The Early Bronze Age Burial Customs of Karataş-Semayük

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The Early Bronze Age Burial Customs of Karataş-Semayük

by

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ABSTRACT

Excavation of the Early Bronze Age cemetery at Karataş-Semayük in the highlands of Lycia has confirmed and amplified knowledge of third millennium burial customs in western Anatolia. The general characteristics of pithos burial in extramural cemeteries were recovered from the excavations at Yortan and Babaköy, both cemeteries plundered so that not all the information needed for a complete understanding of burial procedure was preserved. A comparison of the Karataş cemetery with the burial grounds of Yortan, Babaköy and the more recently excavated site of Eski Balikhane on the Gygean lake shore, and with plundered cemeteries observed in surveys of the Burdur and Balikesir areas proves that a uniform burial custom was practiced in western Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age. The new evidence provided by 386 tombs in the Karataş cemetery, many of them well preserved, permits a sequential analysis of burial procedure which is pertinent in reconstructing customs in other western Anatolian cemeteries.

The prevailing custom exemplified by the Karataş cemetery may be summarized as follows: in extramural cemeteries pithos burials were laid out in regular rows. For each tomb, a pit was dug in the earth and a burial jar placed on its side in the pit, usually with its rim to the east. When the tomb was securely in position, the body was placed in the pithos and contracted on its right
or left side. Tomb gifts could be given to the deceased; jewelry in its appropriate place, weapons and tools probably held in the hands and pottery in front of the chest in a position convenient for symbolic use. A blocking of stones, sherds or pithos sections sealed the rim of the burial jar; additional gifts, always pots, could be placed outside the pithos. The earth pit was filled to the level of the cemetery field and a circular stone marker placed on the surface. The circles might have been foundations for earth mounds, but no mounds are preserved at Karatag. With the construction of the circle, the burial was complete and the tomb left until, in some cases, it was used for additional burials. The earth pit was again dug and the pithos reopened by removing the blocking. The original occupant of the tomb, now a skeleton, was pushed to the base of the pithos with the tomb gifts. The new burial was then contracted on its side and could be given tomb gifts. The pit was refilled and the circle, if disturbed, replaced. A large pithos could be reopened for additional burials several times; at Karatag, two burial jars contain the remains of eight individuals each.

The uniform custom of pithos burial practiced in western Anatolia can be related to the rest of Anatolia superficially, since jar burial was common throughout the country, but only in the west was it formalized and elaborated. Western Anatolia and most of its eastern
Mediterranean and Near Eastern neighbors in the third millennium— the Helladic mainland, Crete, Cyprus, Mesopotamia and Iran—share few burial customs. In the Aegean area, only with the Cyclades is it likely that interaction of funerary traditions occurred, witnessed by the pithos burials in the Kephala cemetery and some similarities between burial in pithoi and in cists.

The closest known relative of the Karatag and west Anatolian cemeteries is the Chalcolithic burial ground at Byblos. Since the Byblos cemetery is at present singular in Syria-Palestine, its coastal location and maritime activities were probably significant in determining its burial customs. Burial customs in western Anatolia indicate participation in sea trade and contacts, with Tarsus as a potential waystation on the route to the east. Differences existing between the Byblos and western Anatolian cemeteries prove that the Early Bronze Age burial customs and procedures of western Anatolia were local developments, although in part related to customs in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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D. Mustafa Uz kindly translated several Turkish reports for me. Ellen Roberts Young undertook a painstaking job of editing the text; her suggestions were extremely valuable but she is in no way responsible for the content. Karl Dimler prepared the photographs used here. I thank all of these people who contributed so substantially to the progress and coherence of my work.

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PREFACE

The aim of this dissertation is to discuss the Early Bronze Age burial customs practiced at Karataş-Semayük first as new evidence, and then as part of the established archaeological record. The 386 Karataş tombs have provided sufficient information for a detailed sequential analysis of the predominant burial procedure. The skeletal analysis contributed by J. Lawrence Angel of the Smithsonian Institution permits differentiation among certain procedures used in interring adults and children. Tomb gifts are not discussed here as individual objects but as one aspect of burial procedure. Complete exposition of the Karataş burial customs will allow their comparison with practices followed in other cemeteries and tombs to determine the place of this cemetery in Early Bronze Age Anatolia. Further comparative studies will elucidate the position of Karataş and similar cemeteries in the larger context of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East.

Only one phase in the study of the Karataş cemetery is presented here. An analysis by this writer of internal chronology and relationships among tombs is in progress. Louise Alpers Bordaz will present a paper on the metal objects and their significance in the Near Eastern and Aegean contexts. Marie-Henriette Carre has begun an investigation into the uses and affinities of the terra-
otta "spindle whorls". Since these two categories of objects are being carefully considered, brief reference is made to them beyond their roles in burial customs. More will be said here about figurines since they are not currently a subject of analysis. The major classes of cemetery material which still require intensive study are burial jars and small ceramic vessels. Therefore, this paper cannot be considered definitive since the results of these other analyses must be incorporated to make the presentation of the cemetery complete.

The information on the cemetery discussed here was tabulated and correlated with the aid of an IBM information retrieval system using an optical coincidence. I was introduced to this system by Jacques Bordaz of the University of Pennsylvania and gratefully acknowledge his help because the body of material analyzed would otherwise have been too unwieldy to handle efficiently.

In this work, certain terms are used as follows:

tomb— the complex into which a body is placed for burial

burial— either (1) the body or (2) the act of placing the body in the tomb

burial jar— a ceramic container usually less than 1.0 m. in height; always a jar with strap handles, never lugs

pithos— a jar of over 1.0 m. in height. It is
likely that further study will allow this definition to be refined to include only lug-handled jars. For the present, strap-handled jars of over 1.0 m. in height are called "pithoi" but the reservation about so terming them must be kept in mind.
ABBREVIATIONS

I. Periodicals—according to the system set forth in Notes for Contributors and Abbreviations, A JA 74 (1970), 1-8.

II. Books and articles

Ahlatlibel


Alişar


Anthropomorphic Figurines


Aphrodisias I


Aphrodisias II


Babaköy I


Babaköy II

Bestattungsbräuche

Beycesultan

Carchemish

Eski Balikhane

Eskiyapar

Gedikli

Horoztepe

Iasos I

Iasos II

Kaledoruğu
Kos


Kusura I


Kusura II


Ovabayindir


Poliochni


Samos


SS


Tekeköy


Thermi


Tilkitepe

E.B. Reilly, "Tilkitepe'deki ilk kazılar (1937)“, TürkTarih Derg IV (1940), 145-178.

Tilmen Hüyük I


Tilmen Hüyük II

Troy


Yortan

M. Collignon, "Note sur les fouilles de M. Paul Gaudin dans la Nécropole de Yortan, en Mysie", *CRAI* 1901, 810-817.
CHAPTER I: THE CEMETERY-TOPOGRAPHY

Excavations at Karataş-Semayük, near Elmalı in the highlands of Lycia, have been conducted by a Bryn Mawr College expedition from 1963 to the present. From 1963 to 1970, an extramural pithos cemetery of over 400 tombs was excavated, in addition to exploration of the settlement mound and surrounding habitation areas. The settlement and cemetery date to the Early Bronze Age. The site was selected for excavation partly since the unplundered cemetery promised to fill a gap in our knowledge of western Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age.

General characteristics of western Anatolian cemeteries have been known for years. In the early twentieth century Gaudin went to Yortan, attracted by pottery allegedly from the Yortan cemeteries which was appearing on the antiquities market. The stream of illegally excavated Yortan pottery has continued to reach European museums and private collections, but attempts to learn the context of these vessels have been frustrated. Bittel's excavations at Babaköy gave a clearer picture of funerary practices in the Yortan area, but the cemetery at Babaköy had been plundered so the resulting sample of material and information was limited. The relation of cemetery to settlement
in the Yortan area has not been clarified by excavation, although a house plan of the period is known from Akurgal's work at Ovabayindir. The legal excavations have established, however, that in the Yortan area extramural pithos cemeteries prevail although few details about burial procedure have been recovered from them. In addition to the major cemetery complexes in the Balikesir area, pithos burials have been excavated at a number of sites, including Aphrodisias, the Gygean lakeshore and Kos which may be parts of larger extramural burial grounds. Other cemeteries in western Anatolia are equally elusive; the Kusura cemetery antedates most of the settlement, while the Early Bronze Age cemeteries of Troy and Beycesultan are undiscovered.

Karataş, a southern neighbor of Yortan, is related to this site by its extramural pithos cemetery. Because the Karataş cemetery is un plundered and has yielded a large number of tombs, its study will allow a general reconstruction of other cemeteries in western Anatolia, as well as providing special information about the burial customs of the Elmalı plain in the Early Bronze Age.

EXCAVATION PROGRAM AND TERMINOLOGY

At a distance of 150 to 170 m. south of the mound
at Karatag (Map 1), partially denuded tombs were seen in the original survey of the site; it was therefore clear that the cemetery required a separate, systematic investigation. The 1963-64 campaigns concentrated on clearing the cemetery area first observed. This section, known as the Main Cemetery (Map 4), is situated on a rise in ground south of the mound. The Main Cemetery trench measures approximately 82 m. east-west by 33 m. north-south. Tombs 1 through 137 are in this trench; they are numbered roughly from east to west.

In 1966, a program of trial trenching around the mound was started with the intention of determining the boundaries of the cemetery and exploring the general area of Karatag. A continuation of the main cemetery was found in Trenches 7-8-12, whose combined dimensions are roughly 25 m. by 16 m. (Map 5). Because of the simultaneous excavation of several trenches, numbering of the tombs is not always consecutive. Trenches 7-8-12 contain Tombs 141 through 152, 154 through 160, 163 through 193. Trench 6 with Tomb 138 is a close neighbor and may be considered part of the 7-8-12 complex, although the intervening area was not excavated. Other trenches in the southwest quadrant of the site contain a few tombs which are to be included in the main cemetery span: Trench 3 (Tomb 162), Trench 4
(Tombs 139 and 140), Trench 10 (Tomb 153) and Trench 21 (Tomb 161) (Map 1). These tombs are considered as part of the main cemetery because of their proximity to Trenches 7-8-12, clearly a burial ground in which tombs are not mixed with houses, and the absence of substantial domestic remains in their vicinity.

Trial trenching continued in 1967; the Southeast Cemetery (Map 6), containing Tombs 201 through 256, was uncovered. The Southeast Cemetery is about 27.0 m. by 18.5 m., with the tombs numbered from south to north. Trench 101 with Tombs 194 through 200 was also excavated in 1967. It lies c. 10 m. northeast of the Main Cemetery. Continuation of the trial trench program revealed a well preserved cemetery area in Trench 98 (Map 7), measuring 25 m. by 35 m. Tombs 257 through 368 are in Trench 98, numbered roughly from south to north. This trench is conspicuous because of the preservation of stone circles used for markers above the tombs, constructions also observed several places in the Southeast Cemetery but nowhere else at Karatag.

Preliminary studies of the cemetery material raised the question of the southern limit of the cemetery. In 1970, some trial trenches were made to east and southeast of the Main Cemetery. Tombs
appeared only in Trench 125 (Map 9), about 30 m. east of the Main Cemetery's northeast corner. Trench 125 is c. 10 m. square, with Tombs 369 through 377 in the southern half. The northern section of this trench is occupied by the stone foundations of a building set over an unexcavated pisé structure.

Several tombs found in trenches north and northwest of the mound were numbered by trench rather than included in the consecutive numbering system used for the Main Cemetery, Trench 7-8-12, the Southeast Cemetery and Trench 98 because the tombs in these trenches are isolated from the main cemetery areas and were frequently found near domestic architecture. These tombs are (Map 1): Tombs 26-1 through 26-8 in Trench 26, Tomb 29-1 in Trench 29, Tombs 32-1 and 32-2 in Trench 32, Tomb 34-1 in Trench 34, Tomb 36-1 in Trench 36, Tombs 38-1 and 38-2 in Trench 38, Tomb 39-1 in Trench 39, Tombs 41-1 through 41-5 in Trench 41, Tomb 52-1 in Trench 52, Tomb 53-1 in Trench 53 and Tomb 54-1 in Trench 54. In Trench 37 (Map 10), a complex of 61 tombs appeared when the trench was cleared to virgin soil. The tombs are numbered in series from 37-1 through 37-59, with 37-14A and 37-15A, running roughly from west to east. The special problems presented by these tombs will require separate analysis to determine the chronole-
gical interrelationship of habitation strata and tombs. The characteristics of burial procedure followed in the main span of burials must be determined, then other tombs which are not demonstrably part of the main cemetery complex will be studied in order to see if there are any differences between the two areas of the site used as burial grounds.

SITE CHOSEN FOR THE CEMETERY

Modern cemeteries in the Elmalı plain are often placed on the highest plot of land in the village, which is frequently a höyük (for example, Elmalı, Semayük and Söğle east of Elmalı). The ancient people of Karataş also tried to use high ground for their cemetery. This can be verified although erosion and agriculture have changed the site's contours since the third millennium.

The central mound is on a natural rise in bedrock, 100 m. in absolute level, which slopes off to 2.5 m. at the south edge of the mound (Map 2). Bedrock then rises gradually via Trench 98 where the absolute level of bedrock is between 5.0 and 6.0 m., toward the Main Cemetery where bedrock level is 9.5 in the east rising to 10.3 in the west, forming a ridge. To the west of the mound, bedrock, in a gradual slope up, reaches a
height of 9.2 to 10.2 m. in Trench 7-8-12. Southeast of the mound, bedrock rises only slightly, from 2.5 m. at the mound's south edge to 3.5 m. in the middle of the Southeast Cemetery. South and west of the mound the bedrock level rises considerably, 3.0 to 4.0 m. between the base of the central house on the mound, c. 6.60 m. in absolute level, and the Main Cemetery and Trench 7-8-12, c. 9.5 to 10.5 m. in absolute level. The bedrock level of the site also rises from east to west; a difference of about 7.0 m. exists between bedrock in the Southeast Cemetery, c. 3.5 m. in absolute level, and Trench 7-8-12, c. 10.0 m. on the average. Therefore the Early Bronze Age contours of the cemetery consisted of a gradual upward slope to the south and west of the mound, and a fairly level surface to the southeast. We assume that the ancient surface contours followed the slope of bedrock because the larger tombs were usually placed in bedrock cuttings, indicating that bedrock was at a suitable depth for complete and secure coverage of the tombs (Fig. 3). Bedrock would not have been cut if it lay too far beneath field surface to be utilized for the tomb beddings, and if it were shallower, much deeper cuttings in bedrock would have been made.
Erosion has changed the surface contours of Karatağ since the cemetery was used. The stone circles of Trench 98 lie o. 0.3 m. below the modern field surface, but were at field level in ancient times to function as markers. On the other hand, the Main Cemetery and Trench 7-8-12 are partially denuded; bedrock in these trenches is only 0.1 to 0.2 m. below the modern level of the fields. No stone circles remain in these trenches and the tombs have frequently been sliced in half, although the local method of plowing disturbs the field surface to a depth of only 0.1 m. According to the evidence of Trench 98 a large tomb requires an average depth of 1.0 m. from circle to base of burial jar. Since large pithoi are placed in bedrock cuttings, the depth of earth above bedrock needed for a large tomb and its circle is about 0.8 m. In ancient times, the Main Cemetery ridge would have been covered by an additional 0.75 to 1.00 m. of soil over the present eroded surface (therefore would have been at 10.5 to 11.0 m. in absolute level), making it 4.0 to 5.0 m. higher than the base of the central house on the mound (6.6 to 6.7 m.). The surface of Trench 98 was probably 0.2 to 0.3 m. lower than it is now, while the Southeast Cemetery was a little higher, except for places where a few circles are still
preserved in that trench. Remnants of circular markers were found over Tombs 222 and 256, both on the east side of the Southeast Cemetery separated by a distance of 3.0 m., and over Tombs 211 and 255 in the southwest part of the trench. The central and northern sections of the Southeast Cemetery have therefore eroded more than the east and west edges. The Main Cemetery and the mound have eroded and partly filled the depression between them. The ancient level of Trench 98 was about the same as the base of the central house, but separated from the mound by a small valley. The Karatag cemetery occupies one of the higher sections in the area, since the land flattens to the north of the mound away from the cemetery and to the east.

RELATIONSHIP OF CEMETERY AND SETTLEMENT

The cemetery's relation to the settlement shifted several times. The cemetery was extramural, but no boundary existed to separate tombs from houses. Domestic architecture and workshops cover the mound and surround it on the south and east sides. The tombs at the fringes of the cemetery are close to the houses (Map 1).

Along the north and west sides of the Main Cemetery
a series of domestic pits infringe on the cemetery area. The pits are round and free from ash or bone, containing discarded pottery and some fragments of roofing material and mudbrick. Tombs 89, 124 and 136 overlap pits, while Tomb 128 was probably placed in an existing pit cutting. Overlapping makes it clear that pits antedate tombs in this area. Houses from which the roofing clay and mudbrick came must have existed here before the tombs were made. The pits in the Main Cemetery were storage bins which were abandoned and filled with debris sometime before the cemetery extended to this area.

A number of wall remnants in Trench 98 indicates that this area had also partly been used for houses before it became a burial site. The walls clearly antedate the tombs. In the southeast extension, a stone wall ran under the western contour of Circle I (Tomb 286), through the area between Circles I and R (Tomb 290), and partially under the eastern edge of Circle R. The cuttings for Tombs 317 and 318 overlap pit $\delta$, which was filled with burnt housing debris—mudbrick, plaster with finger impressions and ashes. Tomb 327* cut into wall $\eta$, while the stones of wall $\zeta$ were moved to form a marker over Tomb 326*. In the northeast corner and southwest extension of the trench, fragment-
any stone foundations appear without any tombs. The wall remnants in Trench 98 were not disturbed unless they interfered with the tombs; they also provided a handy quarry for tomb diggers. The 98 area was probably abandoned as a habitation area well before the tombs were placed there; a few tombs have housing debris among their blocking materials (e.g. Tomb 327 with pisé chunks and Tomb 293 with a door socket), and the walls themselves are ruined.

The Southeast Cemetery is in an area primarily devoted to houses (Map 1), but is clearly a part of the main cemetery in its distinction from the habitation around it. Trenches 65, 66, 69 and 78, all south of the Southeast Cemetery, contained stone foundations or the remnants of pisé structures and no tombs. Among and to the south of these houses, Trenches 68, 73, 76, 77 and 79 were opened; little pottery and no walls were found in them. The Southeast Cemetery is a true cemetery area that was used as the burial ground of a certain group, perhaps the people who lived in the nearby houses. This cemetery was placed in an open space near houses, but not among them. No details of burial procedure or types of tomb gifts separate the Southeast Cemetery from the other main cemetery trenches. The relative chronology of the tombs in the Southeast
Cemetery and the surrounding houses will be studied when the domestic sequence is established. This cemetery trench is, however, peculiar in its separation from the main span of burials.

An examination of the chronological position of the tombs in Trench 37, which are not individually studied here, must be made in order to determine whether any part of the Karataş cemetery was intramural. As mentioned above, the Trench 37 tombs will be compared to tombs in the main cemetery complex after the basic characteristics of burial procedure are established. The uppermost level of Trench 37 has four parallel megaras represented by stone foundations (Map 10). Earlier constructions are stratified only under Megaron 3: houses 3A through C, and wall remains 3D through F. A thin earth stratum separated each of the seven levels. Most of the tombs were placed in the open area west of Megara 3 and 4, and south of Megaron 3. The tombs do not intrude into the upper megaron level. Several tombs, however, have a clear relation to the architectural remains under Megaron 3, so are the best indication of the stratigraphic sequence. Tomb 37-45 was placed into the 3A wall from the top and its cover stones were piled above the 3A foundation level. 37-49 was set into the 3A foundation east of Tomb 37-45,
and 37-44 broke into a remnant of a house wall contemporary with 3A-C. Tombs 37-21 and 22 were placed at the inner and outer northwest corners of Megara 3A-C. These tombs all postdate the 3A-C constructions. Tomb 37-52 was under the back wall of Megaron 3's main room and 37-56 entirely covered by its southwest corner. These two tombs clearly antedate Megaron 3 and were not disturbed when that megaron was built. Tomb 37-53 lay under the floor of Megaron 3's main room, so the presence of tombs, if noticed at all, must not have bothered upper level builders. The tombs in Trench 37 are not intramural, but represent an expansion of the cemetery into the area abandoned by the 3A-C people. After this area was used as a cemetery, the builders of the upper level megaran appropriated it and ignored the tombs. The cemetery in Trench 37 is stratified between two domestic levels, but is not a part of either of them.

PROBABLE SIZE OF THE CEMETERY

Suggestions about the topographical extent of the cemetery may be made on the basis of the trial trench program discussed above. Density of tombs in a particular area and the relationship of the tombs to any domestic remains in that area are the factors which determine whether the tombs in question are part of
the main cemetery complex or randomly placed.

The maximum extent of the main cemetery is not
known on all sides. Trench 98 is the first cemetery
concentration excavated south of the mound. 10.0 m.
to the north of 98 are Trenches 96 and 97 where sherds
indicate domestic activity. No tombs were discovered
in 96 and 97, so one edge of the cemetery is probably
in the area of Trench 98, near but separate from the
settlement. As was mentioned above (pp. 17-18), the
use of Trench 98 as a cemetery was preceded by partial
habitation. The western edge of the cemetery proper
lies to the west of Trench 7-8-12. A few tombs appear
in the trenches west of 7-8-12 suggesting that the
cemetery extends into the modern vineyards west of
Trench 3. To the northwest the cemetery thins out and
runs into an area where habitation is more common than
tombs. The area south of the Main Cemetery has not been
explored but bedrock is shallow there and tombs may be
lost. East of the Main Cemetery in Trench 125, the
cemetery is again near houses. Bedrock in the trenches
made to the south of Trench 125 and east of the Main
Cemetery is so shallow that the possibility of com-
plete destruction of tombs exists. Ne pithos sherds
or other material which could be attributed to tombs,
however, were found on the field surface in this area or in Trenches 122, 123 or 124.

The main cemetery span must gradually thin out to the west of the Southeast Cemetery, where houses were built, and resume in the area of that cemetery trench. Trenches 88 through 91 lay south of the Southeast Cemetery and east of the Main Cemetery and Trench 125. Bedrock in 88 through 91 lay 0.2 to 0.3 m. beneath the modern field surface and the fill contained few traces of habitation. As in the area south of Trench 125, it is unlikely that tombs ever existed here since no remains attributable to the cemetery were visible on the surface or in any of the trenches. The area east of the Southeast Cemetery has not been explored.

Part of the problem in establishing the limits of the cemetery is due to the nature of the settlement’s growth. The cemetery was probably started in an area away from the settlement. As the village grew, it approached the cemetery, whose outer limits fluctuated. The settlement probably underwent several changes in size. When the village expanded, the cemetery had to yield (e.g. Trench 37, final period). When the area occupied by the village decreased, tombs could be placed where houses had been (lower level in
37. Trench 98, west part of the Main Cemetery). This indicates that the cemetery grew naturally and was not confined to an area within predetermined boundaries. Available space, as long as it was not in or among occupied houses, could be used for tombs. The cemetery's location was determined only by the absence of domestic activity in its immediate vicinity.

The Karataş cemetery, as excavated, covers an area approximately 110 m. north-south by 200 m. east-west. In the main cemetery complex, 386 tombs were excavated; the unexcavated area enclosed by the Main Cemetery, Trench 7-8-12 and Trench 98 may conceal 1200 or more tombs (Map 3). The number of tombs in the entire cemetery could number many more since as many as 100 tombs could have been in the eroded eastern and western sections of the Main Cemetery and an unknown number around the fringes. It is also possible that density of tombs varied in the several cemetery areas.

