MORTUARY PRACTICES AT TELL ATCHANA, ANCIENT ALALAKH IN THE MIDDLE AND LATE BRONZE AGES

By

Tara Ingman

Koc University

June 2014

Koc University
Graduate School of Social Sciences and Humanities

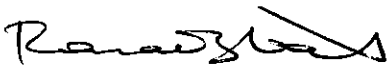
This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

Tara Ingman

and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
and that any and all revisions required by the final
examining committee have been made.

Committee Members:

Prof. Aslıhan Yener



Asst. Prof. Rana Özbal

Asst. Prof. Rula Shafiq-Baysan

Date: 30/10/2014

ABSTRACT

This thesis represents a synthesis of the mortuary data at the Middle and Late Bronze Age site of Tell Atchana, ancient Alalakh. Drawing on data from the burials excavated by Sir C. L. Woolley in 1936-9 and 1946-9 and K. A. Yener from 2003-present, this thesis goes beyond the descriptions that have been published to date in order to analyze burial practices at the site throughout the second millennium BC. The unpublished burials excavated between 2006 and 2012 are treated in detail, and a three-dimensional geographic information system (GIS) model of these latest burials is presented that facilitates the spatial and stratigraphic understanding of the extramural cemetery area discovered at the site. The burial record at Tell Atchana is comprised of 284 excavated graves of various types, including simple graves, secondary burials, infant pot burials, and one stone chamber tomb. This thesis examines burial types, orientation, position, and grave goods at the site and compares the results to burials found at other sites in the region in order to gain a comprehensive view of funerary rituals and burial practices at ancient Alalakh.

Keywords: Burial practices, funerary archaeology, Bronze Age Anatolia, Tell Atchana, Alalakh, GIS, cemetery

ÖZET

Bu çalışma, Orta ve Geç Tunç Çağı yerleşimi Aççana Höyük, antik Alalah'taki gömülere ait verilerin bir analizidir. 1936-9 ve 1946-9'daki Sör C. L. Woolley ve 2003'ten günümüze değin süren K. A. Yener kazılarında bulunan mezarlardan elde edilen verilerin kullanıldığı bu çalışma, M.Ö. 2. binyıl boyunca iskan edilen şehirdeki ölü gömme adetlerini incelemek amacıyla bugüne kadar yayımlanan ve yalnızca tanımlama odaklı çalışmaların ötesine geçmektedir. 2006-2012 yıllarında açığa çıkarılan henüz yayınlanmamış mezarlar detaylı olarak çalışılmış, Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri (CBS) kullanılarak yapılan 3 boyutlu modellemeler ile mezarlık alanının mekansal ve stratigrafik ilişkisini anlamamıza olanak sağlanmıştır. Aççana Höyük'te belgelenmiş 284 mezar, basit mezarlar, ikincil gömüler, çömlek içi çocuk gömüleri ve bir adet taş oda mezardan oluşmaktadır. Bu çalışma kapsamında yerleşimde ortaya çıkarılan bu gömü tipleri, yönleri, pozisyonları, ve içlerine bırakılan mezar hediyeleri incelenmiş, antik Alalah'taki cenaze ritüelleri ve ölü gömme adetleri üzerine kapsamlı bir bakış açısı elde etmek amacıyla bölgedeki diğer yerleşimlerdeki gömülerle karşılaştırılmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Ölü gömme adetleri, mezar arkeolojisi, Anadolu Tunç Çağı, Aççana Höyük/Alalah, Coğrafi Bilgi Sistemleri (CBS), mezarlık

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The assistance, support, and previous work of many people contributed to the completion of this thesis. I would first like to thank Prof. K. Aslihan Yener for giving me the opportunity to be part of the Alalakh Excavation Project and for granting me access to the team's database, reports, and findings. Her continued support and encouragement throughout the process and, indeed, throughout my education, have been invaluable. It has been and continues to be a privilege to work with her.

Dr. Murat Akar was instrumental in the preparation of this thesis, particularly in the completion of the GIS model. His work with the Alalakh Excavation Project's GIS database and the GIS training he provided to me made my work much smoother. His support and comments are much appreciated.

I am also thankful to Dr. Mara Horowitz for her comments and help in understanding and preparing the pottery portions of this thesis in particular. Her insights and edits contributed much to the final product, and I am very grateful.

Many thanks are also due to the previous excavators and osteologists who have worked on the Tell Atchana material. Without the careful notes, documentation, and reports of Stephanie Selover, Christopher Grant, Elizabeth Shiverdecker, Kim Consroe, Nathan Harper, and Jonathon Weiland, this thesis would not have been possible.

To the many friends and family who have supported me during both my education and the writing of this thesis, I thank you from the bottom of my heart. Hale Oran, Müge

Bulu, Carla Narnor, Samantha Hill, and, of course, my parents, Alan and Jo Ingman, I could not have done this without you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT iv

ÖZET v

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS vi

TABLE OF CONTENTS viii

LIST OF TABLES xiii

LIST OF FIGURES xiv

CHAPTER 1 1

Introduction and Site History 1

Project Description and Scope 1

Site Overview and History of Excavation 3

History and Chronology of Alalakh 4

Woolley's Excavations 11

Yener's Excavations 13

Methodology 14

Chapter Breakdown 18

CHAPTER 2 ……19

Theoretical Orientation - Funerary Archaeology ……19

Early Approaches to the Study of Burials ……20

Ritual and Its Role in Society ……...21

Processualist Interpretations ……24

Post-Processual Critiques and Analyses: Symbols and Ritualization ……..28

Funerary Archaeology …… 32

Funerary Archaeology in the Ancient Near East …… 33

CHAPTER 3 ……39

Atchana Burial Practices - Chronology, Contexts, and Analysis ……...39

Woolley Graves ……39

The Shaft Grave ……48

Discussion ……50

Yener 2003-2004 Graves ……..52

Extramural Cemetery ……52

Intramural Graves ……57

The Plastered Tomb ……..58

Discussion ……60

Yener 2006-2012 Graves ……..61

Area 3 ……61

Square 45.44 ……62

Square 45.45 ……76

GIS Mapping Project, Cemetery Stratigraphy, and Burial Phasing …….82

Area 1 ……86

Area 2 ……89

Area 4 ……91

Discussion ……91

CHAPTER 4 ……... 94

Burial Records at Nearby Sites ……. 94

The Middle Bronze Age ……... 94

Syria ……. 94

Qatna …… 94

Tell Umm el-Marra ……...99

Tell Leilan ……...100

Ebla ……101

Tell Afis ……..104

Anatolia ……...105

Tilmen Hoyuk ……..105

Cilicia ……..105

Levant and Palestine ……...106

Ugarit ……..106

Palestine ……..109

Summary ……109

The Late Bronze Age ……..111

Syria ……111

Qatna ……...111

Tell Afis ……..115

Anatolia ……...116

Chatal Hoyuk ……..116

Cilicia ……..116

Central Anatolia ……..116

Levant and Palestine ……...118

Ugarit ……..118

Palestine ……..119

Summary ……120

Conclusions ……121

CHAPTER 5 ……..124

Conclusion – Funerary Practices and Rituals ……124

Burials Types……...126

Status ……...130

Grave Goods ……...133

Funerary Vessels ……138

Conclusions ……141

BIBLIOGRAPHY ……...144

APPENDICES ……160

APPENDIX A 161

TABLES 161

APPENDIX B 199

FIGURES 199

APPENDIX C 253

CATALOGUE 253

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Pottery shape typology of vessels found in graves at Tell Atchana……. 162

Table 2. Woolley graves……..170

Table 3. Descriptions of burial types discussed in text ……...178

Table 4. Yener 2003-2004 graves……179

Table 5. Yener 2006-2012 graves……183

Table 6. Grave type, age/sex, orientation, and position by Phase, Period, and Level, excluding the Shaft Grave and the Plastered Tomb…….187

Table 7. Grave goods by Phase, Period, and Level, excluding the Shaft Grave and the Plastered Tomb……....190

Table 8. Burial types by Period/Level ……194

Table 9. Age and sex of individuals by Period/Level …….194

Table 10. Distribution of closed, intermediate, and open vessel shapes by Phase, Period, and Level……..195

Table 11. Vessel shape and ware distribution in the cemetery…….. 197

Table 12. Vessel shape and ware distribution in the Yener intramural burials……. 197

Table 13. Vessel shape and ware distribution in Woolley graves……... 198

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Location of Tell Atchana……..200

Figure 2. Map of Tell Atchana…….201

Figure 3. Updated chronology of Alalakh showing Woolley Levels and Yener contexts……202

Figure 4. Level VIII and VII graves……203

Figure 5. Piriform juglets from Level VIII……. 203

Figure 6. Level VI graves……204

Figure 7. Level V graves……. 205

Figure 8. Beads from Level V……. 206

Figure 9. Round-bodied glazed bottle AT/39/197, from ATG/39/80……. 206

Figure 10. Grave goods from Level V…… 206

Figure 11. Level IV graves……..207

Figure 12. Cremation urn ATP/39/191, from ATG/39/74…….. 208

Figure 13. Spindle bottles from Level VI……... 208

Figure 14. Grave goods from Level IV……... 209

Figure 15. Level III graves…….. 210

Figure 16. Mold-made glass figurine AT/39/66, from ATG/39/23…….211

Figure 17. Grave vessels from Level III……..211

Figure 18. Beads AT/36/320, from ATG/46/3…….211

Figure 19. Level II graves……212

Figure 20. Level I and O graves……...213

Figure 21. LHIIIA flask ATP/39/186, from ATG/39/68……213

Figure 22. Staircase leading to the Shaft Grave……...214

Figure 23. Door to the Shaft Grave……..214

Figure 24. Section of the Shaft Grave.…… 215

Figure 25. Alabaster vessels from the Shaft Grave……. 215

Figure 26. The burnt deposit in the Shaft Grave……. 216

Figure 27. The human remains in the Shaft Grave……..216

Figure 28. Phase 3 of the extramural cemetery in squares 45.71 and 45.72……217

Figure 29. Grave vessels from squares 45.71 and 45.72……217

Figure 30. Phase 1 of the extramural cemetery in squares 45.71 and 45.72……218

Figure 31. The foundation of the Plastered Tomb……...218

Figure 32. The two earlier burials from the Plastered Tomb……...219

Figure 33. The later burials from the Plastered Tomb……220

Figure 34. Grave goods from the Plastered Tomb……...221

Figure 35. Square 45.44, Local Phase 5……...222

Figure 36. Square 45.44, Local Phase 4……...223

Figure 37. Grave goods from 45.44, L106……...224

Figure 38. Square 45.44, Local Phase 3……...224

Figure 39. Square 45.44, Local Phase 2……...225

Figure 40. Square 45.44, Local Phase 1……...226

Figure 41. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 137 (L136, L138, and L143)……...227

Figure 42. Square 45.44, likely Local Phase 6……....228

Figure 43. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 131 (L121, L129, L134, and L135)…229

Figure 44. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 85 (L79, L82, and L110)…….230

Figure 45. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 69 (L70 and L71)……230

Figure 46. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 38 (L41, L54, L55, L56, L66, and L68)……..231

Figure 47. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 22 (L31)……..231

Figure 48. Mudbrick remains in 45.45…….232

Figure 49. Mudbricks in 45.45, detail……..233

Figure 50. Grave goods from 45.45, cemetery fill 38 (L39, L43, L44, L45, L46, L47, and L54)……..234

Figure 51. Grave goods from 45.45, cemetery fill 8 (L4, L10, L29, and L33)…...……235

Figure 52. Grave goods from 45.45, topsoil 1 (L2 and L5)…….235

Figure 53. 3D GIS cemetery model overview……236

Figure 54. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from Phase 1 and earlier……...237

Figure 55. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from early Phase 1 and Phase 2……238

Figure 56. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from early Phase 2 and Phase 3……239

Figure 57. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from Phase 4…….240

Figure 58. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from Phase 5…….241

Figure 59. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from proposed Phase 6..……...242

Figure 60. 45.45 grave elevations in 3D model……...243

Figure 61. 45.44 grave elevations in 3D model……...244

Figure 62. Grave goods from 32.54 (L81 and L85)…….245

Figure 63. Grave goods from 32.57 (L160)……245

Figure 64. Grave goods from 42.29 (L44)……...246

Figure 65. Grave goods from 44.85 (L32)……...246

Figure 66. Grave goods from 64.94 (L25)……...247

Figure 67. Grave goods from Qatna…… 248

Figure 68. Jewelry from the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla……..248

Figure 69. Ceramics from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats…… 249

Figure 70. Ceramics from MBA shaft graves at Ugarit……...250

Figure 71. Secondary pithos burial from Ugarit……..250

Figure 72. Cylinder seals and scarabs found in graves……251

Figure 73. Female figurines found in graves……...252

Figure 74. Square 32.54, L81……...255

Figure 75. Square 32.54, L85……...257

Figure 76. Square 32.57, L119……259

Figure 77. Square 32.57, L160, detail……..261

Figure 78. Square 32.57, L160……261

Figure 79. Square 32.57, L166……264

Figure 80. Square 32.57, L247……266

Figure 81. Square 42.29, L44……...268

Figure 82. Square 44.85, L15……...270

Figure 83. Square 44.85, L20……...272

Figure 84. Square 44.85, L32……...274

Figure 85. Square 44.86, L18……...276

Figure 86. Square 44.95, L5……278

Figure 87. Square 44.95, L9……280

Figure 88. Square 45.44, L5……282

Figure 89. Square 45.44, L7……284

Figure 90. Square 45.44, L21, illustration……286

Figure 91. Square 45.44, L31, illustration……288

Figure 92. Square 45.44, L31……288

Figure 93. Square 45.44, L32, illustration……290

Figure 94. Square 45.44, L32……290

Figure 95. Square 45.44, L41, illustration……292

Figure 96. Square 45.44, L41……292

Figure 97. Square 45.44, L42, illustration……294

Figure 98. Square 45.44, L42……294

Figure 99. Square 45.44, L43, illustration……296

Figure 100. Square 45.44, L43……296

Figure 101. Square 45.44, L52, illustration……298

Figure 102. Square 45.44, L52……298

Figure 103. Square 45.44, L53, illustration……300

Figure 104. Square 45.44, L53……300

Figure 105. Square 45.44, L54, illustration……302

Figure 106. Square 45.44, L54……302

Figure 107. Square 45.44, L55, illustration……304

Figure 108. Square 45.44, L55……304

Figure 109. Square 45.44, L56, illustration……306

Figure 110. Square 45.44, L56……306

Figure 111. Square 45.44, L62, illustration……308

Figure 112. Square 45.44, L62……308

Figure 113. Square 45.44, L65……310

Figure 114. Square 45.44, L66……312

Figure 115. Square 45.44, L67……314

Figure 116. Square 45.44, L68, illustration……316

Figure 117. Square 45.44, L68……316

Figure 118. Square 45.44, L70, illustration……318

Figure 119. Square 45.44, L70……318

Figure 120. Square 45.44, L71, illustration……320

Figure 121. Square 45.44, L71……320

Figure 122. Square 45.44, L73, illustration……322

Figure 123. Square 45.44, L73……322

Figure 124. Square 45.44, L78, illustration……324

Figure 125. Square 45.44, L78……324

Figure 126. Square 45.44, L79, illustration……326

Figure 127. Square 45.44, L79……326

Figure 128. Square 45.44, L82, illustration……328

Figure 129. Square 45.44, L82……328

Figure 130. Square 45.44, L105……330

Figure 131. Square 45.44, L106, illustration……332

Figure 132. Square 45.44, L106……...332

Figure 133. Square 45.44, L110……...334

Figure 134. Square 45.44, L111……...336

Figure 135. Square 45.44, L112……...338

Figure 136. Square 45.44, L113……...340

Figure 137. Square 45.44, L114……...342

Figure 138. Square 45.44, L115……...344

Figure 139. Square 45.44, L116……...346

Figure 140. Square 45.44, L120……...348

Figure 141. Square 45.44, L121……...350

Figure 142. Square 45.44, L122……...……352

Figure 143. Square 45.44, L129, illustration……...354

Figure 144. Square 45.44, L129……...354

Figure 145. Square 45.44, L132, illustration……...357

Figure 146. Square 45.44, L132……...357

Figure 147. Square 45.44, L133, illustration……...359

Figure 148. Square 45.44, L133……...359

Figure 149. Square 45.44, L134, illustration……...361

Figure 150. Square 45.44, L134……...361

Figure 151. Square 45.44, L135, illustration……...363

Figure 152. Square 45.44, L135……...363

Figure 153. Square 45.44, L136, illustration……...365

Figure 154. Square 45.44, L136……...365

Figure 155. Square 45.44, L138, illustration……...367

Figure 156. Square 45.44, L138……...367

Figure 157. Square 45.44, L139, illustration……...369

Figure 158. Square 45.44, L139……...369

Figure 159. Square 45.44, L143……...371

Figure 160. Square 45.44, L145, illustration……...373

Figure 161. Square 45.44, L145……...373

Figure 162. Square 45.44, L146, illustration……...375

Figure 163. Square 45.44, L146……...375

Figure 164. Square 45.44, L147, illustration……...377

Figure 165. Square 45.44, L147……...377

Figure 166. Square 45.44, L149, illustration……...379

Figure 167. Square 45.44, L149……...379

Figure 168. Square 45.44, L150, illustration……...381

Figure 169. Square 45.44, L150……...381

Figure 170. Square 45.44, L151, illustration……...383

Figure 171. Square 45.44, L151……...383

Figure 172. Square 45.44, L152, illustration……...385

Figure 173. Square 45.44, L152……...385

Figure 174. Square 45.45, L2……...387

Figure 175. Square 45.45, L3……...389

Figure 176. Square 45.45, L4……...391

Figure 177. Square 45.45, L5……...393

Figure 178. Square 45.45, L6……...395
Figure 179. Square 45.45, L7……...399
Figure 180. Square 45.45, L9……...401
Figure 181. Square 45.45, L10……403
Figure 182. Square 45.45, L11……405
Figure 183. Square 45.45, L13……407
Figure 184. Square 45.45, L17……409
Figure 185. Square 45.45, L19……411
Figure 186. Square 45.45, L21……413
Figure 187. Square 45.45, L23……415
Figure 188. Square 45.45, L27……418
Figure 189. Square 45.45, L29……420
Figure 190. Square 45.45, L31……422
Figure 191. Square 45.45, L33……424
Figure 192. Square 45.45, L35……426
Figure 193. Square 45.45, L39……429
Figure 194. Square 45.45, L43……431
Figure 195. Square 45.45, L44……433
Figure 196. Square 45.45, L45……435
Figure 197. Square 45.45, L46……437
Figure 198. Square 45.45, L47……439
Figure 199. Square 45.45, L48……441
Figure 200. Square 45.45, L49……443

Figure 201. Square 45.45, L50……445

Figure 202. Square 45.45, L52……447

Figure 203. Square 45.45, L53……449

Figure 204. Square 45.45, L54……451

Figure 205. Square 45.45, L55……453

Figure 206. Square 64.94, L25……455

Figure 207. Square 64.94, L25, detail……..455

CHAPTER 1

Introduction and Site History

Project Description and Scope

This thesis examines burial practices at Tell Atchana, ancient Alalakh, in the second millennium BC. Descriptions of some of the 284 burials at the site have been published with excavation results in monographs (Woolley 1955; Yener 2010; Yener, Akar and Horowitz, forthcoming), osteological analysis has been conducted on portions of the skeletal material (Boutin 2008, 2010), and individual burials have been examined (Yener 2013b) but there has not yet been a study of the funerary rituals at the site as a unified whole. Additionally, there are many burials from the most recent excavations that have not yet been published, although osteologists have worked with some of the remains and have produced preliminary reports for the team. Therefore, this thesis brings together the burial data from these disparate sources for the first time in a synthesis whose focus goes beyond

the descriptions that have been published thus far and analyzes the mortuary practices and rituals at Alalakh.

There are three data sets that this project draws on. The first is the corpus of burials found by Sir C. L. Woolley in his excavations (1936-9 and 1946-9) and described in his final publication of excavation results (Woolley 1955: 201-223). It is difficult to know with certainty how many burials Woolley excavated, as he did not publish those that had few or no grave goods or those that were severely disturbed, either by natural processes or by human plundering (Woolley 1955). However, he used these unpublished burials to help determine stratigraphy and pottery types (Woolley 1955: 201-202), making it all the more unfortunate that we do not have access to records of them. He also did not publish photographs of the burials, and so we are left only with his descriptions, some of which are quite scanty. While more detailed information on both published and unpublished burials may exist in the archives of his notes and catalogue in the British Museum, this thesis includes only the 124 published graves.

The second data set comes from the published data of the Yener excavations of 2003-2004. In these years an extramural cemetery on the northern side of the mound was uncovered, and descriptions of the 57 burials found were published in Volume 1 of the excavation results (Boutin 2010; Yener 2010: 25-28). These were examined by Boutin (2008), and the results of the study published as a dissertation. The focus of this study was osteological and provides details of the most well-preserved and intact individuals, but the current thesis includes only those osteological details that are relevant to the burial practices. Among these published burials was the so-called Plastered Tomb, which was the

subject of a separate study by Yener (2013b) which focused more specifically on the unusual funerary practices embodied in this tomb.

The last set of data is unpublished. Since 2004, there have been no publications of the additional graves found at Atchana, most of which were in the extramural cemetery, although there have been scattered intramural burials found throughout the site as well. Using information from excavation notebooks, reports, and preliminary analyses done by Kim Consroe, Nathan Harper, and Jonathon Weiland, this thesis presents a catalogue of the 103 graves found between 2006 and 2012, two of which will be published in the forthcoming Volume 2 of excavation results (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). A catalogue of these burials is presented in Appendix C.

Drawing on these three sources, a comprehensive view of funerary practices at the site is possible. Due to the unusually high number of burials recovered at Alalakh, one of the largest bodies of evidence in the region, this study sheds light on burial rituals and related social aspects at a key site that has been overlooked in this field to date.

Site Overview and History of Excavation

Tell Atchana, ancient Alalakh, lies in the southwestern Amuq Valley near the bend in the Orontes River in the modern day province of Hatay, Turkey (Figure 1). The site currently measures 750 x 325 x 9 m and covers an area of approximately 22 ha (Figure 2). It was first surveyed by Robert Braidwood as part of his Amuq Valley survey project in the 1930‘s (Braidwood 1937). Sir Leonard Woolley excavated the site in 1937-1939 and 1946-1949 and identified it as ancient Alalakh based on the archives he recovered (Woolley 1953, 1955). Woolley’s excavations yielded a long stratified sequence that, along with

Braidwood's Amuq pottery sequence (Braidwood and Braidwood 1960), has been used as an important chronological standard for the region. Much of Woolley's sequence was based on the burials he excavated in the Royal Precinct, and these burials therefore have had a great impact on second millennium chronology in the Ancient Near East. The Amuq Valley Regional Project (AVRP) returned to the mound in 2000 under the direction of K. Aslıhan Yener, and excavations have been underway since 2003 (Yener 2005, 2010; Yener, Akar and Horowitz, forthcoming).

Sitting as it does between Anatolia, the Levant, and Mesopotamia, Alalakh and its kingdom was a locus of cultural interactions between these regions, as well as Egypt and the Aegean, throughout the Bronze Age, and material from and influenced by all these areas has been found at the site. The mound was occupied in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages (hereafter, MBA and LBA, respectively), from the early second millennium BC to the end of the thirteenth century BC, ca. 2000-1300 BC, and was reoccupied in the early Iron Age, based on new evidence (Yener 2013a), and was incorporated into several local and regional kingdoms throughout the centuries.

History and Chronology of Alalakh

In the MBA, Syria was made up of a patchwork of regional kingdoms which seem to coalesce towards the end of MB I and were ruled mainly by Amorite kings (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 288, 297). Little is known about the origins of the Amorites, except that they were descended from Semitic nomadic groups that, presumably, had been resident in the region during the EBA, but by MB II, "Amorite names are ubiquitous in the textual sources", along with local Akkadian and Hurrian names (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003:

290). These rulers established kingdoms at Aleppo, Tell Leilan, Qatna, and Mari (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 297) and established control over smaller local kingdoms by setting up vassal rulers subordinate to the Amorite dynasties.

In the early MBA, Alalakh was the capital of a local independent kingdom named Mukish (Wiseman 1953), which encompassed roughly the Amuq Valley. Little is known about this period of the city's history, due to the very small exposures that have been excavated (see Heinz 1992 for a fuller discussion of these levels). There seem to be references to Alalakh and Mukish in texts from other sites, such as Ebla, that go back as far as the third millennium; although Tell Atchana does not seem to have been occupied in the third millennium, these mentions may refer to the neighboring site of Tell Tayinat, which was the largest settlement in the Amuq Valley at the time (Akar 2012: 1; Welton et al. 2011: 150; Yener 2005: 3). This mystery remains to be untangled with further excavation of EBA levels at Tell Tayinat and MB I levels at Tell Atchana, but these textual references establish the antiquity of the kingdom of Mukish. By the eighteenth century BC, however, Mukish had been incorporated into the kingdom of Yamhad, an Amorite kingdom centered at modern day Aleppo (ancient Halab) that controlled northern Syria from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean (Klengel 1992). Mukish was a vassal state of Yamhad (Woolley 1953: 64) and the ruling family of Alalakh had close family ties to the rulers of Halab, as is well attested by the archives found by Woolley in the Level VII palace (Collon 1975; Wiseman 1953). This palace is dated to MB II and was identified by Woolley as the palace of Yarim-Lim (Woolley 1953: 64; Woolley 1955: 91-106). Minoan-style frescoes found in the palace (Woolley 1955: 228-234), as well as bull-leaping scenes on seal impressions (Collon 1975, 1994), highlight Aegean connections during the MBA.

Egyptian style artifacts, such as alabaster vessels, an ivory fragment with a figure of a monkey, and what Woolley identifies as an 'Egyptianizing head', along with Egyptian imagery on cylinder seals and seal impressions all attest to contacts with Egypt during this period (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 305; Collon 1975, 1982, 1986; Woolley 1955). Contacts and shared culture with Anatolia are visible in the Syro-Cilician Painted Ware that is frequently found in MBA contexts throughout Cilicia and the Amuq (e.g., Heinz 1992). Ivory and bone artifacts embellished with sheet gold and silver show similarities to examples found in MBA Central Anatolia at sites such as Kanesh, and the metal used has been linked to the nearby Anatolian Amanus and Taurus mountain ranges (Yener 2007). Precious materials, often in the form of both finished artifacts and raw materials, such as alabaster, obsidian, ivory, rock crystal, diorite, lapis lazuli, and carnelian found in both the Level VII palace and temple illustrate the wealth and far-reaching connections of a prosperous city (Yener 2007). At the end of the MBA, Alalakh and Yamhad were both destroyed by the early Hittite kings on their campaigns south into Syria: Hattusili I destroyed Alalakh c. 1600 BC and his son Mursili I destroyed Halab, ending the kingdom of Yamhad (c.f., Akkermans and Schwartz 2003; Bryce 1998: 58, 102-103).

Following the burning of Level VII, the palace site was apparently left abandoned for some time, and the area was used for rubbish pits, graves, and "very scanty remains of buildings" (Woolley 1955: 198). These remains comprise the two rather poorly understood levels, Levels VI and V, which cover the MBA-LBA transition and early LBA (Woolley 1953, 1955) and which have been reexamined by Gates (1976, 1981). This period in Syria seems characterized by "an overall reconstruction of the socio-political setting" (Akar 2012: 34) and is largely lacking in textual sources. By the early fifteenth century BC,

however, the Mitannian kingdom had emerged from the territories once controlled by Yamhad. The capital of Mitanni, Washukanni, placed by textual sources in the upper Khabur plains, and most probably to be identified with Tell el Fekheriye (Bartl and Bonatz 2013: 265; Bonatz 2014), controlled southern Anatolia and northern Syria from Cilicia to the Zagros mountains (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 327). The origins of this kingdom remain mysterious, as do questions surrounding the ethnicity of its inhabitants, as Hurrian names seem to dominate in the texts, while the kings "bore names in an Indo-European language related to Sanskrit, and the names of gods and technical terms related to the breeding and training of horses are also attested in the same language" (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 327). Whatever its origins, Mitanni vied with Egypt, which began a series of campaigns in Syria in the Eighteenth Dynasty, for control over the region throughout the 15th and early 14th centuries BC, with each kingdom establishing a network of smaller vassal and client kingdoms (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 329; Klengel 1992; Pfälzner 2012b: 771).

This period of Mitannian control is represented at Alalakh by Levels V-IV and dominated by the second palace excavated by Woolley, which contained another archive (von Dassow 2007; Woolley 1953, 1955: 106-131). This palace, the so-called ‘Niqme-pa Palace’, built by Idrimi (von Dassow 2007), dates to the time when the city was a vassal of Mitanni during the 15th century BC, and the archives from it have been analyzed by von Dassow (2007). A key text for understanding Alalakh's political history of this time comes from the statue of Idrimi found buried in a pit inside the Level I temple (Woolley 1955: 240). The statue, which depicts the king seated on a throne and has a lengthy inscription on its front, dates from Level IV "when the Idrimi Dynasty was in rule of the Kingdom and

was kept as an ancestry cult to commemorate one of the early kings of Alalakh as a nationalistic symbol" (Akar 2012: 38). The inscription relates Idrimi's flight from Alalakh following some kind of revolt in the city, his time in exile, and his retaking of the kingdom before swearing his allegiance to the Mitannian king and accepting vassalhood (Akar 2012: 38-44; Smith 1949; Woolley 1953: 123-129). Several generations of Idrimi's descendants ruled at Alalakh under Mitannian kings until the burning of Level IV, initially attributed by Woolley to the Hittite king Suppiluliuma I in the course of his Syrian campaigns (Woolley 1953: 131-132). However, based on the corrected stratigraphy in the area, it seems that this burning occurred before Suppiluliuma's reign and may be associated with Tudhaliya I/II (Akar 2012: 51-53).

The renewed interest and involvement of the Hittites in northern Syria in the mid-fourteenth century BC resulted in the defeat of Mitanni and its eventual destruction at the hands of the Middle Assyrian empire (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 329). Egypt was pushed back into south Syria and eventually, after the battle of Kadesh in 1274 BC, lost most of its control in the area (Pfälzner 2012b: 771). For Alalakh, the result was incorporation into the Hittite empire, along with the client kingdoms of Aleppo, Carchemish, and Ugarit, to name a few (Akar 2012; Bryce 1998). Levels III-I at Tell Atchana represent this period of Hittite rule (Yener 2005: 102), manifested in "a number of sculpted pieces, tablets, pottery assemblages and Hittite stamp seals representing an Anatolian collection of artifacts" (Akar 2012: 57) as well as the LB II monumental architecture at the site, which "seems to be used as an indicator of power by the Hittites in this newly dominated landscape" (Akar 2012: 9; Akar 2013). Hittite ritual paraphernalia is found in these levels in the form of Hittite style libation vessels (Woolley 1955), miniature

votive vessels and pointed juglets, such as are seen at Hattusha (Yener 2013a: 18), and bronze weapons, in particular the spiked shaft-hole axe from the Southern Fortress (Yener 2011). This perhaps indicates new ritual practices at the site, influenced by (and arriving with?) the Hittites.

International contacts and commerce were active and far-flung in LBA Alalakh, unsurprising given the general 'international character' of the period as a whole, manifested in the correspondence between kingdoms documented in the Amarna letters and the international gift exchange between the Great Kings (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 327). Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery is common in LBA levels (Woolley 1955; Yener 2013a), and Egyptian-style artifacts continue to be found, such as a bone figurine in the shape of a woman with an Egyptian-looking hairstyle (Woolley 1955: 289) and a curious bowl-shaped artifact covered in some type of glaze and decorated with Egyptian hieroglyphs (Ritner, forthcoming; Woolley 1955: 297). Red Lustrous Wheelmade ware (hereafter, RLWm) in the form of spindle bottles and libation vessels (Woolley 1955), the Tudhaliya relief (Woolley 1955: 242), and pendants resembling the 'signe royale' design found in MBA Central Anatolian sites such as Acemhoyuk (Woolley 1955: 290-291) all attest to Anatolian connections.

As no palaces have been found after Level IV and no textual sources name a king of Alalakh after the final Hittite conquest, it seems that the Hittites controlled Alalakh with a governor, rather than a client or vassal king. The Tudhaliya relief, a Hittite-style orthostat originally identified by Woolley as the Hittite king Tudhaliya IV (Woolley 1955: 241), is now thought to depict a governor of Mukish named Tudhaliya, known from textual sources to be a contemporary of Mursili II, who may have been an equal of the royal viceroys at

Carchemish and Aleppo based on the titles given to him on the orthostat and in the texts (Yener 2013a: 18). If this identification is correct, then the relief dates to the very early thirteenth century BC (Yener 2013a: 18). Found re-used as a step in the entrance to the Level Ib temple (Woolley 1955: 241), this provides evidence of the use of the temple area into the thirteenth century BC, when, based on ceramic and radiocarbon evidence from the rest of the site, it appears that the city was abandoned (Yener 2013a: 19). This abandonment seems to occur at the end of the fourteenth century and its causes can only be speculated on at this time. Perhaps, given Mursili II's program of "mass deportations . . . of other sites in northwestern Syria (e.g. Tunip) in the period c. 1310-1295, it is possible that such a fate befell a rebellious Alalakh as well" (Yener 2013a: 19). The temple area remained in use for a time but was also eventually abandoned.

After approximately a century of abandonment, Iron Age material found at the northern end of the mound indicates that Alalakh was reoccupied, at least on a small scale, in the late twelfth century BC (Yener 2013a: 20). Remains of a building provisionally dated to the ninth century BC have also been found in the same area (Yener 2013a: 20). As it has so recently been identified, this material and post-13th century levels will be analyzed more closely in coming seasons, but this newly discovered Iron Age evidence further complicates Woolley's already complex Level I stratigraphy and has important implications for the burials he excavated in these top layers. Discovered only recently, much work remains to be done in untangling this new material from what Woolley saw as his Level O 'Sea Peoples' occupation remains, and this will be a topic for upcoming research by the team.

As can be seen from this brief summary, Alalakh and the Amuq valley witnessed various cultural, political, and ethnic hegemonies throughout the second millennium BC. With such a diversity of outside influence at the site, these different cultures and kingdoms - the Amorites, the Hurrians, the Hittites, and the Luwians as well as people from the Aegean, Cyprus, and Egypt – are examined here in order to determine whether their political, artistic, or cultural influence is manifested in the burial practices at this international and multicultural Bronze Age city.

Woolley's Excavations

Woolley excavated the central administrative and religious areas in the northwestern section of the mound, and in addition to the two palaces, he also found a succession of 16 temples nearby, all of which had been built in the same location, indicating a high degree of continuity in ritual and cult at the city (Woolley 1955: 33-90). In the same area of the site, he uncovered a series of what he called 'Private Houses' which he assigned to Levels VI-I, though he admits the sequence is complicated and may be imprecise (Woolley 1955: 172-200). These 'houses' consist of a series of more-or-less free-standing structures between the temple and the town wall, overlaying the Level VII palace. Due to their close association to the temple, and considering the contents of the 'houses' when excavated, they are almost certainly not houses of private individuals, but are part of a temple complex, as suggested by Yener (2005: 109; 2010: 29). In these 'houses', there are signs of ritual activity in the form of libation vessels (many in Hittite styles) and installations, status objects, and storage for liquids and food (Woolley 1955: 173-198), all of which would be

expected in buildings associated with the temple and would be more surprising in the dwellings of private individuals.

Wide exposures of the Royal Precinct area were uncovered down to Level VII, and therefore, most of the detailed excavation of the site dates to MB II and later. The earlier MBA levels were excavated in two deep pits, one in the courtyard of the Level VII palace, the palace sounding, and one on the temple site, the temple sounding (Woolley 1955: 10-11). Because of this, information about the earlier levels (Levels VIII-XVII) of the site is limited.

Woolley also excavated two large city gates, both near the palaces (Woolley 1955: 145-151), and a small section of another city gate on the southern side of the mound in the area he calls Site H (Woolley 1955: 139-145), although this area is widely separated from the rest of his excavations, and is therefore not closely phased with the rest of the site. A large building that he identified as a fortress or castle was associated with this gate in LBA phases (Woolley 1955: 151-171) and lay just northwest of the palaces.

Based on the burning of Level IV by the Hittites around 1400 BC, Woolley identified Levels III-I with Hittite hegemony at Alalakh (Woolley 1953: 133-155) and dated the end of Level I to 1194 BC on the assumption that the city had been destroyed by the 'Sea Peoples' along with other cities at that time (Woolley 1953: 156). The few scattered remains found above Level I, just below the modern surface, Woolley assigned to Level O, which he dated to around 1140 BC, based on his Level I destruction date and a single cremation burial with a scarab that he identified as belonging to Ramses VI (Woolley 1953: 164; Woolley 1955: 203). This dating has recently been revised by Yener, as discussed

above, based on the new evidence of limited Iron Age habitation, as well as on a re-examination of the scarab, discussed in Chapter 3.

Yener's Excavations

The Yener excavations have opened 36 squares (see Figure 2) over the course of 9 field seasons (Yener 2010, 2013a; Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). Area 1 of the new excavations is located in Woolley's Royal Precinct and represents an attempt to clarify Woolley's stratigraphy in the area in order to elucidate the chronology at the site (Figure 3; Yener 2010: 6; Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). This is the area where Iron Age pottery and architecture has recently been found (Yener 2013a). Area 2 is located near Woolley's 'Private Houses', and was expected to uncover elite houses, as well as fortifications, but instead unearthed craft quarters (Yener 2010: 6). Area 3, surprisingly, yielded an extramural necropolis, which is the focus in the remainder of this thesis, and Area 4, in the southwestern part of the mound, uncovered the so-called 'Southern Fortress', as well as domestic and production quarters (Akar 2012; Yener 2010; Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). The bulk of the excavations have focused on the LBA levels and an effort to untangle Woolley's poorly defined and very confused post-Level IV stratigraphy (Akar 2012), and these LB II levels are the focus of the upcoming Volume 2 of excavation results (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). In preparation for this volume, a new phasing system has been developed based on Woolley's Roman numerals, using the same level designations, but with Periods, rather than Levels, designated by Arabic numerals to indicate a re-phasing or new context (Yener 2013a: 13). 'Local phase'

indicates the phasing in individual squares (Yener 2013a: 13). This system is used in this thesis when discussing the 2006-2012 material.

Methodology

Drawing on material from two different excavations with vastly different techniques and methodologies, the level of detail available varies considerably. In presenting the material, therefore, each of the three data sets mentioned above is initially described separately (see Chapter 3). The Woolley burial corpus is the least detailed, as frequently Woolley simply lists the burial goods found in a grave with no further detail. The data from the Yener 2003-2004 material was drawn from the published material (Boutin 2010; Yener 2010: 25-28) and not from field notes or reports. Because of the poor preservation of the majority of these graves, many details of body positioning, orientation, and associated grave goods are difficult to determine. The much more detailed field reports and notes from the Yener 2006-2012 excavations, therefore, are treated separately in order to reflect this greater level of detail. After a separate presentation of the three data sets, they are discussed as a single body (see Chapter 5).

It was necessary to standardize the data from these different excavations as much as possible in order to qualitatively examine the data sets. In order to accomplish this, the current chronology, typologies, and periodization of the Alalakh Excavation Project were used as a baseline for this project and the older data from the Woolley and the 2003-2004 excavations was re-evaluated based on these. In particular, older ceramic typology terms (from Woolley and Robert Mullins for the 2003-2004 data) have not been used in favor of the current typology developed by pottery specialist Mara Horowitz. Table 1 shows the

relevant pottery types, including all shape types found in the burials, with Woolley's type numbers and Horowitz's type names and codes[1]. In the text, only the Horowitz shape type names are used.

Standardizing ceramic ware terminology is more difficult, as Woolley is imprecise in his ware descriptions (Horowitz, forthcoming; Woolley 1955). His 'drab clay' and 'coarse clay' are taken here to indicate Simple Ware, as well as vessels where only the color of the clay is described, i.e. 'red clay' or 'yellow clay' (see Horowitz, forthcoming and Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming for full descriptions of the ware types). His 'red ware' and 'burnished red ware' are interpreted as Red Slipped Ware and his 'black burnished ware' is generally taken to be Grey Burnished Ware. Vessels he describes as having painted bands on the shoulder are categorized here as Banded Ware, and vessels with other types of painted decoration are here termed Painted Ware, a more general category that includes any type of painted vessels. Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished Ware is an imported ware at Tell Atchana that is represented primarily by piriform juglets (see Chapter 5, Tables 8-10) and that is described in various ways by Woolley, most often as 'burnished black ware'[2]. Cooking pots, found in the graves typically as burial urns, are also described in several ways, often as 'marmite', by Woolley, and without examining the objects themselves, it is impossible to know if they are Shell Cookware or Mineral Cookware. Therefore, they are listed here simply as Cookware. Indeed, it is not possible to be certain of the wares of much

[1] For more details on Horowitz's typology, as well as types that have not been found in graves, see Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming.

[2] Although Woolley's 'black burnished ware' is generally equated with Grey Burnished Ware, the piriform juglets from Woolley graves that have been examined are, rather, of Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished Ware. 'Black burnished ware' here, therefore, is understood as Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished Ware when applied to piriform juglets.

of the pottery from his excavations, and so the ware data from Woolley's material that is presented here is tentative.

As Figure 3 shows, the effort to synchronize the Yener and Woolley excavations is ongoing. Where there is direct articulation, Woolley's contexts have been integrated into the new Yener 'Periods', which represent site-wide phases (c.f., Akar 2012; Yener 2013a; Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). Woolley contexts that were completely removed or are not articulated with a new excavation area have not yet been incorporated into this system. To indicate the distinction between those areas that have been cross-checked by Yener and those that have not, 'Period' is used here to indicate contexts that have been evaluated and are included in these site-wide phases. Where this process is impossible or is ongoing, 'Level' is used: 'Level' thus refers specifically to Woolley contexts and is based solely on his determinations. This is important particularly for the Level I-O graves, as the chronology of these upper levels has been called into question by the discovery of Iron Age remains, as discussed above. This complicates the dating of the Level I-O graves and opens up the possibility that some may date to the Iron Age. Given this uncertainty, along with the evolving interpretation of these phases, the Level I-O graves are included here with the understanding that they may, in fact, date to anywhere from the end of the 14th to the beginning of the 12th centuries BC and that they must be intensively re-evaluated in concert with the new interpretations of this period at the site as research on the Iron Age material progresses.

Various terminologies and chronologies have been used in discussing Alalakh, and the absolute dating of the Periods is much debated (e.g., Collon 1975; Heinz 1992; Gates 1976, 1981). Until calendar dating can be established, this thesis uses the current Yener

terminology for labeling eras of the site. MB IIc (formerly applied to Level VI) is therefore dispensed with in favor of early LB I or LB Ia, and MB II is taken to end at the destruction of Period/Level VII. This assessment is based on analysis of the local material culture which sees major changes at the beginning of Period VI that introduce the standard material culture of the LBA generally.

As the focus of this project is the burial practices rather than the skeletal remains, osteological data, available for most of the skeletal corpus of the Yener excavations, is not widely drawn on. Sex and age determinations, both published and made in the field, are the only skeletal data used here. The focus of research is mainly on burial type, body positioning, grave orientation, and grave goods, along with stratigraphic context. Stratigraphic positioning is the primary factor used by the Yener team to determine the phasing of burials, but where this has not been possible, or where the stratigraphy is unclear, pottery style has been used as a secondary dating method. This information is drawn from both published and unpublished material, as described above.

In order to clarify stratigraphic relationships, a particularly difficult task in the extramural cemetery, a geographic information system (GIS) was used to create a three-dimensional model of the two cemetery trenches excavated between 2007 and 2012, squares 45.44 and 45.45. The Tell Atchana team digitizes and georeferences all the maps and plans generated each year during excavation so they can be added to a site-wide GIS database, maintained by Senior Field Supervisor Murat Akar, but due to time constraints, not all the burial data had been added when this thesis began. It was therefore necessary to digitize, georeference, and project the 2007-2012 burials in order to create the three-dimensional model. This model proved to be extremely helpful in untangling the

stratigraphy of the area and has indicated that the pottery phasing needs to be reexamined, as are discussed further in Chapter 3.

Chapter Breakdown

Chapter 2 sets out the theoretical orientation of this study by looking into funerary archaeology, the development of ritual studies, and the interplay between these two groups of theory. The aims of funerary archaeology are discussed and then used as a basis to inform the interpretation of the Alalakh material.

Chapter 3 presents a description of the three data sets described above. Burial location, chronology, grave goods, and other details are synthesized for Woolley's graves, the 2003-2004 Yener graves, and the unpublished material from 2006-12. The GIS results from the study of Squares 45.44 and 45.45 (2007-2012) is presented and integrated into the understanding of the 2003-4 burials.

Chapter 4 focuses on evidence from the surrounding region. Sites in Syria, Anatolia, the Levant, and Cyprus are considered to attempt to fit Tell Atchana into a wider picture of burial practices in the region and identify potential cultural influences.

