

Ashes to Kraters, Dust to Jugs. Use of Ceramic Vessels as Urns in the Middle and Late Bronze Age East Aegean–West Anatolian Region

Filip Franković

Abstract

The appearance of a large number of cremation burials towards the end of the Late Bronze Age in the west Aegean is usually explained as a result of the influence from the east Aegean–west Anatolian region, which is itself seen as influenced by the central Anatolian tradition. Although in some cases the cremated remains were deposited directly into graves, there are a number of cases in which they were first deposited in urns. This paper focuses on the use of urns in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. It examines the use of different shapes of ceramic vessels as urns, as well as the similarities and differences between the attested traditions. The paper also compares the east Aegean–west Anatolian traditions to the picture emerging from the cemeteries in central Anatolia in order to re-examine the possible origin of the east Aegean–west Anatolian practices. Moreover, the east Aegean–west Anatolian traditions in the use of ceramic vessels as urns are compared to the newly emerged traditions at the end of the Late Bronze Age in the west Aegean. Finally, the results are used to re-evaluate the widely accepted and simplified narratives about the spread of the cremation burial rite from Anatolia to the west Aegean.

Keywords

Late Bronze Age, east Aegean–west Anatolian region, central Anatolia, Greek mainland, Crete, urns

Zusammenfassung – *Asche zu Krateren, Staub zu Krügen. Verwendung von Keramikgefäßen als Urnen in der mittleren und späten Bronzezeit in der Region Ostägäis-Westanatolien*

Das Auftreten einer großen Zahl von Brandbestattungen in der Westägäis am Ende der Spätbronzezeit wird in der Regel als Einfluss aus der Region Ostägäis-Westanatolien erklärt, der wiederum auf eine zentralanatolische Tradition zurückgeführt wird. Obwohl die verbrannten menschlichen Überreste in einigen Fällen direkt in Gräbern deponiert wurden, wurden die Überreste häufiger zuerst in Urnen deponiert. Dieser Artikel untersucht die Verwendung von Urnen in der Region Ostägäis-Westanatolien während der mittleren und späten Bronzezeit. Er beschäftigt sich außerdem mit der Verwendung unterschiedlicher Keramikgefäße als Urnen sowie mit den Gemeinsamkeiten und Unterschieden

der durch die Forschung dokumentierten regionalen Traditionen. In diesem Artikel werden auch die ostägäischen-westanatolischen Traditionen den Gräberfeldern in Zentralanatolien gegenübergestellt, wodurch der mögliche Ursprung der ostägäischen-westanatolischen Praktiken überprüft wird. Darüber hinaus werden die ostägäischen-westanatolischen Traditionen der Verwendung von Keramikgefäßen als Urnen mit den neuen Traditionen verglichen, die in der westlichen Ägäis am Ende der Spätbronzezeit auftreten. Schließlich wird eine Neubewertung der weithin akzeptierten, jedoch vereinfachenden Annahme vorgenommen, die davon ausgeht, dass Brandbestattungen sich von Anatolien in die westliche Ägäis ausgebreitet haben.

Schlüsselbegriffe

Spätbronzezeit, Ostägäis-Westanatolien, Zentralanatolien, griechisches Festland, Kreta, Urnen

1. Introduction

Cremation burials began to appear in large quantities in the west Aegean towards the end of the Late Bronze Age (LBA), namely during the LH IIIC period according to the Aegean relative chronology or the 12th and early 11th centuries BC. Their appearance is often connected to cultural influences from the surrounding regions.¹ More precisely, the origins of cremation have been traced to Italy,² the Balkans³ or most commonly Anatolia.⁴ It is not surprising that the origin of the cremation burial rite in the Aegean is most commonly traced back to Anatolia, as this burial rite was widely employed in Anatolia during the 2nd millennium BC. In the periods preceding the 12th century BC, cremation has often

¹ For an overview, see JUNG 2007. – RUPPENSTEIN 2013.

² E.g. DICKINSON 2006, 73. – JUNG 2007, 229.

³ E.g. RUPPENSTEIN 2013, 190.

⁴ E.g. DAVARAS 1973, 162, 167. – MEE 1978, 137. – MELAS 1985, 169. – GEORGIADIS 2003, 83, 85. – JUNG 2007, 220–221, 229.

been used to create a dichotomy between the Greek mainland and Anatolia due to its wide employment at 'Hittite' cemeteries in central Anatolia and uncommon occurrence at 'Mycenaean' cemeteries on the Greek mainland. However, the dichotomy is hard to maintain in the east Aegean–west Anatolian cemeteries.

Between the late 15th and the 13th century BC or the LH IIIA–IIIB period according to the Aegean relative chronology, the east Aegean–west Anatolian region witnessed a sudden and significant increase of imported and locally produced objects, as well as other material forms, often described as 'Mycenaean'.⁵ One such form is 'Mycenaean-type' tombs (rock-cut chamber tombs⁶ and tholoi), which appeared in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region for the first time in the late 15th century BC or the (LH IIB–) LH IIIA1 period and continued to be used until the early 11th century BC or the LH IIIC period.⁷ As a result of the appearance of large quantities of 'Mycenaean' material forms, the east Aegean islands and west Anatolian coast were seen as a contact zone between central Anatolia and the Aegean, in which traits of two cultural circles mixed.⁸ For example, the appearance of cremation, which is defined as an 'Anatolian burial rite', in some of the 'Mycenaean-type' graves in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region has been used to support the interpretation of the mixed (or hybrid) cultural character of the entire area.⁹ The appearance of cremation burials in 'local' graves (e.g. large pithoi) has often been related to local traditions in the studies, rather than subjected to a separate study.

Earlier studies¹⁰ mostly focused on the specific character of cremation, its relatively rare appearance in the west Aegean contexts, the practical and religious reasons for its appearance and the actual process of cremation. However, the fact that the use of the same burial rite might have had different meanings in different contexts and been used to signify different social identities among the deceased is

often neglected.¹¹ Although the end result of cremation might have been the same, the funerary rituals connected to it might have been the differentiating factor.¹² Therefore, possible interpretations about the meaning of cremation in a certain society or even different groups within the same social environment can be based only on detailed contextual examinations. This suggests that there is a need for a detailed and diachronic re-examination of the cremation burials in the wider area, which would include the study of different data sets connected to cremation burials (e.g. a study of the age and sex of the cremated individuals, treatment of the cremated remains, tomb types in which the remains were deposited, types of ceramic vessels used as urns etc.).

This paper aims to examine a specific segment of cremation burials, more precisely the deposition of cremated remains in urns. Although this is not always the case, urns were widely used for the deposition of cremated remains in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region. This paper will examine the use of different shapes of ceramic vessels as urns, as well as their spatial and chronological distribution in the context of the east Aegean islands and west Anatolia. It will try to define patterns in the use of specific shapes and determine the possible development of different traditions. The paper mainly focuses on the cemeteries dating between the 14th and early 11th century BC in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region. However, the cemeteries dating between the 20th and 15th centuries BC (Middle Bronze Age (MBA) and early LBA) are also presented as they offer a good insight into the formative stages of the already established practices attested at the beginning of the 14th century BC. In order to examine the potential influences and spread of traditions, the east Aegean–west Anatolian urns are compared to those discovered in central Anatolia and the west Aegean, namely on Crete and the Greek mainland. At the end of this study, the results are used to re-evaluate the widely accepted and simplified narratives about the spread of the cremation burial rite from Anatolia to the west Aegean.

It is important to mention that the types of ceramic vessels used as urns for the deposition of cremated remains sometimes contained unburned skeletal remains. They often contained primary burials of infants and children, as well as secondary burials of adult individuals. In other cases, ceramic vessels were probably used for the deposition

5 E.g. MONACO 1941. – FURUMARK 1950. – MEE 1978. – MEE 1988a. – BENZI 1992. – MEE 1998. – MOUNTJOY 1998. – NIEMEIER 1998b. – GEORGIADIS 2003. – EERBEEK 2014. – GOROGIANNI, PAVÚK, GIRELLA 2016.

6 In this paper I use the term rock-cut chamber tomb as a typological term to define all subterranean chamber tombs which were cut into rock and soils of different types, hardness and compactness.

7 E.g. MEE 1978. – MEE 1988a. – MEE 1998. – MOUNTJOY 1998. – GEORGIADIS 2003. – EERBEEK 2014.

8 MOUNTJOY 1998.

9 MOUNTJOY 1998, 37.

10 E.g. DAVARAS 1973, 162, 167. – MEE 1978, 137. – MEE 1982, 90. – MELAS 1985, 169. – GEORGIADIS 2003, 83, 85. – JUNG 2007, 220–221, 229.

11 For example, cremation was one of the markers of the Hittite royal identity, e.g. OTTEN 1958. – VAN DEN HOUT 1994. – KASSIAN, KOROL'EV, SIDEL'TSEV 2002. – VAN DEN HOUT 2002.

12 E.g. BASEDOW 2000, 16.

of human skeletal remains, which were secondarily burned during fumigation and purification rituals. As these vessels appear in the same cemeteries as vessels containing cremations, they are also treated as urns and included in the study. However, it is important to note that the large pithoi which were widely used at the cemeteries all over west and central Anatolia as family graves for multiple burials, most of which were skeletal, are not considered as part of this group. Although the appearance of cremation burials in large pithoi is well attested in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region, they are usually deposited together with a higher number of skeletal burials.¹³ Therefore, pithoi should not be regarded as urns, but rather as an integral part of grave architecture. In this paper, the cremations deposited directly into the large pithoi are discussed together with the cremations which were deposited directly into other grave and tomb types without the use of urns. The following overviews include all sites in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region where cremations in urns have been discovered.

2. Middle Bronze Age and Early Late Bronze Age Sites with Burials in Urns

The majority of the LBA cemeteries in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region discovered so far date between the 14th and the 12th century BC, which is also the period of the most intensive contacts between the ‘Mycenaean’ Greek mainland and the east Aegean–west Anatolian region. The number of MBA and early LBA cemeteries in the region is significantly lower. Nevertheless, the MBA and early LBA cemeteries in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region also need to be examined in order to fully understand the use of ceramic vessels as urns and the development of traditions in the later phases of the LBA.

Six sites dating to the MBA and early LBA have produced evidence of the use of ceramic vessels as urns. All of the sites are located in west Anatolia and none of them are on the islands (Fig. 1). Troy, Aphrodisias, Ulucak Höyük and Limantepe are located in the coastal area or its background, while the cemeteries at Demircihüyük–Sarıkent and Dede Mezarı are located further inland, in the transitional zone to central Anatolia.

2.1. Troy (no. 1)

Two out of three child burials found below the floor of Room 601 (area FG/8–9) at Troy were deposited in ceramic vessels,

namely globular jars.¹⁴ However, none of them seem to have contained cremated remains, but rather inhumations. They probably date to the early Troy VI, possibly VIa, period.¹⁵ An additional inhumation of a child in a jar was found dug into the Troy V layers (area A7) and probably dates to the early Troy VI.¹⁶

2.2. Demircihüyük–Sarıkent (no. 2)

Five out of ten possible cremations at the MBA cemetery at Demircihüyük–Sarıkent were found in urns. Three graves (Graves 182, 432, 566) were identified as urns with cremated remains.¹⁷ The types of urns were not reported, but it is certain that in the case of Grave 182, a bowl was used as a lid. A small ribbed pithos (Grave 593) from the same cemetery also contained exclusively cremated remains¹⁸ and might be considered as an urn rather than a pithos with additionally added cremated remains. Stone Grave 306 contained cremated remains placed in a bowl.¹⁹ According to the results of the ¹⁴C dating, the cemetery dates between the 19th and the 16th century BC.²⁰

2.3. Ulucak Höyük (no. 3)

A small number of cremation burials have been reported from the MBA cemetery of Ulucak Höyük.²¹ Smaller ceramic vessels were used as urns for the deposition of cremated remains of children and adults, as well as for inhumations of children.²² The urn types remain unclear.

2.4. Dede Mezarı (no. 4)

At the cemetery of Dede Mezarı, one of the pithoi (F8) contained the remains of a cremated individual placed in a jar.²³ Another single jar (L5) was found, but it remains unclear what kind of burial it contained.²⁴ It could have also contained the remains of a cremated individual or a skeletal burial of a child.²⁵ According to the results of the ¹⁴C dating,

¹⁴ ANGEL 1951, 12. – BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 128, 130 and Figs. 119–120, 325, 423, 457.

¹⁵ ANGEL 1951, 12. – PAVÚK 2014, 112–114.

¹⁶ ANGEL 1951, 12–13. – BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 165 and Figs. 250–251. – PAVÚK 2014, 154–157.

¹⁷ SEEHER 2000, 182.

¹⁸ SEEHER 2000, 182.

¹⁹ SEEHER 2000, 182.

²⁰ SEEHER 2000, 224.

²¹ ÇILINGIROĞLU et al. 2004, 57.

²² ÇILINGIROĞLU et al. 2004, 58–59.

²³ KOÇAK et al. 2007, 3. – ÜYÜMEZ 2008, 137. – ÜYÜMEZ, KOÇAK, İLASLI 2008, 406, 416 and Figs. 9, 11.

²⁴ ÜYÜMEZ, KOÇAK, İLASLI 2011, 121 and Fig. 6.

