between secular and religious rituals, especially with archaeological evidence that these two leave behind. Rituals of course should not be merely considered as anything can't be explained by practicality or functionality. In many cases practical aspects could align or overlap with ritual practices. The fact that we bring flowers to grave sites is a ritual that stems from a very practical reason. I do use the term ritual, even though a lot of people

¹⁰¹ I do not use the word "religion", however. Firstly because the word "religion" implies more systematized sets of ritual practices and a common belief. For the prehistoric part of the Bronze Age, that is everything before the Assyrian "colony" documents and especially the Hittite Period texts, "religion" would be a speculative word to use, considering the lack of sources explicitly formulating any ritual or religious practice. Secondly, it suggests a dichotomy between what is religious and what is not (Insoll 2004), which is difficult to assess for the third- and second-millennium Anatolia.

have expressed their skepticism towards using this term. Influenced by Bell's work (1992), my intent is not to reconstruct the meanings of the rituals, but to see what kinds of activities were going on in the cemeteries. So I do not refrain from using the word ritual, especially since a burial is in itself one of the most clearest ritual expressions as Taylor has suggested (quoted above). Cemeteries with their complex structure of actions and intentions, and as places where spiritual and material worlds intersect, need to be investigated for their ritual aspects.

It is surprising that the social and ritual aspects of cemeteries have rarely been studied in Anatolia. The richness of the animal and human imagery associated with ritual activities and the unusual treatments of dead bodies and body parts in the Neolithic have put the Neolithic period at the center of discussions about rituals, and death and dying in Anatolia and Near East (e.g., Croucher 2012), whereas periods following the Neolithic, until the Hittites have been ignored or dismissed for their ritual aspects. One of the reasons for this could be the fact that the visual evidence from the fourth and third millennium settlements were not comparable to the Neolithic: they have not yielded clearly symbolic installations such as special buildings with figural art, altars, wall paintings, or reliefs. One possibility for the existence of temples in third-millennium Anatolia was suggested by Lloyd and Mellaart (1962): the bull-horn shaped altars in the megara of the Beycesultan EBA II settlement led to the interpretation that these megara were twin temples (1962: 40, fig. 13). However, recently the interpretation of these "temples" and "shrines" has been re-evaluated (Fidan *et al.* 2015), and it has become apparent that the so-called altars in these structures were hearths that were

found in all the domestic structures in Seyitömer (a site in the same inland western Anatolian region). This clarifies that the hearths were part of the architectural tradition of the region rather than exclusively ritual features (*ibid.*). The megaron itself is a common architectural type in the EBA for domestic structures (Aslan 2006), and therefore should not be seen as a characteristic marker for special buildings. The lack of clearly identifiable religious and ritual features in Anatolian settlements in the EBA makes it even more necessary to understand what was going on in the cemeteries.

Other than palatial societies as that of the Assyrians and the Hittites who have produced written evidence for their ritual activities, we do not know much about religious or ritual architecture in the third or second millennium in central and western Anatolia. Certainly the introduction of new cultural and religious elements into Anatolia with the Hittites has resulted in changes in religious architecture and new ritual elements; however, how much of these are influenced by the local Anatolian traditions is a subject that needs more exploration (Chapter 7).

How fruitful is it to look for ritual architecture in Anatolia without knowing enough about the nature of the ritual activities going on in the third- and second - millennium sites? Starting with the Late Chalcolithic, cemeteries in Anatolia have yielded large numbers of animal remains, objects including vessels, jewelry, metal weapons, and spindle whorls in and around the burials. I suggest that, especially in the EBA, cemeteries start to become one of the main public and social spaces outside the settlements for ritual activities and for communal social interactions.

In this chapter, my aim is to look at mortuary remains to understand the interaction between the between people, animals, and their material world. I suggest that instead of thinking about objects in archaeological categories that we create, it would be more fruitful to adopt a similar approach to one developed by archaeologists of prehistoric households: the main goal in looking at objects should be to understand what kinds of activities were going on within houses, or in this case in the cemeteries, rather than isolating objects from their context. I will not discuss objects and animal remains in typological categories, but in the context of the activity they were used in/for. The sections here are divided based on the type of interactions (interactions with objects, animals, sensory world). However, the reader should keep in mind that mortuary rituals are a combination of these different interactions. Feasting for example includes interactions with animals, and interaction with an object is a sensory experience, etc. The categories here are created only for the purpose of organizing the data in a coherent structure based on the types of activities, not to suggest that there are clear-cut differences in the types of rituals, or that there are no overlaps of activities carried out in different rituals.

6.1. Consuming for the Dead, with the Dead: Food, Drinks, and Feasting

Eating and drinking are part of biological survival, they are routinized practices, or in Bourdieu's terms they constitute habitus—the set of embodied dispositions that structure action in the world and that unconsciously instantiate social roles, cultural categories and perceptions of identity (1990). There is a close relationship between death and the consumption of food and drink, connecting eating and digestion with death and human decay (Parry 1985) and with the memory of the mortuary space and ritual (see Hamilakis 1998, Steel 2004). Eating and drinking together is a physical act that establishes and reinforces symbolic, social, and political relations. Feasting is not something unique to Anatolia or to antiquity; examples of elaborate feasts can be found throughout (pre)history and across the globe. Ancient and modern feasts are inherently about consumption, which includes consuming for survival, but they are also very much about display. Ethnographic examples show that the display aspect of funerals in archaeological context can be understood not only by the quality of the objects or food, but also by the quantity. A good example for a contemporary funerary feast comes from the Akha people of Southeast Asia:

“Among the Akha, who are relatively low on the scale of complexity and inequalities, funeral attendances range from 20 people to over a thousand; there may be 20 to over 700 serving vessels and the number of animals slaughtered range from a modest-sized pig up to five water buffaloes and several pigs. At more lavish funerals, there are also some gifts (silver to ritual specialists, meat to lineage supporters) and copious alcohol. In contrast to these richer funerals, the poor provide only enough food necessary for those who make the coffin and prepare the body. However, in general, families try to hold the largest funeral feasts that they possibly can” (Hayden 2009: 32).

As seen from this example, the consumption of food and drink, either physically or symbolically, is used in the construction of social bonds and in expressing consumption in a more conspicuous form. The shared experiences of consumption result in a corporate sense of identity (Hamilakis 1998), whereas the display can serve as a virtual divider between individuals or groups. Therefore, food and its role in mortuary practices offers important insights into mortuary rituals, as well as the social organization of Anatolian communities. It is surprising that feasts and commensality are often overlooked in the discussion of social organization in Anatolia.

Demircihöyük is one of the most well-documented and well-published settlements for the EBA in western and central Anatolia (Korfmann 1983). This detailed publication of Demircihöyük enabled me to have a quantitative comparison of the materials found 5 well-preserved houses (one had three rooms, while the others had two) in different levels (Durgun 2012). This analysis showed that these rooms did not have much difference in their material distribution, and the three-roomed house was also not different in terms of the quality and quantity of objects. In fact the courtyard located in the center of the settlement yielded more materials than any of the front and back rooms of the houses. The mud brick grain deposits located in the courtyard were the main form of storage at the settlement. This suggests that daily activities such as storage and production were mostly taking place in the courtyard, which was accessible to all inhabitants. In such a more or less homogenous setting it would be hard to distinguish between daily consumption activities and ritualized feasting activities in a more special setting. On the other hand, another EBA settlement, namely Karataş,

shows that in some cases feasting could be an integral part of the daily life of the inhabitants. Karataş's EBI levels are most well known for the architecturally distinct and structurally different "central complex", which has often been used as evidence for the vertical differentiation between the complex inhabitants and the households which are represented by the smaller houses built around this complex (Mellink 1965). However, the storage pits, storage vessels, and open fireplaces just outside the complex, as well as the domestic nature of the pottery led to the interpreting the building as a production and storage area instead of being the domestic setting of one household (Cannon 2010; Warner 1994; Bachhuber 2015). The central complex is similar to Demircihöyük's central court, and they both indicate a more communally-centered food production and storage.

Feasting is often defined "as a form of ritual activity centered on the communal consumption of food and drink" (Dietler 2011: 180). Coming together around a meal or a drink does not only consist of the actual act of consumption; it is a "social act" that involves the storing of the food, the preparation and presentation of food or beverages, the seating and serving order, the objects used, the setting, time of day, conversation, memories, smells, sounds, and tastes (Pollock 2012). Even though most of these elements are not archaeologically visible, feasts have been identified in the archaeological record using material evidence linked to the production, storage and consumption of food: from the food itself, to preparation and serving vessels, food preparation facilities, food storage facilities, feasting contexts, associated prestige and

ritualized items, and to visual culture and written sources describing events (Hayden 2001, Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012).

One archaeological example of what a feasting activity would have left behind in a Bronze Age Anatolian context comes from the settlement of Troy. The rectangular basin excavated in Troy's IIc level was filled with 3.5 meters of accumulation consisting of pottery and animal remains mostly of cattle and goat, and with some sheep/goat, deer, pig, dog and tortoise (Blegen *et al.* 1950, also see Bachhuber 2015: 141-142). The fill included burnt organic matter, numerous stone figurines, and spindle whorls (Blegen *et al.* 1950). Blegen and others have suggested that this deposit may have had a cultic function, whereas Bachhuber argues for the banqueting nature of this deposit (2015). Following Hayden's list of archaeological signatures of feasts (2001), animal remains, unusual numbers or shapes of vessels, and special locations outside the habitation areas can all be used to identify feasting activities. The deep accumulation, in other words the repeated action (Renfrew 2007), the presence of domesticated animals (Hayden 2001), the large amount of red-slipped ware pottery, together with the discarded figurines point to a ritual use or discard deposit.¹⁰²

Archaeological evidence in Iron Age Anatolia shows the important role of food in mortuary rituals, in the remembrance of the dead, and in social interactions between the living. The recently discovered Katamuwa stele at Zincirli revealed the until-then-unknown practice of enacting annual sacrifices for the soul of the deceased to help him

¹⁰² As discussed above the distinction between these two is rather difficult since the archaeological remains could be similar in both cases.

to have a happy afterlife (Hermann and Schloen 2015). The text gives us insights into the reciprocal dependency between the dead and the living presented in the form of food. Tumulus MM at Gordion, a well-known example of a conspicuous funerary feast, has yielded a great variety of ingredients used in the funerary meal, as well as elaborate banqueting furniture and objects (McGovern 2000). This tradition of leaving food for the ancestors and consuming food with the dead becomes a common, almost a required part of burial practices starting with the emergence of extramural cemeteries in Late Chalcolithic.¹⁰³ Animal remains found in and around burials, and the variety in the forms of serving and drinking vessels in these cemeteries show that food and drink constituted an important part of the mortuary interactions of the Anatolian societies in the Bronze Age.

6.1.1 Serving, Eating, and Drinking

Recent literature on feasting in Anatolia and in the wider Near East focuses more on the textual evidence than on the archaeological remains.¹⁰⁴ Considering the lack of mortuary texts from Bronze Age Anatolia for non-royal rituals,¹⁰⁵ some of our best sources of information for feasting activities are ceramic vessels and containers. The study of ritual commensality or feasting cannot be detached from the study of ceramics

¹⁰³ Evidence for this phenomenon in the Neolithic is difficult to distinguish from daily consumption activities due to the location of burials intramurally.

¹⁰⁴ For instance see the entire section in Hermann and Schloen (2015) on "Feasts for the Dead in the Ancient Middle East".

¹⁰⁵ The fullest textual account of a Bronze Age royal funerary ritual is the Hittite "*šalliš waštaiš*", see Chapters 4 and 7.



Fig. 6.1: Drinking and serving vessel forms from Baklatepe EBII burials (Erkanal & Şahoğlu 2012).

since the vessel shapes and wares can help us determine the function, and whether food or drinks were involved in their use.

Around the same time as the spread of the custom of extramural cemeteries in the EBII we see the introduction of new forms of serving and drinking vessels in Anatolia (Fig. 6.1). ¹⁰⁶Beaked pitchers, jugs and juglets with high necks and sharp spouts, teapots, and tripod pots all mark the EBII in western Anatolian settlement and cemetery assemblages. In central Anatolia, on the other hand, we see the emergence of single-handled cups, shallow bowls, and beaked pitchers during the same time. All these newly emerging vessel shapes in EBII indicate a function that involved pouring and drinking.¹⁰⁷ The most iconic of these vessels that emerges in the EBA is the *depas amphikypellon* (marked on Fig. 6.1), a two-handled tankard which first came to light in

¹⁰⁶ also in Crete there are new vessel forms emerging in the third millennium/Early Minoan1 (Day and Wilson 2004).

¹⁰⁷ for an extensive discussion on these drinking forms see Ünlü 2016.

Anatolia with the earliest excavations at Troy. Schliemann described these as “two-handled cups” and “two-handled goblets” (1880: 299).¹⁰⁸ Innovations in ceramics in Troy began in Phase IIa with one- and two-handled and handle-less tankard shapes (Blegen *et al.* 1950: 229).

The depas is an “emblematic form” of the red-slipped wares (Bachhuber 2009: 2), and it usually does not have a flat base, indicating that it was made to be held by its two handles, perhaps even passed around. This act of drinking together, was perhaps a visual manifestation of common elements of identity or practice, especially for western Anatolia. Holding the depas from its two handles, waiting for one’s own turn to drink while watching the others drink can be considered a very performative action. On the other hand, in central Anatolia we see the appearance of single-handled cups and bowls, which would be balanced upon the smallest finger, and instead of being passed around it would be intended for one individual; this might have signified a different practice or a distinct social identity. These single-handled cups in the mortuary context seem more personal compared to other vessels since they can be found in direct relation with the skeleton rather than being placed in proximity.¹⁰⁹ The bronze single-handled cup found in situ on the pinky finger of an adult at Resuloğlu cemetery (Fig. 6.2) reminds us about the role of embodied acts in the use of these mortuary objects. If the depata or other round-based vessels were about display and performance, the

¹⁰⁸ Schliemann thought these goblets were the drinking vessels mentioned in the Homeric epics (δέπας ἀμφικύπελλον), hence their name in archaeological literature.

¹⁰⁹ see Chapter 4 for objects in relation to the dead body.



Fig. 6.2: Bronze cup placed on the finger of an adult burial at Resuloğlu (Yıldırım and Ediz 2008: 453, Fig. 12).

single-handled cups were definitely about the gesture of drinking in a more individual form.

The single-handled bowls and jars from Gordion's second millennium cemetery also have pointed bases,¹¹⁰ indicating a similar use to depas tankards. The differences of the volumes between the depata and the single-handled cups might indicate a different act or a regional preference of the consumption of whatever liquid these vessels held. The depas becomes a common shape by Troy III and with Karataş VI (end of EBA) when almost all houses have evidence for it, transforming from an object of desire or of special use to an object that was not only accessible to a certain group of people. Skeates argues that successive styles or forms of pottery were used to express "significant messages about their contents and the shared identities of their makers and

¹¹⁰ see for instance Mellink 1956: 24, 28-29.

users" (2010: 239). The display of certain forms or objects, therefore does not necessarily indicate an intention to display wealth or economic status, but rather could have been a cultural marker of the ritual or of the people using it.

The new vessel types predate the introduction of the fast potter's wheel,¹¹¹ which means that the appearance of new forms cannot be fully explained by the changes in production technology. So, if the changes in technology do not answer our question of why there are new forms appearing in this period, we will have to look at other social and cultural changes. The reason why liquid pouring and drinking vessels started to become widespread during the same period as the wide occurrence of extramural cemeteries could be due to the incorporation of wine in special ceremonies including feasts and mortuary rituals.

The new vessel forms of the EBII-III periods have long been cited as evidence for wine consumption (Bachhuber 2009: 138, Blegen 1963: 53). The deliberate fermentation of carbohydrates into alcohol is regarded as one of the many innovations marking the transition from Paleolithic to Neolithic societies that prompted the domestication of wild plants and the development of ceramic technology (Barnard *et al.* 2011, McGovern 2009). The earliest botanical evidence for grapes in Anatolia dates to the Neolithic with pits found at Can Hasan III (French 1972: 187) and Çayönü (Steward 1976: 221). However, the most reliable evidence for grape cultivation for the production of wine comes from the EBA in southeast Anatolia: in Kurban Höyük, charred fruitskin fragments which seem to be from pressings were found in the EBA levels (Miller 1984,

¹¹¹ Phase IIb at Troy: EBII.

2008). At Kurban, grape seeds occur starting in the LC, and they increase in frequency over the third millennium (Miller 1984: 120), as do the remains of charred fruit skins and stems. Titriş Höyük in eastern Anatolia has also yielded *vitis vinifera* (grapes) as one of the main crops of the EBA Outer Town (Hald 2010: 71). It has been argued that the expansion of the viticulture in the EBA can be linked to the development of better-suited grapes for winemaking (Gorny 1995: 136). In other places in the Mediterranean beginnings of viticulture have also been observed to start in the EBA (Logothetis 1970) around the same time with the emergence of new drinking and serving vessels (Day and Wilson 2004). It is important to note that viticulture was already practiced in Anatolia, the Mediterranean and the wider Near East before the EBA, but wine production and consumption became either more wide-spread or a special phenomenon especially in the EBA. Depas tankards are found in Kaklık Mevkii's EBIII burials and Harmanören's EBII burials, confirming that whatever liquid was consumed from these special tankards, it was consumed in the cemeteries as well. From Resuloğlu it is also known that smaller drinking vessels and cups were placed in the larger vessels outside burials (Yıldırım and Ediz 2008: 446), perhaps to serve or pour the liquid from the larger vessels, which could indicate either consumption or libation activities. Partier argues that vessels left outside the burials may not be related to food offerings for the dead, at least not for their survival (2010: 266). However, at the EBA cemetery of Resuloğlu some of the ceramics found near pithoi (outside) were placed standing in an upright position outside the burial (Yıldırım 2006: 7), suggesting that (liquid?) offerings were made also around the burials, perhaps after the burial was closed.

Despite the established methodology of detecting wine in ceramic vessels (see for example Barnard *et al.* 2010), unfortunately there are no residue analyses from any of the vessels from third and second millennium cemeteries in Anatolia. On the other hand, there is some evidence to show that some of the vessels could have contained solid food, including a beaker filled with blue mussel shells that was found at Ilipinar's Late Chalcolithic cemetery (Roodenberg 2008a: 319).¹¹² Mussel shells were found throughout Ilipinar's Neolithic and EBA settlements as a source of subsistence. Nevertheless, the excavators argued that the offerings of food and beverages in the cemetery vessels "must have had a mere symbolic signification" and that it "was virtually impossible that they contained some substance" because some vessels were found facing upside down (*ibid.*). It is very likely that some vessels were brought by the visitors to the cemetery, and were left at the burial after the contents were eaten. This would explain why some of these vessels are located outside the burials upside down. The turning of the vessels upside down could also be a "rite of separation" (Van Gennep 1960), where the function of the vessel was transformed from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead.¹¹³

Not all burials in third and second millennium Anatolia contained ceramic vessels or other objects in or outside of them.¹¹⁴ In Demircihöyük for instance, 234 out

¹¹² In the Middle Bronze Age Levant, food offerings in tombs are often placed in pots or on wooden plates. These were meant as meals for the dead in the afterlife (Russell 2012: 66). The mussels could have served a similar function.

¹¹³ See also the "Sensory Rituals" section below on rites of separation.

¹¹⁴ or they contained objects that did not survive in the archaeological record.

of 498 (46.9 %) burials did not yield any burial objects (Seeher 2000; Durgun 2012; also Massa 2014). The question why not all burials received a ceramic vessel when ceramics are so easily accessible and available, cannot be simply explained by the poverty of the population (Çilingiroğlu *et al.* 2004: 56). The late Shang Dynasty (13th-11th centuries BC) burial practices are a good example of why the number of ceramics should not be correlated directly with the economic state of the population: the abundance of vessels found in the Shang burials associated with funerary feasting were neither aiming to establish political or economic bonds, nor they were a result of redistributive activity. The feast was not intended to feed the living, but the ancestors and “Powers” (Nelson 2003). Although there were differences in the burial sizes and burial finds (which is also the case for the Anatolian cemeteries), all kin groups and burials of different statuses received food or drink as part of the Shang ancestral burial ritual. The emphasis was on the food left for the dead or the ancestors, not on the amount or types of vessels and objects. One should keep in mind that food can be transported in baskets or other containers, which then could be taken back to the settlement.

Animals were also consumed in Anatolian mortuary rituals. Among the animal remains found in cemeteries cattle were the most common, but also among the largest, most valuable, and most symbolically potent (Arbuckle 2014). It is possible that cattle were used to advertise conspicuous wealth and were redistributed, gifted, and consumed at feasts, in order to emphasize social position and relations, but also as a

means to feed a large number of people (*ibid.*). Consuming large quantities of meat can be considered a luxury (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2011). One sheep or goat, for example, could provide about 35 kilograms of meat (Hesse and Perkins 1974: 159), whereas a bovine would provide between 350-500 kilograms of meat (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2011; Arbuckle 2014). Feasting therefore can be considered as an extension of the “gift economy” where the sacrificed animal is physically destroyed in the giving (Russell 2012: 89).