Chapter 5 represents the culmination of this study with a unified view of mortuary practices at Tell Atchana and insights into the site's regional connections.

CHAPTER 2

Theoretical Orientation - Funerary Archaeology

Belief is arguably the most difficult aspect of past societies to access archaeologically. In the absence of textual sources, archaeologists can only examine the material remains of rituals as a way to reconstruct ancient beliefs. One of the most important, accessible, and numerous types of evidence for rituals comes from graves, and the methods for interpreting graves has evolved much over the years. As one of the only types of evidence intentionally deposited by ancient peoples, "mortuary evidence is an extremely valuable archaeological resource, since it represents the direct and purposeful culmination of conscious behavior, rather than its incidental residue", which is usually all archaeologists are left with (O'Shea 1981: 39).

By examining burials, the objects inside them, the positioning of the burial and the body, the type of burial (inhumation, cremation, mummification, etc.), and other aspects, we can learn about beliefs, social structure, gender and kinship relations, and sacred understandings of the landscape, to name a few aspects, of ancient societies. We can also

learn about the funerary rituals which accompanied the dead to their final resting place. One of the latest theoretical models for interpreting burials is funerary archaeology, which attempts to provide insight into ancient societies' beliefs and organization by integrating ritual theory and ritualization with the material evidence of burial practices.

Early Approaches to the Study of Burials

The study of burials has always been of interest, both to archaeologists and to the general public. Monumental tombs and fantastic elite burials, such as the Egyptian royal tombs and the Royal Cemetery of Ur, that were discovered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries provided a wealth of early evidence concerning the religion and material culture of ancient societies and yielded beautiful objects that toured the world's museums with great fanfare. Other cemeteries were discovered throughout North America, the Near East, and Europe that were used to form the basis of the definition of 'cultures' in the cultural-historical model of archaeology of those times, as well as providing a framework for the distinction of social hierarchies (Chapman and Randsborg 1981).

Both the artifacts from these graves and the types of burials were "presented within the context of consideration of 'primitive religion'" and were used to distinguish cultural similarities (Binford 1971: 6-7), based on the assumption that "customs of a single socio-cultural tradition were originally uniform and formally distinct [and that] the degree of formal similarity observed . . . is a direct measure of the degree of genetic or affiliational cultural relationship" between populations of cities or regions (Binford 1971: 9). Burials were seen as a direct reflection of religious beliefs, which were particular to a given society, and thus could be used to define societies and their relations to one another. With the advent

of processualism and the New Archaeology, however, anthropological perspectives of religion, ritual, and belief began to be incorporated into the understanding and analysis of burial rituals.

Ritual and Its Role in Society

The study of the links between rituals and the structure of society began as a part of the sociological and anthropological studies of religion and rituals in the early twentieth century, and this work had a great effect on processualist interpretations of burial evidence (Chapman and Randsborg 1981). Emile Durkheim, who was followed by many scholars who formed the school of thought on which the processualists drew, stressed the collective nature of religious belief in his seminal analysis of religion, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912): "religious representations are collective representations that express collective realities" (1912 (2001): 11). Religion transforms "a mere band of discrete individuals [into] an idealized, sacred clan" (Durkheim 1912 (2001): xx) by drawing on existing ties and ideals, strengthening them, and making them into a spiritualized unity.

Religion becomes the image of society (Durkheim 1912 (2001): 316), which enables society to reproduce itself, and rituals "are meant to stimulate and sustain or recreate certain mental states in these groups" (Durkheim 1912 (2001): 11). Rituals are the ways in which religion, which creates and binds together the social group, reproduces itself. Society, created and held together by religion, shapes, indeed *makes*, individuals, according to Durkheim, but society "can make its influence felt only if it is in action" (Durkheim 1912 (2001): 313). The action of society and religion is ritual. Ritual is the means by which religion (and therefore society) reaffirms and recreates itself. This active view of religion

and ritual in creating society was groundbreaking and was taken up by other anthropologists and sociologists.

In line with Durkheim's view of rituals as action, Arnold van Gennep (1909) emphasizes the ability of ritual to reinforce group solidarity, as well as society itself. His analysis of ritual is still used today in the popular concept 'rites of passage'. He is concerned especially with moments of transition in the life of an individual, such as birth, marriage, puberty, and, most importantly for this project, death. These moments he sees as a type of threshold that an individual must cross, a transition from one state of being to another, creating disturbances which are mediated and smoothed by rites of passage (van Gennep 1909 (1960): xiii). Drawing on the work of anthropologists, van Gennep defines rites of passage, which, while they differ widely in detail, can be divided into three stages: "rites of separation from a previous world, *preliminal rites*, those executed during the transitional stage *liminal (or threshold) rites*, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world, *post-liminal rites*" (van Gennep 1909 (1960): 21).

Funerals share these stages, and are perhaps one of the most obvious crisis times associated with rites of passage. A death has the potential to throw the society into chaos (Morris 2007: 15), and funerals as rites of passage ease society and mourners through this transitional stage. Rites of separation, preliminal rites, separate the mourners from the rest of the group and separate the deceased individual from the living; the mourning period is the transitional, liminal period, which is accompanied by a host of rituals, including the funeral itself; rites of incorporation reintegrate the mourners back into society by lifting the period of mourning and integrate the deceased into the realm of the dead (van Gennep 1909 (1960): 147).

Rituals during mourning, and participation in them, is determined by "the closeness of [an individual's] relationship with the dead person" (van Gennep 1909 (1960): 147), and this period is characterized by a suspension of normal social life; when the deceased was a king or other group leader, "the suspension affects the entire society" (van Gennep 1909 (1960): 148). When the mourning and funeral rituals are complete, "the last commemoration or the last visit completes the rites of separation in relation to the deceased and the reconsolidation of the society" (van Gennep 1909 (1960): 163-4), thus easing the mourners back into society and leaving everyone to get back to the business of everyday life. The focus in van Gennep's work is on action, as in Durkheim's, and rituals are seen as manifestations of the attempts to deal with difficult transitions in the lives of individuals and groups. Similarly to Durkheim, van Gennep believes that rituals serve to reinforce group solidarity and society itself, and they are characterized as manifestations of the attempts to deal with difficult transitions in the lives of individuals and groups.

Robert Hertz, a student of Durkheim's, dealt with funerals at length in his work and was also a major influence on later archaeologists. Again drawing on anthropological studies, he laid the foundations of a system for detecting variation in mortuary rituals that Binford and the processualists would later draw upon in their own work (Binford 1971; Chapman and Randsborg 1981). Hertz argues against the simplistic interpretations of burials as a direct reflection of religion and/or culture and argues for a relationship between burial rituals and social practices (1907). The treatment of an individual after death, and the burial rituals that are performed, vary according to age, manner of death, social position, and perceived participation in the society, to name a few variables (Hertz 1907 (1960)).

Children and older individuals, for examples, as well as those who died in unusual circumstances – violently, accidentally, by suicide, and so on – are often buried differently from those who died of natural causes, and sometimes these individuals receive little or no attention at all (Hertz 1907 (1960): 84-86). He agrees with van Gennep in viewing death as a "change of status in the individual, as he passes from one group to another" and sees funerals as a way to ease this transition, both of the deceased into the next world and of the mourners back into normal life (Hertz 1907 (1960): 81). Hertz's emphasis on the various functions and expressions of funerary rituals would be taken up by processual archaeologists.

Processualist Interpretations

The processualist movement in archaeology included the study of burials as a key type of evidence demonstrating their systematic approach (Chapman and Randsborg 1981), and New Archaeologists "began framing law-like axioms to define and describe the relationship between mortuary behavior and its archaeological residues" (Parker Pearson 2006: 28). Binford (1971) and Saxe (1970) were at the forefront of applying the approaches of Durkheim and his followers to archaeology and trying to devise a set of hypotheses and axioms that could be tested. The concern in their work was the "social dimensions of mortuary practices" rather than the characteristics of artifacts and graves (Chapman and Randsborg 1981: 6). This necessitated an examination of the differences and variations among practices at the same site or in the same region, based on Binford's hypothesis that

> variations among cultural units in frequencies of various forms of mortuary treatment vary in response to (a) the frequency of the character symbolized by the mortuary form in the relevant population and (b) the number and distribution of different characteristics symbolized in mortuary treatment as a function of the

> complexity and degree of differentiation characteristic of the relevant society (Binford 1971: 25).

These different dimensions of 'mortuary treatment' were considered to reflect various "dimensions of the social persona [such as] age, sex, social position, social affiliation and conditions and location of death" (Chapman and Randsborg 1981: 7). Mortuary practices were placed into the realm of social relations by the New Archaeologists, and 'universal' principles were developed to be tested against ethnographic and anthropological studies.

The social dimension that arguably received the most attention was social position, indicated by "great aggregates of wealth . . . concentrated in the graves of a minority" (Brown 1981: 25). The effort-expenditure principle that Binford proposed (1971), and that Tainter studied extensively (1973, 1975, 1978), stated that "higher social rank of a deceased individual will correspond to greater amounts of corporate involvement and activity disruption, and this should result in the expenditure of greater amounts of energy in the interment ritual" (Tainter 1978: 125). Energy expenditure is measured by the location and construction of the grave, the treatment of the body, the length and complexity of the funeral, the presence/absence of human or animal sacrifices, and the types of artifacts interred with the deceased (Brown 1981; Tainter 1978), which, when made of non-local 'exotic' materials or are direct imports are "assumed to have held greater value for local communities" (Chapman 2003: 307). In his examination of 93 societies, Tainter (1975) found that none of the societies contradicted this principle, and his work was a major step in confirming Binford's original effort-expenditure hypothesis.

Other processualists investigated the expression of social dimensions in spatial analyses of graves, both at the level of the cemetery and the region (e.g., Goldstein 1981;

Peebles 1971). Goldstein, taking up a hypothesis of Saxe (Parker Pearson 2006: 30), argued that

> examination of the spatial component can yield information on at least two broad levels: (1) the degree of structure and spatial separation and ordering of the disposal area itself may reflect organizational principles of the society as a whole; and (2) the spatial relationship to each other of the individuals within a disposal area can represent status differentiation, family groups, descent groups, or special class, dependent upon the correlation of these spatial relationships with other dimensions of study (Goldstein 1981: 57).

In her analysis of Native American groups, she argued that the spatial ordering of cemeteries reflected kin groups and that the establishment of a permanent and bounded cemetery area was a means of claiming land rights by the group (Goldstein 1980, 1981). The placing of ancestors literally *in* the land both legitimized and ritualized the groups' rights to the land (Goldstein 1980). A similar function was suggested for the megalithic tombs of Europe and Britain by Renfrew (1973, 1976). One of the most influential and well-known studies of this type was done by Peebles and Kus at Moundville, one of the centers of the Mississippian culture of North America (Peebles 1971, 1987; Peebles and Kus 1977).

Using cluster analysis, they grouped over 2000 burials in and around the mounds at the site according to social rank. They divided the social hierarchy into three broad categories: the highest ranked individuals were buried in the mounds themselves with copper axes (Group IA) or in and near the mounds with copper earrings and grogets, bear teeth, stone discs, and shell beads (Groups IB and II) (Peebles and Kus 1977: Fig. 3). These groups made up category A. Category B (Groups III and IV) individuals were buried in cemeteries near the mounds with effigy vessels, animal bones, shell gorgets, bone awls, projectile points, and discoidals (Peebles and Kus 1977: Fig. 3). The following groups, Groups V-X,

was buried at the fringes of the cemeteries near the mounds and in the villages, and their grave goods consisted of bowls, jars, water bottles, and sherds of pottery (Peebles and Kus 1977: Fig. 3).

Together with the lowest group, who were buried with no grave goods, they made up Category C (Peebles and Kus 1977: Fig. 3). These lowest ranked individuals were buried in the mound cemeteries and in the villages, as well as inside the mounds as 'retainers' and as isolate skulls in public buildings, and they made up over half the graves (Peebles and Kus 1977). This funerary tradition, then, consisted of high-status 'chiefly' individuals buried under the great mounds, with individuals of progressively lower social rank buried in ever-widening arcs moving away from these 'chiefs' (Peebles 1971, 1987; Peebles and Kus 1977): the closer an individual was buried to the 'chiefs' at the center of the mound, the higher the social status of that individual. This status-by-proximity maxim was also expressed through the types of grave goods deposited with individuals - metal weapons and other items were buried with the highest status individuals and simple vessels (or no grave goods at all) were buried with the lowest status individuals.

The processualists were the first to begin systematically integrating theories of ritual and funerals into the archaeology of death and burial. They drew on ethnographic parallels in order to construct rules that could be used to interpret archaeological data and began to analyze this data in quantitative ways. The general rules that they generated aimed to determine the social correlates of funerary practice and move beyond the more straightforward descriptions of the cultural-historical model. These general rules, however, would be criticized by later archaeologists as too reductionist.

Post-Processual Critiques and Analyses: Symbols and Ritualization

The processual search for universal maxims was challenged by later post-processual archaeologists, who argued that the New Archaeology models were too simple. Instead, the post-processualists focused on the symbols employed in funerary practices, which had been neglected by the processualists and which are so apparent in the ethnographic data (Chapman 2003). After all, they argued, "funerals are political events at which the status of the deceased as well as that of the mourners is actively negotiated and re-evaluated" (Parker Pearson 2006: 32), and so the picture gleaned from analysis of graves is rarely as straightforward as processual interpretations indicate. At the same time as the post-processualists were developing their criticisms of New Archaeological methods, ritual theorists were also critiquing some of the theoretical underpinnings of processualism.

Durkheim's school of ritual and religious theory created a division between the action of ritual, which served to create and reinforce the social group, and the belief of religion. The two spheres were closely linked, but ritual was seen as more effective active than religion. This view of rituals as action, as opposed to the more ephemeral thoughts and beliefs that were grouped together as the province of religion, dominated the field of religion and ritual studies for most of the twentieth century. In the post-modern climate of the end of the century, Catherine Bell (1992) took issue with this common thought-action dichotomy, which privileges thought in the form of "beliefs, creeds, symbols, and myths . . . [which] direct, inspire, or promote action, but . . . are not activities [themselves]" and which therefore casts ritual as "particularly *thoughtless* action - routinized, habitual, obsessive, or mimetic - and therefore the purely formal, secondary, and mere physical expression" of beliefs (Bell 2009 (1992): 19).

If ritual is habitual action, it can be teased apart and its component parts analyzed; definitions can be generated, which "inevitably come to function as a set of criteria" (Bell 2009 (1992): 69). These definitions cannot possibly encompass every example of ritual, which varies so greatly, and more and more modifications are made and so many addendums tacked on that the definition quickly becomes so broad and complicated that it loses its usefulness. The reality of ritual is so broad that it is not useful to come to a definition, Bell argues, because there will always be exceptions:

> Categorization develops a dizzying momentum of its own. . . . Distinctions are routinely drawn between ritual studies and liturgics, religious ritual and secular ritual, ritual and ceremonial, secular ritual and secular ceremony, political ritual and civic ceremonial, private ritual and collective ritual, rites of rebellion and rites of solidarity, dramatic performance and ritual performance, the formality of games (in play and organized sports) and the formality of ritual, ritual and festival, festival and holiday, and so on. As distinctions and categories proliferate, scholars begin to talk in rather elaborate circles (Bell 2009 (1992): 69-70).

More useful than to try to codify ritual and create a definition that could encompass all these categories is to examine the process by which ritual is *created*, that is, the process of ritualization. The more useful and interesting questions, rather than 'What is ritual?', are "Under what circumstances are such activities distinguished from other forms of activity? How and why are they distinguished? What do these activities do that other activities cannot or will not do?" (Bell 2009 (1992): 70). To answer these questions, according to Bell, we must stop debating what ritual is, and whether it is a distinct category of experience or a part of all activity, and focus on ritualization, the process by which ritual is *created.*

Ritualization is "the way in which certain social actions strategically distinguish themselves in relation to other actions"; in other words, "a way of acting that is designed and orchestrated to distinguish and privilege what is being done in comparison to other, usually more quotidian activities" (Bell 2009 (1992): 74). It is through the process of

ritualization that rituals are created. There is a focus on the act itself, on practice as opposed to theory. Bell defines four characteristics of practice, all of which are shared by ritual: both are "(1) situational; (2) strategic; (3) embedded in a misrecognition of what it is in fact doing; and (4) able to reproduce or reconfigure a vision of the order of power in the world" (Bell 2009 (1992): 81).

Practice and ritual are situational in that they are contextual: separated from their context, they lose meaning. 'Strategic' refers to their "situationally effective schemes, tactics, and strategies" (Bell 2009 (1992): 82); that is, they have a logic of their own, which is not often visible to the theorist, which accomplishes something. They are not simply empty gestures, but serve a purpose for the participants, even if that purpose is inaccessible to others. Their third quality, a 'misrecognition', is a lack of awareness in the participants of their 'real' function or effect: theorists, at a distance, are able to identify meanings and functions that the participants do not. Lastly, they are "characterized by relations of dominance and subjugation.

These relations, however, are present in practice [and ritual] by means of the practical values, obligations, and persistent envisioning . . . of a state of prestige within this ordering of power" (Bell 2009 (1992): 84). They simultaneously constrain action and make it possible by internalizing, in a way, the status quo and power dynamics in a society. This characteristic of ritual "does not reflect reality more or less effectively; it creates it more or less effectively" (Bell 2009 (1992): 85). It is in this creation of reality that ritualization draws its power; it is not a reflection or display of values but actively creates or perpetuates them.

Ritualization serves to create and influence situations (Bell 2009 (1992): 108). It creates ritual systems which "do not function to regulate or control the systems of social relations, they *are* the system" (Bell 2009 (1992): 130). However, rather than straightforwardly controlling individuals and society, these systems become "a strategic arena for the embodiment of power relations" (Bell 2009 (1992): 170) and are "first and foremost a strategy for the construction of certain types of power relationships effective within particular social organizations" (Bell 2009 (1992): 197). Ritualization is a way to construct and control power relations in a society and can be used strategically to manipulate those relations.

Ritual is not a simple reflection of religious belief, but is a complex process through which certain events and actions are made more meaningful or 'special'. It is intimately connected to power, but is not a straightforward expression of that power. Rather, it is a way to *create* power and to manage and manipulate it. The act of ritualizing produces the reality expressed in the ritual system.

Ritual theory has thus moved beyond a straightforward description of ritual, and is in the process of moving past trying to reach a single definition that can encompass all ritual. Following Bell, ritual is not a simple reflection of religious belief, but is a complex process through which certain events and actions are made more meaningful or 'special'. It is intimately connected to power, but is not a straightforward expression of that power. Rather, it is a way to *create* power and to manage and manipulate it. The act of ritualizing produces the reality expressed in the ritual system. This is a particularly useful approach to, and particularly evident in, the examination of mortuary evidence and funerary rituals, and post-processual interpretations have been closely linked with Bell's theories.

Funerary Archaeology

Funerary archaeology is the most recent off-shoot of post-processualism regarding the archaeology of burial and has been gaining visibility in recent years. As Parker Pearson points out in one of the first in-depth studies of funerary archaeology (2006), this approach is not so much about the deceased themselves - what they ate, how old they were, their health, etc. - as it is the "study of funerary practices that the living perform for the dead. It is not so much about the dead themselves as the living who buried them. The dead do not bury themselves but are treated and disposed of by the living" (Parker Pearson 2006: 3). It is thus concerned with the rituals and practices created by the living which serve to "create an idealized representation" of the dead (Parker Pearson 2006: 4). The picture of an individual presented by a burial is not necessarily the picture that individual would have chosen to present in life. It is rather the picture chosen by who Cohen (2005) calls 'the burying group', that is, the group of people surrounding the deceased who arrange and carry out the burial, and so must be studied with the "idealized roles, spirits, communities, and relationships which may refer more to the imagined past than the experienced present" kept in mind (Parker Pearson 2006: 32).

As discussed above, ritual is not a passive reflection of a society and its beliefs, but is an active element in the creation of social norms and ideas. As one of the most archaeologically visible types of rituals, burials can provide insight into "how the "practice" of these ritualistic activities has actively defined and negotiated the frameworks of social interactions of the actors involved in the creation of the social and cultural values" of the society (Laneri 2007a: 1). Funerals are both ritual and practice which "involve

powerful emotions, appeals to the supernatural, ceremonial performances, and tie-breaking acts, [and] there is profound disagreement over definitions as to where ritual ends and the secular or mundane begins" (Parker Pearson 2006: 194). The two are intertwined, however, and the key point is not so much if the ritual is religious or secular but the ways in which it focuses and materializes ideology. Ritual creates and manages power, and funerary rituals are "a means to create, reinforce, and materialize an ideological discourse concerning the power of the ruling elites" (Laneri 2007a: 6). It is important to keep in mind that "tombs are not just somewhere to put dead bodies; they are representations of power [which] legitimize and extend the hegemonic order [and] profoundly alter prehistoric peoples' comprehension of space and time" (Parker Pearson 2006: 196).

However, by focusing mainly on the social aspects of ritual and how funerary practices can be used to manipulate and affect social relations, we are in danger of overlooking the religious meanings of the rituals. Funerals are both religious and secular, and to leave aside the religious beliefs materialized in funerary rituals is "to disregard the religious meanings and beliefs inherent in such data [neglecting] issues that played an immense part in the lives of the people in question" (Schwartz 2012: 59). Funerary archaeology thus brings back into focus an element of funerals that has not been extensively examined since the beginnings of the archaeology of death by once again trying to understand religious issues and motivations.

Funerary Archaeology in the Ancient Near East

In the Ancient Near East, the archaeology of death and burial for the Bronze Age can be approached from two main avenues: texts and the archaeological record. In

Mesopotamia and parts of Syria, texts are available from the second millennium BC. Ritual texts, some involving or referencing rituals for the dead, and literature, such as the Epic of Gilgamesh, which depict funerals and occasionally the afterlife, give scholars an important window into people's beliefs about death and the afterlife, as well as rituals for the dead that may leave little or no trace in the archaeological record. The same is true for Central Anatolia in the latter half of the second millennium, when the Hittites recorded long descriptions of royal funerals and epic myths (Bryce 2002, Haas 1995, Taracha 2009).

Because of the special insight these texts provide, scholars have drawn heavily on them to interpret the archaeological record where it is possible (e.g., Healey 1995, Jacquet 2012, Katz 2007, Kucharek 2012, Lundstrom 2012, Niehr 2012, Rutherford 2007, Salles 1995). It should be borne in mind, however, that an over reliance on textual sources can be limiting, as texts record only things that were of interest to the state and leave other sections of society in the dark. Textual sources are neither complete nor unbiased; many of our surviving records were propagandistic in tone, and even when this is not the case, they reflect the viewpoint of the elite who both composed and kept them.

For these reasons, the archaeological record should be our primary source of data, with texts used as a supplement, not the other way around. Following the development of funerary archaeology as a theoretical model, scholars recently have begun to do just that. Cohen (2005), for example, uses the graves from the Royal Cemetery of Ur and textual records to reconstruct the three stages of an elite Early Dynastic III funeral, demonstrating that these funerals were a means of establishing the power and right to rule of these early kings. Archi (2012) uses the material remains at Ebla to try and illuminate some of the terms used in texts from the archives there that seem to be connected to the cult of the dead,

and Lange (2012) uses the texts of Ugarit to try and identify the function and use of the funerary complexes there.

Other recent studies have focused more closely on the archaeological evidence alone, often because texts are not available, and many of these have focused on the manifestation of beliefs indicated by funerary practices. Pfälzner (2012a) has meticulously documented and reconstructed the various steps of a royal funeral at LBA Qatna, revealing evidence for both burial practices and beliefs about the afterlife, including ancestor cults. Ancestor worship is also evident at EBA Tell Umm el-Marra, where the elaborate elite tombs served "as a materialization of elite ideology . . . used to reinforce authority" (Schwartz 2007: 45-46), and Schwartz (2012) has reconstructed the rituals performed to inter these elite individuals. Ilan (1995) analyzes the variety of tombs found at MBA Tell Dan and concludes that kinship and "concepts of rebirth, fertility and perhaps an afterlife" are reflected in the burials there, more so than indications of gender or social rank (1995: 135). A collective identity and emphasis on kinship, leading to a "'depersonalization' of the dead" is also visible at the end of the LBA and into the Iron Age at Tell an-Nasriyah and Tell Skiukh Fawqani (Tenu 2013: 435).

Still others have focused on the more social and political aspects of funerals, which "are lively, contested events where social roles are manipulated, acquired, and discarded" (Parker Pearson 2006: 32). Morris (2007) examines Egyptian First Dynastic royal funerals and concludes that the sacrifice of retainers and their burials served as a symbol of the ideology of this rising state. Keswani (1989a, 1989b) uses the tombs at Enkomi to reconstruct social hierarchies in LBA Cyprus. At EBA Titriş Hoyuk, Laneri (2007b) argues that the intramural chamber tombs found at the site functioned to both establish and

reinforce the "social and economic authority of households" at the end of the third millennium BC (2007b: 265). Porter (2002a, 2002b) looks at contemporary evidence from Tell Banat's monumental tombs to explore the establishment of ancestor cult traditions and the effect the monuments had on the landscape, as territorial markers, and on the population, as an organizing and centralizing force in the development of the early urban cities.

Studies have also been done on regions, many of which aim to establish burial practices and correlations on this larger scale. Carter and Parker, in a landmark study (1995), demonstrated through a survey of EBA sites in northern Syria and southern Anatolia that pottery types do not correlate well with grave types, and that the latter likely mirrors social structures, local customs, and external contacts more closely than the former (1995: 112). Brenova (2005) demonstrates the long history of secondary burial treatment in Palestine, which survived through changes in religious beliefs and practices there, and Chesson (2007) also examines secondary burial practices on the Dead Sea Plain in the EBA, using the analogy of the *chaine operatoire* to reconstruct the creation of the 'body libraries' found there.

Social processes can be seen at work on a regional scale as well as a site-specific one. The rise of an Aegean EBA hereditary elite is reflected in the burial practices and grave goods of these individuals (Cultraro 2007). In the MBA southern Levant, the interpretation of elite vs. poor burials has been questioned by Hallote (1994, 2002), who argues that funerary practices of the period reflect the ideals of the previous period, rather than the reality of the contemporary time period, as well as demonstrating the practice of ancestor cults. The issue of ancestor cults, so widespread in the Bronze Age Near East, along with

their chronology, interpretation, and practices, as well as the material evidence for them, is set out by Helwing (2012), and their development and power in Mesopotamia is examined by Laneri (2011). A different type of burial, the so-called 'warrior burial' seen in Early Dynastic III Mesopotamia and the MBA Levant, is defined and analyzed by Phillip (1995).

The examination of specific types of artifacts can also be illuminating. Ebeling (2002) looks at the presence of groundstone tools in MBA and LBA Levantine burials and suggests that they functioned as tools of food preparation for the deceased in the afterlife, as a gender-specific gift which represented "the role of a woman as wife, mother, and provider", and perhaps as a talisman for infants and small children (Ebeling 2002: 151), thus demonstrating the multi-layered meanings and symbols a single artifact type can represent.

Work is also being done on cross-cultural comparisons. Gilmour (1995) compares the LBA Aegean and Levantine burial traditions, suggesting that the stone-built chamber tombs of the Levant show Aegean influence, although cremations in the Levant may be due to Anatolian influence. Keswani (2012) also examines the Aegean and Levantine chamber tombs, but by examining the evidence from Ugarit and Enkomi in detail, she asserts that the issue is more complicated than the straightforward Aegean-to-Levant influence model, as the tombs at Ugarit appear to predate the Enkomi examples, perhaps indicating that the cultural influence occurred in the opposite direction.

The burials which are the most well-studied and extensively documented tend to be monumental tombs. There are multiple reasons for this: first, they are the most prominent and visible burials in the record, as their builders no doubt intended them to be; second, they typically contain the most spectacular and widest array of artifacts; and third, they

offer evidence for elite behavior that is seen documented in the textual record. Monumental tombs in the third millennium have played a key part in understanding the processes surrounding state formation and the rise of urbanism during this period, particularly along the Upper and Middle Euphrates River, as well as in southern Mesopotamia (e.g., Cohen 2005, Helwing 2012, Laneri 2007b, Porter 2002a, Porter 2002b, Schwartz 2007, Schwartz 2012).

In the second millennium, however, there are fewer of these monuments, at least until the LBA, when Royal Hypogea began to proliferate in association with palaces at urban sites. This lack has led to the period being overlooked in regards to mortuary studies, particularly in the MBA (Felli 2012). Though there have been excellent descriptions of MBA cemeteries published, especially in the southern Levant (e.g., Baker 2003, Guy 1938, Kenyon 1960), and a handful of insightful interpretations of them, Hallote (1994) in particular, the mortuary practices of the period as a whole have been neglected. Funerary customs of the LBA, despite the Royal Hypogea, have been similarly neglected, partially because these hypogea are often found looted. An outstanding exception is the hypogeum at Qatna, which was found intact and undisturbed, and has been deftly interpreted and analyzed by Pfälzner (2012a; further discussed in Chapter 4).

In order to gain a fuller picture of a society, however, and given that second millennium scholars have fewer of the spectacular funerary monuments to work with on the whole, we must turn to the less spectacular for information. Alalakh is an ideal case study for this type of investigation, with its large corpus of elite and non-elite burials, in addition to the fact that no royal tombs have been discovered to date.

CHAPTER 3

Atchana Burial Practices - Chronology, Contexts, and Analysis

Woolley Graves

As discussed in Chapter 1, it is difficult to determine how many graves Woolley discovered in total. It is also difficult to say exactly where they were located; often only a square is given, and sometimes no location at all is described. The 124 published burials, detailed in Table 2, include several different types: simple pit graves, infant pot burials, cremations, several multiple burials, one burial in a wooden coffin, at least one secondary burial, and one chamber tomb (Table 3). The earliest burials date to Level VIII (Woolley 1955: 201), which is not surprising given the relatively small exposures dug below Level VII, as discussed in Chapter 1. The vast majority of the graves comes from Levels V and IV, and so fall roughly into the Mitannian era at the site, although there is a continuous sequence of burials from Level VIII to O.

The handful of MBA graves found during Woolley's excavations came from Levels VIII and VII (Woolley 1955). The majority are simple pit graves, though one infant pot

burial was found, along with the only stone-built chamber found at the site, dubbed the 'Shaft Grave'. Excluding the Shaft Grave, which is described separately, there are nine graves from Levels VIII and VII (Figure 4).

These burials are intramural, although two of them come from Site H, a trench on the southwest side of the mound where Woolley found remains of the early LBA town fortification wall. Below this wall were remains of floors and rooms that Woolley assigned to Level VII, which he speculates were outside the wall (Woolley 1955: 144). Two simple pit burials were found in this area, which he also assigns to Level VII (Woolley 1955: 221). It is therefore possible, though not certain, that these were extramural burials; alternately, they could be under the floors of houses that were outside the city walls. The rest of the burials are either beneath preserved floors or dug into the remains of earlier levels.

There are two MBA graves that were used for multiple individuals: ATG/47/1 contained an adult, "apparently placed in sitting position as the skull was on top of the other bones", and a young child (Woolley 1955: 221), and ATG/47/3 held the remains of two adults (Woolley 1955: 222). Both graves are from Level VIII, and, based on the arrangement of grave goods, it seems that only the adult in ATG/47/1 was buried without gifts. However, due to the unusual positioning of the adult's bones, with the skull apparently on top of the other bones, which were much decayed, according to Woolley (1955: 221), it is possible that ATG/47/1 represents a secondary burial. Perhaps digging the grave for the child disturbed the existing adult burial, which was then redeposited in the new grave, or perhaps the adult's grave was deliberately re-opened for the child's interment. Woolley speculates that ATG/47/3 was re-opened for the burial of the second adult in the grave, but since both individuals, as far as can be determined from his

description, appear to be articulated, this seems unlikely. The MBA graves show a strong preference for flexed positions, and the majority, six of the nine, seem to be in roughly east-west cuts (Woolley 1955). A distinct pattern is not visible, though, so this remains a tentative observation.

As Woolley only published those graves with burial goods, it is impossible to determine how many MBA graves from his excavations lacked goods, although the infant pot burial from Level VII lacks gifts. Ceramics, beads, and metal pins were found deposited with the deceased in the pit burials, mostly commonly shoulder goblets and short-neck jars, which were present in four of the five Level VII burials[3]. These shapes are very similar, with the short-neck jars having a short, straight neck that is not found in the shoulder goblets. Piriform juglets are also common, appearing in five of the nine MBA burials (Figure 5). Various other types of jugs and jars are also present in most of the burials. Personal ornaments, in the form of beads and pins, are not as common, and were found in only three burials.

These intramural burials continue into and proliferate in the LBA. Inhumations and infant pot burials both continue, as do multiple interments, and in later levels, cremations were found by Woolley in the Royal Precinct. In total, Woolley published 90 pit graves, 13 pot burials, and 11 cremations that he dated to the LBA (Woolley 1955).

In the Level VI, there is one infant pot burial, again deposited with no grave goods, and one multiple interment with an adult female directly on top of a child (Woolley 1955: 220, 222). Most of these seem to have been dug into Level VII remains (Figure 6), judging from Woolley's descriptions, and they are clustered in the exposed and abandoned ruins of

[3] For all vessel types, see Table 1 for type illustrations.

the Level VII palace, above and intruding into the southern, domestic/production end of the palace. There is no discernible pattern in orientation, and there is a mix of flexed and extended body positions, but, as there are only six graves from this level, it is difficult to be certain. Beads are common grave goods, present in four of the six, and cylinder seals, bronze pins, and bronze bangles are each present in two graves. One of the cylinder seals, AT/39/231, is in an early Mitannian style (see Figure 72.18; Collon 1982: 76) and the other is highly eroded (Figure 72.19).

ATG/46/15, the multiple burial, is particularly rich, with a complete short-neck jar and fragments from another vessel, two bracelets made of twisted copper wire, a bronze torque (the only example found in a grave at Alalakh to date), a bronze pin, a piece of silver wire strung with a bead, a naked female figurine in MBA style (see Figure 73.5), and a necklace with beads in carnelian, vitreous materials, and what Woolley describes as crystal (Woolley 1955: 222-223). The jewelry (the bracelets, the torque, the pin, and the necklace) was all worn by the adult, but the positions of the other artifacts are not detailed, making it impossible to determine which individual they were associated with. Piriform juglets continue to be found in this level, along with jars and other juglets in various shapes.

There are many more graves from Level V, 34 in total, mostly dug into the Level VII palace ruins, again, or under the house floors of the 'private houses' built above those ruins (Figure 7). There is one grave from Site H, where the remains of a city gate date to this level (Woolley 1955: 143-144, Fig. 54), and a handful under the floors of the Level V fortress or cut into the Level VI fortress remains (Woolley 1955: 218-219), one of which is a multiple burial of an adult and child interred next to each other (ATG/49/1). There is one more multiple burial, ATG/39/80, of two adults deposited side by side. Additionally,

the burial in the wooden coffin, ATG/46/2, is from this level, as are two infant pot burials, although these two burials both were deposited with grave goods, unlike the earlier pot burials. Notably, the earliest cremation at the site, ATG/46/9, is also dated to Level V (Woolley 1955: 217).

The orientation of the Level V burials is mixed, although northwest-southeast and north-south graves are slightly more common. Of the body positions that Woolley published, the majority were deposited in flexed positions, although at least six individuals are recorded as on their backs in extended positions. Beads are present in almost half the burials (Figure 8), and bronze (and occasionally silver or copper) pins are also relatively common. Shoulder goblets, and the related s-curve cup continue to be common, and the piriform juglets which were common in the MBA also continue, although in decreasing numbers. Foreign pottery appears in graves of this level, including Cypriot Base Ring I ware and, for the first time, RLWm spindle bottles. Earrings appear for the first time in bronze, silver, and copper, and other metal jewelry in the form of rings, anklets, and bracelets is more common. Particularly notable grave goods from this level are a glass mold-made female figurine from ATG/39/44, an Egyptian blue scaraboid from ATG/39/46 (see Figure 72.17), a steatite kohl-pot from infant pot burial ATG/39/87, a hematite weight from ATG/39/103, a small twin vase from ATG/46/4, a wooden box with bone or ivory inlay from ATG/39/107, another bone box from ATG/39/97, an ivory libation pourer in the shape of a hand from ATG/39/27, and a round-bodied glazed bottle from ATG/39/80 (Figure 9). Other grave goods include cylinder seals in Mitannian Common Style (Figure 72.14-16), female figurines, and jars, jugs, bowls, juglets, and pitchers in different shapes (Figure 10).

The largest number of graves comes from Level IV (Figure 11). These come mainly from the same areas of the site: under and around the 'Private Houses' and dug into the remains of earlier levels. A group of them were found near and under the Level III town wall foundations, and a handful also come from Site H, which in this level constitutes another phase of the city gate, along with a handful of houses (Woolley 1955: 144). A few burials were found just outside the Level IV temple, and at least one was also discovered near the northern city gate and the Level IV fortress (Woolley 1955: 155-163), although there may have been more that Woolley did not give locations for. The majority of the graves seem to be oriented north-south, where Woolley specifies orientation, and, again, a clear majority are flexed burials.

There are three multiple burials recorded from this level: ATG/39/7 with an adult and young child, ATG/39/35 with an infant and two young adults, and ATG/39/33 with an adult female and an infant. This grave is especially interesting, as it is the only pot burial containing an adult and it seems to be a secondary burial, based on Woolley's description. He concludes that "the bones would seem to have been inserted . . . after the removal of the flesh; the two skulls lay on the top, the other bones in confusion beneath them" (Woolley 1955: 211). A Cypriot Base Ring jug and eight bronze earrings, two with glass beads strung on them, were inside the pot with the bones. The majority of pot burials belong to this level, and, unlike the earlier pot burials, are accompanied by a range of interesting grave goods, including spindle bottles, Base Ring ware pottery, a cylinder seal impression on what may be a jar stopper, fragments of a polychrome glass bottle, beads, s-curve jars, and a bronze arrowhead. There is also one cremation from Level IV, ATG/39/74, found in a large, round-bodied pitcher (Figure 12) with burnt bones and a drop bottle inside.

The RLWm spindle bottles that appear in graves in Level V continue into Level IV and proliferate (Figure 13), and Base Ring ware vessels are also frequent. Beads, found in over half the graves, and pins, rings, earrings, and bracelets made of bronze, gold and silver are also common. Shoulder goblets and s-curve cups are much rarer: they are present in only two of the 45 Level IV graves. Piriform juglets, common in the earlier levels, are also found in only two burials. Instead of shoulder goblets, jugs and pitchers are more common, present in 27 graves. Other gifts found in several graves are Mitannian Common Style cylinder seals (Figure 72.12, 72.13), bowls, teapots, and bottles in various shapes (Figure 14).

There are only a handful of graves from Level III, and they are clustered around the Level III temple and the 'Private Houses' (Figure 15). All of these are simple pit graves, and no cremations or pot burials were found in this level. Almost all of them are oriented north-south, and three of the seven individuals are in flexed positions. Five of the burials contained beads, and spindle bottles are also found, though in lesser numbers. Metal jewelry is also present in nearly all the burials from this level; given the small sample, the array of bronze, gold, and silver jewelry is impressive. There is also another glass mold-made female figurine, of the same design as the Level V example, from ATG/39/23[4] (Figure 16). There is only one burial with an s-curve cup, and no examples of shoulder goblets: this is the last level where this form is found at all, but its long-lasting presence is notable (see Chapter 5). However, jugs are common in this level, reinforcing the shift that began to manifest in Level IV towards different vessel shapes (Figure 17). ATG/39/71

[4] The striking similarity in design between these two figurines and the long time gap between their burial raises interesting questions. Either the Level III example is an heirloom that was produced much earlier or the same figurines were being made for several centuries.

illustrates the increasing wealth of the grave goods in this level, containing an ivory comb, ivory inlay fragments, and a scaraboid (Figure 72.11), along with a silver pin, a silver ring, a narrow-necked jug, and beads made of gold, carnelian, crystal, glass (or perhaps another vitreous material (Figure 18), serpentine, and cowrie shell (Woolley 1955: 208). Compared to the MBA burials, especially, the Level III graves appear quite rich.

The Level II graves, totaling eleven, are also from the same area of the site around the temple and temple complex, as well as around the Level III wall remains (Figure 19). Again there are no pot burials, but there are three cremations, one (ATG/38/7) inside a Nuzi ware cup with a bronze knife, a bone comb, a Mitannian Common Style cylinder seal (Figure 72.7), and copper, vitreous, and quartz beads inside the urn (Woolley 1955: 206). There is also one multiple inhumation of an adult and child that was apparently badly preserved. There is no discernible pattern in grave orientation, but most of the pit graves appear to be in flexed positions, as in other levels. The grave goods from this level are quite varied. Beads continue to be common, present in almost all the burials, although metal jewelry is slightly less common in this level. Seals in Mitannian Common Style are quite common, found in five of the eleven burials (see Figure 72), and two are present in ATG/39/18 (see Figure 72.9 and 72.10). Pottery is less common here, although high-necked jars and several different types of jugs are present (see Tables 2, 6 for details).

In Levels I and O, six of the eleven graves are cremations, a surprising proportion. Woolley dates these to the "thirteenth century by the Mycenaean pottery associated with them" (Woolley 1955: 202), however, the dating of these should be re-examined, given the latest chronology for the site composed by Yener and the presence of Iron Age remains in the vicinity of the Royal Precinct where these cremations were found (Yener 2013a). It is

possible that some of the cremations may belong to the Iron Age, particularly since Woolley did not publish detailed descriptions of their locations (Figure 20), although much of the Mycenaean pottery that Woolley assigned to LH IIIB (1955: 369-376) has been re-examined by Robert Koehl and assigned to LH IIIA (Mara Horowitz, personal communication; Yener 2013a: 18), further complicating the situation. These cremations are remarkably rich: gold, silver, and bronze pendants; gold, silver, and bronze earrings; gold roundels and buttons; gold, silver and copper rings; bronze bracelets; bronze vessels; gold, amber, vitreous, carnelian, and cowrie shell beads; bronze disks with embossed centers; ivory and bone combs, inlays, and pins; a bronze kohl stick; LH IIIA flasks, piriform jars, and stirrup jars (Figure 21); a serpentine cylinder seal with gold caps on either end (Figure 72.2); a scaraboid (Figure 72.1) with what Woolley identified as the cartouche of Ramses VI (Woolley 1955: 203), but has been recently reassigned to Amenhotep III (Akar 2012: 62; Kitchen 1982; Ritner, forthcoming; Yener 2013a: 21); a steatite spindle whorl; and other types of jugs, jars, and pitchers were found in and around the cremation urns.

The pit graves, all of which are oriented roughly east-west and in flexed positions, are more mixed. The multiple burial of a child resting on an adult female, ATG/38/5, is one of the richest, with a narrow-necked pitcher, four silver earrings, a bronze earring, two bronze bracelets on the adult's arms, a string of carnelian beads, a string of black and white vitreous beads, a necklace of vitreous and steatite beads worn by the adult, another string of blue glazed vitreous beads, two bronze bracelets on the child's ankles, a necklace of steatite beads worn by the child, a stone pendant, four bone pins, two copper pins, a fragment of thin gold sheet (perhaps worn in one of the individual's hair or sewn onto

clothing), and two cylinder seals (Figure 72.3 and 72.4; Woolley 1955: 205). Others, such as ATG/39/72, contained as little as a high-necked jar and some beads. In general, though, the wealth of metal goods is remarkable, compared to the MBA and early LBA levels. Beads, high-necked jars, pitchers, cylinder seals, and LH pottery are all quite common as well (Tables 2, 7).

The Shaft Grave

The Shaft Grave in the Level VII palace is an enigmatic chamber tomb which shows similarities to graves at several different sites while bearing direct parallels to none. Entered from the more domestic and workshop area of the palace, a flight of stairs (Figure 22) descends between plastered limestone walls to a door of basalt (Figure 23) which opens onto a stone-built chamber (Figure 24; Woolley 1955: 95). In the north corner of the chamber Woolley found a pile of

> wood ash and charred wood, numerous animal bones, most of them heavily burnt, four alabaster vases of which one was destroyed by fire, and three clay vessels; there were no marks of burning on the floor, so that everything here must have been collected from a pyre elsewhere and been deposited here (Figures 25 and 26; Woolley 1955: 96).