²⁵ Another cemetery in the region is Yanarlar. Emre ruled out the possibility of cremation at the cemetery (EMRE 1978, 134). One of her

¹³ E.g. BASEDOW 2000, 16. – SEEHER 2000, 181. – ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 546.



Fig. 1. The map represents the spatial distribution of the cemeteries dating between the 20th and 15th centuries BC which have produced evidence of the use of ceramic vessels as urns. The numbers on the map follow the site numbers presented in the main text. – 1. Troy. – 2. Demircihüyük-Sarıket. – 3. Ulucak Höyük. – 4. Dede Mezarı. – 5. Aphrodisias. – 6. Limantepe (Map: P. Demján, adapted by F. Franković).

the cemetery dates between the middle of the 20th and the 16th century BC.²⁶

2.5. Aphrodisias (no. 5)

During the excavations on the Acropolis hill at Aphrodisias, the remains of a prehistoric cemetery were discovered in one of the trenches.²⁷ In the area of 48 m² a large concentration of scattered human bones and a large quantity of ash has been found in association with broken and entirely preserved ceramic vessels.²⁸ Five burial vessels and multiple

scattered bones suggest at least nine individual burials.²⁹ The individuals were found buried in jars, a tripod vessel and a collar-necked jar.³⁰ The layers containing the remains of the cemetery are widely dated to the Early Bronze Age (EBA), MBA, LBA and even the Carian period,³¹ while the entirely preserved vessels are of Bronze Age date.

2.6. Limantepe (no. 6)

Intramural inhumations of children in ceramic vessels were discovered at Limantepe. They are dated to the Limantepe phases III.3 and III.1/2,³² which would correspond to the MH III and LH I periods (the 18th and 17th centuries BC).³³ The types of vessels remain unclear.

main arguments was the size of the pithoi, which were, in her opinion, too large to contain only a single cremation burial. Consequently, Emre suggested that the traces of burning on some of the bones in Grave 33 could originate from a purification ritual (EMRE 1978, 134). However, cremation burials were discovered in large pithoi at other cemeteries from the same period in west Anatolia.

²⁶ ÜYÜMEZ et al. 2007, 825–830. – ÜYÜMEZ 2008, 138.

²⁷ JOUKOWSKY 1986, 119.

²⁸ JOUKOWSKY 1986, 119–120.

²⁹ JOUKOWSKY 1986, 119, 121, 176.

³⁰ JOUKOWSKY 1986, 120 and Figs. 346, 462.9.

³¹ JOUKOWSKY 1986, 176–177.

³² ERKANAL et al. 2016, 324–326.

³³ See AYKURT 2009, 46. – PAVÚK 2015, 85 and Fig. 1.



Fig. 2. The map represents the spatial distribution of the cemeteries dating between the 14th and 12th centuries BC, which have produced evidence of the use of ceramic vessels as urns. The numbers on the map follow the site numbers presented in the main text. – 7. Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy. – 8. Beşik-Tepe. – 9. Panaztepe. – 10. Sardis. – 11. Limantepe. – 12. Bakla Tepe. – 13. Ayasoluk in Selçuk (Ephesos). – 14. Müskebi. – 15. Eleona-Langada on Kos. – 16. Ialysos on Rhodes. – 17. Tou Stavrou to Kephali on Karpathos. – 18. Aplomata on Naxos (Map: P. Demján, adapted by F. Franković).

3. Late Bronze Age Cemeteries with Burials in Urns Dating Between the 14th and 11th Centuries BC

The following overview includes 11 different cemeteries from the east Aegean islands and west Anatolian coast dating between the 14th and the early 11th century BC which have produced evidence of the use of ceramic vessels as urns (Fig. 2). Unlike in the earlier period, there are no sites in the inland of west Anatolia which are dated to this period and have produced urns. Since earlier research favoured Anatolia as the possible place of origin of cremation burials appearing in the west Aegean towards the end of the LBA, the evidence from the Cyclades, located in the middle of the Aegean, needs to be evaluated in order to examine the possible spread of traditions from one side of the Aegean to the other. Therefore, the Aplomata cemetery on Naxos is also included in this overview.

3.1. Troy – Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (no. 7)

One of the most famous cemeteries in west Anatolia is the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy. The cemetery was dated to LH IIIA2–IIIB according to the Aegean relative chronology (the second half of the 14th and 13th century BC).³⁴ At least 182 graves, mostly urns, have been reported at the site.³⁵ The number of urns was estimated on the basis of collected sherds and complete vessels. The complete vessels found at the site include only 19 urns and four large ribbed pithoi excavated by Carl Blegen, John Caskey and Marion Rawson,³⁶ as well as two additional urns discovered previously by Wilhelm Dörpfeld.³⁷ The urns were covered by lids of different types, namely the foot of a kylix, an additional ceramic vessel or a stone slab.³⁸

Out of 25 vessels preserved in their entirety, four are burial pithoi (16.0 %). However, if compared to the number of fragmented vessels at the cemetery, this percentage would drop significantly, since very few fragments of pithoi were found among the fragmented vessels. The use of large ribbed pithoi as burial vessels at the cemetery has been questioned by some authors³⁹ and it does indeed seem that these pithoi do not entirely fit into the picture of other vessels used as urns at the cemetery. However, pithos graves are well attested at other west Anatolian cemeteries of the same period and some of them contained cremations in addition to skeletal burials. One small pithos (4.0 %) was identified with certainty as an urn.⁴⁰

Krater-shaped vessels are the most numerous, which is also visible from the preserved, reconstructed and fragmented examples.⁴¹ Among the 25 vessels preserved in their entirety there are ten kraters (40.0 %).⁴² The other types of vessels include eight jars (32.0 %) (Fig. 3/1), a jug (4.0 %) and a flask (4.0 %).⁴³ It is important to note that four wide-mouthed jars resemble kraters.⁴⁴

Despite the name of the cemetery and the fact that cremation was the predominant burial rite at the site, three

34 See BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 370–371, 377. – MOUNTJOY 1999.

35 DÖRPFELD 1894, 124. – BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 374–375.

36 BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 371.

37 DÖRPFELD 1894, 124.

38 BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 371.

39 BECKS 2002, 299.

40 BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 374.

41 BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 375–376.

42 It is possible that an area probably containing additional burials in large kraters might have been located on the plateau to the north of the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns, see BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 375.

43 See BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 372–374.

44 BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 376.

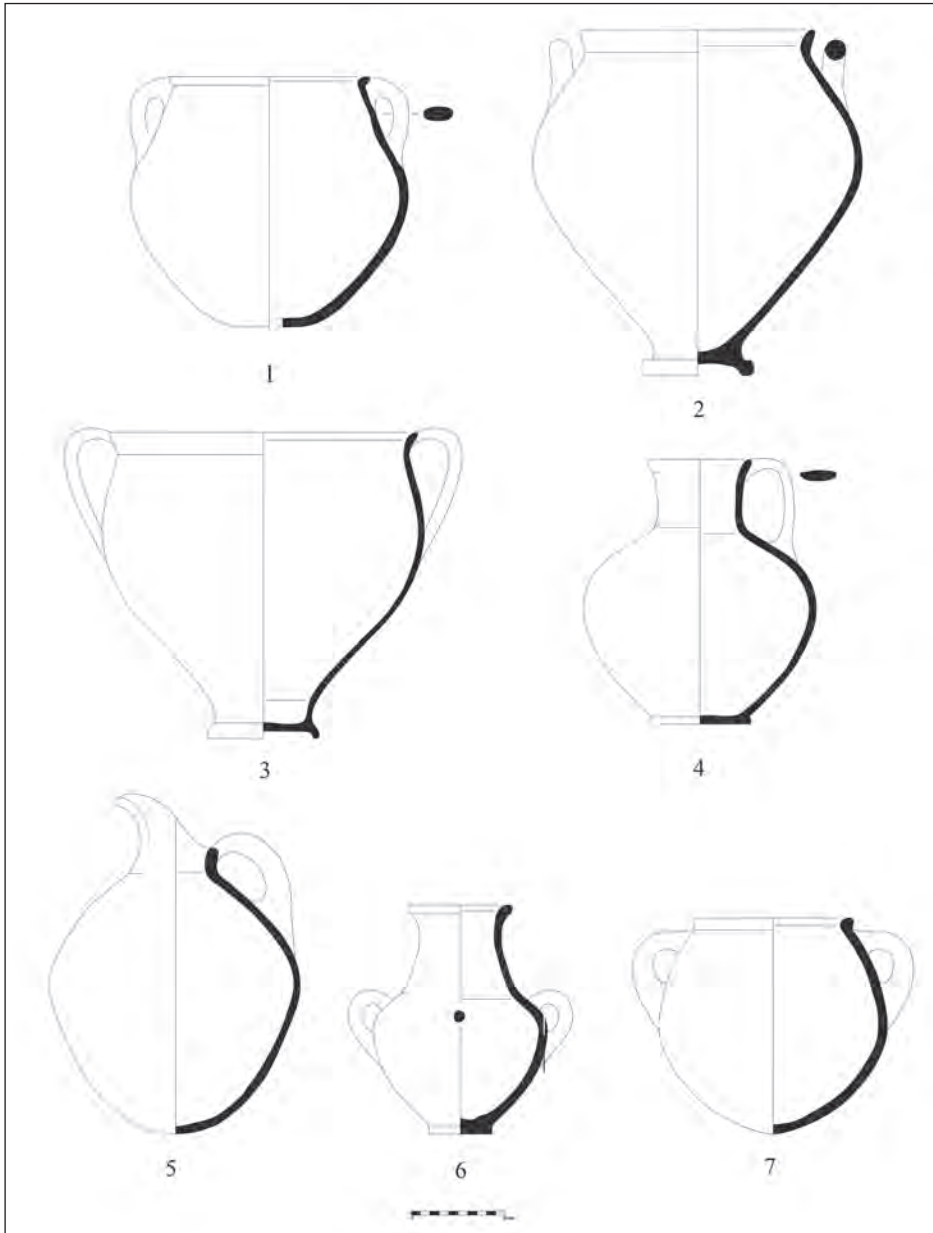


Fig. 3. Vessels from selected sites. – 1. Two-handled jar from Troy. – 2. Krater from Beşik-Tepe. – 3. Krater from the Ayasuluk hill in Selçuk (Ephesos). – 4. Jug from Eleona-Langada on Kos. – 5. Spouted jug from Ilica. – 6. Two-handled amphora from the later phase at Osmankayasi. – 7. Two-handled pot from the later phase at Osmankayasi (redrawn by Věra Doležálková after: 1. RIGTER 2013, Pl. 50/3. – 2. BASEDOW 2000, Pl. LIX/80.3. – 3. GÜLTEKIN, BARAN 1964. – ÖZGÜNEL 1983. – 4. ALLEN 1990, Fig. 54/4. – 5. ORTHMANN 1967, Pl. 6/42. – 6. BITTEL et al. 1958, Fig. 4/13. – 7. BITTEL et al. 1958, Fig. 4/4) (Graphics: V. Doležálková).

urns contained skeletal remains which were not burned.⁴⁵ Graves 4 and 5 contained the bones of newborns, while

Grave 2 contained the remains of an adult man.⁴⁶ Grave 2 is also particular because the unburned bones of the adult man

⁴⁵ See ANGEL 1951, 12–14. – BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 372–374.

⁴⁶ BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 372.

were collected and secondarily deposited in a jar. The burial jar was then deposited in a large krater together with the cremated remains of an adult woman.

3.2. Beşik-Tepe (no. 8)

The cemetery at Beşik-Tepe is dated to the LH IIIA2–IIIB period (the second half of the 14th and 13th century BC)⁴⁷ and is chronologically parallel to the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy. Cremation burials in ceramic vessels were found in different types of graves. Two stone-built chamber tombs probably contained exclusively cremated remains. Tomb 85 was found destroyed, but the cremated human remains might have been put in a necked jar.⁴⁸ Tomb 15-West was better preserved and it contained a krater with the cremated remains of two adult individuals.⁴⁹

Large pithos graves contained 12 urns with cremation burials, always in the same graves as non-cremated burials.⁵⁰ Maureen Basedow noted that only four vessels were found in their original positions.⁵¹ The remaining vessels had been removed from their original positions during the later manipulation of the grave contents and the cremated remains were found outside of the vessels. Consequently, the vessels were identified as urns on the basis of the typological similarity to the four examples identified with certainty. Therefore, the results of the research from Beşik-Tepe need to be considered with caution.⁵² If these estimations are correct, jars were used in three burials (25.0 %), kraters in two (16.7 %) (Fig. 3/2),⁵³ a flask in one (8.3 %) and an amphora in one (8.3 %), while there are five burials (41.7 %) in which the shape of the vessel remains unclear.⁵⁴

⁴⁷ BASEDOW 2000, 3.

⁴⁸ BASEDOW 2000, 46.

⁴⁹ BASEDOW 2000, 46.

⁵⁰ BASEDOW 2000, 16.

⁵¹ BASEDOW 2000, 16.

⁵² In some of the graves only ashy soil was reported, but no cremation. However, in some cases the types of vessels found in these graves correspond to those used as urns, see BASEDOW 2000, 16 and n. 51. This could point to the existence of additional urns in pithos graves at the cemetery.

⁵³ Two separate pot graves at Beşik-Tepe were burials in kraters, see BASEDOW 2000, 39–40.

⁵⁴ It is important to note that a piriform jar from Grave 94 was noted in the documentation as an urn, which was not confirmed during the later study, see BASEDOW 2000, 32–33 and n. 62.