The most common animal remains found in EBA cemeteries are cattle. Two of the EBA burials at the cemetery of Ilıpınar yielded disarticulated mandibles of bovine species (Roodenberg 2008b: 338). In the same period at Alacahöyük two burials yielded skulls and hooves of at least six cattle (Koşay 1944). In addition, there were intact carcasses as well as disarticulated bones, sometimes arranged in rows or piles between the tombs and throughout the necropolis (Koşay 1951: 101–103). Also at Resuloğlu, which is geographically very close to Alacahöyük, a few examples of cattle skulls and foot bones were found between the cover stones and on the sides or around the base of the pithoi (Yıldırım 2006: 7, Yıldırım-Ediz 2008: 445). The foot bones were interpreted as “gifts”, since feet are assumed not to be eaten or cooked (Yıldırım-Ediz 2006: 58). On the other hand, the fact that the rest of the animal was not deposited in the burial means that it was probably consumed. Arbuckle suggests that the sacrifice of 6 cattle would have provided as much as 3,000 kg of meat (2014: 287). Even though the amount of consumed cattle in Alacahöyük, Ilıpınar or Resuloğlu does not seem

comparable, the deposition of only inedible parts suggest that the animal meat was not wasted: the mourners or visitors at the cemetery would consume the edible parts, and leave the inedible parts to the dead, or for other symbolic purposes.

In order to establish the value and importance of cattle skeletons in the cemeteries, it is crucial to understand the archaeological evidence for cattle in the settlements. Faunal data from Anatolian Bronze Age sites indicate that cattle played an increasingly central role compared to earlier periods (Arbuckle 2014). In the third and second millennia BCE, the remains of cattle increase dramatically in archaeo-faunal assemblages across Anatolia. Arbuckle explains the increase of cattle remains with the development of intensive agricultural regimes and the rise of increasingly complex and hierarchical political economies (2014: 281). In general, the diachronic study of cattle remains shows cattle was not a very commonly consumed animal at the beginning of the third millennium (*ibid.*), and that perhaps it was only eaten at important occasions. But in the last phases of the EBA and in the MBA cattle was more commonly consumed. At Karataş for instance, the inhabitants practiced animal husbandry dominated by cattle in the later phases of the EBA (Hesse and Perkins 1974). Whether cattle were part of mortuary feasts for the living, or food offerings for the dead, the fact that these animals were disposed of in mortuary spaces underlines that cattle were important elements of the mortuary rituals.

It should be noted here that mortuary consumption of animals does not always follow the patterns found in the settlements. For example in the Death Pit at Domuztepe, mentioned in Chapter 4 for cannibalism, the animal remains represented differences from the overall patterns of food debris from the site. There was a difference between the consumption of cattle, sheep/goat, and pigs in the settlement and in the Death Pit. Valuable, prime-age animals were processed as food and their remains were put into the Death Pit (Kansa *et al.* 2009: 171). Only detailed zooarchaeological analyses can inform us about such differences, which are crucial for understanding the consumption patterns when looking at animal remains in mortuary context. Another example comes from a Bronze Age deposit on Nopigeia, Crete, where animals were deliberately selected from specific age groups: the tooth wear data indicate that sheep/goat are mainly killed at four to six years and pigs between just over one year to just over two years. The evidence for cattle is limited but indicates mature animals; juvenile animals of all species are rare (Harris and Hamilakis 2008: 163). This kind of analysis of kill-off patterns and ages at death, however, does not exist for Bronze Age Anatolian faunal data from the cemeteries.

As Patrier has observed in the Hittite rituals, the importance of feeding the dead is often only not connected to funerals themselves, but they occur more cyclically to commemorate the dead (2010: 261). The evidence for leaving or consuming food and drinks in the third and second millennium Anatolian cemeteries seems to indicate that

even if these rituals were not regularly practiced, they were in fact repeated during longer courses of time.

6.1.2 Cooking and Preparation

Were foods prepared within the cemetery or were prepared meals brought to the cemetery in the vessels? In the EBA cemetery of Baklatepe, a pit contemporary with the pithos burials contained burned animal remains together with fine drinking and serving vessels, which was interpreted by the excavators as a special area for mortuary feasting or burial ceremonies (Şahoğlu in press in Massa and Şahoğlu 2011). At Demircihöyük, one of the burials associated with a cattle pair yielded the only flint object from the EBA cemetery (Seeher 2000). The flint blade may have been used to cut the cattle's throat, which raises the possibility that it was used for the burial preparation or ritual, rather than left there as a burial gift. At Karataş fragments of large storage jars, grinding stones, and one large conch shell were deposited in the pits of the Main Cemetery Trench (Warner 1994: 111). At EBA Horoztepe the entire excavated area of the cemetery was ashy black, and it yielded several hearths with scattered remains of consumed animals (Özgüç 1958) suggesting that the area was used for cooking animals.

Cooking pots are rarely found in Bronze Age burials. Only a few examples were found in the Gordion cemetery, although these were used as the burial container (Mellink 1956). On the other hand, we do have evidence for burned or cooked pig, and sheep/goat from Ilica's MBA cremation burials (Orthmann 1967). Moreover, in the

second millennium Arıbaşı in central Anatolia, nine circular and one rectangular hearths were discovered within the cemetery, which contained broken vessels, burned wood fragments, grinding stones and pestles, and animal remains (Özkan 1998: 171). The obsidian fragments, cattle mandible and deer antler tools that were unearthed in the same level suggest that food preparation was partly done at the burial site. As represented by the hearths, burned food and wood remains, fire and perhaps cooking were involved in the preparation of the mortuary ritual or mortuary food. At Baklatepe, both the Late Chalcolithic intramural infant burials, and all the EBI burials contained wheat sprinkled all over them (Şahoğlu 2008). This could be related to the function of pithos vessels as a grain storage jar, or to another symbolic function, but not necessarily due to food production.

The survey of areas around cemeteries and burial is important, since some preparation installations or ritual features can be located in the vicinity of the cemeteries. At Osmankaya for example, on the north of the cemetery area 2 offering pits were found. The excavators reported that these were placed with 9 cm intervals and were probably intended for libations (Bittel *et al.* 1958: 4). Perhaps due to the lack of systematic surveys around cemeteries, there is little evidence for such ritual installations, and also little evidence for food storage structures. One example of a storage related structure is Alacahöyük's "Building ABC". The burials of Alacahöyük were built closely adjacent to this building, which contained three large storage jars filled with barley, ceramic bowls, cups, and pitchers (Koşay 1938: 89-91; also discussed in Bachhuber 2015: 99). Also at Baklatepe excavators noted a deposit dated to the EBII

period, consisting of fine ware pouring vessels and small sized idols next next to the EBI cemetery (Şahoğlu 2008: 490), showing that older cemeteries were visited for ritual purposes in the later period. These examples suggest that feasting activities or storage for these activities could have been taking place in structures or areas around the cemeteries.

6.2. Burying for the Dead, with the Dead: Interactions with Animals

Animals are not only a means for human survival, but also an inseparable part of human life and death. Even though human-animal interactions have attracted scholars working on diverse areas and periods (e.g., Marom *et al.* 2016; MacGregor 2012; Russell 2012), in Anatolia archaeological approaches to the study of relationships between humans and animals are often limited to practical and economic themes such as domestication and traction, where animals are regarded no differently from material resources. The large amount of zooarchaeological data from both western and (especially) central Anatolian cemeteries suggests that these cemeteries were places for experiencing and displaying different aspects of human-animal relationships.

The reason why it is difficult to categorize the meanings or functions of animals in the mortuary practices on the basis of the species, or on whether the animal was complete or disarticulated, is because the same animal could have had several different roles in different rituals. If we look at the role of animals in Hittite rituals we can see that some of these roles included a sacrificial or magical function, a function that

represented a certain god or the king, or even the evil force itself. Some of these animals were used for divination or hunting rituals, and some played an important role in mortuary practices (Collins 2002). Burned remains of animals in burials such as the burned goat/sheep from Ilica cremations (Orthmann 1967) make this division more complicated since it is not clear whether these animals were cremated with the person as companions, or as a sacrificial victim for a feasting activity. Even though I use such terms in this section for my sub-section titles, readers should be aware of the possibility that some animals will have overlapping functions in different rituals.

Compared to the Neolithic, the Anatolian Bronze Age (especially the EBA) is poor in terms of representations of animals; on the other hand, extramural cemeteries in this period have yielded a great variety of animal remains, complete and disarticulated, including cattle, sheep/goat, dogs, and equids. However, not all animals found in mortuary contexts were eaten by the living or were left as symbolic food for the dead. The roles of animals in rituals vary, and in many cases one type of animal could be used in several different rituals. By considering the different ways in which animals were used in the formation and continuation of mortuary rituals, this section aims to analyze the human-animal interaction in the Bronze Age cemeteries.

6.2.1 Animals as Sacrificial Victims and/or Gifts

A closer look to the treatment of animals makes it clear that there are important differences in the way animals were killed, treated, and buried in the mortuary context. In many cases, it is difficult to determine whether leaving parts of the animal or burying a complete animal suggest an important distinction in function or meaning. In the title of this section I use "sacrificial victims" and "gifts" as two categories not to suggest that these categories can be easily distinguished from one another, but to create a separation from animal burials discussed in the following section (6.2.2). Sykes has noted that there is a tendency to consider animals as a "sacrifice" only when their skeletons are complete ABGs (Associated Bone Groups) and deliberately interred (2014: 121). Readers should be aware of the fact that the animals discussed in the following section could also be sacrificial victims or gifts, at the same time pets and companions. My distinction is based more on the fact that animals discussed in this section were also consumed, whereas the animals discussed in the following section (Animals as companions or animal burials?) were not.

In either case, animal remains associated with Anatolian mortuary rituals are always domesticated species. Wild animals are not found in the cemeteries, but wild animal imagery could be represented within the burials. Examples of this are the Old Assyrian wild animal rhyta found in Kültepe burials depicting lions and eagles (Özgüç 2005), and the EBA Alacahöyük deer standards. The rarity of the appearance of wild

animals is also attested in the quantity of the objects. For example in the case of Alacahöyük, there is only one animal standard per grave (Orthmann 1967: 52). Red deer was one of the main staples in the Indo-European diet (Collins 2002: 311), which makes their rare appearance puzzling. Interestingly, wild animals including deer are not part of Hittite sacrifices or other Bronze Age burial rituals. For the Hittites wild animals were not desirable sustenance for the gods (*ibid.*: 320). It is not clear whether there was such a religious restriction in the third millennium, although the absence of wild species in the burials may imply a similar belief. The main reason why deer do not appear in burials is perhaps due to the fact that the deer would not be readily available and would have to be hunted before the burial ceremony itself. The hunting of wild animals is unpredictable, especially during certain times of the year (Kelly 2001), which would have made it difficult to have them as a regular element of the (unexpected) burial ceremonies.

Amongst the domesticated species, sheep and goats are the most abundant taxa in Bronze Age faunal assemblages across southwest Asia (Arbuckle 2014: 278). They are more commonly consumed in the settlements than cattle during the period of the emergence of the first extramural cemeteries.¹¹⁵ However, considering their abundance in the settlements, the appearance of sheep/goat in the cemeteries is not as common. As noted for the Neolithic, sheep are again one of the most common species in the faunal assemblage but “they are virtually absent in the art and among the animal

¹¹⁵ In the EBI level of Karataş sheep and goat were more common than cattle, whereas by the EB III, sheep and goat is much less frequent than cattle (Hesse and Perkins 1974: 152).

parts incorporated into the architecture" (Russell and During 2006: 73). The Bronze Age has not yielded evidence for the use of animal skulls or animal depictions as architectural and decorative elements. Moreover, during this period sheep and goat are rarely depicted in a form other than figurines, which are almost exclusively found in the settlements. In the EBA Karataş there were 2 jars with incised goat depictions; one of these jars was used as a burial (Mellink 1964: Table 79, Fig. 10-13).¹¹⁶ The only second-millennium examples are the one ram-headed rhyton from the second millennium cemetery of Ilica (Orthmann and Helmuth 1967, Kat. 146 a-b) and the stylized antelope headed pitcher from second millennium cemetery of Yanarlar (Emre 1978, Plate XXXVII 3a-b). Despite the lack of animal imagery, skeletal remains of animals are commonly found in cemeteries.

The use of animals in mortuary rituals has its roots in the Neolithic Period. In Çatalhöyük burial of a man with a complete sheep laid on this burial (Russell and During 2006) is one of the early examples. Also at Neolithic Ilıpınar, scapulae and mandibles of sheep/goat were found near human skeletons (Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2008: 46). In one of the cases, the animal mandible was placed on a middle-aged man's upper leg, and an animal scapula laid close to his foot (*ibid.*). Sheep/goat mandibles are known to be used as tools (Hesse and Perkins 1974), however the careful placement of the scapula raises the possibility that perhaps animal remains were left for the dead, not as food, but for another symbolic purpose. Roodenberg makes a distinction between

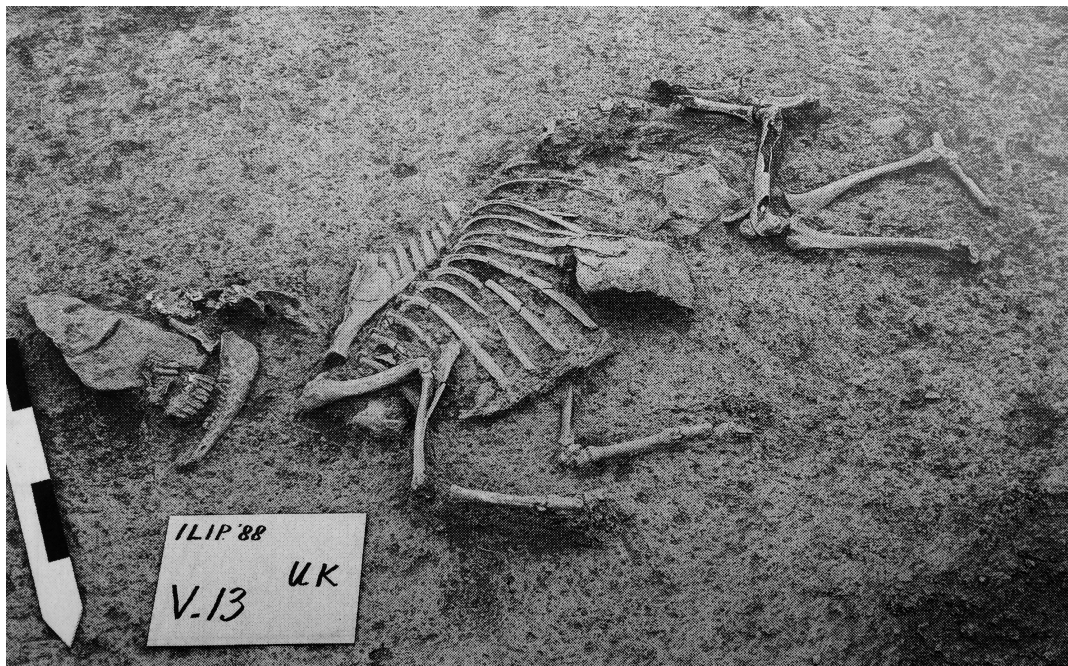
¹¹⁶ Jar 57. A similar design was also found on a black burnished lid at EBA Hacımusalar Höyük (E. Baughan, personal communication).

CEMETERY	PERIOD	SPECIES	COMPLETE/ DISARTICULATED	IN/OUTSIDE THE BURIAL
Ilıpınar	Late Neolithic	sheep/goat	D	I
Ilıpınar	Late Chalcolithic	sheep/goat	C	O
Ilıpınar	Late Chalcolithic	unknown	D	I
Ilıpınar	EBA	bovid	D	I
Ilıpınar	EBA	dog	D	O
Ilıpınar	EBA	dog	C (decapitated)	O
Demircihöyük	EBA	cattle	C	O
Demircihöyük	MBA	dog	D	O
Alacahöyük	EBA	cattle	D	O
Alacahöyük	EBA	sheep/goat	C	I
Alacahöyük	EBA	pig	D	I
Alacahöyük	EBA	dog	D	I
Alacahöyük	EBA	equid	D	I
Resuloğlu	EBA	cattle	D	O
Arıbaş	MBA	cattle	D	O
Osmankayası	MBA-LBA	equid	C	O
Osmankayası	MBA-LBA	equid	D	I&O
Osmankayası	MBA-LBA	dog	D	I
Osmankayası	MBA-LBA	pig	D	I
Osmankayası	MBA	sheep/goat	D	I
Ilıca	MBA-LBA	sheep/goat	D	I&O
Ilıca	MBA-LBA	pig	D	I&O
Ilıca	MBA-LBA	cattle	D	I&O
Troy	LBA	bird	D	I
Troy	LBA	?	D	O
Baklatepe	LBA	tortoise	D	I

Table 6.1: Animal remains mentioned in the text and their relative location.

disarticulated animal remains and bovine mandibles at Ilipinar, linking the former to food offerings (2008b: 338). He does not comment further on the bovine mandibles; however, the fact that the two burials with bovine mandibles are isolated in the northern section of the cemetery is important to note. This brings us back to the issue of whether the location of certain burial features were intentional. In Table 6.1 we can see that complete and disarticulated animal remains can be found both in and outside of burials regardless of the species.

The practice of animal remains at Neolithic Ilipinar seems considerably different from the use of sheep and goat in Ilipinar's Late Chalcolithic cemetery. In the LC example we see complete skeletons of sheep/goat buried among human burials. These



**Fig. 6.3: Sheep/goat skeleton with stones placed on the skull
(Roodenberg 2008b: 332).**

were interpreted as offerings (Roodenberg 2008a: 320). The final publication of these burials does not mention the interesting detail that the two sheep/goat burials had large stones placed on their skulls, and that there were smaller stones on and around these burials (Fig. 6.3). This practice brings Hittite rituals to mind, where unclean animals could serve to divert the anger of the deity from the threatened victim (Gurney 1977: 52-58). After they received the pollution or curse, the animals were killed, and either placed in a freshly dug hole in the earth and covered over, or else burned (Collins 2002: 324). The deposition in both cases involved libations of various liquids (*ibid.*). The Ilipinar sheep/goat were not reported to be burned. Another interesting feature of these burials was that the heads of these sheep/goats were oriented towards the east, in contrast to the human burials in the cemetery, which were oriented to the west (Roodenberg 2008a: 332-333, Figures 14-18). The relationship between the animal burials and human burials is not discussed in the publication, and the animal burials are not marked on the plan, therefore any further analysis of their location is not possible. Nevertheless, the fact that their orientation does not fit the regular orientation of the human bodies implies that these animal burials had a different symbolic nature than the human burials, or that they were not burials in the same sense.

One of the richest cemeteries in terms of animal skeletons is the EBA cemetery of Demircihöyük, where 7 cattle skeleton pairs were associated with adult burials of unidentified sex (Seeher 2000). It is not very clear with which burial the cattle skeletons

should be associated, when there are other overlapping burials around the cattle. It is possible that the dedication of one animal was for several burials. This could have been an act of conspicuous consumption by one or more living members of the community to commemorate a group of dead ancestors. Leaving a complete animal points to a different ritual that aimed at a similar social and economic outcome: the complete skeletons show that the meat of these animals was not eaten but was left to the dead, which was a way of showing one's (or one's family's) disposable wealth, or a way of expressing familial closeness to the deceased.

If the scattered animal bones were the remains of a consumption activity by the visitors to the cemetery or by the family members, leaving complete skeletons for the dead was a different expression of conspicuous consumption, or a different way of displaying relationships with ancestors or with animals. I disagree with the interpretation that cattle skeletons in cemeteries indicate the "chiefly" nature of these burials (Massa 2014). Massa used quantitative methods to show that several burials in the Demircihöyük cemetery showed "vertical variability" (2014). He identified chiefly burials which had either a certain number of burial finds, and/or certain types of burial objects (e.g., metal weapons), and cattle sacrifices. There are several problems with such an approach: the first is that symbolic aspects of burial practices can be used and manipulated to disguise the social status of the deceased as much as reflecting it (Hodder 1982b). It is also known from ethnographic examples that prestige items were made and displayed specifically for feasts (Hayden 2011: 41), so they might not even be

connected to the person buried with these objects. Even if we agree with the possibility that burial practices reflect some form of social status, in many cases we do not know whether the status was based on identity, age, wealth, social power or familial relations. As discussed above, having the luxury to dispose of 300 kilograms of meat by leaving a complete animal to the deceased would require substantial resources, meaning that the relatives of the deceased had the means to do so. However, in the Anatolian Bronze Age cases, we do not exactly know if individuals, households, kin groups, or the whole population were the ones who contributed to the leaving of animals (and other objects) for the dead. Therefore, direct correlations between animal sacrifices and the economic status of the deceased should not be presumed.

6.2.2 Animals as Companions and/or Animal Burials

In this section, I discuss mainly dogs and equids that were found more or less complete. In Anatolia both dogs and equids are always found in connection to human burials; no separate dog or equid deposits have been found in third or second millennium cemeteries.

The dog burials complicate our understanding of the relationships between humans and animals in the mortuary rituals. In Egypt, dog burials generally occur within the context of a human's tomb, sometimes inside the coffin. These animals have been interpreted as "pets" or "companions" (Ikram 2013). In cases the dogs were buried in groups further away from the humans, these were often ritual (votive) deposits (*ibid.*).

Dog remains found in the deposit at Troy mentioned above clearly have a different function than a complete dog skeleton left by a burial.

Even though cynophagy was a well-attested practice in third millennium Attica (Hadjikoumis 2016), dog remains from Anatolian sites have not been reported to have butchering marks or any other evidence that they were a part of the diet. This raises the question whether the canine burials in Anatolian cemeteries were merely pets, or symbolic animals with a certain function in the mortuary ritual, or both.