In the southwest corner, four individuals were placed into a wooden box (already decayed when the tomb was opened) with the skulls in the corners and the legs overlapping in the center, and a fragmentary child's skull was found in the center above the crossed legs (Figure 27; Woolley 1955: 96). Apart from these two deposits, the chamber was empty. Sometime later, while the palace was still in use, the chamber was blocked from the inside by large stones and the shaft was filled with "peculiarly clean earth" that was found undisturbed and "had been beaten hard" (Woolley 1955: 96). The stairway was left

empty, although a ceiling was built over it, which may have been plastered (Woolley 1955: 97), and the doorway leading to it was blocked up; a concrete floor was laid over the whole feature and a new doorway was opened into this room from the northeast (Woolley 1955: 97). Woolley points out parallels with the chamber tombs at Ugarit, which are later than the Shaft Grave, but concludes that there are too many constructional differences for the comparison to hold (Woolley 1955: 97). Most importantly, the uses of the Ugarit tombs and the Shaft Grave appear quite different. The Ugarit tombs were meant to be reused over presumably long periods of time (Keswani 2012: 185), and the construction of the Shaft Grave, built as part of the Level VII palace and equipped with a stairway and door leading down to it, suggests that it was also originally intended to be re-used as well. However, unless it was later looted or disturbed, a possibility that Woolley considered and rejected, based on "the evidence of the soil" (1955: 96), i.e., the undisturbed soil filling the chamber, it seems that the chamber was in fact used for a short time, perhaps even for a single burial event. Woolley originally thought this chamber represented a royal tomb, but based on the lack of grave goods, decided against this interpretation (Woolley 1955: 98). He posits that it may be "an elaborate foundation-sacrifice", but admits that he remains unconvinced (Woolley 1955: 98).

In going through the Woolley Dig House depot, the AVRP found bags with samples of wood from the lintel of the Shaft Grave doorway. These were sent to Cornell University's Malcolm and Carolyn Wiener Laboratory for Aegean and Near Eastern Dendrochronology for radiocarbon dating. The samples were analyzed by Sturt Manning, and the earliest sample was dated to 3731 ± 31 BP, while the latest sample dated to 3720 ± 30 BP (Aslıhan Yener, personal communication). This places the cutting of the tree used for the door lintel

in the late third millennium BC, considerably before the construction of the Shaft Grave. These results illustrate the re-use of construction materials for the tomb.

It is difficult to know what to make of the Shaft Grave. Superficially, the construction resembles the roughly contemporary early chamber tombs at Ugarit or shaft graves from the Aegean (Belli 2003; Keswani 2012). Its location recalls the royal tombs under palaces at MBA Ebla and LBA Qatna and Ugarit. The lack of 'royal' grave goods, though, and the in-filling of the tomb, leave it without solid parallels to date, unless, of course, Woolley was misinterpreted the evidence (or lack thereof) for looting.

Discussion

The variety of grave types in the Woolley corpus is remarkable (see Tables 2, 6). Though the vast majority of them are single pit graves, multiple burials, usually of an adult and child, are found throughout the entire sequence. Woolley identifies several of the adults from these burials as female, perhaps indicating a tradition of burying a mother and child together. Two possible secondary burials are also seen, one in Level VIII and one in Level IV, and more of this type are seen in the extramural cemetery, detailed below. These two examples are both multiple burials, and ATG/39/93 from Level IV is particularly interesting, as it apparently represents a combination of the pot burial tradition and a secondary burial treatment. This grave may have connections to secondary pot burials found at Ugarit from the MBA (see Chapter 4 for discussion).

The pot burials, apart from ATG/39/93, are all of infants or young children. Beginning in the MBA and continuing into the LBA, most of the pot burials come from Level IV, with only four from Levels VII-V. After Level IV, Woolley did not find any, perhaps

indicating that this practice went out of use. At the same time, cremations become more common, although one cremation was found in Level IV and one in Level V (Woolley 1955). From the available evidence, it seems that pot burials may have been replaced by cremations towards the end of the LBA. However, no definite conclusions can be made, due to the small sample size.

The positioning of the deceased in the Woolley graves is of course difficult to determine, but where described, no obvious trends emerge, apart from a clear preference for flexed legs. It seems that most may have been in a somewhat curled, fetal position on one side or the other, with their legs drawn up.

Looking at the grave goods is more informative. Though Woolley considered the graves he found generally poor (Woolley 1955: 202), when compared to the extramural burials, it becomes clear that his graves were the richer group at the site (Table 7). Here, ceramics, beads, and bronze pins are found throughout the MBA and LBA, but the range of goods expands in the LBA to include weights, cylinder seals, knucklebones, ivory and bone inlay, and a wide variety of jewelry in bronze, gold, and silver, as well as artifacts that are only found in one grave, such as a kohl pot or tweezers. Shoulder goblets, and the closely related s-curve cups, are found from the MBA graves, although their numbers decrease after Level IV, and the same is true of the piriform juglets that are common in the MBA. Beads, metal pins, cylinder seals, and jars and jugs in different shapes are found in every level in the LBA (Table 7).

Metal bangles, though not particularly common, are also found in nearly every level after Level VI, indicating that they may have been a common part of the funeral kit for those who could afford them. As the s-curve and short-neck jars become less common, the

number of high-necked jars and jugs increases (Table 7). RLWm spindle bottles also appear in Level V, and are most common in Level IV. These are associated with Hittite and Cypriot ritual practices, and may demonstrate an increasing Central Anatolian and/or Cypriot influence at Atchana (Kozal 2007; Yener 2013b). Cypriot Base Ring wares are found in Levels V and IV, while Mycenaean wares are found in Level I. This reflects increasing contact with the Aegean world and these imported (or locally imitated) ceramics may have been a status symbol.

The locations of the Woolley graves is also interesting. Woolley, based on his understanding of the graves as poor, assumed that "the richer citizens were normally buried in cemeteries outside the city and only the poor under their houses" (Woolley 1955: 202). However, with the discovery of the extramural cemetery, it became clear that the graves he excavated in fact were richer than others found at the site. Woolley also based his interpretation on his understanding of the 'Private Houses' as the abodes of citizens, but the possible reinterpretation of them as a temple complex (see Chapter 1; Yener 2005: 109; 2010: 29) changes the potential interpretation of these graves. Their location in the Royal Precinct, in close association with the palaces, the temples, and the temple administration points towards an understanding of this group as elite burials.

Yener 2003-2004 Graves

Extramural Cemetery

Yener's excavations in 2003-2004 uncovered an extramural cemetery on the northeastern slope of the mound in Area 3 with many burials of mixed ages and sexes,

detailed in Table 4. These are described in Volume 1 of the 2003-2004 excavation results (Yener 2010), and osteological analysis was done by Boutin in 2004, who assigned Skeleton Numbers (designated as S04) to those which were complete and well-preserved enough to be recognized as distinct individuals (2008, 2010). Because of its position on the edge of the mound, the cemetery has been subjected to slope wash and erosion since the Bronze Age, making preservation conditions poor and the stratigraphy difficult to establish clearly. As a result, "nearly one-quarter of the burials were "bone scatters," i.e., skeletons . . . that had been disarticulated by post-depositional processes" (Boutin 2010: 112).

Four phases were identified in squares 45.71 and 45.72 at the northeastern edge of the mound, and two of these phases constituted the cemetery. Phase 4, the earliest excavated, is represented by an MBA casemate fortification wall that was destroyed and "was covered with a collapse deposit composed of mudbrick detritus, fallen burnt mudbrick fragments, and a thin layer of brown silty soil, indicating a phase of destruction followed by a brief phase of abandonment" (Yener 2010: 25). There is evidence of a possible leveling of the area with "layers of debris and ash [atop] the collapsed casemate structure" (Yener 2010: 25), although this could be due to accumulation during the period of abandonment. Based on the grave goods found in the burials in the succeeding Phase 3, this fortification wall was tentatively identified as belonging to the early MBA (Yener 2010: 25) and its destruction and collapse may be linked to the destruction of Woolley's Level VII (Boutin 2008: 210). However, since this was based on pottery analysis, this now needs to be re-evaluated in light of the results of the stratigraphic analysis, presented below, that demonstrate the long life of many of the vessels commonly found in the cemetery burials.

Phase 3 was broken into two phases, early and late, and represents the first phase of burials in the area (Figure 28). After the destruction of the MBA fortification wall, and after a short period of abandonment, the area was used for burials (Yener 2010: 25). This phase has been identified as MB IIc in previous publications (e.g., Boutin 2008, Gates 1981), but has now been assigned to early LB I in the updated chronology. The earliest burials, in the Phase 3 early period, were cut directly into the casemate fortification remains, and this early phase was visible only in Square 45.72 (Yener 2010: 25). Five graves containing six individuals were interred during this early phase (Yener 2010: 25), although apparently one of the graves, Burial 03-3057, was not recognized in the field as containing two individuals, possibly due to one individual missing the skull (Boutin 2008: 656-657). This double interment contained a middle-aged male and a young adult female, S04-15 and S04-16 in Boutin's analysis (Boutin 2008: 645-659), an apparent departure from the more typical adult plus child multiple burials seen in Woolley's grave corpus.

All six of these early phase individuals were simple pit burials, and five of them were placed in northwest-southeast oriented graves, typically with their heads facing northwest and one or both arms folded on the chest (Boutin 2008; Yener 2010: 25). Only two are recorded as being in a flexed position, while three were deposited extended on their backs (see Boutin 2008 catalogue for a full description of grave orientation and body positioning of the complete skeletons). The grave goods with these individuals were generally poor and comprised the head of a clay female figurine in the multiple burial, a bronze bracelet, two piriform juglets, an astragalus gaming piece and a five unworked astragali, a bone needle, and a short-neck jar (Figure 29; Yener 2010). The character of these goods

generally aligns with those found by Woolley, particularly the piriform juglets and the short-neck jar, but these graves are much poorer than those Woolley published.

These Phase 3 early graves were covered by a layer of soil accumulation, above which were many burials in both Square 45.72 and 45.71. These burials comprise Phase 3 late and also date to the MBA, based on their grave goods. These burials are considerably more fragmentary and in much worse condition than the earlier Phase 3 ones, and 31 of the 44 burials from this phase consisted of bone scatters. There was also one pot burial and one fetus that was later identified as a possible jar burial (Boutin 2010: 112).

Interestingly, given the lack of grave goods associated with Woolley's Level VII pot burials, these pot burials, Burial 03-3004 and the possible pot burial Burial 03-3002 (given the skeleton number S04-22 in Boutin's system), were both found with grave goods placed outside the burial jar: a short-neck jar was nearby Burial 03-3002 and two short-neck jars, a biconical jar, a piriform juglet, and an s-curve bowl were near Burial 03-3004 (Boutin 2008; Yener 2010: 26). The rest of the burials seem to be simple pit inhumations, although it is difficult to say with certainly, given the poor state of preservation. Where the skeleton was complete enough to determine orientation and position, these burials seem to be oriented either northwest-southeast or north-south and a slight majority of them are in flexed positions, although many were deposited on their backs (Boutin 2008, 2010).

At least five burials seem likely to contain multiple individuals, although given the high level of disturbance and the poor state of preservation, this is difficult to determine conclusively. One of these, Burial 03-3013, contained the mixed remains of an adult female and a young child, a bottle, and a shell pendant (Yener 2010: 26); two graves, Burial 03-3015 and Burial 03-3049, contained an adult male commingled with immature cranial

bones (Boutin 2008: 727, 741); Burial 03-3014 contained a child with scattered remains of "at least three mature individuals" (Boutin 2008: 720); and the last grave, Burial 03-3009, contained an older and a younger adult male along with pottery fragments and fragments of a glass vessel (Boutin 2008; Yener 2010: 26).

There are also two potential secondary burials, Burial 03-3010, which consisted of three skulls with "chert, shell, charcoal [and] ceramic fragments" and Burial 03-3012, which contained two adult male skulls and pottery fragments (Yener 2010: 26); although it is possible that these were multiple burials where the rest of the bones have decayed or been disturbed, this seems less likely. Due to the large number of bone scatters, most of these burials were not directly associated with grave goods, but short-neck jars are common in the graves where goods were preserved, and piriform juglets are also present (Table 4). There is also one bronze ring, one grave with vitreous beads, and several shell pendants or amulets (Yener 2010: 26).

Sometime in the early LB I, a kitchen/workshop complex was built over the graves, and this represents Phase 2. Several piriform juglets and shoulder goblets were found in Phase 2 contexts, which likely came from Phase 3 graves that were disturbed during Phase 2 building activities (Yener 2010). After Phase 2 was burnt and abandoned, the area was once again used as a cemetery (Figure 30), and this LB I continuation of the cemetery constitutes Phase 1 of this area (Yener 2010: 26-28). Only seven individuals in four graves were found in this phase (Boutin 2010; Yener 2010); however, since all of these are relatively complete, they may provide a better record than the more numerous bone scatters from the MB II. Based on pottery finds from the graves, this phase of the cemetery seems to be roughly contemporary to Woolley's Level IV (Boutin 2008: 211-213; Yener 2010).

Leaving aside the Plastered Tomb, discussed below, all the graves seem to be single burials in simple pit graves. Two graves were oriented northeast-southwest and one was in the more typical northwest-southeast orientation that was seen in the MBA; all had flexed legs (Boutin 2008, 2010). However, two of them were deposited prone, with the legs then flexed to one side (Boutin 2008: 192).

As in the MBA, the cemetery burials were generally poor. Only one of these burials had any goods at all, excluding the monumental Plastered Tomb: Burial 03-3011 contained two bronze toggle pins, notable because of the general lack of metal goods among the cemetery burials. It is important to keep in mind, however, that erosion and slope wash may have displaced pottery and other goods that were originally associated with burials, and we therefore may not have a complete picture from this area.

Intramural Graves

Four intramural burials were found in 2003-2004, all in Area 2, from Squares 44.45, 44.55 and 44.80. Two phases were uncovered in Area 2; Phase 2 consisted of three buildings that resembled Woolley's 'Private Houses' and may represent the elite houses that Woolley believed he had found (Yener 2010: 12-16). Phase 1 was not as well preserved and was characterized by craft quarters, including pyrotechnic installations (Yener 2010: 16-24). Both phases date to the LBA, and all four graves came from Phase 1 contexts.

These burials seem to fit in well with the cemetery corpus: flexed legs, flexed or folded arms, upper body either prone or on one side, and oriented roughly northeast-southwest with no grave goods (Table 4). The only exception is Burial 04-2050, which

was found with a Cypriot Base Ring juglet (just above the right hand, flexed to bring the vessel up to the face, a vase, and glass, vitreous, and carnelian beads (Yener 2010: 28). Although these four burials are within the city wall, they conform more to the general picture of the poorer cemetery burials than the intramural graves found by Woolley, with the possible caveat of Burial 04-2050, which would fit in with the Woolley grave corpus. As Area 2 is located well away from the Royal Precinct where Woolley's graves were found and very near Area 3 and the extramural cemetery, it may be that these four graves belong to the same segment of the population that buried its dead outside the city walls, or it may be that this area was in fact outside those walls at this time.

The Plastered Tomb

The Plastered Tomb is the only potentially monumental grave found at the site (Yener 2013b). Dated to the same phase as the rest of the LBA cemetery in the 15th century BC, the elaborate construction of this plaster-encased cist tomb with multiple individuals has been described in great detail elsewhere (Boutin 2008: 216-240; Yener 2010: 28; Yener 2013b: 264). The tomb was dug into the edge of the mound at the level of the kitchen/workshop phase described above which intervened between the MBA and LBA levels of the cemetery (Yener 2010: 28; Yener 2013b). A foundation of stones and large pithos fragments covered a prepared platform, which was then covered by a layer of plaster (Figure 31). The body of a 40-50 year old man (Boutin 2008: 605-621; Yener 2010: 28) was placed on this floor and a young adult female was buried with him, possibly at the same time or possibly as a separate interment (Figure 32; Boutin 2008: 228-231; Yener 2013b: 265).

These two individuals were then encased completely in a layer of plaster and a third individual, an adolescent female, was deposited on the "prepared, concave plaster bed on top of the previous two burials" (Figure 33; Yener 2013b: 266). Above this individual, a third female, a young adult, was buried in a vaulted wooden coffin, as evidenced by the inward curving remains of the plaster above the body and the wood impressions preserved on the plaster's underside (Yener 2013b: 264, 267). Two columns of mud bricks bolstered the structure and perhaps supported a superstructure that was destroyed by later plowing activity and erosion (Yener 2013b: 264). At least part of the tomb was above ground and, situated on the extreme edge of the mound, would have been visible from a distance, particularly if there was some type of superstructure atop the preserved tomb remains (Yener 2010: 28; Yener 2013b: 264).

The grave goods in the Plastered Tomb were rich and varied (Table 4) and included jewelry made of gold and carnelian, glass and vitreous beads, bronze and silver pins, two RLWm spindle bottles, two Cypriot Base Ring ware jugs, and an oil lamp, along with two cylindrical cups made of the same ware as the piriform juglets, two globular pitchers with trefoil mouths, an s-curve jar under the head of the male individual, a narrow-necked red-slipped jug, and two large bottle-jugs (Figure 34; Yener 2013b). The most notable feature of the ceramic assemblage is the pairing of the vessels, which, occurs occasionally in the Woolley graves, particularly for the RLWm spindle bottles, but is not a common feature.

This is the single richest tomb found at Alalakh, and it presents a unique puzzle. Aspects such as monumentality and multiple interments are not unusual, either at the site or in the region, but the plaster element is more difficult to explain (Yener 2013b: 275).

Based on the high visibility of the tomb and the rich grave goods found within it, this seems to be an elite burial, and possibly a royal one, although based on comparisons to other royal burials in the region, such as at Qatna, this may be unlikely. However, as no such hypogeum has been found at Alalakh, it remains a possibility.

Discussion

Because of the fragmentary condition of most of the cemetery burials, orientation and body positioning are difficult to determine, but the majority of preserved graves are oriented in a northwest-southeast direction with heads facing northwest (Boutin 2010: 112). This positioning is also seen in many of the Woolley graves, although, as discussed above, there is less of a trend for those intramural burials. There is also "a modest preference for legs to be flexed and heads to rest on their right sides" and the deceased "were most commonly deposited on their backs" (Boutin 2010: 113).

Burial goods were not as common in the cemetery as in Woolley's graves, and goods were definitively associated with only thirteen graves (Table 4), a distinct minority of the 61 burials recorded. These goods are mostly ceramic jars and bottles, as well as ornaments such as beads, pins, bracelets, shell pendants, and astragalus gaming pieces. Eight of the thirteen burials where goods were present included such ornaments. More of the graves may have been deposited with goods, however, since "found within the same matrix as the burials . . . were small carinated jars[5], as well as globular jars, small pitchers, and wheel-turned plates" in addition to pins, ground stone tool fragments, and a baked clay female figurine similar of the same type as those found in the Woolley graves, which could have

[5] This vessel type, used in the 2003-2004 typology, refers to short-neck jars, shoulder goblets, and s-curve cups/jars according to the new typology, which were previously grouped together as one category.

been separated from their original deposition spots by the same erosion processes that scattered the bones (Yener 2010: 26). These 'floating' objects are mostly of the same types found in association with the intact burials, and it seems likely they came from graves originally. The vessels from both in and around the graves are of similar types to those found by Woolley in his burials, and both piriform juglets and short-neck jars appear frequently, especially in the earlier graves.

Yener 2006-2012 Graves

Area 3

In 2007, excavation resumed in Area 3. Two new trenches were opened, squares 45.44 and 45.45, to further explore the cemetery area and the city fortifications that had been found in Squares 45.71 and 45.72 (see Figure 2). These two new squares, each 10x10 meters, were placed slightly off the grid system used for the rest of the site, as the correct orientation would have placed the southeastern edge of the squares in the dump created by the 2003-2004 excavations in 45.71 and 45.72. Both squares face down the eastern slope of the mound between the previous two squares and the dump. Although these squares are not oriented to the cardinal directions, the true cardinal directions are given below, so that, e.g., the north baulk of the square is referred to as the northwestern baulk and the east baulk is referred to as the northeastern baulk.

As with the 2003-2004 excavations in Area 3, this area has been subject to extensive erosion and slope wash since the end of occupation in antiquity. It was also intensively cultivated, very likely for centuries, and in recent decades has been the site of an olive

grove. The olive grove is still present on the slope immediately to the north of 45.45 and 45.44, and roots from these trees have caused further disruption to the archaeological material.

The burials in this area have been examined by osteologists Kim Consroe, Nathan Harper, and Jonathan Weiland, and reports for the team have been written, but a comprehensive analysis of all the remains has not been completed. Therefore, there is no consistent naming convention for the burials, as several different systems have been used for each group that was studied[6]. This thesis, then, refers to burials by their locus numbers (e.g., L52), detailed in Table 5. Where locus numbers overlap with those from another square, the square is indicated for clarity. Features are also identified by locus number (e.g., wall 39). Appendix C contains photos, illustrations, and detailed descriptions of all burials.

Square 45.44

Square 45.44 has been excavated for five years, to date, and has revealed defensive architecture as well as burials. Five local phases have been identified in the western half of the square, and in 2012 the beginning of a sixth phase was uncovered that has not yet been excavated. The square is characterized by the fortification wall running through the center that went through many rebuildings, with architecture on the western side and the cemetery on the eastern side.

Phase 5, the earliest excavated to date, consists of the lower level of city wall 97 and two rooms west of the wall which have pottery of MB II types (Figure 35). Based on stratigraphic and pottery analysis, Phase 5 has been assigned to Period 7, MB II (Murat

[6] The various naming systems used are included in the catalogue in Appendix C for reference purposes.

Akar, Mara Horowitz, 2012 field report). In the northern-most room, room 140, three burials were found: L132, L146, and L147. L132 was the burial of an adolescent with flexed legs, arms extended, and oriented northwest-southeast. L146 was an older child in a flexed position and deposited on the left side in a northwest-southeast grave. L147 was a younger child, around 4 or 5 years old, on the left side with flexed legs and arms folded over the chest. Like the other two, this child was also oriented northwest-southeast. The only grave good accompanying any of these individuals was a single shoulder goblet with L146 (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field notebook).

There was also a burial in the southern room (142) inside wall 97, L145. This was an infant burial in the same orientation as the other Phase 5 graves, again on the left side with legs flexed and arms extended. No grave goods were found in association with this grave (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field notebook). The last intramural burial from this phase was another infant, L151, found buried in the lowest levels of wall 97 in the same position: legs flexed, on the left side, oriented northeast-southwest, with the arms crossed over the chest, and with no grave goods (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field notebook).

Phase 4 seems to correspond with early Period 6 and early LB I. This phase appears to be contemporary to Local Phase 3 in 45.71 and 45.72, where the early Phase 3 burials were found. It is characterized by burnt rooms, which seem to be continuous the Phase 5 rooms, west of wall 97. Wall 97 is characterized by filled-casemates in this phase (Figure 36). In one of these casemates, casemate 101, an adult was buried with a shoulder goblet and a piriform juglet (Figure 37). It is unclear whether this individual was buried here during the construction of the wall or if the grave was later cut into this casemate, which makes the phasing uncertain (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). This burial, L106, is oriented

northwest-southeast, with the head to the southeast with flexed legs and the arms crossed over the pelvis. The rooms on the west side of wall 97 appear to have been domestic contexts containing pottery consistent with Period 6 (Murat Akar, Mara Horowitz, 2012 field report). These 'houses' were destroyed and burnt, which may correlate with the Level VIa or VIb destructions/disturbances noted by Woolley (Woolley 1955). In one of these destroyed rooms, room 108, the skeleton of an adult female was found (L105), apparently a victim of the destruction episode (Elizabeth Shiverdecker, 2009 field report).

Phase 3, assigned to Period 6, consists of a city wall 39, continuous with wall 97, with casemates built of mudbrick (Figure 38). The casemates have preserved floors and living deposits, and the area west of the wall appears to have been filled with burnt rubble (Murat Akar, Mara Horowitz, 2012 field report).

Phase 2 consists of a pottery workshop, which has three subphases of floors and kilns (Figure 39). This workshop consisted of a large room or yard on the northwest side, divided from an area of stalls by a long north-south wall (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). The stalls back wall 39, which was fairly narrow in this phase and built of mudbrick with stone foundation 126 (Michael Hayes, 2011 field report). This phase is dated to LB I, Period 5 (Murat Akar, Mara Horowitz, 2012 field report), and no burials were found within it.

Phase 1, found just below topsoil in the western half of the square, was highly disturbed and consists of several fragmentary stone wall foundations that seem to have bounded several rooms and exterior spaces, as well as the remains of an oven (Figure 40; Murat Akar, Mara Horowitz, 2012 field report). There were two subphases, 1a and 1b, and two individuals were found buried in this phase. In exterior space 5, Phase 1a, a badly preserved

in situ shallow bowl was found that had a cover on top and an infant ulna and femur inside (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). Only a few fragments of the infant remained inside the bowl, as L5 was directly below the topsoil.

Also found within the same topsoil matrix were beads, female clay figurines, badly preserved metal fragment AT2147, and metal pin AT2663 (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report), some of which may originally have been associated with this apparent infant pot burial, but due to the very poor preservation, it is impossible to be certain. The second burial, found beneath the preserved floor of room 16 and dated to Phase 1b, was burial L21. This parabola-shaped burial cut contained the articulated remains of an adolescent in a flexed position oriented northeast-southwest. Three beads were found near the individual's wrist, a shallow bowl was positioned over the skull, and a bronze ring was found near the pelvis region (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). Based on pottery analysis, Phase 1 has been preliminarily dated (Mara Horowitz, personal communication) to Period 4 (corresponding to Woolley's Level IV), which would place it into the late LB I and make it contemporary to the LBA burials in 45.71 and 45.72, including the Plastered Tomb. Since L5 was near the top of this phase, it is possible that it dates later than Period 4, but the fact that no infant pot burials were found by Woolley after Level IV would indicate that this dating is correct.

On the eastern side of the fortification wall lay the extramural cemetery. This consists of an open space with burials throughout, deposited in several layers of fill. The earliest fill excavated, level with the bottom of fortification wall 97, is cemetery fill 137. The soil of this fill was a dark brown color with a fine composition and hard compaction. Seven burials were found here, L136, L138, L139, L143, L149, L150, and L152 (Nicole

Zelsmann, 2012 field report). Few of these were well preserved; some may have been disturbed in antiquity, some by animal burrows, and four were infants and children under the age of three, which decay faster than other skeletons (Jonathan Weiland, 2012 field report). The orientation of these poorly preserved burials is usually clear, and the majority are oriented northwest-southeast, but only for two better preserved individuals is the body positioning clear. Both are on their left side, arms folded over their chests. One adult male, L143, had legs extended, and the other, L149, was an adolescent with flexed legs. L143 had a short-neck jar near the man's head, but L149 had no burial goods (Figure 41; (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field notebook).

L139, a child around three years old, and L150, an infant, were so poorly preserved that little can be said of them. The remains that survived seemed to be *in situ*, and there are no graves near enough at a similar level to argue convincingly that they were disturbed by ancient grave diggers. Most of what remained of both graves was fragments of the skull, shoulder, and ribs (Jonathan Weiland, 2012 field report). L138 was also a child between the ages of one and two years whose fragmentary remains were scattered across a relatively large area. Two vessels were found with L138, a short-neck jar and a hemispherical cup (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field notebook), the only example of this shape found in the cemetery to date. Though this appears to be a bone scatter, the remains, upon examination, seem to belong to a single individual (Jonathan Weiland, 2012 field report). There are no contemporary burials near enough to L138 to explain the scattering as ancient disturbance. The last infant grave, L152, is more complete than the rest and unusually rich for an infant burial. This individual was deposited on its back with its arms crossed over the chest and its legs extended and bowed slightly outwards, also an unusual position. Two metal rings,

one possibly of silver, a biconical cup, a globular juglet, two bead necklaces, and unidentified fragments of another vessel were all found with this infant.

The last burial in fill 137 is likely a secondary burial. L136 is in the vicinity of L116, and it possible that it was disturbed by the L111-L113-L116 cluster, discussed below, but the arrangement of the bones indicates that L136 is more likely a deliberate secondary burial (Jonathan Weiland, 2012 field report). However, unusually for the secondary burials found at the site, a biconical cup accompanied the burial: most of the secondary burials do not seem to be accompanied by grave goods.

Under fill 137, a floor was reached, the first secure floor in the eastern half of the trench. Although this was reached at the end of the latest excavation season, and therefore has not been thoroughly analyzed yet, it seems to be a domestic context, from the information available thus far (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field report). This floor level abuts the city wall and should thus have a containing wall somewhere in the northeastern baulk or beyond. Possibly the city wall system was at this time a series of terraces and walls interspaced with living areas (Murat Akar, Mara Horowitz, 2012 field report). This floor, and the rooms west of the wall, which were cleaned at the end of the most recent season, likely represent the beginning of a new phase, Phase 6 (Figure 42), but detailed analysis and examination of these layers will have to wait until the next excavation season.

Generally, the deeper burials in Area 3 are better preserved than the ones above (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report), as they were less subject to erosion and surface disturbance, but this does not seem to be the case with the fill 137 burials. This likely is because most of the burials from this fill were infants, which often do not preserve well. The paucity of adults here is remarkable, given the generally mixed age profile of the other

layers (Tables 4, 5), but without a larger sample, it is difficult to draw conclusions. The corresponding layers of Square 45.45 must be examined to see if the age profile of this layer is also different there.

Above fill 137, although no change in soil color or consistency is apparent, was locus 131. This fill contained seven burials, L116, L121, L129, L130, L133, L134, and L135 (Jonathan Weiland, 2012 field report; Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field report). All but one of these is oriented northwest-southeast, and all whose position could be determined had flexed legs (Table 5). Most are on their left sides, although there is one individual on its back with its legs flexed to the side, and one on the right side as well. The arms are in a mix of positions: crossed at the pelvis, folded up on the chest, and extended along the sides. There are few grave goods associated with these burials (Figure 43): three short-neck jars, a shoulder goblet, a piriform juglet, a clay animal figurine, and a globular trefoil pitcher with a braided handle (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field notebook) that resembles examples found at Ebla (see Chapter 4) in total.

There are two bone scatters in fill 131, L121 and L130. L130 was a relatively large scatter that seems to have been oriented roughly northwest-southeast and adjoins the southeastern baulk. It was not photographed or drawn, though, and descriptions of it in the excavation notebooks are scanty. Based on the remains collected from the locus, this scatter consisted of the highly scattered remains of an adult (Jonathan Weiland, 2012 field report). L121 is composed of a very large bone scatter atop an articulated individual in a flexed position. The bones from the scatter are made up of the fragmentary remains from at least three, and possibly as many as five, individuals. A short-neck jar was found in the burial, probably in association with the articulated individual. It seems that, in digging L121, the

grave diggers came across the remains of several other individuals, collected the bones, and reburied them atop the newly buried individual (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). There is no apparent arrangement or positioning of the scattered remains, making this a secondary burial of a different type than L136.

Above fill 131, a new locus, 124, was formed to bring the cemetery area down to the level of the Phase 3 wall below foundation 126 (Nicole Zelsmann, 2012 field notebook). Above this is cemetery fill 85, and eleven burials were found here, L73, L79, L82, L110, L111, L112, L113, L114, L115, L120, and L122 (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report; Elizabeth Shiverdecker, 2009 field report; Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Again, these are mostly northwest-southeast graves with individuals deposited with flexed legs, overwhelmingly on their left sides, with arms folded over their chests and torsos. Only three of these graves, however, contained any grave goods (Figure 44). L82 had a biconical jar near the skull of the small child interred (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report); L110 had a shoulder goblet near the face of the adult male inside (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report); and, L79 had a short-neck jar under the adult's chin, a piriform juglet above the skull, and the shaft of a toggle pin found in screening (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report).

Remarkably, there are three, possibly four, secondary burials in fill 85: L73, L112, L115, and L122. L115 contains the stacked and paired long bones of what may be a single individual, although there are three fibulae, so the other bones may belong to more than one individual. The skull, most of the pelvis, the hands, and the feet were missing from the grave (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). The orderly pile of bones is roughly parallel with wall 39 and there were no grave goods. L122 consists solely of two

crossed femurs, likely from the same individual (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). They were found immediately to the northwest of L120 and were probably interred either at the same time or shortly before or after.

The feet of L120 were beneath the level of L122, although the legs were flexed straight upwards, resulting in the knees being above L122. Additionally, the skull of L120 was higher than the pelvis, leaving the individual in a somewhat curled position (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Possibly the grave cut for L120 was too narrow for the individual to be laid out fully, resulting in the unusual positioning (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Alternately, if L122 was deposited at the same time, the space required for the crossed femurs may have decreased the space originally allotted for L120. However, this is not the only example of an individual buried with the legs flexed upwards and feet against the bottom of the grave (see L56, L78, and L149 for comparison, as well as L3 and L55 from 45.45).

L73 and L122 are part of a burial cluster of four graves, the latest of which is L78, in fill 69, above fill 85 (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). Slightly below L78, L73 consisted of the unarticulated remains of an adult in a poorly preserved burial cut directly above L79. Missing from the grave was the skull, the feet, one femur, much of the ribs and vertebrae, one arm, one scapula, and both clavicles (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report), although, as this burial continued into the northeastern baulk, it is possible that some of these bones remain inside it. Below L73 is L79, an adult oriented northeast-southwest with the head towards the northeast. The pelvis of L73 lay on top of the skull of L79, partially crushing it (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). The arms of the adult were folded across the chest, and the legs were loosely flexed. The burial was disturbed, likely in antiquity by

digging L73, and the femurs of both legs were moved, so that they were found upside-down (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). This was the only burial in this cluster with grave goods (see above).

L112 was the earliest burial, below L79, and had a clear grave cut along the northwestern edge of the grave. Inside was a dense bone scatter of skull, rib, and long bone fragments that may not constitute a true secondary burial but may instead be the result of displacement from burials L79 above and L121 below (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Another possibility is that the density of burials in this particular area resulted in older burials being disturbed and the fragments that were uncovered being reburied in this grave. Since L112 does not closely resemble the other secondary burials found in the cemetery, this seems the most likely explanation (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report).

A second cluster in fill 85 is made up of L111, L113, and L116 . L111 and L113 are the top two burials and are at nearly the same level (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). L111 is oriented northeast-southwest with the head towards the northeast. The skeleton is cut above the last thoracic vertebra and everything above is missing (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Based on the remaining pelvis and legs, the individual seems to be in a flexed position on the right side. East of the *in situ* remains there was a scatter of disarticulated bones that likely belong to this individual, but even taking this bone scatter into account, there is not a full set of remains. The reason for this strange phenomenon appears to be L113, which cross-cuts L111 in the opposite direction (northwest-southeast) where the upper body of L111 would be located (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report).

The bone scatter with some of L111's missing bones is slightly above L113, and it appears that, in digging L113 the Alalakhians came across the already buried L111. They

collected at least some of the disturbed bones and reburied them atop L113 when they had finished the grave, as seems to be the case with L121 (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Based on this sequence of events, it appears that L111 was buried not long before L113, although enough time has passed for the flesh of L111 to at least mostly decay, as the scattered remains are not in anatomically correct positions. What happened to the missing elements of L111, though, is impossible to say with certainty. They may have been reburied separately in a secondary burial, such as L115, or they may have been taken away for another use. Alternately, it is possible that they were buried in the bone scatter but have simply washed or eroded away and are not preserved. The last burial in this cluster, L116, is parallel to L111 and slightly below both L111 and L113 (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report) and thus predating both, and was buried sufficiently below L111 and L113 that it is in cemetery fill 131. The head of this adult male is towards the southwest and he faces east (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). He lies on his right side with his legs tightly flexed and his arms pulled in tight against his body and bent up so his hands rested against his chest. No grave accompanied any of these three burials.

Above fill 85, the soil was a dark reddish-brown color (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). This earth, fill 69, contained some mudbrick rubble, and seemed to be similar to the type of fill found within the rooms of Phase 2 in the western side of the square (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). The top had an area of large ceramic fragments lying flat upon what seemed to be a likely floor surface, though not well defined. Within this cemetery fill, a bead, a crude stamp seal, a metal fragment, and a clay weight were found, as well as large amounts of human bone isolates, faunal bones, and ceramic fragments (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). Four burials, L67, L70, L71, and L78

were found within this fill (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). L67 is the secondary burial that is part of the L65, L66, L67 cluster (see below).

The other three were all single burials oriented northwest-southeast. L70 is the burial of a small child lying on its left side with legs loosely flexed, arms crossed over the chest, and a piriform juglet near the skull (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). L71 is one of the best preserved burials in 45.44 and consists of an adult male with the left hand resting on the pelvis and the right hand folded up under the chin. His legs are extended and an *in situ* sequence of black and white vitreous beads in a white-white-black pattern were above his left hand as though he was buried holding a beaded necklace or bracelet (Figure 45; (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). The last individual in fill 69 is L78, a young adolescent deposited on the back with the right arm extended alongside the body and the left arm reaching across the body towards the right. The legs are extended and bent slightly upwards, and no grave goods were found (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report).

Above fill 69, the soil of the cemetery fills was much disturbed and constitutes slope wash, rather than true fill (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). Slope wash 38, directly above fill 69, consisted of crumbly and compact soil of a reddish-brown color with mudbrick debris (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). Thirteen burials were found in this fill: L32, L41, L42, L43, L52, L53, L54, L55, L56, L62, L65, L66, and L68 (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report; Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). Scattered throughout slope wash 38, almost all are single pit inhumations oriented in a roughly northwest-southeast direction, although infant bones and a few isolate adult bones were found very near the adult in L43, making this a possible multiple burial (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). It is impossible to tell, however, whether these were originally associated with L43

or were washed from some other burial. The state of preservation of these burials varies, so details of body positioning cannot always be determined, but, where it is clear, the majority are on their backs with their legs flexed to one side.

The positioning of the arms is more varied, and hands are crossed at the pelvis, brought up to rest on the chest or under the chin, folded near the shoulder, or, in one case, extended along the sides of the body. Six of these burials had grave goods, mostly in the form of personal jewelry and jars of different types, though typically each individual was accompanied by only one or two items (Figure 46). One of the richest burials in this group was L54, an adult who had a shoulder goblet just below the left hip and fragments of another jar (possibly biconical) near the feet, along with an earring found *in situ* at the skull (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). The head of a toggle pin was also found in screening (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field notebook). A piriform juglet, a short-neck jar, and a miniature jar were found in L55, L66, and L68, respectively (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report).

The most intriguing burial from this group, though, is L62. In a large, clear northeast-southwest burial cut were two adult mandibles, one facing north and the other facing south. The two jaws were placed in the southwest corner of the grave and no other skeletal fragments were recovered (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). It is possible that the rest of the skeletons have eroded away, but given that the grave cut itself was well preserved, this seems an unsatisfactory explanation. Indeed, this seems more likely to be a secondary burial, the first identified in this square. However, the fact that only the mandibles and part of one of the maxilla were present suggests that this may be some type of skull deposit. If this were the case, it would be highly unusual for this time period and region, given that

such deposits are more typical of earlier periods (e.g., Hodder and Cessford 2004; Parker Pearson 2006: 159-164).

Also in locus 38 is a burial cluster consisting of L65, L66, and L67 (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). The uppermost individual, the latest in the cluster, was L65, a small child on its left side with one hand folded up near the face and one hand extended towards the legs. Directly under the skull of L65 was the skull of L66, an older child or young adolescent on its back, with flexed legs and hands crossed at the pelvis. A short-neck jar lay on the crossed wrists (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). Slightly below L66 was the secondary adult burial L67. A seemingly complete set of adult remains lay in this circular grave, all disarticulated, with only the hands, feet, and patella missing, and no grave goods (Stephanie Selover, 2008 field report). L67 was sufficiently below L66 that it seems this was an intentional secondary burial.

Two other slope wash loci, locus 22 and locus 12, were composed of the same soil matrix above slope wash 38 (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). One grave, L31, was found in slope wash 22: a poorly preserved burial, half inside the southern baulk, oriented northwest-southeast, with only the fragmented skull and shoulder inside the square (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). A piriform juglet and a shoulder goblet were placed just above the individual's skull (Figure 47).

Above locus 22 was another slope wash layer, locus 12, where the soil, crumbly and compacted, was a reddish-brown color (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). No features were found here, although scattered small finds, such as beads and female clay figurines were found, along with ceramics and faunal bone, and one badly eroded burial, L7 (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). Although the northwest-southeast burial cut was

clear, only the badly preserved skull was found within the cut. Other small fragments of bone were found within and around the cut, but post-deposition processes appear to have destroyed this burial (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report). Overall, slope wash 12 was a poor context. The topmost layer, locus 1, was topsoil containing mixed modern debris, no recognizable features, two clay figurines, and ceramic and faunal bone fragments (Stephanie Selover, 2007 field report).

Square 45.45

Square 45.45 is located directly to the northeast of 45.44 and has been excavated for three seasons. It has not yielded any architecture to date, and, therefore, no phases have been defined. The slope of the mound is more pronounced here, causing excavation to begin on the western, higher side and proceed gradually east as the excavated area is brought down to the level of the slope (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). As a result, roughly half the square has been excavated thus far, since the rest of the slope is still below the level of the western half. This incline also forces the elevations of fill loci, particularly the topsoil locus, to be at slightly different elevations throughout the square, further complicating the stratigraphy.

At the end of the most recent excavation season, mudbricks began to surface at the southwestern edge of the square (Figures 48 and 49). Because there was not time remaining in the season to investigate them, they were left for the following season and locus 56, extending throughout the square, was opened. This is the first possible architecture found in 45.45, and it may be part of the fortification system seen in 45.44 (Murat Akar, Mara

Horowitz, 2012 field report), but further research will have to wait until excavation resumes.

Above locus 56, cemetery fill 38 is compacted mudbrick detritus (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Thirteen burials were in this fill, L39, L43, L44, L45, L46, L47, L48, L49, L50, L52, L53, L54, and L55 (Table 5; Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Almost all of these are oriented northwest-southeast, most commonly with the head to the southeast and with flexed legs. The age profile is split just over fifty percent adults and the rest infants, an unusually high number of infants (Table 6). All of them appear to be primary burials, and there are no likely secondary burials, although there is one possible multiple burial, L43 and L45. L43 is an adult, apparently female, with a piriform juglet near her pelvis and the partial remains of an infant or young toddler evidently placed on her chest with a short-neck jar just below it (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). This appears to be a woman buried with a child, presumably mother and child, and given the similar association of female and child in ATG/38/5, along with the other paired adult and child burials found by Woolley (discussed above), this seems to be the best explanation.

The other interesting infant burial is L44. This, like the other infant remains, was only partially preserved, but a piriform juglet (AT14615) in close association with the remains contained the deciduous teeth of a child (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). It is possible that these belong to the individual in L44, but further testing is needed to confirm this. Also with the infant were eight astragali, an s-curve jar, and a small worked stone (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field notebook). Though astragali were found with several of the children in Squares 45.71 and 45.72 and in a handful of the Woolley graves (see Table 7), these were the first found in 45.44 or 45.45.

A higher than normal percentage of the fill 38 burials had grave goods (Figure 50). Eight of the thirteen graves here were found with goods in a somewhat wider variety than seen previously. Biconical jars were found with L39 and L44; a globular juglet was with L47; short-neck jars were with L45 and L46; piriform juglets were with L43, L50, and L54; a bronze needle was found with L50; and, a shoulder goblet was with L54, in addition to the astragli with L44 (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field report). Also found in fill 38, though not in direct association with any burials, were a small stone vessel (AT14614), two piriform juglets (AT14615, AT14693), a hemispherical jar (AT14626), an s-curve jar (AT14666), two short-neck jars (AT14667, AT14695), a tablet fragment (AT15788), and a bead (AT15720) (Jonathan Weiland, 2011 field notebook). These were likely either displaced by slope wash and erosion from their original burial contexts or left as separate offerings in the cemetery area, although the tablet fragment is a particularly puzzling find.

Above fill 38, cemetery fill 8 was medium brown in color with small to medium particles (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report). Generally of a medium compactness, fill 8 also consists of mudbrick detritus with some inclusions of vegetation and plant roots. In general, this fill is more affected by slope wash and erosion than locus 38 and has inclusions of modern debris, ash, mudbrick, lime, pottery, faunal bone, human bone, and small artifacts such as beads and metal fragments (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field notebook). Twenty burials were found here, L4, L6a, L6b, L6c, L7, L9, L10, L11, L13, L17, L19, L21, L23, L25, L27, L29, L31, L33, L35, and L37 (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report; Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report). Many of these were fragmentary and poorly preserved, and almost nothing can be said about L13, L21, L25, and L37 because of this (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report). Where orientation and positioning was visible, over

half are oriented northwest-southeast, and all but one had flexed legs. The arms were mostly common flexed towards the face (Table 5).

L6 is the first of two burial clusters in 45.45 and was excavated as a single locus, rather than three separate grave loci, because two of the individuals were mostly in the southwest baulk, and it was not initially recognized that three articulated adults were in the area (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). While they were given Burial Numbers, along with the others excavated in 2008, this numbering system was not continued into the following years and did not take into account burials found outside of 45.45. Therefore, in keeping with the use of locus numbers used here to identify burials, these three individuals are referred to as L6a, L6b, and L6c.

L6b was the highest, and therefore the last interred. It is primarily within the baulk, and therefore little can be said of this adult burial, other than that it appears to be oriented northwest-southeast. Only roughly half of the skull and parts of the arms and legs, along with isolated fragments, were within the square (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). Directly below L6b is L6c, which is approximately half inside the baulk. Oriented in the same direction as L6b, this adult lies on its back with legs loosely flexed to the right. East of these two at the same level was L6a, which is again an adult burial oriented northwest-southeast (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report).