3.3. Panaztepe (no. 9)

The recently published cemetery at Panaztepe, dated to the 14th and 13th centuries BC (the LH IIIA–IIIB period according to the Aegean relative chronology),⁵⁵ produced a significant amount of evidence for the use of ceramic vessels as urns. Armağan Erkanal-Öktü suggested that pot graves were mostly used for cremation burials,⁵⁶ but this is far from true, since six pot graves (Graves Ü, AĞ, AM, BE, Bİ and BK) contained skeletal burials, while in one case (Grave AÇ) the burial rite remains unclear. Only two out of nine so-called pot graves (Graves F and K) from the West and North Cemeteries at Panaztepe contained cremated remains.⁵⁷ The pot graves contained burials of infants and children, while the remains of an adult female individual, in this case cremated, were found only in Grave K. Two burial vessels (Graves K and AĞ) can be described as handleless globular jars with an everted rim, one is a bowl (Grave AM), while one is a wide-mouthed jar (Grave Bİ).⁵⁸ One of the burial vessels (Grave AÇ) discovered at the North cemetery is a krater.⁵⁹ It is important to note that the wide-mouthed jar of Grave Bİ resembles a krater, as noted by Blegen, Caskey and Rawson for some of the examples at Troy.⁶⁰ A small pithos (not numbered in the catalogue) from the North cemetery⁶¹ could also be added to this group of burials, as it contained only cremated remains.

Seven additional cremated individuals were deposited in stone-built chamber tombs at the West cemetery, but only two (28.6 %) of them (Graves A and İ) were deposited in urns. The types of urns, however, are not reported. Erkanal-Öktü suggests that necked jars were used as urns in looted Tomb B.⁶² However, this conclusion is based on the information provided by the local inhabitants, who were themselves involved in the looting of the graves in the first place. Furthermore, it has been suggested that Tomb D contained between six and seven cremation urns.⁶³ Unfortunately, the vessels are now lost and not much is known about them.

3.4. Sardis (no. 10)

The cremated remains of an adult female individual were recovered from a jar grave at Sardis.⁶⁴ However, it seems that the grave was not a part of a larger cemetery. The grave

⁵⁵ See discussion in ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 159, 165.

⁵⁶ ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 50.

⁵⁷ See ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 62.

⁵⁸ See ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, Pls. 90–93.

⁵⁹ ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 65.

⁶⁰ BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 376.

⁶¹ See ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 62.

⁶² ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 11.

⁶³ ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 2.

⁶⁴ HANFMANN 1963, 7. – SPIER 1983, 21.

might date to the LH IIIA–IIIB period (between the late 15th and 13th century BC), but could also date somewhat earlier.⁶⁵

3.5. Limantepe (no. 11)

An intramural inhumation of a child in a ceramic vessel was discovered at Limantepe. It was dated to the Limantepe phase II.1,⁶⁶ which would correspond to the LH IIIC period (the 12th century BC) according to the Aegean relative chronology.⁶⁷ The type of vessel remains unclear.

3.6. Bakla Tepe (no. 12)

A stone-built chamber tomb was discovered at Bakla Tepe. The tomb most probably dates to the transition between the LH IIIB and LH IIIC periods (the 13th and 12th century BC).⁶⁸ The tomb contained the cremation burials of 11 adults and a child.⁶⁹ Although it has been suggested that all of the cremated remains were originally deposited in urns, it is not possible to connect specific individuals to specific ceramic vessels.⁷⁰ The urns themselves were crushed by the collapse of the tomb.⁷¹ No clear information about the types of vessels used as urns was provided in the most recent and complete publication of the tomb.⁷² Ayşegül Aykurt and Hayat Erkanal mention one globular jar and two kraters as urns,⁷³ but it remains unclear whether their conclusion is based on the excavation data or the analogy to the vessels from the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy.

3.7. Ayasoluk in Selçuk (Ephesos) (no. 13)

The grave discovered at Ayasoluk contained human skeletal remains in a stemmed krater (Fig. 3/3).⁷⁴ Although it remains unclear whether the skeletal remains could be associated with a secondary burial or a cremation burial, the latter seems more probable.⁷⁵ It is not specified whether the second krater discovered in the grave was used for the deposition of human remains.⁷⁶ The ceramic vessels retrieved

from the tomb suggest that the tomb can be dated to the LH IIIA2 period (the second half of the 14th century BC).⁷⁷

3.8. Müskebi (no. 14)

Rock-cut chamber tombs at Müskebi, excavated on multiple occasions since the 1960s, mostly contained inhumations.⁷⁸ However, cremation burials were also attested in some of the tombs dating to the LH IIIA2–IIIB period (the second half of the 14th and 13th century BC).⁷⁹ In one of the tombs (Tomb 3) the cremated remains were deposited in an urn.⁸⁰ The type of vessel used as the urn is not defined in the study, but some conclusions can be deduced from the available description and published tomb assemblages. The tomb contained a kylix, a small jug, a deep bowl and two stirrup jars. On the basis of a comparison to the examples from central Anatolia, Anne Marie Carstens⁸¹ argued that a jug was used as an urn. However, Yusuf Boysal noted that the urn was a large ceramic vessel.⁸² Therefore, the small jug and the kylix can be dismissed as possible urns due to their smaller size. Moreover, it is also unlikely that the two stirrup jars discovered in the tomb were used as urns, due to their narrow spouts. Although a locally produced stirrup jar was discovered among the reconstructed urns from the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy, Blegen, Caskey and Rawson note that the lower part of the vessel was missing and that it must have been deposited upside down and then used as urn.⁸³ Consequently, as the deep bowl is the only other vessel discovered in Tomb 3, it is most probable that it was the vessel used as the urn. It has to be noted that there is a certain formal similarity between deep bowls and kraters used as urns all over west Anatolia. Since kraters are completely absent from burial assemblages at Müskebi, the use of a similar type of vessel might be the local variation of the same practice.

An additional urn might have been reported by George Bass. During the original discovery of the cemetery, Bass retrieved a straight-sided alabastron filled with bones and ash.⁸⁴ The alabastron also contained a spindle whorl,

⁶⁵ See HANFMANN 1963, 9.

⁶⁶ ERKANAL et al. 2016, 324–326.

⁶⁷ See AYKURT 2009, 46. – PAVÚK 2015, 85 and Fig. 1.

⁶⁸ See AYKURT, ERKANAL 2017, 123–128.

⁶⁹ AYKURT, ERKANAL 2017, 125, 264.

⁷⁰ ERKANAL 2008, 166. – AYKURT, ERKANAL 2017, 90, 263.

⁷¹ AYKURT, ERKANAL 2017, 90.

⁷² See AYKURT, ERKANAL 2017, 262.

⁷³ AYKURT, ERKANAL 2017, 95, 126.

⁷⁴ GÜLTEKIN, BARAN 1964, 126.

⁷⁵ HOREJS, KANZ 2008, 120. – FRANKOVIĆ 2018, 14–15.

⁷⁶ It is possible that a similar example was discovered in Tomb 2 (D.33) at Değirmentepe (Miletus). In the published plan of the tomb (NIEMEIER 1998b, 36 and Figs. 10–11. – NIEMEIER 2005a, 13 and Fig. 34), the grave goods are marked by numbers, while bone clusters indicating possible burials seem to be marked by letters. Letter D

seems to mark a layer consisting of small bone particles. It is represented close to a big amphoroid krater. It is possible that the bones were originally placed in the krater used as an urn.

⁷⁷ GÜLTEKIN, BARAN 1964, 127. – MOUNTJOY 1998, 36.

⁷⁸ See ÇINER 1964, 57. – ÖZKAN, METE ÖZLER, BENLİ BAĞCI 2015, 115–117.

⁷⁹ See BOYSAL 1964, 82–83. – ÇINER 1964, 57. – BOYSAL 1965, 123. – BOYSAL 1967a, 37–38. – BOYSAL 1967b, 79.

⁸⁰ ÇINER 1964, 57. – BOYSAL 1967b, 79.

⁸¹ CARSTENS 2001, 91.

⁸² BOYSAL 1967b, 70.

⁸³ BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 376.

⁸⁴ BASS 1963, 355.

possibly added as a grave good. This could suggest that the skeletal remains did in fact belong to a human individual.

3.9. Eleona-Langada on Kos (no. 15)

Cremation burials have been discovered at the Eleona-Langada cemetery on Kos. Among these burials, the most important for this paper is the cremation burial found in the LH IIIC (the 12th and early 11th century BC) Langada Tomb 44.⁸⁵ The cremated remains were found inside a jug (FS 107) (Fig. 3/4).

3.10. Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16)

Eight cremation burials in seven rock-cut chamber tombs were recorded at Ialysos on Rhodes.⁸⁶ These include six cremation burials in urns (Tombs 15, 17, 32, 33, 71, 87), which were deposited either on the floor or in the pits dug in it,⁸⁷ and two (Tombs 17, 38) cremation burials without urns, which were also deposited in pits.⁸⁸ Benzi believes that the cremated remains and ashes of the latter two burials might have been placed in urns made of perishable materials.⁸⁹ It is important to note that Tomb 17 contained cremations deposited both in an urn and directly into the tomb.

Jugs were used as urns for five burials, with the FS 107 jug appearing in three. The sixth urn was a coarse vessel.⁹⁰ All cremation burials date to the LH IIIC period (the 12th and early 11th century BC), while it is possible that one already appeared in the LH IIIA1–IIIA2 (the late 15th and 14th century BC) Tomb 19.⁹¹ Furthermore, if Tomb 19 indeed contained cremated remains, they were found in connection with a jug.⁹² This could indicate an early appearance of a tradition in which jugs were used as urns on Rhodes. An additional burial of an infant was found in the LH IIIC Early hydria (FS 129) in Tomb 20.⁹³ It is unclear whether the remains were cremated or not. Regardless of the burial rite, it should be noted that a pouring vessel was again used as an urn for the deposition of human skeletal remains.

3.11. Tou Stavrou to Kephali on Karpathos (no. 17)

Emmanouël Melas argued that the LM IIIA (the late 15th and 14th century BC) amphoroid krater discovered at Tou

Stavrou to Kephali contained human skeletal remains.⁹⁴ However, it remains unclear whether the remains were cremated or not.

3.12. Aplomata on Naxos (no. 18)

In addition to inhumations, Tomb Γ at the Aplomata cemetery contained human skeletal remains deposited inside a straight-sided alabastron.⁹⁵ The bones were not burned and they were probably deposited in the alabastron as part of a secondary ritual.

4. Ceramic Vessels Used for the Deposition of Human Skeletal Remains in the Middle and Early Late Bronze Age East Aegean–West Anatolian Region

The cemeteries in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region dating approximately between 2000 and 1400 BC or the MBA and early LBA are not numerous. All the available evidence for the use of ceramic vessels as urns comes from west Anatolia, while there is no evidence that cremation was even used on the east Aegean islands in this period. The absence of cremation on the east Aegean islands in this period is not as surprising since there is little evidence of burial practices in general. The only larger concentration of graves was noted at Trianda on Rhodes.⁹⁶

Demircihüyük–Sariket (no. 2),⁹⁷ Ulucak Höyük (no. 3), Dede Mezarı (no. 4), and possibly Aphrodisias (no. 5) in west Anatolia are the only extramural cemeteries of this period which produced evidence of the use of urns for the deposition of cremated human remains. Various types of vessels were used as urns. While most of the vessels at Demircihüyük–Sariket (no. 2) remain unidentified, the use of a bowl is especially important to note. At Dede Mezarı (no. 4), the use of jars was confirmed, while at Aphrodisias (no. 5) the vessels include mostly jars and a tripod vessel (see Tab. 1). Aphrodisias (no. 5) itself is an interesting site as it shows that the cemetery might have been used continuously between the EBA and LBA. Another important characteristic of the cemetery is the fact that the only preserved burials are cremation burials in urns, although some skeletal remains might suggest the existence of disturbed inhumations. This was not the case with other MBA cemeteries in west Anatolia which contained cremation burials, such as Demircihüyük–Sariket (no. 2), Dede Mezarı (no. 4), Ulucak Höyük

⁸⁵ MORRICONE 1965–1966, 202 and Fig. 214, Inv. No. 161.

⁸⁶ BENZI 1992, 230.

⁸⁷ BENZI 1992, 230–231.

⁸⁸ BENZI 1992, 230–231.

⁸⁹ BENZI 1992, 230.

⁹⁰ BENZI 1992, 231, 312.

⁹¹ BENZI 1992, 231.

⁹² BENZI 1992, 231.

⁹³ BENZI 1992, 271.

⁹⁴ MELAS 1985, 169.

⁹⁵ KONTOLEON 1969, 139. – ORLANDOU 1969, 145 and Fig. 177. – VLACHOPOULOS 2006, 454–455.

⁹⁶ E.g. MARKETOU 1998.

⁹⁷ The numbers in the brackets correspond to those presented in the overviews of the sites.

(no. 3) or Çavlum.⁹⁸ All four cemeteries predominantly contained inhumations in different types of graves (pithoi, cists, pits), with an occasional appearance of cremations.