The Karataş cemetery, if completely excavated, would yield over 2000 tombs. Since use of the cemetery may have extended over several centuries, the number would not be too large for the tombs of the small village of Karataş in this period. If, for example, we assume that the village size
averaged about 25 houses with five inhabitants in each, approximately 1800 to 2500 people would be buried in three or four hundred years. Since about three-quarters of the tombs at Karataş contain only one skeleton or have no skeletal remains preserved and were thus probably the containers of single burials which have disintegrated, about 2000 tombs could have been built for this hypothetical population.
CHAPTER I: FOOTNOTES

1. Yortan, 810-817.


4. Ovabayindir, 156-164.

5. Kusura I, 54-64.

6. Troy, 8-9 on search for cemetery.

7. The cemetery search is not discussed in the excavation report.

8. The term ”Main Cemetery” in capital letters designates the specific trench excavated. In small letters, “main cemetery” refers to all tombs which are clearly in a single cemetery area, although the intervening areas have not been excavated.


10. The levels given here are relative. The southeast corner of a concrete wellhead c. 240 m. southeast of the mound was taken as the datum point. In 1963, a plumb was dropped from this corner to the water, a distance of 6.5 m. Therefore, the corner of the wellhead, 6.5 m. above groundwater level in 1963, is the point of reference for all levels at Karatay.


12. Ibid., AJA 69 (1965), 244-245. A few tombs were noticed during initial clearance of the trench, but they were below house foundation level.
CHAPTER II: BURIAL CUSTOMS OF KARATAŞ—DESCRIPTION

The number of tombs and the range of material in the Karataş cemetery allow a detailed analysis of the burial customs of the Early Bronze Age inhabitants. Although there are several inhumations and one stone built tomb, pithos burial is the standard practice and, as such, is the major subject of this study. It is possible to reconstruct each phase of ancient burial procedure, based on patterns recurring in the cemetery of Karataş. Child burials are considered separately from adult interments when there is evidence that different procedures were used.

PITHOS BURIAL: General Description of Burial Procedure

The Karataş cemetery is laid out following an orderly plan. The tombs are placed in rows which run roughly north-south. The eastern sections of the Main Cemetery (Map 4) and Trench 7-8-12 (Map 5) illustrate this alignment clearly. Large pithoi containing adults or multiple burials are regularly spaced in relation to one another (Fig. 7). The average pithos is around 1.25 m. in height and has a free surrounding area of about 1.00 m. on all sides. Therefore, each
large tomb requires, on the average, an area of 7 to 8 square meters. Regular spacing of the tombs is obscured by a number of small jars for child burials placed close to many pithoi. Small jars were usually placed at a shallower depth than the pithoi, so the cemetery consists of two levels: an upper one for small jars and a lower one for the large pithoi. The cemetery was thus not as cluttered as the appearance of the plan suggests. The substantial jars in the southeast extension of Trench 98-266, 267, 272, 273, 290 and 291- are well separated but are surrounded on all sides by small jars (Map 7). Tombs 245, 248 and 252 are enclosed by a group of ten small jars (Map 6). Proximity to relatives must have been desirable for child burials. Thus large pithoi with adult and multiple burials, sometimes including children, were the primary tombs around which the children in individual jars were clustered in an irregular fashion.

1. Adult burials

The pithoi for adult burials ranged from a minimum of 0.75 m. in height to 2.15 m. The procedure followed for interring adults in these jars was standardized to a certain extent. First, a pit was dug in the earth and a cutting made in the soft lime bedrock.
to provide a firm bedding for the pithoi. This cutting was generally oval, roughly following the contours of the pithoi. Bedrock was sometimes undercut to form a pocket into which the base of the pithoi was placed (Tomb 71, 84, 222, 245, 266, 272, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 289 and 376). The eastern side of the pit was inclined to form a ramp for sliding the pithoi into the bedrock cutting. The deepest cuttings had to be extended beyond the rims of the pithoi to leave space for access. The contours of the cuttings can be confirmed only in Trench 98, since the other cemetery areas were shallow and partially denuded. The section through Circles C-B-A clearly shows that hallowed areas existed in front of the pithoi (Fig. 4). Such cavities allowed freedom of movement while placing bodies and tomb gifts inside the tomb.

Modern experience in removing the pithoi from the cemetery reveals that they must have been eased into position with the aid of ropes and beards for leverage. Many of the pithoi are of such a bulky type that they would have been put into the cuttings slowly and with difficulty (Fig. 8). The pithoi were laid on their sides with rims at a slightly higher level than bases, with the average inclination about 30° from the horizontal, possibly to facilitate introduction of the body and tomb gifts (Fig. 4). All the jars were placed with
their rims to the east.

When the pithes was securely in place, the body, probably clothed, was lowered into the jar and laid on its side, indifferently right or left, on the floor of the burial jar. The body was usually contracted with the head to the east. Little variation appears in the placement of the bodies in the tombs. Although many bodies were placed on the floor of the burial jar, in a few cases a layer of soil was put into the pithes as a bedding for the burial. Gravel in Tomb 168 and earth with white inclusions such as would have been dug to make the cutting in bedrock formed a level platform for the bodies in Tombs 272 and 339.

The number of bodies placed in each tomb must have depended in part on the size of the pithes. Half of the tombs contained single interments (Table 5, I). Children were the most numerous of the single burials, comprising 57% of the total (Table 5, IC). Women fellow with 26% (Table 5, IB), while males were 17% of single burials (Table 5, IA). 24% of all tombs excavated had preserved no skeletal remains (Table 5, III), but were probably single burials.

Gifts could be given to the deceased after the body was in position, and were normally placed close to the body. A position in front of the chest was
favored for pottery (Fig. 10), while personal ornaments adorned the costume of the body. The pithos was then closed by covering its mouth. The materials available for blocking the rim were limited—stones and pottery—but used in a variety of ways. There are true lids of pots, potsherds or stone slabs forming a seal over the entire rim, but usually a less secure closure was made of small stones heaped in and around the pithos rim (Fig. 17).

A small retaining wall of stones was sometimes placed over the pithos shoulder and at the sides to separate the earth over the jar from that in front and thus facilitate reopening for later burials, as well as the installation of the first burial. When fully preserved, these walls probably rose to the level of the marking circle, never above it. Retaining walls were especially useful in the case of deeply buried tombs like 286 as an extra support for the covering earth (Fig. 18).

Earth filled almost every pithos found at Karatağ, but heaping dirt over the body immediately after burial was not part of ancient procedure. If the body had been covered with dirt when it was buried, it would have been difficult to make later successive burials since each tomb would have had to be cleaned out before another
burial was made. It is more likely that earth leaked through cracks in the pithes and openings in the blocking. Pithes which were found intact and yet full of earth were probably filled by the action of moisture bringing earth with it through the blocking materials. Small rodents passed through some jars and caused a certain amount of earth seepage.

After the blocking was placed over the pithes rim, more gifts could be deposited, usually close to the rim or shoulder of the pithes (Figs. 15 and 16). These outside gifts are by no means common, even with tombs containing gifts inside. Additional blocking could then be placed around the rim of the pithes and around the shoulder. A heavy stone packing could also fill the bedrock cavity made in front of the pithes rim (Fig. 4). Afterwards, the earth pit was filled to the original level of the field surface. A marker was then placed over the tomb at field level. The marker was usually a stone circle, two to four stones wide with an open center, from 1.0 m. to 4.5 m. in outer diameter, and 0.4 to 0.5 m. in width (Fig. 19). Sometimes a patch or pile of stones sufficed in small spaces, as filler between large circles (e.g. over Tombs 279 and 283). The ground level in the circle lay c. 0.25 to 1.00 m. above the rim of the pithes,
with the blocking stones sometimes piled in front of
the pithos rim rising to the level of the circle (e.g.
Tomb 366).

No remains of superstructures, such as mudbrick or
pisé walls or parapets, were found above the stone
circles. It must be remembered, however, that the
preserved circles lay close to the modern field sur-
face and any tomb enclosures would have been obliter-
ated by weathering and plowing. It is possible that
a low mound, bounded by the stone circle, covered each
tomb area. Mounds have not been apparent in sections
out through the fill over the circles, but their compos-
iton would have been indistinguishable in the surface
fill of the area. They would have also eroded fairly
rapidly; not within the life of the Karataş community,
but later. The former existence of mounds is more
probable than that of raised enclosure walls since the
circles have no gaps for entrances, such as would have
been needed in an encircling wall of some height. In
Circle AQ, above Tomb 367, a gravel floor lay immediately
beneath the stone circle (Fig. 5); the gravel could have
been bedding for a mound as well as for the circle. A
gap in the stones at the east side of the circle in a
position suitable for a door was observed, but it is
more likely that the stones were removed as an obstacle
to the plow.

After the burial procedure was completed and markers placed on the surface, the tomb was left until, in some cases, it was needed for further burials. It is difficult to say whether an individual tomb was originally planned to contain single or multiple burials. Many pithezi held only one skeleton but are large enough to accommodate mere burials. There was no absolute rule governing single or multiple burial; a multiple interment could be made if a sufficient time for decomposition elapsed between the burials and the individuals to be buried together had some kind of relationship. Stone markers do not necessarily imply that each tomb was planned to contain several bodies. They can also be seen as simple markers and as guides to empty space remaining in the cemetery.

When the tomb, located by its circular marker, was reopened, a pit was dug in front of the pithos rim and the stone packing and blocking materials removed. The remains of the original occupant of a reopened tomb were usually pushed to the base of the pithos, sometimes to the side. The bones of such earlier burials were found in jumbled heaps indicating that the bodies had completely decomposed before additional burials were made. After an appropriate space had
been cleared, the second person to be buried was placed in a contracted position with his head to the east (Fig. 9).

Multiple burials account for 26% of the total (Table 5, II). Over half of these multiple interments are the burials of two persons (Table 5, IIA). One man and one woman appeared in 35% of double burials, while two women account for 31% of the total. Two men, a woman and a child, two children and a man and a child are fairly evenly represented. The process of reopening the pithos and adding more burials could be repeated several times; two tombs, 29 and 112, contained eight skeletons each and tombs with three, four, five and six skeletons were not uncommon.

2. Child burials

The manner of interring children in individual burial jars differs in some respects from the burial of adults. It was mentioned above (p. 27) that placement of small jars does not follow the regular system used for large pithoi. Small jars were placed closer to one another than the pithoi, sometimes with an interval of only 0.10 to 0.20 m. (e.g. 61 and 62, 64 and 65, 257 and 258, 283 and 283*, 311 and 312). Of the seven overlapping tombs in the excavated portion of the
cemetery, two are child burials lying over the tombs of other children (Tomb 39 over 40, 65 over 64). The rest are child burials lying above the tombs of male or female adults, perhaps parents or relatives (42 on 43, 44 above 46, 48 over 47, 140 over 139, 331 on 330). These tombs may have been placed to overlap purposely, so the children would be in close contact with the family after death. The circular markers would have guided families to the tombs of adult relatives so the children could be buried close although in a shallower pit.

The size of most child jars precluded the necessity of making a cutting in bedrock for their bedding. Small jar rims were blocked like those of adults' tombs; available materials, like sherds and stones, were most frequent, although sometimes a jar or bowl was used. Child burials were sometimes marked with stone patches or small circles on the field surface.

Children were buried in twenty tombs with adults at Karataş, but this number represents a fraction of the total child burials. 109 children were placed alone in their own burial jars, so single child burial was probably the predominant custom. Deceased children could be more conveniently buried in small jars rather than causing a large pithos to be reopened. Mothers
and infants who died in childbirth and relatives who
died at the same time, perhaps from disease, could,
however, be buried together.

Because the skeletons of children are fragile and
decay easily, not enough remains to determine the
position of most bodies, but the jars are usually of
a height insufficient for an extended burial. The
largest jars containing child burials are 0.70 m. in
height, but most are between 0.35 and 0.50 m.

PITHOS BURIAL: Observations on Details
1. Pithos types

No more than basic distinctions in pithos types
are dealt with here. A detailed study of the pithoi
and burial jars is still to be made. A preliminary
outline of burial jar types is presented in Fig. 1
and Table 3.

The fabric of the pithoi contains chaff temper in
varying amounts. All were handmade. The firing tem-
perature was not well controlled, since the walls of
most jars have a black core. Dark mottling is visible
on the surface of many burial jars, usually at the
point of greatest body diameter.
a. Strap-handled jars (Fig. 1, I)

Two major types may be distinguished among the jars used for adult and multiple burials. The first is a thin-walled jar of ovoid shape, with an off-set neck flaring slightly toward a rounded rim, and two to four vertical strap handles, usually placed on the upper shoulder. The base is not sharply defined but tends to be a continuation of the body irregularly flattened. These ovoid jars are rarely taller than 1.25 m. and have a thickness of 0.01 to 0.02 m. Their coarse fabric is similar to that of cooking pots found in the Karatag settlement. Sherds of this type of jar are known in habitation areas, so similar jars evidently were in use as domestic storage vessels.

Some variants on this basic type were used in the cemetery. The trim ovoid contours were sometimes exaggerated to roundness, and less frequently to a piriform shape whose greatest body diameter is below the midpoint of the jar's height (Table 3, IA, 12 and 13; Fig. 1, I). The burial jar with strap handles sometimes is bagshaped, a version which is less firm in contour and characterized by its flaky black surface (Table 3, IA, 9, 10 and 11; Fig. 1, I). The soft surface of these bagshaped jars may be due to the clay
mixture used or to poor firing techniques. Although strap-handled jars usually have simple flat bases, several other types do occur. The disc base is low with a strongly angled profile, offset rather than merging into the body of the jar (Table 3, IA, 3, 7 and 11; Fig. 1, I). A profiled base is formed when the walls of the pithos body form a slightly concave curve just above a flat base (Table 3, IA, 2, 6 and 10; Fig. 1, I). The standard ovoid burial jar and its variants, all with strap handles, account for 99 of 213 burial jars over 0.75 m. in height (Table 4, I). Many of the incomplete jars without handles preserved may be added to this number.

strap-handled jars with adult occupants: 86 with a quadruped beneath a circle and two knobs opposite the animal scene, 179 with medallions and 237 with a ridge around the neck. Jar 41 has a gouged interlocking eye pattern around its neck; no handles are preserved, but the jar is of the thinner strap-handled type. Pithos 57 with strap handles bears incised decoration (goats, trees, swastikas and architectural forms).

b. Lug-handled pithoi (Fig. 1, II)

The second major type of pithos is more solidly made than the strap-handled variety. It differs in shape, fabric and manufacturing technique. These pithoi are ovoid with a tall neck flaring slightly to a flattened or wide ledge rim. The handles are lugs, usually spools placed horizontally on the shoulder of the pithos. The base is a solid, tall stump with a small bottom diameter. A third of the excavated pithoi over 0.75 m. tall have lug handles. These pithoi can be as tall as 2.15 m. and have a thickness of up to 0.06 m. Strap-handled burial jars never approach this height and thickness. The fabric is different in that chaff temper is heavier. The surface was carefully smoothed and, in some cases, lightly polished. The surface contours
of lug-handled pithoi are firm and more regular than those of strap-handled jars.

Variants also exist on the lug-handled pithos type. The handles are sometimes combined with round, bagshaped and piriform bodies (Table 3, IB, 5-10; Fig. 1, II), and with flat, profiled and disc bases (Table 3, IB, 2-4, 6-10; Fig. 1, II). These combinations are much less frequent than on burial jars with strap handles. The lug-handled pithos with ovoid body and stump base is therefore probably a standard type, not subject to frequent adaptation.

The usual spool handles are unpierced or have a pseudo-perforation. The tops of the spools are often concave, and sometimes ribbed (202, 221, 248 and 252). Other types of lugs do exist: triangular platforms (14 and 138), rectangular platforms (19 and 52), ovals (78 and 201) and large knobs (170).

The only decoration on lug-handled pithoi is incision. Pithos 305 has punched circles forming what may be ovoid architectural forms, while 309 and 352 bear panels with geometric patterns. Pithos 15, a stump-based pithos with no handles preserved, probably bore the impression of a stamp seal. The pithos was broken and the stamped sherd not found in situ, but the sherd's fabric and thickness resembled those of
the preserved sections of the burial pithos. The round seal impression is divided in half by a straight line; the irregular geometric pattern is similar to that on seals found in domestic contexts at Karatag.

c. Jars for child burials (Fig 1, III)

Almost all single child burials are in jars of less than 0.75 m. in height (Table 2). About two-thirds of these jars are indistinguishable in fabric and shape from cooking pots. The shape is round or ovoid with flat base and two or four vertical strap handles. Their rim is usually the simple rounded type found on larger strap-handled jars. It may, however, be bevelled (24, 283*, 284, 289 and 376), straight (191, 250, 334, 343 and 377) or rolled (361). A second type of child jar was made in the same shape, but the fabric is not as coarse or as poorly fired as the cooking pot type, rather hard and clinky (22, 31, 32, 35, 38, 42, 61, 62, 82, 91, 106, 109, 113, 127, 128, 143, 153, 160, 193, 249, 278, 283*, 284, 327*, 331, 334, 343, 346, 357 and 376). The most elegant variety of child jar is red slipped and polished. The rims are rounded. Most of these jars are made in the basic shape, with two or four well profiled strap handles (165, 213, 258, 261, 296, 297, 308, 310, 314, 315 and 316). Burial Jar 191
a child jar with lug handles, is also red slipped and polished. The only other child jar with lugs is 51, with crescent shaped handles of a unique type.

There is a great difference in quality between the "cooking pot" jars and the red polished variety; some of the finest pots for child burial are pitchers. The small burial pitchers are found only in Trench 98. 262 and 279* are red slipped and polished, while other polished pitchers have relief decoration (257 with horseshoes, 259 with knobs and 271 with horseshoes and knobs)(Fig. 1,III). Pitcher 271 has traces of white paint but the design is too worn to be discerned. Other polished jars with four handles have decoration: 289 with medallions between the handles and 301 with knobs on the upper body.

d. New and used burial jars

In most cases, the jars used for tombs were new. Burial jars containing the skeletal remains of adults usually have all pieces preserved, except when they are in areas where bedrock is near the modern field surface, as in the Main Cemetery and Trench 7-8-12. Child jars, however, may sometimes have been used in the household before being taken to the cemetery because it was more convenient than obtaining a new small jar.
This is probably true of some of the child jars in cooking pot fabric, which were missing sections of their rims even in cemetery areas where soil depth over the jars favored good preservation. Tabulating the instances of rim damage is difficult because many jars have been stirred up during plowing, especially in the Main Cemetery and Trench 7-8-12. The following jars have chipped or fragmentary rims, while the rest of the body is intact or crushed in situ by the weight of the covering earth: 23, 53, 57, 66, 67, 79, 88, 138, 139, 153, 213, 216, 217, 222, 227, 228, 240 (this damage may have taken place during removal of the bones of the first three burials), 251, 257, 274, 276, 279, 288, 295, 309, 312, 314, 318, 336, 350, 353, 358, 373 and 375. Of these 36 jars with damaged rims, eleven contained the remains of adults (57, 67, 138, 139, 222, 237, 240, 309, 318, 350 and 373). While the jars containing adult burials may have suffered damage during plowing since the rim is usually at a higher level than any other part of the body, small child jars were usually laid horizontally in the earth. Therefore the small jars were not chipped by plowing and so were damaged before they were used as tombs.

Several jars showed other possible signs of reuse.
Burial jars 70, 75, 161, 200, 208, 231 and 365 had holes pierced through the body of the jars. In all cases, except Jar 161, the holes were single. 161 has two holes through its wall, at a distance of 0.10 m. from one another; with a cord passed through them, these holes probably helped to patch an ancient crack in the jar. Most of the holes are near the base of the jar and could conceivably be interpreted as drainage holes. Such outlets for drainage would, however, be useless in a burial jar lying on its side, especially since most of them were on the side of the jar facing up. The base of Burial Jar 95 is pierced in four places to give a sieve effect. These jars with holes in base and sides would have been more efficient as domestic storage vessels standing upright. Therefore, it is assumed that they were made for domestic usage and then reused in the cemetery.

Although many of the burial jars were new when used for the tomb, they could have gone to the houses instead; that is, the shapes of these jars are similar to those found in domestic contexts. This is true of the ovoid jars with flat bases and strap handles, both for children and adults. Even sherds of decorated and red polished wares, comparable in thickness to burial
jars, are found among the houses. Several types of burial jar, however, may have been developed for funerary usage. The large pithoi with stump bases and lug handles were a standardized type, not common in habitation areas. Tomb 222 had a burial in a vessel of exceptional shape—a large pitcher—which may have been a special production for the cemetery since no similar vessel is found among the houses.

2. Orientation

The orientation of the pithoi is constant, ranging from $90^\circ$ to $140^\circ$ east of north (Fig. 6). The greatest concentration is between $110^\circ$ and $120^\circ$. The easterly orientation is probably determined by the direction of the sunrise. A few anomalies in orientation are quite noticeable and may have been due to carelessness. The majority of these variants falls outside the normal range by $20^\circ$ at the most (Tombs 140, 228, 275, 282 and 315 at $70^\circ$; Tombs 76, 277, 356 and 365 at $80^\circ$; Tomb 95 at $85^\circ$; Tomb 28 at $143^\circ$; 167 at $150^\circ$; 190 at $145^\circ$; 219 at $154^\circ$; 55 at $158^\circ$). Four small jars, all containing infant or child burials, are reversed so their bases point east (Tombs 222A, 254, 258 and 271). Other tombs whose orientation is deviant are small and were tucked
into available gaps in the cemetery, probably because proximity to neighboring tombs was desired (Tombs 127 and 327* at 10°; Tomb 292 at 25°; Tombs 283 and 361 at 60°; Tomb 330 at 165°; Tomb 32 at 166°; Tomb 125 at 205°). Tomb 292 placed so its base lay under the north edge of Circle S and 327* in a gap in domestic wall η in Trench 98 are examples of small tombs placed close to adult burials without regard for the standard orientation.

3. Blocking of the Pithoi

The most secure blocking of the burial jar rim was formed by a vessel or stone slab which covered the entire rim or filled all of the opening. Complete pots, such as bowls and small open-mouthed jars, were used occasionally for blocking (Table 1), but, while they appeared secure at the time of their positioning, must have cracked soon due to the weight of earth above them. Pithos sherds could be placed tightly over the burial jar rim (Table 1, III). Substantial sections of pithoi or smaller cooking pots were sometimes used in the manner of pithos sherds (Table 1, IV). In several cases a pithos without rim and neck was placed over the rim of the burial jar and secured with strips of clay and a row of stones (Table 1, VII; Fig. 13). Ceramic lids of all types were supported by a stone packing. A
stone slab placed against the pithos rim provided a relatively strong method of closure (Table 1, V; Fig. 11). In Tombs 272 and 273, specially trimmed pithos sherds were wedged into the necks of the burial jars (Figs. 4 and 14); a stone slab was over the rim of 272 with a heavy packing against the slab. The most common method of blocking the pithos rim did not form a real lid; a heap of stones in and around the rim of the burial jar was a sturdy but incomplete closure (Table 1, I). No traces of wood were found around the jar rims, so there is no evidence for wooden lids which, however, may have existed. Stray sherds were sometimes mixed with stones for closing the pithoi (Table 1, VI). A heavy stone packing filled some of the bedrock cavities in front of the pithos rim and extended around the shoulders. Blocking was placed over the mouths of the burial jars for a practical reason, i.e. to keep dirt from filling the jar and making further burials difficult.

Usually blocking was done with materials available in the cemetery area—field stones and stray sherds. Pithos sections used for blocking could be the remains of domestic storage jars brought into the cemetery from the settlement. There is evidence, however, that some
pithos sherds belonged to earlier tombs. Some of the pithos sherds used in blocking are up to 0.06 m. thick (Tombs 50 and 52 for example), the thickness of true burial pithoi rather than of storage jars. The cemetery was not plowed in ancient times, so the pithoi and parts of pithoi available for reuse cannot be attributed to agricultural activities. It is possible that pithoi could have been damaged during several reopenings and crushed by the weight of earth above them. Families could have pulled a deteriorated pithos and replaced it with a new burial jar for the skeletons, leaving the sections of the old pithos to be used for blocking. Since the skeletons would have been reburied, this was probably an orderly procedure, with only the thick pithos sherds to testify to its occurrence. In a few cases, old pithos sherds were left in the original tomb cuttings to support the new jar (Tombs 9, 13 and 36). These tombs are all in the eastern half of the Main Cemetery and may indicate that burial jar replacement was more frequent in this area than in others excavated.