At Ilipinar's EBA cemetery a complete skeleton of a decapitated dog was found near burial UM (Fig. 6.4), while UL, UG, and UH were accompanied with canine skulls and other parts (Roodenberg 2008b: 338). These burials belonged to children or young adults. Either found intact, or buried like humans, dogs may have had a "quasi-human status" (Russell and During 2006: 81). This quasi-human status could explain why dog skeletons were mostly found in association with children, since children are often religiously sanctioned and treated differently due to their "not-fully-human" status in their communities. For example, in medieval Ireland unbaptized children would be buried away from the sacred ground (Finlay 2000). On the other hand, a dog burial was unearthed at Demirchöyük's MBA cemetery in association with a possibly female burial (Seeher 2000: 183). Even though the direct association and dating of the dog burial is not known, the fact that a dog burial was also found in the MBA settlement of Demirchöyük not far from a child burial (*ibid.*) makes it clear that this association between children and dogs/puppies was not an exceptional case.



Fig. 6.4: Decapitated dog next to pithos of a 18-19 year old male. This dog was decapitated and placed in the same alignment (N-S) as the human burial Ilipinar (Alpaslan-Roodenberg 2002: Fig. 13).

Pet-keeping is one of the closest forms of human–animal interaction, even in our modern western society (Fox 2006). As I stressed before, with many of the mortuary rituals in Anatolian cemeteries it is difficult to separate the sacred and secular rituals,

and I do not think such a separation is necessarily useful. On the other hand, in periods with written evidence to demonstrate religious connections there is a need to mention them: Dogs, especially puppies have a special religious relationship with the Greco-Roman goddess Hekate, who is often regarded as a chthonic goddess (Day 1984). Hekate would travel the night together with the souls of the dead and accompanied by her whining dogs (Sarian 1992). She was connected to the realm of the dead and to funerals, and was also the messenger between the world of the dead and that of the living (Gräslund 2004). Furthermore, she was the one who could help women in labour at childbirth (*ibid.*). It is perhaps through this connection that dogs, as Hekate's symbols, were associated with dead children. It has been suggested that Hekate had Anatolian origins (Bachvarova 2010), so it is possible that the tradition of infant burials with dog skeletons spread through Anatolia to the Greco-Roman world.

The role of dogs in rituals takes a different form in the second millennium in Anatolia with Hittites. In Hittite rituals, the dog, the pig, and some wild animals would be killed, not to feed the gods but to serve more specialized functions such as purification (Collins 2002: 320). There are disarticulated remains in the second-millennium Hittite cemetery of Osmanlı (Bittel *et al.* 1958), especially dog skulls and separate mandibles (Wolf 1958). The dog burials found in Sardis in the 5th century BC were killed, then dismembered, and buried in pots, but they were not eaten, even though they were part of the feasting ritual to Hermes Kandaoulas (Fig. 6.5.; Robertson

representation comes from 14th century Alacahöyük.¹¹⁸ This bas relief orthostate at the Sphinx Gate depicts a lion hunt with dogs. Hunting scenes with dogs are also very rare, even though in Hittite texts the dog is commonly referred to as the “hunter’s companion” (Collins 2002: 328). The use of puppies in Hittite rituals is not fully understood, but Collins argues that puppies were otherwise valueless, since they had not yet been trained as sheepdogs, watchdogs, or hunting dogs (1990: 211) and that some symbolic or religious significance was attached to puppies that was not attached to fully grown dogs (*ibid.*).

This conflicts with another type of companion animal, namely equids, which were also found in Anatolian cemeteries but are less common than dog burials. The second millennium cemetery of Osmankayası yielded equid burials where the animal was represented by either one bone or skull, but the burial could sometimes include groups of equid skulls. The excavators also found one equid that was almost complete (Fig. 6.6.; Bittel et al. 1958: 16).¹¹⁹ All these equids were male adults (van den Hout 1994: 55). The role of young animals therefore seems specific to dogs, or at least not a feature that was considered important for the equids. Specifically, horses are not commonly found in Anatolian cemeteries, but at Osmankayası there are two horse skulls and fragments of horse skeletons (Bittel et al. 1958). The second millennium cemetery

¹¹⁸ for figure: <http://www.hittitemonuments.com/alacahoyuk/alaca06.jpg>

¹¹⁹ The forelegs were missing, but they were found close to the animal, and were probably moved due to the later burials (*ibid.*).

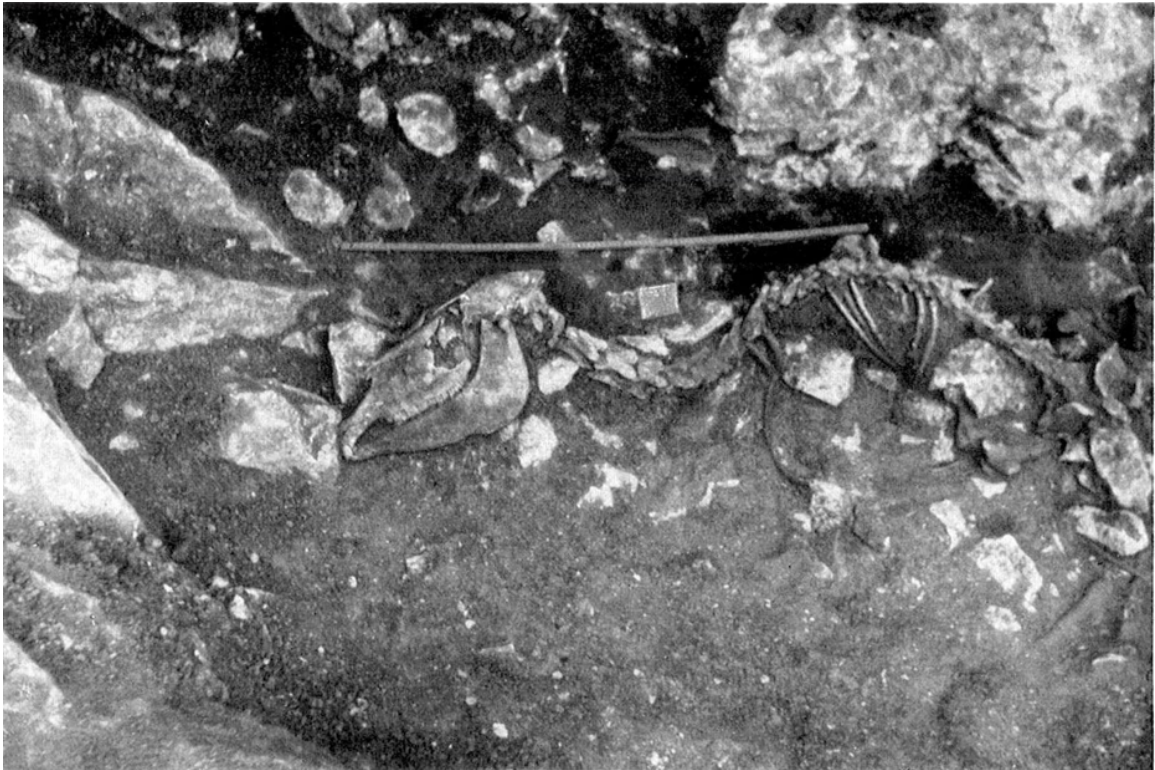


Fig. 6.6: The almost complete equid skeleton from Osmankayası. The forelegs of this animal were missing, but they were found close by suggesting that they were moved due to the later burials (Bittel et al. 1958, Plate XI).

at Miletos has also yielded a horse bridle (Potratz 1941), raising the possibility that horses were also important for certain burial rituals.¹²⁰ Interestingly, even though wealth associations are often made with cattle in mortuary contexts, so far no one has suggested that horses would also be a valuable resource, and that their disposal in cemeteries would be a conspicuous act.

As I have demonstrated, clear-cut categories seem unproductive in understanding the complexity of human-animals relationships in the context of mortuary

¹²⁰ The possibility for dismantled wagons has been suggested for the Alacahöyük burials, but no wagons were found from Bronze Age cemeteries. For a detailed discussion for the archaeological evidence see Bachhuber 2015: 33-37.

rituals. The fact that only domesticated species were used in the mortuary rituals could be due to a practical response where people preferred using animals that were readily available to them. However, the emotional relationship between humans and animals, expressed in the form of careful and complete animal burials, shows us that animals played an important role in the lives of the Bronze Age communities, a role that was beyond subsistence and economy. At Osmankayasi, in the older burial group, human skulls and bodies were not interred any differently than the equid skulls and burials (Bittel *et al.* 1958: 13). At Neolithic Domuztepe, the osteological analyses on the human and animal bones from the so-called "Death Pit" showed that human bone processing paralleled animal bone processing for post-cranial bones (Kansa *et al.* 2009). At LBA Troy burned bird bones were found in a cremated human burial (Blegen *et al.* 1953), and tortoise shell fragments were found burned together with the human remains at Baklatepe's LBA burial (Erdal 2002). Therefore, the possibility that animal remains mirrored human remains, or that in some cases humans and animals were treated similarly in mortuary contexts, should not be eliminated.

Animals are resources, but they are also companions in (after)life, and they are also crucial for securing the effectiveness of a ritual as sacrificial victims. Animals were not only passive elements in mortuary practices. They played an important role in the lives and deaths of the Bronze Age communities. Berger, in his influential work *Ways of Seeing* explains this complex relationship in a simple way:

"A peasant becomes fond of his pig and is glad to salt away its pork. What is significant, and is so difficult for the urban stranger to understand, is that the two statements in that sentence are connected by an and and not by a but." (1972: 7).

People who have experienced the Islamic sacrifice holiday Eid al-Adha would never forget the intensity of the physically and emotionally challenging act of the sacrifice; the smell of the dust mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal, the noises they make... Mortuary feasts, sacrifices, and other mortuary rituals are all accompanied by a variety of senses. In the following section I will analyze objects and materials found in and around burials that can help us understand what kind of sensory elements were used in the practice of a ritual and in establishing social interactions in the mortuary space.

6.3. Sensory Rituals: Interactions with the Material and Experienced World

We could assume that funerals, funeral feasts, rituals, and other mortuary practices such as burying the body itself are often accompanied by a variety of senses: the smell of the dead body, dust mixed with the blood of the sacrificed animal, poured liquids on the freshly dug-up soil; the sounds of animals, people, objects being broken, music, seeing and touching a variety of materials, ceramics, stones, metals. Adding to the difficulty of accessing sensorial elements archaeologically, we are also facing the difficulty of biases of our disciplines and our social contexts. Hamilakis is right when he says "the Western sensorium with its five senses and its implicit hierarchy is a Western

folk taxonomy, bequeathed to us since classical antiquity" (2014: 113). Objects play a big role in forming an experiential setting, but reconstructing the entire human experience in mortuary ceremonies or in cemeteries based on archaeological remains is impossible considering the aforementioned problems. Nevertheless, building on the material evidence left behind, not only in the burials but also around them, will help us reconstruct the atmosphere in these cemeteries. "Atmosphere" is a useful concept in this case, as explained by Anderson; it unsettles the distinction between affect and emotion that has emerged to answer the question of how the social relates to the affective dimensions of life (2009). The aim of this section is to reconstruct the sensorial atmosphere and experiences in these cemeteries, not the full range of human emotions. The use of objects and materials in the mortuary context can help us understand what kinds of elements were used in the practice of a ritual and in establishing social interactions in the mortuary space.

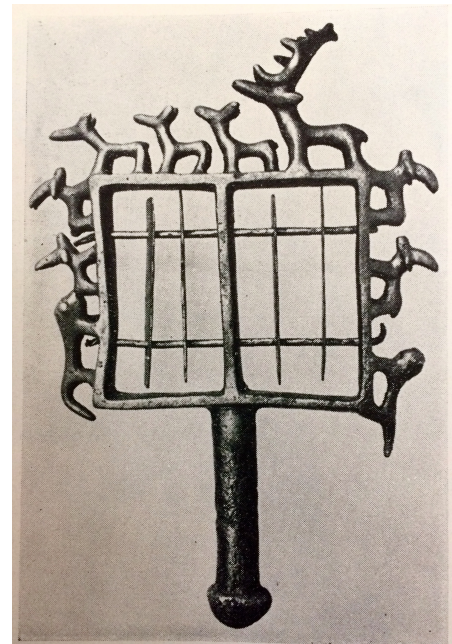
The cemetery itself is already a space that creates a different setting than everyday life: it is separate from the settlement spatially, it is a place of disruption in the flow of daily life. It is a space where the "temporality of the everyday has been suspended" (Hamilakis 2014: 136). Interestingly, the material remains from Anatolian cemeteries are very much like those found in settlements, which makes it clear that it was not the object types or forms themselves, but how they were used that marked their symbolic use.

6.3.1 Sounds

Sounds and music would have contributed to the distinct atmosphere in the mortuary space. Ceramic rattles were unearthed at Demircihöyük's EBA and are categorized as "toys" in the final publication; however, it has been suggested that these might also have been used as sistra with a cultic or symbolic function (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder 1996: 255). Rattles were found throughout the settlement, both in the houses and in the communal courtyard in the center of the settlement (Baykal-Seeher & Obladen-Kauder 1996: 370), which raises the possibility that rattles were also used in daily communal rituals. There are also objects with clear functions of making sounds. One cymbal in the Metropolitan Museum of Art is reported to be found in central Anatolia, which is dated to the EBIII period.¹²¹



Fig. 6.7: Horoztepe sistrum with detail of the predator chasing the deer (Özgüç 1958, Plate XII: 1a and 1c).



¹²¹ <https://metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324442>

Even though the Met cymbal does not have any imagery or decoration on it, in other cases there seems a relationship between sounds and wild animals as manifested on the sistra, especially the ones found in EBA central Anatolian burials. The copper-alloy sistrum from Horoztepe depicted a procession of male and female deer followed by a predator (Fig. 6.7). The deer imagery is known from other burials in the region such as Alacahöyük.¹²² Other than deer, birds can also be found in association with sistra (Fig. 6.8). It is uncertain whether the animal imagery had an association with the ritual itself



Fig. 6.8: Copper alloy sistrum at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated to EBIII, possibly found in central Anatolia.

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/324440>

¹²² At Alacahöyük, however, rather than the deer “standards”, the so-called “sun-discs” seem to have a function that involved producing sounds.

or with the sounds, but it is interesting that sistra started to appear in the Bronze Age, especially in burials. Metal castanets were also found both in the settlement and cemetery of Horoztepe (Özgüç 1958) and in the burials of Alacahöyük (Koşay 1951). Even though the end result of the sound created by ceramic rattles and metal sistra/castanets would be different, they form the only non-textual evidence for music or instrumental sounds in the cemetery space.

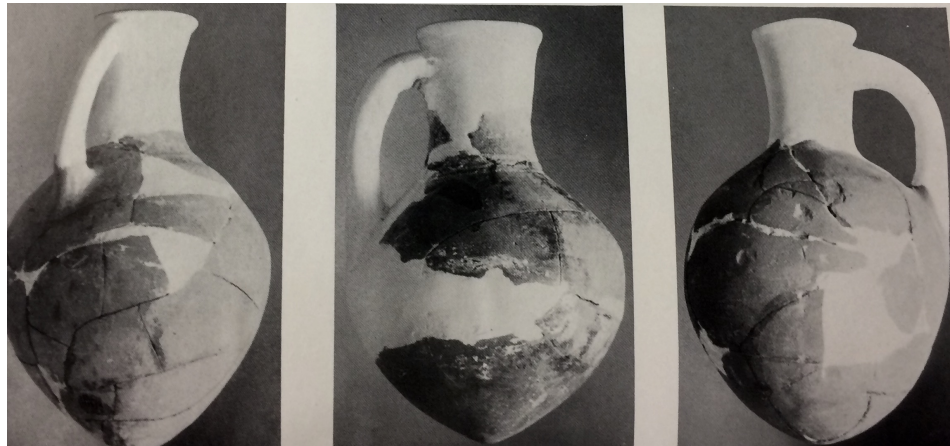


Fig. 6.9: Broken pitchers from Osmankayası (Bittel 1958: Tafel XX, 4,5,6).

The breaking or bending of objects is another interesting practice that appears commonly in Bronze Age Anatolian cemeteries which contributed to the sounds of the mortuary ceremonies. At Gordion, Osmankayası, and Ilica most of the beaked jugs and jars have broken or missing mouths (Fig. 6.9), and in Ilica some vessels have several holes on the sides, which made the excavators suggest that their breaking and drilling was associated with a mortuary ritual (Orthmann 1967).¹²³ Also in western Anatolian LBA

¹²³ For breaking of figurines, see Chapter 5.

burials such as Beşiktepe, broken Mycenaean-style vessels were found amongst the stone circles (Korfman 1988) suggesting that these circles served as an altar (Akyurt 1998: 14). On the other hand, by looking at the base fragments from MBA Ulucak (Çilingiroğlu et al. 2004: 61), and the burials covered with pithos sherds found at sites including Demircihöyük, Karataş, and Ilıpınar, it is possible that these vessel parts were deposited already broken. Patrier argues that the breaking of objects could be related to a “rite of separation” (2010: 267), but it could also be a way of reusing materials, especially in the case of the sherds covering the burials. One passage in the Hittite *šalliš waštaiš* rituals talks about a the cup bearer who smashes the “cup of baked clay of (the late king’s) soul” (Rutherford 2007: 224).¹²⁴ It is therefore possible that the breaking of objects could have had a more symbolic meaning besides creating a sensory element in the ritual.



Fig. 6. 10: Horoztepe crushed “zoomorphic (?) table” in situ, before and after conservation (Özgüç 1958, Plate II-III).

¹²⁴ (KKS 177). A similar practice can also be observed in LBA Mycenaean burials (see Rutherford 2008).

Another example for transforming, or in this case ending, the function of the object(s) comes from a ritual deposit at the EBA cemetery of Horoztepe. Here, one of the burials revealed a bundle of crushed and deformed heap of objects including “fruitstands”, a metal sheet plate filled with smaller cups, metal vessels, and two metal tables (Fig. 6.10; Özgüç and Akok 1958: 41). Presumably these metal objects would have to be bent by hitting the metal with a harder object, creating a banging noise. Together with the complete animals buried in Horoztepe’s cemetery, these objects provide evidence for what Hayden calls the “intentional destruction of wealth” in the context of funerary rituals and feasts (2011: 47). The bent daggers and broken metal vessels from Resuloğlu (Fig. 6.11), and other undestroyed metal weapons found in Demircihöyük and Ilıpınar may indicate that wealth was destroyed as part of the mortuary rituals, either by physically bending, breaking, (or in the case of animals) cutting them, or by removing them from circulation.



Fig. 6.11: Twisted dagger (Zimmermann et al. 2009) and bent metal vessels (Yıldırım 2006) from Resuloğlu.

The other objects found at Horoztepe's ritual deposit, such as the nursing female and bull figurines, and the scepter head were the only objects that were not crushed or bent. If we accept that the breaking or bending of objects ended the function of these objects, it is interesting that only very few selected objects were kept as they were, perhaps due to their imagery (bull and female nursing her baby). These broken objects could have been used in a burial ritual or ceremony, and then destroyed afterwards to transform their meaning. The ritual deposit was not the only group of objects; there were other objects placed in other parts of the burial pit. However, these were not intentionally crushed or bent, showing that not all objects needed to be separated from the world of the living to be placed in a burial, and that different objects had different functions in these mortuary rituals. Tables and the fruitstands are especially important since there are not many instances where we have evidence for feasting furniture in mortuary context in the Bronze Age.

6.3.2 Smells

Burning of objects could also be included in separation rites where the use of the object was transformed into different realms. However, burnt remains of objects are not common or are not commonly noted in the excavation reports.¹²⁵ There are several exceptions: in Ilıpınar's final publication it is clearly noted that no traces of combustion,

¹²⁵ This could mean that either there were no burnt remains, or they were simply not reported.

butchering or waste were found inside, around, or on top of the EBA pithoi (Roodenberg 2008b: 338). On the other hand, at EBA Resuloğlu, excavators found some evidence for burning on the miniature pots surrounded by stones near two EBA pithoi. These sooty pots had a thin ash layer around them, indicating that they were exposed to fire (Yıldırım 2006: 7). As argued before, cooking was part of the food preparation process within the cemeteries, as attested in Arıbaş. At Baklatepe's only LBA chamber tomb, burned human and animal remains were found scattered with broken ceramic vessel fragments (Erkanal and Öztan 1998: 403). Metal animal figurines found in this burial were also burned and partially melted. As seen in Chapter 4, the burning of the burial or human/animal remains does not necessarily indicate cooking; it could be due to a ritual where the burial was exposed to fire, maybe for cleansing or other symbolic purposes. In either case, the cooking or burning of wood, metal, and perhaps even other materials, combined with the smell of discarded animal remains and of decomposing animal and human bodies, would have distinguished the cemeteries from their surrounding by the variety and distinctness of smells.

The rare lead bottles¹²⁶ from Demircihöyük's EBA cemetery raises the possibility that these objects could have contributed to the complexity of the smellscape of the cemeteries (Fig. 6.12). These lead bottles are similar to the "Syrian bottles" which are small globular ceramic jars with a narrow neck mostly imported from Upper

¹²⁶ the only other example is a neck fragment found at EBA Tarsus, in Zimmermann 2005: 164.