At two cemeteries, cremation burials were deposited directly into graves, without the use of an urn. At Demirci-hüyük-Sarıket (no. 2) the cremation burials were sometimes deposited in pithoi (Graves 196, 462, 471) and cists (Graves 501, 541) without an urn, together with skeletal burials.⁹⁹ Cremations have been discovered in graves excavated at Çavlum,¹⁰⁰ but it is unclear whether the remains were discovered in urns or simply deposited in graves. Based on the analogies in the material recovered from the graves, the Çavlum cemetery was dated to the first quarter of the 2nd millennium BC (until the second half of the 18th century BC).¹⁰¹

Intramural burials of children in ceramic vessels appear at Troy (no. 1) and Limantepe (no. 6). The burials at Limantepe (no. 6) suggest that such a practice must have continued from the MBA to the LBA. Interestingly, all burials were skeletal and so far no intramural cremation burials have been confirmed in this period. The types of vessels used are known only at Troy (no. 1) and they include jars (see Tab. 1), which corresponds to the practice attested at the extramural cemeteries in the region.

From the available evidence it is evident that various jars were the most common types of vessels to be used as urns for the deposition of cremated human remains and skeletal burials of children during the MBA and early LBA in west Anatolia. It is important to note that the two jars discovered at Dede Mezarı (no. 5) can be described as krateroid jars (Graves F8 and L5), while the early Troy VI jar found in area A7 shares some formal similarities with the later kraters from Troy. These examples could suggest the earlier formation of the tradition well attested at the later 14th- and 13th-century BC cemeteries in west Anatolia.

5. Ceramic Vessels Used for the Deposition of Human Skeletal Remains in the Later Stages of the Late Bronze Age in the East Aegean–West Anatolian Region

It is surprising that the cemeteries of the late 15th, 14th and 13th centuries BC or the LH IIIA–IIIB period are more numerous than those of the MBA and early LBA, despite the fact that the LH IIIA–IIIB period is almost three times shorter. A quick and significant rise in the number

of cemeteries can be noted both on the east Aegean islands and in west Anatolia. However, the change is drastically more pronounced on the east Aegean islands than in west Anatolia. Considering the larger number of cemeteries and burials, the high number of cremation burials deposited in urns is not surprising. Still, most of the cemeteries relevant for this discussion are located in west Anatolia.

The Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7) should be differentiated from the rest of the 14th- and 13th-century BC cemeteries which produced burials in urns. While at other cemeteries in west Anatolia cremations in urns and inhumations in smaller pots make up only a minor portion of the burials, at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (no. 7) they are by far the predominant grave type. Even several large pithoi discovered at the site might not have been graves at all and the cemetery might have contained exclusively urns. Moreover, cremation seems to be the predominant burial rite at the cemetery, which is not the case anywhere in west Anatolia.¹⁰² This excludes lone graves and tombs at Sardis (no. 10), Bakla Tepe (no. 12) and Ayasuluk (no. 13), as they were not part of a larger cemetery. An earlier appearance of a similar type of cemetery in the MBA could be indicated by the Aphrodisias (no. 5) graves, but it is not possible to draw a clear parallel due to the poor state of preservation of the stratigraphical relations at Aphrodisias (no. 5).

The dominant types of urns in west Anatolia during the 14th and 13th centuries BC are kraters (Fig. 3/2, 3) and various types of jars (Fig. 3/1). Kraters are widely distributed from the north to the south of west Anatolia (see Tab. 1). They appear at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7), Beşik-Tepe (no. 8) (Fig. 3/2), Panaztepe (no. 9), Bakla Tepe (no. 12) and Ayasuluk (no. 13) (Fig. 3/3). A similar practice might be attested at Müskebi (no. 14), where a deep bowl might have been used as an urn. It is important to note that kraters were used for the deposition of both cremated remains and the unburned skeletal remains of both children and adults (Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (no. 7) and Panaztepe (no. 9)).

Jars of different types are noted at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7) (Fig. 3/1), Beşik-Tepe (no. 8), Panaztepe (no. 9), Sardis (no. 10) and Bakla Tepe (no. 12). Other shapes such as flasks (Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (no. 7), Beşik-Tepe (no. 8)), jugs (Cemetery of Cinerary Urns

⁹⁸ For the Çavlum cemetery see BILGEN 2005.

⁹⁹ SEEHER 2000, 181. The identification of the cremated remains in Grave 541 is not certain, see SEEHER 2000, 182.

¹⁰⁰ BILGEN 2005, 12, 57–58, 61, 63–64, 69–70, 75–76, 80–81, 84–85.

¹⁰¹ BILGEN 2005, 44–45.

¹⁰² The Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (no. 7) shows nicely that both cremated and unburned skeletal remains could have been placed inside the same vessel (BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 372). However, the cremated remains in Grave 2 were first collected in a separate urn and then deposited in another one, together with the unburned bones, which could point to a certain separation in this context.

Period	Region	Site	Kraters	Jars	Jugs	Hydriai	Flasks	Am-phorai	Am-phoriskoi/ Collar-necked jars	Small pithoi	Bowls, plates and cups	Tripods	Ala- bastra/ Pyxides	Uncer- tain
early Troy VI	west Anatolia	Troy		+										
MBA – early LBA	west Anatolia	Demircihüyük-Sarıket								+	+			+
MBA	west Anatolia	Ulucak Höyük												+
MBA – early LBA	west Anatolia	Dede Mezarı		+										
Bronze Age	west Anatolia	Aphrodisias		+					+			+		
MBA – early LBA	west Anatolia	Limantepe												+
late Assyrian Trade Colonies	central Anatolia	Arbaş		+	+						+			
Old Hittite Kingdom	central Anatolia	Ilica		+	+									+
Old Hittite Kingdom	central Anatolia	Osmankayası (earlier)		+			+	+						+
Old Hittite Kingdom	central Anatolia	Tarsus-Gözlükule		+										
LH IIIA2–LH IIIB	west Anatolia	Cemetery of Cinerary Urns	+	+	+		+			+				
LH IIIA2–LH IIIB	west Anatolia	Beşik-Tepe	+	+			+	+						+
LH IIIA–LH IIIB	west Anatolia	Panaztepe	+	+						+				
LH IIIA–LH IIIB (or earlier)	west Anatolia	Sardis		+										
LH IIIB–LH IIIC	west Anatolia	Bakla Tepe	+	+										
LH IIIA2	west Anatolia	Ayasoluk in Selçuk	+											
LH IIIA2–LH IIIB	west Anatolia	Müşkebi									+		+	
LH IIIA	Dodecanese	Tou Stavrou to Kephali (Karpathos)	+											
Hittite Empire	central Anatolia	Mersin-Soloi												+
Hittite Empire	central Anatolia	Osmankayası (later)		+			+	+			+			
LH IIIA–LH IIIB	Greek mainland	Brauron											+	
LH IIIA2–LH IIIB	Greek mainland	Prosymna						+						
LH IIIC	west Anatolia	Limantepe												+
LH IIIC	Dodecanese	Eleona-Langada (Kos)			+									
LH IIIC	Dodecanese	Ialyos (Rhodes)		+	+									
LH IIIC	Cyclades	Aplomata (Naxos)												
LH IIIC	Greek mainland	Argos			+			+						
LH IIIC	Greek mainland	Chania			+			+						
LH IIIC	Greek mainland	Perati			+			+						
LM IIIC	west Crete	Pezoulos Atsipadhes		+	+	+		+					+	(?)
LM IIIC	east Crete	Tourloti							+					
LM IIIC	east Crete	Mouliana												+
LM IIIC	east Crete	Fotoula in Praisos	+											+
LM IIIC	east Crete	Kritsa												+
LM IIIC	east Crete	Palaimylos												+

Tab. 1. Overview of the types of urns appearing at specific sites in the Aegean and Anatolia.

(no. 7)), alabastra (Müskebi (no. 14)) and bowls (Panaztepe (no. 9)) appear only sporadically and in small quantities (see Tab. 1). The use of a bowl as an urn at Panaztepe (no. 9) is quite interesting, since an example of the same practice in the MBA was confirmed at Demircihüyük-Sarıket (no. 2). Nevertheless, even though the use of a bowl as an urn is an exception rather than a rule, it seems that the tradition continued well into the LBA. Interestingly, at Demircihüyük-Sarıket (no. 2),¹⁰³ the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7)¹⁰⁴ and Beşik-Tepe (no. 8),¹⁰⁵ bowls were also used as lids for some of the urns.

At the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7) and Panaztepe (no. 9), small pithoi used exclusively for the deposition of cremated remains were found (see Tab. 1). These examples should possibly be assigned to the category of urns. This practice dates to as early as the MBA, as confirmed by the small (ribbed) pithos at Demircihüyük-Sarıket (no. 2).

The predominant use of kraters, krateroid jars and other jars, as well as the sporadic use of bowls and small pithoi, all suggest that the same traditions continued in west Anatolia from the MBA onwards. However, the absence of 14th- and 13th-century intramural burials of children in ceramic vessels represents a possible distancing from the earlier tradition. It is possible that by this period the practice had been abandoned or at least was not as widely employed, while a possible reappearance in the LH IIIC period might be indicated by the example from Limantepe (no. 11).

It should be noted that the cemeteries which produced evidence of the use of ceramic vessels as urns also produced cremations which were deposited directly into the graves. Additional cremation burials deposited directly into other types of graves without the use of an urn were discovered at Beşik-Tepe. Two pithoi (Graves 49 and 52) contained cremated remains deposited directly into the grave, without an urn.¹⁰⁶ Cremated remains without a burial vessel were discovered in one cist grave (Grave 45).¹⁰⁷ Both the pithoi and the cist already contained skeletal burials of other individuals.¹⁰⁸ Cremated individuals deposited without the use of an urn were also discovered in large pithoi and stone-built chamber tombs at the West Cemetery at Panaztepe

(no. 9).¹⁰⁹ At Müskebi (no. 14), cremations were simply laid on the floors of two rock-cut chamber tombs.¹¹⁰

The cemeteries on the east Aegean islands differ significantly from west Anatolian cemeteries. There is evidence that cremation was practised from the 14th and/or 13th century BC on some of the islands. The earliest possible example comes from the LH IIIA1–IIIA2 Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16). According to the recent evaluation of the still preserved skeletal remains from Eleona-Langada cemetery on Kos, three cremation burials have been confirmed.¹¹¹ In all three cases, the cremated remains were deposited directly into the main chambers of the tombs. The examples include Eleona Tomb 20, used between LH IIIB and LH IIIC Early; Langada Tomb 15, used in LH IIIB and LH IIIC Middle; and Langada Tomb 34 dating to LH IIIC Middle.¹¹² Traces of burning have been documented in two other examples, namely the LH IIIA2–IIIB Langada Tomb 37 and the LH IIIB–IIIC Middle Langada Tomb 53. However, their identification as cremation burials is uncertain.¹¹³ Moreover, burned human skeletal remains have been reported in the LH IIIA2–IIIB (the second half of the 14th and 13th century BC) rock-cut chamber tombs at Syngairos on Astypalaia and interpreted as possible cremation burials.¹¹⁴ The skeletal remains have not been anthropologically examined and it is possible that the burning is the result of a purification ritual. If the burned remains were indeed the result of a cremation burial, they were most probably not deposited in an urn. Additional examples were recorded at Archontiki on Psara and Arkasa-Vonies on Karpathos and dated widely to LH IIIA–IIIB. A cremation burial was discovered in the stone-built Tomb 100 at Archontiki on Psara.¹¹⁵ However, it remains unclear whether it was deposited in a ceramic vessel or not. As the cemetery remains largely unpublished, the possibility of other cremation burials cannot be dismissed. A possible cremation (or partial cremation) burial was discovered in a LH IIIA–IIIB (the 14th and 13th century BC) rock-cut chamber tomb at Arkasa-Vonies on Karpathos.¹¹⁶ The remains were simply deposited in the tomb, without a burial urn.¹¹⁷ It can be concluded that the examples from

¹⁰³ SEEHER 2000, 182.

¹⁰⁴ BLEGEN, CASKEY, RAWSON 1953, 371.

¹⁰⁵ BASEDOW 2000, 46.

¹⁰⁶ BASEDOW 2000, 26–27.

¹⁰⁷ BASEDOW 2000, 50.

¹⁰⁸ Some of the urns were used for the deposition of the cremated remains of several individuals, see BASEDOW 2000, 22, 240.

¹⁰⁹ ERKANAL-ÖKTÜ 2018, 11, 546.

¹¹⁰ BOYSAL 1967a, 37–38.

¹¹¹ VITALE et al. 2017, 250, 252–253.

¹¹² VITALE et al. 2017, 250, 252–253.

¹¹³ VITALE et al. 2017, 250, 252–253.

¹¹⁴ DOUMAS 1983, 372. – GEORGIADIS 2003, 83. – EERBEEK 2014, 138–139.

¹¹⁵ ARCHONTIDOU-ARGYRI 2006, 207.

¹¹⁶ MELAS 1985, 39.

¹¹⁷ Melas suggested that the remains of burned human bones were also retrieved at Makeli on Karpathos (MELAS 1985, 169).

Eleona-Langada on Kos and Syngairos on Astypalaia might suggest the appearance of cremation in LH IIIA2–IIIB, or slightly after the earliest appearance at Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16). A similar date is possibly suggested by the evidence from Archontiki on Psara and Arkasa-Vonies on Karpathos.