4. Multiple Burials: Anomalies

When two bodies were found in the same pithos, there was evidence that burial was usually successive. The bones of the first occupant of the tomb were pushed
to the base of the pithos in a disarticulated mass. In some cases it was not thought necessary or feasible to push the first occupant's remains aside. Unusual positions may, in two tombs, be explained as the result of simultaneous burial; in Tomb 291 the two skeletons faced one another and the two occupants of Tomb 313 face south side by side. A few first burials may have been left in original position at reopening because decomposition was not complete. In Tomb 373 the second burial was tightly contracted to avoid the first, but the position of the final skeleton over the arms of the first shows the order of interment. In Tomb 307, the final burial was placed directly over the previous one, an alternative solution to the problems posed in Tomb 373. The tidiest way of dealing with a partially decomposed body was to place a layer of earth between the bodies, as in Tomb 371. Tomb 339 has a unique arrangement of the bones; the jumbled bones pushed to the base of the pithos are covered with earth, and the skull and tomb gift placed on top of the earth. Other double burials show more variations on the basic procedure. The long bones of the first burial in Tomb 207 were stacked neatly to one side of the interior of the burial jar, while the other skeletal material was
pushed to the base. The skull of the first body in Tomb 149 was left in situ beside the second body, but the long bones of the first occupant were placed at the base. The second body in Tomb 302 was leaned against the inside of the jar, probably because the jar is 1.0 m. tall and the original burial’s skeletal remains would have taken up too much room when pushed to the base. Tomb 277 must be a secondary burial; it contained two skulls with little accompanying skeletal material.

When a tomb was used for more than two bodies, burial arrangements were more complex. In tombs containing three bodies, the standard practice was still to push earlier burials to the base. Some variation in treatment does exist. In Tomb 212, the last body lies above one of the others while the bones of the first burial were pushed to the side of the pithos. Clean fill separated two of the burials in Tomb 245, while the first skeleton is represented by its skull next to the lower of the complete skeletons. In Tomb 280, two of the bodies lie side by side with one’s skull at the base. Stones supported the torso of the final skeleton placed in Tomb 327, which lay above a previous interment. Side by side burial was also used in Tomb 329, with an earlier burial pushed to the base.

As a rule, tombs with four, five, six and eight
bodies show the same procedures as tombs with fewer bodies (Table 5, IIB-F). The arrangement of the individuals is much less clear because the bones have become mixed. Multiple burial procedures were largely a matter of convenience, according to the space remaining in the reused tomb. As in tombs with double and triple burials, earlier burials in each tomb were pushed to the base or to the sides, sometimes left in situ and disturbed by later burials. The final body placed in each tomb, regardless of the number of other skeletons already present, is almost always contracted on its side with the head to the east.

Generally the bones of each burial were left in the tomb. In only two instances were the bones deliberately removed from a tomb and placed near it. Tomb 83 contains a normal contracted skeleton, and the skulls of two earlier burials. Outside the pithos, by its rim, lay several bones and a skull which were probably removed when the final burial was made. The owners of Tomb 240 took out three skeletons and their gifts to make room for a fourth, although the pithos was sufficiently large to accommodate all four according to the evidence of other multiple burials. The removed bones were treated respectfully and placed in a neat stack just above bedrock to the north of
Tomb 240, indicating that a secondary pit was dug for their reburial.

A special set of circumstances must have impelled the removal of the body from Tomb 335. The upper side of the pithos was pulled up to permit access and thrown back over the lower side, which remained in situ with the gifts lying on it. The gifts were substantial and certainly valuable in the modest economy of Karatav. Bronze weapons and silver strips would not have escaped the eye of a tomb robber. It is likely that the body was removed shortly after burial, since no skeletal material was found in or around the tomb. If the body had completely decomposed, scraps of bone would have been found in the fill unless those who removed the body were scrupulous about collecting every small bone. A short time, perhaps six months, is the maximum a body could remain articulated since the burial jars were placed in cuttings in the lime bedrock. The removal of the body must have been motivated by reasons other than personal gain.

5. Preservation of Skeletal Material

Problems of preservation hamper thorough investigation of the skeletal remains and their position in the tomb. In many cases, only a few scraps of bone
remain, enough to determine the number of bodies by skeletal analysis. Tombs without skeletal remains are frequent, about one-quarter of the total. Most of the bodies in these tombs were probably those of children whose fragile skeletons disintegrated rapidly. Burrowing animals have left nests and tunnels in some tombs, indicating that they are responsible for some disturbance and destruction of skeletons. Both adult and child skeletons have been pulled up and damaged during plowing.

INHUMATIONS

253
Circle D (not numbered)
294*
326*
372

Inhumation in the earth was infrequent at Karatas and should not be regarded as a formal method of burial. The five inhumations among tombs in the main cemetery attempt to follow the prevailing customs although they were not placed in pithoi. In four (253, Circle D, 294* and 326*) of the five inhumations, the head was placed to the east, in line with the customary pithos orientation. The head of Inhumation 372 is to the west, directly opposite the normal orientation. In cases where the skeleton is well enough preserved for study
(253, 294* and 372), it is contracted on its side. These inhumations were not accompanied by tomb gifts. Two of the inhumations in Trench 98 were associated with markers; in Circle D the inhumation was covered with a small round stone patch and, in the case of Tomb 326*, stones from domestic wall 3 were moved to form an oval marker over the body. An attempt was also made at marking Inhumation 372. A straight line of stones running north-south, one stone wide, lay beyond the head to the west.

The inhumations are not significant in terms of burial customs or chronology; they lack tomb gifts and burial jars for comparison. They must be viewed as the rare practice of poor or hurried people with the desire to conform insofar as possible.

THE BUILT TOMB: CIRCLE AQ, TOMB 367

The most outstanding exception to the standard burial type at Karatag is the built tomb. This tomb is the first one encountered to the south of the mound and has no close eastern or western neighbors. It was distinguished by its position and manner of construction. In the context of Trench 98, the stone circle marking the tomb is not technically unusual (Fig. 23), although it is conspicuous because of its size, about
6.5 m. at the point of greatest diameter. The southern contour is partly missing and there is a gap in the east side. The circle is five stones wide on the average, about 0.75 to 1.00 m., with the largest stones marking the outer limits. A layer of limestone gravel covers the surface of the circle and extends under the interior edge.

The tomb proper was contained within the outer boundaries of the circle (Fig. 5); the north interior edge of the circle slightly overlapped the tomb. A rectangular cutting, 2.20 m. east-west by 3.00 m. north-south, was made in virgin soil and covered with a gravel floor 0.25 m. thick, which was like the gravel stratum on the surface of the circle. This floor lay 1.20 m. below the upper gravel stratum.

The burial itself was secondary; it lay on the gravel floor along the north side of the tomb neatly arranged with the skull to the east, facing away from the rest of the skeleton. The pelvis leaned against the skull and the long bones of arms and legs were parallel, west of the skull (Fig. 4 and 27). These remains must have been reburied a short time after the original interment since the ligaments must have been intact.
After the body was placed in the tomb, earth was heaped on the gravel floor to support large boulders which were placed on the earth in sloping layers on the north and south sides in an attempt to suggest a gable-roofed construction. The earth fill rose 0.60 m. above the gravel floor in the center of the tomb. A limestone slab placed vertically and fitted into a slot in bedrock stood c. 2.20 m. west of the east edge of the circle (Fig. 24). This slab, 1.60 m. high and 1.35 m. wide, 0.08 to 0.10 m. thick, extended from the gravel floor of the chamber to the upper gravel layer; it was the "door" to the chamber and the south side of its east wall. The north side of this wall was made of stones and earth fill. To the east of the slab and its continuation was an irregular packing of at least 250 stones which functioned like the stone blocking used with the pithoi. The stone packing lay in a bedrock cutting which sloped down to the base of the stone slab forming an entrance passage to the tomb.

After the slab was in place, the "gable" constructed and the blocking stones laid in the entrance passage, the tomb was surrounded with earth and the upper gravel stratum laid on. The unusual shape of Tomb 367 made this gravel layer prudent as levelling
and bedding for the circle.

Tomb 367 is unusual in the Karatag repertoire for its exclusive use of stone. Various aspects of the chamber, however, indicate that wooden posts and boards were used in an earlier phase of its construction. The gravel floor of the chamber, on which the body rested, covered four thick postholes (Fig. 26). More postholes were found at the western edge of the tomb cutting. These could not have been structural elements in the stone tomb since they occur in the northern half of the tomb and the posts would have had no space to rise under the northern slope of the gable. Cuttings for wooden boards appeared along the northeast side of the tomb (Fig. 26), probably as an extra support for the stone packing in the entrance slope, so the planks placed in these cuttings could have had a function in the preserved phase of the tomb. Within the gravel floor a frame of several rows of stones enclosed a rectangular space 1.35 m. east-west by 1.10 m. north-south (Fig. 25). Evidently an earlier construction of a small chamber with wooden supports had been demolished to make room for the gabled stone cover. The door slab probably belonged also to the first phase.

The complexity of Tomb 367 certainly marks it as
the burial place of an important citizen. The care taken in the original and secondary constructions shows that the memory of the deceased remained in the minds of the local people for some time after his death. The condition and type of tomb gifts—mostly scraps of bronze and silver scattered through the fill and gravel floor—indicate that this tomb was robbed and after the robbery rearranged in a solid, but less elegant form. Evidently the huge stone pile was sufficient deterrent to further plundering although there was little of value left to steal. Vulnerability may explain why this tomb was not rebuilt in its original form.

Tomb 367, as preserved, may represent an attempt to translate contemporary wooden architecture, perhaps like the first phase of the tomb, into stone. The built tomb differs from the usual pithos partly because of its size and the effort lavished on its construction. The elaboration is deliberate, in order to set it off from the other tombs. Although the special form of Tomb 367 suggests some knowledge of burial chambers in other parts of Anatolia and the Aegean, the shaft tombs of Alaca Hüyük or the cists of Iasos, the Cyclades and the Greek mainland, the form of this burial chamber is
of local inspiration.

TOMB GIFTS

Of the 386 tombs studied here, 150 contained some kind of gift or possession. (Tables 6-8). Pottery is by far the most frequent gift, including a large range of shapes and decorations (Fig. 2). Metal objects of bronze/copper, silver and gold were less common but still diversified in form. Spindle whorls or beads of dark terracotta appear in some tombs and stone figurines were given to a group of burials. Stone weapons and beads are rare. The gifts were made of raw materials available locally—clay, limestone, the eponymous dark blue stone "kara taş" and metals, perhaps also of local origin.

1. Inside the burial jar

Gifts could be introduced into the tomb complex at several stages in the burial procedure, as noted above. Ceramic gifts were usually put close to the body. Most of the pots were near the stomach or chest (Fig. 10), sometimes by the back or close to the head. Jugs and pitchers were often placed in the hands of the deceased and were held in front of the chest of
a contracted body, as in Tombs 49, 263, 280 and 325 among others. If more than one pot were put in as gifts, these vessels were placed in a group by the chest (Tomb 184). It is possible that these pots contained food or drink, and so were placed in a convenient position for symbolic use.

Gifts of pottery inside the tomb were varied. Jugs and pitchers were most favored and frequently have white-painted linear patterns on them. Pieces decorated with white paint, incision, knobs or fluting were usually restricted to the inside of the tomb, perhaps because they were more desirable as personal gifts than undecorated vessels. Pitchers with slim necks in red or black are inside gifts, never outside. Miniature vessels, except in a few cases (Tombs 83 and 273), also were inside gifts. Fragile black incised jars were placed in the tombs with only one exception—the rich tomb 366. Several groups of pottery were equally popular inside and out: red and black jugs without decoration, round-spouted red pitchers and red collared jars with one handle.

Metal and stone objects were placed only inside the tomb. Jewelry and other items of personal adornment were the most frequent metal gifts. Bronze pins, both toggle and straight, bracelets and spiral
rings have a consistent relation to the body; they were attached to the deceased's clothing or a part of his costume. Spiral metal rings, in undisturbed tombs, appear under, on or by the skull (237, 245, 282, 316, 341 and 352). Pins are usually found in the shoulder area of the skeleton so probably held the garments together. Bracelets sometimes are found around a section of arm bone. In Tomb 357 a bronze pin lay on the floor of the burial jar amid a mass of bronze, silver and gold beads, indicating the heights of elaboration that personal ornament could reach. Large numbers of metal beads were also given to the child in Tomb 359. The incised gold studs in Tombs 357 and 359 may have been placed in the ears of the children since they were found near the skull in the one tomb with skeletal remains preserved (357). The child in Tomb 164 had a special headdress or hair decoration; a flat silver band encircled the skull and may have held a veil or cap of a perishable material such as cloth or leather, with bronze buttons sewn to it. Similar bronze buttons with four holes punched in each occur in Tombs 70 and 335, both of which have no skeletal remains. A single gold button was also part of the head ornament in Tomb 164, while a similar
gold button was found displaced in Tomb 367, the built tomb. Tomb 164, a single burial, was not disturbed but Tomb 367 may have contained more gold objects before it was robbed.

It cannot be definitely known whether metal jewelry was made especially for funerary purposes or was the property of the deceased during his lifetime. Although most of the tombs with metal goods contained only a pin or a spiral ring, the weight of the evidence suggests that jewelry would accompany its owner to the grave, if he or she was fortunate enough to possess such finery during life (Chapter III, infra).

Several of the men of Karatag were provided in death with their weapons, tools and personal belongings. The man in Tomb 156 held his javelin head, razor and chisel. A black stone hammer axe accompanied a man who also received a leaf-shaped razor in Tomb 152. The disturbed tomb 335 contained an unusual series of metal weapons and ornaments. A bronze macehead, similar to the stone maceheads in Tombs 86 and 232, lay in the upper part of the pithos. A number of hollow silver tubes with rivets may have formed the covering of the mace staff. A silver belt, bronze dagger and chisel round out the equipment of the onetime occupant.

The built tomb 367, c. 9 m. north of Tomb 335, contained
a similar repertoire of metal goods, including a belt, razor and riveted silver casings.

Some tomb gifts were appropriate to domestic activities. Bronze needles were placed in Tombs 67 and 308. The last person to be buried in Tomb 366 had a bronze spindle, spindle whorl and pierced disc by her knees, as well as a terracotta spindle whorl. Spindle whorls are functional objects if the designation is correct, but they may have sometimes been simple beads. In the tombs, such beads frequently occur with pins.

4 Stone figurines of the "Kusura" type were given to nine children (Fig. 22). The figurines found in the Karataş cemetery are of a single type. Although the proportions of head and neck vary, the figurines generally have a disc head, long neck tapering up from the body and a rectangular body with lower corners rounded. They range in height from 0.03 to 0.139 m. Of the seventeen figurines or parts of figurines from nine tombs, only two deviate from the standard type. The two anomalies (KA 444N from Tomb 191 and Tomb 144, Figurine 2) are distinguished by their short necks and less refined treatment of body and head. They are not, however, out of place with their long-necked companions since the two types occur together in other west Anatolian sites. At Karataş, the greater number of
long-necked figurines indicates that they are the norm and the short-necked type a simpler variant or importation.

Made of a fine-grained local limestone which resembles white marble, the figurines were smoothed with a fine abrasive like emery. Marks of the abrasive are evident in the light diagonal striations visible on several of the figurines. The bodies of the figurines are flat, with the stone thinning toward the edges. Heads are thinner than bodies. Figurine KA 144W from Tomb 15 is of a blue-gray stone which, although more brittle than the fine limestone, presents a pleasing appearance.

The figurines appeared in varying stages of preservation: intact (Tombs 191 and 201), without heads (8, 15, 41, 95 and 144), without bodies (11 and 112), broken at the neck but with both pieces preserved in the tomb (15, 41, 144 and 195). The figurines in Tombs 41 and 191 were neatly stacked, probably by the body's face or torso (Fig. 21) (See Chapter III for more detailed discussion of figurines).

2. Outside gifts

Only pottery was used for gifts placed outside the tomb, probably because it was not considered part of
the deceased's personal equipment. Vessels outside
the tomb may have contained additional sustenance, a
complement to the food and drink within the tomb
or may have been used for last libations by the relatives
in funeral rites.

No single type of pottery was made exclusively
for placement outside the tomb. Ceramic gifts were
placed to the north and south of the burial jar rim,
sometimes at or on the shoulders or against the neck
(Fig. 16). On rare occasions, gifts were placed in the
bedrock cutting in front of the pithos rim (Fig. 15).
Heavy stone packing sometimes covered the outside
gifts, forming a strong but often damaging cover. The
more careful tomb diggers tucked gifts under the rim
of the pithos (Tomb 151) so they were obvious only if
the jar was lifted from position.

When a pithos was reopened for additional burials,
gifts belonging to the first occupant of the tomb were
pushed to the base of the jar with the bones. After
the additional burial was made, supplementary gifts
could again be placed outside the jar. Outside gifts
were less frequent than inside, perhaps because
reopening operations damaged the outside gifts of the
first burial or because the first burial's outside
gifts were placed in the pithos at the time of reopening.
Sixty-six tombs had gifts of pottery placed outside the burial jar. Forty of these contained inside gifts, indicating that outside gifts are probably a reflection of wealth or of a custom demanding a certain number of gifts. The statistics also prove that outside gifts were not the property of earlier burials, originally placed in the tomb and moved outside when additional burials were made. Thirty-one of the tombs with outside gifts contain only single burials or have no skeletal remains preserved.

An accurate statistical sampling of tomb gifts cannot be obtained because of the problems of preservation. Damage to gifts sometimes occurred when the tomb was disrupted by the plow. Burrowing animals have broken some of the gifts, while the pressure of earth in and around the tomb has occasionally crushed them. Some black incised jars were underfired and disintegrated more rapidly than other wares, so must have been made especially for the tomb since they were not strong enough for domestic service. These soft black jars often could not be salvaged during excavation.

CONCLUSIONS

Standard burial procedures represent those elements which would be considered desirable in a small community
sharing a cemetery. Regular layout of the burial jars and markers insured that the tombs of one group or family did not infringe upon those of another group. Custom dictated certain aspects of the burial procedure, such as easterly orientation of the tombs and contraction of the body on its side. A few practices were due to considerations of efficiency. The shallow pit dug in bedrock kept large burial jars in place. Blocking of the burial jar rims was probably customary, as well as practical.

Uniformity of custom prevailed among all citizens of the village who used the cemetery, while variation in details allowed each group to make its tombs more personal and reflect its position in the community. Each group was free to bury as many people as it liked in a single pithos, probably to reaffirm family relationships after death. Small jars with child burials were clustered around the large pithoi for the same reason. The donation of tomb gifts was also a matter of preference in some respects.

It is unlikely that the standard burial practices originated at Karatag. The cemetery there is only one example of a burial pattern dominant in western Anatolia. The preservation and number of the Karatag tombs make possible a detailed analysis of widely used, but imper-
factly known, funerary practices.
CHAPTER II: FOOTNOTES

1. "Sufficient time" for decomposition has not yet been defined by J. Lawrence Angel.

2. Information kindly supplied by J. Lawrence Angel.

3. Although acknowledgement is made here to other burial chambers, I prefer to see Tomb 367 as the burial site of a person with a different social or political status than the individuals interred in jars. Therefore, the tomb type was developed at Karataş rather than adopted from a neighboring area, if different tomb types in a single site can be considered as reflections of status rather than of diverse origins.


5. From the Yortan cemeteries, see Bossert, Altanatolien, (Berlin, 1942), figs. 130 and 131 with eyes and eyebrows incised on the short-necked type; for long-necked type see Renfrew, op. cit., n. 114.

   Short-necked figurines at Troy: SS 7355, 7358, and 7359 with incised eyes, eyebrows and neck bands; without faces, SS 7461 and 7462, Troy, pl. 360, 36-34, 35-344 and 37-469. Long-necked type, SS 7520.
CHAPTER III: SELECTION OF TOMB GIFTS

The criteria by which tomb gifts were chosen are important in understanding burial procedure. Age and sex are the determining factors in many cases and may be considered as one set of variables in the process of selection. The chronological aspect, now under study, is also probably to be taken into account in terms of what kinds of gifts were available at any time. Over half of the tombs contained no gifts so it is apparent that no strict rule or custom governed this phase of burial procedure.

The gifts selected for placement in the tomb on the basis of the age and/or sex of the deceased are described below. Ceramic vessels, however, show little evidence of being peculiar to a certain age or sex group. Jewelry and functional items of metal and stone do show a correspondence to age and sex, perhaps because of their suitability to the owner's occupations and preoccupations during life.

1. Children's gifts

Children received special gifts which were seldom found with adult burials.

a. Figurines

Stone figurines were found in nine tombs (8, 11,
15, 41, 95, 112, 144, 191 and 201), seven of which contained single child skeletons. In Tombs 8 and 11, figurines occur with the remains of adult females, women of child-bearing age. It is conceivable that infants were interred with these women and that their fragile skeletons have disintegrated.

To be noted and interpreted are the cases where the figurine's head is separated from its body. The figurines may have been mutilated to make them useful only to the occupants of the tombs or in some way to "kill" the figurine. It cannot be determined, however, whether the figurines were broken intentionally or accidentally. Because of the numerous romantic theories surrounding figurines in Anatolia and the Aegean, religious and ritual explanations of their mutilation are most popular. At Karatağ, two of the figurines were found intact, suggesting that if a special custom impelled breakage, it was not considered binding in all cases. One of the intact figurines, KA 444N, was small and would have been difficult to break without shattering the entire piece, but KA 622N is larger and obviously not mutilated. All the figurines have slender necks and could have been damaged at any time. The Karatağ figurines were, however, broken before they were placed
in the tombs; the pieces are carefully stacked in Tombs 41 and 191. The breakage could have been accidental, done during the lifetime of the figurine's owner, and the pieces of the figurine placed in the tomb in the belief that part of a figurine functioned as well as a whole.

Analysis of the motivation for severing the figurine's head and body before burial is inextricably connected with the interpretation of the figurine's function. The literature on the significance of ancient figurines is enormous and much of it imaginative. Since many Cycladic figurines were found in tombs, various interpretations of their meaning may be relevant to the study of the Karatag figurines. The placement of Cycladic figurines in tombs gave rise to the notion that they were servants of the dead, similar to Egyptian ushabtis, or religious statuary reflecting local ideas of the afterworld. The servant idea was carried further by Hogarth, who saw the many female figurines as concubines rather than cult objects. Picard rejected this Victorian notion which failed to provide for women's needs. Certain other objections may be made to the concubine theory. Cycladic figurines were buried with both males and females, and not every tomb has a figurine. The material for making figurines
is readily accessible in the Cyclades, so if custom had required a stone companion in the tomb, it could have been present. Many Cycladic figurines were found damaged in tombs. Excavated figurines from tombs were found broken into two pieces at the neck, without heads or without bodies. Fragments of Cycladic figurines found in tombs and settlements were sometimes mended anciently, so not all of them were made especially for the tomb. The Karatagh figurines cannot be viewed as concubines since they are found only with the remains of women and children. It is unlikely that they represent divinities because they are found in only a small number of tombs and the tomb itself cannot be proved to be necessarily sacred in nature.

At Karatagh the strong association of children and figurines suggests that the figurines were suitable to youth rather than age in most cases, and so they may have been dolls or amulets for children. In this respect, it is interesting to note that figurines were also frequently found with children in Nubian cemeteries. The identification of figurines as dolls may seem an overly simplified solution to what has been viewed as a complex problem for many years, and one which may only be applied to Karatagh for the present. It is help-
ful to examine the context of the figurines to determine if other objects in the same tomb can be specifically related to children, and thus tend to confirm the identification of figurines as toys or amulets.