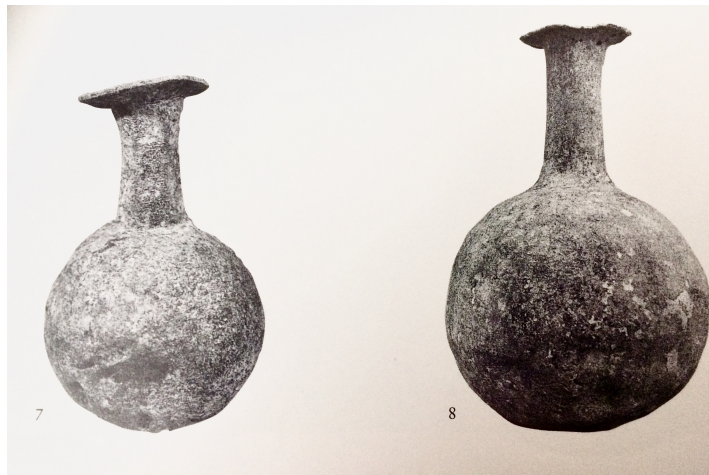


Fig. 6.12: Lead bottles from Demircihöyük (Seeher 2000, Plate 18: 7-8).

Mesopotamia (Bachuber 2009: 15). Local derivatives of these, as well as original imports, can be found in Anatolia especially in EBIII contexts (Zimmermann 2005). We do not know exactly what these vessels contained, but it has been suggested that they were perfume or oil bottles (Goldman 1956, in Zimmermann 2005). As discussed in Chapter 4, oils and perfumes could also be used in the preparation of the body for the burial. Seeher (2000) suggests that the difference between the ceramic Syrian bottles and the lead bottles might be the fact that the lead added a symbolic property with its silvery color, which would substitute for the rarer material: silver. This raises the question of whether certain colors or materials were preferred for a specific function in mortuary rituals.

6.3.3 Colors and Materials

The color red seems to have a special connection to death or mortuary rituals in Anatolia and in the wider ancient Near East, especially in the prehistoric periods (Kingery *et al.* 1988; Goring-Morris and Horwitz 2007). Some Cycladic burials in the EBA yielded marble bowls and palettes with remains of a red pigment (Doumas 1977: 58). At EBA Yortan the excavators noted that the shape II jars contained a red/orange substance, and interpreted these residues as cosmetics used in the cult of the dead, similar to the Neolithic red ochre (Kamil 1980: 17). Ochre does not appear in third and second millennium cemeteries commonly, which is perhaps often due to the fact they are easy to overlook and therefore not noticed during the excavation process. One piece of red ochre was found in one of the intramural burials in Alişar's 10T structure (Osten 1937: 88 in Akyurt 1998), raising the possibility that perhaps ochre did not preserve in the open-air cemeteries, or that it was intended only for intramural burials, a practice that continued from the Neolithic onwards.

The colors and properties of the metals must have contributed to the visual complexity of the sensory elements of these rituals. The unusual metal standards and discs from Horoztepe, Resuloğlu, and Alacahöyük, and the metal weapons from Demircihöyük were not something that people would use in their everyday life. The chemical composition of some of these weapons, for example, showed that they were in fact too soft to be used as weapons (Zimmermann *et al.* 2009). At Resuloğlu, rings found in burials had very high values of copper. Zimmermann and Yıldırım suggest that this was a conscious attempt to alter the object's final color with the use of different

alloying agents (Zimmermann and Yıldırım 2008). There is a certain visual quality to metals with their color and shininess, which was perhaps one of the reasons metals were included in mortuary rituals. Some of the black burnished pottery found in the Baklatepe EBI burials are also not well fired, which made the excavators assume that they were especially made to be put in burials (Erkanal and Şahoğlu 2012: 94). Therefore, it is possible that some objects were specifically made for mortuary or other symbolic purposes.

The EBA ceramic vessels of western Anatolia were distinguished by either a black or red/brown shiny slip, both for hand-made and wheel-made pottery (Bachhuber 2009). Reeves suggested that the red-slipped and black-slipped wares have metallic origins (2003: 205), and therefore could be imitating metal vessels. The attempt to make ceramics look shiny like metals by burnishing or using slip suggests that they were meant to be seen. Even though burnished vessels are commonly found in and around burials, metal vessels are not as common, but they do exist, especially in central Anatolia. At Horoztepe single-handled drinking cups that were made of both metal and ceramic are attested. This means that metal vessels and ceramic vessels do not appear mutually exclusive. As Bachhuber has noted (2015), it is remarkable that the EBA “royal burials” of Alacahöyük yielded metal vessels that resemble the ceramic forms of the Late Chalcolithic Level 9 burial (see also Koşay and Akok 1966). This might mean that old-tradition vessels continue to be used in mortuary practices with different or rarer materials. It could be assumed that objects that were left outside the burial (which are often pottery) were more likely to be seen than the ones inside the burials; however,

there seems no distinction in the material, color, or type of vessels that were left inside or outside the burial.

It is possible that in some cases rather than the color or the material, the age or rather oldness of the objects were also important. In one of the pit burials at Ilıpınar's EBA cemetery (burial UM*) an archaic type of axe —a flat stone axe was found. Excavators suggested that this must imply a much older (Early Chalcolithic) age for the burial (Roodenberg 2008b: 337). However, it is also possible that older objects were still in circulation, and were placed in burials. Considering that at Demircihöyük a Neolithic jar fragment was found in an EBA burial (burial G89), even though there are no Neolithic levels in the cemetery or at the site, we cannot completely dismiss the idea that older objects had a different property.

Differences in materials of the burial finds have often been cited as evidence for status differences, with metal objects indicating higher social statuses because of their rarity and because of the complicated process that goes into their production. However, the use of different materials to produce the same objects as in Horoztepe indicates that perhaps the variety of materials placed in the burials had a symbolic importance as well. The second millennium cemeteries abandon the idea of placing metal weapons in the burials (Akyurt 1998) when settlements have more evidence for social complexity, which shows us that we can not simply equate metal weapons with social complexity in every case. Unusual shiny objects contributed to the complexity of the mortuary rituals, and perhaps even enabled conspicuous display in ways that was not often visible in the settlements.

6.4 Discussion

The lack of clearly identifiable religious and ritual features in the Anatolian settlements, especially in the EBA, and the great variety of objects, animal remains, and sensorial elements in the cemeteries makes it clear that cemeteries were one of the main ritual spaces of the settlements. The cemeteries were an “appropriate sacred space where the living and the dead are separated and symbolically joined as one people through the performance of transition and memorial rites” (Francis 2003: 223). Rituals can bond individuals into groups, at the same time they can create separations between individuals or groups. In the Anatolian cemeteries, some burials yielded certain features that were not found in every burial such as animal bones and skeletons, disarticulated human remains, and unusual objects. But these remains or the way they were used in the mortuary rituals were not necessarily “markers of difference” of different groups or individuals.

The analysis of the types of activities in cemeteries was ultimately aimed to understand what the characteristics of the rituals of a typical burial looked like. However, by trying to find out what typical “Anatolian burials” looked like, we would of course be assuming that there are shared norms or standards amongst Anatolian communities, since “standards are established by a community” (McClymond 2016: 4). The focus throughout this chapter was mostly on the communal aspects of rituals, especially in the context of mortuary food/drink preparation and consumption. This, however, does not suggest that the individuals experiences of rituals were non-existent. As we have seen with the differences between central and western Anatolian drinking

vessels, local differences existed within contemporary communities. Also the fact that almost no burial in any of the western or central Anatolian cemeteries were identical suggests that individual preferences (or family preferences) were also playing a role in how rituals were practiced and what elements were part of these rituals. Considering the small sizes of the Anatolian settlements that had these extramural cemeteries, it is more likely that the whole community (especially in close-knit sites such as Demircihöyük) was participating in the rituals.

Material objects such as clothing and jewelry “mediate continuing personhood and sustain the bond between the living and the dead” by evoking “an intimate and sometimes sensory experience of presence” (Valentine 2008: 159, 162). The assumption that all the objects in the burials were the deceased's’ belongings, or that these objects were left as status markers is therefore an underestimation. Besides, as Parker Pearson has noted burial objects have many different functions; they “may include items which were possessions of the deceased, or they might be mourners’ gifts to the dead. They may serve to equip the dead body for the world of the afterlife, or to prevent the dead coming back to haunt the living. Grave goods may be selected to serve as reminders of a person’s deeds or character” (1999: 7). The objects people left at burials could also represent different sentiments, religious or cultural ideas, and could serve several different purposes at the same time. But often their purpose is apparent only to the person (or people) leaving these objects. The complicated nature of objects and their role rituals reminds us that assumptions on status and identity based on these objects are over-simplified.

In terms of the interactions and rituals taking place in cemeteries, there seems a slight change between the third and second millennium. Animals continued to be left both complete and as disarticulated parts in the second millennium, both in the context of consumption and as complete sacrifices. Cattle seems less commonly used compared to third millennium rituals. Drinking and serving forms continue to be placed in and around burials in the second millennium, however, some of these forms seem to become bigger in size suggesting that larger amounts of drinks and foods were brought to the cemeteries, or that these were consumed by more people. We no longer see a great diversity of objects placed in the burials; metal ornaments or metal weapons almost non-existent in second millennium cemeteries. Sensory objects, such as standards or castanets also disappear by the second millennium suggesting that rituals that involved the use of these objects might have changed, might have been transferred to another location, or that these rituals were replaced by other instruments that were not left at the burial site.

Archaeological evidence from both third and second millennium shows us that consuming and offering food for the dead was one of the common elements of the mortuary rituals. Animals are one of the major parts of these rituals, however, as I demonstrated not all animals in the mortuary context were being eaten. Animals could have been killed to feed and protect the dead, to serve the living by a means of display, and/or to serve in a cleansing rituals. The careful arrangement of complete animals in cemeteries, or the specific use of disarticulated animal parts in certain mortuary rituals shows us that animals were crucial in securing the effectiveness of the rituals, and they

were not always responses to practicalities or socio-economic demands. The disposal of wealth and resources in the cemeteries in the form of animals, food, or materials (i.e., metals) seems to play an important role in the burial rituals in the third millennium cemeteries, whereas in the second millennium this display aspect of rituals seems to move from object to the place of the cemeteries themselves.

This chapter made it clear that rituals are complicated, and difficult to break down into a list of characteristic or rules, even when accompanied with textual sources. There is, however, no doubt that rituals in these cemeteries required social interactions. From emotionally challenging activities taking place in cemeteries such as carrying the deceased body of a family member to the burial, or reorganizing human bodies in a burial jar, to physically challenging ones such as opening a burial pit, or sacrificing an animal ten times heavier than a person, people were involved in interactions with other people, with dead bodies, living and dead animals, objects, memories, senses and emotions. The social bonds created by shared production, consumption, and burial activities reinforced a sense of community. Especially for the small towns and villages, the cemeteries functioned as a public and ritual space, where traditions, social relations, and perhaps even wealth could be displayed via feeding the living and the dead, by conducting rituals, and by providing an unusual experience with objects that invoked different senses.

Chapter 7: The Retrospect: Interactions with the Past

7.1. Change and Continuity: a Diachronic Overview of Mortuary Practices

The previous chapters presented the evidence for the spatial, temporal, and ritual context of extramural cemeteries. This evidence suggests that extramural cemeteries, either reused as cemeteries, or marked as important places in the landscape, served as communal, social, and ritual places through long periods of time. As we have also seen, in some cases there were changes and new traditions were introduced. Tracing the origin of certain mortuary practices is difficult geographically (western vs. central Anatolia), however, looking at the earliest uses of burial forms, burial objects, and body positions makes it clear that none of the new traditions appeared suddenly out of nowhere. In this chapter, I synthesize the previously presented data to answer the question how mortuary practices change and continue over time. In many cases changes are explained with new cultural groups or arrival of new peoples. I will challenge the validity of this approach. In that respect, this chapter is a retrospect of the previous chapters, but also a retrospect of the local Anatolian traditions in the Hittite Period.

Scholars often use the “bridge” metaphor for Anatolia’s role in connecting cultural traditions due to its central location between different regions in the ancient Near East and the Mediterranean (see for instance Özdoğan 1996). More recently others have suggested that the natural boundaries around Anatolia (mountains, seas) caused for more distinct regional cultures (Sarı 2013). Looking at change and continuity will help us understand the role of local traditions in the transmission or preservation of these traditions, and help us break traditional unilinear narratives about Anatolia. The question “what did an Anatolian burial look like” will be explored here from the perspective of change and continuity.

7.1.1 Continuity

This section particularly focuses on the continuity of local Anatolian traditions in Hittite mortuary practices. One major line of evidence that emerges with the Hittite Period is the textual information on funerary practices. As mentioned in previous chapters, these are the “šalliš waštaiš” texts about the 14 day long royal funerary ceremonies. These texts are partial; there are several lacunae, including a large one in the middle (between Days 4 and 7) and the final day (Day 14), which as Rutherford says “might have been particularly illuminating” (2007: 224). The surviving parts consist of the description of the rituals leading to the cremation on the night between Day 2-3 and the disposal of bones; and “micro” rituals focused on the royal image or statue between Day 8-14 (*ibid.*). Despite the missing sections, these texts are still very important in our understanding of what the Hittites did when their kings and queens died, how they prepared the dead body, and what rituals they practiced.

So far no royal Hittite burials have been found. There are intramural burials from early Hittite houses at Hattuša (Mellink 1956: 46), but these are not considered “royal” in the sense that they are not elaborate or richly furnished. The expectation that royal burials need to be lavish like the Alacahöyük burials is not based on these ritual texts. In these ritual texts the king’s and queen’s burial would have been surrounded with complex rituals and some of these rituals would include the use elaborate materials as mentioned in this text from the third day:¹²⁷

“At dawn ‘the women’ go to the pyre to gather the bones. They extinguish the fire with ten vessels of beer, ten vessels of wine, and ten vessels of ‘walhi’, an unknown beverage. They take a silver ‘huppar’ vessel, filled with fine oil; they take out the bones with silver tongs¹²⁸ and put them in the vessel; then they take them out and lay them down on a linen cloth. Then they put the bones on a throne, if it’s a man or on ‘benches’ it’s the queen.” (KKS 261 in Rutherford 2007: 225).

¹²⁷ Also cited in Chapter 4 in connection to cremation burials.

¹²⁸ Similar to the process in Kotsuage ritual (see Fig. 7.1).



Fig. 7.1: "Kotsuage, the Japanese Shinto mortuary ritual. The relatives gather by the newly cremated body and pick up the bones to place them in an urn, starting from the feet and moving upwards so the dead is not placed 'upside down'" (Larsson 2015:16, Fig. 1.3).

Metal objects are considered by many as "high status" since metals are of higher value. One needs to note that the amount of drinks and oils used in this ritual, which would also be expensive, would not be archeologically visible. Moreover, it is not clear from these texts whether the objects used in the rituals (other than the silver vessel for bones) were left at the burial site, or were taken with the living after the ceremony is done. The rituals following this stage concern the effigy (the image of the royal deceased): how it was made of fruits, the rituals surrounding it such as the burning of horse and ox heads, and other conspicuous activities. Because we do not know where

these burials and rituals took place, we also do not know the materials left behind, even though some of these rituals could be archaeologically traceable by the ritually disposed objects or animal remains.

There are no materially “rich” burials in the Hittite Period. The Hittite period cemeteries like Osmanlıyazısı, Gordion, and Ilica are considered to belong to “ordinary people” (Bryce 2002: 178), or “common people” (Emre 1991: 4) due to their “poor” burial gifts (*ibid.*). As Mellink has noted for Gordion, this “frugality” of the burial objects is in fact in line with other extramural cemeteries in the third millennium and other second-millennium cemeteries in Anatolia (1956: 50), and therefore do not point to a change in classes (social or economic). The modest burial objects and burial forms in the Hittite period follow the norm of earlier Anatolian cemeteries. It is possible that the cemeteries that are not in the periphery of the royal capital Hattuşa or other royal seats belonged to the common people, and not to the royals. But this is not any way recognizable other than the fact that they did not yield “rich” burial objects.

The “frugality” of third- and early second-millennium burials maybe due to the fact that the rituals were focused on performative aspects rather than the material aspects. Rutherford discusses the complexity of “performative” actions in these rituals, where different groups of people perform different rituals that include songs, smashing and burning objects, and wailing (2007). The following passage from the first day of the ritual emphasizes not only the performative nature of these rituals, but also the fact that one object served several functions in the ritual:

"On the day, that s/he becomes god, they do as follows. They dedicate one plow of ox of the finest quality to his/her soul. They slaughter it at his/her head...Then they bring a jug of wine and libate it to the soul, then they break it. When it gets dark they swing one billy goat over the deceased...

"Then they give him to drink...When without a silver cup, another cup of clay... When to him/her [...], then in front of a table they [...] it."¹²⁹

There is no evidence, textual or archaeological, to suggest that there was a requirement for a certain number or types of objects according to the status of the deceased. As I discussed in Chapter 6, objects seem to serve a specific function in the ritual rather than being left with the deceased as an "identity kit". This explains why there is no standard set of objects associated with specific sexes, ages, or burial types. This highlights the fact that mortuary evidence can provide idealized or inverted representations rather than the actual social circumstances (Hodder 1982, Parker Pearson 1982).

In an ideal archaeological context, the material remains of the passage above would be: ox bones, a broken jug, a silver cup, and another cup of clay. It is not clear what happens to the goat (do they kill eat, release it?), but let us assume that it was sacrificed as well. In fact all these remains are found in third- and second-millennium cemeteries: there are intentionally broken objects, ceramic and metal drinking and serving cups, and domesticated animal remains (complete and disarticulated). Even if the meanings of the third-millennium rituals were different than the Hittite rituals, the fact that similar materials, objects, and similar uses can be traced back to third millennium shows us that

¹²⁹ KUB XXX 16 + KUB XXXIX 1i 1-18, ii 1-14 in van den Hout 1994: 59.

at least the use of these objects and elements in the mortuary rituals continued into the second millennium.

Cross-cultural comparisons of traditions of Anatolia and Greece have been made based on the similarities between the *šalliš waštaiš* rituals and the Homeric funerary ceremonies, as well as similar mythological stories in Anatolian and Greek literature (Rutherford 2007, Bachvarova 2016). The fact that cremation was only introduced to mainland Greece in Late Helladic III¹³⁰ and that it was only scarcely attested until Proto-Geometric Period is convincing evidence for the possibility of the transmission of this burial tradition from Anatolia. If burial traditions are actually transmittable or adaptable, we should not think of them as markers of cultural identity. Cremation does not appear at once, or replace existing burial traditions. Inhumated and cremated bodies co-existed in the same cemeteries, sometimes even in the same burial container. In fact none of the second or third-millennium cemeteries consists exclusively of cremation burials (Table 7.1). Similar to the other burial types (cist, pithos, simple inhumation pit), cremation is also not a regionally-specific practice (Table 7.1). It should also be noted that the different burial types for inhumations (cist, pit, and pithos) continue to coexist within the same cemetery in the second millennium as well (e.g., Demircihöyük, Gordion, Dede Mezarı). Several cemeteries in the border or western and central

¹³⁰ in LHIIIC (twelfth century–first half of the eleventh century B.C.), it is estimated that no more than 10% of the dead were cremated (Rutherford 2007: 227).

site	period	inhumation	cremation	region
Kazankaya	2nd millennium	Y	N	central
Ferzant	2nd millennium	Y	N	central
Osmankayası	2nd millennium	Y	Y	central
Ilıca	2nd millennium	Y	Y	central
Gordion	2nd millennium	Y	N	central
Yanarlar	2nd millennium	Y	N	central
Arıbaş	2nd millennium	Y	Y	central
Acemhöyük	2nd millennium	Y	Y	central
Kaklık	3rd millennium	Y	Y	central
Dede Mezarı	2nd millennium	Y	Y	central-western
Ulucak	2nd millennium	Y	Y	western
Demircihöyük	2nd millennium	Y	Y	northwestern
Müşgebi	2nd millennium	Y	Y	western
Troy	2nd millennium	Y	Y	western
Panaztepe	2nd millennium	Y	Y	western
Gedikli-Karahöyük	3rd-2nd millennium	Y	Y	southeastern

Table 7.1: Cemeteries of the second millennium.
(Note that there are no cemeteries with only cremation burials).

Anatolia, however, stick to more homogenous pithos cemeteries (e.g., Yanarlar).¹³¹ The difference in these preferences seems site-specific rather than regional.

In “the Testament of Hattušili I” mentioned in Chapter 4, the king says to his queen “Wash me well! Protect me on your bosom from the earth!” (Testament 23, in Bryce 2005: 94). This passage tells us two main things: First, the king “is wrestling with

¹³¹ Cremation is also not attested at these homogenous pithos cemeteries.

his fear of death" (*ibid.*), which we can all relate to. Second, the king refers to being buried and not specifically to being burned. This of course does not mean that burned bodies were not buried (as there are cremation cemeteries), but the fact that the burying is emphasized — instead of the burning— raises the possibility that perhaps in the Old Kingdom, royals were inhumated instead of being cremated. An alternative is that the scary part of death was considered not being burned, but being buried.