Although the appearance of cremation is questionable in many of these cases, it seems unlikely that none of the reported burned human remains and ash were associated with a cremation burial. All of these examples have in common the fact that the cremated remains were not collected in a ceramic vessel. In other words, there is no proper evidence that urns were used on the east Aegean islands between the late 15th and the 13th century BC. This is not connected to the fact that all cremation burials on the east Aegean islands were found in Mycenaean-type rock-cut chamber tombs, as the use of ceramic vessels as urns was confirmed in tombs of the same type at Müskebi (no. 14). Therefore, the difference seems to be based on regional preferences. It should be noted that the presence of cremations without urns may also suggest a different tradition in which urns were not used as part of the funerary ritual.

A possible exception to this rule on the east Aegean islands is the unclear example of the LM IIIA amphoroid krater discovered at Tou Stavrou to Kephali on Karpathos (no. 17) (see Tab. 1). It is interesting that the use of a krater as an urn at this site could be the only proof of this tradition spreading outside of west Anatolia. Another possible exception is the jug possibly discovered in association with the cremated remains in the LH IIIA1–IIIA2 Tomb 19 at Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16). However, in both cases the context of discovery is questionable.

A rather different picture emerges in the 12th and early 11th century BC or the LH IIIC period. In this period most of the available evidence for the use of urns comes from the east Aegean islands. Although some of the west Anatolian cemeteries, such as Panaztepe (no. 9) and Bakla Tepe (no. 12), most probably continued to be used in the early phases of the 12th century BC, the chronology of those cemeteries is far from being determined with certainty.

The most common shape on the east Aegean islands is jugs, with a clear preference for the FS 107 type (Fig. 3/4; also Tab. 1). Jugs are found at Eleona-Langada on Kos (no. 15) and Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16). The only two other possible examples are the coarse vessel and hydria from Ialysos (no. 16). According to the current state of research, the use of jugs (and other pouring vessels such as hydria) as urns seems to have been a local trait, not connected to the practices in west Anatolia. The practice could have originated from the Dodecanese, as possibly suggested by the already discussed LH IIIA1–IIIA2 example from Tomb 19

at Ialysos (no. 16). Although it should be kept in mind that our poor knowledge of the 12th- and early 11th-century BC or LH IIIC urns in west Anatolia does not allow a proper comparison, some of the Bakla Tepe (no. 12) vessels might suggest that earlier traditions (i.e. the use of kraters and jars) continued into the early 12th century BC. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that jugs were rarely used as urns in west Anatolian cemeteries in any of these periods and were used sporadically only at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7).

The LH IIIC Middle alabastron from Aplomata (no. 18), which was used for the secondary deposition of unburned human skeletal remains, should be included in this discussion (see Tab. 1).¹¹⁸ This is a rare example of an alabastron used for the deposition of human remains, with the only other possible example being the alabastron used as an urn at Müskebi (no. 14). However, the alabastron from Müskebi dates to LH IIIA2–IIIB,¹¹⁹ which suggests a significant temporal hiatus between the two appearances. Therefore, it is impossible to argue that there is a direct connection between the two appearances of these similar practices.

6. Comparison to Central Anatolia

The first use of urns for the deposition of cremated remains in central Anatolia dates to the end of the EBA, although the appearance of cremation is documented even in the earlier periods. EBA urns were discovered at Çorum-Kuşsaray.¹²⁰ The earliest use of urns in west Anatolia also dates to the EBA. Cremation burials in urns have been discovered at Karaağaç¹²¹ and Kaklik Mevkii.¹²² Another possible west Anatolian site which might have produced evidence of the use of ceramic vessels as urns in the EBA is Aphrodisias (no. 5).¹²³ More precisely, the burial urn discovered at Kaklik Mevkii was a tripod cooking pot,¹²⁴ while a vessel of a similar

¹¹⁸ Aplomata and Kamini are the two most important LH IIIC Middle (the 12th and early 11th century BC) cemeteries on the Cycladic islands, located next to one another. Although neither of them produced any clear evidence of cremation, a burial on a pyre was discovered at Kamini. Although Desborough describes this burial as a cremation (DESBOROUGH 1964, 151), both preliminary reports and the later publication clearly state that it was an inhumation on a pyre, see ZAPHEIROPOULOS 1962, 250. – ZAPHEIROPOULOS 1966, 335, 337. – VLACHOPOULOS 2006, 90, 411. The connection of the buried individuals with fire, but not with the cremation ritual, is quite interesting in this case.

¹¹⁹ BASS 1963, 355.

¹²⁰ KOŞAY 1968, 89. – EKMEK 2012, 28.

¹²¹ ALP 1965, 5.

¹²² TOPBAŞ, EFE, İLASLI 1998, 35, 77.

¹²³ See JOUKOWSKY 1986, 119–121.

¹²⁴ TOPBAŞ, EFE, İLASLI 1998, 35, 77.

type was also used as an urn at Aphrodisias (no. 5). Tripod cooking pots used as urns are not attested in the later stages of the Bronze Age, neither in west nor in central Anatolia. Therefore, it is possible that the Aphrodisias example dates to the EBA as well. If this is true, the use of tripod vessels as urns could be specific for the EBA in west Anatolia.

The evidence of the use of ceramic vessels as urns in central Anatolia increases significantly in the 2nd millennium BC.¹²⁵ The cemeteries of the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period at Alisar¹²⁶ and Kültepe¹²⁷ did not yield any evidence of ceramic vessels used as urns, although possible cremated remains were reported in a cist grave at Kültepe.¹²⁸ However, a cemetery containing cremation burials in urns and dating to the late phase of the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period was discovered on the Arıbaş plot at Acemhöyük.¹²⁹ It is important to note that a single intramural inhumation in a pithos, more or less contemporary to the cemetery at the Arıbaş plot, was discovered at Acemhöyük.¹³⁰

Unfortunately, the Arıbaş cemetery at Acemhöyük was published only in the form of preliminary reports and the published data does not allow a more detailed analysis.¹³¹ Aliye Öztan associates the cemetery with the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period in central Anatolia, but dates it between the 18th and the middle of the 17th century BC.¹³² Therefore, the absolute dating of the cemetery suggests that it should be associated with the transition from the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period to the Old Hittite Kingdom. Excavations at the site produced evidence of at least 139 cremation (83.2 %) and 28 inhumation burials (16.8 %).¹³³ Urns were used for the deposition of 112 cremations (67.1 % of the total number of burials).¹³⁴ The exact number of burial urns of each type is not known, but Öztan noted that the most common shapes are two- and four-handled jars with lids, while beak-spouted and trefoil-mouthed jugs, kantharoi, large cups, plates and bowls were also noted (see Tab. 1).¹³⁵

Evidence of the use of urns in central Anatolia is best documented for the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom. Cemeteries with high quantities of cremations deposited in urns were discovered at Ilica¹³⁶ and Osmankayasi at Hattusa.¹³⁷ Both cemeteries contained inhumations in other grave types in addition to the dominant urns. The Old Kingdom phase (period B) of the cemetery at Ilica¹³⁸ contained 127 cremation burials (95.5 %), four inhumations (3.0 %) and two burials of unknown type (1.5 %). All of the 127 cremation burials were placed in ceramic vessels. In 124 examples (97.6 %), the vessel was a spouted jug (Fig. 3/5), while in the three remaining examples (2.4 %) it is impossible to deduce the shape from the published evidence.

The cemetery at Osmankayasi¹³⁹ provides evidence of both the Old Kingdom period (earlier phase) (c. 1700/1650–1400 BC) and the early period of the Hittite Empire (later phase) (c. 1400–1200 BC). The earlier or the Old Kingdom phase of the cemetery included 25 cremation burials (62.5 %) and 15 inhumations (37.5 %). Of the cremation burials, only four were not placed inside ceramic vessels. The remaining 21 examples (52.5 %) include nine two-handled amphorae (42.9 %), four bowls (19.1 %), three two-handled jars (14.3 %), three handleless jars (14.3 %), a flask (4.7 %) and a vessel of an unclear type (4.7 %).

A different practice was documented at Konya-Karahöyük, where intramural cremation burials were covered with ceramic sherds (and mudbrick fragments) instead of being deposited in urns.¹⁴⁰ Even in this case, the contemporary inhumations in pithoi were documented outside of the settlement.¹⁴¹ Cremated remains of an infant were discovered in a small jar at Tarsus-Gözlükule.¹⁴² The cemeteries of this period in which there is no confirmation of cremation were discovered at Ferzant-Büget,¹⁴³ Gordion,¹⁴⁴ Kazankaya¹⁴⁵ and the intramural cemetery at İkiztepe.¹⁴⁶

¹²⁵ This overview excludes other examples of cremation found further east and southeast. For those, see EKMEN 2012, 29.

¹²⁶ VON DER OSTEN 1937.

¹²⁷ ÖZGÜÇ 1950.

¹²⁸ ÖZGÜÇ 1950, 163–164, 167–168. – EKMEN 2012, 27–28.

¹²⁹ ÖZTAN 1998. – ÖZTAN 2006.

¹³⁰ EMRE 1966, 102–103. – EMRE 1978, 123–124. – ÖZGÜÇ 1966, 34–35.

¹³¹ ÖZTAN 1998. – ÖZTAN 2006.

¹³² ÖZTAN 1998, 172.

¹³³ ÖZTAN 1998, 168–169. – ÖZTAN 2006, 395–396. – EKMEN 2012, 29.

¹³⁴ ÖZTAN 1998, 168.

¹³⁵ ÖZTAN 1998, 168. It is important to note that Ekmen argued that one of peculiarities of the Arıbaş cemetery is the use of plates and bowls as urns (EKMEN 2012, 30). However, bowls are also used at the Osmankayasi cemetery dating to the Old Hittite Kingdom.

¹³⁶ ORTHMANN 1967.

¹³⁷ BITTEL et al. 1958.

¹³⁸ ORTHMANN 1967.

¹³⁹ BITTEL et al. 1958.

¹⁴⁰ ALP 1956, 35. – EMRE 1978, 126.

¹⁴¹ Ekmen suggested that house-shaped urns were used at Konya-Karahöyük (EKMEN 2012, 30). However, he wrongly refers to Alp's description of pithoi used for inhumations (ALP 1961, 524). No real urns were found in association with the cremation burials at Konya-Karahöyük.

¹⁴² GOLDMAN 1956, 47, 64 and Fig. 167.

¹⁴³ ÖZGÜÇ 1978. – ÖZGÜÇ 1986.

¹⁴⁴ MELLINK 1956.

¹⁴⁵ ÖZGÜÇ 1978, 69–88.

¹⁴⁶ ALKIM 1976, 718. – EMRE 1978, 125.

The evidence of burial practices at the time of the Hittite Empire is rather scarce.¹⁴⁷ It includes a single inhumation of a skull from Polatlıhöyük,¹⁴⁸ while intramural inhumations discovered at Hattusa date both to the Old Kingdom and the Empire periods.¹⁴⁹ The use of the Old Hittite Kingdom cemetery at Osmankayasi seems to continue into the 14th century BC and the period of the Hittite Empire, allowing comparison between the two periods.¹⁵⁰ The second cemetery of Hattusa at Bağlarbaşı kayasi also dates to the period of the Hittite Empire. Both cemeteries at Hattusa confirm the use of ceramic vessels as urns in the later stages of the LBA in central Anatolia. Two additional cremation burials in urns dating to the period of the Hittite Empire were discovered at Mersin-Soloi.¹⁵¹

The later phase at Osmankayasi included 31 cremation burials (81.6 %) and 7 inhumations (18.4 %). The number of inhumation burials suggests a decrease in comparison to the earlier phase of the cemetery. Cremations were deposited in urns in 25 cases (65.8 %). The urns included: nine two-handled amphorae (36.0 %) (Fig. 3/6), three bowls (12.0 %), six two-handled jars (24.0 %) (Fig. 3/7), five flasks (20.0 %), one four-handled jar (4.0 %) and one tall amphora with V-shaped handles (4.0 %). Specific types of ceramic vessels used as urns suggest the continuation of the practices already attested in the earlier or Old Hittite Kingdom phase of the cemetery. More precisely, two-handled amphorae (Fig. 3/6) and jars (Fig. 3/7) are the most common types of vessels used both in the earlier (57.2 %) and later (60.0 %) phases of the cemetery, while the only significant difference seems to be the increase in the number of flasks in the later phase.

Bağlarbaşı kayasi, the second cemetery at Hattusa, is contemporary to the later phase of the cemetery at Osmankayasi. It exhibits a similar pattern to Osmankayasi.¹⁵² Most of the shapes present at Osmankayasi were encountered at Bağlarbaşı kayasi as well.¹⁵³ Although some additional shapes were encountered at Bağlarbaşı kayasi,¹⁵⁴ it remains

uncertain which of the vessels presented by Bittel in 1937 actually originated from the cemetery.

A rather diverse picture arises from the overview of the 2nd-millennium BC cemeteries in central Anatolia. Urns appear rather rarely at cemeteries which contain predominantly inhumation burials in different grave types. Instead, they appear in larger clusters forming separate cemeteries, which are also used for inhumation burials to a small extent. Such cemeteries are rare in west Anatolia and can be found only at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7) (and possibly earlier at Aphrodisias (no. 5)). In west Anatolia, cremation burials in urns usually appear at larger cemeteries dominated by skeletal burials in different grave types and are often placed inside larger graves together with skeletal burials.