The attempt to classify objects found with figurines as suitable to children meets with two difficulties. First, it is impossible, in many tombs, to single out the recipient of a certain gift, especially since the skeleton remains of children are scrappy. Secondly, when we consider miniatures as suitable gifts for children, a "miniature" is hard to define. Logically, a miniature is an object reduced in scale from a functional norm so that it cannot be used practically to fulfill the function of the original model. This definition, however, presupposes a standard and makes the detection of a miniature subjective. The standard would be useful for adults and a scaled down version more practical for children, so the criterion becomes one of adult vs. child. Yet not all miniatures are cups and jugs so the element of personal occupation—i.e. play—comes into effect. All the ceramic vessels found in tombs with figurines are several centimeters smaller in height than the average Karataş pot of a comparable shape. For example, black pitchers are found
with figurines in Tombs 15, 112, 191 and 201; they range in height from 10.2 cm. to 12 cm. The average height of all pitchers in the Karatagh cemetery is 14.2 cm. Two red pitchers with tall beak spouts and white painted decoration occur in Tomb 95 with a figurine body (Fig. 2, VII, H). These pitchers are 9.3 and 13.5 cm. tall. The latter, in spite of its total height, is no larger in scale than the former, but the extreme length of its spout makes the dimension of height greater. Both of these beak-spouted pitchers are below the standard height.

Other tombs with figurines contain unusual pieces of pottery whose shape and size cannot be compared to other Karatagh vessels. In Tomb 144 were two red basket-handled baby feeders (Fig. 2, VII, C). Tomb 144 contained burials of adults as well as children, so the context is not completely secure; other vessels in the same tomb (red collared jar, black lugged jar, jugs and pitchers) could have been used by the adults. Since, however, miniature pots occur in several tombs with figurines, both types of object were probably for the children’s use.

The two tombs with figurines which contain only adult skeletal remains have no objects which can be called miniatures. A figurine head was found in dis-
turbed fill among the blocking stones of Tomb 11, not with the adult burial inside the tomb. Tomb 8 has a red collared jar, a black lugged jar, a buff cup and a spindle whorl. This raises another problem: was the figurine placed in Tomb 8 given to an adult rather than a child? If the figurines are thought of as dolls, their association with women is still not unreasonable. Ucko suggests that women could retain their childhood playthings for sentimental reasons, to encourage fertility if they were not mothers or to insure the health and safety of their children, both born and unborn, if they were mothers. 13

If the Karatağ figurines are dolls or amulets associated with childbearing and child raising, we would expect them to be female. 14 Their sex is not distinguishable at once but it is possible, however, to see the Karatağ figurines as female. In spite of their schematized appearance, emphasis is placed on the contours of the lower half of the body. They may be the descendants of Neolithic and Chalcolithic figurines, found at Çatal Hüyük and Hacilar among other places, in which buttocks were the most notable portion of the body. Although the sex of the Karatağ figurines is not obvious to us, it could have been to the people of the Early Bronze Age.
Several problems still remain in this consideration of figurines. Our interpretation of their use has implied that they were foremost the possessions of the living, and then placed in the tomb probably for sentimental reasons. Yet few of these figurines are found in domestic contexts at Karatag, although the proportion is not impossible to reconcile with the argument (seventeen in the tombs against five in the settlement). The number of tombs in which figurines were found certainly precludes the use of a doll or amulet by every child. Since four tombs contained more than one figurine or portions of more than one, we may assume that the use of a doll was a matter of personal inclination, and perhaps of contemporary fashion as well.

The original problem in the study of figurines—the reason for their mutilation—remains still a matter for speculation. The hypothesis that the figurine was a doll used by the living and broken when placed in the tomb because the special possession had to die along with its owner or because it had failed in its duty as a protective device is most attractive in our present state of knowledge. When a large number of other figurines can be examined in light of their contexts, new information on the interpretation of all figurines in the ancient Near East and the Aegean will help further
in analysing the Karatag finds.

b. Metal objects

Small spiral rings of metal are frequently found in tombs containing the remains of children, although several of these tombs have multiple burials (19, 112, 237, 317 and 325), so definite association with the child skeletons cannot be verified. These metal rings occur in Tombs 223, 231, 282, 316, 334 and 341 only with children; they are never found exclusively with adult females. The only occurrences of metal rings with adults are in Tombs 352 and 367, both of which contain adult male burials.

Metal bracelets are also associated with children, as in Tombs 23, 191 and 357 with single burials, and Tombs 15 and 144 containing multiple burials which include children. Tomb 126 with a bracelet and no skeletal remains is small and was probably occupied by a child whose skeleton has disappeared. The only occurrence of a bracelet in a context without probable child remains is in Tomb 43; the bracelet is in situ on the arm of an adult female and must be considered as her possession.

Metal beads are found only with child burials (silver disc beads in Tombs 357 and 359, crab bead in
357, tubular bronze and silver beads in 357). Tombs 357 and 359 are also marked as special burials by the presence of gold ear studs. The child in Tomb 164 was singled out to receive a silver diadem and metal buttons.

Children's jewelry—bracelets, beads and rings usually—is specialized and elaborate, and confined to a small percentage of the total number of child burials. The children who wore this special jewelry must have been members of wealthy families or groups with an orientation which required such gifts. It is interesting to note that the children who received elaborate jewelry had no figurines in their tombs. This may indicate a chronological difference or variation in social custom, i.e. one group preferred that its children have jewelry, another figurines, if the two were considered equal.

c. Pottery

The only type of ceramics which can be related to age or sex groups are "miniatures", which are provisionally defined above (p. 74). Miniature vessels occur in tombs with single child burials (131 and 220), multiple burials including children (41, 111, 144 and
167), and no skeletal remains (95 and 145). Miniatures are also found as outside gifts by two tombs (83 and 273). The small jug outside Tomb 83 is a diminished version of the standard jug, a ceramic type frequently encountered among the outside gifts. The triple-spouted pitcher by the rim of Pithos 273 is unique at Karatag. It is unusual that such a piece was placed outside a tomb.

The two miniatures given outside the tomb differ little in character from most of those inside. Miniature vessels in the Karatag tombs are usually functional, but often made in uncommon shapes or with special decoration. The basket-handled jars in Tombs 29 and 144 (Fig. 2, VI, C) served as baby feeders. These little vessels appear at several other Early Bronze Age sites in western Anatolia and are found in central Anatolia at the end of the third millennium. The black incised jars with narrow necks and knobbed decoration (Fig. 2, VI, F) in Tombs 111 and 131 could have held sustenance for a child; they are of a type not unknown at Karatag, but their shape is enough different to suggest that they were imports. The cup in Tomb 41 has barbotine decoration (Fig. 2, VI, B), found on several sherds in the settlement. In the same tomb was a small lentoid flask with cutaway trumpet
spout (Fig. 2, VI, A)- rare in the Karatag repertoire. It and the white painted askos in Tomb 144 (Fig. 2, VI, D) suggest links with the Aegean. Several pitchers are among the group of miniatures; two with white-painted decoration and exaggerated beak spouts were found in Tomb 95 and another with side handle in Tomb 145. These miniatures are almost all scaled-down, but distinctive, versions of vessels used in the settlement or placed in the tombs. Only one could not have been used for food or drink, a closed askoid piece with a pebble inside- the rattle found in Tomb 167 (Fig. 2, VI, I).

The miniature vessels found with the remains of children, in spite of their potential usefulness, are frequently unusual; some could be imports, others special productions at Karatag. The situation observed in connection with metal jewelry- that the most elaborate pieces were given to children- is also seen in relation to these special ceramic pieces.

2. Women’s gifts

Adults did not consistently receive such unusual gifts as children did, but there are some objects which must have been their possessions. Toggle pins and straight
pins are found in 42 tombs at Karatağ. In eleven of these, pins are associated only with adult females (67, 71, 114, 171, 186, 192, 207, 269, 319, 322 and 368). Pins occur in seventeen multiple burials including females (13, 15, 20, 78, 84, 101, 144, 152, 170, 176, 187, 245, 272, 286, 305, 307 and 349). The skeletal remains in multiple burials are often too jumbled to allow association of a pin with a particular burial, but this can be done in several cases; in Tomb 245, a toggle pin lies beside the skull of a woman, and in Tombs 272, 307 and 349 pins are found with the bones of women pushed to the base of the pithos. The occurrence of pins with females in the majority of tombs where the pins were found suggests that the pin was appropriate for a female, probably as part of her costume. In several tombs (71, 114, 171, 192, 269, 286, 319, 328 and 371) pins lie in the shoulder area of the skeleton. In this position, the pin would have held the woman's garments together at the shoulder. Spindle whorl/beads occur in six tombs with pins (67, 71, 171, 269, 328 and 366), sometimes at a distance of 10 to 15 cm. from one end of the pin. The terracotta beads of these six individuals could have been ornaments hanging from the pin on a string.
Although pins were usually worn by women, there are a few exceptions to the rule. In Tombs 23, 131, 235 and 305 pins are found with 8 to 12 year old children, suggesting that some children dressed like their elders. The child in Tomb 357 may have worn a pin differently from the others at Karatay; the pin lay on the bottom of the burial jar (few skeletal remains were preserved so relation to the body cannot be determined) running east-west, in the middle of a collection of beads. The pin and beads are neatly arranged, so the pin may have been incorporated into a necklace, or the child was laid on her back in the tomb and the pin placed longitudinally through garments in the middle of her chest. Pins were associated with adult males in three tombs. These occurrences can be partially explained. Tomb 189 was not a closed unit since it was disturbed. The pin in Tomb 156 is unusual, with a chisel-like head, so might have been used as a tool. The final burial in Tomb 240 is a male, while females were among those removed and placed outside the pithos. It is possible that the pin belonged to one of the females and was not observed when the earlier burials and their gifts were removed. The pin in Tomb 240, however, appears to be in situ by the skull. This situation
might be explained as an anomaly or an error in identification of the skeletal material.

3. Men's gifts

Weapons and tools were the possessions of adult males. Bronze/copper razors (Tombs 152, 156, 335 and 367) and metal casings and strips (189, 286, 318, 319, 335 and 367) occur only in the tombs of men. Pierced metal plaques (perhaps belts) were also male possessions (Tombs 307, 335 and 367). Stone maceheads (Tombs 86 and 232) and an axe (Tomb 152) were found in multiple burials comprised of both males and females but, because of their nature, it is assumed that they were the property of men.

4. Conclusions

The strongest identifiable relation of objects in the tombs to age or sex groups is seen among children—figurines, jewelry and miniature vessels. Women have objects used as part of their garments, and men take weapons and tools to the tomb. All of these objects were probably possessions during life which were used frequently. Pottery, aside from miniature vessels, does not stand in such an intimate relation as do items
used in dress and occupation. It is unlikely that certain pieces of pottery were reserved for the exclusive use of an individual, but were rather the common property of the family. Therefore, pottery was the one type of object that was selected or made especially for the tomb. The tomb pottery is little different from that used in the houses for storage, cooking and serving, so food and drink may have been placed in the tomb vessels. Thus, the afterlife would have been viewed as a continuation of real life, since the individual’s need for sustenance and occupation did not cease at death.
CHAPTER III: FOOTNOTES

1. Mutilation of objects placed in the tomb is known from other areas. Some of the objects mentioned below were purposely broken, although it is not clear whether breakage was done at the time of burial or whether the object was broken prior to burial and considered as useful to the deceased as if it were complete. Breakage of maceheads and flint flints buried in Amratian tombs in Egypt is recorded (G. Brunton, Mostagedda and the Tasian Culture, London, 1937, 89, 91). In Iron Age Greece, mutilation of objects associated with burials is documented in several cases (D. Kurtz and J. Boardman, Greek Burial Customs, Ithaca, 1971, 216): broken vases by burial stelai depicted on Athenian white ground lekythoi, a sword wrapped around the neck of an urn containing a cremation, a strigil cancelled by an iron nail through its blade at Gela and the record in Longus' Daphnis (i 31) of syrinxes broken at the funeral of Dorkon. At Haff Tepe in Iran, figurine heads were considered to have an amuletic value and so were carried around by their owners (E. Negahban, Kevorkian Lecture at the University Museum, Philadelphia, 1972).

In Anatolia, cases of deliberate mutilation are few. The crushed vessels, tables and spindles found at Horoztepe may have been damaged by the collapse of the tomb rather by being crushed before they were buried as per T. Özgüç (Horoztepe, 52).


9. See, for example: C. Zervos, L'Art des Cyclades, au début à la fin de l'Âge du Bronze, 2500-1100 avant notre ère, (Paris, 1957), figs. 43, 112, 162, 163, 245, 293, 294 and 297 for broken figurines mended complete; figs. 50, 174, 175, 176, 252 and 253 for headless figurines; figs. 157, 159, 166 and 178 for figurines whose bodies are missing. A similar list can be made from every catalogue illustrating Cycladic figurines.


11. Anthropomorphic Figurines, 419.

12. Ibid., 405.

13. Ibid., 432.

14. Ibid., 422 on ethnographic uses of female figurines as dolls, amulets and teaching devices.

15. Of the five figurines found in domestic areas, three were in the topsoil (KA 223, 461 and 623). Parts of two were buried in mound strata (KA 225 and 268), yet could have been brought accidentally from the cemetery when white earth was dug and used on the mound for plastering and reinforcement of walls. These two figurine heads are roughly shaped and may not belong to the same class as the smoothed figurines found in the cemetery. None of the figurines are clearly from the settlement or clearly comparable to the cemetery "idols".

16. This section is not intended to be a detailed study of the affinities and chronological position of miniature vessels, but rather a look at them as unusual pieces of pottery given to children.
17. From the Yortan area: W. Orthmann, "Keramik der Yortankultur in den Berliner Museen", 
IstMitt 16 (1966), 11, Abb. 35; at Troy: Troy, 232, B9 and B10.

18. W. Orthmann, Der Keramik der Frühen Bronzezeit aus 
Inneranatolien, (Istanbuler Forschungen 24, Berlin, 
1963), 29-30 (Polatli), 37 (Alaca Hüyük) and 44 
(Boğazköy).

19. Bead/spindle whorls hanging from pins are represented 
on ivory inlays found in Early Dynastic levels at Mari 
(A. Parrot, "Les fouilles de Mari, Douzième campagne 
(automne, 1961)", Syria 1962, pl. XI, 1-4; XII, 3; 
166, fig. 3). The Mari pins usually have toggle holes 
through which a string is threaded; at Karatash, beads 
are associated only with straight pins.
CHAPTER IV: THE KARATAŞ CEMETERY IN THE ANATOLIAN SETTING OF THE EARLY BRONZE AGE

Our knowledge of Early Bronze Age burial customs in Anatolia has been increased through the work of new excavations in the last two decades. In his study of prehistoric burial customs published in 1948, Tahsin Özgüç was able to draw on only 210 tombs which had been legally excavated and published. By 1973, the number of known tombs has multiplied many times, in most part due to the excavations of the cemeteries of Karatash, Iasos and Gedikli. Some of the previously established conclusions in the study of Anatolian burial customs have been confirmed; for example, pithos, cist and earth burials are found in all parts of Anatolia and the division of intramural and extramural tombs by geographical location is still valid. The Cycladic-type cist cemetery of Iasos and the cremation burials of Gedikli have, however, revealed new burial forms and customs which must be placed in the third millennium Anatolian series of tomb types. Excavation of the Karatash cemetery has disclosed many details which may be used to reconstruct lost evidence from the plundered Early Bronze Age cemeteries of the Burdur and Balikesir areas and probably of all western Anatolia. An exami-
nation of our present knowledge of Anatolian burial customs will define the general milieu in which the Karataş cemetery belongs. The individual characteristics and special affinities of this cemetery will emerge from the study.

CATALOGUE OF EARLY BRONZE AGE TOMBS IN ANATOLIA

a. Aegean coast and offshore islands
   1) Iasos- 85 stone cist tombs, made of flat field stones or large flat slabs. Shapes are rectangular, ovoid, trapezoidal and round. They average between 2 and 3 m. in length and 1 m. in width. Tombs made for children are smaller. Most tombs are covered with a large single slab, two with several.
   2) Kap Krio- probably stone cist tomb(s), but no details are published.
   J.T. Bent, "Discoveries in Asia Minor", JHS 9 (1888), 82.
   3) Kos- four pithos burials, up to 1.60 m. tall, and one round stone cist, 0.80 m. in diameter, at Asklopius.
   4) Samos- two pithos burials, the tallest 1.05 m., enclosed in stone cists in the lower level of the Heraion.
   V. Milojčić, Samos I, (Bonn, 1961), 6, 10-12.
   5) Thermi- three infant burials in jars.
   6) Troy- four earth and four jar burials of children.
7) Hanaytepe- several adult inhumations and three brick cists containing the remains of children; c. 18" by 9".

F. Calvert, in H. Schliemann, Illos, (New York, 1880), 712-713.

8) Kumtepe- four inhumations in Level I; two in A, one each in B and C.
C.W. Blegen, "Excavations at Troy", AJA 39 (1935), 34.

b. Interior of western Anatolia
1) Yortan- pithos burials (number not given), up to 2.00 m. in height.
M. Collignon, "Note sur les fouilles de M. Paul Gaudin dans la Nécropole de Yortan, en Mysie", CRAI 1901, 810-817.

2) Babaköy- 23 pithos burials and loci for 22 more, the tallest 1.80 m.; two cists.

3) Ovabayindir- remains of a plundered pithos cemetery; four jars with child burials in the settlement.

4) Gygean lake (Marmara Gölü) - five pithoi excavated at Eski Balikhane, the tallest 1.08 m. in height; pithoi and cists observed in a plundered cemetery at Ahlatli Tepecik.
M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", AJA 72 (1968), 32.

5) Kusura- ten ceramic containers (four true pithoi, three pseudo-pithos burials and one sherd burial, with two ruined tombs), three cists and one inhumation. The tallest pithos is 1.40 m. in height.
W. Lamb, "Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar", Archaeologia 86 (1936), 10, 54-64.
----------, "Excavations at Kusura near Afyon Karahisar", Archaeologia 87 (1937), 228-229.
6) Beycesultan- six infant burials in jars.  
S. Lloyd and J. Mellaart, Beycesultan I,  

7) Aphrodisias- three pithos burials, the largest  
over 1.00 m. in height.  
B. Kadish, "Excavations of Prehistoric Remains  
at Aphrodisias, 1967", AJA 73 (1969),  
52, 63.  
-------, "Excavations of Prehistoric Remains  
at Aphrodisias, 1968 and 1969", AJA 75  
(1971), 126.

8) Midas City- pithoi (number not published) and  
stone cist(s), one 1.50 m. by 1.70 m. by 0.90 m.  
H. Cambel, "Frikaýa'da, Midas şehri yaninda  
bulunan prehistorik mezar", IV. Türk  
AnatSt 1 (1951), 18; AnatSt 2 (1952), 17;  
AnatSt 4 (1954), 20.
C.H.E. Haseps, The Highlands of Phrygia,  

c. Between the Sangarios (Sakarya) and the Halys (Kizil  
Irmak)

1) Gordion- one stone cist  
ILN 3.1.1953, 21, 23, fig. 6.  
M.J. Mellink, A Hittite Cemetery at Gordion,  

2) Polatli- one stone cist and one jar burial  
S. Lloyd, "Excavations at Polatli", AnatSt 1  

3) Sarıyar- two pithos burials (no dimensions  
given).  
B. Tezcan, "Nallihan-Beypazari çevresinden  
getirilen kaplar hakkında", Belleten  
XX (1956), 345.

4) Ahlatlibel- six pithoi, five stone cists, two  
inhumations, one stone chamber and four too damaged to  
discern the type.  
H.Z. Kosay, "Ahlatlibel Hafriyati", TürkTarDerg  
2 (1934), 88-100.

5) Koçumberi- one round cutting covered with slabs.  
M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor",  
AJA 70 (1966), 148.

6) Karayuvasan- stone cists (number not given).  
M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor",  
AJA 70 (1966), 148.
7) Karahüyük–Konya– two pithoi, two cists and one
composite jar burial.
M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", 
AJA 70 (1966), 146; AJA 71 (1967), 161.

d. East of the Halys
1) Alişar– 17 inhumations, 2 jar burials, 3 stone
cists and one mudbrick cist (dimensions not given).
H.H. von der Osten, The Alishar Hüyük, Seasons
of 1930–32, Part I, (OIP XXVIII, Chicago,

2) Alaca Hüyük– 13 shaft tombs, one pithos burial,
one stone cist and three inhumations.
R.O. Arik, Les premiers Résultats des Fouilles
d'Alacahöyük", Belleten I (1937), 226.

-----------, Les fouilles d'Alacahöyük 1935,

H.Z. Koşay, Alaca Hüyük Hafriyati 1936,

K. Bittel, "Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen

3) Eskiyaşar– one pithos burial, 0.65 m. in height.
W. Orthmann, "Beobachtungen an dem Hüyük in

4) Boğazköy, Büyükkale– three inhumations.
K. Bittel, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die
Ausgrabungen in Bogazköy 1935", MDGG
74 (1935), 9–10.

5) Yarıkkaya– several pithos burials.
K. Bittel et al, Boğazköy IV. Funde aus den
Grabungen 1967 und 1968, (Abhandlungen
der Deutschen Orientgesellschaft No. 14,
Berlin, 1969), 68–70.

6) Kanlıca– one stone cist.
H.H. von der Osten, Explorations in Central
Anatolia, (OIP V, Chicago, 1929), 95.

7) Hassüyük– more than four earth burials.
L. Delaporte, "Grabung am Hassüyük 1931",

8) Kültepe– jar and cist tombs.
T. Özgüç, Die Bestattungsbräuche im vorgeschicht-

AnatSt 13 (1963), 22.

e. The Pontic zone
1) Horoztepe– two shaft tombs and one inhumation.
T. Özgüç and M. Akok, Horoztepe, (Ankara, 1958),
40–60.
2) Maşat- 7 inhumations.
   Haberler, Belleten X (1946), 220-222.
3) Kaledorğu-Kavak- 13 inhumations.
   T. Özgüç, "Samsun hafriyatın 1941-42 yılı
   neticeleri", III. Türk Tarih Kongresi,
4) Dündartepe- one inhumation.
   K. Kökten et al, "Samsun kazıları", Belleten
   IX (1945), 398.
5) Tekeköy- 17 inhumations.
   K. Kökten et al, ibid., 384-386.

f. Eastern Anatolia

1) Pulur-Erzurum- three stone cists, two rectangular
   and one square, the largest 2.00 m. in length.
   H. Kogay and H. Vary, Pulur Kazısı , (Ankara,
2) Alaca Han- stone cists (number not given);
   largest 6.60 m. by 3.25 m. by 2.80 m. with steps.
   AOF 21 (1966), 168.
3) Tilkitepe (Samramalti)- six inhumations and two
   infant burials in jars.
   E.B. Reilly, "Tilkitepedeki ilk kazılar, 1937",
   TürkTarDerg 4 (1940), 151-162.
   T. Özgüç, Bestattungsbräuche op. cit., 29.

g. Syro-Cilicia

1) Gedikli- almost 200 cremation burials, inhumations
   and chamber tombs.
   U.B. and H. Alkim, "Gedikli (Karahüyük) Kazısı
   Birinci Ön-Rapor", Belleten XXX (1966),
   40-52.
2) Tilmen Hüyük- two stone cists and a chamber tomb
   of hypogaeum type.
   U.B. Alkim, "Tilmen Höyük çalısmaları (1958-
   ---------, "İslahiyete bölgesinde araştırmaları",
   Atatürk Konferansları, (Ankara, 1964),
   169-178.
3) Carchemish- 15 stone cists; rectangular, largest
   2.00 m. by 1.20 m.
   L. Woolley, Carchemish III, (London, 1952),
   218-222.
4) Amuq- one child in a jar and one inhumation at
   Judeideh; one inhumation at Tainat.
   R. Braidwood, Excavations in the Plain of Antioch,
   (OIP LXI, Chicago, 1960), 343, 497.
DEFINITION OF TERMS

Extramural tombs are those which lie outside the limits of the contemporary settlement, while intramural tombs are placed among or within dwellings contemporary with those tombs. The term "cemetery" is here used to mean an area which served as a burial ground. A cemetery normally contains a group of tombs, and may be extramural or intramural. An extramural cemetery is composed of a number of tombs in a single area outside the settlement. An intramural cemetery lies within the settlement and consists of several tombs in one location. That an intramural cemetery was anciently reserved as a burial ground is evident from the fact that the area would have been kept clear from the beginning, cleared deliberately or abandoned before the tombs were made. Contemporary habitation does not infringe on either an intramural cemetery or an extramural one.