This individual was more complete within the square, although its entire midsection had been destroyed by an animal burrow (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report), and was lying on its right side with flexed legs and arms flexed upwards towards the head. No burial goods accompanied any of these three individuals. This individual was likely buried separately from L6b and L6c, which may have been interred either together or successively

(Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). As so much of the remains are in the baulk, it is difficult to determine how much time passed between the burials of L6b and L6c, although the closely superimposed graves suggests an aspect of intentionality, whether they were deposited together or within a short time of each other (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report).

There are several possible secondary burials in fill 8. L7 appears to be a secondary, disarticulated burial with the remains of at least one, possibly more, adult individuals that cuts an articulated adult burial at its legs (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). The primary, articulated burial is inside the southwestern baulk above the legs, but it is clear that it is oriented northeast-southwest and its legs are flexed. L21, the disarticulated fragments of skull and vertebrae, could be a badly preserved secondary burial, as could L37, another very fragmentary bone scatter (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report). L31 is slightly more complete, but no less mysterious.

Skeletal elements from multiple individuals are scattered throughout this locus (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report), which does not have a clear grave cut, with the long bones oriented northeast-southwest, pointing down the slope of the mound. This may be the result of slope wash pulling the long bones into that position, or it may be deliberate positioning (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report). If it is deliberate, this grave may have been a type of ossuary for the remains of multiple individuals (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report), but this is a tentative suggestion. The last possible secondary burial is L11, a poorly preserved adolescent's burial, oriented northwest-southeast, on its right side with arms and legs flexed. A bone from the heel of an adult was found near the adolescent's pelvis that clearly does not belong to the primary individual (Christopher Grant, 2008 field

report). It is possible this disruption is due to slope wash or that scattered remains of older burials, found while digging the grave of L11, were piled atop the primary burial (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report), as seemed to be the case for L121.

The only clear multiple burial is L29, which is composed of two individuals arranged head to toe in a northwest-southeast orientation. The two sets of remains have commingled dramatically (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report), suggesting they were buried together, although it is also possible that the original grave was reopened for the interment of the second individual. Three vessels, a globular juglet, a shoulder goblet, and a short-neck jar, were present (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field notebook).

Two metal grave goods, rare in 45.44 and 45.45, were found *in situ* in this group of graves, an astral-headed pin near the right shoulder of L4 (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report) and a copper-based bracelet on the left arm of the child in L35 (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report). Grave goods generally are more common in fill 8 than in many other loci, and nine of these twenty had some form of burial gift (Figure 51), typically a shoulder goblet or short-neck jar, although a piriform juglet was also found with L17, and a shell pendant was deposited with L19 (Kimberly Consroe, 2009 field report).

The topmost layer in 45.45 is locus 1, which is comprised of topsoil is, as with the topsoil of 45.44, the product of continued slope wash and erosion, as well as agricultural activity (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). The soil is grey brown with particles of medium to large size. On the surface, the sediment was extremely loose, but as it continued down it gradually became more compact, eventually reaching a medium compactness (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). It has inclusions of vegetation, modern debris, rocks, pottery, faunal bones, human bones, ash, lime and mudbrick. Within approximately

10 centimeters of the surface, human bone composed a substantial proportion of fill 1, due to disruption of the topmost layers of burials (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). Three quite fragmented graves were found in this fill, L2, L3, and L5 (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). L2 and L3 are both oriented northeast-southwest with the heads to the northeast. The child interred in L2 is too badly fragmented for the body positioning to be clear, although it is possible that more bones remain in the southwestern and southeastern balks (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report), since the burial abuts them both, but the adult in L3 has loosely flexed legs, the right hand crossed over the pelvis, and the left arm folded over the chest. L2 also had a clay female figurine and several clay beads with it (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). L5 extends from the southeastern baulk and is oriented northwest-southeast (Christopher Grant, 2008 field report). Only the flexed legs are visible inside the square, along with a shoulder goblet at the feet (Figure 52).

GIS Mapping Project, Cemetery Stratigraphy, and Burial Phasing

The lack of secure contexts in the cemetery area creates a problem in phasing and dating the burials that is common to cemetery areas and burials that are not associated with architecture. The grave goods, as evident from the above discussion, remain fairly consistent throughout, and therefore are not particularly useful for this purpose. For instance, L31, one of the uppermost burials in 45.44, contained a piriform juglet and a shoulder goblet, and so, on the basis of burial goods, could be assigned to the MBA. However, given that it lies slightly above the preserved height of wall 39, the uppermost courses of which date to Phase 2, an MBA date for this grave is impossible. Therefore, in

an effort to clarify the relationships both among the graves themselves and between the graves and the fortification architecture, a 3D GIS model was created.

The burials are both photographed and illustrated in the field before the bones and artifacts are removed, and these illustrations were scanned and used to create polygon shapefiles in GIS. Where possible, grave goods and burial cuts were created as separate shapefiles in order to more easily view selected data sets in the final model. For the burials found in more recent years, AutoCAD drawings were made, and these were used to create the shapefiles necessary for the 3D mapping. Once all the polygons were completed and properly placed in the squares, using the georeferencing and spatial adjustment tools in ArcMap, elevations for each burial were obtained from the excavation notebooks and added to the shapefiles, which could then be rendered in 3D. There are a handful of burials that were not fully illustrated, due to their especially fragmentary nature or particularly poor preservation, and in those cases, field photographs were substituted for the more detailed illustrations where possible.

In order to obtain reference points for the burial stratigraphy, some of the architecture in 45.44 had to be included in the model. The fortification walls 39 and 97 were chosen, as they were the clearest and largest architecture in the square and had been previously phased by the team. The walls therefore provided the most straightforward and accessible reference points. The shapefiles for the fortification walls already existed in the team's GIS database, and it was only necessary to add the elevation data and render the shapefiles in 3D.

Once the rendering was completed, the burials and fortification architecture could be properly projected in 3D in ArcScene (Figure 53). This model became the basis for the

phasing proposed here. Using several reference points from the fortification walls, such as the foundations of walls 39 and 97, and taking into consideration that the mound sloped downwards from the fortification wall, an approximate ground level of Phases 1-5 was established. Based on those approximations, as well as the levels of cemetery fill described above, the burials were grouped into the likely phases in which they were dug. For the sake of simplicity, these phases are the same as those used for the architecture in the eastern half of 45.44. It must be stressed, however, that, due to the difficulty of reconstructing the ancient slope of the mound, the phasing given here is a preliminary assessment and may need to be revised as excavations continue.

One of the key reference points used here was the foundation of wall 39. This stone foundation, locus 126, dates to Phase 2. The top of foundation 126, then, represents the minimum ground level of Phase 3. Likewise, the mudbrick foundation of wall 97, dating to Phase 5, was taken as an approximate ground level of Phase 5. Another point was the preserved height of wall 39, the use of which continued into Phase 2, implying that burials above this point dated to, at the earliest, Phase 1.

Based on these elevations, the preliminary phasing of the 45.44 and 45.45 burials is seen is Table 5. As 45.44 is higher up the slope, there are more later burials from this square and more earlier burials from 45.45 further down the slope. Because no phases have been detected in 45.45, the phases defined in 45.44 have been applied here to both squares in order to give a more comprehensive picture of the cemetery as whole. Dated to Phase 1, or possibly earlier, in 45.44 are L5, L7, L21, L31, L32, and L41. Phase 1 is represented by L42, L43, L52, L53, L54, L55, L56, L62, and L65 in 45.44 (Figure 54). Possibly belonging to early Phase 1 or late Phase 2 are L66, L67, L68, L71 in 45.44 and L2 in 45.45. Phase 2

consists of L70, L73, L78, L79, L82, L110, L111, L112, L113, L114, L115, and L120 in 45.44, as well as L3, L5, L6a, and L6b in 45.45 (Figure 55). Late Phase 2 or early Phase 3 is represented by L116, L122, L130, and L133. Dated to Phase 3 are L121, L129, L134, L135 in 45.44 and L4, L6c, L7, L9, L10, L11, L13, L23, and L27 in 45.45 (Figure 56). In 45.45, a group consisting of L17, L19, L21, L25, L29, L31, L33, L35, and L37 are assigned to Phase 4, as well as L105, L106, L136, L138, L139, L143, and L150 in 45.44 (Figure 57). Another group below these, composed of L39, L43, L44, L45, L46, L47, L48, and L49 are assigned to Phase 5, along with L132, L145, L146, L147, L149, L151, and L152, most of which lie just above intact Phase 6 floors (Figure 58). The last group of burials in 45.45 is well below these, and therefore are called Phase 6 here: L50, L52, L53, L54, and L55 (Figure 59).

These groups are an interesting feature of 45.45, and this pattern becomes very clear in the 3D model. They are separated by roughly 15-20 centimeters in each case and are clustered at quite close elevations (Figure 60). This same pattern is less clear in 45.44, and although similar layers can be drawn here, there are graves peppered in between the layers (Figure 61). It is possible that digging graves in 45.44, next to the fortification walls, was more common than the burials further away (in 45.45), and that the steady burials in 45.44 displaced soil down the mound, creating the layers of separation that are visible in 45.45 and essentially filling this lower area periodically. Alternatively, it is possible that the cemetery was deliberately filled from time to time to allow the burials here to continue without constantly disturbing earlier graves. However, if this were the case, we would expect to see clearer fill layers in 45.44 than exist.

Based on this phasing, the majority of the burials date to LB I, corresponding to Periods 4-6. The lowest layers of graves are Phase 5, corresponding to Period 7, and Phase 6, and these belong to MB II. Phase 6 likely represents an earlier phase of Period 7, although this remains to be investigated in future excavation seasons. Additionally, the Phase 5 burials are characterized by a high incidence of infant and child burials, as noted above for both 45.44 and 45.45. Over half of the 16 burials in this phase are children under the age of four or five years, and while infant and child burials are commonly found throughout the site, this percentage is remarkably high. It is possible that sickness or famine led to unusually high numbers of infant deaths during this time, although further osteological analysis is needed to explore this suggestion.

Area 1

There are five burials found in Area 1, along with two individuals who appear to have been the victims of disaster. Two of these, both in Square 32.54 and dated to LB II, will be included in the upcoming Volume 2 of excavation results (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). Found in a transitional deposit between Local Phases 2d and 2c, at the beginning of Period 3, L81 is the burial of a 3-5 year old child, and L85 is an adult male. Buried very nearby each other, both are oriented northeast-southwest with their heads to the southwest (Su Alara Acerol, 2010 field notebook). L81 was deposited on the right side with legs and arms tightly flexed, while L85 lay on his back with legs extended and arms crossed over his torso (Su Alara Acerol, 2010 field notebook).

This latter individual was buried in the threshold between two rooms that had been destroyed by fire, during Local Phase 2d (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming), and

his feet seem to have been pressed vertically against the northern wall. He was covered in plaster debris, probably fallen from the walls of the destroyed Phase 2d room (Su Alara Acerol, 2010 field notebook). A string of beads were around his neck and a bronze pin was near his left shoulder (Su Alara Acerol, 2010 field notebook). L81 also wore a string of beads, found *in situ* around the child's wrist, and a Syro-Cilician squat globular juglet was near the head (Figure 62). The grave was dug just south of L85 in a corridor space, and both L81 and L85 were buried below the intact Phase 2c floors, intruding into the Phase 2d ruins (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). This seems to indicate that they were buried in the perhaps temporarily abandoned ruins, before re-building was completed, although they may also have been buried under the existing Phase 2c floors (Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming). Either is possible, as both burials under floors and burials in abandoned areas are attested.

Two burials and the two victims of accident or foul play were found in Square 32.57. This square is placed in the courtyard of the Level IV palace, and thus its earliest levels are contemporary with the beginning of the LBA. Two victims of either disaster or foul play were found here: L119, an adult male found in Local Phase 3b in a corner of room 109 just inside the threshold (Bike Yazike ial, Tuzike ials , 2010 field notebook), and L247, a young adult female whose remains were found at the bottom of a well dated to Local Phase 2b (Nurettin Bataray, Gö(Nurettin B, 2011 field notebook). Both of these likely date to the early LB I or MBA-LBA transition period, represented by Periods 6 and 5 (Murat Akar, personal communication). Neither is a true burial in the sense used here, and therefore are not considered, although descriptions are included in the catalogue in Appendix C.

Burials L160 and L166 are dated to Local Phase 3d, which date to slightly earlier in the same period than the two accidental deaths (Murat Akar, personal communication). Both are oriented roughly east-west, although L160 is contained almost entirely within the eastern baulk, with only the top of the skull visible inside the square (Nurettin Bataray, Selen Inci, 2009 field notebook), so it is difficult to say for certain. This individual was buried below a street with three vessels above the head (Nurettin Bataray, Selen Inci, 2009 field notebook): a narrow-neck jug, a long-necked bottle juglet and an omphalos bowl, as well as shell pendant were found (Figure 63). A burnt area was within the small portion of the grave exposed, and the few skull fragments recovered also showed signs of burning (Nurettin Bataray, Selen Inci, 2009 field notebook). This seems to be an inhumation, though, not a cremation, but without the rest of the grave to examine, this remains a notable curiosity. L166 appears to be a bone scatter, with parts of the individual preserved in anatomical positions but other parts scattered somewhat farther away (Nurettin Bataray, Selen Inci, 2009 field notebook). There is no visible grave cut, and the burial is dug into a burnt deposit that had multiple pits dug into it (Nurettin Bataray, Selen Inci, 2009 field notebook). Within this burnt deposit were found beads, slag, amorphous pieces of metal, and chipped stone tools, any of which could have been disturbed from L166 (Nurettin Bataray, Selen Inci, 2009 field notebook). Since this burial seems to be contemporary with L160, whatever burned this area may also account for the burning of L160. Since L166 does not seem to be burnt, this grave may have been dug after the burning episode that scorched the earth and bones of L160.

The last burial in Area 1 is from Square 42.29, L44. Belonging to Local Phase 4, this is a young child's burial within an accumulation layer that may date to the LB I - LB II

transition period (Enrico De Benedictis, Andrea Squitieri, 2012 field notebook). The child was deposited in a northeast-southwest grave on its right side with the upper body prone and the legs flexed to the side. The arms were crossed over the stomach and the head was towards the southwest (Enrico De Benedictis, Andrea Squitieri, 2012 field notebook). A string of beads were found near the neck and a Nuzi goblet and two astragali were also included as grave goods (Figure 64).

Area 2

Six burials were found in Area 2, all of which probably date to LB II. Two very fragmentary burials came from 44.85: L15, dated to Local Phase 1a, and L20, dated to Local Phase 1b (Sneh Patel, 2011 field report). L15 consisted of an adult's skull set upright in association with portions of a pelvis. It is unclear if these belong to the same individual or not. A chunk of iron oxide was beneath the skull and may have been part of the grave (Sneh Patel, 2011 field report). This appears to be a secondary burial, given the non-random position of the fully preserved skull. L20 may also be a secondary burial or may be the result of slope wash and is composed of a partial skull next to a boar mandible (Sneh Patel, 2011 field report). This phase also contained the remains of several other animals, some of them articulated (Sneh Patel, 2011 field report), so it is possible L20 is not a true grave.

There is one additional burial from 44.85, L32, which consists of the remains of a middle aged female with one whole bronze pin (Figure 65) and two additional pin fragments, which may belong to the same piece (Sneh Patel, 2011 field report). This grave is dated to the phase below the others, Local Phase 2, and was oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the southeast. She was laid on her right side with her legs flexed and her

arms bent up towards her face. A very similar burial was found in Square 44.86. L18, the burial of an adult male dated to Local Phase 2 was oriented in the same direction. He was also deposited on his right side with his legs flexed, one arm flexed towards his face and one arm flexed at his waist (Enrico De Benedictis, 2011 field report). He, however, had no grave goods.

The last two burials from this area were found in 44.95, and both were in slightly unusual positions. L5, dated to Local Phase 1b contained a young adult female oriented northeast-southwest with her head to the southwest (Nancy Highcock, 2011 field report). Her legs were flexed dramatically so that her ankles were tucked up under the base of her spine and her face and body were angled slightly downward so that her arms were beneath her body (Nancy Highcock, 2011 field report). A bronze pin was found with her (Nancy Highcock, 2011 field notebook). It is possible that the grave dug for her was too small, accounting for this strange position, but since no grave cut was visible, it is impossible to say. Alternative, more sinister, explanations are possible, though. Her grave was found within a mudbrick detritus layer that seems to have contained architecture that, due to its close proximity to the surface, was not preserved (Nancy Highcock, 2011 field report).

In the phase below, Local Phase 2, the last burial from this Area, L9, was found. Another young adult female was buried in what may have been a courtyard space near a pyrotechnic installation (Nancy Highcock, 2011 field report). The grave was dug into Local Phase 3 in a northwest-southeast orientation with the head to the southeast. This woman was lying on her back, twisted slightly to the right, with her left leg tightly flexed against the base of her spine and her right leg bent so that her knee was against her chest (Nancy Highcock, 2011 field report). Her arms extended downwards to rest between her legs.

Again, this is a somewhat unusual position, and, again, it is possible that the grave dug was too small.

Area 4

One burial, L25, was excavated in Area 4, Square 64.94. This adolescent was found inside a building dated to Local Phase 2, Period 2, and remains roughly half inside the eastern baulk (Cihan Salman, Maggie Musclow, 2012 field notebook). The grave is oriented northwest-southeast, and the upper body was deposited on its back with the arms extended down to rest on the pelvis (Cihan Salman, Maggie Musclow, 2012 field notebook). The legs were flexed upwards, as with several of the other individuals from the cemetery. The grave goods with this adolescent are unusually rich compared to the rest of the 2006-2012 burials: a gold and carnelian pendant, two silver earrings, seven bronze bracelets found *in situ* around the forearms and ankles, and over 600 beads of metal, vitreous material, stone, and amber were found all across the torso (Cihan Salman, Maggie Musclow, 2012 field notebook), presumably from necklaces and perhaps a beaded shirt or burial shroud (Figure 66). No ceramic goods were found. This spectacular jewelry is all the more notable for belonging to such a young individual, indicating that this adolescent belonged to a prominent family.

Discussion

Similar to the extramural cemetery burials in 45.71 and 45.72, there is an overwhelming preference for northwest-southeast orientation in the 45.44 and 45.45 cemetery corpus, although a handful of burials from each Local Phase are also placed northeast-southwest.

In terms of site alignment, the northwest-southeast burials are parallel to the fortification wall, while the northeast-southwest ones are perpendicular to it. Rather than being oriented toward a specific compass direction, then, it seems likely that graves were dug with reference to the surrounding architecture of the city. This point is reinforced by the lack of clear orientation patterns among the Woolley graves, which may have been oriented with respect to standing walls where the graves were dug.

A variety of body positioning is seen, again similar to the Woolley and 2003-2004 graves, although the legs are typically flexed. Whereas the 2003-2004 burials were most often laid on their backs, more of the 2006-2012 individuals were deposited on one side or another. There seems to be a slight preference for the hands to rest on the chest, although other common configurations saw the arms crossed at the pelvis or one arm extended and the other arm crossing the body to grasp the extended arm, an interesting position that is not often attested in the literature of other sites (discussed in Chapter 4).

The age profile of the cemetery excavated in 45.44 and 45.45 is very mixed and covers the range of neonates and infants to older adults. As these burials are contemporary with Woolley's, this means that two different traditions of burying infants were practiced at the same time - one in intramural pot burials and one in extramural pit graves. This may be a reflection of social status, as the infant pot burials found by Woolley came mostly from the Royal Precinct, or it may be a difference in family origin or religious practices. The single (possible) example of an infant pot burial, L5, may also have originally been intramural, given the fragmentary wall remains from Phase 1, although the poor preservation of this phase makes this impossible to determine.

While there were several possible examples of secondary burials among both the Woolley and the 2003-2004 graves, it is in the 2006-2012 graves that this practice is definitively confirmed. Each phase after Phase 5 contains at least one probably secondary burial, with the best examples being L62, L115, and L122 in 45.44 and L23 in 45.45. These are distinguished from the bone scatters common in 45.71 and 45.72 by the deliberate stacking of the bones. Multiple burials, also seen among the Woolley and 2003-2004 graves, are also present throughout the phases, confirming that, although this was clearly not the norm, this was a burial practice that had a long history at the site.

The burial goods are mostly of the same types that have been seen above. Shoulder goblets and short-neck jars are common, and at least one of these closely related shapes is found in every phase. Piriform juglets are also frequent, as are the similar globular juglets. Beads and metal pins are found in a handful of graves, although these are less common than the ceramic goods. Metal rings, bracelets, and earrings are rare, though they do appear; unsurprising, given that this area seems to have been a cemetery for the less wealthy. Pendants and astragali are found much more rarely than they were in 45.71 and 45.72, an interesting contrast considering that the burials from these squares were presumably within the same cemetery area as the 45.44 and 45.45 graves, at least during Periods 4 and 6. No imported pottery was found in any of the 2006-2012 graves, which may again reflect the lower status of the individuals buried here. In general, as with the 2003-2004 cemetery burials, the burials in Area 3 are typically poorer and with fewer grave goods than Woolley's burials, and the range of goods found is more limited.

CHAPTER 4

Burial Records at Nearby Sites

In this chapter, the burial records of sites nearby Tell Atchana is examined to see what comparisons we can draw between funerary practices in the region and attempt to fit Alalakh into a wider picture of burial practices.

The Middle Bronze Age

Syria

Qatna: There are two areas with burials that have been discovered at MBA Qatna, both of them intramural. Infant burials have been found in Area T, east of the Royal Palace, where the MBA Eastern Palace was discovered by the Syrian team (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 61). The palace construction is provisionally dated to late MB IIA and was abandoned at the end of MB II (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 84), and six burials (Graves 39-40, 44-47) dating from the early MBA to MB IIA were found below the palace and seem have been cut into existing floors. All six were infant jar burials (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 73), four of which had no accompanying grave goods (G 44-47). The remaining

two, G 39 and G 40, are notable for their placement inside a large pit that was lined with stones, into which the pots containing the infants were placed, along with grave goods (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 73-74). G 39 was accompanied by two vessels, an s-curve cup and a small globular juglet of a local North Syro-Cilician Painted ware, a type rarely attested at MB Qatna (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 80). G 40's grave goods consisted of fragments of a Black-Burnished ware bottle and an oil lamp (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 80). These two burials are the latest before the construction of the Eastern Palace, are both dated to MB IIA (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 74), and resemble the two pot burials in the cemetery at Alalakh in terms of the grave goods deposited with them, although the Alalakh examples are extramural.

In Areas G and H, a MBA necropolis has been excavated by the Italian Mission under the LBA Royal Palace (Morandi Bonacossi 2011). Many of the burials here were destroyed by the later digging for the foundations of the Royal Palace. The earliest of the burials are dug into the residential remains of the preceding EB IV, a transitional EBA-MBA period. There are three types of burials in the necropolis: inhumations, pot burials, and rock-cut shaft graves, spanning from EB IVB to MB IIA (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:33). Additional burials here, of all three types, were discovered by du Mesnil du Buisson's excavations in the 1920's (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1927, 1930, 1935).

General similarities can be observed in the inhumations. The single adult interments, numbering at least six (Tombs 16, 17, 21, and 24-26), were placed into roughly rectangular grave cuts usually lined with mudbricks. As with Woolley's intramural graves at Alalakh, the cuts were oriented east-west, with the head of the deceased laid to the west and, typically, facing south (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:33). The dead were typically deposited

with their upper bodies supine and their legs flexed and turned to one side, usually the right, and one or both arms bent upwards so that the hands were near the face, and this position is also commonly found at Alalakh. Grave goods, which were present in the majority of the inhumations, were placed near the head and mainly consisted of ceramics, which Morandi Bonacossi interpreted as "a sort of tableware set made up of two or three pottery vessels, generally a plate or shallow open bowl, a high carinated bowl and a small flask, or at times only bowl and flask" (Figure 67; 2011:33). These vessels may have contained food offerings, and this is supported by the presence of sheep/goat bones in association with the bowl found in Tomb 16 (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:14-15). Copper-based pins, though rarely present, were also found in some of the tombs in the area of the deceased's torsos, one of which (from Tomb 25) had traces of thread preserved on it (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:23), presumably where it fastened clothing; there was also a metal belt buckle recovered from Tomb 26 near the pelvis, along with 10 shells which seem to have decorated the buckle (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:24-25).

Children were also interred in this area of the necropolis (in Tombs 18, 19, 22, and 23), ranging in age from several months to 10 years old. These burials were more circular in shape and poorly preserved (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:33). Except for one newborn in Tomb 22, these tombs also contained burial goods in the form of the same types of ceramics, found near the head, although fewer were present than with the adults.

Infant burials in cooking pots were found by du Mesnil du Buisson in the area (du Mesnil du Buisson 1930), some of which may date as early as EB IV, and the Syro-German Mission found an adult woman's grave potentially associated with three newborns buried in pots (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:27). These infant pot burials were not accompanied by

grave goods or ornaments (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:33), similarly to the early infant pot burials in Area T. A clear age dimorphism is present at the site, where newborn infants are buried in pots with no grave goods, children from a few months to several years are buried in circular pits with one or two goods, and adults are buried in semi-rectangular pits lined with mudbricks accompanied by a few more grave goods (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:34).

These pot burials and simple inhumations are clustered in the south-central area of the cemetery, leading Morandi Bonaccosi to posit that this area was reserved for low and middle class burials; this is based on the poorer quality and diversity of grave goods, as well as skeletal analyses showing that the adults in the cemetery "were not in poor health, but had often performed intense and frequently tiring and repetitive work" (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:34). The meager grave goods, the absence of weapons, and the scarcity of metal objects combine with the simple burial types to produce the impression of what Morandi Bonacossi calls "typical intramural earth burials pertaining to the low-middle classes of Syrian society in the first half of the second millennium BC" (2011:34), and many of the characteristics of these burials are also seen in the cemetery at Alalakh.

Elite burials were also present in the northern part of the cemetery, in a very different form than at Alalakh. Four rock-cut shaft graves, Tombs I-III and V, positioned in a semi-circle at the edge of the acropolis delineate the cemetery (Canci and Morandi Bonacossi 2009: 151; Morandi Bonacossi 2011:27). These multi-chambered communal tombs were cut into the bedrock and housed upwards of 40 skeletons, together with numerous grave goods (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:32). Tombs I-IV were discovered by du Mesnil du Buisson in the first half of the twentieth century (Du Mesnil du Buisson 1935: 144-164) and Tomb V was found in 2006 (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:27-28). Although Tombs II and

V were unfortunately looted in antiquity, Tombs I and III contained Middle Bronze IA - IIB pottery, bronze weapons, and personal ornaments and are interpreted as family tombs for Qatna's elite based on their architecture and the quantity and quality of grave goods (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:27).

Tombs I and V had a platform near the shaft entrance where grave goods seem to have been placed, and all four had a large central chamber with niches arranged around it; the niches had platforms where the dead were placed with additional grave goods (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:28). The entrance shafts were sealed with stones and were intended to be reopened for successive interments. When the platforms were full and

> there was no longer room available for further depositions, the bones of the deceased whose corpses had already been reduced to skeletons were disarticulated and piled up, usually against the tombs walls, or removed and placed in an ossuary located in a corner of the tomb or in an adjacent chamber, thus freeing space for new burials. (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:27-28)

This type of chamber tomb is typical of Middle Bronze Age Syrian burials and emphasizes a collective, rather than an individual, identity (Morandi Bonacossi 2011:27), subsuming the individuals and transforming them into an anonymous group of ancestors (Canci and Morandi Bonacossi 2009: 151). These also clearly have an influence on the LBA Royal Hypogeum (discussed below).

The MBA burials at Qatna show several similarities to the Alalakh burials. Although no communal shaft or chamber tombs have been found at Alalakh, the infant pot burials and simple pit graves at both sites have similar grave goods, roughly east-west orientations, and partially flexed positions. Although there does not seem to be an extramural burial area at Qatna, both have intramural burials in abandoned areas of the site. Missing at Tell Atchana are the elite chamber tombs that are seen at Qatna.

Tell Umm el-Marra: Tell Umm el-Marra, tentatively identified as ancient Tuba (Schwartz et al. 2006), is most well known for its impressive monumental tombs on the acropolis dating to the EBA, ca. 2300 BC (Schwartz 2007, 2012; Schwartz et al. 2003, 2006). After the area went out of use as a burial complex at the end of the EBA, a large platform was built over it in late MB I or early MB II (Schwartz et al. 2006: 634). This platform, called Monument 1, capped the EBA elite mortuary complex and points to "the persistence of the sacred character of the site and the use of social memory by Middle Bronze Age rulers referring to their predecessors to reinforce their authority" (Schwartz et al. 2006: 636). Dug down from the monument in the MBA was a stone-lined shaft or well sunk between EBA Tombs 4 and 10 (Schwartz and Curvers 2012: 98-99). In the shaft were eight levels of animal skeletons including a dog, two sheep/goats, two vultures, and two smaller birds, some of which were articulated. Below these ritually deposited, carefully layered animals, the shaft widened and the disarticulated remains of twelve individuals of different ages and sexes were deposited (Schwartz and Curvers 2012: 99). Below the human bones was a layer of late MB II-type pottery sherds and two headless female figurines (Schwartz and Curvers 2012: 99) of a typical MBA type that is also seen in a handful of burials at Alalakh. No grave goods, apart from the figurines, accompanied the remains, leading the excavators to posit that "the people must have been of an unusual status or suffered an abnormal death" (Schwartz and Curvers 2012: 100), and, indeed, osteological examination showed that "nearly all the skulls has evidence of blunt force trauma delivered before death" and had been killed by a blow to the head (Schwartz and

Curvers 2012: 100). Whether the deceased were sacrificial victims, military casualties, or executed criminals remains to be determined (Schwartz and Curvers 2012: 100).

This burial shaft presents an additional layer of ritual dimension, raising the possibility of ritual sacrifice, something seen in the EBA but more rarely in this area in the MBA. Further research remains to determine the identities and meanings of this interment, and it represents an atypical burial with no solid parallels yet discovered in the region.

Tell Leilan: In Operation 4 at the northeastern edge of Tell Leilan, near the city fortifications, an extramural burial pit lined with mudbricks from Period I, dating to the 19th and 18th centuries BC, was uncovered (Weiss et al. 1990). Cut down through layers of house floors, the pit was covered with a layer of mudbricks and contained at least two adult burials, although much of it was inside the south baulk and therefore not excavated (Weiss et al. 1990: 555). Both were interred in an east-west orientation with the head to the west, and Burial 5 was deposited in a flexed position. The positioning of Burial 6, partially inside the baulk, could not be determined, but burials from the earlier Period II, at the end of the EBA, were also in flexed positions, suggesting that Burial 6 was a flexed burial as well (Weiss et al. 1990: 555). The grave goods with Burial 5, which was found just below the mudbricks sealing the pit, were an unbaked clay oil lamp with incised decoration and two high necked jars, all found near the head. Near the head of Burial 6, three small jars were found (Weiss et al. 1990: 555). A dog skeleton was found in Burial 5 above the deceased's head, an unusual find that has been interpreted by the excavators as a dog buried with its master (Weiss et al. 1990: 555).

There is a strong degree of continuity between the late EBA and early MBA burials at the site. Both Period II and Period I burials are extramural and flexed in an east-west orientation with the head facing west (Weiss et al. 1990: 555). This orientation and positioning are also seen at Alalakh, as is the association of burials with the fortification wall and the location outside the city walls, although the burial pit itself is more similar to the ritual pit at Tell Umm el-Marra.

Ebla: Monumental tombs are rare in this period, and few tombs stand out as particularly rich or 'royal'. This makes the royal necropolis found at Ebla, Tell Mardikh, particularly unique. Ebla is most well-known for its EBA palaces and archives, but the city survived into the MBA and prospered (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 295). A royal necropolis dating to the MBA Amorite period was found under the Western Palace on the acropolis, which was built during MB I and destroyed around 1600 BC (Matthiae 1984). The palace itself closely parallels the contemporary Alalakh Level VII and Tilmen Hoyuk IIC3 palaces in both construction and layout and is in close proximity to Sanctuary B2 and Temple B1 (Matthiae 1979; Matthiae 1981; Matthiae 1984: 19-20). The bedrock under the palace is dotted with natural caves that were used as 'royal' burial chambers: at least nine possible tombs have been identified, although only three have been thoroughly excavated (Matthiae 1984: 23). These three, the Tomb of the Princess, the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats, and the Tomb of the Cisterns, date to the MB II period when the natural caves where modified so that they connected to each other (Matthiae 1984: 23).

The Tomb of the Princess is the oldest of the three, dating to the beginning of MB II, ca. 1800 BC, and had a dromos leading to a burial chamber with a mudbrick wall closing

its entrance (Matthiae 1981: 56; Matthiae 1984: 23). Found in the tomb were more than 70 ceramic vessels, including large painted jugs that "certainly belong to the same workshop that produced some fragments of Alalakh X ware" (Matthiae 1984: 24) and examples of jugs with braided handles similar to the one found at Alalakh in the cemetery grave L135 (Matthiae 1984: 23). Vessels of different types of stone, including alabaster specimens and a faience vase of a type found in rock crystal at Acemhoyuk, demonstrate the city's wide network of connections (Matthiae 1984: 24). Jewelry of precious materials and high quality workmanship in styles paralleling Cypriot, Palestinian, and Syrian examples include gold bracelets, gold astral headed toggle pins, granulated earrings, and a lapis lazuli scaraboid (Matthiae 1984: 24-25). Many of these are of similar types to those found with burials at Alalakh, especially with the intramural burials, such as the granulated earrings and the toggle pin, although the examples from Alalakh are in bronze, not gold (Figure 68).

The Tomb of the Lord of the Goats dates slightly later, to around 1750 BC, and was originally the richest, although it was disturbed (Matthiae 1984: 23). It had a vertical entrance shaft and short gallery leading to a square hypogeum on one side and a semi-circular hypogeum that was sealed by a stone wall on the other (Matthiae 1984: 23). The list of grave goods deposited in the tomb is long and rich. In the first, square, hypogeum were nearly 60 simple ware vases, many of them the s-curve jars and cups also seen at Alalakh (Figure 69), and the "remains of what was probably a chariot covered with bronze plaques" (Matthiae 1984: 25). The second, semi-circular, hypogeum was both larger and richer. Found here was a silver bowl inscribed with a name (possibly that of the occupant); bronze spearheads and fenestrated axes; flared rim globular bowls; bronze decorations of wooden furniture, including two bronze goats attached to pegs that the excavators speculate

may once have decorated the armrests of a throne and two small goat statues that may have decorated the top of the throne's back; bronze bells that have comparisons in western Iran; gold, lapis lazuli and carnelian beads; gold jewelry; gold-leaf appliqué sewn onto clothing; display emblems; Egyptian style rings and necklaces; stone vases, some resembling those found in the Shaft Grave; ivory amulets; and two Egyptian style limestone maces with ivory, silver and gold handles (Matthiae 1984: 25-28).

Two ancient cisterns, blocked up when the caves were converted for use as a tomb, constituted the Tomb of the Cisterns (Matthiae 1984: 23). A vertical shaft, adapted as a staircase, was added when the deceased was interred around 1700 BC (Matthiae 1984: 23-24). This tomb was robbed in antiquity and contained only fragments of bronze objects, scattered remains of gold jewelry, and some ceramic and stone vessels (Matthiae 1984: 29).

All three tombs "correspond to the classic tomb type of the Middle Bronze II in Syro-Palestine which had a funerary chamber and entrance shaft" (Matthiae 1984: 24). The location of this royal necropolis in the center of the settlement and in relation to monumental buildings (Sanctuary B2, Temple B1, and the Western Palace) is also seen in the third millennium in central Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Syria, as well as in the MBA at Byblos (Matthiae 1984: 29-30). The excavators propose that these three monumental buildings are functionally related to the royal necropolis, based on their spatial proximity, layout and the association of Temple B1 with Rashaph, god of the underworld (Matthiae 1984: 30). Sanctuary B2 is also thought to be related to a cult of the dead, with altars and slabs for offerings, reflecting a practice that is well attested in texts from the Late Bronze Age (Matthiae 1979: 566-567). It is thus "possible to view the Western Palace, which is

clearly related to kingship, the temple dedicated to the god of the netherworld, and the sanctuary used for the cult of the royal dead as a unitary monumental complex" (Matthiae 1984: 30). Ebla, then, may represent "the first archaeological evidence, just in Middle Bronze II of northern Syria, of the funerary cult of the royal ancestors" (Matthiae 1979: 568).

Tell Afis: In Area N of Tell Afis in the MBA, the acropolis fortification wall went out of use at the end of the MBA, a period of decline at the site, and the area was used as a burial ground (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012), a pattern mirrored at Alalakh. Four burials were found, all simple pit inhumations, dating to the transitional MBA-LBA period during which the acropolis seems to have contained "uninhabited and unbuilt areas" (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012: 179). The pits are oval shaped and were dug directly into the collapsed MBA wall remains. The deceased were deposited in flexed fetal positions and were accompanied by personal ornaments: necklaces and bracelets with vitreous and stone beads (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012: 173). In addition to these ornaments, Burial 1 contained four female figurines in an MB II-LB I transitional style, also seen in a handful of burials at Alalakh and the ritual pit at Tell Umm el-Marra, and the individual in Burial 3 was interred with a cylinder seal and 29 astragalus gaming pieces (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012: 173). Burial 4 was also associated with the burnt remains of one sheep and two goats, presumably representing a food offering (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012: 176). One of the burials, Burial 2, had no grave goods (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012: 173). The three individuals whose age could be determined were all children, ranging in age from around birth to eight years old (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012: 175). During a later phase of the

LBA, a fortification wall was again built in this area, covering over the burials (Di Michele and Pedrosi 2012: 179), which was also the pattern seen in 45.71 and 45.72 at Tell Atchana.

Anatolia

Tilmen Hoyuk: At Tilmen Hoyuk, north of Alalakh along the Amanus Mountains, several burials were found inside the blocks of the casemate walls (Duru 2003: 56). Dated to approximately the 18th century BC, the deceased were placed on the right side in roughly circular simple graves (Akyurt 1998: 83). As at Tell Atchana, there is an association between fortification walls and graves, and at least one burial at Alalakh, L106, was also inside a casemate.

Cilicia: At urban centers in Cilicia, such as Tarsus-Gozlukule, Mersin, Sirkeli Hoyuk, and Kinet Hoyuk, no burials have been found dating to the MBA. This would indicate that the dead were likely not buried on the mounds of the cities themselves, perhaps being interred at some off-site location, though naturally it is always possible that the excavations simply have not encountered the burial areas. We can confidently say, however, that intramural burial was, at the very least, not a common practice in Cilician cities, and may not have been practiced at all. Since one of the reasons for extramural or off-site burials of the dead is the claiming of territory (Pearson 2008: 132-139; see also Chapter 2), if the Cilician people were burying their dead off-site, it is possible that there was a concern for staking claim to territory in this area. The extramural cemetery at Tell Atchana, unattested at the Syrian sites (with the possible exception of Tell Leilan) with

which Alalakh shares so many features, may reflect influence from Anatolia and Cilicia, if this was indeed a southeastern Anatolian practice.

Levant and Palestine

Ugarit: Though most of the material at Ugarit is from the LBA period, MBA burials have been found in several areas. A single child buried in a jar was found in the MBA levels of the "Oven House" (Yon 2006: 63), and cemetery areas were uncovered in both the acropolis, as at Syrian sites and Alalakh, and the Lower City areas. On the acropolis, tombs dating from the MBA to LB I and II were found containing a wealth of bronze objects such as weapons and tools, as well as ceramics (Yon 2006: 99). This is the cemetery of the so-called "porteurs de torques", so named for the bronze torques preserved in many of the burials (Schaeffer 1949: 49-67). Also on the acropolis, east of the Temple of Baal, was an MBA necropolis in use from the 20th or 19th century BC to the end of the MBA in the Hyksos Period (Schaeffer 1932: 19; Yon 2006: 110). In the Lower City, MBA tombs were found in deeper layers of the 'Hyksos Quarter' (Schaeffer 1938; Yon 2006: 116), the Lower City West (Yon 2006: 121), and the Lower City East, where five intact chamber tombs (Tombs LIII-LVIII) date to the end of the MBA and contained bronze tools and weapons, along with ceramics from the Hyksos Period (Schaeffer 1938; Yon 2006: 121).

In the style of excavations during the early 20th century, when most of the MBA cemetery material was dug, the reports and publications focus on building techniques and objects found in the graves. Therefore, detailed stratigraphic information and maps of the cemeteries themselves are often lacking. However, it is possible to define types of burials utilized during the period, as well as some of the material from them.

In general, simple pit and shaft graves dominate the MBA cemeteries, all of which are intramural (Keswani 2012: 184). In the early MBA, "tombs were relatively deep pits lined with large stones and they contained multiple burials" (Keswani 2012: 184). One of the pits, containing the remains of more than 40 individuals, was over 10 m deep (Schaeffer 1932: 16). Schaeffer characterizes the pottery found in these shaft graves as local Canaanite styles (Figure 70), and in the accompanying illustrations, s-curve jars and pitchers, some painted in Syro-Cilician style, are evident (Schaeffer 1932: 16-18, Fig. 12; Schaeffer 1949: Pl. XLIII). Cypriot imports are present (Schaeffer 1932: Pl. XII: 2), though not as common as in LBA levels (Schaeffer 1932: 16). Spearheads, axes, toggle pins, bracelets and rings are all present, predominately in common Syrian styles (Schaeffer 1932: 19, Pl. XIII). These burial goods are richer and more numerous in the earlier levels of the cemetery; later graves have fewer and poorer goods, and tend to be either single burials or groups of only a few individuals (Keswani 2012: 184). These burials seem to resemble the elite tombs at Qatna or the pits at Tell Leilan and perhaps Tell Umm el-Marra more than the single burials at Tell Atchana, and may also be an expression of a communal ancestor ideology, as at Qatna.

In addition to these shaft graves, Schaeffer identified two types of simpler pit graves on the acropolis (Schaeffer 1931: 5). One is a typical inhumation "with grave goods arranged around the head, shoulders, and feet" (Keswani 2012: 184-185). While he does not elaborate on the types of grave goods deposited with these individuals, pitchers are visible in the published photos (Schaeffer 1931: Pl. IX: 3, Pl. X: 1), and these seem to resemble the Alalakh burials more than the other burials at Ugarit. The other type are secondary burials "in which the head was placed beside or under a large jar containing

the upper body, while the lower body, like the head, remained outside the jar" (Keswani 2012: 185). These burials (Figure 71) represent an interesting combination of two traditions, pithos burials and secondary burials, neither of which are widespread in the region at the time. Although, as we have seen, secondary burials are found at Alalakh, they are not in pithos or pots, with the possible exception ATG/39/93. Unfortunately, Schaeffer does not go into much detail concerning these burials (Schaeffer 1931: 5, Pl. X: 2, 3), so further discussion is difficult.

From the early MBA, the Cemetery of the Torque Bearers is perhaps the most well-known set of burials from this period. These mostly single cist burials with many bronze weapons and ornaments, but few ceramic goods (Schaeffer 1949: 53), may represent a "local manifestation at Ras Shamra of the phenomenon of warrior burials widespread elsewhere in the Levant at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age" (Philip 1995: 143). The principle graves goods present are a multitude of bronze objects: shaft-hole and fenestrated axes, spearheads, toggle pins, bracelets, beads, and coiled torques (Schaeffer 1949: 53-54, Fig. 18). This type of warrior burial has not been discovered at Alalakh, and seems to be a Levantine tradition.

The stone-built chamber tombs, which Ugarit is well-known for, begin to appear at the very end of this period (Keswani 2012: 184; Marchegay 2000). These are used for multiple interments and include axes and daggers resembling Cypriot styles, spearheads, and Cypriot pottery (Philip 1995: 144). Some of the earliest examples are Tombs XXXVI and LV, both built over the cist graves of the torque bearers and containing great quantities of Syrian and Minoan pottery, along with bronze weapons and ornaments (Schaeffer 1949: 50-52, Fig. 21). Others from the same period, such as Tombs LXV,

LVII, and LIII, bear strong resemblances to Aegean-style tombs, with corbelled ceilings and large square and rectangular chambers, and also had many Syrian and Aegean vessels, along with alabaster vessels, at least one example in the same shape and style as the alabaster vessels from the Shaft Grave (Hallote 1994: 128; Schaeffer 1949: Pl. XL-XLII; Woolley 1955: Pl. LXXX).

Palestine: In the north at Tell Dan, intramural infant pot burials, cist tombs with children, chamber tombs with multiple adult burials, and single interment shaft burials of adults have all been identified (Ilan 1995). Further south at Megiddo, shaft tombs, sometimes sealed with a layer of plaster, were common in MB I (Guy 1938: 135-137), while pit burials proliferate in MB II, as the shaft graves go out of use (Guy 1938: 137). Even further south, shaft and chamber tombs for multiple burials are most common at Jericho (Baker 2003: 188-190; Kenyon 1960). Warrior burials, defined typically as "burials interred with artefacts whose design indicates 'weapon' as their primary function" (Philip 1995: 140) are also found from the southern Levant to southern Syria (Philip 1995). In general, however, particularly for the southern Levant, the burial record is very mixed with regards to cemetery location, grave orientation, and tomb type, and "diversity and incongruity are the rule" (Hallote 2002: 105-106), and none of the grave types, apart from the widespread infant pot burials, are represented at Alalakh.