The evidence from several larger cemeteries in central Anatolia suggests that the use of specific ceramic vessels as urns in the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom varied between different sites and exhibited local preferences.¹⁵⁵ For example, it seems unlikely that the significant difference in the choice of ceramic vessels at Ilica (exclusively spouted jugs) and Osmankayasi (predominantly two-handled amphorae and jars) is related to chronology, as the continuous use of the cemetery at Osmankayasi from the period of the Old Hittite Kingdom until the period of the Hittite Empire suggests only minor changes in the local traditions during a long period of time. Moreover, the same shapes encountered at the cemetery of Osmankayasi were already well attested in similar ratios at the earlier Arıbaş cemetery at Acemhöyük. This suggests that in certain parts of central Anatolia, the same traditions lasted at least from the end of the Assyrian Trade Colonies Period until the period of the Hittite Empire. Unfortunately, from the available evidence it is not possible to present any clear conclusions about the spatial distribution of different traditions and their chronological development. For example, the cemeteries at Ilica and Arıbaş are located at approximately the same distance from the cemetery at Osmankayasi, the former to the northwest and the latter to the southwest. The cemeteries at Ilica and Osmankayasi are contemporary, but still exhibit completely different traditions, while the cemetery at Arıbaş predates the one at Osmankayasi, but exhibits almost the same tradition.

There are several main differences between the traditions in central and west Anatolia. Nevertheless, it should be kept in mind that most of the evidence from central Anatolia predates that from west Anatolia. Therefore, the comparison is not as straightforward as it might seem. Almost

147 Single inhumations dating widely to the Hittite period were also confirmed at Karaoğlan (ARİK 1939, 58. – EMRE 1978, 126) and Alaca Höyük (KOŞAY, AKOK 1973, Pl. 3 and Fig. 2). Another single inhumation of approximately the same date was recorded at Maşat Höyük (EMRE 1978, 128).

148 LLOYD, GÖKÇE 1951.

149 BITTEL, NAUMANN 1952, 116–118, 155. – SCHIRMER 1969, 28–29. – EMRE 1978, 124–125.

150 BITTEL et al. 1958, 25–32.

151 YAĞCI 2003, 94. – YAĞCI 2007, 152. – EKMEN 2012, 30.

152 BITTEL et al. 1958, 33–34.

153 See BITTEL 1937, 35–56.

154 See BITTEL 1937, 35–56. – BITTEL et al. 1958, 33–34.

155 EKMEN 2012, 31.

the whole of west Anatolia exhibits a rather homogenous picture from the MBA until the end of the LBA, with a clear preference for the use of kraters, krateroid jars and other jars as urns. On the other hand, central Anatolia shows a rather diverse picture and more regionalized or even localized practices (e.g. Ilica, Osmankayasi and Konya-Karahöyük). Moreover, there is a clear difference in the use of preferred shapes between the two areas, although sporadic similarities do exist, such as the use of flasks and jugs at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7), Arıbaş, Ilica and Osmankayasi or the sporadic use of bowls at Demircihüyük-Sarıket (no. 2), Panaztepe (no. 9), Arıbaş and Osmankayasi. The most prominent formal similarity might be the use of two-handled jars at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (no. 7) (Fig. 3/1) and Osmankayasi (Fig. 3/7). Bittel already suggested a possible parallel between Trojan kraters and the two-handled jars (Fig. 3/7) from the cemeteries of Hattusa.¹⁵⁶ However, he was probably referring to two-handled jars rather than more elaborate kraters, as there is no clear formal similarity between the kraters from the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (no. 7) and the two-handled jars from Osmankayasi (Fig. 3/7). Unfortunately, at the moment it is impossible to argue whether some of the shapes encountered in central Anatolia were used as kraters.

The use of jugs as urns in both areas is especially problematic. It was mentioned earlier that Carstens wrongly suggested that a jug was used as an urn at Müskebi (no. 14).¹⁵⁷ As noted, she based her argument on the comparison with the central Anatolian tradition. However, the cemetery at Ilica is the only one in central Anatolia where jugs were the predominant type of urn. Consequently, jugs cannot be considered as a type of urn typically used in central Anatolia. Furthermore, the cemetery at Ilica is several centuries earlier than the one at Müskebi (no. 14). Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the cemetery at Müskebi (no. 14) was influenced by the traditions attested at Ilica. Moreover, in west Anatolia, the use of jugs is attested only at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7), located on the opposite side of the west Anatolian coast from Müskebi (no. 14). Even at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns at Troy (no. 7), the use of jugs is sporadic.

The rare use of jugs as urns in MBA and LBA west and central Anatolia directly relates to the question of the use of jugs as urns in the LH IIIC (12th and early 11th century BC) funerary contexts on Rhodes and Kos. As jugs are rarely used as urns in west Anatolia, their appearance on

the east Aegean islands cannot be related to the developments on the coast. Furthermore, as no direct influence of central Anatolian practices could be determined even in the earlier periods, this possibility has to be dismissed in the LH IIIC period as well. Therefore, the use of jugs as urns on the Dodecanese should be regarded as a subregional tradition that developed separately. The possible LH IIIA1–III A2 appearance of cremation in association with a jug in Tomb 19 at Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16)¹⁵⁸ could suggest that the development of the LH IIIC Dodecanese tradition was gradual and independent of any direct west or central Anatolian influence.

7. Comparison to the Greek Mainland and Crete

Only a limited number of cremation burials were documented on the Greek mainland prior to the LH IIIC period (Postpalatial period). They mostly date to the LH IIIA–IIIB period (Palatial period),¹⁵⁹ but an earlier LH I appearance was also noted at Argos.¹⁶⁰ Cremations were almost never deposited in urns on the LH IIIA–IIIB Greek mainland. More precisely, there are only two known examples of cremated remains deposited in an urn. The first are the burned human remains found inside an amphora discovered at the entrance of a LH IIIA2–IIIB rock-cut chamber tomb at Prosymna.¹⁶¹ The second example was discovered in a LH IIIA–IIIB rock-cut chamber tomb at Brauron in east Attica.¹⁶² The alabastron discovered in the tomb contained burned human skeletal remains. It is important to note that the use of an alabastron for the deposition of cremated human skeletal remains is paralleled in the contemporary example from Müskebi (no. 14) in west Anatolia.¹⁶³ Apart from the mentioned examples, the use of urns is not attested on the Greek mainland until LH IIIC. Cremation burials in pithoi, jars and larnakes were discovered at Olous on Crete and dated to the LM IIIA–IIIB period.¹⁶⁴

In the LH IIIC period, cremation burials appear in two different grave/tomb types on the Greek mainland. The first type are tumuli, in which cremations are predominant.¹⁶⁵ The second type are rock-cut chamber tombs, in which cremations were deposited together with predominant

¹⁵⁶ BITTEL 1937, 46.

¹⁵⁷ CARSTENS 2001, 91.

¹⁵⁸ BENZI 1992, 231.

¹⁵⁹ See an overview in CAVANAGH, MEE 1998, 71–72, 74.

¹⁶⁰ E.g. VOUTSAKI 1993, 80.

¹⁶¹ BLEGEN 1937, 143.

¹⁶² LAZARIDIS 1968, 99. – PAPADOPOULOS, KONTORLI-PAPADOPOULOU 2014, 121.

¹⁶³ BASS 1963, 355.

¹⁶⁴ KANTA 2001.

¹⁶⁵ See RUPPENSTEIN 2013, 187.

inhumations. Argos¹⁶⁶ and Chania near Mycenae¹⁶⁷ have produced cremation burials in tumuli on the Greek mainland, while an additional example is known from Pezoulou Atsipadhes in western Crete.¹⁶⁸ The tumulus discovered at Argos contained both skeletal (30.7 %) and cremation burials in urns (69.3 %).¹⁶⁹ The urns included 36 vessels of different types, namely 15 jugs of various types (44.4 %), ten amphoriskoi (27.8 %), six amphorae (16.6 %), two hydriae (5.6 %) and two collar-necked jars (5.6 %) (see Tab. 1).¹⁷⁰ Nine urns were discovered in association with the tumulus discovered at Chania near Mycenae.¹⁷¹ The examples include five amphorae of different types (55.5 %), two jugs (22.2 %), an amphoriskos (11.1 %) and a hydria (11.1 %) (see Tab. 1).¹⁷²

The most famous LH IIIC cemetery on the Greek mainland which produced evidence of cremations in rock-cut chamber tombs is Perati in east Attica. In total, 18 cremations were found in 10 tombs. The cremated remains were often simply deposited on the floor of the chamber or in a pit dug in the floor. In some cases, the remains were deposited in an urn, in four cases in jugs (FS 107), once in a collar-necked jar (FS 64) and once in an amphora (FS 69) (see Tab. 1).¹⁷³ The tradition of using jugs as urns continued in LH IIIC Late in Attica, as confirmed at Kerameikos in Athens.¹⁷⁴ Florian Ruppenstein suggests that the practice must have been abandoned by the beginning of the Early Iron Age.¹⁷⁵ However, two jugs discovered at the Elateia-Alonaki cemetery in Phthiotis date to the Early Protoegeometric period.¹⁷⁶ The cemetery at Elateia-Alonaki also yielded an additional amphora used as an urn in the Early Protoegeometric period.¹⁷⁷ Both shapes used as urns at Elateia-Alonaki

suggest the continuation of the earlier tradition, which started already in the LH IIIC period.¹⁷⁸

The evidence presented suggests that the most popular types of ceramic vessels used as urns on the Greek mainland during the LH IIIC period were jugs, amphoriskoi and amphorae.¹⁷⁹ The earliest use of an amphora as an urn was documented in the LH IIIA–IIIB context at Prosymna on the Greek mainland and it might suggest the early appearance of a local tradition, which started already in the Palatial period but did not fully develop until the LH IIIC or Postpalatial period. On the other hand, the earliest jug used as an urn was possibly noted in the LH IIIA context at Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16) and it might represent the development of the local Dodecanese tradition independent of the traditions attested in Anatolia or the Greek mainland. Interestingly, similar to the amphorae on the Greek mainland, the tradition did not develop fully until the LH IIIC period.

Mee correctly noted the similarities in the deposition of cremated remains between Perati and Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16), which encouraged him to believe that the LH IIIC inhabitants of the settlements associated with the Perati and Ialysos (no. 16) cemeteries must have originated from the same region.¹⁸⁰ Regardless of the possible migration or mobility hypothesis, the use of jugs (and hydriae) on the Greek mainland and the east Aegean islands in LH IIIC indeed displays similarities in the traditions, independent of the contemporary west Anatolian traditions. The connection is further strengthened by the fact that other parts of the Aegean, such as Crete, seem to have developed independently.

The most popular shapes used as urns during the LH IIIC period on the Greek mainland, namely jugs, amphoriskoi and amphorae, were deposited both in tumuli and rock-cut chamber tombs. It is evident that a larger number of amphorae, amphoriskoi and similar types existed in tumuli, while jugs might have been preferred in rock-cut chamber tombs. However, the evidence is far from conclusive and this might equally be a sign of local preferences, rather than connected with the grave type.

¹⁶⁶ PITEROS 2001.

¹⁶⁷ PALAIOLOGOU 2013.

¹⁶⁸ AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001.

¹⁶⁹ PITEROS 2001.

¹⁷⁰ PITEROS 2001, 106–107 and n. 27; 111–113 and n. 53.

¹⁷¹ PALAIOLOGOU 2013, 254–267.

¹⁷² Various ceramic vessels were used as lids for urns at Argos and Chania. They are of three basic shapes: shallow bowls, deep bowls and cups. There seems to be no consistent correlation between the types of urns and types of vessels used as lids.

¹⁷³ IAKOVIDIS 1969, Pl. 174. – IAKOVIDIS 1970, 422–424. – MEE 1982, 28.

¹⁷⁴ RUPPENSTEIN 2007, 24–25.

¹⁷⁵ RUPPENSTEIN 2013, 191.

¹⁷⁶ DAKORONIA, DEGER-JALKOTZY, FABRIZII-REUER 2002, 140, 143 and Fig. 4; 146. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2013, 222, 226–227.

¹⁷⁷ DEGER-JALKOTZY 2013, 227. The cemetery was used from the LH IIIA1 until the Early Protoegeometric period. Cremations did not appear until the LH IIIC Late period, while urns were not used until

the last phase of the cemetery in the Early Protoegeometric period, see DEGER-JALKOTZY 2013, 221–222.

¹⁷⁸ It is important to note that the contextual evidence suggests that the amphora was used as an urn during the Early Protoegeometric period, while its stylistic features suggest an earlier date. Therefore, it is probably an earlier vessel which was reused, see DEGER-JALKOTZY 1999, 197. – DEGER-JALKOTZY 2013, 227.

¹⁷⁹ A four-handled amphora used as an urn was deposited in a rock-cut chamber tomb at Spaliareika-Lousikon, see GIANNOPOULOS 2008, Pls. 21, 37 and Cat. No. 8–9.

¹⁸⁰ MEE 1982, 28, 90.