Recognition of a cemetery is sometimes difficult. A few tombs excavated in an extramural setting may be part of a cemetery whose extent is not known. It is likely that most extramural tombs are part of true cemeteries since random placement of tombs outside the settlement is not known to be characteristic of any part of Anatolia. It would be almost impossible, however,
for individual extramural tombs to be detected by the archaeologist. An intramural cemetery must contain more than a few tombs in order to be identified rather than being considered a dispersed placement of tombs within a settlement. A cemetery therefore contains a concentration of tombs rather than a dispersion. The difference between individual intramural tombs and true cemeteries is a basic one of burial customs and beliefs.

These three patterns of tomb placement—extramural cemetery, intramural cemetery and individual tombs placed in an intramural setting—are not mutually exclusive. Although no excavated site has both an intramural and an extramural cemetery, several do have an intramural or extramural cemetery combined with individually placed intramural tombs. This implies a mixture of customs in some sites, although the age of the individuals to be buried, especially in the case of children and infants, may have allowed special placement of their tombs which is not characteristic of the site as a whole.

THE ANATOLIAN SETTING
I. Intramural and extramural burial

It is commonly held that the tombs of prehistoric western Anatolia are predominantly in extramural ceme-
teries, while the tombs of central Anatolia are usually intramural. This statement is generally valid, but must be refined to include other geographical zones and define the involved areas.

a. Aegean coast and offshore islands

Among sites in the coastal fringe and island zone, only Iasos has enough excavated tombs to determine precisely whether they are among houses or not. The cist tombs of Iasos are clearly outside the settlement, which has itself not been located. The cists are laid out in an area free from domestic remains of the Early Bronze Age.

The tombs excavated at Asklopi on Kos were at the bottom of a deep sounding through classical and second millennium levels. These tombs are probably extramural since no house walls were found in the same stratum. Bent's report on the tombs at Kap Krio is enigmatic, with no details given. Since a Cycladic-type figurine reportedly came from one of these tombs, they may have been stone cists and thus were probably extramural as were Early Cycladic burials.

At the Samian Heraion and Thermi, only child burials within the settlements were found. The bones of an adult were found in a mixed deposit beneath a road at
Thermi; this was not a formal burial. The real cemeteries of the Early Bronze Age Heraion and Thermi are probably extramural, as we may infer from the absence of adult burials within the settlements. Since substantially more of the Early Bronze Age settlement was excavated at Thermi than at the Heraion, the Lesbian site has a better claim to an extramural cemetery.

In the Troad, only individual intramural burials have been excavated. The tombs found within Early Bronze Age Troy contain child skeletons. The Cincinnati expedition to Troy searched diligently for an extramural cemetery and located the cremation cemetery of Troy VI. The Early Bronze Age cemetery is still undiscovered but probably lies near the settlement. At Hapaytepe, adults and children were buried within the settlement. The tombs may not be contemporary as there is a gap in occupation during which the site could have been used as a burial ground. Only child burials were found at Kumtepe.

Summary: All excavated sites in the coastal and island zone actually or potentially have cemeteries outside the settlements. This area is not well known archaeologically, but must have been susceptible to influences from both the Cyclades and the Anatolian highlands.
b. Western Anatolia

While the settlements of Yortan, Babaköy and the Gygean lake shore have not been located, parts of their cemeteries have been excavated. These cemeteries were not in or among houses. At Ovabayindir near Yortan, house foundations of the Early Bronze Age were investigated by Akurgal, who also discovered several infant burials in jars among the foundations. Pithos sherds were observed in nearby fields, which were probably the remains of an extramural cemetery. We may infer that the cemetery was topographically separate from the settlement at Ovabayindir, Yortan, Babaköy and the Gygean lake shore. The Karataş cemetery, because it is extramural, may be compared to these other excavated cemeteries.

The cemetery of Kusura slightly predates the bulk of the excavated settlement, but the distinction between funerary and domestic areas is still pertinent. Three tombs were found within the Kusura settlement, but only one, that of a child, was contemporary with excavated houses. The only tombs excavated at Beycesultan were jar burials of infants in Levels XXIX, XXII and XVIIa, the last a stratum representing a lapse in occupation of the "shrine" area. Although little of the Early Bronze Age settlement was excavated, it is likely
that most tombs were extramural in this period.

The three tombs found in Early Bronze Age strata at Aphrodisias are isolated from contemporary habitation debris. Two of these tombs were in the Pekmez area, the other on Kuşkalesi. Further excavation may reveal both of these areas to be parts of a large cemetery. Although the evidence from Aphrodisias is not yet complete, indications are that the cemetery is extramural. The Early Bronze Age cemetery found at Midas City is probably extramural as it lies at the foot of the acropolis there.

Summary: Results from new excavations confirm that in western Anatolia burials were placed in extramural cemeteries. Child burials are, however, exempt from this rule and may be placed within the settlement. Intra-mural burial of children at sites with known or presumed extramural cemeteries is documented at Kusura, Beycesultan and Ovabayindir in the inland section of western Anatolia, the Samian Heraion and Thermi on the offshore islands and Troy, Hanaytepe and Kumtepe in the Troad.

c. Between the Sangarios and the Halys

In the area of Ankara there are several sites with excavated tombs. Two pithos burials were discovered
when the dam was being constructed on the Sakarya near Sariyar and were labelled as extramural by their excavator Burhan Tezcan. These tombs were dug as a salvage operation so their relation to other tombs could not be studied. Tezcan notes that this is the easternmost known occurrence of extramural pithos burial in Anatolia.

A third millennium tomb was found in the extramural cemetery at Gordion among second millennium and Iron Age burials. At Polatlı the tombs are definitely intramural, as they are at Karayaygan. Since only one intramural tomb has been excavated at Koçumbeli, it is possible that a cemetery lies outside this settlement. The few excavated Early Bronze Age tombs of Karahüyük-Konya are intramural.

At Ahlatlibel, the relation of the tombs to the architecture is not clear. Burials were found in the corners of rooms and just below the foundations outside some rooms. The relative levels of tombs and foundations or floors are not published. The tombs do not appear to be under any of the walls. Bittel states that four of the Ahlatlibel tombs (4a, 8-9 and 16) lie on the stumps of walls, so could have been put in position only after the walls were destroyed. Therefore, some, if not all, of the tombs postdate the settlement. The tombs are poorly preserved and contain few gifts, so their contents
cannot be profitably compared to the domestic material or to one another. Since it is not confirmed that the tombs belong to the inhabitants of the enclosure on Ahlatlibel, the possibility exists that they were placed in the enclosure subsequent to its abandonment. The tombs might belong to another village, e.g. Koğumbeli, 1 km. from Ahlatlibel, and thus be in an extramural cemetery.

**Summary:** Early Bronze Age burials in the area between the Sangarios and the Halys are intramural or extramural. Most burials in this zone, however, are probably intramural. The incomplete nature of the evidence from Gordion, Sariyar, Ahlatlibel and Koğumbeli does not at present contradict this statement.

d. East of the Halys

The fifty "Copper Age" and "Early Bronze Age" burials excavated at Aligar provide the largest sample of tombs at any site within the bend of the Halys River. These interments were found under floors and among houses.

The situation of the tombs at Alaca: Höyük is not so clear. The Royal Graves have been interpreted as both intramural and extramural. They are not associated with contemporary habitation and lie in a single area of the settlement, so probably constitute an intramural cemetery. The Royal Graves are obviously special in
Anatolian terms and were probably placed in a single area to emphasize their individuality. The fact that they are intramural and concentrated in a cemetery does not necessarily imply that all other third millennium tombs at Alaca Hüyük will be found in the settlement proper. A single pithos burial of third millennium date appeared in a deep sounding outside the Sphinx Gate; Early Bronze Age sherds, but no architecture, were found at the same depth. Several other tombs were found within the settlement.

A few pithos burials were excavated in the settlement of Yarikkaya, but the excavators feel that the main cemetery is undiscovered and probably extramural. Three intramural burials were found in Early Bronze Age strata on Büyükkale at Boğazköy. A single Early Bronze Age burial was observed in illegal digging at Eskiyarapar. The site is now being excavated by a team from the Ankara Museum, but the third millennium levels have not yet been dug. The inhumations found at Hashüyük are not clearly within or outside the settlement. They apparently were all found in the same area of the site and may be part of an intramural cemetery. The Kanlica tomb is intramural.

Early Bronze Age tombs have been found on the mound at Kültepe. Since the third millennium levels
have not yet been published, no details of their placement and relation to contemporary buildings are known. The tombs, however, are clearly intramural.

Summary: The tombs of Aligar are individual intramural interments, while Alaca Hüyük and possibly Hashûyük have intramural cemeteries. The existence of an extramural cemetery at Yarikkaya has not yet been verified. Intramural burial is standard east of the Halys, but the situation of the tombs varies. It is also possible that individual intramural burials may be found in Early Bronze Age levels at Hashûyük, or that an intramural cemetery exists at Aligar.

e. Pontic region

The Pontic zone is separated from the central plateau by mountains and exhibits some individual characteristics. The Royal Graves of Horoztepe are related to the Alaca tombs by a wealth of metal goods, but are definitely extramural and are not constructed in exactly the same manner as the Alaca tombs. A single inhumation was found in the settlement of Horoztepe.

Maşat, Dündartep, Tekeköy and Kaledorügü have only earth graves. At the latter two sites the inhumations excavated are concentrated in cemeteries, but the Tekeköy burials are extramural and those of Kaledorügü intra-
mural. The position of the Mağat burials in relation to the settlement is not discussed in the preliminary report. The Dündartepe burial appeared on a terrace around the mound.

Summary: Known tombs in the Pontic area are sometimes concentrated in true cemeteries, not dispersed among houses even at Kaledoruğu. The position of the cemetery in relation to the settlement may not be as important as the availability of a large unoccupied space to be used as a burial ground, but the evidence is too limited to allow more than speculation on this issue.

f. Eastern Anatolia

At Pulur-Erzurum, several Early Bronze Age tombs were excavated in an area at the base of the mound. Koşay says that they are intramural because house walls were found among the tombs. The tombs are concentrated in a single area of the site and no comparative dating of the tombs and walls is given. The possibility exists that these tombs are extramural and were let into an abandoned habitation area.

The few Early Bronze Age tombs at Alaca Han may be extramural, since no accompanying walls are mentioned in Orthmann’s note (see Catalogue of Tombs, p. 94 supra). At Tilkitepe, six burials were excavated in a 2.00 m. by
5.50 m. trench. The tombs are intramural since mud-brick walls were found in the same level.

A number of mounds in the Keban area have remains dating to the third millennium (Korucutepe, Norguntepe, Pulur (Sakyol), Tepecik, Asvan and Pağnik Öreni). Little of the Early Bronze Age levels in these mounds has been exposed as yet. Only at Pağnik Öreni have any third millennium burials been found. Several pits in that settlement were used secondarily for burials. One adult and two children were found in these pits. The tombs are reported summarily, but the associated pottery is said to date to the Early Bronze Age.

Summary: The tombs of eastern Anatolia present some problems of analysis. Pulur's tombs are not certifiably intramural or extramural, while those at Alaca Han are probably extramural. At Tilkitepe, there may be an intramural cemetery but the relation of tombs and walls is not stated. The evidence from this zone is now scanty and inconclusive, but will probably be augmented by the continuing excavations in the Keban.

g. Syro-Cilicia and northern Syria

Burial customs in southeastern Turkey may be more closely related to those of Syria and Mesopotamia than to those of the interior of Anatolia, yet they show knowledge of pro-
cedures on the plateau. No tombs were found in the houses or streets at Tarsus, so an extramural cemetery is indicated for this site. The cremation cemetery at Gedikli is extramural, with inhumations and built tombs among the urns. Several tombs were found within the settlement at Tilmen Hüyük. Early Bronze Age burials at Carchemish were all under contemporary house floors. The few burials found at Judeideh and Tainat in the Amuq plain were intramural.

Summary: Intramural burials are found in the Syrian zone, while the inhabitants of Cilicia may have practiced extramural interment. The context of the three tombs at Tilmen Hüyük is not yet clear since only preliminary publications of the site have appeared. An extramural cemetery similar to the one at Gedikli might also exist at Tilmen Hüyük, but too little is known of this area to substantiate the theory.

h. Conclusion

The distribution patterns of intramural and extramural tombs in Anatolia follow the geographical zones set forth in the Catalogue of Early Bronze Age Tombs in Anatolia (pp. 90-94 supra; Map II). These geographical divisions are valid in terms of unity of custom.
Extramural cemeteries are most common west of the Halys, and are not represented at sites within the Halys bend. Kos, Kap Krio and Iasos have extramural cemeteries, as do Yortan, Ovabayindir, Babaköy, the Gygean lake shore and probably Aphrodisias. Along the Sangarios, extramural cemeteries are probably to be found at Midas City, Sariyar and Gordion. In the Pontic region, two of the four excavated cemeteries are extramural—Horoztepe and Tekeköy. The choice of cemetery location in the Pontic area is probably not closely related to western Anatolian practices and is certainly independent of burial customs within the Halys bend. In eastern Turkey, extramural cemeteries occur at Alaca Han, Gedikli and possibly in the Keban.

Individual intramural interments in a single site are found in all parts of Anatolia. In the west, however, there is an important difference in the age of the bodies—only children were buried in an intramural setting (Samos, Thermi, Troy, perhaps Hanaytepe, Kumtepe, Ovabayindir, and Beycesultan). In central Anatolia, adults and children were buried within the settlements (Koçumbeli, perhaps Ahlatlibeli, Karahüyük-Konya, Alaca Hüyük, Alişar, Eskiyağar, Karayayla, Kanlıca and Kültepe). Intramural burials also occur at Tilmen Hüyük, Carchemish and several Amuq sites.
Intramural cemeteries are certain only in two sites (Alaca Hüyük and Kaledorugu), and may exist at Hashüyük, Pulur-Erzurum and Tilkitepe.

The Karatag cemetery belongs in the extramural category. Enough of this cemetery has been excavated to establish this fact, while this is not true of some of the other tombs and burial grounds discussed above. One difference may be noticed between Karatag and several other sites with extramural tombs; that is, no Early Bronze Age tombs, of children or adults, have been found in the Karatag settlement. The settlements of Yortan, Babaköy and the Gygean lake shore, sites to which Karatag would be expected to have the strongest affinities, have not been dug so we cannot know if Karatag resembles them more closely in this matter than sites along the Aegean coast, Beycesultan or Ovabayindir.

II. Anatolian tomb types, burial customs, forms of cemeteries

No single type of tomb was used exclusively throughout Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age. The known tombs are of five types: pithoi, sists, earth burials, stone chambers and shaft tombs. In most cases the body was placed directly in the burial container without mutilation, burning or exposure. Only at Gedikli were the bodies
cremated before being buried in urns. Certain details of each type of tomb may vary from site to site, and several types may be represented at the same site. Whether the tombs are within the settlement or extramural has no bearing on the type of tomb used.

The number and types of tombs at each site are given in the Catalogue of Early Bronze Age Tombs in Anatolia (pp. 90–94 supra). With the aid of this information, each cemetery or tomb will be compared to Karatap in order to determine similarities and differences in burial practices between Karatap and other Anatolian sites. The general characteristics of burial custom in each zone will be examined and pithos burials discussed in detail.

a. Aegean coast and offshore islands

A uniform burial custom prevails at Iasos. All the tombs are stone cists, built either of slabs or field stones. A rectangular box formed of four slabs placed on edge is standard, while ovoid, trapezoidal, semicircular, polygonal and round cists also occur. The stones were placed in cuttings in virgin soil to form the tomb, then usually covered with a single flat slab after the burial was placed in the cist. Covers composed of several stones were, however, found on Tombs 11 and 77. The aspect of the cemetery is regular; the tombs are aligned
in rows with spaces between each tomb and those near it. Forty of the Iasos cists are oriented along a roughly east-west axis, although deviation from the usual orientation is fairly frequent and often radical.

Of the 85 tombs excavated at Iasos, sixteen contain the skeletons of more than one person. That the tombs were reopened to receive a second burial rather than used for the simultaneous burial of two persons is proved by the position of the bones. Usually the first burial was pushed to the side of the cist so its bones are disarticulated, but the final burial was found contracted on its side. The Iasos cists were therefore thought of as "family" vaults, with all bones left in the tombs. Several tombs at Iasos show ingenious ways of tidying up for the second burial. Tomb 28, an oval cist, was divided diagonally by the addition of a vertical slab. One compartment contained disarticulated bones, the other a contracted skeleton. Tomb 12 was divided longitudinally by a vertical slab, either to separate simultaneous or successive burials. Tomb 32 contained a longitudinal division made of a pile of stone slabs. Special small offerings were made for children (20, 21, 24 and 79). The heads of the skeletons point in all directions; no rule governed the direction of their placement. Gifts of pottery, metal and stone were placed close to the bodies.
For example, the body in Tomb 81 held a vessel in its hands.

The similarities between burial procedures at Iasos and Karataş are striking in the face of an important basic difference—pithoi were used for tombs at Karataş and cists at Iasos. Both cemeteries were laid out following an orderly plan, suggesting that tomb markers, perhaps made of projecting slabs, also existed at Iasos. Orientation of the Iasos tombs is not as orthodox as it is at Karataş, but it is to a certain extent regular. The placement of the bodies in a contracted position on their sides at Iasos and the presence of multiple successive burials are factors which suggest that some aspects of burial procedure were common to the coast and the western highlands. Tomb gifts, at Karataş and Iasos, were placed close to the bodies.

In the Cyclades cist cemeteries are contemporary with the Iasos tombs and exhibit many of the same characteristics, although the Cycladic cemeteries are not as well preserved. The Iasos cists are similar to the Cycladic tombs in their form, their position in an extramural cemetery and the frequent use of a single slab for a cover. Several important differences exist between Iasos and the Cyclades which indicate that, in respect to burial customs as well as geography, Iasos stands in
a position between the islands and the Anatolian high-
lands. Doro Levi notes that a variety of cist shapes 
20
is not as common in the Cyclades as it is at Iasos .
These may represent local Iasian adaptations of the 
Bosporus island form. Easterly orientation of tombs is so 
common in western Anatolia that it must be considered 
a formal custom, while Cycladic tombs have no standard 
orientation although the topography of each site may 
have sometimes been a factor in determining alignment .
21
Cycladic tombs contain multiple burials rarely ; at 
Karatag and Iasos about one-quarter of the tombs contain 
multiple successive interments. Multiple burial indi-
cates that the tomb complex was considered as the property 
of the family or group, rather than an individual burial 
place.

In this connection, the cemetery at Aghios Kosmas 
in Attica may be mentioned. Although the cists there 
are similar to those in the Cyclades in the manner of 
construction and roofing, multiple burials are common 
23
rather than rare . The cists at Aghios Kosmas may 
also represent a hybrid of Cycladic and mainland- this 
time Helladic- customs: a Cycladic-type tomb used in 
connection with multiple burial practices followed on 
the Helladic mainland .

Iasos is probably a typical site of the southern
Aegean coast of Anatolia, one whose affinities in the matter of tomb type itself are with the Cyclades rather than the highlands of Anatolia, but which also has strong relations with the interior.

Two island sites off the southern coast show a mixture of Cycladic and mainland burial types. The four pithos burials at Askloupis on Kos are like those of Karataş. The Askloupis jars lie on their sides and contain multiple burials and tomb gifts. Two large pithoi, 1.25 and 1.60 m. in height, lay horizontally in the earth with their rims to the east. One contained four skeletons, the other three, some reportedly contracted on their sides. A third jar was small and held no bones, but was also horizontal in the earth with rim to the east and contained two pots and a bronze razor. This was undoubtedly a tomb, whose skeleton has disintegrated. A fourth jar contained no gifts. Each of the larger pithoi had two or three vases. Among these pithoi is a round stone cist. The shape of this cist may be adapted from the standard rectangular shape, but round and oval cists are also found at Iasos. Therefore, island and Anatolian tomb types are mixed in a single burial ground on Kos.

The mixture of tomb types takes a different form at
Samos. The two pithoi found in the prehistoric levels of the Heraion are each enclosed in a pit neatly lined with flat stones— a combination of cist and pithos in the same tomb. One pithos, 1.05 m. tall and 0.68 m. in diameter, was found by Welter.  The tomb was oriented north-south and lay horizontally in the earth. The jar itself is unusual: an ovoid body with two horizontal strap handles on the shoulder and three handles on the rounded base giving a tripod effect. Closure is done with two stone slabs, one wedged into the neck of the pithos. This refinement of blocking is paralleled at Karataş, where the necks of Pithoi 272 and 273 held slabs and an especially trimmed pithos sherd (p. 47 supra; fig. 4). The skeleton in the Samian pithos was that of a five to seven year old child, contracted on its right side. Gifts were found inside and outside the burial jar, as at Karataş: an axe and ring were placed by the legs, while several pots stood to both sides of the rim. A second child burial contained a bronze crescent which lay against the remains of the skull, perhaps a pendant, or an attachment to a cap or the hair (cf. Karataş Tomb 164, p. 61 supra). Normal rectangular cists occur in a Troy V context at the Heraion, proving that, although mainland and island burial types were combined in an unusual manner for some child burials, the stone cist
was also used on Samos.

At Troy, the only Early Bronze Age burials excavated are those of children. These jar burials date to the First Settlement. All these tombs are associated with House 102. None of the jars was over 0.37 m. in height. Two of the jars are narrow-necked with strap handles; one is knobbed and another has a spout in the middle of one side. The side of one jar was broken before it was used as a tomb, and the break covered by a bowl.

At Hanaytepe, adults were simply buried in the earth, while children were placed in pots or cists. It is conceivable that the adult and child burials are contemporary, in that they were buried in different fashions at the same time. There is, however, a gap in occupation between levels B and C so the adults could have been interred in the interval when the site was deserted. If this is true, the Early Bronze Age inhabitants of Hanaytepe buried only children within the settlement.

Summary: The Aegean coast and islands reveal an unusual mixture of Anatolian and Aegean burial types. The pithos burials found on Kos would not be out of place in the Karatag cemetery, while hybrid pithos-cists are known from the Samian Heraion. The mixture takes a different form at Iasos where burials were made according
to procedures followed at Karataş in Cycladic-type tombs. In the Troad and at Thermi, too few burials have been excavated to determine whether they are characteristic of the sites. A definite difference does exist between the northern and southern sections of Anatolia's Aegean zone. The north may be more closely related to the interior of western Anatolia, while sites in the south stand between Anatolia and the Cyclades, with each excavated site making its own adaptation of the two sets of burial customs.

b. The interior of western Anatolia

The prevailing custom in western Anatolia is pithos burial. Each of the sites with excavated pithos cemeteries will be compared to Karataş. Elements of burial procedure observed at Karataş—layout of the cemetery, blocking, position of the tomb in the earth, shapes of burial jars, position and number of skeletons, position and types of tomb gifts—will be analyzed. Stone markers have not been discovered at any site in the west other than Karataş.