Summary

Northern Syria seems to display a loose set of funerary practices in the MBA. Tell Atchana and Tilmen Hoyuk, despite being in Anatolia, appear to share these practices

based on the data available, in contrast to the nearby Cilician sites in Anatolia. In Syria, intramural burial areas seem to dominate, often in areas of the acropolis, as at Ebla, Qatna, and Ugarit, and this is also seen at Tell Atchana. Another burial location is seen in association with fortification walls at Tell Atchana, Tell Afis, and Tell Leilan. There also is often an association of graves with abandoned areas of the site, including at Alalakh, possibly reflecting an opportunistic use of space.

Grave types vary, probably according to social status, with elite and royal individuals being buried in shaft graves at Ebla, Ugarit, and Qatna, which were used for multiple interments. Other individuals were buried singly in simple pit or cist graves, and infants buried in pots under house floors or in cemeteries are seen in many sites, including Tell Atchana. This reflects different ideologies at work for the elite and non-elite populations, where an emphasis was placed on family and communal identity among elite or ruling households, as materialized in their communal family tombs. Even at Ebla, where the tombs seem to have belonged to single individuals, the chambers were connected to create a single, large tomb complex that would have linked the deceased to one another.

There is a definite preference for flexed positions, although the details of this position can vary. This is manifested at Tell Afis, Tell Leilan, Qatna, Tell Atchana, and Tilmen Hoyuk. There also may be a trend of a roughly east-west orientation, visible in the majority of the burials at Qatna, Tell Atchana, and Tell Leilan although without detailed evidence from other sites, this must remain a tentative observation.

Common grave goods during this period were personal ornaments such as necklaces and metal pins, seen in graves from many of the above sites; s-curve cups and jars, present at many of the sites, and, slightly less frequently, bottles and female figurines. The cups,

jars, and bottles, along with the occasional animal bones representing meat offerings, probably contained food and drink offerings for either the deceased or the gods. They could also represent remains of a funerary feast – both practices are attested in texts from the MBA and LBA in the form of the *kispum* (Jacquet 2012; Morandi Bonacossi 2014) and *rp'um* rituals (Healey 1995; Salles 1995). Both of these rituals, which are similar, if not identical, focus on the need for the family to continue feeding and provisioning the dead in the afterlife and seem to have taken place regularly in honor of the ancestors.

The Late Bronze Age

Syria

Qatna: After the abandonment of the Eastern Palace at the end of MB II, when the Royal Palace and other monumental residences were built on the acropolis (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 71), the abandoned area was used as a burial ground (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 73-76). Eight graves were found here (Graves 33-38 and 41-42), mainly adults, dug either into the last occupation floors of the palace or into the surface remains covering it (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 74). The adults were placed on their backs or sides in simple circular or oval shaped pits and none were accompanied by any grave goods (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 74). Grave 38 is the only one that stands out from the others, marked by the presence of a small bottle behind the right shoulder of the interred child, a bronze pin at the other shoulder, and the large storage jar fragment sealing the grave (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 74). Three other sets of remains, found scattered, were in the fill above the jar fragment, and the excavators suggest that "these bones might be interpreted as an example of multiple deaths which occurred within a

short time: the impossibility of re-opening the grave, because the first body had not yet decayed, would have resulted in the subsequent bodies being interred above" (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 74).

Possibly contemporary with these burials or shortly afterwards, parts of the Eastern Palace ruins were reoccupied and modified by 'squatters' (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 76-77). The burials are not found in the same rooms that were used by these 'squatters', so it is too early to say definitively if these LB I occupants were the same group using the other areas of the palace ruins as a burial ground or not (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 76).

Of course, the most famous burial at Qatna is the Royal Hypogeum, and this tomb provides us with some of the best evidence for funerary rituals during this period. Below the Royal Palace and accessible from the palace itself, was a large tomb complex cut into the bedrock that was sealed by the destruction of the palace and thus was found unlooted (Pfälzner 2009). Over 2000 artifacts have been recovered from the tomb, including ceramics, stone sculpture, alabaster vessels, and jewelry and other objects in a variety of precious materials, such as gold and ivory (James et al. 2009; Pfälzner 2009, 2012). Pfälzner (2012) has reconstructed the mortuary rituals carried out here in detail and has proposed a sequence of four separate funerary treatments based on the LBA remains found *in situ*, although the tomb was likely constructed during the MBA (Burke 2014: 409).

First, the deceased was deposited in the western chamber on a stone bench for the primary burial; an older woman was found here laid out in a wooden box, dressed in rich clothes and jewelry, and resting on "up to 40 layers of textiles" (Pfälzner 2012: 208).

These textiles "must be interpreted symbolically as a wealth and status indicator . . . deliberately presented to the dead, either as a gift from third persons or as burial equipment" (Pfälzner 2012: 208-209). Once laid out this way, the body was rubbed with "a paste made of oil, resin, and earth pigments", preserved on the textile layers on top of the body (Pfälzner 2012: 209), and was then heated to dry out the corpse and "reduce body liquids [thereby improving] the hygienic conditions in the tomb and [facilitating] ritual activities" (Pfälzner 2012: 209). This process was demonstrated by analysis of the bones from many different areas of the tomb, all of which showed collagen alterations from the applied heat (Pfälzner 2012: 209). Pfälzner speculates that the anointing of the body with oil and the heating process took place outside the tomb, as no signs of fire were discovered inside (2012: 210). It seems probable, therefore, that these rituals were part of the funeral itself, likely carried out publicly somewhere in the city. Importantly, there was no food supplied for the deceased at this stage of the burial; stone vessels and three ceramic ones were placed under the stone bench, none of which should "be regarded as containers for food, but rather as containers for ointments or oils" (Pfälzner 2012: 211). The stone examples are alabaster, and are in the same shapes as the alabaster vessels from the Shaft Grave. Food and drink offerings for the dead, so widely attested in both archaeological and textual evidence, were not considered crucial accompaniments of the deceased at this stage. It may be that an initial funerary feast served the same purpose either before or after the primary burial.

After the flesh had decayed, the bones of the dead were collected from the wooden 'coffin' and deposited as secondary burials in the main and western chambers in stone sarcophagi and on wooden biers (Pfälzner 2012: 211-212). Most of the remains from the

tomb were recovered from these areas, and the remains of at least 13-16 individuals were found mixed in disorder in these areas (Pfälzner 2012: 211). The skulls were not present with the other remains and "were probably taken to a place where they could be venerated as part of the royal ancestor worship", perhaps a specialized room in the palace that has not yet been identified (Pfälzner 2012: 212). This transfer of the bones does not seem to be due to space considerations, as may have been the case with the elite shaft graves in the MBA, but rather as a step in the deliberate transformation of the deceased from individual to collective ancestor (Pfälzner 2012: 212-213), an ideology that was also at work in the shaft graves. This is supported by the ceramic bowls, jugs, and bottles deposited in the sarcophagi that contained food offerings preserved as traces of organic material (Pfälzner 2012: 213). These are likely the remains of *kispum* rituals (Pfälzner 2012: 213).

Sometime after the secondary burial and the *kispum*, it seems the bones were collected once again and moved to the eastern chamber, which served as an ossuary where the remains of at least six or seven individuals were mixed in a large heap, together with animal bones and offering bowls (Pfälzner 2012: 213). If the animal bones are the remains of *kispum* rituals and the bowls represent a continuation of food offerings, then this chamber "can be understood as the final resting place of the deceased, when secondary burial rituals had come to an end" (Pfälzner 2012: 214). At this tertiary stage, the identities of the dead seem to have been completely erased and they have been fully integrated into the group of ancestors who are still remembered and tended to with offerings (Pfälzner 2012: 215).

Another tomb, Tomb VII, was found below the palace (Pfälzner et al. 2011), and contained a large pile of remains, at least 100 individuals in all, deposited in wooden boxes as single bones or parts of skeletons, sometimes with grave goods (Pfälzner 2012: 215). Pfälzner interprets this as the result of a periodic emptying of the Royal Hypogeum, which was in use throughout the LBA, and which would have filled up eventually and needed to be cleared out (Pfälzner 2012: 215). Although there are grave goods present in this chamber, there are very few offering bowls, perhaps indicating that

> with their transfer into the secondary tomb (Tomb VII), [the dead] lost their direct connection to the locality of the collective ancestors of the dynasty . . . [Over time,] a distant, general and unspecific memory of the dead, as opposed to the living community, was still kept alive, while the link to a specific lineage group must have been lost (Pfälzner 2012: 215).

This quaternary burial phase represents a stage when the dead have lost the connection to the living as an ancestor group and have become part of a much larger collective dead (Pfälzner 2012: 217).

This elaborate and lengthy funerary ritual surrounding the royal dead at Qatna exemplifies the ideology of the period. While the rituals were surely not as elaborate for other members of society, they doubtless shared many of the same beliefs and rituals when burying their own dead.

Tell Afis: At Tell Afis, following the destruction of the MB II fortification wall in Area E, a few poorly furnished simple inhumations were dug in the area in LB I (Venturi 1998: 134). An infant burial was recovered in this area, its head covered by a bowl, with two silver earrings and a necklace made of frit, carnelian, and stone beads (Mazzoni 1998b: 195). Also from LB I, in the fifteenth century, there are simple graves with

"ointment bottles and necklaces with [frit] beads" on the acropolis where a small palace was later built in LB II (Mazzoni 1998a: 72). Again, the association with the fortification wall and the grave goods resemble those found at Alalakh.

Anatolia

Chatal Hoyuk: Also in the Amuq Valley, at Chatal Hoyuk, several simple inhumations were dug into burnt remains in the LBA (Pucci 2010). An Amuq Phase M building, associated with an external pebble paving, burned, and when "the building was not anymore in use but its remains were still visible and the external [paved] floor was still in use" the area was used for burials (Pucci 2010: 570). This seems to have happened in a relatively short time span, as the building's construction, use, burning, and the burials are all dated to the LBA (Pucci 2010).

Cilicia: At Tarsus, only one intramural jar burial, a possible cremation, dating to LB I was found, but the dating and stratigraphy of the burial are questionable (Akyurt 1998: 78-9) At the other major Cilician sites, Mersin, Sirkeli Hoyuk, and Kinet Hoyuk, again, no burials from the LBA have been found, suggesting that the probable off-site locations used in the MBA continued in use in this period as well.

Central Anatolia: Several off-site cemeteries have been discovered in central Anatolia dating to the late MBA and LBA, although many of these have suffered significantly from looting. Several different types of burials are attested in these cemeteries, including cremations, pithos burials, stone cist graves, and simple inhumations.

Cemeteries at Ferzant/Buget, Gordian, Kazankaya, and Yanarlar composed of pithos, stone cist, and simple pit graves have been found that all date to the late MBA and Early Hittite period (Akyurt 1998; Emre 1991; Özgüç 1986). Most of these seem to have gone out of use around the 17th or 16th century BC based on the grave goods found in them, which were typically quite poor and included beak-spouted pitchers, bowls, bronze pins and bracelets (Akyurt 1998; Emre 1991: 2-5; Özgüç 1986). Gordion and Yanarlar had a wider range of goods that included more personal ornaments, such as metal "rings, bracelets, pins, and pendants; necklace beads made of faience, metal and shells; wooden combs, seals, spindle-whorls and knucklebones" (Emre 1991: 5).

The cemetery at Ilica dates to approximately the same time period, but here the burials are mostly cremations, although there are a handful of stone cist and simple pit graves as well (Akyurt 1998: 44-47; Emre 1991: 4). The grave goods here were also quite poor and resembled the goods found in the cemeteries above: mostly simple ceramics, metal rings, knucklebones, and spindle-whorls (Akyurt 1998: 47; Emre 1991: 4).

The Osmankayasi cemetery was also composed predominantly of cremations and continues in use somewhat later than the other cemeteries, from about 1700 to 1400 BC (Akyurt 1998: 57-63; Emre 1991: 3-4). Some simple pit graves were also found here, but were damaged, possibly by the later cremation burials (Emre 1991: 4). Simple ceramics, shell ornaments, and one stamp seal make up the grave goods, leading to the conclusion that this "was a burial ground for the common people" (Emre 1991: 4).

Unfortunately, no cemeteries have yet been found dating to the later Hittite periods. A child's double pithos burial was found at Masat Hoyuk in Hittite occupation levels (Akyurt 1998: 55-56), and another child buried in a pithos was found at Alaca Hoyuk in

an LBA level (Akyurt 1998: 56). A handful of simple pit graves and cremations burials have been found scattered around Bogazkoy, but they are poorly dated (Akyurt 1998: 56-63). Although we have texts describing the elaborate funeral rituals for a Hittite king (Bryce 2002; Haas 1995), no royal burials have been discovered. From these texts, we know that the Hittite royal family practiced cremation, and from the Osmankayasi and Ilica cemeteries, we know that other classes did as well. The cremations at Tell Atchana, and the single possible cremation at Tarsus, therefore, may represent an influence from central Anatolia, but only in a general way, as "the contents of the cremation burials [at Alalakh] and the practice of placing the graves under the floors of houses do not differ from those of the inhumation burials [at the site]" (Bienkowski 1982: 81). They should therefore not be interpreted as direct importation of foreign ideas. At most, the people at Tell Atchana may have taken the idea of cremation and blended it together with their own customs.

Levant and Palestine

Ugarit: The stone-built chamber tombs built under private houses and palaces at Ugarit which begin at the end of the MBA flourish in the LBA and become increasingly elaborate throughout the period. The vast majority of them were found looted, but they occur commonly in private houses throughout the city (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 339), as well as under the Royal Palace (Yon 2006: 40). These tombs, built concurrently with the houses above them, typically consist of a stone staircase down to a dromos and a rectangular chamber with a corbelled roof (Keswani 2012: 186; Schaeffer 1937: 135). Intact tombs that have been found contain the remains of individuals of all ages and sexes

(Keswani 2012: 185) and grave goods consisting of local and imported pottery, stone and alabaster vessels, bronze tools, and jewelry made of metal, faience, and stone (Schaeffer 1949: 144-145, Pl. XXXI-XXXIII; Yon 1998: 19-20). These chamber tombs bear resemblances to LBA tombs at Enkomi on Cyprus (Keswani 2012), MBA examples on the Levantine coast (Ilan 1995; Keswani 2012), and LBA tombs on Crete (Belli 2003).

Palestine: There are several types of common burials in the region in the LBA. Caves used for multiple burials are common in the highland regions inland, individual pit burials are widespread in the coastal regions, and infant jar burials under houses are seen throughout the area (Gilmour 2002). Secondary burials, often in ossuaries associated with cave and rock-cut chamber tombs, are also seen in the region, and this practice has roots that date back to the Chalcolithic period (Brenova 2005).

Beginning in MB IIB at the site of Ashkelon, chamber tombs used for multiple burials were cut into the existing cliff face which continued in use until the end of the LBA (Baker 2003). Typical grave goods consist of bowls, jugs, juglets, and lamps, along with personal scarabs and toggle pins (Baker 2003: 67-69), and the dead were typically deposited on their backs with the legs flexed (Baker 2003: 70). At Megiddo, some of the MB I shaft tombs seem to have been reused in the LBA, and cave burials were common (Guy 1938: 137-138). Infant pot burials are also sometimes found in pits in these caves (Guy 1938: 137-138). Finally, at Jericho, only a single shaft tomb dates to the LBA containing three burials with carinated bowls, Cypriot Base Ring ware, pilgrim flasks, and other ceramic goods (Baker 2003: 190).

There are several interesting similarities between these burials and those at Alalakh. Given the lack of secondary burials seen elsewhere, it is possible that the secondary burials at Tell Atchana are connected to the practice in this area. Also the occasional scaraboid found at Alalakh may indicate a link with practices in the Levant, as these are also not seen in Syrian sites, and may even be an indication of Levantine individuals buried at Alalakh.

Summary

Once again, we see in Syria the use of abandoned areas of sites as burial grounds at Qatna, Tell Atchana, Chatal Hoyuk, and Tell Afis. Other trends that continue are associations with fortification walls, a preference for flexed positions, and personal ornaments and pins that continue to adorn the deceased. Unfortunately, evidence of non-elite graves decreases, except at Tell Atchana, and the bulk of evidence from Qatna and Ugarit, for example, is from royal or high-status burials. Ugarit in this period diverges from the rest of the area, perhaps under Aegean or Levantine influence, which would be unsurprising given its status as a major port city and intense exposure to the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean world.

While many of the basic customs continue, there is an elaboration throughout this period both in terms of the tombs themselves and the goods inside them. The Royal Hypogeum, Plastered Tomb, and the Ugarit chamber tombs showcase new types of elite tombs, and the goods inside them increasingly display foreign influences and imported objects. This indicates a new flourishing of wealth among the elites, who manifest their resources and social positions in the burials of their kinsfolk. Although richer elite burials

exist in the MBA, such as the necropolis at Ebla and the shaft graves at Qatna, the increasing number of wealthier burials in the LBA suggests that the region prospered from the increasing internationalism of this period. The elites may have experimented with different types of burials, such as the Plastered Tomb, as a way of displaying their wealth, and the foreign goods inside these burials display not only their access to resources but also their international connections.

Conclusions

Sites in northern Syria show continuity in burial practices from the MBA to the LBA, although there is a great deal of variety in the details of individual burials at different sites and in different time periods. In general, there is a tradition of intramural, flexed, single burials in relatively simple pits. These are commonly placed in abandoned or unused areas of cities and in association with fortification walls. Grave goods usually consist of personal ornaments in the form of beaded necklaces/bracelets and toggle pins and ceramic containers in the form of bottles and s-curve cups or jars that contained food and drink offerings. Towards the end of the LBA, increasing wealth in the region is reflected by the more frequent foreign styles of pottery as well as an increasing variety of grave goods. Additionally, the s-curve forms decline and are largely replaced with a wide variety of shapes, many of them influenced by foreign pottery styles. All of these trends are manifested at Alalakh.

An evident divide between these non-elite burials and the elite ones materializes different funerary ideologies for the two groups. Elites in the Syrian sites in both periods are more commonly buried in communal tombs that emphasize a collective identity as

opposed to the individual one expressed in the non-elite single burials. This is most explicit in the Royal Hypogeum at Qatna, although the roots of this tradition are seen in the MBA at Ugarit, Qatna, and Ebla. An increasing elaboration of these elite burials demonstrates the growing wealth of the upper class; the sharp contrast between these lavish tombs and the more humble burials with few or no grave goods may be a reflection of increasing social differentiation and a growing wealth gap in the prosperous LBA period. These elite and royal tombs may also be a symbol of the elites' rising power and a greater influence of the king and his inner circle. Apart from an increase in the wealth of elite burials, however, we do not see this communal ideology materialized at Tell Atchana, in an interesting departure from the other Syrian sites.

The provisioning of the dead, exemplified by practices such as the *kispum* ritual, is clearly important for all classes of society. While elite tombs have provisions and installations for these rituals, simpler inhumations also have offerings, and descendants of both groups could have returned to the burial sites to provide the deceased with continued nourishment. This indicates a religious belief about the nature of the afterlife and the needs of the dead that was shared by everyone.

To the southeast of the Amanus Mountains, Tell Atchana, Chatal Hoyuk, and Tilmen Hoyuk seem to share in these religious beliefs and funerary practices, based on the available evidence. This suggests that they participated in the shared culture of north Syria and were not dominated by 'foreign' rulers at Aleppo and Washukanni. Like the Syrian sites, Tell Atchana, which has the most extensive burial record, shows increasing elaboration and wealth from the MBA to the LBA. However, to the northwest of the mountains, there is a sharp cultural break with the Cilician sites, where it seems likely that

the dead were disposed of off-site. Lacking any evidence, no more can be said, but it is possible that the extramural burials at Tell Atchana reflect influence from Anatolian traditions. Anatolian influence may also be seen in the cremations at Tell Atchana, although more evidence is needed to support this.

Alalakh, then, may represent an area where the Syrian and Anatolian cultures converged, although the Syrian ideology appears to be the dominant one throughout the second millennium BC. It is possible that other sites south of the mountains, such as Chatal Hoyuk and Tilmen Hoyuk, also reflect Anatolian influence, but only further excavation and more thorough publication can reveal if this is the case.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion - Funerary Practices and Rituals

As is evident, the burial practices at Alalakh were rich and varied. Multiple traditions existed and were practiced simultaneously throughout the city's history, and many of the MBA customs continued into the LBA. The vast majority of the burials are simple pit graves with one individual (Table 8), which seems typical for nearby sites in the MBA and LBA, but considerable variation is present within this group regarding body positioning, grave orientation, and grave goods. Less variation is observed in the cemetery burials, with the exception of the Plastered Tomb, and if these are 'commoner' graves, this would not be surprising, as the more elite inhabitants would have had greater resources to personalize the graves of their kin that were not available to the rest of the population. In order to determine the basic funerary rituals, we should look first at the cemetery graves, and then at the elites to see how these basic rituals were elaborated.

134 individuals have been recovered from the cemetery from 2003-2012 and 150 intramural burials have been found in total. The age and sex profile of both groups is very mixed, as indicated in Appendix C and Table 9, and thus seems to give a relatively good

cross-section of the population. Unfortunately, the excavated squares in Area 3 are not preserved above Period 4. It is possible that a handful of the graves just below the modern surface of the slope were dug later than Period 4, but these are so badly preserved that it is impossible to be sure. This fact skews the LB II data towards the intramural burials: as no graves have been found from this period in the cemetery, it may be that the cemetery went out of use after Period 4, or it may be that the post-Period 4 graves have simply eroded off the slope of the mound and are not preserved. Given the long life of the cemetery, however, which lasted at least from Periods 7-4, and perhaps longer (although this must be confirmed by further excavation), the latter possibility seems more likely, and thus the apparent trend for more extramural burials until Period 4 and more intramural afterwards is probably based on an incomplete picture.

Throughout the cemetery's use, the majority of the graves are oriented northwest-southeast (Table 6), although, as discussed in Chapter 3, this seems to be in reference to the city wall. However, this roughly east-west orientation is also seen in MBA burials at Qatna and Tell Leilan, and may emerge as a significant trend with more evidence. The legs are typically flexed (Table 6), which is also common at surrounding sites, and the deceased is often interred in the fetal position, which has been theorized to symbolize rebirth (Ilan 1995). However, it is also common to see adults, particularly adult males, laid out on their backs, sometimes with their legs extended and sometimes with the legs flexed to one side. It is possible that this extended position conveys some particular attitude or function – the adult found in the wooden 'coffin', ATG/46/2, was fully extended, with the left hand crossed over the body to grasp the right, a position that is also seen in association with the extended burials in the cemetery. The adult man from the Plastered Tomb was also found

in this position, although the three women were found in more typical flexed positions (Table 4), providing some support for the suggestion that this posture was significant. It is too early to say with certainty what this indicates, but the association with adult males may point to an ideological association with family patriarchs or heads of households.

Burial Types

There is only one definite infant pot burial from the cemetery (see Table 6), along with two possible pot burials, although, as discussed in Chapter 3, L5 may have been intramural originally. Given that infant burials are common in the cemetery (Table 9), this indicates a distinction in funerary practices rather than a skewed data set. Simple infant pit burials were also found by Woolley in the Royal Precinct, along with the infant pot burials, throughout the levels, further confirming that infant inhumation and pot burials were practiced simultaneously. Since the vast majority of the infant burials reported from the region appear to be pot burials with few or no grave goods, the infant inhumations at Alalakh stand out sharply.

It is difficult to know what to make of them, as they do not appear to be the result of Anatolian influence, given the handful of young children found buried in pithoi from Central Anatolian sites (see Chapter 4). Jar burials in Mesopotamia, Syria, and the Levant have been interpreted as a symbolic return of the infant to the mother's womb, perhaps as a means towards a future rebirth (Ilan 1995; Kulemann-Ossen and Novak 2000), but this does not explain the infants buried in pits. Given the Near Eastern penchant for burying children under the age of two in pots under the floors of houses, the infants at Atchana that are not buried this way, which is the majority found at the site, seem to be different from

the pot burial group; they may belong to families of a different religion or ethnicity. It may also be that these graves, which often contain grave goods (particularly the intramural ones) are an expression of "mourners over-compensating for an untimely death with abnormal expressions of grief and loss" (Parker Pearson 2006: 77).

There are at least 16 multiple burials in the cemetery, 12% of the total graves from the area, two of which are composed of two adults, and five of which are composed of an adult and a child (Table 6). L43 in 45.45 and L03-3013 were identified as an adult female and a child, and L03-3049 and L03-3015 were identified as an adult male and a child. Combined with the eight adult/child burials found by Woolley, three of which were identified as a woman and a child (see Table 2), a long-lasting practice of burying infants and young children with adults is clear. Presumably, these are parents and children who died together or in close succession, though it appears not only mothers were buried with their children. It also appears that adults were sometimes buried together, although these examples may be the result of separate burials that have since been mingled. If they are true multiple burials, then these individuals may also be kin - husband and wife or parent and adult offspring. This is possibly the case with the Plastered Tomb, which may be the burial of a man with his wives or daughters (Boutin 2008; Yener 2013b).

Four of the multiple burials contain at least one individual that was secondarily buried. L121, L03-3014, and L7 in square 45.45 all appear to have disturbed older burials, the bones from which were collected and placed atop the newly interred individual, a practice that was likely necessary in the long-lived cemetery. The other multiple and secondary burials (L23, L62, L03-3010 and L03-3012) are more intriguing. These are all burials of the skull elements of two or three adult individuals, and from the evidence available, they

seem to be a type of skull deposit. Three of these, L23, L03-3010, and L03-3012, are provisionally dated to Period 6, early LB I, and L23 is dated here to early Period 4 or late Period 5 in the late LB I, thus spanning the beginning of the LBA. Skull deposits have been linked to ancestor cults in the Pre-Pottery Neolithic in both the Levant and Anatolia (e.g., Brenova 2005; Carleton, Conolly, and Collard 2013; Hodder and Cessford 2004; Parker Pearson 2006: 159-161), but are rare or absent in the MBA and LBA. Another significant difference to these earlier skull deposits is that they were found under house floors, whereas the Alalakh examples were found in the cemetery, and it seems likely, therefore, that these burials are more similar to the other secondary burials at Atchana than to the much earlier skull deposits.

In total, there are 15 graves that show evidence of secondary burial from the cemetery (Table 6), 11% of the total cemetery graves, the majority of which seem to be adults. Three are disturbed graves that were reburied atop a later individual, four are composed only of skulls, four are disorganized, two were deliberately arranged, and two are associated with burial clusters. In addition, there is one arranged secondary burial from 44.85, L15, one possible secondary adult-child burial from Woolley's Level VIII, ATG/47/1, and one secondary adult-child pot burial from the Royal Precinct, ATG/39/93 (Chapter 3; Table 2), which seems connected to the secondary pithos burials from Ugarit.

There is no evidence of gnaw marks or cuts on the bones in these secondary burials, indicating that they were neither exposed to animals nor de-fleshed with blades. This suggests that the bodies were either buried or held somewhere until most of the flesh decayed before being reburied. In the case of L67 and L73, both associated with burial clusters, these individuals may have been disturbed in digging the later graves.

Evidence for secondary burial in the Levant and Syria in the Bronze Age is well-established, particularly in Qatna's Royal Hypogeum, and the Alalakh secondary burials may be related to these. However, the Palestinian ossuaries and the Royal Hypogeum, which have been linked to ancestor cults and an ideology of the collective dead, are as different from the Atchana examples as the skull deposits of Jericho and Catalhoyuk are from the Atchana 'skull deposits' (Brenova 2005; Hodder and Cessford 2004; Kenyon 1960). A more functional explanation is also possible, where these individuals died somewhere away from Alalakh, and their remains were brought back to be buried in their own city, a practice attested in archaeology and texts in the Ancient Near East (e.g., Andrews and Bello 2009; Kucharek 2012).

Cremations are the only type of burial found exclusively in the Royal Precinct. Though there are eleven in total, 7% of the total intramural burials, six of them come from Levels I-O (see Tables 5 and 7), and thus may actually belong to the newly discovered Iron Age occupation. Cemeteries of cremation burials are found in Central Anatolia beginning in the late MBA (see Chapter 4), and isolated cremations have been found in Palestine and the Aegean that have been dated to the 14th and 13th centuries, including a cremation cemetery at Troy VIh (Gilmour 1995: 168). Other cremations in Syria have been found at Tell Sukas, Hama, Rasm et-Tanjara, and Tell el-Khanzourah (Gilmour 1995: 168), although these may date to the Early Iron Age (Bienkowski 1982).

There is sufficient evidence, however, of scattered cremation burials throughout the LBA in the Near East to be wary of citing Hittite influence as an explanation. Cremation may be practiced for many different reasons, including "death from plague or some other disease, reasons of race, religion, or social standing - either the deceased were social

outcasts or were of high social status. A rise in population, economic reasons, or lack of space" are also possible reasons for cremating individuals rather than burying them (Gilmour 1995: 169).

Given the sporadic nature of cremations in the LBA Levant and at Alalakh, though, population and space concerns can likely be ruled out. However, since groups of people are often marked as separate from the group by different burial, LBA examples of cremations could be explained this way; "for example, lepers, women who died in childbirth, twins, [or] murderers" are often buried differently from the rest of the community (Bienkowski 1982: 86), and the Atchana cremations may be examples of this phenomenon, along with the handful of other LBA examples. Given that the Atchana cremations are not an isolated incidence, a local tradition of disposing of specific members of the community by cremating their remains apparently existed in the region before the Iron Age, when this burial type becomes common.

Status

Judging by the grave goods, the intramural burials found by Woolley seem to represent the elite burials at Alalakh. The more limited range of goods, the smaller quantity of precious materials, and the fact that there are far fewer goods in the cemetery as compared to the Royal Precinct burials all confirm this (Table 7). However, this interpretation does not necessarily rest on grave goods alone. Woolley's 'Private Houses' more likely represent a temple complex, as discussed in Chapter 1, and many of his graves were found in and around these buildings. Other graves were found nearby the temple site and atop the ruins of the Level VII palace. Access to the temple, its precinct, and the palaces - in other

words, the Royal Precinct - was likely restricted, and the lower levels of society would not have had regular access.

Burying the dead in the Royal Precinct may have been the privilege of the elite. This location could have had the added prestige of proximity to the royal burials that, presumably, have not yet been discovered and are possibly underneath the Levels VII and IV palaces. This practice of burying the highest ranking individuals nearest the chiefs or kings has been demonstrated at other sites, such as Moundville (see Chapter 2), and would indicate that the individuals buried in the Royal Precinct were high level administrators, priests, and other wealthy and influential citizens.

However, the relationship between grave goods and status is not always straightforward and may be related more to idealized social roles or ideological symbols than to social status, based on parallels from anthropological studies (Parker Pearson 2006: 83-94). A possible indication that the intramural burials in the Royal Precinct did not belong to elite individuals is the Plastered Tomb, which seems to be an elite burial located in the cemetery. The possible monumentality of this tomb, at a site where this aspect of funerary practice is otherwise unattested, is striking. Monumental tombs "are representations of power . . . that [change] the lived landscape forever, forming a fixed point in time and space for future generations" (Parker Pearson 2006: 196), and thus are a powerful manifestation of social status, kinship ties, and land claims. The Plastered Tomb may have served as a monument to the power and wealth of the family who built it or to memorialize the deceased interred there and fix their memory in the physical landscape of the city.

Additionally, some of the intramural burials, such as the handful from the Level VI-IV fortresses (Woolley 1955; see Chapter 3), L81 and L85 in 32.54, and the handful of

seemingly poor burials from Area 2, are intramural but seem to resemble the cemetery burials more in terms of grave goods. They may have been buried intramurally as a response to a time of stress at the site, such as warfare (c.f., Akar 2012: 140), when for some reason the cemetery was inaccessible, or they may be evidence that there was little distinction in status between the intramural and extramural graves, and that factors apart from status determined grave location. Based on the available evidence, though, including location and both type and quantity of grave goods, the majority of the intramural burials in the Royal Precinct seem to belong to wealthier individuals. Such a display of wealth may have served either to affirm the status of a wealthy individual or family or to assert the right of individuals and families of lesser status to a place in higher ranks.

That no royal tomb has been identified at Atchana is surprising. The Shaft Grave is the feature that seems closest to such a tomb, but it does not appear to have been used as one, based on Woolley's evaluation (1955: 95-97). The ‘Aegean’ appearance of the tomb is unsurprising, given the strong Aegean connections of Level VII, and it may be that the chamber was intended as a royal tomb. If so, the Syrian tradition of royal burials beneath palaces at Ebla, Qatna, and Ugarit was combined with the Aegean chamber tombs to construct this burial chamber. However, if this is the case, it does not seem that the tomb was ever put to its intended purpose. Something seems to have gone wrong, either in the construction or in another, more immaterial way, and the intended tomb was walled up after a ritual of some kind was performed, perhaps a cleansing or offering ritual, that involved the deposition of at least five individuals. Without more evidence, we can only imagine scenarios, but the burnt wood and animal bones seem to be a sacrifice and the alabaster vessels recall funerary rituals, as they were also found in wealthy or royal tombs

at Ugarit, Ebla, and Qatna. They are also found in funerary and temple contexts in southern Mesopotamia from the third millennium BC onward and Egypt beginning in Predynastic times (Koster 2012). These vessels seem to be a shared type of funerary paraphernalia in northwestern Syria and, based on the evidence from Qatna, were used in funerals, probably as containers for perfumes or oils, and the examples in the Shaft Grave may have been used and included as offerings.

An important burial type that has not been documented at Alalakh thus far is the collective elite tombs found in other northern Syrian capitals such as Ebla, Ugarit, and Qatna. The collective ancestor cults that are linked to this mortuary practice are widely attested throughout the Bronze Age (see Chapters 2 and 4), and are not found at Tell Atchana. Either this ideology was not active at Alalakh or the tombs of this type have not been found, though each of these scenarios would be surprising. This point remains to be further investigated by future excavation, but it may be that the absence, or unimportance, of the communal elite ancestor cults demonstrates a shared Anatolian ideology, as these beliefs and rituals do not seem to have been practiced or materialized by Anatolians, based on available evidence.

Grave Goods

The functions and symbolism of grave goods is widely debated. It is difficult to determine their precise meanings, as they

> may include items which were possessions of the deceased, or they might be mourners' gifts to the dead. They may serve to equip the dead for the world of the afterlife, or to prevent the dead coming back to haunt the living. Grave goods may [also] be selected to serve as reminders of a person's deeds or characters (Parker Pearson 2006: 7).

The variety of interpretations and ethnographically attested uses of grave goods presents an array of possible analogies to draw on. Texts can help illuminate ancient understandings of grave goods and may provide descriptions of goods that are not often found by archaeologists, such as clothing. Texts from EBA Ebla, for example, reveal that "the basic goods were clothes for dressing the dead. When possible, the corpse was not merely wrapped in a shroud, and jewels and weapons were sent to high-ranking individuals" (Archi 2012: 20). Lists of clothing and jewelry for the dead range from a cloth for lower ranking officials and workers to mantels, belts, skirts, and daggers, as well as pins, hairpins, goblets, breastplates, and earrings of silver and gold for elite and royal individuals (Archi 2012).

These texts specify different funeral garb and jewelry for men and women: men were provided with weapons, and women with jewels (Archi 2012: 26). This emphasis on the dressing of the deceased indicates that the funeral gifts "served the purpose of displaying, for the last time, the social status of the deceased . . . and of identifying his/her status in the afterlife" (Archi 2012: 27). The personal ornaments - the pins, earrings, bracelets, and pendants - found in the Atchana graves (Table 7) may have served a similar purpose of displaying wealth and social status. Grave goods can also be linked to gender, age, occupation, or personal identity, though, and status should not be narrowly focused on. Given the fairly limited range of grave goods, particularly in the cemetery, personal ornaments may have been a way of individualizing the deceased by dressing them with their favorite items.

This may also be the function of the cylinder seals and scarabs found in the intramural burials (Figure 72): a seal/scarab buried with its owner as a type of identification. The fact

that these are found only in the intramural graves, and none have been recovered from the cemetery (Table 7), supports the conclusion that the elite officials and administrators were buried in the Royal Precinct, as these are the individuals most likely to own their own seal. The majority of the seals found in the graves are of Mitannian Common style (Collon 1982) and most of the seals seem to be roughly contemporary with the graves they were found in. There are several, though, that have been dated to as much as a century before the level the grave was assigned to: AT/39/54 was found in a Level II-III grave but is dated by Collon to the 15th century BC (1982: 86, no. 62), and AT/39/215 and AT/39/163 are from Level II graves and are also dated to the 15th century BC (Collon 1982: 85, 88, no. 61, 65).

As Level II dates to the second half of the 14th century BC, these seals were produced at least a century before they were included in the graves. Two examples from Level I graves may also be heirlooms, although, as discussed, the chronology of Woolley's Level I graves needs to be reexamined. AT/38/127B is from a Level I child and adult grave and is dated to the 14th century BC (Collon 1982: 72-73, no. 45); this grave, ATG/38/5, also included a 13th century BC seal, AT/38/127A (Collon 1982: 114-115, no. 102), indicating that AT/38/127B was an heirloom that was included in this 13th century (or possibly Iron Age) grave. The case is similar for AT/39/176, which was found in a Level I cremation, ATG/39/68, but dated to the 14th-13th century BC (Collon 1982: 115, no. 103). Both these graves may date to the 13th century, when only the temple area seems to have been in use (Yener 2013a), or they may date to the Iron Age. LH IIIA pottery from ATG/39/68 may favor the former, but this is a topic for future research.

The seals and scarabs, which were found with both child and adult burials, may therefore represent either family heirlooms, more likely in the case of children, who would

presumably not have used a seal themselves, or markers of identity indicating office or profession. They may also have had amuletic or apotropaic functions in the graves of children, as the female figurines that are closely associated with children's grave probably also had (Figure 73). The scarabs, additionally, seem to represent an imported Palestinian tradition, and may have belonged to individuals from the Levant who died at Alalakh. Interestingly, although stamp seals have been found at Alalakh (for reports, see Yener 2010; Yener, Akar, and Horowitz, forthcoming), no stamp seals have been found in graves, indicating that the practice of burying individuals with seals and scarabs is linked specifically to the Syrian-Mesopotamian aspect of the multi-cultural Alalakh.

Other types of objects that may be interpreted as identifying or personalizing markers are weights, found in two intramural graves, one from Level V and one from Level IV, which could have been associated with merchants' businesses or temple-palace officials in charge of distributing or collecting goods. The ivory libation pourer in the shape of a hand from the adult grave ATG/39/27 could be seen as an identifying marker of a priest. Similarly, the handful of spindle whorls found in adult intramural graves and with one of the females from the Plastered Tomb may be associated with weavers, or more generally with women, since weavers are often identified as women in texts (e.g., Wright 1998). As these are not frequent grave goods, though, it is clear that this type of identity marker, if that is what the function of these items was, was not common and was not considered a necessary component of the set of funerary goods.

A possible connection to Anatolian ritual practices is seen in the RLWm spindle bottles found in intramural graves (Table 7) and the Plastered Tomb. In all, these are found in 22 graves dated to Levels V-III, 23% of the intramural graves from these levels, as well as in

the Plastered Tomb, and in six of these graves there are multiple spindle bottles. Although they are found with both children and adults, over half the examples are in the graves of infants, children, and adolescents, as 12 of the graves belong to pre-adult individuals, and two additional graves are multiple burials of children and adults (Table 2). Although these are often considered to have originated on Cyprus, they are also associated with Cilicia and Hittite-related sites in both Cilicia and Central Anatolia (Kozal 2007; Yener 2013b). The examples from the burials at Tell Atchana seem to pre-date the examples found at Hittite sites, though, where they are found in imperial-period levels (Kozal 2007). On Cyprus, RLWm spindle bottles are common in tombs and may have contained oils, based on residue analysis (Knappet et al. 2005: 49; Steel 1998). This association with Cypriot funerary practices indicates that the closest connection for the RLWm spindle bottles found in graves at Alalakh may lie in Cyprus, rather than Central Anatolia, although ongoing research on the origin of RLWw may help to resolve the question.

Hittite ritual practices are attested at Alalakh after Level IV, and especially in Levels II-I, in the form of miniature model vessels which parallel those found in ritual pools at Hattusa (Horowitz, forthcoming), and Central Anatolian pottery types, including the lentoid flask, the pointed juglet (resembling Cypriot White Shaved ware), and the miniature model vessels, begin to appear at Alalakh in Level IV (Horowitz, forthcoming). One of these pointed juglets was found in a Level IV grave, ATG/39/60, and a lentoid flask was found in a Level II grave, ATG/37/26. These shapes are not closely associated with Central Anatolian funerary practices, however. Whether the RLWm spindle bottles represent Cypriot or Anatolian influence on funerary practices is therefore uncertain, but the weight of evidence at the present time seems to point toward Cyprus.

In contrast to these RLWm spindle bottles found mostly in children's graves, other types of imported pottery are found across the age spectrum. Cypriot Base Ring wares are found in both adult and child burials, LH IIIA wares are found with cremations and a Level I adult burial, Nuzi wares are found with both children and adolescents, and two Cypriot White Slip milk bowls were found in a grave with an unidentified individual (Table 2). These imported wares become more common in the intramural graves in the later levels, although they are not found in the cemetery, reinforcing the more common nature of the cemetery burials (Table 7).

Funerary Vessels

Texts from the MBA and LBA from Ebla, Mari, and Ugarit describe the *kispum* ritual that was performed regularly for royal ancestors (e.g., Jacquet 2012), but it is unclear how similar this ritual was to funerary rites carried out at the time of death and if it was widely practiced or restricted to royal families. The texts describing *kispum* rites list offerings of food and drink, mostly "various types of bread and oil, to which . . . gruel, [types of] sauce, honey or sesame are sometimes added" (Jacquet 2012: 129). Given that one of the most common types of grave goods are vessels of various types, and that funeral feasts and offerings are also commonly attested (Parker Pearson 2006), it seems likely that rituals similar to the *kispum* were performed during the funerary rites as well. The vessels in the MBA and LBA graves, then, may represent "accoutrements to feed the dead in the other world" (Parker Pearson 2006: 10), as is described in the texts dealing with *kispum* rituals. The overwhelming prevalence of closed pottery shapes above intermediate and open ones

(Table 10) indicates that liquids were associated more closely with funerary rituals at Alalakh, as opposed to food, since the closed forms are more suited to drinking or pouring functions. However, while "pots placed with the dead may contain liquids and foodstuffs . . . they may simply have stood for the symbolic meal partaken by the dead" (Parker Pearson 2006: 10). Further research is needed to clarify whether the funerary vessels at Atchana contained food and drink offerings or whether they were deposited as symbols of such offerings, rather than containing the food, oils, or drinks.

Shoulder goblets are one of the most common types of vessels in the region that are closely associated with mortuary rites, appearing in tombs at Tell Atchana, Ebla, Ugarit, and Qatna. At Alalakh, 11 of the cemetery burials and 14 of the intramural burials included these vessels (Table 7). Proportionally, they are much more common in the cemetery than among the intramural graves, as only 49 cemetery burials included grave goods, representing 37% of the total cemetery graves, as opposed to the 137 intramural burials with goods, representing 91% of the intramural graves. Therefore, of the burials with grave goods, 23% of the cemetery burials and 10% of the intramural burials contained shoulder goblets. They are found in graves of individuals of all ages and sexes. In the cemetery, they are typically either the sole vessel or are accompanied by a piriform juglet (Table 5). They appear in graves of the earliest levels for which burials have been recovered, Level VII in the Royal Precinct and Period 7 in the cemetery, and are in use through Level IV in the intramural and Period 4 in the cemetery graves (Table 7). This is a key point, as the shoulder goblet in particular is typically dated to MB II (Horowitz, forthcoming), and it illustrates the danger of dating graves solely by their grave goods. The shoulder goblet at

Alalakh continues into LB I, at least until Level IV, and the LBA graves containing them would be wrongly assigned to the MBA if they were judged only by their pottery.

Several fragments of shoulder goblets were also found in the fill layers of 45.44 and 45.45, likely displaced from graves, and several more were found on the west side of the fortification wall, in the casemates and on the floors of Phases 3 and 4. These also mostly likely came from graves that were disturbed during the fortification wall construction (Mara Horowitz, personal communication). This close correlation between these forms and burials is also demonstrated by Woolley's excavations, where "the majority of the examples . . . came from graves" (Woolley 1955: 328), indicating that this shape was specifically used for funerary purposes. The shoulder goblets may have been used in the funeral ceremony and then deposited with the deceased, contained liquid offerings for either the deceased individual or the gods, or they may have had some other symbolic meaning. The fact that these vessels seem to be of a non-functional shape, and that they could not have been easily eaten or drunk from (based on the high shoulder and constricted neck), also may indicate that they had a specifically ritual or symbolic function. Notably, although the majority of the vessels in the cemetery were of Simple Ware, the shoulder goblets are typically of Simple Fine Ware (Table 11), a thin-walled and hard-fired ware that is associated at Tell Atchana with elite contexts and seems to have been used for luxury serving, eating, and drinking functions (Yener, Akar and Horowitz, forthcoming).