In this respect, the tumulus at Pezoulos Atsipadhes in west Crete should be mentioned. The excavation of the tumulus produced one jar and two amphorae.¹⁸¹ It should be mentioned that Eustathios Petroulakis identified 21 cremation burials in urns during his excavations at the site at the beginning of the 20th century.¹⁸² Among the vessels he retrieved, he mentioned pyxides and collar-necked jars and published some of the examples (see Tab. 1).¹⁸³ Unfortunately, for most of the vessels published by Petroulakis it remains unclear whether they represent urns or burial gifts accompanying the urns.¹⁸⁴ The types of amphorae (e.g. the ovoid wide-mouthed type) resemble the types discovered in the tumuli on the Greek mainland. However, even with the example of Pezoulos Atsipadhes it is not possible to argue with certainty whether the similarity in the preferred type of urns used suggests a correlation of this type of vessel to the grave type, as it could equally suggest a similarity in tradition between the Argolid and west Crete. In any case, one option does not necessarily exclude the other.

The rest of Crete suggests that the traditions on the island developed in a different way in comparison to west Crete and the Greek mainland.¹⁸⁵ An especially interesting example is a pictorial krater from the Tholos Tomb A at Moulia on Crete, which was used as an urn (see Tab. 1).¹⁸⁶ This is one of only two examples of kraters being used as urns outside of west Anatolia in any of the MBA and LBA phases, with the dubious LM IIIA example from Tou Stavrou to Kephali on Karpathos (no. 17) being the second one. However, there is insufficient evidence to argue that there was a direct connection between the appearances or propose that this tradition spread from Anatolia to Crete via Karpathos. More precisely, there is no definite evidence to prove the use of kraters as urns on Karpathos after the LM IIIA period, on Crete before the LM IIIC period or in west Anatolia after the LH IIIB period, although some of

the Bakla Tepe (no. 12) kraters might date to the early stages of the LH IIIC period. Therefore, there are no definite contemporary appearances in all three areas which would prove the possible connection.

The types of vessels popular on the Greek mainland were seldom used on Crete. Ruppenstein argued that there is not a single Cretan example of a jug used as an urn in the LM IIIC period.¹⁸⁷ Although there are no clear examples of such practice, it has to be noted that jugs were among the vessels retrieved by Petroulakis from Pezoulos Atsipadhes (see Tab. 1).¹⁸⁸ However, in this case it remains unclear whether they were used as grave goods or urns. Although the appearance of jugs at Pezoulos Atsipadhes would not be surprising, the only definite parallel between the traditions on Crete and the Greek mainland is the use of amphorae and amphoriskoi as urns at Pezoulos Atsipadhes¹⁸⁹ and Turloti (see Tab. 1).¹⁹⁰

Furthermore, other examples from Crete suggest a tradition different from the contemporary cemeteries on the Greek mainland and the east Aegean islands. Cylindrical pyxides/alabastra were documented in east Crete at Moulia, Fotoula in Praisos, Kritsa and Palaimylos (see Tab. 1).¹⁹¹ Although alabastra were used at Mūskebi (no. 14) in west Anatolia and Brauron on the Greek mainland during the LH IIIA–IIIB period, as well as at Aplomata on Naxos (no. 18) during the LH IIIC period, the connection between these appearances remains unclear. Moreover, none of these cemeteries have produced more than one example of an alabastron used as an urn, while in east Crete the appearance of alabastra was documented at several sites. Therefore, it seems that the tradition was stronger on Crete than anywhere else and there is no need to look for possible influences from elsewhere. Rather, it should be regarded as a local occurrence.

8. Interregional Interaction and the Spread of Traditions – Some Theoretical Considerations

At the beginning of this brief theoretical discussion, I would like to point out that it is not my intention to address in detail the question of interregional interaction

¹⁸¹ AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001, 71–73.

¹⁸² PETROULAKIS 1915.

¹⁸³ PETROULAKIS 1915. – AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001, 70.

¹⁸⁴ AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001, 70.

¹⁸⁵ Davaras presented an overview of cremation burials discovered on Crete until 1973 (DAVARAS 1973).

¹⁸⁶ See DAVARAS 1973, 163. – D'AGATA 2007, 113. – PAPADOPOULOS 2009, 74. Moreover, bronze vessels were used as urns at Spaliareika in Achaea (GIANNOPOULOS 2008, 116, 168, 224 and Pls. 23/19; 39/19) and Tylissos on Crete (MARINATOS 1931, 112–113). A hemispherical bowl was used at Tylissos, while the vessel discovered at Spaliareika was a lekani. Although Davaras argued that the burial from Tylissos should date to the Protogeometric period (DAVARAS 1973, 166), it seems more probable that it dates to the advanced stage of LM IIIC, see RUPPENSTEIN 2013, 191 and n. 59.

¹⁸⁷ RUPPENSTEIN 2013, 191.

¹⁸⁸ PETROULAKIS 1915, 49 and Fig. 2.

¹⁸⁹ PETROULAKIS 1915, 49 and Fig. 1. – AGELARAKIS, KANTA, MOODY 2001, 72 and Fig. 8; 73 and Fig. 10.

¹⁹⁰ PASCHALIDIS 2009, 15–17.

¹⁹¹ XANTHOUDIDIS 1904, 35–36 and Pl. 3. – PLATON 1966, 305 and Pls. 243/b, 244/a. – DAVARAS 1973, 158–160, 162 and Pl. 28/1–6. – TSIPOPOULOU, LITTLE 2001, 85–86 and Figs. 2–4; 91–92. – PASCHALIDIS 2009, 16 and n. 101.

between Anatolia and the Aegean or provide a comprehensive overview of the history of research. Rather, my aim is to point out specific problematic points in the earlier interpretations which influenced our perception of burial practices. In my opinion, these problematic points hindered a better understanding of the influence of inter-regional interaction on the development of various funerary forms. The problematic points are mostly related to the use of various explanatory models developed within the framework of the culture-historical discourse and employed from the beginning of the 20th century until fairly recently.¹⁹² Such explanatory models interpreted the cultural change, including that attested in the funerary record, as a result of cultural diffusion and/or migration from one side of the Aegean to the other.

Although there are important differences between the approaches of various authors whose explanatory models were developed within the framework of the culture-historical discourse, most of them rely on the idea that the changes in funerary data can be related to migration and population changes. For example, this is well attested in the case of rock-cut chamber tombs, which were used in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region between the late 15th and the early 11th century BC. The initial appearance, as well as the later changes in the number and distribution of rock-cut chamber tombs in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region, were interpreted as a sign of immigrants coming from the Greek mainland. More precisely, the first appearance of rock-cut chamber tombs in the LH IIB–IIIA1,¹⁹³ their spatial spread and increase in numbers during LH IIIA2,¹⁹⁴ and the repeated rise in LH IIIC after the LH IIIB decrease in numbers¹⁹⁵ were all interpreted as the result of the influx of new immigrants from the Greek mainland.¹⁹⁶ Similar explanations were sometimes used to explain the appearance of cremations and the use of urns on the

Greek mainland in the LH IIIC period. For example, as noted earlier in the text, Mee proposed that the cremated individuals buried at Perati in east Attica and Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16) must have originated from the same region.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, specific elements of burial practices were used to argue for the origin of the individuals associated with those practices. Unusual and newly emerged funerary forms, including the burial rite, were commonly interpreted as a sign of immigrants, especially when similar forms already existed in the nearby regions. Although it is highly likely that small scale migrations and mobility were continuously reshaping the social environments,¹⁹⁸ it has to be noted that migrations and mobility have not yet been successfully traced in the funerary record, although the potential for such an analysis might exist if anthropological, isotope and DNA analyses were included.¹⁹⁹ Therefore, I remain unconvinced that specific objects, employed burial rites or documented funerary practices can simply be used to determine the presence of immigrants, as visible in the following two examples.

One of the cist graves at Beşik-Tepe contained an adult male individual buried in the extended position on his back. According to Basedow, he must have come from Macedonia, as the extended position of the deceased on the back does not correspond to the Anatolian tradition.²⁰⁰ Interestingly, two cremation burials deposited in the same grave were interpreted as the burials of an Anatolian wife and a child of the buried Macedonian man,²⁰¹ as the cremation burial rite has always been regarded as something typically Anatolian. Although Basedow is correct that the extended position on the back is not commonly used at the 2nd-millennium BC cemeteries in west Anatolia, the evidence from other cemeteries in different parts of the east Aegean–west Anatolian region (e.g. Demircihüyük-Sarıket, Trianda on Rhodes) suggests a connection between the extended position and cist graves at least since the first half of the 2nd millennium BC.²⁰² Therefore, the extended position of the male individual discovered in the cist grave at Beşik-Tepe could equally represent the introduction of a foreign practice or continuation of the east Aegean–west Anatolian tradition.

192 E.g. FURUMARK 1950, 150, 202. – MEE 1978. – MEE 1988a. – MEE 1988b. – BENZI 1992. – BENZI 1996, 973. – MEE 1998. – NIEMEIER 1998a. – NIEMEIER 2005a. – NIEMEIER 2005b.

193 E.g. FURUMARK 1950, 180–181, 262–263. – MEE 1982, 82. – DRIESSEN, MACDONALD 1984, 67. – BENZI 1988, 62. – MEE 1988a, 301. – BENZI 1992, 212. – BENZI 1996, 948. – NIEMEIER 1999, 149. – KARANTZALI 2001, 78.

194 E.g. MACDONALD 1985, 192. – BENZI 1988, 62. – MEE 1988a, 304. – NIEMEIER 2002, 295.

195 Deger-Jalkotzy connects the destructions in the transition between LH IIIC Early and LH IIIC Middle on the Aegean islands to migration from the Greek mainland (DEGER-JALKOTZY 1998, 113).

196 E.g. MEE 1982, 2, 88. – MEE 1988b, 57. The idea about the migration of Mycenaeans from the Greek mainland after the destruction of the palatial system dates back to the work of Tsountas and Manatt (TSOUNTAS, MANATT 1897, 364–365).

197 MEE 1982, 28, 90.

198 See the overview of the topic in MOKRIŠOVÁ 2016.

199 FRANKOVIĆ 2018, 18–19.

200 BASEDOW 2000, 155.

201 BASEDOW 2000, 155.

202 MARKETOU 1998, 76 and Pl. IV. – SEEHER 2000, 194–207. – GEORGIADIS 2003, 35.

Another example is the Mycenaean-style krater from Ayasoluk in Selçuk (Ephesos) (no. 13), which was used as an urn for the deposition of human skeletal remains.²⁰³ As shown earlier in the text, west Anatolian-type kraters were the most common type of urn used for the deposition of the human skeletal remains all over west Anatolia from the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC. However, the use of kraters as urns is almost completely unknown outside of west Anatolia, with the possible exception of the LM IIIA example from Tou Stavrou to Kephali on Karpathos (no. 17) and the rather late LM IIIC example from Moulia on Crete.²⁰⁴ Therefore, the use of a Mycenaean-style instead of an Anatolian-type krater at Ayasoluk (no. 13) represents a novelty in the west Anatolian burial practices. However, as I argued elsewhere, the krater could equally represent a foreign object appropriated into local practices by west Anatolian inhabitants or the appropriation of west Anatolian burial practices by the immigrants from the west Aegean.²⁰⁵ Both cases would leave the same trace in the archaeological context.

To overcome the obvious inability to differentiate between locals and foreign immigrants in the archaeological record, Penelope Mountjoy introduced the concept of the east Aegean–west Anatolian hybrid interface.²⁰⁶ She interpreted the area as a mixture of Mycenaean and local/Anatolian cultural traits, also attested in the funerary practices. However, the concept of the hybrid interface only creates an additional artificial taxonomic category, while it completely neglects the dynamic and creative processes which led to the creation of such a hybrid.²⁰⁷ If we accept that the hybrid is nothing more than a mere mixture, then almost every cultural form can be described as a hybrid of local traditions and foreign influences. However, if everything is defined as a hybrid, then the concept loses its explanatory value.²⁰⁸ An additional problem with the concept of the hybrid interface is that it still envisages the east Aegean–west Anatolian region as a mixture of Anatolian and Mycenaean cultural traits, which can then be individually determined in specific archaeological contexts. For example, within Mountjoy's concept, cremations in an urn would still be regarded as an Anatolian feature of the

hybrid interface. Consequently, by determining the origin of certain cultural forms within the hybrid interface, Mountjoy's concept simply prolongs the use of the culture-historical discourse.²⁰⁹

Approaches developed within the framework of culture-historical discourse commonly suppose that certain material forms and cultural practices must have had the same meanings in the region of their origin and in the region where they were subsequently introduced. More precisely, such approaches focus almost exclusively on the meanings that specific cultural traits had in their region of origin rather than focusing on the way they were appropriated, translated and attributed with new meanings in the context of their consumption. In order to trace the origin of specific material forms and cultural practices, the theoretical approaches to interregional contacts working within the framework of the culture-historical discourse mostly focus on the examination of the similarities which exist between different regions, only occasionally mentioning the differences.²¹⁰ Such an approach hinders a better understanding of local meanings of individual practices and leads to generalized conclusions about the origin and level of foreign influence on local cultural change. For example, the focus on the similarities between Anatolia and the Aegean led to the simplified conclusion that the introduction of the cremation burial rite and the accompanying urns took place due to the influence of the central Anatolian (Hittite) funerary traditions on the Aegean through the mediation of the east Aegean–west Anatolian region. However, there are two basic problems with such an approach. First, it completely neglects the fact that there is no such thing as a central Anatolian (or Hittite) funerary tradition and that there is almost no influence of the central Anatolian burial practices on the appearance of cremation burials in urns in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region. More precisely, the focus on similarities completely neglects the fact that the west Anatolian tradition of the use of ceramic vessels as urns developed independently from central Anatolia at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC. In west Anatolia, cremations make up only the minority of burials at the cemeteries and are predominantly deposited in kraters or jars in all parts of the region. Cremations make up the majority of burials at individual cemeteries in central Anatolia, while the choice of urns depends on distinct local practices.