1. Yortan

In many respects, the Yortan cemetery is similar to Karataş. At both sites the pithoi are laid out in neat
rows, with spaces between each tomb and its neighbors, so overlapping is infrequent. The burial jars are placed on their sides in earth at Yortan and in shallow bedrock cuttings at Karatağ so that the rim of each pithos is at a slightly higher level than its base. All pithoi are oriented with their rims to the east, although some, at both Karatağ and Yortan, do deviate from the standard orientation. The burial jars of both sites may be as tall as 2.00 m., while a few pithoi at Karatağ are 0.10 to 0.15 m. taller. The Yortan burial jars are usually ovoid, but sometimes almost round. Rounded bases are not as common as flat. Some jars have normal handles and others a round lug with depressed center. These jars are not described clearly enough to allow a detailed comparison with the Karatağ pithoi but they seem to be basically similar. Skeletons were found in the Yortan tombs, but the number in each jar is not published. Tomb gifts appear inside and outside the burial jars.

A few differences exist between Yortan and Karatağ. The rim of every pithos at Yortan is blocked with a flat stone slab, either square or rectangular. Blocking is less formal at Karatağ where stone slabs account for only 6% of the covers; immediately available materials, such as small field stones and stray sherds, were used more
frequently. The categories of gifts found in the Yortan tombs are similar to Karataş—pottery, metal jewelry, weapons and tools, stone figurines—but the gifts may be numerous in each tomb and the diversity of types within each category greater. No small burial jars, which would contain the remains of children, are mentioned in Collignon’s report on the excavations at Yortan.

The report omits many details about the burial procedures of Yortan. No plan is published and the total number of tombs is not given. Although skeletons and tomb gifts appeared in almost every tomb, their quantity and position in the tomb are not discussed.

The cemeteries of Karataş and Yortan exhibit similarities which prove that they were part of the same burial custom. Differences are minor and may be attributed to the distance between the two sites since each area probably made adaptations of the basic procedure. The omission of certain details in the Yortan report does not alter this conclusion; if known, these details would probably confirm the similarity of procedure at both sites.

2. Babaköy

Although the cemetery at Babaköy was plundered, enough material emerged from the two excavations to
allow a detailed comparison with Karataş. The Babaköy
cemetery was sizable and homogeneous. Several cists,
however, were found in the cemetery field. The dating
of these cists is uncertain since they were not placed
among the pithoi and contain no tomb gifts. According
to Bittel, nothing prevents dating them to the late
Roman or early Byzantine period. Other cist tombs
are found in western Anatolia, but those at Kusura are
among the other types of tombs and at Iasos only cists
occur.

As at Yortan and Karataş, the tombs were laid out
in rows, with the rims of all jars oriented to the east.
There is no overlapping of tombs; a space of 1 to 2 m.
exists between each tomb and those closest to it. The
pithoi are sometimes large, up to 1.80 m. in height, and
all but one over 1.00 m. in height. Multiple burial
procedures are like those of Karataş; when a tomb was
reopened for an additional burial, the bones of the pre-
vious burial(s) already in the tomb were pushed aside
and the additional body placed in the tomb. Since the
tombs were plundered, few gifts remained. Bittel's
Pithos XIV contained gifts which were placed in front of
the torso and by the arms of the second burial, while
two jar mouths at the base of the pithos may have been
the remains of the gifts of the first burial.

Some differences exist between the cemeteries of Babaköy and Karataş. All the Babaköy tombs are blocked with flat stone slabs, as were the Yortan pithoi. Only one small jar suitable for a child burial was found at Babaköy, while many were in the Karataş cemetery. The jar shapes differ from those of Karataş. At Babaköy even large pithoi have rounded bases; at Karataş all large pithoi have definitely flattened stump, disc or profiled bases (Fig. 1). The Babaköy pithoi are often handleless, but sometimes have two broad vertical strap handles on the shoulder. The Karataş pithoi always have handles, for those over 1.50 m. in height usually in the shape of lugs, strap handles being more frequent on smaller burial jars. All of the unrobbed pithoi at Babaköy contained several tomb gifts, unlike Karataş where only 150 of 386 tombs had some kind of gift, usually only a jug or a metal ring.

The information from Babaköy is complete insofar as it could be recovered. The basic elements of burial procedure at Karataş and Babaköy are the same—neatly laid out cemetery, large pithoi with multiple burials and tomb gifts placed close to the bodies. The custom of blocking the rim of the burial jar exists at both sites, although a variety of methods is used at Karataş and not at Babaköy.
Differences in the burial jar shapes may be attributed to regional variation.

3. **Eski Balikhane**

Since only five tombs were excavated in a small trench at Eski Balikhane, the layout of this cemetery cannot yet be determined. No overlapping tombs are reported. The three tombs with adult burials open to the east, as at Karataş, while two small jars with the skeletons of children were deviant in their orientation. The burial jars differ in shape from those of Karataş (infra), but one of the Eski Balikhane pithoi is similar to several from Karataş in having relief decoration. Eski Balikhane Pithos 69.3 has four strap handles and one or two clay medallions attached by clay tangs through the wall of the neck and two relief decorations in T-form, from the vertical bar of which hangs a circle . An exact parallel for this decoration does not exist at Karataş, but the idea of decorating the pithos is the same. Gifts in the Eski Balikhane tombs are diverse; the three with adult occupants each had three vessels, and one skeleton had a dagger by the femur, a silver ram statuette on the teeth and gold “ear plugs” on either side of the skull . The pots lay in front of one skeleton's chest ; the positions of the others in relation to the skeletons is
not reported.

There are several differences in procedure between Karatag and Eski Balikhane. The three pithoi which have blocking preserved (EB 69.1, 3 and 4) had their rims covered with stone slabs. The three adult skeletons are contracted as at Karatag, but only one is aligned along the east-west axis of the burial jar. The burials are all single interments. The description of the pithos shapes indicates that they were similar to those of Babakoy, ovoid with rounded bases.

Since the few tombs at Eski Balikhane are published only in preliminary form, further excavation and a final report will bring out more details. The general characteristics of the Eski Balikhane tombs agree with the data from Karatag.

4. Kusura

Kusura differs from Karatag, Yortan, Babakoy and Eski Balikhane because the tomb types are mixed—ceramic containers, cists and one inhumation. Jars are most numerous but not all were true pithoi. There are four true pithoi, three pseudo-pithos burials (made of two halves of a jar bisected longitudinally and placed lengthwise over the body) and one shard burial (loose sherds placed under and over the body). The sizes of the
Kusura jars are another point of difference. The largest jar at Kusura is 1.40 m. in height, and the rest about 1.00 m. Pithoi at sites with true pithos cemeteries may be taller, over 2.00 m. at Karataş and almost 2.00 m. at Yortan and Babaköy. The shapes of the Kusura jars are unlike any of those discussed above; loose and baggy with rounded bases and seldom with a well defined neck. The handles are vertical or horizontal straps placed at midbody or just below the rim. In tombs where the position of the skeleton can be determined, the head is to the west at the base of the pithos (3, 6, 9, 11, 12 and 13). Such a position is never found at Yortan, Babaköy or Karataş. No multiple burials were found at Kusura. Tomb gifts are only small vessels—cups, jugs and pitchers—while the other sites with pithos cemeteries show a wider range of material. The differences between Kusura and other extramural cemeteries may indicate chronological variation or perhaps closer relations with central Anatolia rather than the west.

There are some similarities between Kusura and Karataş. The Kusura cemetery is 350 m. northwest of the settlement on a prominent ridge that is the highest piece of ground in the immediate area. At Karataş also the cemetery is situated on a relatively high spot (pp. 13-16 supra). Both cemeteries are laid out in a neat
fashion. Orientation of the Kusura tombs is generally east, with some minor deviations and three reversed so the rim opens to the west. Gifts were usually placed close to the body, but behind the skull rather than in front of the torso as at Karatag, Eski Balikhane and Babaköy.

The Kusura cemetery points out certain features which were standard in western Anatolian cemeteries. Even when tomb types and some details of procedure are different, as at Kusura, the cemetery is laid out in orderly rows. This, and the absence of overlapping tombs, implies that markers were used in every cemetery in the west. Eastern orientation of the pithos rim was a custom practiced almost invariably.

5. Beycesultan

The few child burials found at Beycesultan tell us little about burial customs. The skeletons were all contracted in jars and only one jar contained a gift.

6. Aphrodisias

At Aphrodisias, the burial of a child was excavated on Kuşkalesi. The jar is 0.70 m. in height and has two handles, each of which was decorated with three rectangles of incised crosshatching. An exact parallel for this
decoration does not exist at Karataş, but fluted chevrons adorn the handles of Burial Jar 289. The Aphrodisias jar is closed with two flat slabs, one on top of the other. The rim is oriented to the north, unlike pithos rims in other west Anatolian cemeteries. The skeleton is contracted on its left side with a small knobbed jug in front of its torso. A large pithos with an adult female skeleton, partially flexed, appeared in a test trench in the Pekmez area. A portion of the pithos' upper side was missing, damage of the sort attributed to plowing at Karataş. It is possible that this pithos was broken between the Early Bronze Age and the next level in this particular sounding; the stratification in the immediate area is not clear. Stones filled the break and domestic debris intruded into the upper part of the jar. The burial jar was solid and substantial, with a small stump base, strap handles and a tall straight neck. An incised metal bracelet was on each of the skeleton's arms and 137 tubular gold beads lay at the base of the skull. A dark incised jar was found by the ribs, a position favored at Karataş. Three spindle whorls were by the knees (see position of spindle whorl, spindle and disc in Karataş Tomb 366, p. 63 supra). In 1969, another pithos was found in the Pekmez area. The rim faced east
and was covered with a flat stone slab. The handles of this jar are unusually placed: three sets of vertical handles set along the length of the pithos. The final interment was flexed on its right side with its head toward the rim of the pithos. Three pots lay in front of the final burial. The first burial was pushed to the lower part of the pithos, behind the legs of the final burial. A fourth pot in this tomb may have been the possession of the first burial. It is hoped that more pithos burials will be found at Aphrodisias because their similarities to the Karataş tombs—position of skeletons and gifts, successive multiple burials—and differences—unusual jar shapes and perhaps universal use of slab closure—will add much to our understanding of burial customs in southwestern Anatolia.

7. Midas City

Only one of the prehistoric tombs found at Midas City, a stone cist, is published. This cist was evidently, according to preliminary notes, found in an extramural cemetery of pithoi. No further information is available at present. 

Summary: In western Anatolia, pithos cemeteries are the rule (Yortan, Babaköy, Eski Balikhane and probably
Ovabayindir). Karataş may now be added to this group. A true mixture of tomb types does not occur at Karataş as it does at Kusura, the only excavated site in this zone which does not reflect a uniform burial custom. Inhumations are rare at Karataş and the built tomb an unusual creation.

c. Between the Halys and the Sangarios

Tomb types show no uniform pattern of occurrence in this area. At Ahlatlibel, all the tomb types known in Anatolia, except shaft tombs and cremations, are found. No single burial custom prevailed here, in contrast to the west where pure pithos and cist cemeteries have been excavated. Among the tombs at Ahlatlibel are six pithos burials. Orientation of these pithoi varies and the jars themselves are often poorly preserved. Tomb II lies under a stone packing, while the rim and base of I are supported by stones. XI has a flat stone slab over its rim and lies within a circular enclosure, a relative of the Karataş markers or the Kültepe cists (p. 132 infra). Skeletal material at Ahlatlibel is so damaged that positions cannot be determined. Although Tomb IVa is represented only by the rim sherd of a pithos, two torques are associated with it. A pithos with base
Other sites in the Ankara region are too poorly represented to determine any pattern of tomb preference. Cists occur at Gordion, Polatlı, Karayazı and Koğumbeli. Two pithoi discovered at Sariyar follow burial procedures customary in western Anatolia. Each tomb was inclined on its side with rim toward the east. The rims were covered with stone slabs and the skeletons were contracted on their sides. Tomb gifts were pitchers, jars and a bronze pin with a round head. One lugged pot held an infant burial in Level VII at Polatlı. The tomb was oriented east-west, like the cist in the same level.

Cists were found at Karahüyük-Konya, as well as several burials in ceramic containers. Two pithoi contained bodies whose heads were toward the jar bases. One had a relief decoration of two antithetical goats, a simple design of quadrupeds similar to that on Karataş Pithos 86. In an EB III level, a jar burial was composed of a two-handled jar set rim to rim with a large two-handled basin. Gifts were a one-handled juglet, two bronze pins and a Syrian bottle with light red stripes.

Summary: The evidence from this zone is insufficient to allow it to be characterized in terms of tomb types.
d. East of the Halys

Although only two sites in this zone have more than a few tombs excavated, burial customs appear to be similar to those practiced between the Sangarios and the Halys.

At Aligar, the pertinent burials are those of the "Copper Age" and "Early Bronze Age". The mixture of inhumations, pot burials and cists shows that no uniform custom was practiced by all the inhabitants of Aligar. Twenty-five of the forty-six Copper Age burials are in jars, usually with no neck and no handles. One jar is knobbed and another has two strap handles. The skeletons are flexed on their sides, with heads toward the jar rim. In only one case, 3209, is the position of the skeleton inverted. Jar cX20 was broken at the base to allow extension of the skeleton's feet. The burial jars have no standard orientation. A variety of blocking methods was used: a single stone slab, several small stones, several slabs covered with mudbrick to form an enclosure around the rim. These different blocking methods are reminiscent of Karataş, although a box around the rim has not been found there. Child burials at Aligar were in small jars or fragments of other vessels, an example of material reused for tombs. Gifts were not common—small vessels, a bent pin, rarely a bracelet. Only four
burials are in Early Bronze Age strata; one was flexed on its side in a jar. Only one multiple burial is recorded at Aligar. The shaft tombs of Alaca Hüyük are unique in this zone and must have been made for a special element of the population. The Royal Graves are rectangular stone-lined pits at the base of shafts. The floors were not covered with stones. Wooden beams reinforced the corners and covered the roofs. These tombs vary in length from 3 to 8 m., in width from 2 to 5 m., and are about 0.75 m. high. The shafts were filled in after the burial was in position and the roof placed on the chamber. The tombs of most of the Early Bronze Age inhabitants of Alaca Hüyük have not been discovered, although one cist and three inhumations of this period were excavated within the settlement. A pithos burial was uncovered in a deep sounding outside the Sphinx Gate. The pithos contained one contracted skeleton and no gifts. A circular stone wall constructed of a single line of stones surrounded the pithos, which lay in the center of this stone circle. The circular construction may be a marker over the tomb or an enclosing wall. The excavation report does not mention the absolute levels of the pithos and its encircling wall, so the identity of this enclosure is open to question.
The German expedition to central Anatolia located several pithos burials at Yarikkaya and three inhumations on Büyükkale at Boğazköy. At Eskiapar, one Early Bronze Age pithos burial was found. The pithos lay on its side, with its rim to the northeast. A single skeleton was contracted with its head at the rim of the jar. There were no gifts. Inhumations occur at Hashüyük and a single cist at Kanlica.

The tombs of Kültepe show chronological changes. In the early part of the Early Bronze Age, burial was in jars. By EB III stone cists enclosed the pithoi; during EB IIIb the pithos was no longer used but the circular stone cist, now compartmented, was retained. One compartment was used for the burial and the other for its gifts. Although the gifts have not yet been published, some splendid jewelry and Cappadocian figurines are said to be among them. The development of tomb types at Kültepe was probably local.

Summary: Inadequate evidence again restricts any conclusions about tomb types in this zone. The shaft tombs of Alaca Hüyük are clearly unusual in this area and outstanding in the Anatolian context.

e. Pontic region

The Royal Tombs of Horoztepe are shaft graves like
those of Alaca Hüyük, although at Horoztepe there was no stone lining in the tombs and no traces of beams in the earth. Tahsin Ö zgü ç suggests that the chambers nevertheless could have been lined with wood. In spite of the differences in materials used to line the shafts, a strong connection exists between the Alaca Hüyük and Horoztepe tombs. It is possible that the Alaca Royal Tombs represent the southernmost known expansion of the people who preferred to be buried in this special manner.

Only simple inhumation was practiced at Mağat, Dündartepe, Tekköy and Kaledorüğu. Inhumation was not a random or rare form of burial at the last two sites—the bodies were laid out in orderly rows in cemeteries.

Summary: In the Pontic area, earth burial may be the custom among a certain group of people, which probably made up the bulk of the population. The Royal Tombs of Horoztepe were built for a different group, which had an unusual tradition of burial.

f. Eastern Anatolia and Syro-Cilicia

In southeastern Turkey, a single burial form—the elaborate built tomb—was used for particular citizens of Gedikli and Tilmen Hüyük. The Tilmen cist is 4.15 m. long and 2.20 m. high. Its width varies from 1.55 m. at
one end to 1.00 m. at the other. It was built of medium-sized stones and covered with large basalt slabs. A skeleton lay at each end of this tomb. The built tombs at Gedikli are slightly smaller on the average, but constructed in the same fashion. One of the Gedikli tombs had a stone-lined dromos. Cremation burial is, however, the standard practice at Gedikli. A few earth burials were found in the Gedikli cemetery, but they represent only a minor deviation from established custom.

In the Amuq, adults were buried in earth and children placed in cooking pots. The few child burials at Judeideh are undistinguished. A jar burial in level G had a sherd for a lid and no gifts. At Tilkitepe, adults were inhumed in earth and children buried in jars. The simple child burials of eastern Anatolia and northern Syria generally follow procedures used in other parts of Anatolia and the Near East.

Summary: No single burial custom is characteristic of eastern or southeastern Anatolia. Although the burials of a few special people in northern Syria were in elaborate stone chambers, most of the population was probably buried in a simpler fashion. At the present, not enough is known to reconstruct a coherent picture of burial practices in this zone.
g. Conclusions

1. General patterns of tomb distribution (Map 12)

Cemeteries of pithoi (Yörtan, Babaköy and Karatağ), cists (İassos), inhumations (Tekeköy and Kaledorughu) and cremations (Gedikli) are laid out in an orderly fashion with rows of tombs oriented in approximately the same direction. Although a mixture of tomb types is found in the cemeteries of Kusura and Asklopias, their layout and orientation are regular. Extramural cemeteries, regardless of the types of tombs in them, always exhibit this regularity of plan.

Individual intramural burials have no standard orientation or layout because of the limitations imposed by the structures in and among which they were placed. Whether a site has only one tomb type represented within the settlement, like Beycesultan and Ovabayindir with child burials in jars, or a mixture of types, like Alışar and Ahlatlibel, the tombs are situated in similar positions under house floors, or in courtyards and open spaces.

Inhumations, cists and jar burials are typical of Anatolia and as such are the basic units which may be used for comparison. The three simple forms are much the same in terms of the actual burial procedure wherever they are found. The basic types are represented in all parts of Anatolia, while special, more elaborate tombs
were also made. The shaft tombs of Alaca Hüyük and Horoztepe, and the hypogea of Gedikli and Tilmen Hüyük stand apart from the normal types of burial.

2. Pithos burial in western Anatolia

On the basis of what is known about the cemeteries of Yortan, Babaköy and Eski Balikhane, Karataş is a close relative. All these cemeteries are extramural with pithos burials arranged in neat rows. The orientation of the pithos rim is usually to the east. Blocking in the northern sites is always done with a flat stone slab, while at Karataş sherds, field stones, a combination of sherds and stones, reused parts of other pithoi, small jars, basins and bowls were used as well as stone slabs. The single stone slab used to block pithos rims is reminiscent of the slab covers used in the Cyclades and at Iasos. Cycladic tombs usually have one end which is blocked with one or two slabs to appear as a door. These openings were never used as such, since the bodies were lowered through the tomb roofs; the doors were not functional. The Karataş built tomb, 3967, also has a large slab which functions like a false door. Most of the covers over jar rims at Karataş, however, are lids rather than doors. If there is any connection between slab closure in western Anatolia and false doors in Cycladic cists, it is probably
in form but not in meaning.

In western Anatolia, markers above the tombs have been observed only at Karataş. The other pithos cemeteries have been located during survey or plowing, so were superficial enough to be visible on the field surface. Markers would have disappeared from these tombs before the stones were noticed and associated with the tombs.

The burial jars at Babaköy and Eski Balikhane differ from those of Karataş in respect to base and handles. The pithoi of Yortan, however, may be more similar to the Karataş jars since flattened bases are more frequent there. The handles of the Yortan pithoi are not described in detail. Only one of the pithoi listed from western Anatolia, outside of Karataş, has relief decoration that of Eski Balikhane. Differences in the shapes of the burial jars may indicate regional or chronological variations.

Evidence about the number and position of skeletons is defective in northwestern Anatolia. Multiple burial is attested at Babaköy in three pithoi and is fairly common at Karataş. Position of the skeletons in the tombs varies, although they are usually contracted on their sides consistent with practices followed at Karataş. Child burials in the cemetery may not be as common at Yortan and Babaköy as at Karataş. This is possibly a matter of conveni-
ence, since the Karatağ cemetery was close to the settlement. Access to the cemetery could have been more difficult at the other sites.

At Karatağ, tomb gifts are found inside and outside the pithoi. Outside gifts were also noted at Yortan and Eski Balikhane, where half a figurine lay by the cover slab. The outside gift at the latter site may be displaced from inside since figurines never occur outside the tombs at Karatağ or Babaköy, the other places where their findspot is recorded. A variety of gifts is known from all sites with pithos cemeteries. Most gifts inside the pithos were placed close to the body. The ornaments—ram pendant and ear plugs—found at Eski Balikhane were probably in situ as part of the deceased's jewelry. The greatest number of metal ornaments and tools are from Yortan but their relation to the accompanying skeletal material is not published. At all sites with extramural cemeteries, pottery is by far the most frequent gift. Because of the greater number of tombs excavated and their good preservation, the tomb gifts appear more diverse, although the categories of goods are the same. In fact, gifts are more frequent at Yortan, Babaköy and Eski Balikhane, where every tomb excavated contained several gifts.

Karatağ confirms and amplifies the evidence about
burial procedures at Yortan, Babaköy and Eski Balikhane. The effect of Karataş' location is apparent in some details, such as blocking and jar shapes, while the basic characteristics of pithos burial are similar and can be used as a criterion to distinguish a west Anatolian cultural complex.

3. Other pithos burials in Anatolia

Pithos burials not in the extramural cemeteries of western Anatolia teach us much about Early Bronze Age burial customs. There are many gaps in the record, due to insufficient publication in some cases, but the general similarities of procedure throughout Anatolia are confirmed.

Markers of the type known from Karataş may be preserved at Alaca Hüyük and perhaps at Ahlatlibel. It is unlikely that markers were used at Ahlatlibel if the tombs are intramural, since they would interfere with the houses in which the tombs were placed. The stone enclosure around one tomb at Ahlatlibel may rather resemble the cists around pithoi in EB III Kültepe. At Alaca Hüyük a better case can be made for the existence of a marker over the pithos near the Sphinx Gate, since this tomb was not in a stratum with contemporary architecture. The implication is that this Alaca tomb may be in an extramural cemetery. Markers were
probably used widely in the Early Bronze Age, but the shallow depth of discovered extramural cemeteries is detrimental to their preservation and they would not have been feasible over intramural tombs.

The burial jars themselves are seldom published. An unusual handle arrangement is seen on a pithos from Samos, but most jars are small and indistinguishable from cooking pots. The decorated pithos at Karahüyük-Konya recalls parallels at Karataş and Eski Balikhane.

Blocking by means of a stone slab is used at all sites where any sort of blocking is preserved. Stone slab closure is used throughout the Aegean area of Anatolia and the western highlands to Sariyar, Ahlatlibel and Alişar. A packing of field stones, a method frequently used for closure at Karataş, is also found at Alişar and Ahlatlibel.

Pithoi which are found in extramural contexts are usually oriented to the east (Askloupis and Sariyar, for example). At sites where the known tombs are intramural (Samos, Beycesultan, Alişar, Tilkitepe and Judeideh), no standard orientation was observed, probably because the position of the tomb was conditioned by walls in the area in which it was placed, rather than by an external factor like the direction of the sunrise.