The choice between cremation and inhumation could have depended on the type of ceremony that one wanted to achieve. Preparation of the pyre (or the burning place), collection of bones, and the burial of these bones would be done collectively and publicly. Similarly, as discussed in Chapter 4, inhumation burials also had to be prepared collectively. Carrying the pithos, preparing the cist burial with the large stone slabs, or opening burial pits would have necessitated more than one person. The performative elements achieved by cremation and inhumation burials were also different. The fact that cremation burials were secondary burials (cremated somewhere else and brought to the final burial place) could suggest a specific preference of the families of the deceased. It could also be a result of a situation where people died somewhere away from the cemetery/settlement and had to be brought back. In this case the cremated body would be easier to transport than a full corpse. Either way, in terms of burial form, locations, and burial objects, cremation and inhumation burials were not treated differently from each other. Even with the introduction of a new funerary element, people continued to use older traditions and rituals.

Both in second- and third-millennium cemeteries there is considerable evidence for the reuse of burial containers, and secondary burial activities such as disarticulated bones, and even removal of bones, especially skulls and long bones. The aforementioned passage that talks about the women collecting the cremated remains and bones from the pyre suggests that cremated remains were secondary burials. The idea of "death pollution" known from Roman funerary practices shows avoidance of close contact or even secondary contact (sighting a corpse) with corpses, which were believed to cause contamination (Lindsay 2000: 152). The evidence from Anatolia on the other hand shows us that Anatolian communities were not refraining from interaction with corpses, skeletons, or cremated remains due to an idea of pollution caused by death or dead people.¹³²

In addition to the reuse of burials for new interments, as we have seen in Chapter 4, there is ample evidence for the reuse of cemeteries and mortuary spaces. These reuses were both attested during the time the cemeteries were established, and after the cemeteries were out of their original use. In most cases cemeteries continued to be used as cemeteries in later periods; in other cases they were monumentalized (e.g., Gordion, Ilica) or integrated into the ritual landscape of the site (e.g., Alacahöyük). These examples suggest that reuse was not accidental or merely practical, but

¹³² The use of silver tongs could be considered similar to the use chopsticks in the Kotsuage rituals, where some of the pieces of bone are picked up with chopsticks and placed into an urn (Kenney and Gilday 2000). It is said that using the two sets of chopsticks is considered a serious faux pas at any other time as it reminds people of funerals. The use of silver tongs or chopsticks avoids direct contact with the cremated remains and the living. However, no such tongs were found in third- or second-millennium cemeteries.

deliberate. Cemeteries facilitate the transition of the deceased from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead (van Gennep 1960). Since burial places can be associated with concepts of liminality, timelessness, and antiquity, they were places outside of normal daily routines and social interactions (Williams 1998: 3). These prominent, unusual, and ancient places were integrated into the ritual life and visual landscape of Anatolian communities.

The interactions with burials and burial spaces can be divided into two main temporal categories: 1) short-term interactions, which refer to the interactions that took place while the cemetery was in use, such as reopening a burial for a new interment, leaving objects or practicing rituals after the interment was placed in the burial, or taking out bones for a secondary burial; 2) long-term interactions, which refer to the interactions with older burials over a longer period of time, especially after the initial abandonment of settlement or cemetery.

The short-term interactions could be associated with obligations of the living towards the deceased. In the second millennium, Mesopotamian texts talk about the responsibilities of family members to provide the ancestors with prayers, meals and drinks, so that the ancestors' spirits remain calm and satisfied. These were the *kispum* ceremonies. Van der Toorn argues that the purpose of the *kispum* ceremonies was to obtain the blessing of dead: "The 'blessing' was mutual: the living were to bless the dead by invoking their name and presenting them with food and drink, and the dead would bless the living with peace" (1996: 65). According to Laneri these ceremonies reinforced the structure of household lineages (2007: 264). In Laneri's case studies in

southeastern Anatolia, and in contemporary Mesopotamian cases the burials in question are located in houses. Even though the intramural burial tradition continues into the third- and second millennium, these are often burials of infants, children, and young females. In some cases (Karataş and Demircihöyük), the intramural and extramural burials were mutually exclusive. In contrast to the intramural family burials of southeastern Anatolia and Mesopotamia, in western and central Anatolia extramural cemeteries are more common in the third- and second-millennium sites.

If intramural burials are associated with household lineages, can we associate extramural cemeteries with more communal lineages or common ancestors? Some scholars have suggested the possibility of family plots in third- and second-millennium cemeteries. At second millennium Arıbaş for example, some of the burials were grouped together in a northeast-southwest alignment, which the excavators interpreted as family burials (Öztan 1998: 169). Burials with multiple interments at third-millennium sites like Karataş and Baklatepe have also been interpreted as family burial plots (Mellink 1964: 273, Massa and Şahoğlu 2011: 166). A familial relationship was assumed for the child burials that were super-positioned on adult burial pithoi at Karataş (Mellink 1965: 241).

At Karataş both the habitation and cemetery areas shift over the course of the settlement history. In the early phases of the EBA the settlement and cemetery spaces were clearly separated, whereas in the following phases the habitation is overlaid with burials and then again with habitation. This could be an indication that there was no strong ancestral attachment to older burials. Moreover, the central complex was in use

for 300 years and was not rebuilt after its abandonment at the end of EBI (Warner 1994), which indicates that power was perhaps shifting between different groups or families. On the other hand, it is difficult to determine what archaeological evidence group boundaries within settlements or cemeteries would leave. In this case, we might be facing a similar social circumstance to what was suggested for Cyprus by Keswani, where group membership expressed in the architecture was an important factor for establishing power over other individuals or groups (2007). The group membership could have been expressed in some cemeteries with the choice of the location within the cemetery. As suggested for Aribaş, it is possible that different locations were used for different groups. For instance, burials at Karataş were marked by stone circles on the surface or were covered with a pile of stones. One of the burials excavated at Karataş Tomb AQ stands out from the rest with its larger surface marker and different burial architecture. This pseudo-tomb chamber with a collection of disarticulated bones could reflect an ancestral veneration practice by a smaller group within that community (see Chapter 5) instead of representing an important person (or the leader) of that community as implied by Steadman (2011a) and Mellink (1969).

Repeated opening of burials, and visitation of older burial places in later periods could in fact point to a “cult of the dead”, which is defined by Durkheim as “repeated standardized practices oriented toward the dead at ritual locations associated with the dead” (1915: 63). However, not every interaction with the past or with older bones and burials indicates a cult of ancestors, as Bachhuber also argues (2015: 94-95). The lack of aDNA analyses to prove the familial relationship between the deceased individuals

makes it hard to distinguish between a cult of specific family ancestors and a more general cult of dead. As discussed before, at Neolithic Çatalhöyük dental analyses showed that individuals buried did not belong to the same family (see Chapter 5). Therefore we should not assume that interments found together necessarily point to a kinship group, or that rituals around these burial groups always point to an ancestral cult.

In addition to reusing burials, there is also evidence to suggest that old objects continued to be used as burial objects in the cemeteries. The Neolithic jar fragment found together with EBA jugs and pins in one of the simple inhumation burials at Demircihöyük shows that perhaps older objects had a special function or emotional value, not too different than our fascination and urge to own antiques. As Voutsaki has also argued, “an object’s value is created not only through labor at the moment of production but also during its circulation within gift exchange networks and through its consumption (destruction, deposition) in ostentatious ceremonies” (2012: 161). Reusing older burials and objects could indicate such a response.

Another central mortuary element that continued for a long time is offering foods and drinks, and performing rituals for the deceased. These can be attested at both intramural burials and extramural cemeteries. There seems no clear difference in quantity or quality of material left with certain burials or burial groups. This suggests that even if there were family groups in these cemeteries, rituals and objects used in these rituals did not differ within the community; in other words specific families did not have specific “burial kits”.

The long term interactions with older burials manifested themselves in the careful placement of burials as we have seen at Ilıpınar, where Late Chalcolithic burials were not disturbed by Byzantine burials (see Chapter 4). In other places, the burials were overlaid with later burials, but in these cases the mortuary space continued to be used due to its prominent location in the landscape. However, there are also exceptions. At Karataş for instance, there is no evidence of intentional destruction of earlier tombs, but the amount of broken material in the fill shows that entire burials were disturbed and scattered in the process of digging new tomb pits (Mellink 1964: 272).¹³³ In Karataş's case the cemetery and the settlement constantly shifted over the course of the Bronze Age; sometimes houses overlaid older burials, sometimes cemetery locations got closer to the settlement. This shows us that even though most of the mortuary practices were attested here as well, the Karataş community did not abide by the clear separation of the mortuary and habitation spaces. The fact that at Harmanören, another southwestern Anatolian EBA cemetery, people did separate the cemetery clearly from their settlement shows us that the Karataş case could be evidence for local preferences rather than a regional practice.

The third- and second- millennium rituals associated with these cemeteries often left similar archaeological traces. The most common objects were ceramic vessels and metal pins. Animal remains, broken vessels, and tables were also unearthed at many

¹³³ Mellink suggest that this was because the cemetery planning "clearly went out of control" (*ibid.*).

cemeteries, and these point to more performative rituals. Almost all the elements that are part of the šalliš waštaiš ritual mentioned above¹³⁴ that can survive archaeologically were found in third- and second-millennium cemeteries. The fact that the materials and objects and the way they are used does not change much during the Hittite period shows us that local burial traditions are conservative and continued into later periods, despite cultural or historical innovation, and/or possible changes in the meaning.

7.1.2. Change

In Anatolia, as we have seen, ways of disposal do not change in the course of more than two millennia. On the other hand, there were new additions to the mortuary practices and to the paraphernalia that accompanied these mortuary practices. Some of the changes in burial objects are due to changes in materials and technologies. In the second millennium for instance, with the widespread use of the potter's wheel, plates, and wheel-made vessels are more common than hand-made vessels. However, the vessel shapes continue to point to serving and drinking.

Starting in the third-millennium metals become more and more widely used, which resulted in new object types appearing in burials. Weapons were found in burials starting in the Neolithic Period. But in the third millennium, in addition to stone weapons, we also start to see the introduction of metal weapons (Ekmen 2013). In fact, with the introduction of metals, stone tools and weapons almost disappear from burial

¹³⁴ The ritual where people sacrifice an ox, bring jugs of wine, liberate it, and break the jug; and bring a goat in front of a table.

assemblages. When we come to the second millennium, metal weapons are only very scarcely attested (*ibid.*).¹³⁵ Several scholars have associated this increase in metal weapons in the EBA with elites, and with the politically competitive nature of the third millennium and the political unrest (see Ekmen 2013, Massa and Şahoğlu 2011, Darga 2013). Despite the integration of social and political context in the interpretation of these burial objects, these scholars fail to explain why in the second millennium metal weapons are not as common as the third millennium. The second millennium is also a period of competition, with new groups of power and wealth are entering Anatolia (Assyrian trade colony period). In fact most of our knowledge of weapons in this period comes from the burials in one of these colonies, Karum Kaneš (Yıldırım 2011a), but not from other cemetery sites. The beginning of the second half of the second millennium is poorer in terms of the appearance of metal weapons in central and western Anatolia.

On the other hand in the LBA, burials in western Anatolia started to yield weapons, more than other regions (Ekmen 2013). I suggest that the social meaning of these weapons cannot only be connected to their political context; we also need to consider the social and cultural contexts. The fact that several of the weapons found in these LBA western Anatolian burials were “Mycenaean style” swords (Bittel 1942: 175) suggests that in this region weapons still played a role in the mortuary rituals. Burials at Panaztepe (discussed in Chapter 4) also yielded Mycenaean swords (Ersoy 1988), which demonstrate the possibility of Aegean cultural influences on the objects used in mortuary rituals in western Anatolia. It is possible that during this period western and

¹³⁵ For the full list of sites that yielded weapons see Ekmen 2013.

central Anatolia become more culturally different from each other than they were in the third millennium. Cultural and local divisions can be attested in the historical records of the Hittite Period, where western Anatolian sites are often referred as an entity as “Arzawa” – a term which, at times, implies an active political unit and, at others, appears merely to denote a vague geographical area (Mac Sweeney 2010: 8). Even within western Anatolia some sites had their own dynamic and shifting world-view, and did not associate themselves with the Hittites or the Arzawan confederacy (*ibid.*). Therefore the role of local preferences might have played a role in the use of certain objects in specific rituals.

The regional differences in the appearance of metal weapons could be due to a change in the practice of rituals. With the extensive use of metals changes in clothing and dressing practices also start to be attested. As discussed in Chapter 5, organic remains of textiles are rarely found in the burials. Nevertheless the textile remains and impressions of objects and human remains indicate that during the third millennium, funerary clothing or wrapping was part of the mortuary rituals. Metal pins are also a good indicator of changing clothing practices. As one of the most common metal objects, the appearance of metal pins points to a new way of securing clothing or new way of dressing. It is interesting that at Troy for example, even though there was almost no jewelry from the early and developed Middle Bronze Age, metal pins were the most common items (Blegen *et al.* 1951 in Pieniążek and Kozal 2014). Pins are rarely known from periods pre-dating the EBA.

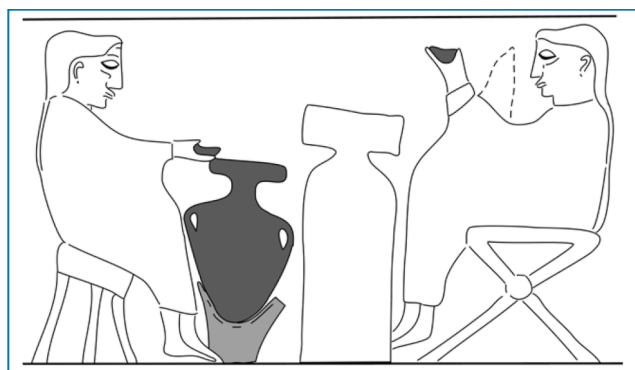
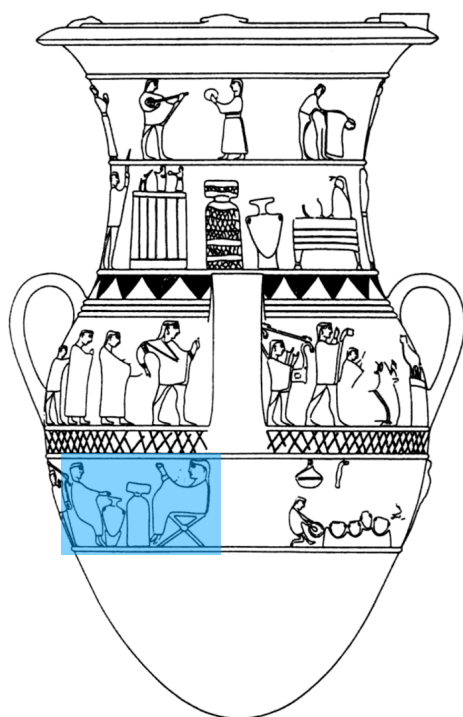


Fig. 7.2: Inandık vase. Scene highlighted in blue depicts people drinking from small drinking cups in front of a pithos jar. (McGovern 2003: 175, Fig. 8.1).

Drinking and/or libating drinks in the mortuary context is a practice that continues from the third millennium onwards. However, as mentioned in Chapter 6, western and central Anatolia seem to have different drinking practices based on the pottery shapes found in the cemeteries. To summarize, the western Anatolian depas cup with a rounded bottom and large handles seems more suited for passing around a drink, whereas the smaller drinking cups of central Anatolia, which had one small handle that was placed on the small finger seem to be more specific to this region. The famous LBA “Inandık vase”, found at Inandık Tepe, depicts a Hittite cult ceremony in four registers (Taracha 2009: 69). One of these scenes depicts 2 people drinking from a small cup balanced in their palms (Fig. 7.2). These are very similar to the ones found in the third-millennium cemetery of Resuloğlu (see Chapter 6).

Ünlü argues that drinking vessels, especially the ones made of metal, remained “in use over generations and maintain their commodity status” (2016: 347). Metal

objects might have had an heirloom value and therefore were used over generations, but I disagree with her argument that “metals can be considered as enclaved commodities during the third- and second millennia BC where the raw materials and technological knowledge of production were controlled by the elites in order to maintain exclusivity, creating a different method of enforcing rank” (*ibid.*: 347). Metal objects, as Yıldırım has also argued (2011b), could have been produced under the provision of people in charge of acquiring these materials, but once they were produced in local workshops they were accessible to everyone. The scarcity in metal objects in the second millennium then cannot be fully explained with the elite control over metals and metal objects.



Fig. 7.3: Silver vessel in the shape of a bull.

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327400>



Fig. 7.4: Silver vessel with gold inlay in the shape of a stag, with religious scene in relief.

[http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection /search/327399](http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/327399)

Differences in materials do not always indicate a change in ritual practices by themselves, but combined with changes in form and function, the introduction of new objects can help us understand the changes in ritual practices. For example, during the Hittite period new forms of drinking vessels called *bibru* vessels were introduced to the repertoire. These are ceremonial drinking vessels, which are mostly known from museum collections. The examples from the Metropolitan Museum of Art collection are reported to have been bought on the art market in İstanbul (Fig. 7.3 and 7.4). These vessels are similar in concept to the ceramic zoomorphic *rhyta* found at Kültepe (Fig. 7.5 and 7.6). It is not clear if these exact vessels were used in mortuary ceremonies, but the passage from the *šalliš waštaiš* ritual discussed above¹³⁶ mention the use of silver vessels in relation to rituals involving animals. No such vessels, ceramic or metal, have been found in third-millennium settlements or cemeteries. The ceramic vessel in the



Fig. 7.5: Bull shaped rhyta from Kültepe Level II-early 2nd millennium BC. (Özgüç 2005: Fig. 205-206).



Fig. 7.6: "Antelope-like" monochrome rhyta from Kültepe Level II. (Özgüç 2005: Fig. 192).

¹³⁶ "Then they give him to drink...When without a **silver** cup, another cup of clay... When to him/her [...], then in front of a table they [...] it."

shape of quadruped found in the second-millennium cemetery of Ilica (Orthmann and Helmuth 1967, Tafel 16)¹³⁷ suggests the possibility that the use of zoomorphic vessels are a new introduction to the mortuary rituals in the second millennium. This was then adopted into Hittite rituals. It is possible that the function of the sacrifice of an animal was combined with the function of the libation or drinking vessel in these *bibru* cups.

The common appearance of pithos jars as burial containers in the third- and second-millennium cemeteries suggest that large parts of the population were buried in these jars. As discussed in Chapter 5, pithos burials might have been more practical in terms of re-opening the burial for a second interment. Some ritual Hittite texts associate pithos jars with more magical purposes:

“Hittite incantation priests were said to entrust evil and harm to the netherworld, locking them within pithoi (large earthenware jars) or in kettles from where only magic and witchcraft could release them. The notion came to be known among the Greeks who tell us that once, long ago, Pandora thoughtlessly opened the lid on the jar entrusted to her, thus loosing on earth all the troubles and outrages that continue to plague humanity.” (Haas 1995: 2030).

In addition to their use for practical functions (storage, reopening) and symbolic functions (magic, burial), the pithoi have also been suggested to represent judicial functions. As Haas has noted,¹³⁸ in some cases the pithoi were used for an unfree person sentenced to death (1994: 233 in Bryce 2002: 179). Pithos burials had been used as one of the most common burial types for centuries long before these Hittite laws. This suggests that large number of pithos burials in the cemeteries did not all belong to

¹³⁷ There is also a bull head fragment from Demircihöyük's MBA settlement, which may or may not belong to a *rhyta* (Kull 1983, Tafel 46: 1).

¹³⁸ (based on the clause 58a of the Hittite Laws).

those who were punished. If certain individuals were buried in pithoi as a punishment these were not marked differently than the other regular burials in the cemeteries. The negative connotation with the pithos burials is not attested in the archaeological record. Moreover, as we have seen with Gordion in Chapter 4, the location of pithos cemeteries continued to be reused in later periods as sacred or mortuary places. There is only one instance for a violent mass burial from the third millennium, which comes from Titriş Höyük in southeastern Anatolia. 19 individuals were found buried on a plaster basin in House 2, with various types of wounds, including cranial trauma (Mattney *et al.* 2012). The scars showed evidence for being caused by axes, daggers, or spears, but the placement of the wounds was inconsistent with active warfare because of their distribution pattern. This led to the possibility that the individuals were immobilized at the time they were struck (*ibid.*). What is more striking about the Titriş massacre is that this burial was transformed into a “mortuary monument” (Algaze *et al.* 2000). In its initial phase, the burial basin was found in a room that was part of a larger house (House 2). However, in time the internal doorways connecting room 13 to the other parts of House 2 were enclosed by mudbricks and plaster and that room 13 led to the street by a new doorway independently from House 2 (Mattney *et al.* 2012). Therefore it was suggested that the mortuary remains placed on the basin were intended for public display (Algaze *et al.* 2000). There is no evidence for such displays of political statements in the form of violence in western and central Anatolian burials and cemeteries.