The only other context shoulder goblets have been recovered from at Tell Atchana is 32.57, Phase 4, a mixed phase that seems to date to the MBA-LBA transition period. Given that the shoulder goblets seem to be specific to funerary contexts, this may indicate that the MBA apsidal building in this square (Yener, forthcoming), where the shoulder goblets may

originally have come from, was associated with funerary rituals, but this suggestion is tentative and must be tested with further research.

Other vessel forms that appear in both the intramural and cemetery graves are piriform juglets, short-neck jars, and globular juglets, all of which are also common from Levels VIII-IV, continuing to be used from MB II to LB I (Table 7). Biconical cups and jars are found in the cemetery in Phases 5-4, and also in Levels IV-V in the intramural graves (Table 7). Most of the vessels are Simple Ware, with the exception of the Simple Fine Ware shoulder goblets and the piriform juglets, nearly all of which are in Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished Ware (Table 11), a ware that seems specific to piriform juglets at Tell Atchana and that may have been imported rather than locally produced (Mara Horowitz, personal communication). The only other examples of this ware at the site are the two cylindrical cups from the Plastered Tomb (Figure 34.6 and 34.7). All the vessels in this ware, then, have been found in graves, indicating that these vessels were imported specifically for funerary rituals, most likely from elsewhere in Syria, given that they are also common in funerary contexts at other Syrian sites (see Chapter 4).

Other ceramic wares that appear more rarely are Grey Burnished Ware, Banded Ware, and Red Slipped Ware (Tables 12, 13). All of these are mainly found in Woolley's intramural graves, once again indicating the wider variety and more elaborate nature of the intramural burials' grave goods. The long life of both the vessel shapes and wares attest to the essentially conservative nature of funerary rituals at Alalakh.

Conclusions

That the mortuary practices at Tell Atchana were essentially conservative and long-lived is demonstrated by the types, location, positioning, and goods of the graves of both the cemetery and the intramural burials. Although the small number of LB II burials (Table 8) makes it difficult to determine exactly what effect the Hittites may have had on funerary rituals, the current evidence available indicates that the changing political hegemonies at the site did not seem to substantially influence the burial practices. The spatial analysis presented here demonstrates in particular the long life of the funerary vessels, both the shoulder goblet and the piriform juglet, which continued in use far beyond the time when they are traditionally thought to have gone out of use at the end of the MBA. This demonstrates the danger of using pottery as a means of dating burials and illustrates the need to re-examine the other graves in the region that have been dated by pottery alone.

Abandoned areas of the site were used opportunistically for many generations by the Alalakh elite as burial grounds inside the city walls, at the same time as the poorer citizens buried their dead outside the city's walls. Burying members of elite families in the ruins of the palaces may have associated them with the kings of days gone by. The fact that the temple was closely associated, both spatially and administratively, with the palaces may have also had the effect of creating 'sacred' ground where the elites were buried.

However, while many of the essential characteristics of burials remained the same throughout the city's history, there is also incredible diversity. This diversity cannot be accounted for by changing preferences throughout time, as the various types of burials, burial goods, etc., are used contemporaneously throughout the occupation at the site, and they must therefore be ascribed to ideological, religious, or possibly ethnic affiliations. Differences in the mortuary treatment of infants, buried both in pots and simple pits, seem

to have been related more to differences in religion or family origin, rather than changes through time. Cremation and secondary burial were both practiced throughout the site's history (Table 8), although both of these practices may have had more to do with practical concerns than ideological ones. Secondary burial, at least, may have been practiced within the domain of ancestor worship, and it is possible that the secondary burials are the manifestations of this common Syrian ideology at a site where the collective elite tombs found at other sites have not been found at Tell Atchana to date.

The strong link between mortuary rituals and the shoulder goblets and piriform juglets identified here as funerary vessels represents an important guide for future work that may allow the identification of buildings related to funerary rituals and cult, such as the apsidal building in square 32.57. Identifying these buildings in the absence of information from texts is crucial to being able to investigate funerary practices from another angle.

With this initial synthesis and analysis of the 284 burials from Alalakh completed, future directions for research have become clearer. In addition to identifying buildings related to funerary practices, the role and use of funerary vessels in mortuary rituals themselves can be investigated from anthropological and scientific perspectives, in addition to archaeological ones. The continuing analysis of the skeletal material, as well as statistical analyses, can provide future insights into the roles of gender and age in burial practices. Much work also remains to be done on the Woolley burial corpus, in particular the Level O/I graves. In light of the Iron Age remains at the site, dating these graves accurately is a priority for a fuller understanding of mortuary practices at Tell Atchana. This project therefore opens and clarifies new avenues on the remarkably rich funerary rituals at the site.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Akar, M.

2012 The Late Bronze Age II city of Alalakh and its social context in the Northern Levant: a re-examination of the post-Level IV stratigraphic sequence (I-III) based on new excavation results (2003-2010). PhD dissertation, University of Florence.

2013 The Late Bronze Age Fortresses at Alalakh: Architecture and Identity in Mediterranean Exchange Systems. In *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koc University, Istanbul, May 31-June 1, 2010.* Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 42, edited by K. A. Yener. Pp. 37-60. Peeters, Leuven.

Akkermans, P. M. M. G. and G. M. Schwartz

2003 *The Archaeology of Syria. From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16,000-300 BC).* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

Akyurt, I. M.

1998 *M.O. 2. Binde Anadolu'da Olu Gomme Adetleri*. *Bestattungssitten Anatoliens im zweiten vorchristlichen Jahrtausend (Zusammenfassung)*. Turk Tarih Kurumu Basimevi, Ankara.

Andrews, P. and S. Bello

2009 Pattern in Human Burial Practice. In *Social Archaeology of Funerary Remains*, edited by R. Gowland and C. Knusel. Pp. 14-29. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Archi, A.

2012 Cult of the ancestors and funerary practices at Ebla. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 5-31. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, Germany.

Baker, J. L.

2003 The Middle and Late Bronze Age Tomb Complex at Ashkelon, Israel: the Architecture and the Funeral Kit. PhD dissertation, Brown University.

Bartl, P. V. and D. Bonatz

2013 Across Assyria's Northern Frontier: Tell Fekheriye at the End of the Late Bronze Age. In *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koc University, Istanbul, May 31-June 1, 2010.* Ancient Near

Eastern Studies Supplement 42, edited by K. A. Yener. Pp. 263-291. Peeters, Leuven.

Bell, C.
2009 (1992) *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Belli, P.
2003 Aspects of Monumental Funerary Architecture in LBA Crete. In *Sea Routes: from Sidon to Huelva. Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC*, edited by N. Chr. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis. Pp. 325-338. Museum of Cycladic Art, Athens.

Bienkowski, P. A.
1982 Some Remarks on the Practice of Cremation in the Levant. *Levant* 14: 80-89.

Binford, L. R.
1971 Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Potential. *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. Thematic Issue, *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 25: 6-29.

Bonatz, D.
2014 Tell Fekheriye in the Late Bronze Age. Archaeological Investigations into the Structures of Political Governance in the Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont. In *The Archaeology of Political Spaces. The Upper Mesopotamian Piedmont in the Second Millennium BCE*. Topoi. Berlin Studies of the Ancient World 12, edited by Dominik Bonatz. Pp. 61-84. Walter de Gruyter, Berlin.

Boutin, A. T.
2008 Embodying Life and Death: Osteobiographical Narratives from Alalakh. PhD dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

2010 The Burials. In *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects: Excavations in the Plain of Antioch: Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh, Vol. 1: the 2003-2004 Excavation Seasons*, edited by K. A. Yener. Pp. 111-121. Koc Universitesi, Istanbul.

Braidwood, R. J.
1937 *Mounds in the Plain of Antioch: an Archaeological Survey.* University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 48. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Braidwood, R. J. and L. S. Braidwood
1960 *Excavations in the Plain of Antioch I: the Earlier Assemblages A-J.* University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 61. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Brenova, K.

2005 Secondary Burial in Ancient Israel. *Archiv Orientalni* 73: 1-12.

Brown, J. A.
1981 The Search for Rank in Prehistoric Burials. In *The Archaeology of Death*, edited by R. Chapman, I. Kinnes, and K. Randsborg. Pp. 25-37. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Bryce, T.
1998 *The Kingdom of the Hittites.* Clarendon Press, Oxford.

2002 *Life and Society in the Hittite World.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Burke, A. A.
2014 Introduction to the Levant during the Middle Bronze Age. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE,* edited by M. L. Steiner and A. E. Killebrew. Pp. 403-413. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Canci, A. and D. M. Bonacossi
2009 Vom Umgang mit den Toten – Friedhofe und Grablegen. In *Schatze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Konigreichs Qatna*, edited by M. Al-Maqdissi, D. Morandi Bonacossi, and P. Pfälzner. Pp. 151-153. Landesmuseum Wurttemberg, Stuttgart.

Carleton, W. C., J. Conolly, and M. Collard
2013 Corporate kin-groups, social memory, and "history houses"? A Quantitative Test of Recent Reconstructions of Social Organization and Building Function at Catalhoyuk during the PPNB. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 40: 1816-1822.

Carter, E. and A. Parker
1995 Pots, People, and the Archaeology of Death in Northern Syria and Southern Anatolia in the Latter Half of the Third Millennium BC. In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monography 51, edited by S. Campbell and A. Green. Pp. 96-116. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Chapman, R.
2003 Death, Society, and Archaeology: the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices. *Mortality* 8(3): 305-312.

Chapman, R. and K. Randsborg
1981 Approaches to the Archaeology of Death. In *The Archaeology of Death,* edited by R. Chapman, I. Kinnes, and K. Randsborg Pp. 1-24. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Chesson, M. S.
2007 Remembering and Forgetting in Early Bronze Age Mortuary Practices on the Southeastern Dead Sea Plain, Jordan. In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of*

Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars Number 3, edited by N. Laneri. Series edited by L. Schramer and T. G. Urban. Pp. 109-139. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Cohen, A. C.

2005 *Death Rituals, Ideology, and the Development of Early Mesopotamian Kingship: Toward a New Understanding of Iraq's Royal Cemetery of Ur*. Brill, Leiden.

Collon, D.

1975 *The Seal Impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 27. Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn.

1982 *The Alalakh Cylinder Seals. A New Catalogue of the Actual Seals Excavated By Sir Leonard Woolley at Tell Atchana, and from Neighboring Sites on the Syrian-Turkish Border.* BAR International Series 132. BAR, Oxford.

1986 The Green Jasper Cylinder Seal Workshop. In *Insight Through Images: Studies in Honor of Edith Porada*, edited by M. Kelly-Buccellati. Pp. 57-70. Undena Publications, Malibu.

1994 Bull Leaping in Syria. *Egypt and Levant* 4: 81-88.

Cultraro, M.

2007 Combined Efforts Till Death: Funerary Ritual and Social Statements in the Aegean Early Bronze Age. In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars Number 3, edited by N. Laneri. Series edited by L. Schramer and T. G. Urban. Pp. 81-108. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Di Michele, A. and M. E. Pedrosi

2012 Fortification and Burial Grounds in Tell Afis (Syria) Between Middle Bronze Age and Late Bronze Age. In *Broadening Horizons 3. Conference of Young Researchers Working in the Ancient Near East. Congressos 8,* edited by F. B., M. B., A. Gomez, C. Tornero, and O. Vicente. Pp. 169-182. Universitat Autonoma de Barcelona, Servei de Publicacions, Bellaterra, Spain.

Du Mesnil du Buisson, L. C.

1927 L'ancienne Qatna ou les ruines d'el-Mishrife au N.E. de Homs (Emese). Deuxieme campagne de fouilles, 1927. *Syria* 8: 277-301.

1930 Compte Rendu de la quatrième campagne de fouilles a Mishrife-Qatna. *Syria* 11:146-163.

Du Mesnil du Buisson, R.

1935 *Le Site Archeologique de Mishrife-Qatna*. Paris.

Durkheim, E.

1912 (2001) *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*, translation by Carol Cosman. Oxford University Press, New York.

Duru, R.

2003 *Unutulmus Bir Baskent Tilmen Hoyuk/A Forgotten Capital City*. TURSAB, Istanbul.

Ebeling, J. R.

2002 Why are Ground Stone Tools Found in Middle and Late Bronze Age Burials? *The Archaeology of Death*. Thematic Issue, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65(2): 149-151.

Emre, K.

1991 Cemeteries of Second Millennium B.C. in Central Anatolia. In *Essays on Ancient Anatolian and Syrian Studies in the 2nd and 1st Millennium B.C.*, edited by H.I.H. Prince T. Mikasa. Pp. 1-15. Otto Harrassowitz, Wiesbaden.

Felli, C.

2012 Funerary practices from the end of the Early to the Middle Bronze Age in northwestern Syria: the Middle Euphrates Valley. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 78-110. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Gates, M. H. C.

1976 Alalakh-Tell Atchana, Levels VI and V: a Re-examination of a Mid-Second Millennium B.C. Syrian City. PhD dissertation, Yale University.

1981 Alalakh Levels VI and V: a Chronological Reassessment. *Syro-Mesopotamian Studies* 4(2): 1-40.

Gilmour, G.

1995 Aegean Influence in Late Bronze Age Funerary Practices in the Southern Levant. In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monography 51, edited by S. Campbell and A. Green. Pp. 155-170. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

2002 Foreign Burials in Late Bronze Age Palestine. *The Archaeology of Death*. Thematic Issue, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65(2): 112-119.

Goldstein, L.

1980 *Mississippian Mortuary Practices: a Case Study of Two Cemeteries in the Lower Illinois Valley.* Scientific Papers No. 4. Northwestern University Archeological Program, Evanston, Illinois.

1981 One-Dimensional Archaeology and Multi-Dimensional People: Spatial Organization and Mortuary Analysis. In *The Archaeology of Death*, edited by R. Chapman, I. Kinnes, and K. Randsborg. Pp. 53-69. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Guy, P.L.O.
1938 *Megiddo Tombs*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Publications 33. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Haas, V.
1995 Death and the Afterlife in Hittite Thought. In *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, edited by J. M. Sasson. Pp. 2021-2030. Hendrickson Publishers: New York.

Hallote, R. S.
1994 Mortuary Practices and their Implications for Social Organization in the Middle Bronze Age Southern Levant. PhD dissertation, University of Chicago.

2002 Real and Ideal Identities in Middle Bronze Age Tombs. *The Archaeology of Death*. Thematic Issue, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65(2): 105-111.

Healey, J. F.
1995 Death in West Semitic Texts: Ugarit and Nabataea. In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monography 51, edited by S. Campbell and A. Green. Pp. 188-191. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Heinz, M.
1992 *Tell Atchana/Alalakh. Die Schichten VII-XVII.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 41. Neukirchener Verlag, Neukirchen-Vluyn.

Helwing, B.
2012 An age of heroes? Some thoughts on Early Bronze Age funerary customs in Northern Mesopotamia. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 47-58. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Hertz, R.
1907 (1960) *Death and the Right Hand*, translated by R. Needham and C. Needham. The Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois.

Hodder, I. and C. Cessford
2004 Daily Practice and Social Memory at Catalhoyuk. *American Antiquity* 69(1): 17-40.

Horrowitz, M.
forthcoming The Evolution of Plain Ware Ceramics at the Regional Capital of Alalakh in the Second Millennium BC. In *2nd Millennium Plain Wheelmade Wares*, edited by C. Glatz. Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, California.

Ilan, D.
1995 Mortuary Practice at Tell Dan in the Middle Bronze Age: A Reflection of Canaanite Society and Ideology. In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monography 51, edited by S. Campbell and A. Green. Pp. 117-139. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Jacquet, A.
2012 Funerary Rites and Cult of the Ancestors during the Amorite Period: the Evidence of the Royal Archives of Mari. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing, eds. Pp. 123-136. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

James, M. A., N. Reifarth, A. J. Mukherjee, M. P. Crump, P. J. Gates, P. Sandor, F. Robertson, P. Pfälzner, and R. P. Evershed
2009 High prestige Royal Purple dyed textiles from the Bronze Age royal tomb at Qatna, Syria. *Antiquity* 83: 1109-1118.

Katz, D.
2007 Sumerian Funerary Rituals in Context. In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars Number 3, edited by N. Laneri. Series edited by L. Schramer and T. G. Urban. Pp. 167-188. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Kenyon, K. M.
1960 *Excavations at Jericho*. British School of Archaeology, Jerusalem.

Keswani, P.
2012 Urban mortuary practices at Enkomi and Ugarit in the second millennium BC. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 182-203. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Keswani, P. S.

1989a Dimensions of Social Hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: an Analysis of the Mortuary Data from Enkomi. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2(1): 49-86.

1989b Mortuary Ritual and Social Hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan.

Klengel, H.

1992 *Syria: 3000 to 300 B.C. A Handbook of Political History*. Akademie Verlag, Berlin.

Knappet, C., V. Kilikoglu, V. Steele, and B. Stern.

2005 The Circulation and Consumption of Red Lustrous Wheelmade Ware: Petrographic, Chemical, and Residue Analysis. *Anatolian Studies* 55: 25-59.

Kucharek, A.

2012 "Asiatics will not lay you to rest" Egyptian Funerary Ritual and the Question of Mutual Influence. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 245-260. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Kulemann-Ossen, S. and M. Novak

2000 ^{d}Kubu und das "Kind im Topf". Zur Symbolik von Topfbestattungen. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 27(1): 121-131.

Kitchen, K.A.

1982 An Egyptian New Kingdom Scarab from Alalakh. *Levant* 14: 88.

Koster, T.

2012 Calcite-Alabaster as Grave Goods: Terminology and Sources. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 221-233. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Kozal, E.

2007 Regionality in Anatolia Between 15th and 13th Centuries BC: Red Lustrous Wheel-made Ware Versus Mycenaean Pottery. In *The Lustrous Wares of Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, Papers of a Conference, Vienna 5th-6th November 2004, Vienna 2007.* BAR International Series, edited by I. Hein. Pp. 141-148. BAR, Oxford.

Laneri, N.

2007a An Archaeology of Funerary Rituals. In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars Number 3, edited by N. Laneri. Series edited by L. Schramer and T. G. Urban. Pp. 1-13. University of Chicago, Chicago.

2007b Burial Practices at Titriş Hoyuk, Turkey: An Interpretation. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 66(4): 241-266.

2011 A Family Affair: The Use of Intramural Funerary Chambers in Mesopotamia during the Late Third and Early Second Millennia B.C.E. *Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association* 20(1): 121-135.

Lange, S.

2012 Food and libation offerings for the royal dead in Ugarit. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 161-181. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Lundstrom, S.

2012 Concerning the Dead – How to Bury an Assyrian King? Possibilities and Limits of the Archaeological and Written evidence in the Second and First Millennium BC. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 271-279. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, Germany.

Marchegay, S.

2000 The Tombs. *The Mysteries of Ugarit: History, Daily Life, Cult*. Thematic Issue, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63(4): 208-209.

Matthiae, P.

1979 Princely Cemetery and Ancestors Cult at Ebla During Middle Bronze II. *Ugarit Forschungen* 11: 563-569.

1981 A Hypothesis on the Princely Burial Area of Middle Bronze II at Ebla. *Archiv Orientalni* 49: 55-65.

1984 New discoveries at Ebla: the excavation of the Western Palace and the Royal Necropolis of the Amorite Period. *Biblical Archaeologist* 47(1): 18-32.

Mazzoni, S.

1998a Tell Afis 1996. In *Chronique Archeologique en Syrie* 2*:* 69-76.

1998b Tell Afis 1997. *Chronique Archeologique en Syrie* 2*:* 193-198.

Morandi Bonacossi, D.
2011 The Middle Bronze Age necropolis at Mishrifeh. In *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna, Qatna-Studien 1*, edited by P. Pfälzner. Pp. 11-37. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Morandi Bonacossi, D., M. da Ros, G. Garna, M. Iamoni, and M. Merlino
2009 The 'Eastern Palace' and the residential architecture of Area T at Mishrifeh/Qatna: preliminary report on the 2006-2008 excavation campaigns of the Italian component of the Syro-Italian Archaeological Project. *Mesopotamia: Rivista di Archeologia, Epigrafia e Storia Orientale Antica* 44: 61-112.

Morris, E. F.
2007 Sacrifice for the State: First Dynasty Royal Funerals and the Rites at Macramallah's Rectangle. In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars Number 3, edited by N. Laneri. Series edited by L. Schramer and T. G. Urban. Pp. 15-37. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Niehr, H.
2012 Two Stelae Mentioning Mortuary Offerings from Ugarit. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 149-160. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

O'Shea, J.
1981 Social Configurations and the Archaeological Study of Mortuary Practices: a Case Study. In *The Archaeology of Death*. New Directions in Archaeology, edited by R. Chapman, I. Kinnes, and K. Randsborg. Pp. 39-52. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Özgüç, T.
1986 The Hittite Cemetery at Ferzant: New Observations on the Finds. *Belleten* 197: 393-401.

Parker Pearson, M.
2006 (2005, 2003, 1999) *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Sutton Publishing Limited, Sparkford, England.

Peebles, C. S.
1971 Moundville and Surrounding Sites: Some Structural Considerations of Mortuary Practices II. *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. Thematic Issue, *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology* 25: 68-91.

1987 Moundville from 1000-1500 AD. In *Chiefdoms in the Americas*, edited by R.D. Drennan and C.A. Uribe. Pp. 21-41. University Press of America, Lanham.

Peebles, C. S. and S. M. Kus
1977 Some Archaeological Correlates of Ranked Societies. *American Antiquity* 42(3): 421-488.

Pfälzner, P.
2009 Residenz der toten Herrscher – Die Konigsgruft. In *Schatze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Konigreichs Qatna*, edited by M. Al-Maqdissi, D. Morandi Bonacossi, and P. Pfälzner. Pp. 154-203. Landesmuseum Wurttemberg, Stuttgart.

2012a How did they bury the kings of Qatna? In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 204-220. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, Germany.

2012b Levantine Kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age. In *Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World: A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*, edited by D.T. Potts. Pp. 770-796. Wiley-Blackwell, Chicester, UK.

Pfälzner, P., H. Dohmann-Pfälzner, C. Witzel, S. Flohr, S. Degenhardt, and A. Ahrens.
2011 Die Gruft VII: eine neu entdeckte Gradanlage unter dem Konigspalast von Qatna. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin* 143: 63-139.

Philip, G.
1995 Warrior burials in the Ancient Near-Eastern Bronze Age: the evidence from Mesopotamia, western Iran, and Syria-Palestine. In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monography 51, edited by S. Campbell and A. Green. Pp. 140-154. Oxbow Books, Oxford.

Porter, A.
2002a Communities in Conflict: Death and the Contest for Social Order in the Euphrates River Valley. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65(3): 156-173.

2002b The Dynamics of Death: Ancestors, Pastoralism, and the Origins of a Third-Millennium City in Syria. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 325: 1-36.

Pucci, M.
2010 The Chatal Hoyuk Publication Project: A Work in Progress. In *Proceedings of the 6th International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East May, 5th-10th 2008, "Sapienza" - Universita di Roma. Volume 2. Excavations, Surveys, and Restorations: Reports on Recent Field Archaeology in the Near East*, edited by

P. Matthiae, F. Pinnock, L. Nigro, and N. Marchetti. Pp. 567-580. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Renfrew, C.
1973 Monuments, Mobilization, and Social Organization in Neolithic Wessex. In *The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory*, edited by C. Renfrew. Pp. 539-558. Duckworth Publishers, London.

1976 Megaliths, Territories, and Populations. In *Acculturation and Continuity in Atlantic Europe*, edited by S.J. De Laet. Pp. 198-220. De Tempel, Brugge.

Ritner, R.
forthcoming A Reassessment of Scarabs and Egyptian Finds from the Woolley Project. In *Alalakh Excavations 2006-2010: The LBII Levels (Alalakh Excavations Volume 2)*, edited by K. A. Yener, M. Akar and M. T. Horowitz. Koc Universitesi, Istanbul.

Rutherford, I.
2007 Achilles and the Sallis Wastais Ritual: Performing Death in Greece and Anatolia. In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars Number 3, edited by N. Laneri. Series edited by L. Schramer and T. G. Urban. Pp. 223-236. University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Salles, J-F.
1995 Rituel Mortuaire et Ritual Social a Ras Shamra/Ougarit. In *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monography 51, edited by S. Campbell and A. Green. Pp. 171-184. Oxbow Books: Oxford.

Schaeffer, C. F.-A.
1932 *La Troisieme Campagne de Fouilles a Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Printemps 1931) Rapport et Etudes Preliminaires.* Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris.

1937 *La Huitieme Campagne de Fouilles a Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Printemps 1936) Rapport Sommaire.* Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris.

1938 *La Neuvieme Campagne de Fouilles a Ras Shamra-Ugarit (Printemps 1937) Rapport Sommaire.* Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris.

Schaeffer, F.A.
1931 Les Fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras-Shamra. Deuxieme Campagne (Printemps 1930) Rapport Sommaire. *Syria* 12: 1-14.

1949 *Ugarticia II. Mission de Ras Shamra V.* Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, Paris.

Saxe, A. A.
1970 Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practice. PhD dissertation, University of Michigan.

Schwartz, G. M.
2007 Status, Ideology, and Memory in Third-Millennium Syria: "Royal" Tombs at Umm el-Marra. In *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. University of Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars Number 3, edited by N. Laneri. Series edited by L. Schramer and T. G. Urban. Pp. 39-68. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

2012 Era of the Living Dead: Funerary Praxis and Symbol in Third Millennium BC Syria. In *(Re-)Constructing Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tubingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, edited by P. Pfälzner, H. Niehr, E. Pernicka, and A. Wissing. Pp. 59-77. Harrassowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden.

Schwartz, G. M. and H. H. Curvers
2012 Report on the 2010 season of the American-Dutch Expedition to Tell Umm el-Marra, Aleppo Mouhafazat. *Chronoique Archeologique en Syrie* 6: 95-108.

Schwartz, G. M., H. H. Curvers, S. S. Dunham and B. Stuart
2003 A Third-Millennium B.C. Elite Tomb and Other New Evidence from Tell Umm el-Marra, Syria. *American Journal of Archaeology* 107(3): 325-361.

Schwartz, G. M., H. H. Curvers, S. S. Dunham, B. Stuart and J. A. Weber
2006 A Third-Millenium BC Elite Mortuary Complex at Umm el-Marra, Syria: 2002 and 2004 Excavations. *American Journal of Archaeology* 110(4): 603-641.

Smith, S.
1949 *The Statue of Idrimi*. Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 1. London.

Steel, L.
1998 The Social Impact of Mycenaean Imported Pottery in Cyprus. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 93: 285-296.

Tainter, J. A.
1973 The Social Correlates of Mortuary Patterning at Kaloko, North Kona, Hawaii. *Archaeology and Physical Anthropology in Oceania* 8(1): 1-11.

1975 The Archaeological Study of Social Change: Woodland Systems in West-Central Illinois. PhD dissertation, Northwestern University.

1978 Mortuary Practices and the Study of Prehistoric Social Systems. In *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory, Vol. 1*, edited by M.B. Schiffer. Pp. 105-141. Academic Press, New York.

Taracha, P.
2009 *Religions of Second Millennium Anatolia*. Harrassowitz Verlag: Wiesbaden.

Tenu, A.
2013 Funerary practices and society at the Late Bronze Age-Iron Age transition. A view from Tell Shiukh Fawqani and Tell an-Nasriyah (Syria). In *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koc University, Istanbul, May 31-June 1, 2010.* Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 42, edited by K.A. Yener. Pp. 423-448. Peeters, Leuven.

Van Gennep, A.
1909 (1960) *The Rites of Passage*, translated by M. B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Venturi, F.
1998 The Late Bronze II and Early Iron I Levels. In *Tell Afis (Syria). Scavi sull'acropoli 1988-1992. The 1988-1992 Excavations on the Acropolis*, edited by S.M. Cecchini and S. Mazzoni. Pp. 123-162. Edizioni ETS, Pisa.

von Dassow, E.
2007 *State and society in the Late Bronze Age: Alalah under the Mittani Empire.* Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians 17. CDL Press, Bethesda.

Weiss, H., P. Akkermans, G. J. Stein, D. Parayre and R. Whiting.
1990 1985 excavations at Tell Leilan, Syria. *American Journal of Archaeology* 94(4): 529-581.

Welton, L., S. Batiuk, and T. P. Harrison, with contributions by D. R. Lipovitch and M. Capper
2011 Tell Tayinat in the late third millennium. Recent invsetigations of the Tayinat Archaeological Project, 2008-2010. *Anatolica* 37:147-185.

Wiseman, D.J.
1953 *The Alalakh Tablets.* Occasional Publications of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara 2. British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara, London.

Woolley, C. L.

1953 *A Forgotten Kingdom: a Record of the Results Obtained from the Recent Important Excavation of Two Mounds, Atchana and al Mina, in the Turkish Hatay*. Penguin Books, Baltimore.

1955 *Alalakh: an Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949*. Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London 18. Oxford University Press, London.

Wright, R. P.

1998 Crafting Social Identity in Ur III Southern Mesopotamia. In *Craft and Social Identity*. Archaeological Papers No. 8, edited by C. Costin and R. Wright. Pp. 57-70. American Anthropological Association, Washington, D.C.

Yener, K.A.

2007 The Anatolian Middle Bronze Age Kingdoms and Alalakh: Mukish, Kanesh, and Trade. *Anatolian Studies* 57: 151-160.

2011 Hittite Metals at the Frontier: A Three-Spiked Battle Axe from Alalakh. In *Metallurgy: Understanding How, Learning Why. Studies in Honor of James D. Muhly*, edited by P. P. Betancourt and S. C. Ferrence. Pp. 265-272. INSTAP Academic Press: Philadelphia.

2013a New excavations at Alalakh: The 14th - 12th centuries BC. In *Across the Border: Late Bronze-Iron Age Relations Between Syria and Anatolia. Proceedings of a symposium held at the Research Center of Anatolian Studies, Koc University, Istanbul, May 31-June 1, 2010.* Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement 42, edited by K.A. Yener. Pp. 11-37. Peeters, Leuven.

2013b A Plaster Encased Multiple Burial at Alalakh: Cist Tomb 3017, in R. B. Koehl ed., *Amilla: The Quest for Excellence. Studies in Honor of Günter Kopcke* on the occasion of his 75 Birthday. INSTAP Academic Press, Philadelphia.

forthcoming A monumental Middle Bronze Age apsidal building at Alalakh. In *NOSTOI. Indigenous culture, migration and integration in the Aegean Islands and western Anatolia during the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age*, edited by N. Stampolidis, C. Maner, and K. Kopanias. Koc University Press, Istanbul.

Yener, K.A., ed.

2005 *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects.* Vol 1 of *Surveys in the plain of Antioch and Orontes River Delta, Turkey, 1995-2002*. Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Chicago.

2010 *The Amuq Valley Regional Projects: Excavations in the Plain of Antioch: Tell Atchana, Ancient Alalakh, Vol. 1: the 2003-2004 Excavation Seasons.* Koc Universitesi. Istanbul.

Yener, K. A., M. Akar and M. T. Horowitz
forthcoming *Alalakh Excavations 2006-2010: The LBII Levels (Alalakh Excavations Volume 2).* Koc Universitesi, Istanbul.

Yon, M.
1998 Ras Shamra-Ougarit 1994. In *Chronique Archeologique en Syrie* 2*:* 15-25.

2006 *The city of Ugarit at Tell Ras Shamra.* Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

TABLES

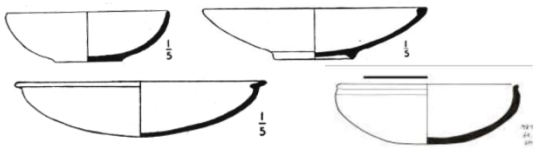
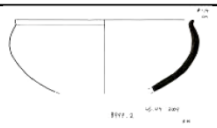
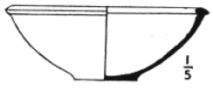
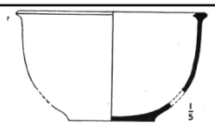
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
Shallow Bowl	T05:4	8	
Rounded Shallow Bowl	T05:4a	5, 15	
Conical Shallow Bowl with Simple Rim	T05:4b	4b, 6a, 164	
Inturning Shallow Bowl with Simple Rim	T05:4c	11	
Flared Shallow Bowl	T05:4e	7a	
Inturning Hemispherical Bowl	T05:5b	30	
Large Hemispherical Bowl with Complex Rims	T05:5d	14b	
U-shaped Deep Bowl	T05:6b	27	

Table 1. Pottery shape typology of vessels found in graves at Tell Atchana. Shaded boxes indicate which types were found by Yener and Woolley excavations, respectively.

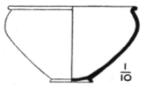
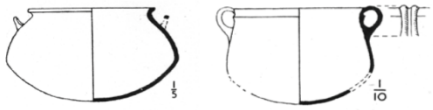
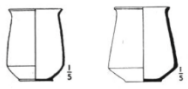
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
Z-shaped S-curve Bowl	T05:7c	24	
Lamp	T05:9	167	
Omphalos Bowl with Trefoil Shape	T05:9b	N/A	
Hole-Mouth Krater	T06:12	26a	
Amphoroid Biconical Krater	T06:13a	82	
Deep Cookpot	T07:15	153	
Double-Handled Deep Cookpot	T07:15a	154, 155	
Round-bodied Miniature Jar	T08:17b	146	
Cylindrical Cup	T09:18	94a, 94b	
S-curve Cup	T09:19	104b	

Table 1, continued.

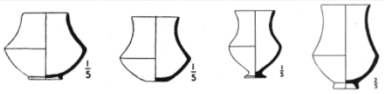
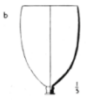
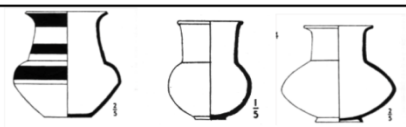
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
Shoulder Goblet	T09:19a	106b, 107a	
S-curve cup with Sinuous Profile	T09:19c	21c	
S-curve cup with Low Body	T09:19d	103b, 125	
Biconical Cup	T09:19	147	
Biconical cup, Upright, Short	T09:20a	93a	
Biconical cup, Sinuous Profile	T09:20c	91a, 91b, 93b, 122	
Hemispherical Cup with Solid Stem	T09:21a	118b	
Low-bodied High-Neck Jar	T11:26a	103a, 104a, 144a	
Ovoid Globular Jar	T11:28c	111	

Table 1, continued.

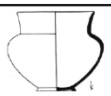
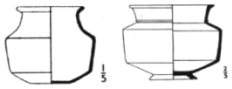
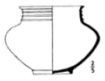
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
S-curve Jar	T11:29	106a	
Cylindrical Jar	T11:30	95a, 95b	
Short-Neck Jar	T11:31	100, 102	
Biconical Jar	T11:33	97a, 107b	
Hich-necked Jug	T12:34	63	
Low-bodied High-necked Jug	T12:34a	56	
Biconical High-necked Jug	T12:34b	61, 62b	
Wide-mouthed High-necked Jug	T12:34c	54a	

Table 1, continued.

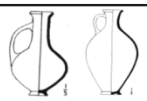
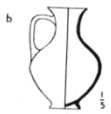
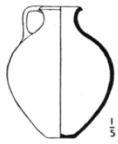
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
Narrow-Necked Jug	T12:35	55b, 60b	
Biconical Narrow-Necked Jug	T12:35a	57a	
Globular Narrow-Necked Jug	T12:35d	57b	
Round-bodied Globular Narrow-Necked Jug	T12:35e	49	
Round-bodied Narrow-Necked Jug	T12:35f	55a	
Globular Jug	T12:36	62a	
Squat Globular Jug	T12:36b	53	
Bottle Jug	T12:37	66	

Table 1, continued.

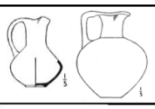
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
Bottle-Necked Biconical Jug	T12:38a	60a	
High-Necked Pitcher	T13:39	68a, 68c, 69c	
Globular Pitcher	T13:40	69a	
Sack-Shaped Globular Pitcher	T13:40b	67a	
High-Shouldered Spindle Bottle	T15:44a	48b	
Low-Bodied Spindle Bottle	T15:44b	52	
Long-Necked Spindle Bottle	T15:44c	48a	
Drop Bottle	T15:45	128, 158	

Table 1, continued.

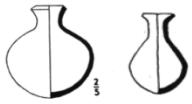
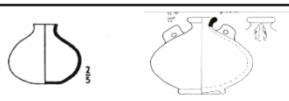
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
Lentoid Flask	T15:46	44a	
Globular Juglet	T16:49	75	
Triangular Globular Juglet	T16:49b	139	
Low-Bodied Globular Juglet	T16:49c	136	
Round-Bottomed Globular Juglet	T16:49d	130a, 130b	
Squat Globular Juglet	T16:49e	140b	
Beveled Globular Juglet	T16:49f	138	
Long-Necked Bottle Juglet	T16:49g	45, 47, 51	
Piriform Juglet	T16:50	137	

Table 1, continued.

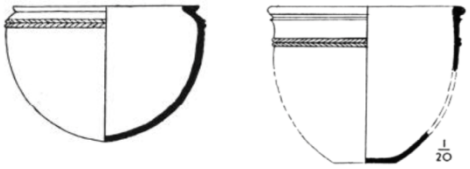
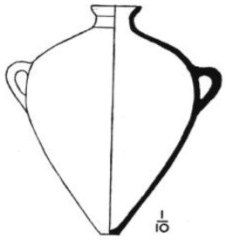
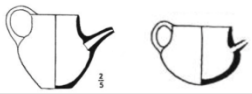
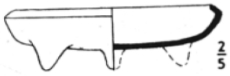
Shape Name	Shape Code	Woolley Type	Illustration
Pointed Juglet	T16:51	42a	
Pitcher Juglet	T16:52	71	
Low-Shouldered Globular Pithos	T17:53a	131	
Hemispheriodal Pithoid Jar	T17:56	152	
Canaanite-Style Transport Amphora	T17:57a	76	
Teapot	T19:60	73a	
Basket-Handled Teapot	T19:60a	72b	
Feeding Bottle	N/A	159, 160	
Shallow Tripod Bowl	N/A	163b	

Table 1, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/37/2	O	cremation					scarab AT/37/47, high-necked jug, gold pendant AT/ 37/46, comb AT/37/48, gold earring AT/37/28, beads AT/ 37/33
ATG/39/8	O	cremation	square M12, .6 m below surface				8 beads, copper ring, silver pendant AT/39/24
ATG/37/1	I	cremation					high-necked jug, uncut steatite cylinder, steatite spindle whorl, wooden spindle fragments, frit bead
ATG/37/3	I	cremation					LH IIIA flask ATP/37/10, cylindrical jar ATP/37/90, shallow bowl ATP/37/74, bronze vessel fragments, 24 bone inlays and bone pins AT/37/66, beads AT/37/67
ATG/38/2	I	cremation		child			red banded jug as urn, AT/38/52: gold roundel, gold buttons, bronze knife handle with bone inlay, 2 bronze disks, silver/gold ring, bronze ring with gold bead, bronze vase, bronze pendant, 3 bronze hoops, 4 bronze bracelets, 3 gold earrings, 4 silver earrings, bronze knife, beads
ATG/39/68	I	cremation		adult			inside Amphoroid biconical Krater ATP/39/156, covered by conical shallow bowl ATP/39/115, inside bowl: serpentine seal AT/39/176, outside bowl: beads AT/39/196, narrow-necked round bounded pitcher, cylindrical jar ATP/39/189, LH IIIA flask ATP/39/186, LH IIIA piriform jar fragments, LH IIIA stirrup jar fragments, drop bottle ATP/39/198, gold earring AT/39/178, gold seal caps
ATG/38/5	I	inhumation, multiple	dug into Level I ruins	1 adult female, 1 child	heads to W	child resting on adult, adult slightly flexed, on L side	high-necked pitcher, 4 silver earrings AT/39/98 on adult, bronze earring, 2 bronze bracelets on adult's arms, carnelian beads, black and white faience beads, necklace on adult, large frit beads, 2 bronze bracelets on child, steatite beads on child, stone pendant, 4 copper pins, 4 bone pins, thin gold fragment, steatite seal AT/38/127A, steatite seal AT/38/127B
ATG/38/6	I	inhumation	dug into room 2 Level I ruins (square P10)	adult	head to W	legs tightly flexed, on R side	3 LH IIIA flasks ATP/38/5-7, nearby: hemispheroidal pithoid jar, 2 bone bodkins, bronze kohl stick AT/38/125, steatite spindle whorl, low bodied high neck jar
ATG/38/10	I	inhumation	dug from Level I (square P12)		head to W	legs slightly flexed, hands crossed, on L side	AT/38/163: gold earrings, 2 silver earrings AT/39/98, bone ring, 2 bronze rings

Table 2. Woolley Graves.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/38/37	I	inhumation	dug into Level I wall (square H17)	adult	head to NW	legs flexed	low bodied high neck jar ATP/38/193, bone needle, beads AT/38/253
ATG/39/72	I	inhumation	dug into Level II ruins	young adult	head to NW	legs flexed	low bodied high neck jar, beads AT/39/194
ATG/39/63	II	inhumation, multiple	1 m below Level II floor	1 adult, 1 child	adult facing S		bronze pin against adult's ear, frit ball beads,biconical high-necked jug ATP/39/113
ATG/39/64	II	inhumation	1.7 m below floor, resting on Level III floor (square	adult	head to N	legs flexed, on R side	faience seal AT/39/163, beads AT/39/164
ATG/39/70	II	inhumation		adult	NW/SE, head to NW, facing S	legs flexed, hands near mouth, on R side	shallow inturning bowl ATP/39/149, drop bottle ATP/39/114c, white steatite seal 39/177, 1 crystal and 1 carnelian ball bead, bronze tweezers
ATG/39/72B	II	inhumation	near ATG/39/70 at same level	adult	NW/SE, head to SE	legs flexed, hands in front of face, on R side	beads AT/39/180
ATG/38/7	II	cremation	2 m below surface, square R14-S13, just above Level IV palace	adolescent			Nuzi ware jug ATP/38/17 as urn, bronze knife fragments, bone comb fragmentss, beads, green steatite seal AT/38/139
ATG/37/26	II	inhumation	dug .9 m through Level II street and cut into Level III wall	young child	head to NE		lentoid flask ATP/37/151
ATG/38/38	II	inhumation	dug into Level III wall ruin, .6 m below surface	young adult	head to E	legs slightly flexed	Nuzi round bodied globular juglet ATP/38/196, biconical cup ATP/38/205, low bodied high neck jar ATP/38/206, bone spindle whorl, beads
ATG/39/90	II	inhumation	below Level II square L13				seal AT/39/215, silver pendant, beads AT/39/219
ATG/39/76	II	cremation	just below Level II	adolescent			bottle necked biconical jug BW jug as urn, thin copper fragments from cup, 2 frit beads
ATG/46/8	II	cremation	1 m below Level III foundations				2 small jars next to urn, 1 red and 1 black, both crushed and deliberately broken
ATG/39/18	II	inhumation	between house walls		head to NE		round bodied globular narrow-necked jug ATP/39/23, seal AT/39/49, bronze pin AT/39/50, bronze pin, seal AT/39/54
ATG/39/14	III	inhumation			N/S, head to N		round bodied globular narrow-necked jug ATP/39/18, low bodied high neck jar, grey stone hone
ATG/39/48	III	inhumation	dug into Level IV House 39/B wall	adult	N/S, on R side, facing E	legs flexed, hands in front of face	bottle necked biconical jug ATP/39/81 in front of face, long necked spindle bottle by feet, 2 bronze earrings, silver ring on finger, 4 silver earrings, bronze pin fragments, beads AT/39/108
ATG/39/71	III	inhumation	dug against Level IV wall square L12, 2 m below Level II floor	adolescent	N/S, head to N	legs flexed	narrow necked jug ATP/39/155, ivory comb fragments, ivory inlay fragment, silver pin, silver ring, white steatite scaraboid, beads AT/39/189
ATG/39/82	III	inhumation	2.5 m below surface of square L14	adult	N/S, head to W	legs tightly flexed, on L side	low bodied s-curve cup ATP/39/201, 3 bottle necked biconical jugs ATP/39/202 A-C