The skeletons in Anatolian pithoi are usually con-
tracted on their sides with head toward the rim of the burial jar. Burial inverted so that the head is at the base of the burial jar occurs at Karahüyük-Konya, Ahlatlibel and Aligar. It was probably easier to stuff the body into the pithos head first, but care was usually taken to arrange the body neatly.

A significant difference between western and central Anatolia is in the category of multiple successive burials in the same tomb. This indicates that conceptions of the tomb complex varied in these two areas. Multiple burial was rare east of the Sangarios and common in the west. It is assumed that, in western Anatolia, all the inhabitants of the same tomb are related, either by blood or membership in a common social or economic group. The pithoi of western Anatolia were family tombs probably in family burial plots, while the intramural tombs of central Anatolia seldom were reopened for additional burials. Each tomb was a sealed unit at the time of its burial. Intramural tombs, like those of Aligar, probably contained the bodies of people who had lived in houses near the tombs, so a sense of kinship may have been established in this way. An intramural cemetery, like that of Alaca Hüyük, contained the tombs of related people or those with a similar background.

Gifts are found in some tombs. Their position is
often not recorded in excavation reports. Putting gifts with the deceased was by no means a standard part of the burial procedure. Gifts are more common in western Anatolia, except in unusual tombs like those of Alaca Hüyük and Horoztepe. Many of the excavated jar burials in central and eastern Anatolia are those of children who at Karataş also receive few gifts.

Enough similarities exist to postulate a strong tradition in Anatolia in regard to pithos burial. Whether a site has mixed burial types or only pithos burials, the general characteristics of pithos burial procedure are the same.

III. Topographical Inquiry into the Possibility of Undiscovered Cemeteries in Western Anatolia

There are several major sites in western Anatolia and its offshore islands whose archaeological record is incomplete because the cemeteries remain to be discovered. It is possible to make some hypotheses about these cemeteries—Troy, Beycesultan, Samos, Therma and Bayraklı—using the Karataş cemetery as a model since it is the best preserved representative of western Anatolian cemeteries, with help from Yortan, Babaköy, Eski Balikhane and Askloupis.

The comparative evidence does not make it easier to pinpoint the locations of the various undiscovered cemeteries. Some large sites, like Troy and Bayraklı, are
covered by substantial remains of later periods which have radically changed the contours of the site; the surface of a large classical settlement will not reveal the site's appearance in the third millennium. A second problem relates to the proximity of cemetery and settlement. The distance between the two areas at any given site cannot be determined without excavation. It has been suggested above that the contours of the Karataş cemetery developed in gradual fashion and that the distance between the settlement and the cemetery changed several times. The excavated portion of the Kusura cemetery, however, lies 350 m. from the settlement. Its total extent is not known, but it probably did not approach the settlement as closely as did the Karataş cemetery. Since only two settlements and their cemeteries have been excavated—Karataş and Kusura, no firm preference for direction of cemetery from settlement is indicated. At Karataş, the cemetery lay to the south of the village and at Kusura the cemetery was north-northwest of the settlement. A third consideration is the possible change of water level, both of the sea and of the water table. This is especially pertinent in the case of coastal sites like Thermi, Bayraklı and the Heraion on Samos. At Müsgebi on the peninsula of Halikarnassos, tombs may lie beneath the modern water level. Early Bronze Age pottery found in
this area suggested tombs as a possible source. These reservations must be kept in mind while speculating about possible locations for cemeteries.

The search for an extramural cemetery was prolonged and frustrating at Troy. Schliemann and Dörpfeld found no Early Bronze Age tombs, so the Cincinnati team organized exploration for the cemetery. Trenches were made on the lower north and west slopes of the mound, and south and east of the mound on a broad plateau. Every season from 1932 to 1936 included a program of tomb research. This patient effort was rewarded with the discovery of the Troy VI cremation cemetery near the south edge of the plateau. Most of the area was well explored, but a high point southeast of the mound was not excavated. A further search for an Early Bronze Age cemetery might be made in this direction.

No details are yet known about the Early Bronze Age levels at Bayraklı, but problems in locating a cemetery there will be great because the modern town surrounds the mound, unless the cemetery is included within the periphery of the classical site and is discovered in a deep sounding. Aphrodisias is not a modern town, but extensive classical remains prevent its complete investigation. The Bronze Age town of Aphrodisias will be excavated insofar as possible; already indications of its Early Bronze Age
layout are appearing. Burials have been discovered on Kugkalesi and in the Pekmez area, perhaps parts of a large extramural cemetery. The proximity of habitation and tombs in the Pekmez area indicates that the boundaries between the cemetery and domestic areas at Aphrodisias are not precise, as they are not at Karataş.

At Thermi and the Samian Heraion, changes in the water level might have covered Early Bronze Age cemeteries. At both sites, it is also possible that a cemetery could have been located on the side of the settlement away from the sea, where the land begins to rise toward the mountains. If the ancient water table was high, extramural cemeteries could have been even farther from the sites, perhaps in the foothills.

The Early Bronze Age contours of Beycesultan were changed by second millennium activity on the mound. An Early Bronze Age cemetery could exist to the west of the mound on the side away from the river where the ground was probably higher.

Using the Karataş cemetery as a model the cemeteries of some of these sites may be tentatively reconstructed. The cemeteries are probably extramural, since no large number of tombs was discovered within any of the settlements. Several of the sites with undiscovered cemeteries lie in an area between the Cyclades and the Anatolian high-
lands, so it will not be surprising if a mixture of pithoi and cists is found in these cemeteries. Bayraklı is a good candidate for such a mixed cemetery because of its coastal location, as is Samos where an unusual combination of pithos and cist is already known (p. 115 supra). Poliochni's only known burials are cists of Periodo Bruno 68 (Troy V). The pottery reflects a mixture of Anatolian and Aegean types but the earlier burials may also be cists, probably in an extramural cemetery. Speculation about tomb types in the coastal and island zone is admittedly difficult since the area is not well known archaeologically and no pattern of burial customs has emerged. The suggestion that several cemeteries in this zone contain a combination or a mixture of pithoi and cists is a compromise, based on the few excavated tombs of Kos and Samos.

Thermi's cemetery may be more similar to the one at Troy, itself undiscovered, than to the southern islands on the basis of the geographical location and the few tombs already excavated there. It is likely that the Trojan cemetery of the Early Bronze Age is of pithoi, like Yortan and Babaköy. Aphrodisias, because of its inland location and already established material links with the western highlands rather than with the coast, is probably the site of a pithos cemetery. Although Beycesultan is nearer Kusura than to Yortan, Babaköy or Karatağ, its
preference in the matter of tomb types is probably indicated by the six jar burials found within the settlement. Burial customs at Kusura show a peculiar mixture not characteristic of western Anatolia, so the site should not be used for comparisons or confirming data. Surface observations of the plundered cemeteries in the Burdur area indicate that they contained pithoi.

The true pithos cemeteries probably follow burial procedures known from Yortan, Babaköy and Karataş. Stone markers may be found over tombs which are deeply buried. The cemeteries are probably laid out in the manner dominant in western Anatolia: in neat rows with all pithos rims oriented approximately to the east. Since all pithoi in extramural cemeteries other than Karataş are blocked with flat stone slabs, it may be assumed that this method of closure will predominate in the undiscovered cemeteries. Karataş, however, has taught us that each site may develop some individual aspects of burial procedure. A similar situation could prevail in some of the undiscovered cemeteries. It is also likely that jar shapes will vary by region, as they do in the cemeteries already studied.

In western Anatolia, the tomb was often considered a family unit; the same conception may hold at Thermi, Troy, Beycesultan, Aphrodisias and the Burdur area. Some tombs will contain only single burials, but multiple burials
will also be found. Although a few child burials were found within the settlements of Troy, Thermi, Beycesultan and Ovabayindir, most children were probably buried in extramural cemeteries with the adults. Infant mortality in ancient times was high, and a few burials cannot account for the total of deceased infants and children even in a small village. No question exists about the adult burials. Since the tombs of adults are almost never found in western Anatolian settlements, they must have been buried outside. Tomb gifts were given to some burials and placed close to the bodies, as in the excavated cemeteries. The gifts are probably simple—pottery, some metal jewelry and tools, occasionally a figurine.

This suggested reconstruction is speculative, but basic. Certain unusual and previously unknown features will probably emerge from every cemetery excavation made in the future. The built tomb at Karataş added a new dimension to the study of west Anatolian cemeteries. The presence of markers in extramural cemeteries had been suspected, but their existence was first confirmed at Karataş. Every undiscovered cemetery has a similar potential to add new categories and details about burial procedure and equipment.
EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF ANATOLIAN BURIAL CUSTOMS

The lands surrounding Anatolia have contributed to, and in turn been influenced by, burial procedures in Anatolia. In spite of the small number of Anatolian Neolithic and Chalcolithic tombs excavated, however, local precedents do exist for the burial customs of the Early Bronze Age. In the west, the earliest burials were probably extramural. No tombs have been discovered in the Chalcolithic settlements of Hacilar and Can Hasan, or at Beycesultan, if any levels there may be termed Chalcolithic. The custom of extramural burial continued into the Early Bronze Age, when it is amply documented. In north and central Anatolia, the pre-3000 situation in regard to burial customs is somewhat better known. The four adult earth burials at Fikirtepe are all tightly contracted on their sides, right or left. These burials are found in or near houses, suggesting that the custom of intramural burial practiced here was at variance with typical tomb placement to its south. The early burials at Alaca Hüyük, Büyük Gullücek and Çatal Hüyük are all earth burials. The east in the pre-Bronze Age period is represented only by two earth burials at Tilkitepe. In the southeast, a few tombs were found in early levels at Mersin and an extramural cemetery of jars and earth
burials was dug at Tarsus.

The following discussion of burial customs in the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East is not a survey of tombs and does not aim to solve specific problems, such as the origin or inspiration of the shaft tombs at Alaca Hüyük, but rather is an attempt to determine if Anatolia, particularly the west, was original or derivative in its burial customs. Distribution of tomb types in the areas to be considered will provide important points of comparison with the fairly uniform picture of Anatolian tomb types in the Early Bronze Age.

1. Mesopotamia and Iran

In Mesopotamia and Iran, no well defined pattern of tomb distribution exists. No single type of tomb was ever dominant throughout the area or in any certain temporal span. Several types of tomb are usually found in a single site in a given time period. Earth burials were found at Ali Kog and Tepe Guran in Ubaid period levels, and at many other sites during the following four millennia. Cist tombs too occur throughout Mesopotamia and Iran from Gawra IX-VIIC through the periods of Seleucid and Parthian domination. The materials used to construct these cists were those easily available—stone in northern Mesopotamia
and mudbrick in the south. Tomb chambers of a larger size were used for burials of families and other groups; they reach the height of elaboration and occupancy in the Royal Cemetery of Ur. Burials in various types of ceramic containers are common, but only children were placed in small jars. Since these household jars are not large enough for adult burials, special arrangements had to be made for their interment. Composite tombs of two jars placed rim to rim, first used in Mahmur and Gawra XII, were one way of solving this problem. Sometimes the corpse was arranged with arms and legs spread and drawn close to the torso and perhaps bound in this position, and then covered with a tilted pot. Sherds were placed under and over some bodies. The latter two methods do not, however, allow for complete coverage of the body by its container. Perhaps the most practical ceramic container developed for adult burials in Mesopotamia was the sarcophagus, which is of course not related to household vessels in shape or form, but which is a sensible means of burying adults in a land where stone was not plentiful.

All varieties of tomb mentioned above, with other types of built tombs, were used simultaneously in various Mesopotamian and Iranian sites. The difference between
central Anatolian and Mesopotamian burial customs is that the mixture of tomb types appears more complete in Mesopotamia; no special pattern of tomb occurrence can be isolated in any temporal or geographical zone. The mixture of tomb types in Mesopotamia cannot be related to the uniformity in western Anatolian cemeteries. Although some extramural cemeteries do exist in the north of Mesopotamia, at Tepe Gawra and Arpachiyah, most burial took place within the settlements, sometimes in large family vaults under house floors. In the specific matter of ceramic containers used for burials, the established custom in western Anatolia emerges as a development separate from Mesopotamia. In Mesopotamia, originally household jars were appropriated for the burial of children, while other arrangements had to be made for adult interments. The Mesopotamian custom of jar burial was not as standardized as western Anatolia’s; therefore Mesopotamia cannot be considered as the site of origin from the custom of pithos burial practiced in western Anatolia.

2. Syria and Palestine
   The closest foreign parallel to western Anatolian cemeteries is found in Syria, at Chalcolithic Byblos, but
this cemetery is not characteristic of known burial customs in the area. Cave burial and inhumation were common through the Neolithic period in Syria and Palestine. Collective burials, such as those found in caves, continued through the Early Bronze Age in specially prepared shafts and chambers.

At Byblos, an extramural cemetery of jar burials has been a subject of excavation since 1931. A final publication of the over 1500 tombs has not yet appeared, so the consideration of many details must be left aside for the present. Dunand’s preliminary reports have brought out many important points, but no plan of the Byblos cemetery has been published and no reports have referred to a detailed analysis of the skeletal material. Only the most spectacular finds have been illustrated. Comparisons between the Byblos cemetery and those in western Anatolia can therefore only be minimal.

Some of the similarities between the Byblos and Anatolian tombs are not as striking as others. Almost every tomb in the Byblos cemetery is a jar; fewer than ten are inhumations. The jars are all lying on their sides and range in height from 0.30 to 1.36 m., a height of burial jar paralleled in western Anatolia. Many tombs contain multiple burials, but it is not yet clear whether
they were successive. Bodies were contracted on right
or left sides; no rule governed their placement, as none did at Karatag. The rims of the burial jars were
often covered with bowls, although poor preservation of
many tombs makes the nature of their closure uncertain. Gifts, as in western Anatolia, were placed close to the
body. Pots often lay in front of the chest. Jewelry,
mostly beads, was usually found around the neck and several
skeletons still wore silver headbands (cf. Karatag Tomb
164). Some of the tomb pottery found at Byblos would
not be out of place in western Anatolia, especially
pieces with incised and filled decoration. The most
extraordinary comparative find of the Byblos Chalcolithic,
not from the cemetery but a contemporary habitation level,
is a violin-shaped figurine of polished stone with a
pierced head. The frequency of these figurines in the
Cyclades and western Anatolia is well known.

Several specific comparisons can be made between the
cemeteries of Karatag and Byblos. At Byblos Dunand has
recognized two jar types among the tombs. The first is
never larger than 0.80 m., has a flat base, ovoid body
and a large opening, often with a bevelled rim. The largest
jars of this type have two handles, on the shoulder or at
midbody. The second type is larger than the first, has
a corded surface decoration, a broad shoulder and a wide
neck flaring to a flattened rim. This type may be as tall as 1.86 m. and frequently exceeds 1.00 m. in height. Normally, two or three small handles are placed on the shoulder, but unusual multiple handle arrangements are also found (infra). At Karataş also the preliminary study of the burial jars has revealed two classes: one a large true pithos and the other a smaller, less well made variety (pp. 37-41 supra). Secondly, stone paving was observed over several Byblos tombs, which might be analogous to the Karataş marking circles and stone patches. The Byblos cemetery evidently mingles with houses at its edges. The relative chronology of these houses and tombs has not been established, but the situation could be similar to that found at Karataş, where between the settlement and the cemetery there was a certain amount of geographical give and take. At Karataş several child burials (357 and 359) were adorned with a wealth of metal jewelry. The elaboration of their ornaments was not paralleled elsewhere in the Karataş cemetery, but these child burials lay near other tombs distinguished by the variety of metal objects in them (Tombs 335, 366 and 367). This situation is also seen at Byblos in Tombs 630 and 631 each containing the single burial of a child. The objects in one tomb were counterparts of those in the other: two carinated bowls, a piriform jar and pitcher; carnelian, silver, rock crystal
and shell beads; metal headbands. Both held silver tubes; in 631 this tube was probably part of a mace staff since a hematite macehead with silver caps was found near the tube and pieces of silver leaf in the interval between tube and macehead could have formed a decoration or attachment at their point of junction. (cf. Karatash Tomb 335, p. 62 supra). No macehead appeared in 630, but one could have been present originally if it were made of a perishable material or became dislodged from the tomb. Both the Karatash and the Byblos tombs mentioned here are unique within each cemetery. A Byblian precedent is therefore established for the singling out of a few children to receive objects of special value.

Some of the larger jars in the Byblos cemetery have uncommon handle arrangements. Often three equally spaced series of three or six loop handles ran along the length of the jar from shoulder to base. A precise parallel for this type of handle position exists at Aphrodisias, on a pithos from the Pekmez area (p. 127 supra). The fact that this handle placement is otherwise unknown in western Anatolia and is frequent at Byblos suggests some kind of interaction.

Although the similarities cited above are strong and numerous, certain differences between the cemeteries of western Anatolia and Byblos must be considered. At Byblos
there may be no fixed orientation for the burial jars, although the lack of a published plan temporarily obscures this issue. Bodies were placed in the Byblos tombs \(^88\) indifferently, with heads toward rim or base \(^89\), unlike the practice in western Anatolia. The openings of the Byblos burial jars were often found insufficient for the placement of the body, so additional windows were made \(^89\). Such an indication of reuse seldom occurs in western Anatolian jars, many of which may have been made especially for the cemetery.

The Byblos cemetery cannot at present be considered a typical Syrian burial ground of the Chalcolithic period, nor can the precise nature of its role in relation to western Anatolia in the third millennium be assessed. Byblos is probably one of the points in the diffusion of the custom of extramural burial in jars, a custom also seen in the Chalcolithic cemetery of Tarsus and, although elaborated and adapted, in the Early Bronze Age cemeteries of western Anatolia. The general pattern of prehistoric burials in Syria and Palestine—collective burials in chambers—is however not related to Anatolian burial customs.

3. Cyprus

Burial customs may show a single line of development \(^90\) on Cyprus \(^9\). In the pre-3000 period, burial was simply in the earth, with a stone packing over the inhumations.
Intramural interment was practiced at Neolithic Khirikitia and Chalcolithic Erimi, while an extramural cemetery was found at Sotira. Tombs in the Early Bronze Age may have been a more elaborate form of the earlier pit graves, although they are always in extramural cemeteries. The Vounous tombs are chambers quarried in bedrock and reached by an entrance passage. Originally each chamber contained only one body, although some simultaneous burials were noted. Later the chambers were reopened and more bodies placed in the tombs. Philia cemeteries are composed of oval pit graves with entrance passages. More elaborate pit tombs were found at Vasilia.

In spite of the proposed "Luvian invasion" of Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age, no Anatolian tomb types are found on this island. Burial customs on Cyprus are independent of those of Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age.

4. The Cyclades

Cycladic cemeteries and tombs have been discussed briefly in connection with the Iasos cemetery (pp. 112-113 supra). Extramural cemeteries of stone cists are customary. The origin of the Cycladic-type cist is unknown, although it may have developed locally due to the availability of an abundance of easily worked stone. Given the natural resources of the islands, cists are more
practical as burial containers than pithoi.

These cists are now known to have local precedents of a Neolithic date. The cemetery at Kephala on Kea contains the earliest Cycladic stone tombs, although only two of thirty-five are slabsided and one of these is a triangular enclosure around a pithos. About one-third of the Kephala tombs contain multiple burials, unlike their Early Cycladic successors. Three burial jars were in the Kephala cemetery, the rim of each covered with a stone slab. Further research and the publication of the Kephala cemetery will aid in analysing the diffusion of pithos burial.

In the Cyclades, attempts were made at marking the location of some cists by using stones in various fashions. Projecting piles of stones lay above the Kephala cists. The cemetery at Aghioi Anagyrroi on Naxos was surrounded by an enclosure wall and flat stones placed as markers above each tomb. At Akrotiri on Naxos one of the vertical slabs of each cist was taller than the others to project above the field surface and function as a marker. Thus it is clear that markers were a basic feature both in the Cyclades and western Anatolia to designate the location of tombs and help in making successive burials.
The appearance of extramural cemeteries containing a single type of tomb is similar to that of cemeteries in western Anatolia, even though the tomb types themselves are different. The Cycladic tombs are of a size comparable to the larger west Anatolian pithoi but, as mentioned above, were usually not designated as family tombs.

5. Mainland of Greece

Little is known about Early Helladic burial customs. The excavated tombs are all extramural, and are distributed regionally.

The cists of Aghios Kosmas have been mentioned in connection with Iasos (p. 113 supra); Cycladic-type tombs may be typical of the whole Attic coast. No tombs were found at Korakou or Eutresis, implying that extramural cemeteries remain undiscovered in their vicinity. Rock cut graves and burials in rock cavities often enlarged for the purpose appear at Corinth, Zygouries, Asine and Malthi-Dorion. The chamber tombs at Manika in Euboia are similar to the shafts at Corinth and in the Athenian Agora. These rock-cut tombs sometimes function as ossuaries (Malthi-Dorion, Zygouries and Corinth), and are perhaps related to some Cretan tombs in which such secondary burial was common.
The tumuli excavated by Dörpfeld on Leukas are unique in the Greek world and provide some sidelights on burial customs at Karataş. These tumuli are set over circular stone platforms with the tombs themselves placed in the mounds or just outside their periphery. The bodies were burned and then placed in cists, pithoi, pits, and possibly wooden containers. The idea of placing a tumulus over the circular stone setting may parallel the lost mounds proposed for covering the stone circles of Karataş (p. 32 supra). This is not to suggest that the Leukas tumuli have any direct relationship to Karataş, but they do provide an illustration of the most likely reconstruction of what lay above the marking circles at Karataş.

The Greek mainland does not present a uniform pattern of burial customs. Relations with the Cyclades and Crete were strong factors in determining tomb types in the Early Helladic period.

6. Crete

Burial customs in Crete followed a pattern of development by region, as far as can be determined on the basis of the excavated evidence. Intramural burial is almost unknown until the end of the Middle Minoan period.

Caves and rock crevices provided handy burial places in the northeast part of the island. This burial mode was
probably of local inspiration, because of the rugged terrain. Stone cists are most common in the northeast, the area most likely to have been susceptible to influences from the Cyclades. Built ossuaries containing multiple burials are found in the northeast and, according to Pini, have their origin in the Cretan house type. Early Minoan larnakes appear as freestanding tombs only at Pachyammos and Gournia; otherwise they are placed in caves, tholoi or stone chambers. Emphasis is placed on northeastern Crete because Early Minoan remains in this area are more thoroughly explored than those in the rest of the island.

Tholos tombs are most common in the Messara plain of southern Crete, and may be distantly related to tomb chambers in Ethiopia or Egypt. Pithoi are rarely found in an Early Minoan context and are most frequent in the Middle Minoan period. Western Asia may be considered as the point of origin for the Cretan pithoi, since chronological priority is on the eastern side of the Mediterranean where jar burial was standardized.

The regional development of tomb types on Crete contrasts with Anatolia where all known types of tombs are used throughout the country, although a single type may be more common in one area than another. Interaction between Crete and Anatolia probably has its most obvious
result in the Middle Minoan use of jar burials. Burial customs in Anatolia were more formalized than those on Crete in the third millennium.

SPECULATION ON THE ORIGINS OF PITHOS BURIAL AS PRACTICED IN WESTERN ANATOLIA

Western Anatolia in the third millennium was culturally independent of central Anatolia in architecture and ceramics, as well as burial customs. Therefore, it is most likely that the pithos burial customs were developed locally in the west, although perhaps in part encouraged by an intermediary such as Tarsus or Byblos via the coastal trade. Western Anatolia's orientation was toward the Aegean and the Mediterranean rather than to the center of its own land. The customs of burial in large pithoi and multiple successive burial may have originated elsewhere, but they were adapted in western Anatolia and certain random features made standard. The Cyclades were probably affected by the diffusion of the pithos burial custom, as seen in the cemetery of Kephala, but quickly chose and refined a burial container more appropriate to their terrain and natural resources.