As we have seen in Chapter 4, some have tried to associate burial types with certain culture or certain economic classes. Bryce for instance argues that the Karataş cist burials, judging from the quality of the grave goods, indicate “upper-class status” whereas the pithos burials belonged to “the lower classes” (2002: 179). Such claims, as I have stressed throughout this dissertation, are not based on anything other than an presumption that “more burial objects/metal objects=elites”. The homogeneity of burial types and objects suggest that this equation is not valid for Anatolian cemeteries. Moreover, if this equation was correct, we would expect to find more and more metal objects with the Hittite Period, a period that has written evidence for the existence of elites. As known from Hittite ritual texts, the objects and amounts of food, drinks, or sacrifice do indicate a royal ceremony or a more special occasion. The lack of burials with such rich contents in Anatolian sites¹³⁹ in the Bronze Age show us that the grandiosity of the rituals is not necessarily reflected by what is left in the archaeological record. This expectation that burials, especially royal burials, need to be elaborate and “rich” is perhaps based on the Egyptian idea of afterlife, and Egyptian royal burials. But the lack of such burials in Anatolia might be a result of the Near Eastern outlook on life after death, that the Hittites also shared (Bryce 2002: 181):

“One does not recognize the other. Sisters by the same mother do not recognize each other. Brothers by the same father do not recognize each other. A mother does not recognize her own child. A child does not recognize its own mother...From a fine table they do not eat. From a fine stool they do not eat.

¹³⁹ Alacahöyük seems like an exceptional case in the history of Anatolian burials. See below.

From a fine cup they do not drink. They do not eat good food. They do not drink good drink. They eat bits of mud. They drink muddy waters".¹⁴⁰

Having this idea of the afterlife could explain why it was necessary to leave objects, especially food for the afterlife. The kispum rituals, where family members provide food and rituals for the deceased assure the well-being of the deceased in their afterlife. As Barrett suggests, the burial objects in Mesopotamia could have been left with the intention to create a more "pleasant" afterlife (2007). This could be well the case for Anatolia. It is possible that creating this pleasant afterlife for the decades, however, was not based on the quantity of food or objects provided.

Another new mortuary element that we see during the Hittite Period is mortuary architecture. In Hittite texts there are three types of funerary related architectural terms: É.NA₄ (DINGIR-LIM) or stone house; the NA₄ hekur (SAG.UŠ)-eternal peak; and É.GIDIM or house of the (ghost of the) dead (van den Hout 1994: 48). Taracha argues that the mausoleum of the royals should not be identified with a memorial called "eternal peak" (2009: 165). As van den Hout discusses, on the second day the burned remains of the Hittite royals were brought to the stone house after they were collected from the pyre (*ibid.*). So the stone house serves as a temporary place for the cremated remains, rather than a revisited monument or cult place (hekur). Yazılıkaya (the rock sanctuary immediately outside of Hattuša) and Nişantaş (the rocky outcrop with an inscription in the Upper City of Hattuša) have been suggested as possible hekurs. Despite the natural markers, surface markers, and visible locations, such mortuary monuments are not

¹⁴⁰ KBo XXII 178 + KUB XLVIII 109 ii 4'-8', iii 1-7, translated by Hoffner 1988, in Bryce 2002.

known from third- and early second-millennium cemeteries. However, one feature that seems like a continuation of older traditions is the use of natural or geological features that are prominent in the landscape. Osmankayası, the rocky outcrop near Hattuša, and Yanarlar, facing the volcanic formations, are both considered Hittite cemeteries based on their location and materials. They remind us of the third-millennium cemetery of Yortan with its trachyte platforms, and Karataş facing the Kızlar Sivrisi mountain.

The shift to cemeteries and mortuary monuments outside of settlements, from more intimate intramural burials under houses and public structures is one of the major changes between the Neolithic/Chalcolithic and Bronze Age mortuary practices. Bachhuber observes a connection between the Neolithic villages and individual households, and between the EBA villages and their connection to the landscape:

“If human remains in Neolithic settlements were bound into the life cycles of individual households, then human remains in the extramural cemeteries of the EBA were bound collectively into a village’s historical claim to the landscape. Extramural cemeteries were salient corporate features of geographical communities, whose identity was formed in part by relationships with the people of their past who farmed the same landscapes.” (2015: 94).

It is, however, not clear to me why early farming villages of the Neolithic did not need to make such claims, since they were also farming and hunting in the same landscape. They also needed access to resources and had to make claims on the surrounding areas of their settlement. Even in the Neolithic at places like Çayönü mortuary ceremonies were taking place in more communal or public structures (see Chapter 5). Therefore the shift was not really due to a change from a household-focused rituals to public rituals. Both during the periods of intramural burials and extramural cemeteries the people

could participate in public ceremonies. What extramural cemeteries and monuments changed was the intentional use of the landscape and geological formations around the settlements. This use of the landscape, the cemetery, and the settlement created a ritually interconnected landscape. The cemeteries and the second-millennium stone houses became more prominent in the visual landscape of these communities and perhaps even more dominating in their ritual practices, whether they were in a more urban or village organization.

Death and dying is rarely depicted in Anatolia. The vulture scene on the walls of buildings E.VII.8 and E.VII.21 from Neolithic Çatalhöyük (Mellaart 1967: 169, Fig. 47) that depict vultures pecking at small headless figures is one of the very few prehistoric examples of depiction of death.¹⁴¹ Throughout the third millennium, there are no images of death or dead people either in domestic or mortuary contexts. The third millennium generally lacks narrative imagery and human images are limited to figurines and anthropomorphic vessels (see Chapter 5). This phenomenon is not only attested in the mortuary sphere; third- and second-millennium settlements also did not yield symbolic or representations of death and dying, or even of ritual practices. Figural art within the settlements occurs rarely, mostly in the form of idols or figurines.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Images of vultures and headless human figures, which were interpreted by Mellaart as secondary burials resulted in excarnation (1962: 52). However, no evidence of excarnation was found on the human remains to confirm this.

¹⁴² The exception to this Karum Kaneš, where pottery with figural designs, figurines in action, and seals with narrative scenes are found.



Fig. 7.7: Stamp-cylinder seal ("the Tyszkiewicz seal") said to have been found on Cyprus in 1898. Dated to 1650–1200 B.C. Red boxes shows the cremation on a pyre (added by the author).

<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/stamp-cylinder-seal-the-tyszkiewicz-seal-186675>

In the Hittite Period, there are depictions of the Hittite gods and kings at Yazılıkaya, however, these may or may not be depicting the dead king. The only definite depiction of death (that I am aware of) is dated to the Hittite period is the "Tyszkiewicz seal", a stamp seal that depicts two figures standing on either side of the pyre (or table) that is overtaken by flames (Fig. 7.7).¹⁴³ The object is clearly in Hittite style. Despite the lack of contextual information, this seal shows the importance of the ceremony surrounding the act of cremation, since both living figures are holding objects and are depicted in motion.

¹⁴³ The Boston Museum of Fine Arts' website states that the seal was found on Cyprus.

The lack of ritual imagery in the third millennium, and the sparseness of such imagery in the early second millennium is interesting, especially compared to other regions around Anatolia (Aegean, Egypt, Mesopotamia), where figural narratives in the form of wall paintings and reliefs are common. Several exceptions come from the Early Hittite period, with the emergence of relief vessels known from İnandık Tepe and Hüseyindede Tepesi. A vessel from İnandık with a procession scene depicts a figure as he is bull-leaping, which naturally has sparked interest of scholars interested in this practice in the Aegean (Sipahi 2001). A similar bull leaping scene was found on one of the Hüseyindede vessels, which depicts lute players and musicians in a cultic procession (Yıldırım 2002). These vessels are important in understanding the elements of Hittite rituals.¹⁴⁴ The appearance of narrative imagery in the Hittite Period therefore is one of the biggest changes that informs us about ritual practices. Unfortunately, these ritual practices are not related to the mortuary ceremonies, nor are these vessels from mortuary contexts. Nevertheless, they underline the use of objects and inform us that perhaps death rituals were not one of the most preferred rituals to depict.

“Many practices become more easily visible when looked at through studies of change” (Brandt 2014: x). Throughout the Bronze Age, there are changing uses of materials, introduction of new objects and media, and even elimination of objects from the mortuary rituals. These changes, together with the changes in burial locations (stone houses) and forms (extramural/intramural, inhumation/cremation) point to mortuary

¹⁴⁴ Taracha suggests that these are depictions of the Hittite festival celebrations and rituals (2009).

practices that were about the rituals and the performative actions, more than the material value of objects. In other words, meanings, forms, and materials change, but ritual practices continue. Even if these rituals were intended for family members, ancestors, or for the dead in general, they all indicate a more social or public nature. This brings us to the social functions of cemeteries.

7.2 Social contexts and function of cemeteries

“We will not be able to understand why specific forms were adopted and why mortuary display became an important social strategy unless we have established the cultural significance of the mortuary forms and practices” (Voutsaki 1998: 41).

In order to establish the cultural significance of mortuary forms and practices, and understand what kind of ideological, social, and symbolic needs cemeteries fulfilled, we need to consider cemeteries in relation to their settlements. In this section I will expand the discussion of settlement histories (see Chapter 2), and discuss whether mortuary practices correspond to changes in social organization or economic and political circumstances of the settlements in the light of the data discussed throughout this dissertation.

Western and central Anatolia settlements have been identified to have a more centralized social organization in the third millennium (Çevik 2007). According to Çevik, larger sites in these regions had a loose control over the smaller sites in their surrounding area (*ibid.*). The second half of the third millennium BC has generally been

accepted as the period of the emergence of cities (*ibid.*). The term “city” is problematic, especially for sites in western and central Anatolia that do not share many of the elements of the cities in Mesopotamia and southeastern Anatolia during this period.¹⁴⁵ One of these elements is separate social or symbolic structures (temples, public structures). The public function of these structures seem to be integrated in the settlement of western and central Anatolian sites. Troy in EBII for instance, with its monumental fortification and its “upper town” consisting of a group of megara, clearly served a combination of functions (domestic, public, and/or symbolic). Many have argued that these megara expressed the activities of powerful elites and their functions as “citadels” (Bachhuber 2015). As Düring argues, the monumental nature of this complex suggests that it could have been multi-functional, with buildings that could have been used for entertainment and receptions (2011: 284). Steadman identified “structures of the leaders” in the third millennium by looking at large size, material culture within the houses, and the spatial location and boundary maintenance of these structure (2011a). One of the building she identified as a “leader house” is the three-roomed house by the gates of Demircihöyük. Although the quantitative comparison of the materials found in this house and the other houses does not point to any difference (Durgun 2012), the additional room has been used as evidence for a status difference. The search for the leaders’ house is similar to the search for the elites in the cemeteries. While Steadman’s argument works better with sites that are on trade routes like Troy

¹⁴⁵ For more discussion see Çevik 2007.

and Külloba, smaller rural settlements like Demircihöyük do not necessarily point to a clearly visible elite group or a single leader.

The dichotomy between “Elites and commoners”¹⁴⁶ dominates the study of the third millennium. As discussed before, Alacahöyük burials had a great impact on the expectations of archaeologists excavating other third-millennium cemeteries. The so-called “royal burials” of Alacahöyük are the main reason why archaeologists have been searching for the royal or chiefly burials in other Anatolian EBA cemeteries. There are 13 of these “royal burials”, which are stone-lined burials with metal discs/symbols and figurines, jewelry, weapon, animal remains, and vessels. But the settlement of this unusual cemetery is “disappointingly mundane and cursorily published” (Bachhuber 2015: 98).¹⁴⁷ Moreover, the rest of the population’s burials have not been found; most of the remains of the third millennium Alacahöyük might still be under the Hittite cult town (which makes the earlier levels inaccessible). It is therefore difficult for us to determine whether these individuals buried here were victims of a special ceremony, actual ruling elites, or something completely different. Whatever these burials represented, they were an abnormality compared to other Anatolian burials and cemeteries in this period.

Similarly, the type site for the second-millennium Anatolia has been the Assyrian trading colony Karum Kaneš. This unusually large site has yielded the earliest written

¹⁴⁶ “Elites and commoners” is in fact the title of the third-millennium chapter in *The Prehistory of Asia Minor* book by Düring (2011).

¹⁴⁷ There are several excavated parts that date to the Late Chalcolithic, see Koşay and Akok 1966, Gürsan-Salzmann 1992.

documents in Anatolia. Despite its unusual size and material culture, books on Anatolia discuss Kültepe more than any other site in this period (e.g., Sagona and Zimansky 2009). Small scale sites in the MBA are often not discussed at all. Sites with long occupation histories that go back centuries, like Demircihöyük, are more informative in understanding change and continuity in local practices compared to sites with unusual characteristics such as Alacahöyük, or settlements with unusual histories such as Karum Kaneš.

At Demircihöyük, the third-millennium cemetery continued to be used into the second millennium, and its MBA settlement was established right to the east of the main third-millennium settlement mound (Kull 1983). In the third millennium, the courtyard of Demircihöyük was the major activity area for production and storage. Tools such as spindle whorls, and flint debris were mostly found in the courtyard. The mud brick grain deposits located in the courtyard were the main form of storage at Demircihöyük (Korfmann 1983). These finds suggest that daily activities such as storage and production were mostly taking place in the courtyard, which was accessible to all inhabitants. The choice for a central location for these activities indicate that the inhabitants were aware of each other's daily outdoor activities as well as of their grain and other resources. This not only contributed to the homogenous character of the produced goods, but also reduced the differences between the accumulation of resources, and between the scale of production and consumption activities of different households (see Durgun 2012). Together with evidence from its cemetery, Demircihöyük shows that the difference of certain individuals was not emphasized in the settlement

plan or in daily activities. Even though the architectural evidence from the MBA settlement is sparse, it is clear that in the second millennium the settlement continued its small-scale nature. During this period houses were detached from each other with some outdoor activity areas in between (Kull 1983). The MBA burials continued to be buried in the same cemetery of the third millennium. Even the diversity of burial types continued into the second millennium, with the addition of cremation (Seeher 2000). In a small-scale settlement such as Demircihöyük, storage and production, and mortuary practices were practiced at a village-level organization, both in the third and second millennium.

It is difficult to give an example of a typical “Anatolian” settlement. The excavation histories, as well as the settlement histories, differ greatly from site to site. What is an EBA Anatolian settlement? What does an Anatolian town look like in the MBA? Anatolian archaeology books tend to pick examples that fit a social evolutionary model, starting with Neolithic villages like Çatalhöyük, followed by EBA “citadels” like Troy, the Colony period centers like Karum Kaneš, and finally the capital of first empire in Anatolia, Hattuša. But other sites suggest that the changes and developments in Anatolian settlements and social systems were not as unilinear as these more famous sites suggest.

Even with textual information, an identified capital, the term “Hittite”, and what a Hittite settlement would look like is still questionable.¹⁴⁸ The Anatolian peninsula does not show any consistency in the settlement plans, sizes, or organizations in any of the

¹⁴⁸ For further discussion on this see Durusu-Tanrıöver 2016.

periods discussed here. There are, however, local and sometimes regional similarities. The third-millennium sites in western and central Anatolia have been divided into cultural groups based on pottery traditions first in the 1940s (see Bittel 1942). Since then figurines and idols, settlement patterns, and even metal sources have been associated with these pottery regions (see Sarı 2013). These local/regional preferences in style, material, and architecture, however, do not correspond to the types of burials, or to the types of body disposal (Chapter 4).

Anatolian settlements in the EBA show great variety, but one feature they seem to share is their circular plan, sometimes referred as the “Anatolischen Siedlungsschema” (Korfmann 1983: 222), or with the presence of a structure in the middle of the settlement or a courtyard that is the focal point of the settlements, and of the daily life (see Fig. 3.4). The choice for a central location for the main production and storage activities in sites like Karatas and Demircihöyük indicate that the inhabitants were aware of each other’s daily outdoor activities, which could have created a stronger communal bond.

The public nature of extramural cemeteries is important to consider in relation to the settlement context. Settlements in the fourth and third millennium have not yielded clearly special buildings with figural art, wall paintings, or reliefs that could point to their symbolic function. Therefore, the existence of extramural cemeteries is a good indication that at least during these periods mortuary space served as the main public and social space outside the settlement.

Despite the variety of ways of living, ways of burying the dead seem to persist. Burial practices do not follow our periodization based on pottery sequences, settlement patterns, or historical events. As Voutsaki has argued, mortuary practices “take place in a different realm, at the intersection between the living and the dead, and may therefore follow different rules than the ones that govern everyday reality” (2012: 163). Treating burial practices as a direct reflection of the social context in the settlement or associating these practices as another arena of social competition strips cemeteries of their significance (Tarlow 1999).

7.3 Discussion

“... the present is, among other things, always a battleground about the interpretation of the events and meaning of the past” (Yoffee 2007: 1).

Cemeteries are a great example of how the past is used and reused for present purposes. In Anatolian cases the present purpose was often also a mortuary one. I demonstrated that the reuse of cemeteries as cemeteries and the reuse of older sites for cemeteries was common both in western and central Anatolia. Either way the cemetery space was regarded as an important location that was connected to unusual landscape features and (real or mythical) histories. Landscape and rituals played an important role in the continuation of cemeteries. Cemeteries are intended to serve the whole community, or at least a large portion of the community, and in doing so are closely integrated into community “history” (Rugg 2000). I quoted the word “history” here, because as Nora argued, history is a reconstruction, and it may or may not

represent actual memories (1989). In the Anatolian cases, what continued was tradition of the rituals and the tradition of the place. These were not necessarily due to remembering the actual history or people who lived and died in these places, but more due to a more imagined past. The reuse of EBA cemeteries in the Hittite period (i.e., Alacahöyük) or the reuse of the space on the EBA burials in the Roman Period (i.e., lasos) was perhaps not an ancestral association, but rather an association with the oldness of the place.

Cemeteries are not static places; they change visually and content-wise with the opening of every new burial pit. The idea that "objects accompanying a burial are in most cases things which were in use at the same time" (Howland Rowe 1962: 129), first stated by Worsaae in 1843, is outdated. The secondary activities in cemeteries such as reopening burials and moving around bones and objects, show us that we cannot treat cemeteries as "black boxes" of identities, statuses, or of events that happened in the settlements, because they were not stuck at one point in time. As Pinch has argued, it is not always easy to distinguish between objects left at the burials as offerings, and objects that were used in the rituals (2003). Therefore, burial objects should also not be treated as static, one time depositions. The continuation of certain object types, point to an important fact: the way these objects were used in the mortuary rituals did not change for a long time. Materials and forms did, however, their change was peripheral to the process and elements of the mortuary rituals.

The lack of narrative imagery and the lack of depictions of death and dying in Anatolia after the Neolithic is a curious phenomenon. This is, however, still in line with

the evidence from the settlements. There are no structures with obvious symbolic and ritual functions in the third- and second-millennium settlements; no temples, shrines, or domestic structures that could have served such functions.¹⁴⁹ Wall paintings of the Neolithic are gone, reliefs and stelae are absent. In the third millennium the only objects that could be associated with ritual activities are the figurines and anthropomorphic vessels. These continue into the second millennium, but during the second millennium we also start to see zoomorphic vessels. With the Hittite Period, the imagery diversifies with relief vessels, images on zoomorphic vessels, seal impressions, and more complex figures and figurines. The constant interactions with dead bodies, and the fact that cemeteries are the main area of ritual activity that are associated with settlements suggest that mortuary activities were in fact one of the major social and ritual places during these periods. Cemeteries did not only serve as a place for burying the dead, but also as a place to practice rituals and commemorate the dead. It is not clear, however, if these were considered separate ideas or rituals, or if they were overlapping concepts. Were all dead considered ancestors? Were all rituals in the cemetery connected to commemorating ancestors or mortuary purposes? One way to answer the familial relations in multiple burials or groups of burials in cemeteries is to conduct further quantitative analyses on these individuals. Answering if all rituals in the cemetery connected to mortuary purposes, is however, more difficult. The Hittite ritual texts make it clear that mortuary rituals had different layers of functions including magic, sacrifice,

¹⁴⁹ Unless the rituals practices in the settlements included only materials and objects that were indistinguishable from domestic assemblages, or rituals were dispersed throughout (domestic hearths, communal spaces, houses, etc.).

feasting, praying, and other activities. Therefore it is possible that mortuary rituals in the third and second millennium were also not unilinear or limited to one type of activity or function.

The conventions of interacting with dead bodies in Anatolia also continue for long periods of time. Multiple burials, hocker-position bodies, and burial types all point to deep-rooted traditions of the Neolithic. The biggest change between the Neolithic and the Bronze Age is the emergence of extramural cemeteries. This makes it clear that cemeteries became more liminal spaces; they were not inside the settlement, and not too far from it either. They were part of the landscape, but could be told apart from the landscape easily. The dead became a more spiritual part of the settlement by moving from an intimate setting, to a place that connected the people to their surrounding and to the landscape. The fact that landscape features were considered sacred in the Hittite period, and sometimes even deified, suggest that cemeteries acquired some of these sacred functions by being associated with these landscape features.

The memories surrounding these cemeteries and burials are two-fold: short-term and long-term. The short term memories are more concerned with a symbolic or practical reuse of burial containers or objects, and the memories (or rather knowledge) of actual events and people. On the other hand, long-term memories are more concerned with the place and the history of the place. In Assmann's terms, the long-term memory could exemplify cultural memory, where "a collective experience crystallizes, whose meaning, when touched upon, may suddenly become accessible" (1995: 129). This meaning does not necessarily correspond to the original

meaning(s), but through the continuation of the place and practices, it transcends time.

In the Anatolian cases there is evidence for both short and long-term memories. Local references of cultural groups or families had of course played a role in these traditions, but these were not as prominent as the general “rules” or traditions of how to bury people, what kinds of rituals to practice around them and how.

Chapter 8: Concluding Remarks and Future Directions

"The boundaries which divide Life from Death are at best shadowy and vague. Who shall say where the one ends, and where the other begins?" (Edgar Allan Poe, *Premature Burial*, 1844).