Table 2, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/47/8	III	inhumation	square O15, at bottom of Level III temple foundation	adult	head to NW	on back, legs extended	bronze pin on chest just below neck, beads AT/47/76
ATG/46/3	III	inhumation	against Level II wall foundations, square K-L15	infant			bronze bracelet on arm, beads AT/46/320 at neck, 4 knuckle bones
ATG/39/23	III	inhumation	square M10, .5 m below top of Level IV stone wall foundations	infant	head to N	on R side	low-bodied high neck jar ATP/39/24, bronze bracelet, bronze earring, beads AT/39/66, glass female figurine AT/39/66
ATG/37/36	IV	inhumation	square F18 below Level IV house room 6 floor	young adult	E/W, head to W	legs flexed, on R side	bronze pin, gold ring on R hand AT/37/165
ATG/37/37	IV	inhumation	under room 5 of the same building as ATG/37/36, .7 m below floor	adult	N/S, head to S	legs slightly flexed, on R side	high-necked jug ATP/37/326, rounded shallow bowl ATP/37/337, beads, decayed faience seal
ATG/38/33	IV	pot burial	square U6, below Level IV, fortress	small child			spindle bottle ATP/38/184, Base Ring II bowl ATP/38/189
ATG/39/7	IV	inhumation, multiple	square N8, close to Level III town wall, under Level III wall	adult, small child	adult: head to S, child: on legs of adult, looking E	adult with legs flexed and on R side	round bodied narrow necked jug ATP/39/13, biconical cup ATP/39/35, LHIIIA krater ATP/39/41, basket-handled teapot broken ATP/39/37, spindle bottle ATP/39/34, biconical cup ATP/39/36, biconical cup ATP/39/38, Base Ring II jug ATP/39/39, LHIIIA krater ATP/39/40, spindle bottle ATP/39/33, Base Ring II jug ATP/39/42, Egyptian blue beads, beads AT/39/35
ATG/39/15	IV	inhumation	square F18	young child			s-curve cup with low body ATP/39/160, beads AT/39/46
ATG/39/31	IV	inhumation	beneath foundations of Level III town wall, same level as ATG/39/7	infant	facing E	on R side	biconical narrow necked jug ATP/39/72, low bodied high neck jar ATP/39/67, hole mouth krater broken ATP/39/174, 3 beads
ATG/39/33	IV	pot burial	under Level III town wall, 2 m from ATG/39/31 at same level				urn ATP/39/158 , with bones: bronze ring, bronze bracelet, beads AT/39/90; outside urn: hemispherical bowl with handle ATP/39/55, jug fragments, large jug fragments
ATG/39/47	IV	inhumation	close to ATG/39/31 under Level III wall		head to N	on L side	biconical cup ATP/39/71, Base Ring II juglet, spindle bottle ATP/39/72, beads on neck, beads on wrist
ATG/39/58	IV	pot burial	partly cut into Level III town wall foundations	infant			fragments of 2 spindle bottles, impression AT/39/146

Table 2, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/39/60	IV	inhumation	close to ATG/39/58, under Level III wall	infant			pointed juglet ATP/39/97, beads 39/148
ATG/39/85	IV	pot burial	dug against Level IV wall, square K13, 1 m below room floor	child			low bodied high neck jar ATP/39/222, round bottomed globular juglet ATP/39/214, glass bottle fragments, beads AT?39/238
ATG/39/86	IV	inhumation	square L13, dug into ruins of Level VI from Level IV	adolescent	N/S, head to N		high-necked pitcher ATP/39/224, Base Ring II jug ATP/39/218, Nuzi goblet ATP/39/217, white steatite seal AT/39/229, bone needle 39/34L, bronze pin fragments
ATG/39/93	IV	pot burial, multiple, secondary?	cut into Level V wall, square J15	1 adult female, 1 infant			Canaanite style transport amphora as urn, Base Ring II jug ATP/39/274, 8 bronze earrings AT/39/278 (2 with glass beads)
ATG/39/95	IV	inhumation	dug into Level V, near ATG/39/93	young adult	E/W, facing S	legs extended, on R side	Base Ring II bowl ATP/39/285, shallow bowl ATP/39/286
ATG/47/5	IV	inhumation	in Level IV floor	child			cylindrical cup ATP/47/27, short-neck jar ATP/47/28, high-necked pitcher ATP/47/29
ATG/47/6	IV	inhumation	square P15 under Level IV floor	adult	head to E	legs tightly flexed, on L side	feeding bottle ATP/47/34, bronze ring, 2 bronze pins
ATG/47/8	IV	inhumation	square O16, dug from Level IV to Level VI	infant			s-curve cup ATP/47/44, globular pitcher ATP/47/45
ATG/47/8B	IV	inhumation	immediately below ATP/47/45	adult	head to W	legs tightly flexed, hands before face, on L side	head resting on quadrangular stone, bronze ring, 2 bronze pins by neck, beads AT/47/76
ATG/39/74	IV	cremation	square M13	adolescent			high-necked pitcher ATP/39/191 as urn, drop bottle ATP/39/114D
ATG/37/1	IV	inhumation			NW/SE	legs tightly flexed, hands crossed over stomach, on R side	biconical cup sinuous profile ATP/37/46, feeding bottle ATP/37/66, pitcher juglet ATP/37/31
ATG/37/2	IV	inhumation			N/S, head to S	legs tightly flexed, on L side	long necked spindle bottle, globular pitcher, bronze braclet fragments, bronze pin fragments
ATG/37/13	IV	inhumation	under Level IV street against house wall		NE/SW, head to SW		bottle necked biconical jug, bronze pin
ATG/37/33	IV	inhumation	close to Level IV house wall		N/S, head to S	legs flexed	long necked spindle bottle ATP/37/318, biconical cup ATP/37/308, narrow necked jug ATP/37/317, large bowl fragments, hematite seal AT/37/181, silver ring, bronze ring, bronze earring, shell spindle whorl, serpentine duck weight, bronze pin fragments, beads AT/37/182
ATG/37/34	IV	inhumation	close to ATG/37/34	child	head to W		round bodied narrow-necked jug ATP/37/331, pink stone vase AT/37/168, bronze pin, beads AT/37/168

Table 2, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/38/15	IV	pot burial	Site H, 1.2 m below surface	child			2 biconical narrow necked jugs ATP/38/158, 2 spindle bottles ATP/38/161A and 161B, shoulder goblet ATP/38/148M, s-curve cup ATP/38/148P, beads AT/38/222
ATG/38/16	IV	inhumation	Site H	young adult	E/W, head to W	on R side	shoulder goblet frags, high-necked pitcher ATP/38/120B, piriform juglet ATP/38/151B, spindle bottle ATP/38/147
ATG/38/17	IV	pot burial	Site H	child	head to N	legs flexed with knees towards chin, on L side	outside urn: 2 spindle bottles ATP/38/163B and 163C, globular narrow-necked jug ATP/38/149, Base Ring II jug, s-curve cup with sinuous profile ATP/38/167, spindle bottle, Base Ring I jug ATP/38/150, beads
ATG/38/34	IV	inhumation	Site H, 2.3 m below surface		NW/SE, on L side, head NW		conical shallow bowl, long necked spindle bottle ATP/38/185, narrow necked jug ATP/38/186, conical shallow bowl ATP/38/61F, shallow tripod bowl fragment, 2 White Slip milk bowls ATP/38/183B and 183A, Base Ring I juglet ATP/38/195, beads
ATG/38/35	IV	inhumation	Site H		NW/SE, head to NW		large feeding bottle ATP/38/190, jug fragments
ATG/38/36	IV	inhumation	Site H, adjoining ATG/38/34 and ATG/38/35 and at same level				short-neck jar ATP/38/57B fragment
ATP/39/17	IV	inhumation		child			s-curve cup
ATG/39/30	IV	inhumation	square F17, below Level IV floor	child	N/S, head to N	legs flexed, on R side	low bodied high neck jar ATP/39/29, spindle bottle ATP/39/30, beads AT/39/80
ATG/39/32	IV	inhumation	sqaure L10, below Level III wall foundations	child			biconical cup ATP/39/12, spindle bottle ATP/39/15, bead
ATG/39/35	IV	inhumation, multiple	square N8, immediately above Level VII palace ruins	infant, 2 young adults	NW/SE, heads to NW		spindle bottle ATP/39/59A, biconical cup ATP/39/60 with infant's skull,drop bottle ATP/39/61, low bodied high neck jug ATP/39/62, biconical high neck jug ATP/39/63, 2 spindle bottles ATP/39/59B and 59C, spindle bottle fragments, Base Ring II jug ATP/39/64, Base Ring II jug ATP/39/65, high shouldered spindle bottle ATP/39/66, bone box with rosette lid AT/39/91, 2 gold earrings AT/39/91 at infant's skull, beads at infant's skull, beads at adult skull AT/39/91
ATG/39/37	IV	inhumation	1 m W of ATG/39/35, same level				hemispherical bowl ATP/39/75 with skull inside, biconical high-necked jug ATP/39/74
ATG/39/38	IV	inhumation	below town wall	young girl	N/S, head to N	legs flexed, hands in front of chest, on L side	squat globular jug ATP/39/52, Base Ring II juglet ATP/39/53, bronze ring, bronze earring, beads
ATG/39/41	IV	pot burial	square M11, below Level IV room floor	small child			urn ATP/39/68, globular jug ATP/39/69, biconical cup ATP/39/70

Table 2, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/39/45	IV	inhumation	immediately below ATG/39/41		head to N	on R side	gold earring AT/39/98, beads AT/39/98
ATG/39/42	IV	inhumation	between Houses 39A and 39B, .8 m below house foundations	adult	NW/SE, head to NW	legs extended, hands in front of face, on R side	piriform juglet ATP/39/78, 2 bronze pins on L shoulder, 2 faience beads
ATG/39/49	IV	inhumation	.5 m below ATG/39/41	adolescent	N/S, head to S	on back, legs extended	bottle necked biconical jug ATP/39/90, short-neck jar ATP/39/77, bronze pin fragments by neck, beads AT/39/101
ATG/39/51	IV	inhumation	dug into Level VII palace room 9 ruins	small child			spindle bottle ATP/39/86, low bodied high neck jar ATP/39/87, 2 carnelian beads
ATG/39/62	IV	pot burial		infant			ovoid globular jar ATP/39/181 as urn, bronze arrowhead AT/39/16P, beads AT/39/151
ATG/39/77	IV	inhumation		adult	N/S, head to N	legs slightly flexed, on R side	high-necked pitcher ATP/39/208, bronze pin, beads AT/39/224 at neck
ATG/39/101	IV	inhumation	dug into Level V	young adult	NE/SW, head to SW	legs extended, on R side	teapot ATP/39/280, low bodied high-necked jar ATP/39/281, spindle bottle ATP/39/282, shallow bowl with holes (strainer?) ATP/39/283A and 283B with 18 knucklebones inside, 25 faience beads
ATG/48/6	IV	inhumation		small child			low bodied high neck jar
ATG/37/27	V	inhumation	square D18, below foundations of Level III house wall	child	NE/SW, head to SW	legs tightly flexed, on L side	AT/37/180: sack-shaped globular pitcher, 5 copper earrings, bronze pin, faience beads, half of faience cylinder seal with birds
ATG/39/56	V	inhumation	.4 m below Level V House 39B floor	adult	N/S, head to N	legs extended, on L side	sack-shaped globular pitcher ATP/39/43B
ATG/39/80	V	inhumation, multiple	square M12, just above Level VII palace ruins	2 adults	N/S, Individual 2 with head to N	Individual 2 with legs extended and on R side	with Individual 1: biconical cup ATP/39/196, with Individual 2: round bodied narrow necked jug ATP/39/195, glazed bottle ATP/39/197, 2 bronze needles, white steatite seals AT/39/205 and 206 and 207, beads AT/39/208
ATG/39/97	V	inhumation	dug from late Level V into earlier Level V wall, square K15	infant	E/W, head to W	legs flexed, on L side	round bodied narrow necked jug ATP/39/289, silver earring, bronze bracelet AT/39/289 on R leg, faience beads, bone box AT/39/291
ATG/39/99	V	inhumation	dug from Level V into Level VI ruins, square K14	infant			low-bodied s-curve cup ATP/39/292, 3 silver earrings 39/296, bronze pin, decayed faience beads
ATG/39/107	V	inhumation	dug into Level VI ruins, square K15	adult	E/W, head to W	legs extended, on L side	spindle bottle ATP/39/295A, low bodied high neck jar ATP/39/296, spindle bottle ATP/39/295B, Base Ring II jug, wooden box with bone inlay AT/39/321
ATG/39/108	V	inhumation	square M13, dug into Level VI	infant			spindle bottle ATP/39/258, beads AT/39/263
ATG/39/109	V	inhumation	dug into Level VI, square K15	adult			high necked pitcher ATP/39/301, 2 bronze bracelets AT/39/297A and 297B

Table 2, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/39/111	V	inhumation	dug into Level VI, square K15	adult	head to W	on back, legs extended	low bodied spindle bottle ATP/39/300, z-shaped s-curve bowl ATP/39/310, cylindrical cup ATP/39/309, bronze ring, 1 large glass bead, bronze pin AT/39/50M
ATG/46/1	V	inhumation	square L15	child	N/S, head to S	on back, R arm on pelvis, R leg flexed, L leg extended	long-necked bottle juglet ATP/46/126 under head, round bodied narrow necked jug ATP/46/208 above L hip, Base Ring II jug ATP/46/204 above L arm
ATG/46/2	V	inhumation in wooden coffin		adult	N/S, head to N	legs extended, on back, R arm extended, L hand over pelvis	by head: round bodied narrow necked jug ATP/46/208 above head, shallow bowl ATP/46/194 with knucklebone inside above head, Base Ring II jug ATP/46/206
ATG/46/4	V	inhumation	dug from Level V into Level VII courtyard, square L14	infant			twin bevelled globular juglet ATP/46/325, silver earring AT/46/319, beads AT/46/318
ATG/46/7	V	inhumation	dug into Level VII from Level V, square L14	adult	head to NW	legs tightly flexed, on L side	piriform juglet ATP/46/202, round bodied miniature jar ATP/46/214
ATG/46/9	V	cremation	dug below Level VII foundations, square K-L14, from Level V				vessel fragments ATP/46/309
ATG/46/10	V	pot burial	square K14, against Level VIII wall foundations	infant			double-handled deep cookpot ATP/47/227, biconical jar ATP/46/228
ATG/46/11	V	inhumation	square L14, dug into Level VI	adult	head to N, facing R	hands on pelvis, legs tightly flexed with knees at chest and heels at pelvis, on back	s-curve cup ATP/46/326 at R shoulder, rounded shallow bowl ATP/46/252 under ATP/46/326, copper pin by R cheek
ATG/46/14	V	inhumation	square K13, dug into Level VI	infant			piriform juglet ATP/46/261, shoulder goblet ATP/46/262
ATG/46/17	V	inhumation	square L14, dug into Level VI		head to SW		low-bodied globular juglet ATP/46/263
ATG/46/20	V	inhumation	square L14, dug into Level VI	child			shoulder goblet ATP/46/264, spindle bottle ATP/46/265
ATG/49/1	V	inhumation, multiple	cut into Level V fortress floor	adult, child	heads to SE	legs flexed	with child: shoulder goblet (broken), beads AT/49/19, with adult: long necked bottle juglet, bronze pin AT/49/20
ATG/49/4	V	inhumation	cut into Level V floor and Level VI fortress wall	child	head to SE	legs flexed	triangular globular juglet ATP/49/33, short-neck jar ATP/49/32, 2 knuckle bones
ATG/49/5	V	inhumation	same location as ATG/49/4	child	head to SE	legs flexed	bronze pin near neck, beads AT/49/18, figurine AT/49/17
ATG/49/6	V	inhumation	same location as ATG/49/5	child	head to SE	legs flexed	sack-shaped globular pitcher ATP/49/34
ATG/49/7	V	inhumation	same location as ATG/49/6	child	head to SE	legs flexed	2 shoulder goblets ATP/49/38A and 38B, copper ring, bronze astral head pin AT/49/21, pierced cowrie shells
ATG/37/28	V	inhumation	dug into Level VI	adult	head to NW	hands raised, holding jug to mouth, on R side	long necked bottle juglet ATP/37/214, bronze earring, 3 carnelian beads

Table 2, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/38/21	V	inhumation	Site H	adult	head to S	on L side	by head: low bodied high neck jar ATP/38/63D, piriform juglet ATP/38/151D
ATG/39/87	V	pot burial	1 m above Level VII palace floor room 18	infant			deep cookpot ATP/39/226 as urn, next to urn: hemispherical pithoid jar, s-curve cup, U-shaped deep bowl ATP/39/227, steatite kohl-pot AT/39/251
ATG/39/89	V	inhumation	1.5 m above Level VII palace floor room 19	child	E/W, head to W	on L side	globular juglet ATP/39/237, beads AT/39/245
ATG/39/103	V	inhumation	dug into Level VI, square K15	young adult	head to W	legs flexed, on L side	spindle bottle ATP/39/290, hematite weight AT/39/292
ATG/39/44	V	inhumation	dug into top of Level VII palace standing wall, square M10	adult	NW/SE, head to SE	legs flexed, on R side	wide mouthed high neck jar ATP/39/79, AT/39/106: silver pin, 2 bronze pins, 8 silver beads at head, 2 bronze earrings at head, bronze ring, glass female figurine
ATG/39/46	V	inhumation	dug into top of Level VII palace standing wall, square M10		head to NW	legs extended, on R side	Base Ring II juglet ATP/39/80, 3 silver earrings, 5 bronze earrings, Egyptian blue scaraboid AT/39/107
ATG/39/110	V	inhumation	dug into S wall of Level VII palace room 19, 1 m above floor level				shoulder goblet ATP/39/265, 2 bronze pins AT/39/32M and 32N, beads AT/39/271
ATG/39/29	V	inhumation	square N10, level with top of Level VII palace standing walls	infant			beads at neck and waist, triangular globular juglet ATP/39/28, bronze pin AT/39/75, beads AT/39/75, female figurine AT/39/75
ATG/39/27	V	inhumation	square N10, 1.3 m below Level IV drain	adult	E/W, head to W	legs flexed, on R side	globular juglet ATP/39/25, 2 beads, ivory hand-shaped libation pourer AT/39/70
ATG/39/91	VI	inhumation	square L13	adult	E/W, head to W, facing L	legs extended	white steatite seal AT/39/231, bronze pin, bronze needle, bronze bracelet
ATG/39/92	VI	inhumation	square L14	adult		legs flexed	globular juglet ATP/39/230, beads
ATG/39/112	VI	pot burial	square K15	infant			double-handled deep cookpot ATP 39/304
ATG/39/81	VI	inhumation	dug into Level VII palace passage	child	head to NW, facing L	legs extended	low-bodied high-necked jar ATP/39/209, white steatite seal AT/39/226, beads
ATG/39/106	VI	inhumation	dug into Level VII, square K14	infant	facing S	legs flexed	basket-handled teapot ATP/39/236, faience beads
ATG/46/15	VI	inhumation, multiple	square L15	upper: adult female, lower: child	adult: head NE, child: skull immediately under adult to NE	adult: legs flexed, on R side	short-neck jar ATP/46/327, 2 bracelets 46/322 and 323 on adult's arms, bronze torque AT/46/324 at adult's neck, bronze pin at adult's L shoulder, 1 bead on silver wire, beads AT/46/321 at adult's neck, female figurine AT/46/238
ATG/37/23	VII	inhumation	2.5 m below Level IV floor, square C20 (Trench A)	small child	head to SW		piriform juglet ATP/37/163, shoulder goblet ATP/37/131
ATG/37/24	VII	inhumation	1.15 m below same floor as ATG/37/23 (Trench A)	small child			triangular globular juglet ATP/37/161, s-curve cup ATP/37/162, shoulder goblet ATP/37/117, bronze pin, beads
ATG/38/22	VII	inhumation	Site H	adult	head to SW	legs flexed, hands before face, on R side	bottle jug ATP/38/199, shoulder goblet ATP/38/148, piriform juglet ATP/38/175

Table 2, continued.

AT #	Level	Type	Location	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
ATG/48/1	VII	inhumation	Site H	adult			shoulder goblet ATP/48/43, Canaanite Style jar amphora fragments, bronze pin, astral head pin AT/48/88, beads
ATG/48/7	VII	pot burial		infant			urn shaped like a U-shaped deep bowl, rounded shallow bowl ATP/48/60 inverted over urn like lid
ATG/47/1	VIII	inhumation, multiple, secondary?	dug into top of Level X, square L14	1 adult, 1 child	child's head to S	child legs tightly flexed, on L side, adult in semi-sitting position?	with child: short-neck jar ATP/47/5, piriform juglet ATP/47/6
ATG/47/2	VIII	inhumation	dug .3 m below top of Level X walls, square K15	child	head to E	legs tightly flexed, on L side	piriform juglet ATP/47/7, globular narrow necked jug ATP/47/8, 2 faience beads
ATG/47/3	VIII	inhumation, multiple		2 adults	E/W, Individual 1: head to W, Individual 2: head to E	both on L side with legs tightly flexed	at head of Individual 1: short-neck jar ATP/47/3, between both individuals: globular narrow necked jug ATP/47/4, behind Individual 2's head: piriform juglet ATP/47/11, short-neck jar ATP/47/12
ATG/47/4	VIII	inhumation	under Level VIII pebble floor, square K14	adult	head to E	on L side	biconical jar ATP/47/9

Table 2, continued.

Grave Type	Definition	Grave Type	Definition
simple (pit) inhumation	earthen pit containing one individual	**cremation**	cremated remains consisting of burnt bones and ash inside a pot/urn
multiple inhumation	earthen pit containing two or more individuals		
secondary burial	disarticuled, secondarily buried elements from at least one individual	**chamber tomb**	chamber, usually stone-built, with a horizontal entrance
cist grave	earthen pit lined with stones	**shaft tomb**	chamber, usually carved into bedrock, with a vertical entrance
pot/jar burial	individual deposited inside a cooking pot		
pithos burial	individual deposited inside a pithos		

Table 3. Descriptions of burial types discussed in text.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
L03-3005/3017	45.71	1	tomb	female, 20-30 years old	NW/SE, head to NW	legs extended, semi-sitting position	bronze pins in thorax area, gold bead, amber bead near R elbow, metal bead near thorax, stone bead near skull, jug atop thorax, spindle bottle near L femur, 2 globular pitchers near skull and at R hip, lamp under R pelvis, cattle humerus above R pelvis, mutton haunch above R pelvis
L03-3017	45.71	1	tomb	female, 14-16 years old	NW/SE, head to SE	legs tightly flexed, arms over abdomen, on back	6 bronze pins around torso, bone needle, gold applique with red pigment on the stamped side near R ear, gold ring on L thumb, 24 gold beads around head and torso, carnelian beads around neck and chest, glass beads around head & chest, clay pellets,6 stones, 54 pebbles (from the fill?), chert, 2 vitrified lumps at neck
L03-3017	45.71	1	tomb	male, 40-50 years old	NW/SE, head to SE	legs flexed, R arm extended beside body, L arm folded over abdomen, on back	2 Base Ring jugs on SE wall and near R forearm, 2 spindle bottles in S corner and at left elbow, 2 cylindrical cups in L elbow crook and just above elbow, narrow-necked jug on SW wall, s-curve jar under head, 7 bronze pins around chest, silver toggle pin near pelvis, 8 gold appliques around head and chest, gold foil to L of head, amber pendant on legs, bone spindle whorl,chert, 2 haunches of beef near L arm and L femur, caprid molar, beads of carnelian, bone, faience, and glass,
L03-3017	45.71	1	tomb	female, 18-25 years old	NW/SE, head to SE, facaing L	legs flexed	gold foil R of head and near head
L03-3011	45.71	1	inhumation	female, 35-45 years old	SW/NE, head to SW, facing R	legs flexed, L arm extended beside body, on stomach	2 bronze toggle pins beneath ribcage
L03-3013/3016	45.72	1	inhumation	male, 25-35 years old	SW/NE, head to SW, facing L	legs tightly flexed vertically, R arm flexed, upper body on L side	
L03-3019	45.71	1	inhumation	adolescent, 15-19 years old	SE/NW, head to SE	R arm over chest, upper body on back, legs tightly flexed to R	
L03-3057	45.72	3 early	inhumation, multiple	male, 30-35 years old and female, 15-20 years old	NW/SE, head to NW, facing L	male: arms folded on chest, on back	female figurine
L03-3060	45.72	3 early	inhumation	child, 3-6 years old	NW/SE, head to NW, facing R	legs flexed, arms flexed, on R side	piriform juglet at L hip, bronze bracelt on R forearm, 6 astragalus pieces
L03-3064	45.72	3 early	inhumation	adolescent, 4-18 years old	NW/SE, head to NW	on back	piriform juglet at R shoulder, short-neck jar on L, shell at L shoulder, astragalus at R shoulder
03-3065	45.72	3 early	inhumation	female, 20-30 years old	SW/NE, head to SW, facing L	legs flexed, R arm over chest, on L side	
L03-3066	45.72	3 early	inhumation	male, 25-35 years old	NW/SE, head to NW	R arm over chest, on back	ivory needle/toggle pin

Table 4. Yener 2003-2004 graves.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
L03-3009	45.72	3 late	inhumation, multiple	male, 35-45 years old	NW/SE, head to NW, facing L	legs flexed, arms over chest, on back	2 large sherds near head, glass vessel fragments
L03-3009	45.72	3 late	inhumation, multiple	male, 20-35 years old	SE/NW, head to NW	legs flexed to R, upper body on back	
L03-3002 P5	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	fetus, 8-9.5 months old			
L03-3002 P13	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	child, under 5 years old			
L03-3002 P30	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	adult, over 20 years old			
L03-3002 P34	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	adolescent, 12-17 years old			
L03-3002 P35	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	child, 2.5-4.5 years old			
L03-3002 P62	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	female, over 20 years old			
L03-3002 P 69	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	child, 6-8.5 years old			
L03-3002 P82	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	female, over 20 years old			
L03-3002 P145a	45.71	3 late	bone scatter	adult, 20-30 years old			
L03-3002 P145b	45.71	3 late	bone scatter	child, 9.5-14.5 years old			
L03-3012	45.72	3 late	inhumation, multiple, secondary?	male, 20-35 years old and male, over 50 years old			
L03-3014	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	adult, over 20 years old			
L03-3020	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	male, over 20 years old			
L03-3024a	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	female, over 20 years old			
L03-3024b	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	adult, over 20 years old			
L03-3025	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	male, over 20 years old			
L03-3037a	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	child, 2.5-4.5 years old			

Table 4, continued.

L03-3037b	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	adult, over 20 years old			
L03-3046	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	male, over 20 years old			
L03-3051	45.72	3 late	bone scatter	female, 20-35 years old			
L03-3038	45.71	3 late	inhumation	infant, 6 months - 2 years old			
03-3041	45.71	3 late	inhumation	child, 4-6 years old	NW/SE, head to NW	R arm flexed, on back	piriform juglet near head, short-neck jar, bowl, 7 faience beads
L03-3047	45.72	3 late	inhumation	child, 2.5-5 years old			
L03-3051	45.72	3 late	inhumation	infant, 4-16 months old			
L03-3054	45.71	3 late	inhumation	adolescent, 12-15 years old	S/N, head to S, facing R	on R side	short-neck jar on chest
L0-3002	45.72	3 late	pot burial?	infant, 9 months - 2 years old		head near base of jar	nearby: short-neck jar
L03-3002	45.72	3 late	inhumation	male, 35-45 years old			
L03-3027	45.71	3 late	inhumation	youth, 12-15 years old	S/N, head to S	arms flexed	
L03-3012/3025/3036	45.72	3 late	inhumation	male, 35-45 years old	NW/SE, head to NW	R arm over chest, on back	bronze ring on finger, shell amulet next to R arm
L03-3014	45.72	3 late	inhumation, multiple	child, 6-11 years old	NW/SE		
L03-3049	45.71	3 late	inhumation, multiple?	male, over 50 years old	S/N, head to S, facing R		
L03-3013	45.72	3 late	inhumation, multiple	female, 20-35 years old and child, 2-4.5 years old			vessel, shell pendant
L03-3015	45.72	3 late	inhumation, multiple?	male, 20-35 years old			
03-3004		3 late	pot burial	infant			short-neck jar, vessels nearby: biconical jar, piriform juglet, short-neck jar, s-curve bowl
03-3010		3 late	inhumation, multiple, secondary?	3 adult skulls			
03-3022		3 late	bone scatter				
03-3023		3 late	bone scatter				
03-3034		3 late	bone scatter				
03-3035		3 late	bone scatter				

Table 4, continued.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
03-3039		3 late	bone scatter				
03-3043		3 late	bone scatter				
03-3044		3 late	bone scatter				
03-3048		3 late	bone scatter				
Intramural							
L03-2021/2025	44.55	1	inhumation	female, 14-18 years old	SW/NE, head to SW, facing R	legs flexed, arms flexed, on R side	
L03-2019/2087	44.55	1	inhumation	child, 6-10 years old	NE/SW, head to NE, facing R	legs tightly flexed, L arm over chest, on back	
L03-2041/2053	44.45	1	inhumation	female, 14-17 years old	E/W, head to E		
L04-2050	44.80	1a	inhumation	adult, 25-35 years old	NE/SW, head to NE, facing R	legs extended, L arm tightly flexed, R arm extended, on R side	Base Ring II juglet near R hand, cylindrical cup, 2 carnelian beads near neck and ribs, faience bead, glass bead

Table 4, continued.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
Cemetery							
31	45.44	0-1	inhumation		NW/SE, head to NW		piriform juglet and shoulder goblet above skull
32	45.44	0-1	inhumation	infant	NE/SW, head to SW	on back	
41	45.44	0-1	inhumation	adult	N/S, head to S, facing E	legs flexed, on L side, arms on pelvis	metal pin at R clavicle
5	45.44	0-1a	pot burial	infant			
7	45.44	0-1a	inhumation		NW/SE		
21	45.44	1b	inhumation	adolescent	NE/SW, head to SW	legs and arms flexed, on R side	beads at wrist, bronze ring, shallow bowl on top of skull
42	45.44	1	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to NW, facing W	legs flexed, on back, L arm folded with hand at pelvis, R arm folded with hand at	
43	45.44	1	inhumation, multiple?	adult	NW/SE, head to SE, facing E	on back, legs flexed, arms folded at pelvis	
52	45.44	1	inhumation	adult	NE/SW, head to SW	arms folded on chest	
53	45.44	1	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to NW, facing E	on L side, arms folded at chest, fingers curled, legs loosely flexed	
62	45.44	1	inhumation, multiple, secondary?	2 adults	NE/SW, Mandible 1 facing up and E, Mandible 2 facing up and W	disarticulated	
65	45.44	1	inhumation	small child	NW/SE, head to NW, facing E	on L side, L hand near skull, R hand above legs, legs tightly flexed	
54	45.44	1	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to NW, facing E	arms folded at pelvis, legs loosely flexed, on back	shoulder goblet near pelvis, jar fragment near feet, earring at skull, toggle pin head in screening
55	45.44	1	inhumation	child, under 2 years old	N/S, head to N, facing up	on back, arms extended at sides, legs extended	piriform juglet near skull, 8 beads around neck
56	45.44	1	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to SE, facing W	on L side, legs tightly flexed and facing up, feet crossed at ankles, R hand over chest, L hand under chin	shoulder goblet on toes
66	45.44	1-2	inhumation	older child/young adolescent	NW/SE, head to SE, facing up	on back, hands crossed at pelvis, legs loosely flexed	short-neck jar at crossed arms
67	45.44	1-2	inhumation, secondary	adult		disarticulated	
68	45.44	1-2	inhumation	small child	NW/SE, head to NW, facing E	on back, hands on chest, legs loosely flexed	miniature jar above head
71	45.44	1-2	inhumation	adult male	NW/SE, head to NW, facing up	on back, L hand on pelvis, R hand below chin fingers extended, legs extended	black and white beads above L hand fingers at pelvis
2	45.45	1-2	inhumation	child/teen	NE/SW, head to NE		figurine, clay beads below figurine

Table 5. Yener 2006-2012 graves.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
70	45.44	2	inhumation	small child	NW/SE, head to NW	on L side, arms in front of chest, hands near pelvis, legs loosely flexed	piriform juglet near jaw
73	45.44	2	inhumation, secondary	adult	NE/SW?	disarticulated	
78	45.44	2	inhumation	older child/young adolescent	NW/SE, head to SE	on back, R arm along side with fingers folded in, L arm crossed over body to join R arm, legs crossed at thighs and slightly bent upwards	
79	45.44	2	inhumation	adult?	NE/SW, head to NE, facing S	on L side, arms folded across chest, fingers curled, legs loosely flexed	short-neck jar under chin, piriform juglet above skull, toggle pin shaft in screening
82	45.44	2	inhumation	small child	N/S, head to S, facing W	in W side of cut, on L side, legs tightly flexed, arms folded on chest	biconical jar near skull in E side of cut, clay weight in fill above
110	45.44	2	inhumation	adult male	NW/SE, head to SE, facing E	flexed, on L side, arms over torso	shoulder goblet at face
111	45.44	2	inhumation		NE/SW, head to NE	on R side, flexed	
112	45.44	2	dense bone scatter, secondary inhumation?		NW/SE	disarticulated	
113	45.44	2	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head SE	on L side, legs tightly flexed, arms over torso	
114	45.44	2	inhumation		NW/SE, head to SE	flexed, on L side?	
115	45.44	2	inhumation, secondary		NW/SE	long bones paired, bones stacked parallel to wall	
120	45.44	2	inhumation		NW/SE, head SE	legs flexed up, on L side, arms on chests	
3	45.45	2	inhumation	adult	NE/SW, head to NE, facing R	R arm crossed on pelvis, L arm over chest, legs loosely flexed up	
5	45.45	2	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to SE	legs loosely flexed	shoulder goblet behind feet
6a	45.45	2	inhumation	adult	NE/SE, head to NE	on R side, legs loosely flexed, arms raised toward head	
6b	45.45	2	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to SE		
116	45.44	2-3	inhumation	adult male	NE/SW, head SW, facing SE	legs tightly flexed, on R side, hands on chest	
122	45.44	2-3	inhumation, secondary			crossed femurs	
130	45.44	2-3	bone scatter? secondary inhumation?	older adult	NW/SE	on L side	
133	45.44	2-3	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head facing up, head SE		
121	45.44	3	bone scatter on top of inhumation	4-6 individuals in scatter	NW/SE, head NW	legs flexed	short-neck jar in NE corner
129	45.44	3	inhumation	infant, approximatel y 3 years old	NW/SE, head to SE, facing L	on R side, legs flexed, arms crossed on pelvis	short-neck jar

Table 5, continued.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
134	45.44	3	inhumation	adult, over 25 years old	NW/SE, head to NW, facing R	on back, legs flexed, L arm over chest, R arm on pelvis	short-neck jar, shoulder goblet
135	45.44	3	inhumation	older adult	NW/SE, head facing L	on L side, legs flexed, arms over chest	piriform juglet, globular pitcher, animal figurine
4	45.45	3	inhumation		NW/SE, head to SE	arms crossed over stomach, legs loosely flexed	shoulder goblet E of head, astral pin at R shoulder
6c	45.45	3	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to SE	on back, legs flexed to R, R arm extended	
7	45.45	3	inhumation, multiple	adults	primary: NE/SW, head to SW	primary: in W baulk, legs flexed on R	
9	45.45	3	inhumation	child	NE/SW, head to SW	legs flexed, arm raised to head, on L	
10	45.45	3	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to SE, facing L	on back, L arm over chest, R arm on pelvis, legs tightly flexed to R	short-neck jar at feet
11	45.45	3	inhumation, multiple?	older child/young adolescent	NW/SE, head to SE, facing E	on R side, arms raised to head, leg flexed to R	
13	45.45	3	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to NW	adult	
23	45.45	3	inhumation, secondary, multiple				s-curve jar
27	45.45	3	inhumation	teen	NW/SE, head to NW	tightly flexed, arms flexed	
105	45.44	4	accidental	adult female			
106	45.44	4	inhumation	adult, 25-35 years old	NW/SE, head to SE, facing left	on right side, legs flexed, arms extended, hands over pelvis	shoulder goblet, piriform juglet
136	45.44	4	inhumation, secondary?	adult, 30-35 years old, male?	NW/SE	disarticulated	biconical cup
138	45.44	4	inhumation, bone scatter? decayed?	infant, 1.5-2 years old	NE/SW?	disarticulated	short-neck jar, hemispherical cup
139	45.44	4	inhumation	child, 3 years old	NW/SE, head NW?		
143	45.44	4	inhumation	adult male	NW/SE, head to SE, facing L	on L side, legs extended, arms folded over chest	short-neck jar
17	45.45	4	inhumation		N/S, head to S	on L side, flexed, arms flexed upwards	piriform juglet
19	45.45	4	inhumation		NW/SE, head to SE	extended	shell pendant
21	45.45	4	inhumation, secondary?				shoulder goblet
25	45.45	4	inhumation				
29	45.45	4	inhumation, multiple		NW/SE, head to NW	individuals head to toe, flexed legs	squat globular juglet, short-neck jar, shoulder goblet
31	45.45	4	ossuary? secondary? slope wash?		long bones NE/SW	disarticulated	
33	45.45	4	inhumation		E/W, head to E	flexed, arms folded across torso	shoulder goblet
35	45.45	4	inhumation	young child	NW/SE, head to NW	flexed	bronze bracelet on L arm

Table 5, continued.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
37	45.45	4	bone scatter? secondary?			disarticulated	
150	45.44	4	inhumation	infant	NE/SW?	on L side	
132	45.44	5	inhumation	adolescent	NW/SE, head facing L, head SE?	on L side, legs flexed, arms extended	
145	45.44	5	inhumation	infant, less than 1 year old	NW/SE	on L side, legs flexed, arms flexed	
146	45.44	5	inhumation	older child/young adolescent	NW/SE, facing L	on L side, legs flexed	shoulder goblet
147	45.44	5	inhumation	child, 4-5 years old	NW/SE, head to SE, facing L	on L side, legs flexed, arms over chest	
149	45.44	5	inhumation	adolescent	NW/SE, head to SE, facing L	legs flexed up, on L side, arms over chest	
151	45.44	5	inhumation	infant, under 6 months old	NE/SW, head to NE, facing L	on L side, legs flexed, arms over chest	
152	45.44	5	inhumation	child, 1.5-2 years old	NW/SE, head to NW, facing L	on back, legs extended, arms over chest	bronze ring, silver ring, 2 necklaces, biconical cup, globular juglet, broken vessel
39	45.45	5	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to SE	flexed, on R side	biconical jar
43	45.45	5	inhumation, multiple	adult female	NW/SE	legs flexed, on back, arms at pelvis	piriform juglet at hip
44	45.45	5	inhumation	infant/toddler	NW/SE, head to NW	flexed	biconical jar, astragali, small worked stone
45	45.45	5	inhumation, multiple	infant/toddler	NW/SE, head to SE	flexed, on R side	short-neck jar to S
46	45.45	5	inhumation	neonate/infant	NW/SE, head to SE	flexed	short-neck jar
47	45.45	5	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to SE	flexed arms crossed at pelvis, on back	globular juglet in crook of arm
48	45.45	5	inhumation	adult, male?	NE/SW, head to NE	on back	
49	45.45	5	inhumation	adult, female?	NW/SE, feet to SE	on R side, loosely flexed legs	
50	45.45	6	inhumation		NW/SE, head to SE	flexed, arms crossed at torso	bronze needle, piriform juglet nearby
52	45.45	6	inhumation	infant/toddler	N/S, feet to S	flexed legs?	
53	45.45	6	inhumation	infant/toddler	NW/SE		
54	45.45	6	inhumation	adult	NW/SE, head to NW	flexed, arms under chin	piriform juglet, shoulder goblet
55	45.45	6	inhumation	adult, male?	NE/SW, head to SW	legs flexed up, R arms crossed over to grab L	

Intramural

81	32.54	2c	inhumation	child, 3-5 years old	NE/SW, head to SW	on L side, tightly flexed legs, arms flexed up towards face	beads at wrist, squat globular juglet at head
85	32.54	2d	inhumation	adult male, 25-35 years old	NE/SW, head to SW, facing L	on back, arms crossed on torso, legs extended, feet pressed against wall	beads at neck, bronze pin L of skull
44	42.29	4	inhumation	child, 3-5 years old	NE/SW, head facing SW	on R side, legs flexed, arms over stomach, torso prone (body twisted)	beads at neck, Nuzi goblet, astragalus
15	44.85	1a	secondary?	adult, 19-25 years old	skull looking SW	skull placed upright and pelvis nearby	chunk of iron oxide under skull

Table 5, continued.

Locus #	Square	Local Phase	Type	Age, Sex	Orientation	Position	Goods
20	44.85	1b	slope wash?			top of skull, no mandible	
32	44.85	2	inhumation	middle aged female	NW/SE, head to SE	on R side, legs flexed, arms flexed towards face	3 broken pins at top and bottom and near chest, animal bones
5	44.95	1b	inhumation	young adult female	NE/SW, head to SW	legs tightly flexed, arms beneath body, face pointing slightly down	pin
9	44.95	2	inhumation	female, 20-40 years old	NW/SE, head to SE	facing slightly R, mostly on back, L leg tightly flexed, R leg flexed with knee at chest, hands between legs	
18	44.86	2	inhumation	adult male	NW/SE, facing SE	flexed legs, one arm at face, one arms flexed, on R side	
25	64.94	2	inhumation	adolescent, under 14 years old	NW/SE	on back, arms crossed at pelvis	over 600 beads of metal, amber, faience, stone around torso, gold pendant, silver earrings, 7 bronze bracelets around forearms and ankles
247	32.57	2b	accidental	young adult female		face down, legs and arms splayed, L arm under torso	
119	32.57	3b	accidental	adult male, 30-35 years old	NE/SW, head to SW	facedown, arms underneath torso, legs bent back, pressed against wall	
160	32.57	3d	inhumation		E/W		narrow-necked jug, long-necked globular juglet, conch shell pendant, omphalos bowl
166	32.57	3d	scatter		E/W		

Table 5, continued.

	Phase 0-1	Phase 1	Phase 1-2	Phase 2	Phase 2-3	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5	Phase 6	Total
Extramural	4 graves	9 graves	9 graves	15 graves	4 graves	58 graves	18 graves	10 graves	5 graves	132 graves
simple inhumation	4	7	8	12	2	45	12	9	5	104
multiple inhumation	-	2	-	-	-	11	2	1	-	16
secondary inhumation	-	1	1	3	2	4	4	-	-	15
pot burial	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	2
infant	1	-	1	-	-	6	1	5	2	16
child	-	1	3	1	-	10	3	-	-	18
adolescent	-	1	1	1	-	5	1	1	-	10
adult	1	7	4	8	3	25	5	5	2	60
undetermined	2	-	-	5	1	12	8	-	1	29
male	-	1	1	1	1	9	3	1	1	18
female	-	1	-	-	-	5	2	2	-	10
undetermined	4	7	8	14	3	44	13	8	4	105
NW/SE	2	5	6	9	2	14	10	8	3	59
NE/SW	1	4	1	5	1	2	3	2	1	20
N/S	1	-	1	1	-	3	1	-	1	8
E/W	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
on back	1	3	5	1	-	6	3	4	-	23
on R	-	-	-	2	1	4	1	3	-	11
on L	1	3	2	5	1	2	3	2	-	19
on stomach	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
legs flexed	1	7	5	11	1	12	6	7	4	54
legs extended	-	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	-	5
hands on chest	-	4	2	3	1	5	5	2	-	22
hands on pelvis	1	1	3	-	-	1	-	2	-	8
hands near face	-	-	-	1	-	3	1	-	1	6
arms across torso	-	-	-	2	-	1	1	-	1	5
arms extended	-	1	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
arms mixed	-	2	2	2	-	2	-	-	1	9

Table 6. Grave type, age/sex, orientation, and position by Phase, Period, and Level, excluding the Shaft Grave and the Plastered Tomb.

	Period 1-2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 6	Period 7	Total
Yener Intramural	7 graves	2 graves	7 graves	3 graves	5 graves	24 graves
simple inhumation	6	2	6	3	5	22
secondary inhumation	1	-	-	-	-	1
pot burial	-	-	1	-	-	1
infant	-	-	1	-	2	3
child	-	1	2	-	1	4
adolescent	1	-	3	-	2	6
adult	5	1	1	1	-	8
undetermined	1	0	0	2	0	3
male	1	1	-	-	-	2
female	3	-	2	-	-	5
undetermined	3	2	5	3	5	18
NW/SE	4	-	-	1	4	9
NE/SW	1	2	4	-	1	8
E/W	-	-	1	2	-	3
on back	2	1	2	-	-	5
on R	2	-	3	1	-	6
on L	-	1	-	-	-	1
legs flexed	5	1	3	1	5	15
legs extended	-	1	1	-	-	2
legs mixed	-	-	1	-	-	1
hands on chest	-	-	3	-	3	6
hands on pelvis	1	-	-	-	-	1
hands near face	1	1	-	-	-	2
arms across torso	-	1	1	-	-	2
arms extended	2	-	-	1	1	4
arms mixed	1	-	-	-	-	1

Table 6, continued.