²⁰³ This particular example was recently discussed in FRANKOVIĆ 2018.

²⁰⁴ See DAVARAS 1973, 163. – D'AGATA 2007, 113. – PAPADOPOULOS 2009, 74.

²⁰⁵ FRANKOVIĆ 2018, 18.

²⁰⁶ MOUNTJOY 1998.

²⁰⁷ STOCKHAMMER 2013, 14. – FRANKOVIĆ 2018, 11.

²⁰⁸ KRAIDY 2002. – MARAN 2012, 59, 64. – MICHAELS 2019, 9.

²⁰⁹ FRANKOVIĆ 2018, 11.

²¹⁰ See the discussion in STOCKHAMMER, ATHANASSOV 2018, 105–106.

Second, there is only a limited number of similarities between the urn types used in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region and the west Aegean, while there is no clear connection to any of the central Anatolian traditions. Although there are certain similarities between the Dodecanese (i.e. Kos and Rhodes) and west Aegean traditions in the deposition of cremated remains in jugs, the similarities to west Anatolian traditions and the use of kraters and jars are almost non-existent.

The oversimplified interpretations arise from the lack of detailed contextual examinations of the data. For example, knowledge about the relationship between the age, gender, status and other social categories of the deceased and the specific burial rites, let alone the choice of the specific urns, is rather scarce if not completely lacking for both Anatolia and the Aegean. Moreover, the interpretations about the Anatolian influence on the appearance of cremation burials in the west Aegean tend to be ahistorical. For example, the use of ceramic vessels as urns for the deposition of cremated remains in the west Aegean appears more frequently in the period when the use of urns is almost unattested in west or central Anatolia, while the types of vessels used in the west Aegean completely differ from those used in west or central Anatolia. Furthermore, the proposed spread of the practice of cremation from Anatolia to the west Aegean appears in a period of decline in the interaction between the two regions.

In my opinion, as our understanding of the social connotation of the cremation burial rite either in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region or the west Aegean is almost non-existent, it is highly questionable whether its origin is indeed a relevant research question from the methodological and theoretical point of view. The focus should be placed on the practices and their social connotations in specific contexts, and the examination should not simply stop when the existence of formal similarities is determined. Even in the current state of research, there is enough evidence to suggest that cremation burials and urns in which cremated remains were deposited had a variety of different social connotations in different parts of the Aegean and Anatolia. For example, it is highly unlikely that the exclusive use of cremation burials in high-elite stone-built chamber tombs at Beşik-Tepe (no. 8) and Bakla Tepe (no. 12) had the same social connotation as the cremations of children and sometimes adults which were deposited in different grave types at larger west Anatolian cemeteries during the MBA and LBA. Similarly, while cremation burials make up the majority of burials in stone tumuli on the LH IIIC Greek mainland, they constitute only a minority of burials in the contemporary rock-cut chamber tombs.

In my opinion, the question is not whether the influences of one region on the other existed, but how such influences were received and incorporated into the already existing local practices. As correctly noted by Rik Vaessen for the east Aegean–west Anatolian sites, different combinations of influences appear at each site and a variety of different reactions to these influences can be expected due to the different positions of sites and associated communities in various communication networks.²¹¹ Therefore, one cannot expect a simple transfer of cultural practices from one region to the other which would act as a homogenizing factor. Any homogenizing process inevitably leads to simultaneous heterogenization.²¹² Homogenization and heterogenization are two complementary and inseparable processes which work simultaneously and are not contradictory.²¹³ Therefore, there is no passive reception of cultural influences, such as the use of cremation burial rite and urns for the deposition of cremated remains, but rather a variety of local appropriations. Cultures and cultural traditions are not bounded, isolated, enclosed and homogenous entities which occasionally and unidirectionally influence each other. Rather, they are constantly reshaped and transformed through the exchange of material forms, practices, ideas and knowledge, at the same time erasing the borders between them. More precisely, cultural traditions are continuously recreated, transformed, negotiated and performed.²¹⁴ Consequently, the material forms, practices, ideas and knowledge are not simply transferred from one region to another through migration or cultural diffusion, but transformed through interaction.²¹⁵ However, although the employment of new theoretical approaches can prove fruitful for our understanding of the spread of foreign cultural traits in different parts of the Aegean, a significant amount of empirical work still needs to be done.²¹⁶

The lack of clear boundaries between cultural traditions is visible in the patterns emerging from the study of ceramic vessels used as urns. The evaluation of the distribution of different types of urns at different sites in the Aegean does not suggest that the transitions between different traditions are clear, but rather that they are gradual and fluid. For example, in the 12th and early 11th century BC, jugs are the dominant type of urn on the Dodecanese,

²¹¹ VAESSEN 2016, 54, 58.

²¹² ROBERTSON 1995, 38.

²¹³ ROBERTSON 1995, 27–28, 36, 40. – BAUMAN 1998, 44–45.

²¹⁴ E.g. FRIEDMAN 1997. – JUNEJA 2011. – HAHN 2013, 25, 34–35. – JUNEJA, FALSER 2013. – MARAN 2017, 21–22. – MARAN 2019, 52, 60–61.

²¹⁵ LATOUR 1986, 268. – MARAN 2017, 22–25.

²¹⁶ KNAPPETT 2016, 205.

the only exceptions being a hydria and a coarse jar used as urns. In Attica, jugs are the most commonly used type of vessel, but amphorae and similar types can also be found. Further to the west, in the Argolid, the number of amphorae, amphoriskoi and collar-necked jars increases, while jugs are still important but not dominant. The practice changes further south. In west Crete, we encounter a similar tradition as in the Argolid, but the local influence is possibly visible in the use of pyxides. In east Crete, pyxides are the main type of vessel used as an urn, while other shapes are rarely used.

9. Concluding Remarks

The main aim of this paper was a detailed examination of the use of ceramic vessels as urns in the 2nd millennium BC east Aegean–west Anatolian region. I examined the emergence and development of different traditions, as well as the influence of central Anatolian traditions on their formation. As Anatolia is often taken as the place of origin of the cremation burial rite and the use of urns in the west Aegean, I also examined the similarities and differences between the west Aegean and Anatolian traditions.

The data presented in this paper suggests that urns were used in west Anatolia from the early years of the 2nd millennium BC on. The use of krateroid jars and other jars as urns for the deposition of cremated remains and burials of children in the first half of the 2nd millennium BC in west Anatolia suggests the early formation of the traditions attested in the later 14th- and 13th-century BC cemeteries. Unfortunately, there is a lack of MBA and early LBA evidence that the cremation burial rite was employed or that urns were used on the east Aegean islands. However, this does not come as a surprise, as our knowledge of the funerary data on the east Aegean islands in this period is almost non-existent.

At the same time, a separate tradition developed in central Anatolia. The types of ceramic vessels used as urns in west Anatolia were not used in the contemporary cemeteries in central Anatolia. Moreover, central Anatolian cemeteries in this period exhibit a localized character and there was no tradition of using specific ceramic vessels as urns which was common to the whole area. Therefore, the traditions in west and central Anatolia developed independently after the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC.

Although the evidence of a wider spatial distribution of krateroid jars and other jars in the MBA and early LBA cemeteries in west Anatolia is quite scarce, the 14th- and 13th-century BC data suggest that the use of kraters and jars was widespread in most parts of west Anatolia by this period. This clearly contrasts with the picture attested in the earlier cemeteries in central Anatolia, where local practices

prevailed. Although there is insufficient data to define with certainty the development of funerary practices in the 14th and 13th centuries BC in central Anatolia, the data from the 14th-century BC cemetery at Osmankayasi might suggest that the earlier local traditions continued into the later period as well. The only possible prominent similarity in this period is the use of two-handled jars at the Cemetery of Cinerary Urns (Fig. 3/1) and Osmankayasi (Fig. 3/7), despite other sporadic similarities in the choice of vessels used as urns in west and central Anatolia.

The east Aegean islands developed their own, independent burial tradition. While no cremation burials are attested in the MBA and early LBA funerary contexts, they seem to appear for the first time in the 14th and 13th centuries BC. However, in most of the cases they were not deposited in urns, but directly in the tomb. Two possible but dubious examples from Tou Stavrou to Kephali on Karpathos (no. 17) and Ialysos on Rhodes (no. 16) might be exceptions to this rule. The former points to the use of kraters as urns even outside of west Anatolia, while the latter supports the early development of the later independent LH IIIC tradition in which jugs were the dominant shape used as urns. Unfortunately, the evidence is far from conclusive.

Although there is some evidence of the use of urns for the deposition of cremated remains on the Greek mainland during the 14th and 13th century BC, there are only two examples of such practices in this two-hundred-year period. Therefore, it is impossible to discuss any Anatolian influences on the development of this segment of burial practices on the Greek mainland during the Palatial period. However, it should be kept in mind that Mycenaean-style pottery was occasionally used in local burial practices in west Anatolia, as confirmed by the Mycenaean-style krater used as an urn at Ayasoluk in Selçuk (Ephesos) (no. 13).²¹⁷ Therefore, if there was any influence in this respect, it was that of the west Aegean on west Anatolia.

It is important to note that urns were more commonly used in cemeteries on the east Aegean islands and in the west Aegean from the beginning of the LH IIIC period (12th century BC), or more precisely, after the collapse of the palatial system on the Greek mainland. If the appearance of cremation and the deposition of cremated remains in urns were indeed connected to the influence of Anatolian traditions, it remains unclear why there is not more evidence of these practices in the period of the most intense contacts, more precisely in the LH IIIA–IIIB periods (between the late 15th and the 13th century BC). Moreover, the use of jugs as urns

²¹⁷ See FRANKOVIĆ 2018.

on the east Aegean islands suggests the development of a tradition independent from the earlier 14th- and 13th-century BC cemeteries in west Anatolia. Unfortunately, the only evidence of the use of urns in 12th-century west Anatolia (from Bakla Tepe (no. 12) and possibly Panaztepe (no. 9)) is dubious, due to the unclear contextual data and dating of the vessels, but it could point to a continuation of the earlier west Anatolian traditions. Therefore, there is no direct evidence that the tradition attested on the east Aegean islands was influenced by the previous or contemporary west Anatolian traditions. However, there is a clear similarity between the 12th- and early-11th-century BC practices attested on the east Aegean islands and those documented on the Greek mainland, mostly the Peloponnese and Attica. More precisely, jugs were quite popular types of vessels used as urns both on the east Aegean islands and the Greek mainland. Certain local traditions developed independently on the Greek mainland. For example, shapes such as amphorae and amphoriskoi were rather popular urn types of the 12th and early 11th centuries BC on the Greek mainland. The use of urns is also attested on contemporary Crete, which developed its own tradition, partially independent of the traditions attested on the Greek mainland and the east Aegean islands. However, certain similarities between traditions did exist, such as the appearance of amphorae and amphoriskoi at some of the Cretan cemeteries.

The available evidence suggests that the choice of urn types in the Aegean and Anatolia was highly regionalized and, in some cases, even localized. Therefore, the choice of urn does not support the idea of a direct spread of influences from one region to another. Thus, in order to fully understand the meaning behind these seemingly similar practices, they need to be studied in their specific local contexts. In other words, rather than focusing on the similarities which can be used to create weak links between the material records of different regions and support possible interpretations about direct cultural influences, the focus should be on the differences and local characters of these practices. Only in that way can we hope to understand fully the entire complexity of the interregional interaction and its influence on the change in cultural practices, such as the appearance of cremation in the regions where it had not been attested before. Moreover, if such an approach was applied to other sets of data, it might shed a different light on the identity of the east Aegean–west Anatolian region as an independent and autonomous region,²¹⁸ rather than as a region dependent on cultural contacts with larger cultural circles such as those of

Mycenaean Greece or Hittite Anatolia. As suggested by the results presented in this paper, the urns used for the deposition of cremated human remains reflect the development of an independent common tradition in the east Aegean–west Anatolian region which lasted from the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC until at least the 12th century BC. Such a picture directly contrasts with the more localized traditions attested in central Anatolia and the west Aegean. Therefore, it is no longer possible to sustain the idea that the 2nd-millennium BC east Aegean–west Anatolian region should be regarded simply as a passive recipient of foreign cultural influences or as a contact zone between larger centres of high culture on the Greek mainland and in central Anatolia. Even a small-scale study, such as the one presented in this paper, suggests that the east Aegean–west Anatolian region emerges as an independent entity with its own complex cultural development.

Acknowledgements

This paper has been produced as part of the project “Along the Interface”, financed by the Czech Science Foundation Grantová agentura České republiky (GACR), Award 17-19746S. I would like to thank Peter Pavúk for his suggestions and support. I am thankful to Ana Popović for revising the language of the paper. I am especially grateful to the Gerda Henkel Foundation for financing my PhD studies at the University of Heidelberg.

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²¹⁸ E.g. MAC SWEENEY 2009. – ΠΑΥΚ 2015.

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Filip Franković
Institut für Ur- und Frühgeschichte und
Vorderasiatische Archäologie
Universität Heidelberg
Sandgasse 7
69117 Heidelberg
Germany
frankovic.uni@gmail.com

 orcid.org/0000-0001-5395-2425