Cemeteries stand at this shadowy boundary. They are part of the visual landscape of settlements, but they are also an intervention to the natural world. They stand out visually; people living in the settlement and outsiders passing by know what they are, and where they are. They are not unexpected, but they are a break from the normality of everyday life. They are made for the dead; but they also serve the living. In Anatolia, cemeteries are not made to be the dead's final resting place. The dead were continuously subject to rituals and were moved around. Cemeteries were also not "a private place" (Cavanagh and Mee 1998); they were social places and played an important role in forming a sense of community by bringing people together; young and old, dead and living.

In cemeteries people are constantly involved in interactions with other people, cadavers, living and dead animals, and objects. Therefore it was necessary to understand how these interactions were formed, and why they continued or changed over time. By assessing the different uses of the cemeteries within the period they were established, and after they were out of use, I aimed to break the chronological boundaries which limit our understanding of mortuary traditions. The research questions in this dissertation were designed to understand the social and ritual functions of some of the earliest extramural cemeteries in the Near East, both as a concept, as a place, and as a human phenomenon. I answered these questions by presenting the mortuary

evidence from third and second millennium cemeteries in western and central Anatolia. By framing my interpretations with anthropological and social theory, and by looking at the major elements of cemeteries (landscape, bodies, rituals), I provided the first investigation of the functions of cemeteries in Bronze Age Anatolia. The following section will summarize the major findings and original contributions of this dissertation.

8.1. (Back to) The Questions: Major Findings and Original Contributions

- **What functions did cemeteries serve in the social and ritual life of Bronze Age Anatolian communities?**

Anatolian cemeteries were multi-temporal, corporeal, and sensorial places. They were lively places where memories, about life and death, and about community and self were expressed in the form of mortuary rituals. These rituals involved human and animal bones, broken and complete vessels, metal weapons, body jewelry, sounds of mourners, and smells of dying animals, fire, cooked food, drinks... In this chaos, however, there was order. "Cemeteries are deliberately created and highly organized cultural landscapes" (Francaviglia 1971: 501). This organization was closely connected to the experience of the place. Landscape, place, and memories, therefore are connected and form the context for everything that happened in the cemeteries.

In Anatolia, at some point in the Late Chalcolithic burials started to be placed in an assigned communal space in the landscape. The spatial relationship between extramural cemeteries, the surrounding natural and man-made features, and their

settlements shows that landscape played an important part in the formation of certain ritual elements such as using large burial containers, and marking the location of burials with stones and other markers. It is not clear, however, exactly why there was a need to move cemeteries outside the settlements. The population sizes of Neolithic settlements do not seem to be smaller than the EBA settlements with cemeteries. At sites with long occupation histories, such as Ilipinar and Baklatepe, there seems a shift in the settlement location¹⁵⁰ and in the settlement size in the EBA.¹⁵¹ It is possible that whatever stress or change caused this change also had affected the emergence of extramural cemeteries. It is tempting to suggest that this change stimulated a need for marking territories or resources (Saxe 1960), however, cemeteries are not necessarily located by natural resources (that are known to us) and therefore there is no further evidence to support this argument. The transition from intramural to extramural burials did not happen suddenly. Moreover it is possible to trace the process with shifts in burial practices.¹⁵² This shows us there was no major event that affected the social change including mortuary practices.

Associations between population changes and stress could have been expressed in the form of changing rituals, as rituals are known to help people and

¹⁵⁰ EBA settlement of Ilipinar moves to a close by mound.

¹⁵¹ Baklatepe becomes smaller in the EBA.

¹⁵² Bodies, especially babies and children were already being buried in baskets (Çatalhöyük) or on other organic dividers such as wooden planks (Ilipinar). This variety of the ways in which bodies were buried continues into later periods. In the Chalcolithic people start to be buried in smaller jars, which could mark beginning of the pithos burial tradition. Burials are moved outside of houses before they were moved outside of settlements.

communities in dealing with the crisis of death, but also crises in life (Nilsson Stutz 2003 Norman 2003). Hayden defines religion as “a kind of social glue without which culture would not exist” (1987: 83). Others also suggested that religion is necessary to maintain cultural behavior (Durkheim 1912, Rappaport 1971). It is known from ethnographic studies that communities would establish “alliance networks” in times of crises (Hayden 1987). Participation in rituals, where religious emotions served to cement bonds between groups, was a powerful agent in maintaining these alliances (*ibid.*: 84). Mortuary rituals could have functioned in a similar way, as responses to social changes in cases such as Baklatepe and Ilıpınar. On the other hand, sites like Demircihöyük have shown that even when settlements change in size and architectural organization, burial practices could still be maintained. The variety of mortuary and settlement habits and traditions show that it is important to consider local changes and preferences.

In Anatolia images of death, especially after the Neolithic Period until the Hittite Period, are almost non-existent. This dissertation has shown that one of the reasons for this is the increasing importance of cemeteries in the social and symbolic life of Anatolian communities during the Bronze Age. Throughout the third and second millennium BCE. there is ample evidence for the long term memories of earlier extramural cemeteries, either reused as cemeteries, or marked as important places in the landscape. Moreover, short-term memories are also found commonly in the form of secondary burial interactions such as the reuse of burial containers and removal of bones. This suggests that people interacted with dead bodies more than interacting with images of them. Moreover, the lack of clearly identifiable religious and ritual

architecture such as shrines or temples in the Anatolian settlements in the EBA, and the variety of rituals activities going on in the cemeteries suggest that the mortuary space was serving as one of the major communal areas for the settlements. The location of cemeteries in either geologically odd and recognizable places affected the long-term use and continuity of these cemeteries as important places.

This changed in the second millennium, especially in central Anatolia, where social and symbolic structures started to appear within settlements. However, sites like Yazılıkaya (the rock sanctuary nearby Hattuša) and Osmankayaşı (the cemetery close to Hattuša) show that the third millennium idea of geologically recognizable places for ritual and mortuary activities separate from their settlements continued into the second millennium, and was incorporated into the daily and ritual life of these communities. One possibility is that during the second millennium, a new type of cemetery appeared, which was no longer close to its settlement and was located in the countryside (e.g., Yanarlar). The emergence of these “countryside” cemeteries also happened in Middle Helladic cemeteries in Greece (Cavanagh and See 1998). If this was the case for Anatolia, it is possible that these countryside cemeteries served several different settlements rather than being connected to one settlement.

- **What kind of rituals were taking place in the cemeteries? What was the perception of death and dead bodies in Bronze Age Anatolia? How were these expressed materially? How did people interact with dead bodies, burial objects, and spaces of death?**

The difference between the Neolithic intramural burials and the extramural cemeteries of the third and second millennium is that people were no longer living with the dead. Nevertheless, they were still interacting with the dead, as was demonstrated through the numerous instances of secondary burial activities. The individuals that were being disarticulated, moved, and reburied could represent how an individual transformed from being the dead individual to being an ancestor: either a real ancestor, to which people had familial relationships, or an imagined ancestor, who was now part of the past ancestors or histories.

As the bodies themselves, people also moved in the landscape. It is a common phenomenon to move the settlement somewhere else and to use the older settlements as mortuary spaces. This practice can be explained with connections to older (or ancestral) places in the landscape. It is also possible that, in this way the older settlement was symbolically “killed” but it was still used for an important purpose as the cemetery. Not all settlements that had extramural cemeteries, however, had long-term connections to these cemeteries. And not all reuse was a result of long-term memories. As we have seen with Karataş, settlement and cemetery spaces could move around during the course of several centuries. In many other cases, the cemetery was continued as a burial space, even when there was no direct historical, cultural, or temporal continuity (Chapter 3).

Nora argued that as history destroys real memories, it constructs “sites of memory” as a social symbiosis maintained through objects and performances (1989, also see Connerton 1989). The maintenance of objects and performances are not only

influenced by rituals and memories, but they also play important parts in the shaping of these rituals and memories: objects, which index past events are part of the embodied, experiential world, and allow memory to be created through the process of pattern recognition (Peterson 2012). The use of certain objects in Anatolian mortuary rituals points to important communal activities that included those patterns and repetitive embodied activities such as preparation and consumption of food, libating, and preparation of bodies and burials. In addition to these rituals, there were also rituals where non-human animals were utilized to express certain ideas (self, other, living, dead) and emotional connections to the animals themselves.

Anthropocentrism inscribes a sharp human–animal boundary and privileges humans strongly. I do not suggest that animal-human dichotomies existed in Anatolian mortuary rituals; in fact it is possible that in certain cases animal burials mimicked human burials, suggesting that the division between animals and humans might not have been as sharp. Moreover, as I tried to demonstrate, non-human animals were crucial parts of different rituals and therefore animals cannot be considered as passive elements of these rituals.¹⁵³ Especially with the animal burials that were buried and treated similarly to the humans, it is difficult to make distinctions between how animals and humans were perceived. What is important to note is that animals in the mortuary context did not always serve as food for the living or for the dead. As Russels suggests, the social and symbolic functions of animals may often be of equal or even greater

¹⁵³ In that way, I do engage in anthropocentrism, since I looked at animal remains to understand their role in (human) rituals.

importance than their dietary role (2012: 7). Of course the practical function of animals as feeding people cannot be ignored. However, the treatments of animal bodies presented in Chapter 6, suggest that animals played a number of roles in burials: food offerings for the afterlife, remains of funerary feasts and sacrifices, and components of dress or paraphernalia, or gifts for example.

The performative and sensory aspects of mortuary rituals are often more difficult to reconstruct. The study of the ways objects were used and where they were located helped us get closer to re-imagining how mortuary rituals operated and how coping with death was expressed materially in cemeteries. Despite the difficulty of reconstructing past human experience, scholars have tried to replicate the manner in which human beings experienced for instance prehistoric places and landscapes (Tilley 1994). I used the idea of "atmosphere" (Anderson 2009) instead, to identify some of the objects and rituals that contributed to the bodily performances and sensorial elements of the rituals. This approach yielded that sensory elements were not only byproducts of the rituals, but were deliberately achieved by the use of certain objects and practices. Sounds, smells, and colors of materials were used as a means to enhance or emphasize certain aspects of the mortuary rituals. In some cases these were intentional (bottled perfumes) and in some others they were by-products (blood smell of the sacrificed animal). Some objects had these sensory values (such as musical instruments), and some others were used in ways to create the sensory effects (such as breaking of vessels). The multi-sensorial elements contributed to the intense experience of funerals

The performative and sensory connections between the body and objects informed us about the bodily practices and experiences such as habitual patterns of dress and ornament, ritual practices and movements. The transmission of certain ritual practices therefore can be connected to Bourdieu's habitus, but also to Connerton's idea of "habit memory"; the ability to reproduce a physical performance (1989: 22). Connerton uses the example of remembering how to ride a bicycle, but examples can be expanded to bodily embodiments of rituals, such as the Muslim daily prayers where the prayers need to be accompanied with certain repetitive body movements. Repetition is an important element of rituals, as Renfrew's definition suggested (see Chapter 6). Drinking, libating, eating, or offering are activities which involved the use of certain objects, which did not change for long periods of time. Evident from the objects left outside of burials, we can suggest that cemeteries were visited not only during the funeral but also afterwards, when these rituals were repeated with similar objects. Styles and forms changed, but the way rituals were practiced did not. Even though traditions can constantly be reinterpreted (Bell 1997), "Rituals are formed of a conservatism that gives them strength through tradition" (Hastorf 2007: 79). Continuity of mortuary rituals then, could have affected not only the ways rituals were practiced, but also the passing down of these practices from generation to generation.

The production, use, and disposal of objects in the mortuary context informed us about the elements that shaped the perception of the living and dead body. In Anatolian cemeteries there was constant interaction with dead bodies during the process of the burial (preparing the body, wrapping the body, placing the body) and

also after the burial's initial preparation (secondary burial activities). Objects (and animals) too were sometimes treated similarly to bodies; both were wrapped, broken (or disarticulated), burned, and circulated. In these cases where bodies were disarticulated and redistributed, the functions of these bodies were distinguished from newly interred complete bodies, and perhaps became more similar to objects than individuals. Time and the stages of decomposition might have played important roles not only in the appearance of the bodies, but also in the way they were perceived and treated. The object-human similarities are further attested with the anthropomorphic vessels, pithoi that had anthropomorphic elements, and with figurines that were placed in burials after they were broken. This "killing of objects" was in parallelism with the dead bodies. Similar rituals were practiced in other parts of the Aegean, where swords were "killed" and left with piles of disarticulated bones (Hamilakis 2010, 1998).

As Hamilakis suggests, we should not assume that destruction of objects and bodies was necessarily about forgetting (*ibid.*). Shanks and Tilley's studies also showed that the redistribution of bones into collective (rather than individual) sets was a deliberate treatment that served to assert the collective identity and deny the differences between individuals (1982). The analysis of burial objects throughout my research has also demonstrated that differences between individuals and their (social, political, economic) statuses in Anatolian communities were often not reflected in their burial practices. Instead, the objects point to being used in different stages of the burial rituals. The roles burial objects played in these mostly communal rituals cannot be

associated with only one individual in the burials, especially considering the secondary activities going on in cemeteries.

Burial containers and types, too, I suggest, are not connected to individual statuses, but were chosen for a number of reasons: practicality, availability, the level of decomposition rate one wanted to achieve, and cultural/familial preferences. The agency of individuals and intentionality of choices can be best exemplified with the variety in burial types. Mortuary practices cannot always be used to determine the cultural affiliation of the deceased. Cist burials have been cited as evidence for a Cycladic or Greek population in Anatolia, despite the appearance of this burial type in different regions, some of which were not even in close contact with the Aegean (eastern and southeastern Anatolia). Similarly cremation burials in Anatolia have often been associated with the arrival of new cultures, even though cremations are known in Anatolia long before the Hittite period. The reason for the emergence of cremation remains unclear. However, considering that cremation has no universal meaning (Ucko 1969), we cannot automatically connect cremation to population pressure, arrival of new people or a change in religious beliefs. Childe, Piggott, and Clark opposed the idea that the change from inhumation to cremation was a result of a change in religious beliefs (Childe 1944: 85–88, Clark 1960: 232, Piggott 1965). On the other hand, a cross cultural study of 31 non-state societies using the Human Relations Area Files (Carr 1995) yielded that mortuary practices are clearly influenced by philosophical-religious factors (*ibid.*: 188, also see Rebay-Salisbury 2012). The second millennium Hittite texts confirm such connections between religious ideas and funerals, however, we cannot comment

further on the third millennium relationship between religion and mortuary practices. Cremation in Anatolia could be a result of integrating ritual elements that already existed in cemeteries (i.e., fire and burning) and involved animals, and using them on humans. The similar treatment of inhumated bodies and cremated remains, and their co-existence in the same cemeteries suggest that even if cremation was adapted and did not develop locally, it was still considered similar to inhumation.

- **Were rituals and mortuary traditions kept or abandoned throughout time? Were there local preferences in mortuary traditions, places, or objects?**

The retrospective study of mortuary practices and the diachronic study of mortuary places, body treatments, and rituals demonstrated that burial practices are conservative; they do not change suddenly or abruptly. This is perhaps one of the reasons why they have often been associated with specific cultures. Even in Herodotus, the section that talks about the burial practices of the Greeks and the Callatae, demonstrates how deeply engrained mortuary practices and taboos are in different cultures:

“[3] When Darius was king, he summoned the Greeks who were with him and asked them for what price they would eat their fathers' dead bodies. They answered that there was no price for which they would do it. [4] Then Darius summoned those Indians who are called Callatae, who eat their parents, and asked them (the Greeks being present and understanding through interpreters what was said) what would make them willing to burn their fathers at death. The Indians cried aloud, that he should not speak of so horrid an act. So firmly rooted are these beliefs; and it is, I think, rightly said in Pindar's poem that custom is lord of all.”¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ Herodotus Book 3.38.

If custom is the lord of all matters — living and dead —, as Pindar says, we should be able to define an Anatolian custom of burial by looking at the mortuary elements analyzed in this dissertation. There was no correlation between regions and burial types found in the cemeteries, and certain burial practices such as secondary burial rituals, animal sacrifices, consumption and offering of food, were practiced in different regions. This suggests that western and central Anatolia shared mortuary customs and ideas about how to treat the dead and what kinds of rituals need to be conducted. The differences in burial types and object styles/forms between different sites imply that the material expressions of these rituals and practices varied locally, not regionally.

Even though it is hard to have type sites for an Anatolian settlement in the Bronze Age, we can talk about “Anatolian mortuary practices” since they were similar enough in different periods and regions, especially in western and central Anatolia. Dead bodies — animal or human — were treated very carefully in the initial stage of the burial. When the burial was re-opened for reuse, the older bones were not so much cared for; they were pushed aside or outside the burial. Nonetheless, in many cases these older bones were still kept within the cemeteries. This constant interaction with the dead bodies and with death itself shows that Anatolian communities in the Bronze Age did not have a taboo against handling dead bodies. This is one of the reasons why the emergence of extramural cemeteries cannot directly be associated with the emergence of an idea that dead bodies needed to be kept separately from the living due to an idea of pollution.

The dynamic nature of Anatolian cemeteries, where neither bodies nor objects were meant to stay in the burials forever, demonstrates the importance of avoiding correlations between objects and the individuals they were buried with. The fact that there were not a few selected burials in cemeteries which received more attention, care, or objects, suggests the presence of certain sets of rituals that were conducted for every burial. The mortuary rituals were not designed or practiced to favor one or few individuals. We could then define a (western and central) Anatolian burial as a burial that:

- was placed in a communal space that was located in a prominent or geologically-unusual place in the landscape,
- was subject to rituals which included sensorial elements, performative actions, food and drinks, animal sacrifices, and personal objects,
- was not sealed for eternity; it was revisited, reused, and rearranged over time,
- was both visible and invisible; the bodies were placed in burial containers and burials were placed in a burial pit, but these burials were often marked on the surface,
- was both a practical and a symbolic expression,
- could transform the dead body from an individual to an object, or to an image of the individual,
- was a place of remembering the ancestors, a place that was revisited in later periods, and remembered as an important place,
- was not a direct reflection of the status of the deceased while living.

"The cemetery is certainly a place unlike ordinary cultural spaces." (Foucault 1967). Foucault places cemeteries in the category of "heterotopia"; a place or moment that "has a precise and determined function within a society" (1967: 5), and argues that

the same heterotopia can have different functions according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs. There were some local differences in the mortuary rituals that took place in the cemeteries of western and central Anatolian communities. These could, as suggested by Foucault, a result of the specific functions the cemeteries had in those specific communities. One of these differences were the animal burials. Central and northwestern Anatolian sites yielded more evidence for complete animal interments than coastal western and southwestern Anatolia. As we have seen in Chapter 6, there were also differences in the styles of objects left at the burials. One of the important differences between western and central Anatolia was the use of larger drinking cups that were made to be passed around (*depata*) and the smaller drinking cups that were made to be used by one person. The performative aspects of these drinking vessels shows us that local preferences played a role in the way rituals were practiced and how many people were involved in it.

The study of mortuary practices provides an opportunity to explore changes and continuities over time, due to their conservative nature. The analysis of Hittite Period funerary texts and the comparison of these with the archaeological evidence from third- and second- millennium cemeteries showed that there were many older mortuary elements which were continued into the Hittite funerals. This demonstrated that changing social factors, or changes in cultural elements did not necessarily correspond to what was happening in rituals, or in the mortuary sphere. The similarities between third millennium practices and the Hittite practices also highlighted the role of local communities and traditions in the formation of new mortuary practices.

One of the contributions of this work to the archaeology of death and burial is the demonstration of continuity in mortuary traditions over long periods of time. Throughout this research, I presented evidence against the assumptions that mortuary traditions are replaced rapidly with socio-political or cultural changes. The resistance of mortuary practices to these changes underlines the importance of studying mortuary practices with a diachronic approach to understand social memories, cultural identities, and ritual practices.

8.2 Future Directions

In this research, I demonstrated the functions of cemeteries in the lives of Bronze Age Anatolian communities. As much as I wanted to emphasize the human aspect of mortuary practices, in some cases this was difficult to achieve due to lack of available human remains¹⁵⁵ and analytical analyses on these remains. Ancient DNA studies for instance, have great potential to contribute to our understanding familial connections and kinship preferences. Isotopic analyses, too, can give us clues about population movement patterns, diet, and the social implications of differences in these elements between different individuals, groups, and communities. Another way to understand choices and preferences would be chemical residue analyses. These would not only give us more information about the types of foods and drinks left for the dead or

¹⁵⁵ Some of the interpretations and analyses in this dissertation were limited by the fact that human remains excavated from these cemeteries were not available or were lost.

consumed in the cemeteries, but also about the types of rituals conducted in cemeteries. As the landscape chapter of this dissertation has demonstrated, there is a lot that can be done by using GIS methodologies. My analysis focused on the surrounding landscape of cemeteries, but more questions can be answered by mapping out the internal spatial organization of burials within the cemeteries to visualize certain aspects of mortuary data.¹⁵⁶

Anatolia's assumed role as a bridge between the east and west has actually partly hindered its study. Near Eastern archaeologists often engage with material from southeastern and eastern Anatolia, leaving anything west of these area to the classical archaeologists. On the other hand, the national borders between Turkey and Greece in a way obstruct the understanding of western Anatolia as part of the Aegean, especially before the classical periods. Turkish scholars often do not use Greek references and vice versa, and this partly stems from language barriers used in the publications. Such obstacles can be overcome by comparative studies and collaborative work between Greek-speaking and Turkish-speaking scholars. Due to time limitations, this dissertation could not use sites on Cycladic Islands, other Aegean Islands, and mainland Greece as main case studies. However, the next step in this research is to analyze the themes of this dissertation in other cultural areas around Anatolia and compare these to each

¹⁵⁶ One example is Massa's GIS study on the location of "chiefly burials" (2014). As much as I appreciate the methodology, I stated my disagreement with Massa's social-evolutionary approaches and culture-historical interpretations throughout this dissertation.

other to see if there are larger regional overlaps and characteristics in mortuary practices of the Bronze Age Mediterranean.