Although it is likely that pithos burial as such developed in an area other than western Anatolia, the Kusura cemetery may show the early tentative phases of
its use on the mainland. This cemetery is probably EB I 110 in date and thus precedes the Yortan-Babaköy type 111 cemeteries, which may be assigned to EB II . In the Kusura cemetery ceramic containers outnumber cists and inhumations but some of the jars found there are unusual in terms of the EB II pithos cemeteries. The bisected jars and sherd burial show that the custom of pithos burial was not formalized at Kusura. It may be preferable to see the Kusura cemetery as part of the central Anatolian tradition of mixed tomb types in a single site, rather than as the precursor of the EB II pithos cemeteries, but the hypothesis is impossible to substantiate since no other EB I cemetery has been found in the west.

In western Anatolia, the pithos was selected as a suitable vessel for burials and, in some cases, enlarged to avoid the problems encountered at Kusura and in Mesopotamia. A standardized custom governing pithos burial must have spread rapidly after EB I. Certain aspects of the burial procedure—extramural placement, easterly orientation, placement of the pithoi on their sides, blocking of the rims and contracted position of the bodies—became canonical and as such were the main features of western Anatolian practice. Use of some pithoi for successive multiple burials was thought proper and perhaps desirable when convenient. The strength of the
custom of multiple burial in western Anatolia is proved by its use in the cemetery of Iasos.

Western Anatolia must be given credit for its individualized use of the pithos in the third millennium, even though the custom may have ultimately been of foreign inspiration. The Karatağ cemetery shows that even a small village was aware of and practiced the burial customs of cities and towns some distance to its north, and thus participated in third millennium contacts which extended through much of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.
CHAPTER IV: FOOTNOTES

1. In its strictest sense, "intramural" means inside the walls of a fortified city, rather than within the walls of an individual building. The term is generally used in archaeology as it is here, being frequently applied to unfortified settlements.

2. Iasos II, fig. 315 opp. 515.


4. Thermi, 28.

5. Kusura I, 10.


7. The excavation report is not more explicit about placement of the tombs. Ahatlibel, 33; K. Bittel, "Beiträge zur kleinasiatischen Archäologie", AOF 11 (1936-37), 40.

8. Babaköy I, 18 n. 3.


12. Ibid., pl. I-IV.


14. Iasos I, 561; Iasos II, 524-529, fig. 162.

15. Iasos II, fig. 135. The orientation of each tomb is not given in the text. On the basis of the plan, the following orientations were observed: east-west, 40 tombs; northwest-southeast, 24 tombs; northeast-southwest, 12 tombs; north-south, 2 tombs. Three (46, 54 and 64) are round so have no particular orientation and three are ruined (5, 38 and 52). According to the plan, two orientations are given incorrectly in the text: 51, which the text says is east-west, should be northeast-southwest and 48 which is east-west, but called northeast-southwest in the text.

16. Iasos II, 509-510; fig. 142.

17. Iasos I, 561-562; fig. 95.

18. Iasos II, 511-512; 533.

19. Iasos II, 530; fig. 165.

20. Iasos II, 533.


22. Syros- 10 of 600 tombs excavated (C. Tsountas, "Kykladika II", ArchEph 1899, 83-84); Amorgos, Paros, Antiparos and Dhespotikon- 7 of 190 tombs (C. Tsountas, "Kykladika", ArchEph 1898, 143-144); Pelos- several of 20 tombs (C.C. Edgar, "Prehistoric Tombs at Pelos", BSA 3 (1896-97), 40); Paros- several of 5 tombs (E.A. Varoucha, "Kykladiko Taphoi tis Parou", ArchEph 1926, 100).


25. Iasos II, figs. 142, 143 and 146 for example.
27. Samos, pl. 21, 6.
29. Babaköy I, 10.
30. Babaköy I, Abb. 3 on 5.
32. Babaköy I, 9, Abb. 14 on 19.
33. Babaköy I, abb. 13 on 19.
34. Eski Balikhane, 192-193.
35. Eski Balikhane, 193.
36. Eski Balikhane, 192, 193 and 194.
37. Eski Balikhane, 192 *passim*.
38. Eski Balikhane, 192 *passim*.
39. Eski Balikhane, 192 *passim*.
40. Kusura I, 55.
41. Kusura I, 26-27.
42. Kusura I, pl. I.
43. Kusura I, 55.
44. Aphrodisias I, 63.
45. Aphrodisias I, pl. 28, fig. 37.
46. Some of the pithoi have been restored and are in the Archaeological Museum in İstanbul.
47. Ahlatlibel, 88-89.
49. Ahlatlibel, 95.
50. Ahlatlibel, ill. on 90.
51. Ahlatlibel, 95.
52. Alisar, 137.
53. Alişar, 142.
56. Horoztepe, 52.
57. Mylonas, Aghios Kosmas, op. cit., 66.
58. Eski Balikhanı, 195.
59. Babaköy I, Abb. 5 on 6.
60. E. Vermeule, "The Early Bronze Age in Caria", Archaeology XVII (1964), 244-249.
61. Troy, 8-9; W. Dörpfeld, Troja und Ilion, (Athens, 1902), 535-537.
62. Troy, 10.
63. Troy, fig. 416.
64. Aphrodisias I, ill. 2 on 51.
65. Thermi, fig. 1.
66. Samos, pl. I.
67. Beycesultan, fig. 1.
68. Poliochni, pls. 11 and 12.
69. The presence of an extramural cemetery at Hacilar is unverified.

73. Tilkitepe. 151-152.


76. E. Strommenger, "Grab (I. Irak und Iran)", Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie, (Berlin, 1971), 581-593.

77. B. Hrouda, "Grab (II. Syrien und Palästina), Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie, (Berlin, 1971), 593-603.


80. Dunand, op. cit. 1949, BMBeyrouth IX (1949-50), 68, pl. III.

81. Chéhab, op. cit., 76.

82. Dunand, op. cit. 1950, BMBeyrouth XII(1954), pl. III and V.


85. Dunand, op. cit. 1949, BMBeyrouth IX (1949-50), pl. IV, 1, 2, 3.

86. Chéhab, op. cit., 75-85.

88. Chéhab, op. cit., 75-76.

89. N. Jidejian, Byblos through the Ages, (Beirut, 1968), 12.


91. J. Coleman, Bryn Mawr College seminar in October, 1969.


94. C.W. Blegen, Korakou, a Prehistoric Settlement near Corinth, (Boston and New York, 1921), 100.


98. O. Frödin and A.W. Persson, Svenska Asine Expeditionens Results of the Swedish Excavations 1922-1930, (Stockholm, 1938), 338-341.


105. Ibid., 9.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid., 10.
108. Ibid., 5.
111. Ibid.
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS

The Karatag cemetery increases our knowledge of the Anatolian Early Bronze Age by adding many details about burial customs. The new evidence, compared to the plundered cemeteries of the Burdur and Balikesir areas, shows that a single burial custom was practiced in western Anatolia. Basic elements of this uniform custom may now be reconstructed, using the evidence compiled from 386 tombs at Karatag.

1. The custom

Topography and layout. The Karatag cemetery is situated on the highest piece of ground in the area, south of the settlement mound. If fully excavated, the cemetery might cover an area of about 22,000 square meters (27 acres). Density of tomb placement varies, but as many as 2000 tombs could have been placed in this cemetery in ancient times. Cemeteries of similar extent are probably present at Babaköy, where two separate excavations found similar tombs, and at sites where surface observations of plundered cemeteries have been made (e.g. Düver near Hacilar). The layout of the Karatag cemetery is regular, with tombs placed in rows running roughly north-south and with overlapping of tombs rare.
At Karatağ the cemetery is extramural and has a flexible relation with the settlement. Habitation preceded funerary usage of some areas and houses were built over tombs in one trench. At no time, however, did burial, even of children, take place in or among occupied houses.

**Standard procedure for burial in a jar or pithos.** First, a pit was dug in the ground and a shallow cutting made in bedrock as a bedding for a large pithos. Small jars needed only an earth pit. The burial jar was lowered into the pit and eased into the cutting with the rim of the jar opening to the east. The body was then placed in the jar and arranged so the head was toward the jar rim, and contracted on the right or left side. In some interments, possessions were placed on or near the body—jewelry in its appropriate place and weapons or toys in the hands or by the chest. Small vessels were sometimes set in front of the chest, a position convenient for the deceased’s use.

The rim of the burial jar was then sealed. A variety of materials were used to block the jar openings—stones, sherds, pithos sections, complete pots, flat stone slabs and perhaps wood, but all were intended to protect the body in the jar. Additional tomb gifts, always pots,
could be deposited by the blocking or the upper body of the jar. Although the rituals accompanying burial leave no archaeological trace, it is possible that vessels placed outside the tomb were used by relatives and friends for funerary libations and meals.

When all activities immediately concerned with the interment of the body were completed, the pit was filled to the field surface. A marking circle of stones was placed on the surface, and perhaps a mound built within the circle. Since no mounds are preserved, we do not know if further ritual was connected with their construction.

The burial was then complete and the tomb left until, in some cases, it was needed for further burials. It is uncertain whether a tomb was originally planned to contain more than one burial, but each family or group knew the location and size of its tombs and who had been buried in them most recently. Two considerations may have governed the placement of additional burials in a tomb. One was the degree of family attachment among individuals already buried and those to be interred, and the other the length of time that had passed since the original burial. Indications are that decomposition was almost always complete when additional burials were made in a tomb.
The procedure used for subsequent burials in a tomb was almost identical to that of the original interment. The pit, easy to locate because the center of the marking circle usually lay above the pithos rim, was redug. Blocking materials were removed from the jar rim and the original burial, now a skeleton, pushed to the base of the pithos with its tomb gifts. The second burial was then placed in the pithos and contracted on its side with head toward the jar rim. Additional gifts and possessions could be left with the new burial, and the pithos was again closed. The pit was refilled, and the marking circle, if disturbed, and mound replaced. The process of reopening the pithos could be repeated as many times as desired, but lack of space remaining in the pithos and the passage of time obliterating close family ties would have eventually caused it to remain sealed.

The basic procedure of burial outlined above is that followed at Yortan, Babaköy and the Gygean lakeshore, in the plundered cemeteries observed in the Burdur and Balıkesir areas and probably in the undiscovered cemeteries of Troy, Thermi and Beycesultan. These elements were matters of tradition and of practicality, and as such are the major aspects of the custom of pithos burial practiced in western Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age.
2. Variation in details.

Within the Karatag cemetery certain features of each burial were variable and allowed the family or group to express its individuality and status in the community. Some variation also exists among the cemeteries of western Anatolia due to regional styles and contacts.

The cemeteries of Yortan, Babaköy and Eski Balikhane, as reported thus far, contain only pithos burials, at least as far as the third millennium is concerned. At Karatag, the built tomb and the few inhumations seem counter to the predominant pattern. They are exceptional, however, at Karatag, where the cemetery is clearly in the tradition of pithos burial.

No child burials were found in the Karatag settlement, while other sites in western Anatolia, notably Troy, Ovabayindir and Beycesultan, have children interred intramurally. The number of child burials found in these settlements probably does not account for the total which died since infant mortality was notoriously high in ancient times. When the cemeteries belonging to these excavated settlements are discovered and known cemeteries fully excavated, it will probably be found that many children were buried in extramural cemeteries with the adults. The reasons for burying some children intra-
murally are conjectural; it was more likely a matter of familial affection or of convenience not to dig a special pit in a cemetery which lay at some distance from the settlement than a matter of the social or ritual status of the deceased. At Karatag, the cemetery was easily accessible and family relationships were affirmed by clustering child burials around the tombs of their relatives instead of placing them in the settlement.

Burial containers also were variable factors in burial customs. Within the Karatag cemetery, two types of vessel— the pithos and the jar— were used, as well as several varieties on the basic shapes. The selection of a burial container may have been determined by what was available at the time, but was also a reflection of the family's wealth and status. Children were often buried in simple pots which could have been used for cooking or storage, but a few children were placed in elegant red slipped and polished jars, some with relief decoration and unusual shapes. Adult jars varied from a simple strap-handled type to a sturdy lug-handled pithos. Decoration of handles and neck distinguished some burial containers. Although few tombs from other western Anatolian cemeteries are well enough known to determine differences in jar shapes, there was internal variation at a few sites (lugs and straps at Yortan, a decorated
pithos at Eski Balikhane, unusual handle placement on a pithos from Aphrodisias) and differences between some sites and Karataş. The pithoi of Eski Balikhane and Babaköy are ovoid with rounded bases; all Karataş jars have definitely flattened bases.

In blocking, differences exist between Karataş and other west Anatolian cemeteries. At Yortan, Babaköy and probably Aphrodisias, every jar rim was covered with a flat stone slab. Available materials were often used for blocking at Karataş, but in a few cases stone slabs were procured. The frequency of slab blocking at sites other than Karataş indicates that this type of closure was preferred, since field stones and sherds were certainly available everywhere, but no quarries were close enough to Karataş to make regular use of a slab practical.

The categories of tomb gifts were the same at all sites with pithos cemeteries—pottery, jewelry, weapons, tools and stone figurines. At Karataş 236 tombs contained no gifts and many of the others had only a pot or a simple metal object. The few rich burials, like 164, 335, 357, 359, 366 and 367, were unusual in local terms and must have represented prosperous families. Although the kinds of goods are the same in other pithos cemeteries, almost every tomb contained an object and some were equal in splendor to the few rich tombs of Karataş.
A uniform burial custom was practiced throughout western Anatolia in the Early Bronze Age, but variation in some details indicates that there were regional differentiations. A comparative study of small vessels and burial jars suggests that the Elmali plain was in some respects independent of styles to its north.

3. Special information from the Karatag cemetery

In addition to supplying evidence for pithos burial procedures, the Karatag cemetery will eventually reveal chronological differences among several phases of its continuous use, thus providing a framework for relative dating of burial jars and artifacts from other west Anatolian sites. Correlation of the information derived by J. Lawrence Angel from his study of the human skeletal remains with archaeological evidence consisting of several complexes of similar "tomb gifts" may permit the identification of family burial plots. One significant aspect of burial custom has been studied here—the criteria by which certain items were chosen for inclusion in the tomb.

Tomb gifts were selected because of their suitability to the age and sex of the deceased. The fashion of the times was probably also a determining factor, but must be temporarily left out of consideration. Some children's
gifts may have been selected because of the child's status in important families. We cannot know if metal rings, bracelets, earrings and beads were part of the child's normal array or if wealthy families selected special items from their treasure chests for their deceased children, but the presence of elaborate jewelry distinguishes a few child burials from the majority. Since no adult was buried with such finery, we must assume that the children so adorned were special heirs. Other objects found regularly in the tombs of children were more suitable to their own preoccupations—stone figurines for dolls or amulets and miniature vessels for feeding and play.

Adult gifts were more practical and can usually be identified as functional. Some women wore metal pins at their shoulders, probably to fasten garments, and occasionally a spindle whorl/bead hung from the pin. Perishable fasteners may have also been used and could have held pendant beads. Objects accompanying male burials suggest that men were responsible for warfare and some subsistence activities. Razors and metal plaques may have added to their personal appearance, while maceheads, daggers, javelin heads and axes were used in active life.

Pottery is the only type of object which does not have a consistent relation to the age or sex of the burial.
Miniature vessels were almost always found with children, but the majority of cups, jugs and pitchers were in or outside the tombs of adults and children. Pottery was therefore the only type of object which was made or selected especially for funerary usage, since most of the other items in the Karatag tombs were the burial's possessions during life rather than special productions for the afterlife.

4. The Karatag cemetery in perspective

The custom of pithos burial practiced throughout western Anatolia was followed at Karatag, although some deviations from standard procedure indicate that Karatag may have been in a peripheral area. The predomina nt custom can be related to the rest of Anatolia superficially, since jar burial was common throughout the country, but only in the west was jar burial elaborated and formalized. Western Anatolia and most of its eastern Mediterranean and Near Eastern neighbors in the third millennium— the Helladic mainland, Crete, Cyprus, Mesopotamia and Iran— share few burial customs. In the Aegean area, only with the Cyclades is it likely that interaction of funerary traditions occurred, witnessed by the pithos burials in the Kephala cemetery and some similarities between burial in pithoi and in cists.
The closest known relative of the Karatag and other west Anatolian cemeteries is the Chalcolithic burial ground at Byblos. Since the Byblos cemetery is at present singular in Syria-Palestine, its coastal location and maritime activities were probably significant in determining its burial customs. Burial customs in western Anatolia indicate participation in sea trade and contacts, with Tarsus as a potential waystation on the route to the east. Differences existing between the Byblos and western Anatolian cemeteries prove that the Early Bronze Age burial customs and procedures of western Anatolia were local developments, in part related to customs in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean.
CHAPTER V: FOOTNOTES

1. The problem of cist tombs in pithos cemeteries must be temporarily set aside since the cists at Babaköy were found empty and those of Midas City and Ahlatli Tepecik on the Gygean lake shore are inadequately reported for purposes of this study.
CURRICULUM VITAE

I was born on 4 July 1946 in New Castle, Indiana, the child of Margaret Tam and Harmon G. Steoh. I entered Bryn Mawr College in 1963 and majored there in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology. In June, 1967, I received an A.B. degree cum laude. The following fall, I entered the Bryn Mawr College Graduate School in the department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology and was teaching assistant in that department from 1967 through the spring of 1969. For the 1969-1970 academic year I was the Departmental Fellow; part of my support was due to the generosity of the Bryn Mawr College Alumnae Club of New York and southern Connecticut. The Alumnae Club continued its support in the fall of 1970.

I passed my Ph. D preliminary examinations in April, 1971. My fields of concentration were Near Eastern history, Near Eastern archaeology, Anatolian archaeology and Homer. Preparation for these examinations was done under the guidance of Machteld J. Mellink and Mabel Lang.

In 1966, 1968, 1970 and 1971 I participated in the Bryn Mawr College excavation seminar at Karataş-Semayük, near Elmalı in the province of Antalya, Turkey. Machteld J. Mellink is the director of this excavation.

Since June, 1972, I have been a research assistant working with excavation materials for Prof. Jacques Bordaz,
Department of Anthropology, University of Pennsylvania. I am currently teaching Anatolian archaeology in the Iron Age at the Main Line School Night, a weekly non-credit course for adults; in the first semester, I taught a similar course in Anatolian archaeology of the Neolithic and Bronze Age periods.
ILL. 2. Trench 37. Lower level showing houses under megaron 3 and burials
Map 11  Distribution of Intramural and Extramural Tombs in Anatolia

+ extramural cemetery
+ intramural cemetery
● individual intramural tombs
Map 12 Distribution of tomb types in Anatolia

- pithos
- cist
- earth burial
- chamber tomb (including shaft tombs and hypogaeas)
- cremation
Figure 1. Pithos Shapes

II. Pithos with lug handles

Ovoid body-stump base-lug handles
Round body-disc base-lug handles
Round body-profiled base-lug handles

Ovoid body-profiled base-lug handles

Bagshaped body-profiled base-lug handles
Figure I. Pithos Shapes

III. Child jars

1:10

Ovoid body-flat base-strap handles

Round body-profiled base strap handles

Round body-disc base strap handles

Round body-flat base-strap handles

Pitcher
Figure 2. Pottery Classification

Only one example of each category is illustrated here since differences are those of surface color. Several decorated pieces are illustrated for each class to show the placement and types of decoration.

The distinctions between round and pointed spouts cannot be detected in the profiles, but in a visual examination of the pitchers. A round spout splay out from the handle-rim junction and terminates in a circular pouring area, while a pointed spout tapers up from the handle to form a beak.

In the profiles the point of greatest body diameter is shown on both sides of the medial line. Interior contours of pitchers and other vessels with closed or constricted necks are reconstructed from measurements taken near the rim, complemented by visual and tactile observation.

I. Cups
   A. Buff and red (grouped together because of mottling and coarseness)
      1. Plain
      2. White painted
      3. Knobbed
      4. White painted and knobbed
   B. Black
      1. Fluted

II. Jugs
   A. Buff
   B. Red
      1. Plain
      2. White painted
      3. White painted and knobbed
      4. Fluted
   c. Black
      1. Plain
      2. White painted
      3. Knobbed

III. Pitchers
   A. Red
      1. Simple body
         a. Pointed spout
            1. Plain
            2. White painted
         b. Rounded spout
            1. Plain
            2. White painted
            3. Knobbed
            4. Fluted
2. Squat body
   a. Pointed spout
      1. Plain
      2. White painted
      3. Knobbed
   b. Rounded spout
      1. Plain
      2. White painted
      3. Knobbed
      4. White painted and incised
      5. With decorated handle
3. Simple body with slim neck
   a. Pointed spout
      1. White painted
      2. Knobbed
   b. Rounded spout
      1. Fluted

B. Black
   1. Simple body
      a. Pointed spout
         1. Plain
         2. Knobbed
      b. Rounded spout
         1. Plain
         2. Fluted
   2. Simple body with slim neck
      a. Pointed spout
      b. Rounded spout

IV. Coarseware Pitchers
   A. Buff
   B. Red
   C. Black

V. Red Collared jars- one-handled

VI. Black Jars- usually incised

VII. Miniatures
   A. Askoi
   B. Bowl
   C. Lentoid flask
   D. Barbotine cup
   E. Baby feeders
   F. Pitchers
   G. Jug
   H. Incised jars
VIII. Miscellaneous
   A. Bowls
   B. Pitchers- on ring base
   C. Buff incised jars
Figure 2. Pottery Profiles

I. Cups 1:1

A. Plain

B. White painted
Figure 2, cont.

I. Cups

C. White painted and knobbed
II. Jugs 1:1

A. Plain

B. Knobbed
Figure 2, cont.

III. Pitchers 1:1

A. Simple body, rounded spout
   1. Plain
Figure 2, cont.

III. Pitchers 1:1

A. Simple body, rounded spout
   2. White painted
Figure 2, cont.

III. Pitchers
b. Simple body, pointed spout

C. Squat body, rounded spout
Figure 2, cont.

III. Pitchers

D. Squat body, pointed spout
Figure 2, cont.

III. Pitchers

E. Slim neck, rounded spout, fluted decoration on body
Figure 2, cont.

IV. Black incised jars

A. Loop handled

B. Lug handled
IV. Black incised jars

C. Three footed (Tomb 366)
VI. Miniatures

A. Lentoid flask
   (Tomb 41)

B. Barbotine cup
   (Tomb 41)
Figure 2, cont.

VI. Miniatures

C. Basket-handled baby feeders

Tomb 144

D. Askos (Tomb 144)
VI. Miniatures

E. Side-spouted pitcher
(Tomb 145)

F. Black incised jar
(Tomb 131)
VI. Miniatures

G. Bowl with interior painting
VI. Miniatures

H. Miniature white-painted beak spouted pitcher (Tomb 95)

I. Rattle (Tomb 147)
VII. Miscellaneous

Buff incised jar with tubular lugs (Tomb 187)
Figure 1. Pithos Shapes
1. Jars with strap handles

Ovoid body-strap handles-flat base

Ovoid body-strap handles-disc base

Ovoid body-strap handles-profiled base

Ovoid body-strap handles-flat base-bevelled rim
I. Jars with strap handles

Piriform body-strap handles-flat base

1:10

Round body-profiled base-strap handles

Bagshaped body-strap handles-flat base

Piriform body-profiled base-strap handles
Figure 2, cont.

V. Red collared jars
III. Pitchers

A. Simple body, rounded spout

3. Decorated handle, knobs on body

4. Fluted
Figure 4

Ench 98-SE

Section through circles C-B-A
Map 2

Levels above datum point in cemetery

SE CEMETERY

0 50m

0.30
0.35
0.41
0.50 (bedrock)
0.63 (surface)

5.00
6.23
6.75
7.50
8.00
8.30
9.50
9.93
10.26
12.00
7-8-12

MAIN CEMETERY