The timeframe of this research needs to be expanded to the post-Bronze Age periods, to understand if change and continuity can be traced after the political dissolution of the Hittites. What kinds of influences can be traced in the mortuary practices of Iron Age communities in Anatolia? Do these reflect more localized patterns or more adaptations from past mortuary traditions? This investigation would necessitate at least as much time as this dissertation did, but I hope in the close future we could have a more fully examined mortuary history of Anatolia that is not divided or limited by historical or archaeological periods.

During the course of this research I witnessed the frustration of colleagues working on Anatolia who could not read Turkish publications. This research intentionally incorporated the most recent publications on Anatolian burials and mortuary practices that are often only published in Turkish and in some cases in local (or not well-known) journals. Therefore, I hope this manuscript will serve as a resource for English-speaking scholars who work on similar themes, and who would like to use Anatolian mortuary evidence in comparative studies on death, dying, mortuary practices, and cemeteries. There is of course still a lot that needs to be done. Due to the small number of anthropological and theoretical studies published in Turkish, local scholars often have limited access to the larger discourses in the field of archaeology/anthropology in other parts of the world. Therefore, the results of this research also need to be published in

Turkish, in one form or another, for local scholars who are interested in the current anthropological approaches and discussions on mortuary archaeology.

As this dissertation was forming, Turkey went through challenging times in terms of politics, cultural heritage, and archaeological issues. I hope scholars working on the past of Anatolia will not lose their hope in the present state of Anatolia and will continue to bring their passion and love for their work to Turkey, while collaborating with Turkish archaeologists who try their best to keep archaeological work going even under difficult circumstances. At times when it is hard to find common grounds between political authorities, local communities, and archaeologists, we should remind ourselves that there is always at least one thing that we always share with all people (Fig. 8.1): "Her canlı ölümü tadacaktır" (Every living [being] will taste death).



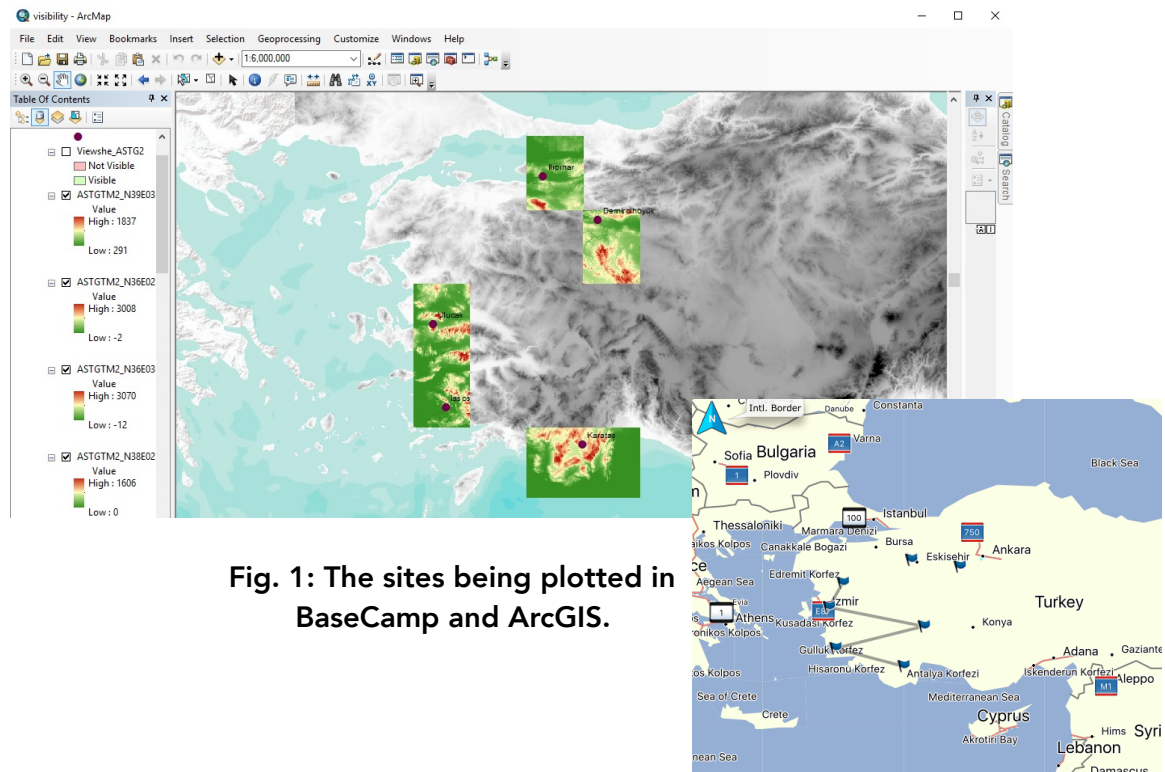
Fig. 8.1: Zincirlikuyu Cemetery Main Gate, Istanbul/Turkey. The text on the gate is a verse from the Qur'an: "*Her canlı ölümü tadacaktır*".

[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zincirlikuyu_Cemetery#/media
File:ZincirlikuyuCemeteryMainGate.JPG](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zincirlikuyu_Cemetery#/media/File:ZincirlikuyuCemeteryMainGate.JPG)

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Harriet and Leon Pomerance Fellowship Research Project: The Role of Landscape in the Formation of Mortuary Practices in the Early Bronze Age Western Anatolia

With the support of the Archaeological Institute of America during the months of June and July (2016) I visited seven sites¹⁵⁷ and seven museums¹⁵⁸ in western and northwestern Turkey. My goal was to collect spatial data on the location, visibility, orientation, and elevation of Bronze Age (especially EBA) sites that had a cemetery and settlement. I wanted to analyze the spatial relationship between extramural cemeteries, the surrounding natural and man-made features, and their settlements in order to



¹⁵⁷ Demircihöyük, Gordion, Yortan, Ulucak, Harmanören, Karataş, and Iasos

¹⁵⁸ Eskişehir, Gordion, İznik, Afyon, İzmir, Antalya, Manisa/Akşehir

understand the role of landscape in the emergence of cemeteries, formation of rituals, and expressions of social identities.

First step of every site visit was to follow the maps, descriptions and sometimes given coordinates in excavation reports to locate the site on Google Maps. In cases where I was able to locate these sites, I collected coordinates and elevation with a handheld GPS device and a mobile GPS application, and documented the sites (or their nearby locations), and landscape features in the vicinity with photographs. Whenever possible, I took points from the top of the mounds, and from where the cemetery was supposed to be located. I plotted these sites in the GIS extension of the GPS device¹⁵⁹ and ArcGIS (Fig. 1). It turned out that the elevation data I collected alone was not

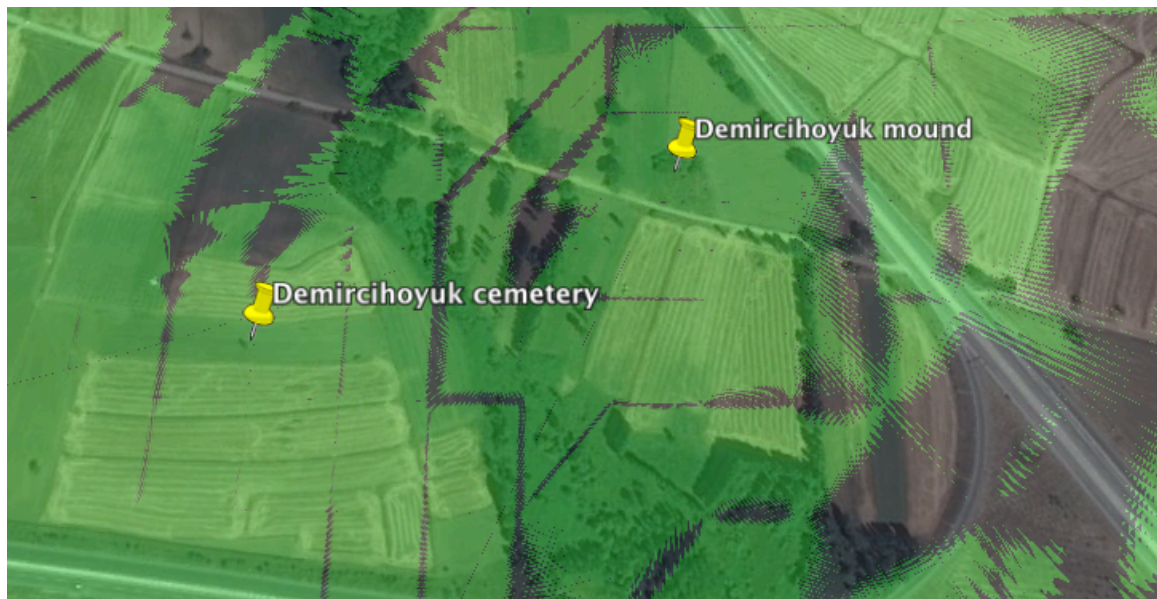


Fig. 2: The view shed analysis of the Demircihöyük mound in Google Maps Pro. The cemetery and the surrounding fields and orchards are clearly visible from the settlement (green indicates visibility). See Chapter 3.

¹⁵⁹ Garmin GPS64 BaseCamp

site	cemetery location in relation to settlement	distance from settlement meters	elevation meters	coordN	coordE
Demircihöyük (cemetery)	SW	300	855	39°52'21.15" N	30°16'45.18" E
Göndürle-Harmanören (mound)	NW	300	1008	37°54'34.19" N	30°43'8.10"E
Iasos (mound)	NW	700	43	37°16'36.42" N	27°35'7.11"E
Ilıpınar (mound approximately)	N	300	124	40°27'51.93" N	29°17'55.25" E
Karataş (mound approximately)	SW	150	1160	36°45'48.95" N	29°58'58.07" E
Ulucak Höyük (mound)	SE	150	216	38°27'59.72" N	27°21'8.34"E
Yortan (cemetery approximately)	S	n/a	230	39°10'40.78" N	27°50'40.24" E
Gordion (cemetery)	NE	700	691	39°39'6.94"N	31°59'24.38" E

Table 1: Orientation, elevation, location, and coordinates of the sites visited.

sufficient to build a view shed analysis in ArcGIS, so I used Google Maps Pro to visualize the areas that were visible from the settlement and cemeteries when the exact locations could be found (Fig. 2). This was a much efficient way of analyzing visibility, something I did not know when I started doing this in ArcGIS. I used these analyses in Chapter 3.

At Yortan and Harmanören the exact location of the sites could not be plotted. At Yortan the site was excavated decades ago and the location was not very visible;

however with the description of the site's location I was able to take points of the possible area where excavations took place. At Harmanören the location of the cemetery was on private land, and therefore could not be entered, however the mound was visible so the points were taken there. Nevertheless, even being close by to these sites helped me to document the landscape features around the sites, and gave me the viewpoint of the surrounding area, the visibility of the landscape features. The results of this research are integrated into Chapter 3.

Appendix 2: Chronology

Table 1: Chronology for representative sites of the EBA regional settlement sequence in Anatolia (Yakar 2011a: 70-71, Table 4.5).

Period	Aegean	West-Central	Central	North	Cilicia	East	Southeast
2000 B.C.E. EBA IIIc	Troy IV Limantepe	Beycesultan VII	Boğazköy Vf Alacahöyük 5 Alişar 12T Kültepe 11 Acemhöyük 8	Ikiztepe Mound I Cemetery	Tarsus	Arslantepe VID Korucutepe F Norsuntepe 8-6 Tepecik	Amuq J Gedikli IIIk Titriş Kurban III Tilbeş Kazane
2150 B.C.E. EBA IIIb	Troy III-IV	Beycesultan IX-VIII	Boğazköy Vc Alacahöyük 6 Alişar 12T 6M Kültepe 12 Acemhöyük	Ikiztepe Mound I Cemetery	Tarsus Increase in north and west contacts	Arslantepe VID Korucutepe F Norşuntepe 10-9 Tepecik	Amuq I-J Gedikli Titriş Kurban IV Tilbeş Kazane Lidar
2300 B.C.E. EBA IIIa	Troy III Troy IIg	Beycesultan XII-X Küllüoba	Alacahöyük 7 Alişar 12T 7M Kültepe 13 Acemhöyük 9	Ikiztepe Mound I Cemetery	Tarsus Cultural implant from the west	Arslantepe VID Korucutepe E Norşuntepe 12-11	Amuq I Gedikli Titriş Kurban IV Tilbeş Lidar
2500 B.C.E. EBA IIb	Limantepe	Barcın Höyük Demircihöyük Küllüoba Beycesultan XIV-XIII Karataş V	Alacahöyük 8 Alişar T13 8M Kültepe 14 Acemhöyük 10	Ikiztepe	Tarsus	Arslantepe VIC2 Korucutepe D Norşuntepe 20-13 Pulur	Amuq H Gedikli Titriş Kurban IV Tilbeş
2600 B.C.E. EBA IIa	Troy IIa Limantepe	Demircihöyük Küllüoba Beycesultan XIV Karataş III	Alacahöyük 8 Alişar T14 Kültepe 14	Ikiztepe	Tarsus From village to town	Arslantepe VIC1 Korucutepe C Norşuntepe 24-21 Pulur	Amuq H Gedikli Hassek Titriş Kurban IV Tilbeş
2700 B.C.E. EBA Ib	Troy I final ca. 2719 Limantepe Baklatepe	Demircihöyük Küllüoba Beycesultan XVI Karataş I	Alacahöyük Alişar 12 M	Ikiztepe	Tarsus	Arslantepe VI B2 Korucutepe C Norşuntepe 30-25 Pulur	Amuq G Gedikli Hassek Kurban V Tilbeş
2900 B.C.E. EBA Ia	Troy Ia ca. 2920 Kumtepe Ib Limantepe Baklatepe	Demircihöyük Küllüoba Beycesultan XIX-XVII	Alacahöyük Alişar 19M- Çadır Höyük	Ikiztepe	Tarsus	Arslantepe VIB1 Korucutepe C Tepecik Pulur	Amuq G Gedikli IIIa Hassek Titriş Kurban V Tilbeş

Table 2: Chronology for major Anatolian principalities with Assyrian Merchant Colonies in the MBA (Yakar 2011a: 75, Table 4.6).

Period	Historical Chronology	Kültepe (Kaneš) Kārum	Boğazköy (Ḫattuš)	Alişar (Ankuwa?)	Karahöyük	Acemhöyük (Puruṣhanda?)
1600 B.C.E. MBA IV	Hittite Old Kingdom Muršili I Ḫattušili I Labarna I	I a=M6	Büyükkale IVc3		I	
1700 B.C.E. MBA III	Assyrian kings Išme-Dagan Šamši-Adad	Ištar-Ebri? Zuzu Perwa Anitta Pithana Waršama Inar Ib = M7	Piušti Büyükkale IVd Lower City 4	10 T	II	3
1800 B.C.E. MBA II	Erišum II Naram-Sin Puzur-Aššur	Ic Ḫurmeli Ḫarpatiwa? II = M8	Büyükkale Va Lower City		III	
1900 B.C.E. MBA I	Šarru-kin Ikunum	II = M8 III	Büyükkale Vb	11T 5M	IV	7
2000 B.C.E.	Erišum I	IV	Lower City			

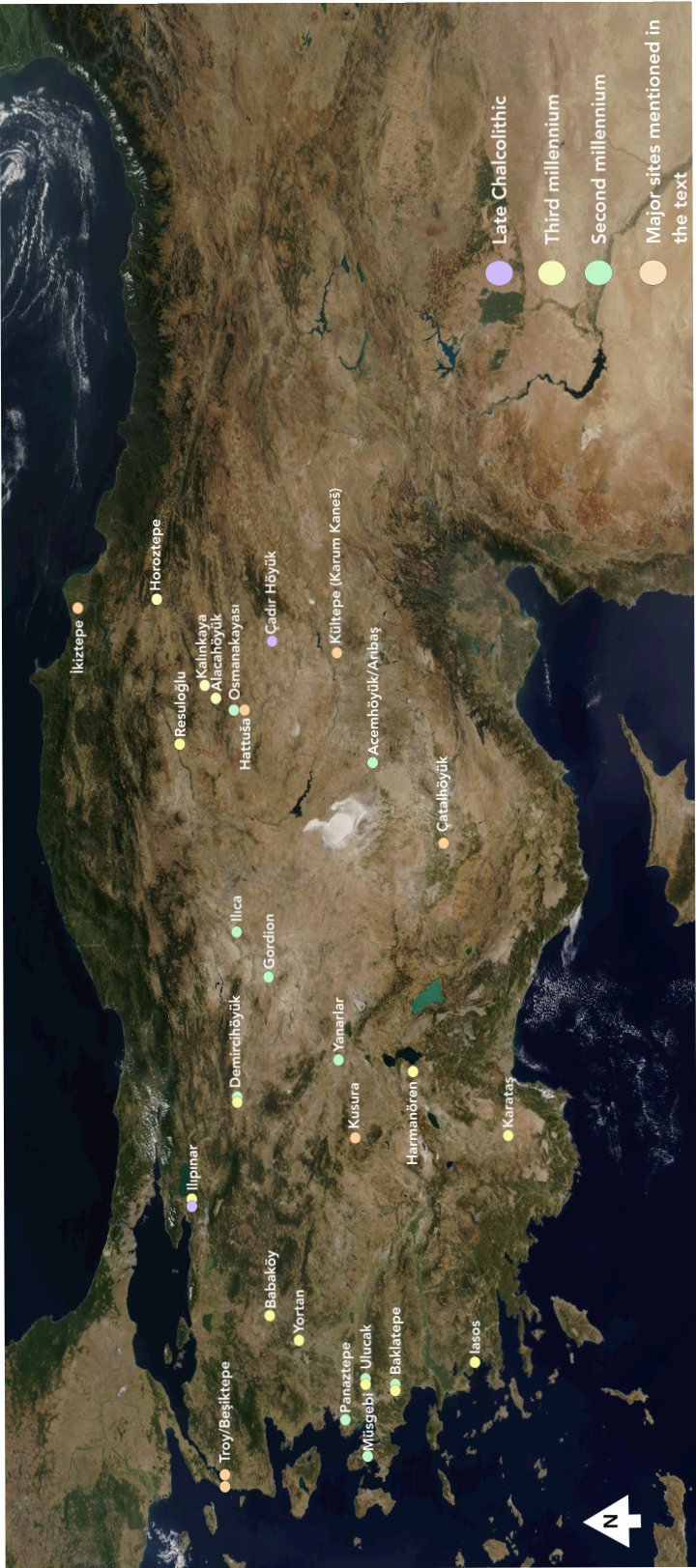
Table 3: Chronology for the Old, Middle, and Great Hittite Kingdom occupation sequence at the capital and four districts in the LBA (Yakar 2011a: 79, Table 4.8).

Period	Boğazköy-Ḫattuša L.City-Büyükkale-Büyükkaya-U.City-Sarıkale			Ortaköy Şapinuwa	Kuşaklı Şarišša	Maşat Tappiga?	Kinet
1200 B.C.E. LBA IIb	1a	IIIa			Period 1		13.2
	1b	IIIb	lower plateau x		IV		13.1
1300 B.C.E. LBA IIa	2	IVa	x	Buildings A-B	III	2	14
1400 B.C.E. LBA Ib		IVb		x	—		15 A
			south ponds		II		
1500 B.C.E. LBA Ia	3	Vc1	nw. slope	grain silo x	I		15C
1600 B.C.E. MBA IV		Vc2 Vc3	upper plateau				

Table 4: “Cultural, social, and political stages in the evolution of preliterate Anatolia and the corresponding periods in Mesopotamia” (Yakar 2011b: 41, Table 2).

PERIOD	PRELITERATE ANATOLIA	LITERATE MESOPOTAMIA
2000 BC EBA IIIc	Local dynasties Territorial city states	Ur III Dynasty ruling Sumer The Gutian conquest of Akkad
2150 BC EBA IIIb	Local dynasties Territorial city states	Šu Durul of Akkad defeated by Gutians Naram-Sin of Akkad
2300 BC EBA IIIa	Emerging local seats of power	Sargonic Akkad (starting in 2334 BC) Early Dynastic III B (pre-Sargonic)
2500 BC EBA IIb	Early urban	Early Dynastic III A (Fara period)
2600 BC EBA IIa	Early urban	Early Dynastic II (1st dynasty of Uruk)
2700 BC EBA Ib	Proto-urban chiefdom systems	Early Dynastic II (1st dynasty of Uruk) Early Dynastic I (1st dynasty of Kish)
2900 BC EBA Ia 3000 BC	Proto-urban village-based settlement hierarchies	Proto-Literate (d) (Jemdet Nasr)

Appendix 3: Sites



Map 1: Case study sites and major sites mentioned in the text (map by the author, base map from <https://worldview.earthdata.nasa.gov/>).

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