	Level O-I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	Level V	Level VI	Level VII	Level VIII	Total
Woolley Intramural	11 graves	11 graves	7 graves	45 graves	34 graves	6 graves	5 graves	4 graves	123 graves
simple inhumation	4	7	9	39	28	7	9	2	105
multiple inhumation	1	1	-	3	2	1	-	2	10
secondary inhumation	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	2
pot burial	-	-	-	10	2	1	1	-	14
cremation	6	3	-	1	1	-	-	-	11
coffin	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
infant	-	-	2	8	8	2	3	-	23
child	2	2	1	16	9	2	3	2	37
adolescent	-	2	1	7	-	-	2	-	12
adult	5	5	4	14	14	4	2	3	51
undetermined	5	-	2	11	4	2	-	-	24
male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	0
female	1	-	-	4	-	1	-	-	6
undetermined	11	7	9	46	34	8	5	4	124
NW/SE	2	2	1	5	9	2	4	-	25
NE/SW	-	2	2	6	2	1	3	-	16
N/S	-	1	5	12	6	-	-	1	25
E/W	3	1	-	7	6	3	-	3	23
on back	-	-	2	3	4	-	-	1	10
on R	1	3	1	14	5	2	1	-	27
on L	2	-	2	7	8	-	5	4	28
legs flexed	5	4	4	14	12	4	6	3	52
legs extended	-	-	2	5	6	2	-	-	15
legs mixed	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
hands on chest	-	-	-	4	-	-	3	-	7
hands on pelvis	1	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	3
hands near face	-	2	2	2	1	-	1	-	8
arms across torso	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	2
arms extended	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
arms mixed	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2

Table 6, continued.

	Phase 0-1	Phase 1	Phase 1-2	Phase 2	Phase 2-3	Phase 3	Phase 4	Phase 5	Phase 6	Total
Extramural	4 graves	9 graves	9 graves	15 graves	4 graves	58 graves	18 graves	10 graves	5 graves	132
astragali	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	3
biconical cups	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2
biconical jars	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	3
bracelets	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
earrings	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
figurines	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	3
glass vessels	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
globular juglets	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	3
globular pitchers	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
hemispherical cups	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
jars	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	1	-	4
miniature jars	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
necklaces	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	2	-	5
no goods	2	8	1	11	4	45	5	4	3	83
pendants	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	4
pins	1	2	1	1	-	1	1	-	1	8
piriform juglets	1	-	2	1	-	3	3	1	2	13
rings	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-	3
s-curve jar	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
short-neck jars	-	-	1	1	-	7	4	2	-	15
shoulder goblets	1	-	2	2	-	2	3	-	1	11
weights	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1

	Period 1-2	Period 3	Period 4	Period 6	Period 7	Total
Yener Intramural	7 graves	2 graves	7 graves	3 graves	5 graves	24 graves
no goods	4	-	4	1	4	13
astragli	-	-	1	-	-	1
Base Ring jugs	-	-	1	-	-	1
bracelets	7	-	-	-	-	7
earrrings	2	-	-	-	-	2
globular juglets	-	1	-	1	-	2
narrow-necked jugs	-	-	-	1	-	1
necklaces	5	2	4	-	-	11
Nuzi goblets	-	-	1	-	-	1
omphalos bowls	-	-	-	1	-	1
pendants	1	-	-	1	-	2
pins	4	1	-	-	-	5
piriform juglets	-	-	-	2	-	2
rings	-	-	2	-	-	2
shallow bowls	-	-	2	-	-	2
shoulder goblets	-	-	-	2	2	4
vases	-	-	1	-	-	1

Table 7. Grave goods by Phase, Period, and Level, excluding the Shaft Grave and the Plastered Tomb.

	Level O-I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	Level V	Level VI	Level VII	Level VIII	Total
Woolley Intramural	11 graves	11 graves	7 graves	45 graves	34 graves	6 graves	5 graves	4 graves	123
arrowheads	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
astragli	-	-	4	1	2	-	-	-	7
Base Ring bowls	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Base Ring juglets	-	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	6
Base Ring jugs	-	-	-	6	3	-	-	-	9
biconical cups	-	1	-	11	1	-	-	-	13
biconical jars	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	1	5
biconical jugs	-	1	4	2	-	-	-	-	7
bones boxes	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	3
bottle juglets	-	-	-	-	3	-	1	-	4
bowls, unknown	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
bracelets	8	-	2	1	3	3	-	-	17
bronze disks	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
buttons	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
combs	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2
cookpots	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	4
cylindrical cups	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
cylindrical jars	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
deep bowls	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
drop bottles	1	1	-	2	-	-	-	-	4
earrrings	20	-	3	12	21	1	-	-	57
feeding bottles	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	3
figurines	-	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	3
flasks	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
glass figurines	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	2
glass vessels	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
glazed bottles	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
globular jars	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1

Table 7, continued.

	Level O-I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	Level V	Level VI	Level VII	Level VIII	Total
Woolley Intramural	11 graves	11 graves	7 graves	45 graves	34 graves	6 graves	5 graves	4 graves	123
globular jugs	-	-	-	5	-	-	-	-	5
globular pitchers	-	-	-	2	3	-	-	-	5
hemispherical bowls	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
high-neck jars	3	1	1	5	4	1	-	-	15
high-neck jugs	2	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	8
high-neck pitchers	1	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	7
impressions	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
inlays	20	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	21
jar amphorae	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	2
jars	-	2	-	-	2	-	-	-	4
jugs	1	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	5
knife handles	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
knives	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
kohl pots	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
kohl sticks	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
kraters	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3
LH IIIA flasks	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
LH IIIA piriform jars	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
LH IIIA stirrup jars	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
LHIIIA krater	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
libation pourers	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
metal foil	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
metal vessels	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	3
miniature jars	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
narrow-necked jugs	-	1	2	7	4	-	-	2	16
narrow-necked pitchers	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2
necklaces	10	8	7	24	17	4	2	1	73
needles	3	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	7
Nuzi goblets	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1

Table 7, continued.

	Level O-I	Level II	Level III	Level IV	Level V	Level VI	Level VII	Level VIII	Total
Woolley Intramural	11 graves	11 graves	7 graves	45 graves	34 graves	6 graves	5 graves	4 graves	123
Nuzi juglets	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
Nuzi jugs	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
pendants	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6
pins	9	3	3	14	13	2	3	-	47
piriform juglets	-	-	-	2	4	-	2	3	11
pitcher juglets	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
pithoid jars	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	2
plates	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
pointed juglets	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
rings	6	-	2	6	3	-	-	-	17
scarabs	1	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	3
s-curve bowls	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
s-curve cups	-	-	1	1	3	-	1	-	6
seals	4	6	-	3	4	2	-	-	19
shallow bowls	3	1	-	2	2	-	1	-	9
short-neck jars	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	3	7
shoulder goblets	-	-	-	1	6	-	3	-	10
spindle bottles	-	-	1	23	6	-	-	-	30
spindle whorls	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	4
spindles	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
stone vases	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
teapots	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	3
torques	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
tripod bowls	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
tweezers	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
twin bevelled globular juglets	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
weights	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	2
White Slip milk bowls	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	2

Table 7, continued.

		LB II		LB I		MB II			
Period/Level	**1/O-I**	**2/II**	**3/III**	**4/IV**	**5/V**	**6/VI**	**7/VII**	**8/VIII**	**Total**
Total Graves	11	18	9	65	58	89	26	4	280
simple inhumation	4(36%)	13(72%)	9(100%)	56(81%)	49(84.5%)	69(78%)	23(88%)	2(50%)	232(83%)
multiple inhumation	1(9%)	1(5.5%)	-	5(7.5%)	2(3%)	14(16%)	1(4%)	2(50%)	26(9%)
secondary inhumation	-	1(5.5%)	-	2(3%)	4(7%)	10(11%)	-	1(25%)	18(6.5%)
pot burial	-	-	-	11(17%)	2(3.5%)	3(3%)	1(4%)	-	17(6%)
cremation	6(55%)	3(17%)	-	1(1.5%)	1(2%)	-	-	-	11(4%)
chamber	-	-	-	-	-	-	1(4%)	-	1(.5%)
with goods	11(100%)	14(78%)	9(100%)	51(78%)	46(79%)	34(38%)	15(58%)	4(100%)	184(66%)
without goods	-	4(22%)	-	14(22%)	12(21%)	55(62%)	11(42%)	-	96(34%)

Table 8. Burial types by Period/Level. Percentages (rounded to the nearest .5%) in parentheses represent percentage of total burials in Period/Level.

	LB II			LB I			MB II		
Period/Level	**1/O-I**	**2/II**	**3/III**	**4/IV**	**5/V**	**6/VI**	**7/VII**	**8/VIII**	**Total**
Total Individuals	12	19	12	76	59	93	36	6	313
infant	-	-	2(17%)	10(13%)	9(15%)	9(9.5%)	12(33%)	-	42(13%)
child	2(17%)	2(10.5%)	2(17%)	19(25%)	13(22%)	15(16%)	5(14%)	2(33%)	60(19%)
adolescent	-	3(16%)	1(8%)	11(14.5%)	2(3.5%)	6(6.5%)	5(14%)	-	28(9%)
adult	5(41.5%)	10(52.5%)	5(41.5%)	23(30%)	26(44.5%)	38(41%)	13(36%)	4(67%)	124(40%)
undetermined	5(41.5%)	4(21%)	2(17%)	13(17%)	9(15%)	25(27%)	1(3%)	-	59(19%)
male	-	1(5%)	1(8%)	1(1.5%)	2(3%)	13(14%)	2(5.5%)	-	20(6%)
female	1(8%)	3(16%)	-	7(9%)	-	8(9%)	2(5.5%)	-	21(7%)
undetermined	11(92%)	15(79%)	11(92%)	68(89.5%)	57(97%)	72(77%)	32(89%)	6(100%)	272(87%)

Table 9. Age and sex of individuals by Period/Level. Percentages (rounded to the nearest .5%) in parentheses represent percentage of total individuals in Period/Level.

	Closed (Jar/Jug)	Intermediate (Cup/Krater)	Open (Bowl/Plate)
Yener Extramural			
Phase 0-1	2	-	-
Phase 1	-	-	-
Phase 1-2	7	-	-
Phase 2	5	-	-
Phase 2-3	-	-	-
Phase 3	16	-	-
Phase 4	11	2	-
Phase 5	8	1	-
Phase 6	3	-	-
Total	52	3	-
Yener Intramural			
Period 1-2	-	-	-
Period 3	1	-	-
Period 4	2	1	2
Period 6	6	-	1
Period 7	2	-	-
Total	11	1	3
Woolley Graves			
Level O-I	19	2	3
Level II	10	1	1
Level III	9	1	-
Level IV	88	17	13
Level V	49	5	7
Level VI	4	-	2

Level VII	8	1	2
Level VIII	9	-	-
Total	196	27	28

Table 10. Distribution of closed, intermediate, and open vessel shapes by Phase, Period, and Level.

	Simple Ware	Simple Fine Ware	Grey Burnished Ware	Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished Ware	Unknown
Biconical cup	2	-	-	-	-
Biconical jar	2	1	-	-	-
Globular juglet	3	-	-	-	-
Globular pitcher	1	-	-	-	-
Hemispherical cup	1	-	-	-	-
Miniature jar	1	-	-	-	-
Piriform juglet	2	-	2	9	-
S-curve jar	1	-	-	-	-
Short-neck jar	4	5	-	-	6
Shoulder goblet	2	9	-	-	-

Table 11. Vessel shape and ware distribution in the cemetery.

	Simple Ware	Simple Fine Ware	Grey Burnished Ware	Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished Ware	Syro-Cilcian Ware	Red Slipped Ware	Unknown
Cylindrical cups	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Globular juglet	-	-	1	-	1	-	-
Narrow necked jug	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Omphalos bowl	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Piriform juglet	-	-	-	2	-	-	-
Shallow bowl	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
Shoulder goblet	-	2	-	-	-	-	2
Spindle Bottle (local)	-	-	-	-	-	1	-

Table 12. Vessel shape and ware distribution in the Yener intramural burials.

	Simple Ware	Simple Fine Ware	Banded Ware	Red Slipped Ware	Grey Burnished Ware	Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished Ware	Painted Ware	Cookware
Biconical amphoroid krater	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Biconical cup	7	-	1	1	-	-	-	-
Biconical jar	2	-		-	-	-	-	-
Biconical jug	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	-
Bottle juglet	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cylindrical cup	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Cylindrical jar	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Deep bowl	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Deep cookpot		-	-	-	-	-	-	3
Drop bottle	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Feeding bottle	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Globular jar	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Globulat juglet	9	1	1	-	1	1	1	-
Globulat pitcher	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hemispherical bowl	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hemispherical cup		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hemispherical krater	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hemispherical pithoid jar	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
High-necked jar	14	1	1	-	14	-	-	-
High-necked jug	4	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
High-necked pitcher	7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Jar/Jug of uncertain type	4	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
Lentoid flask	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Miniature jar	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Narrow-necked jug	14	-	2	1	-	-	2	-
Piriform juglet	2	-	-	-	-	8	-	-
Pitcher juglet	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pointed juglet	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-curve bowl	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-curve cup	10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
S-curve jar	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-
Shallow bowl	9	1	-	-	2	-	-	-
Short-neck jar	5	2	1	-	-	-	-	-
Shoulder goblet	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spindle bottle (local)	4	-	-	2	-	-	-	-
Teapot	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Transport amphora	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 13. Vessel shape and ware distribution in Woolley graves.

APPENDIX B

FIGURES

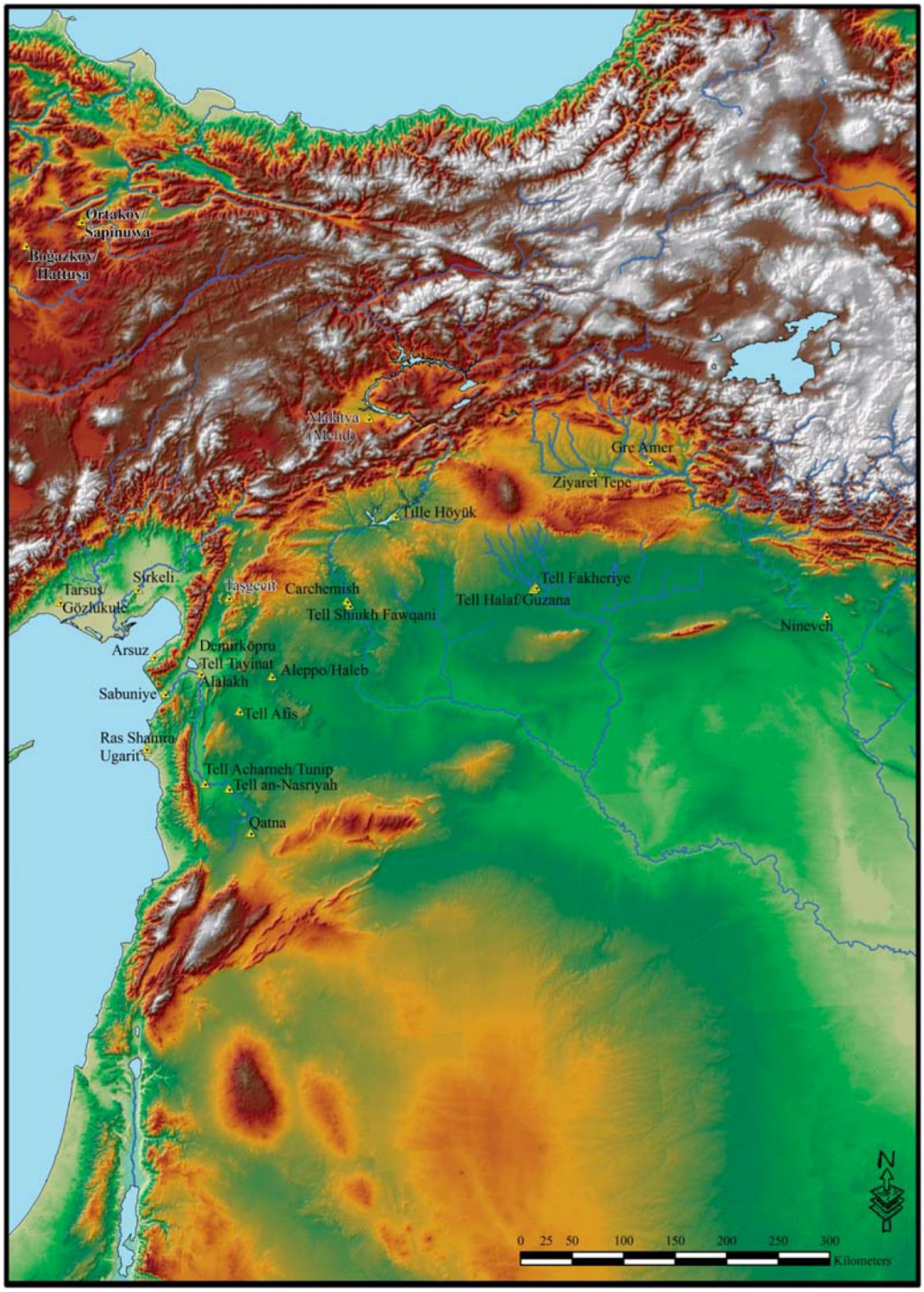


Figure 1. Location of Tell Atchana (Yener 2013a: 28, Fig. 1).

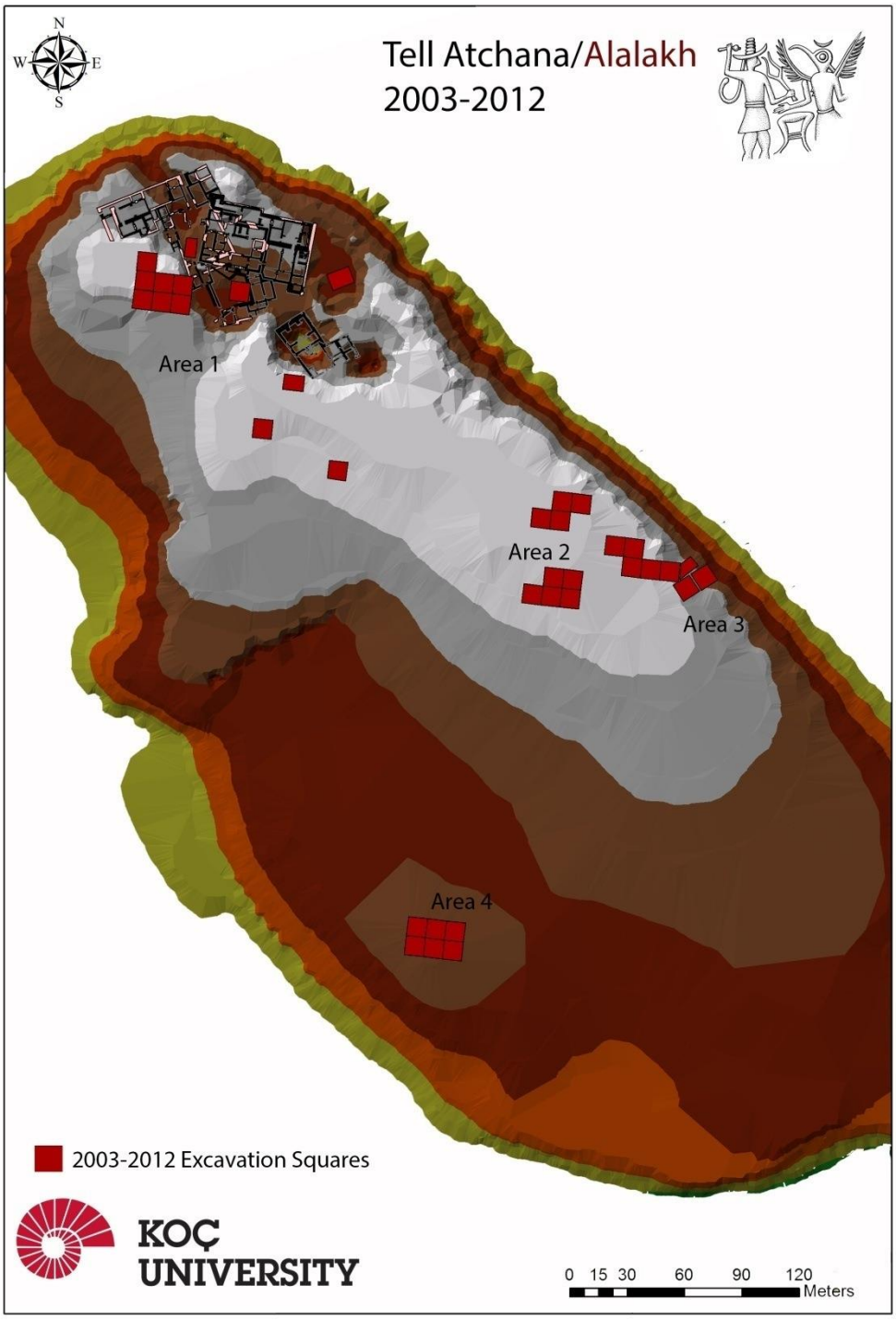


Figure 2. Map of Tell Atchana. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

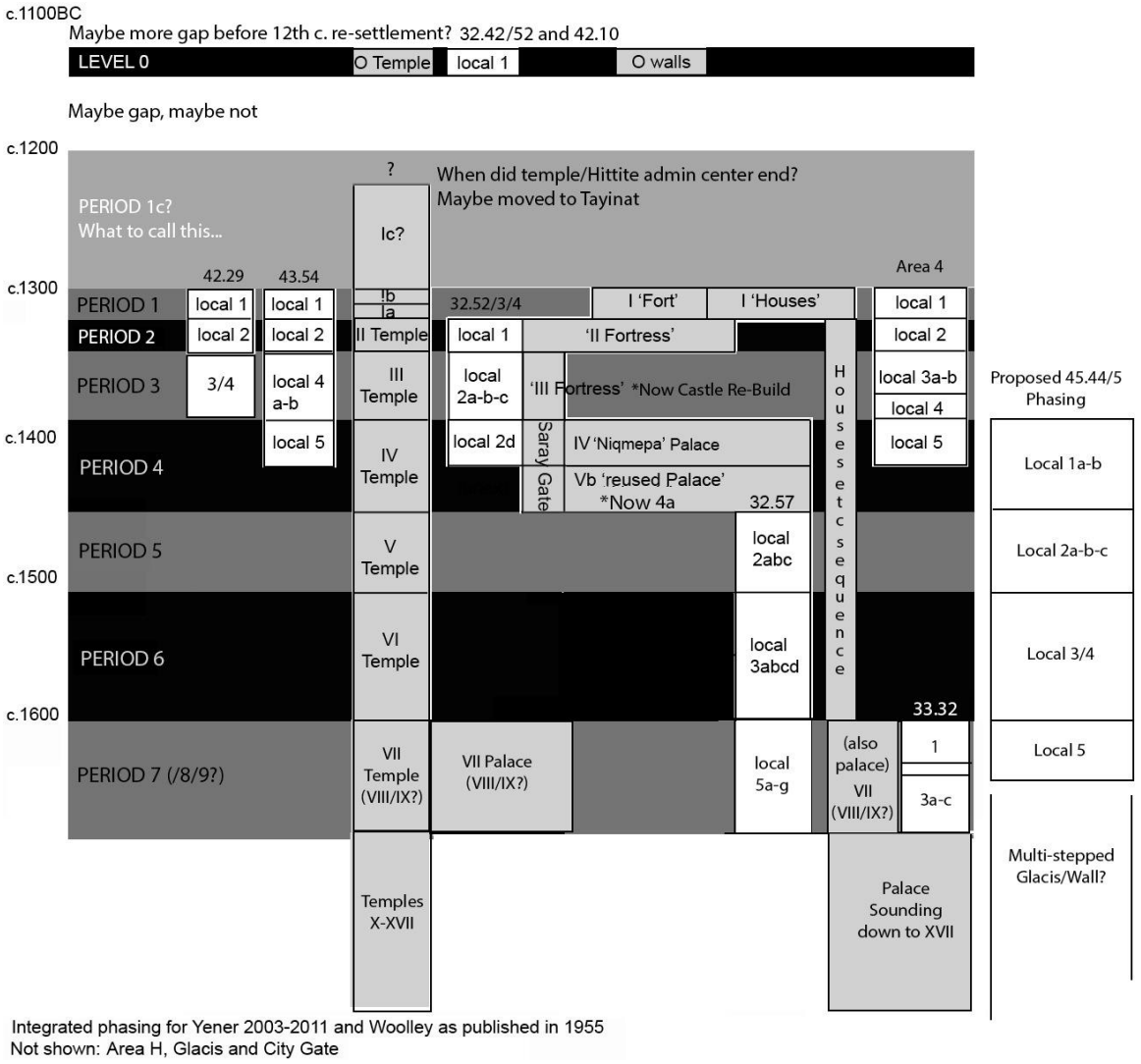


Figure 3. Updated chronology of Alalakh showing Woolley Levels and Yener contexts. Courtesy of Mara Horowitz.

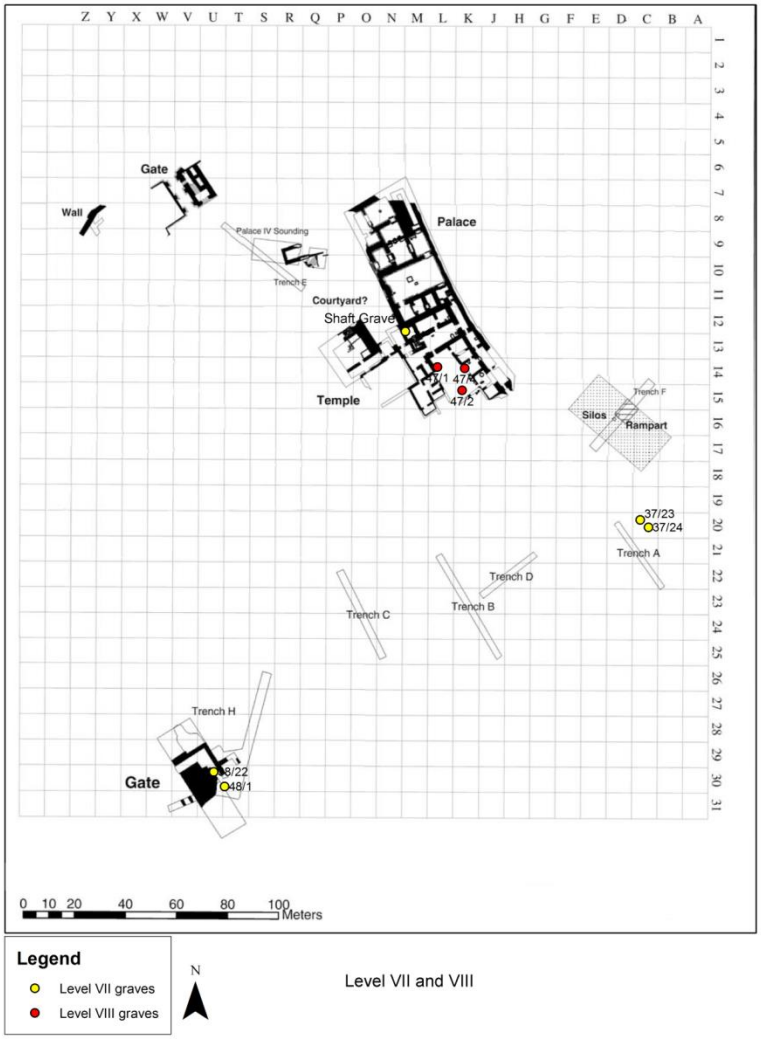


Figure 4. Level VIII and VII graves, after Yener 2005: 138, Fig. 4.27.

Figure 5. Piriform juglets from Level VIII. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. ATP/47/3, from ATG/47/3 2. ATP/47/6, from ATG/47/6

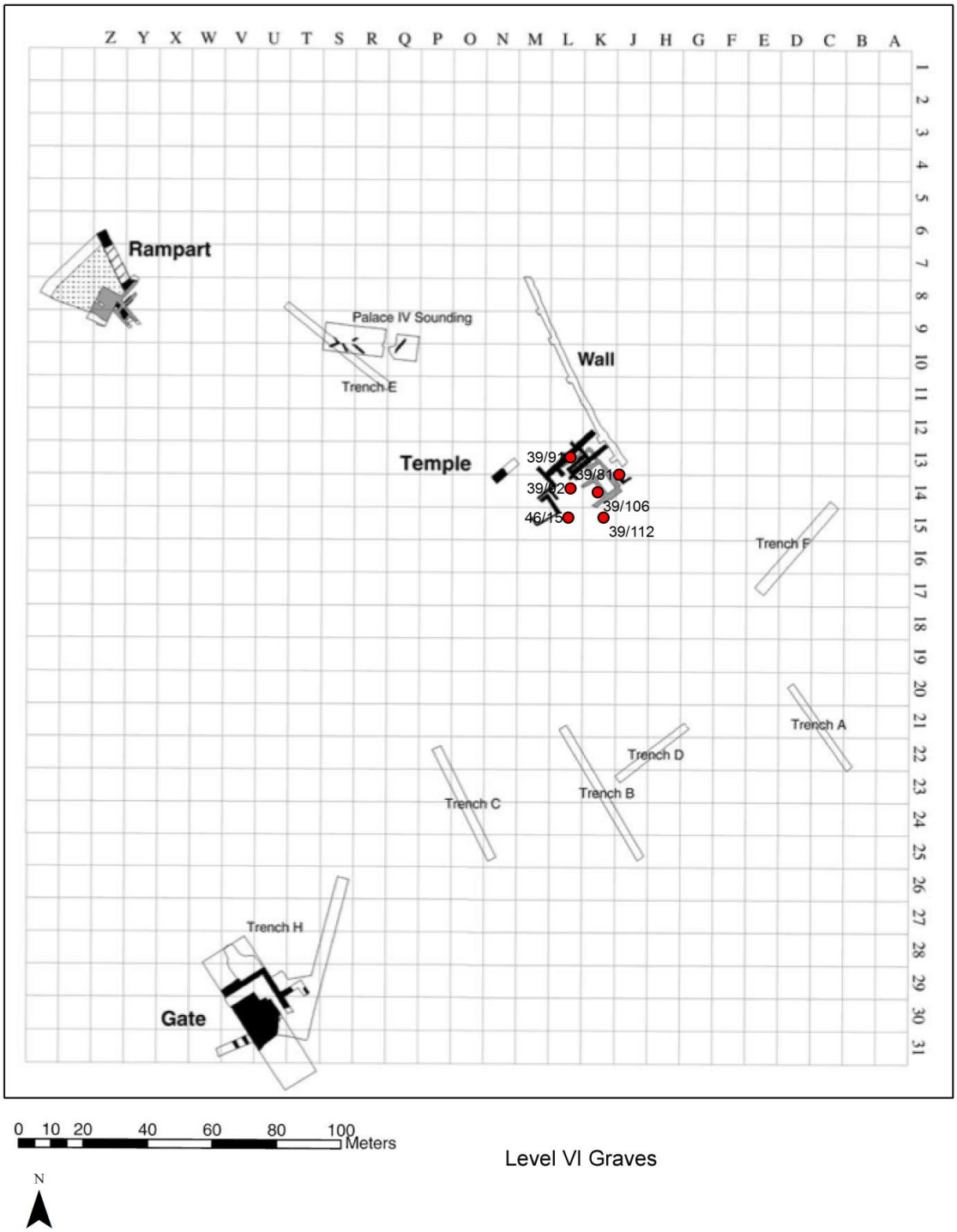


Figure 6. Level VI graves, after Yener 2005: 139, Fig. 4.28.

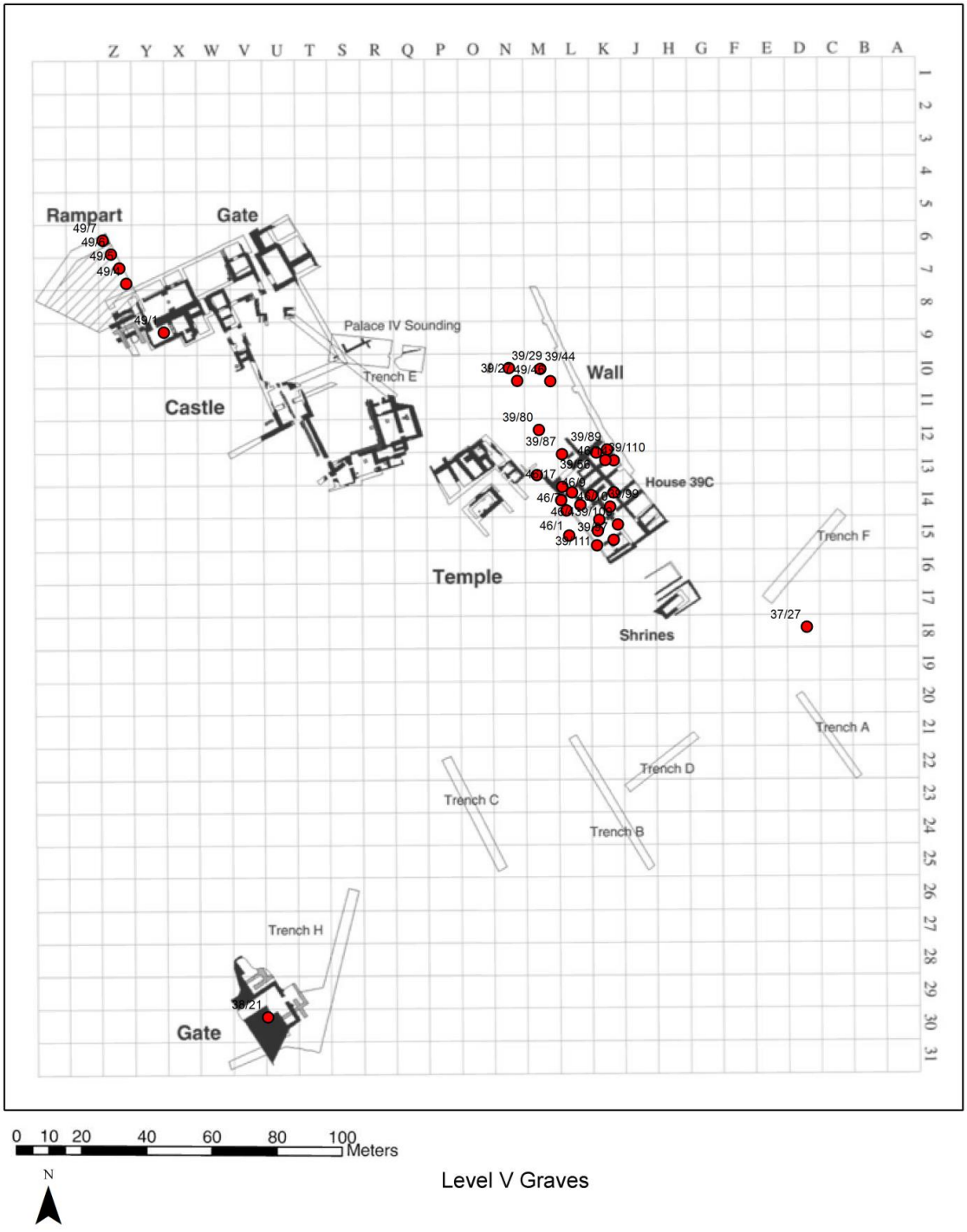


Figure 7. Level V graves, after Yener 2005: 140, Fig. 4.29.

Figure 8. Beads from Level V. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT/39/263, from ATG/39/108 2. 39/208, from ATG/39/80

Figure 9. Round-bodied glazed bottle AT/39/197, from ATG/39/80. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 10. Grave goods from Level V. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. ATP/46/228, from ATG/46/10 2. ATP/39/25, from ATG/39/27 3. ATP/46/126, from ATG/46/1 4. ATP/49/32, from ATG/49/4 5. ATP/49/38, from ATG/46/7 6. ATP/46/283, from ATG/46/17 7. ATP/46/264, from ATG/46/20 8. ATP/46/265

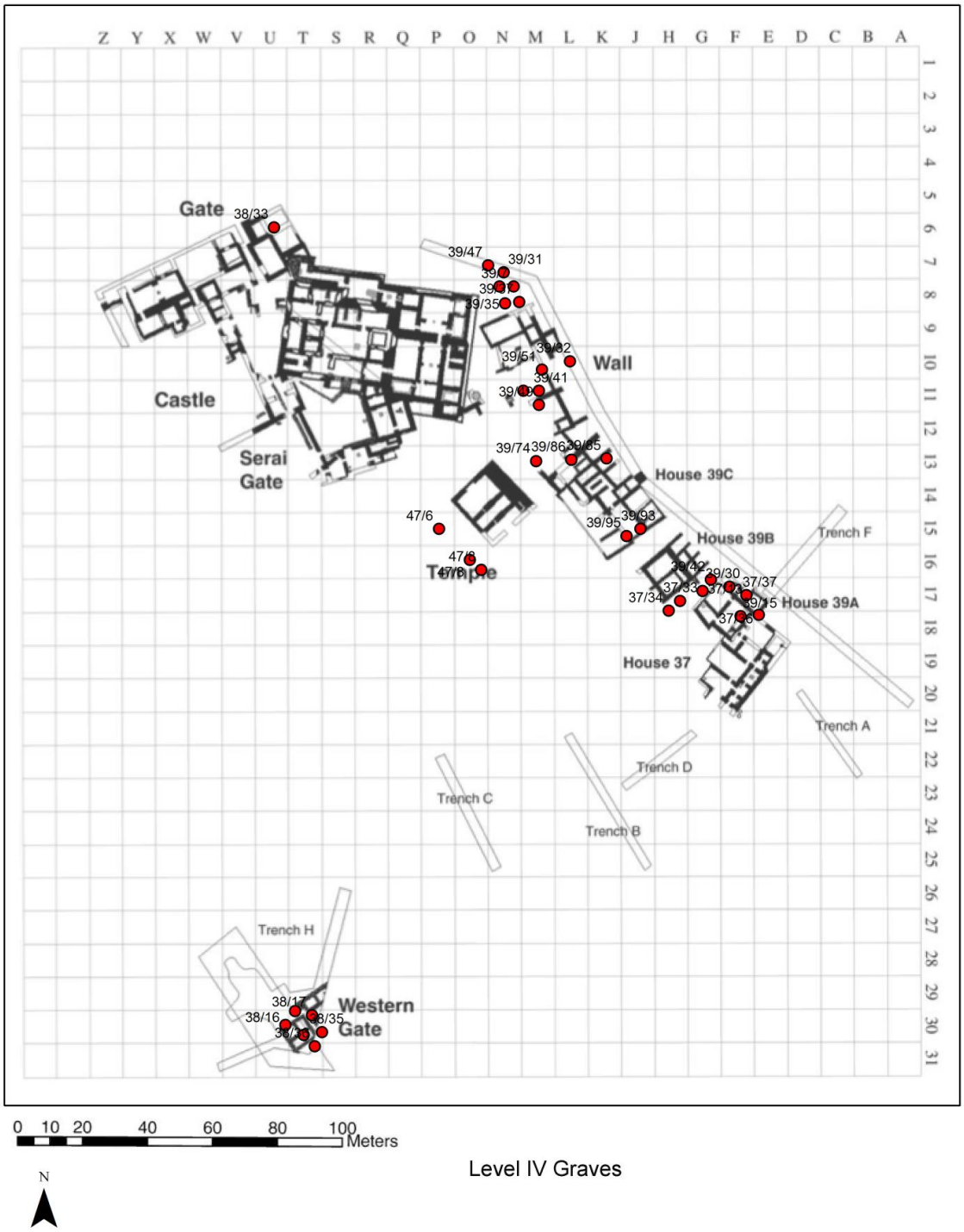


Figure 11. Level IV graves, after Yener 2005: 141, Fig. 4.30.

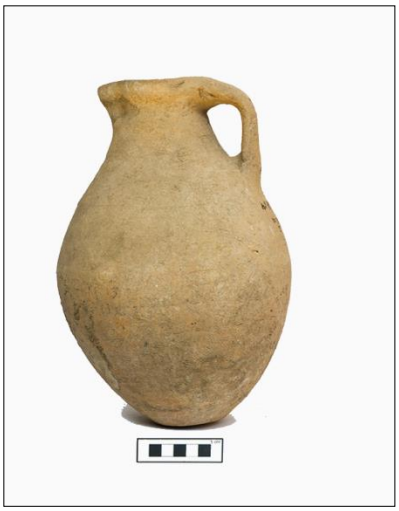


Figure 12. Cremation urn ATP/39/191, from ATG/39/74. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 13. Spindle bottles from Level VI. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. Left to right: ATP/39/282 from ATG/39/101, ATP/39/59A from ATG/39/35, and ATP/38/163 from ATG/38/17.

Figure 14. Grave goods from Level IV. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. ATP/38/183, from ATG/38/34 2. ATP/39/38, from ATG/39/7 3. ATP/39/65, from ATG/39/35 4. ATP/39/37, from ATG/39/7 5. ATP/39/46, from ATG/39/15 6. ATP/39/63, from ATG/39/35 7. ATP/47/28, from ATG/47/5 8. ATP/39/91, from ATG/39/35 9. ATP/47/27, from ATG/47/5

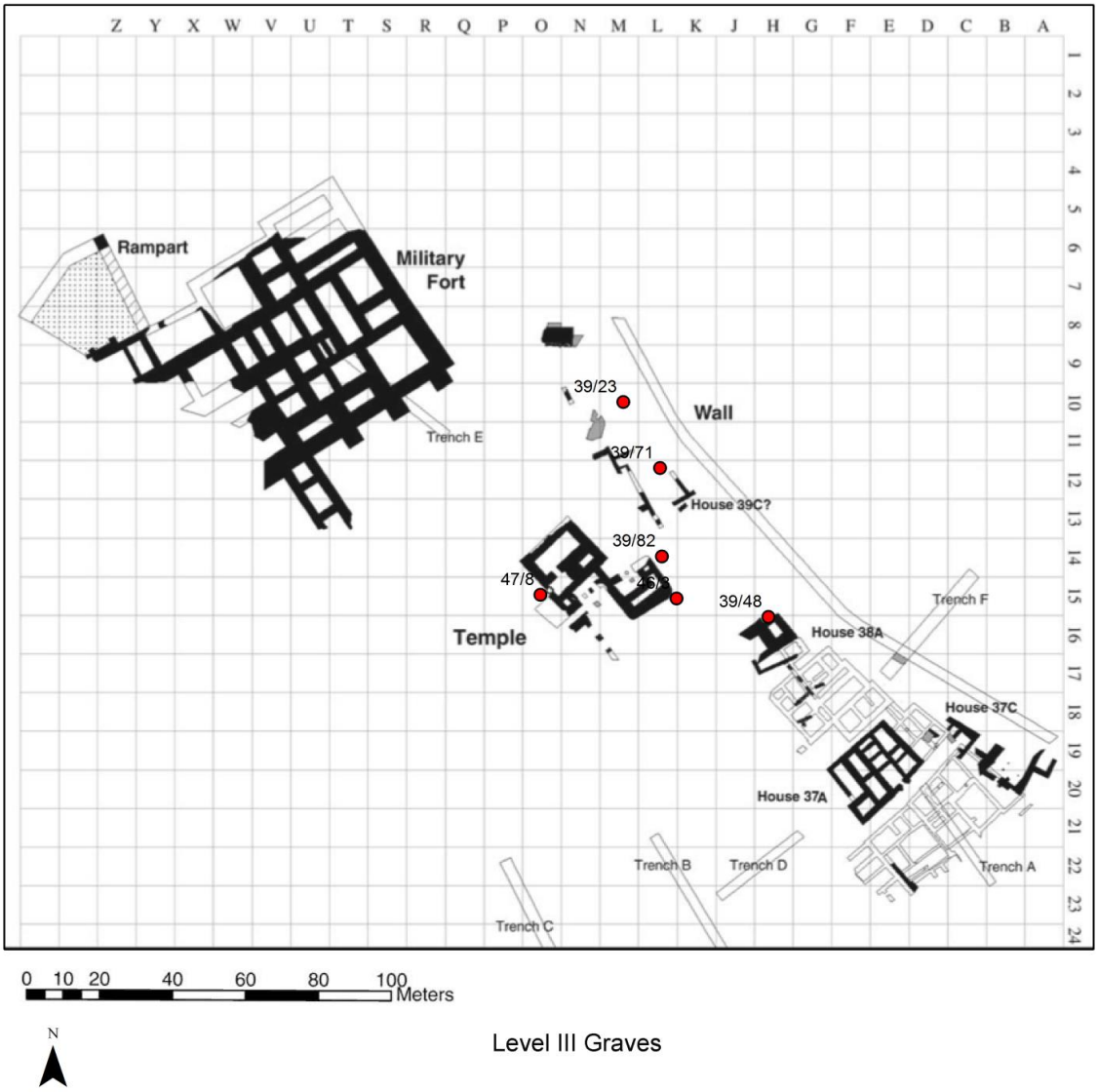


Figure 15. Level III graves, after Yener 2005: 142, Fig. 4.31.

Figure 16. Mold-made glass figurine AT/39/66, from ATG/39/23. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 17. Grave vessels from Level III. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. ATP/39/155, from ATG/39/71 2. ATP/47/45, from ATG/47/8

Figure 18. Beads AT/36/320, from ATG/46/3. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar.

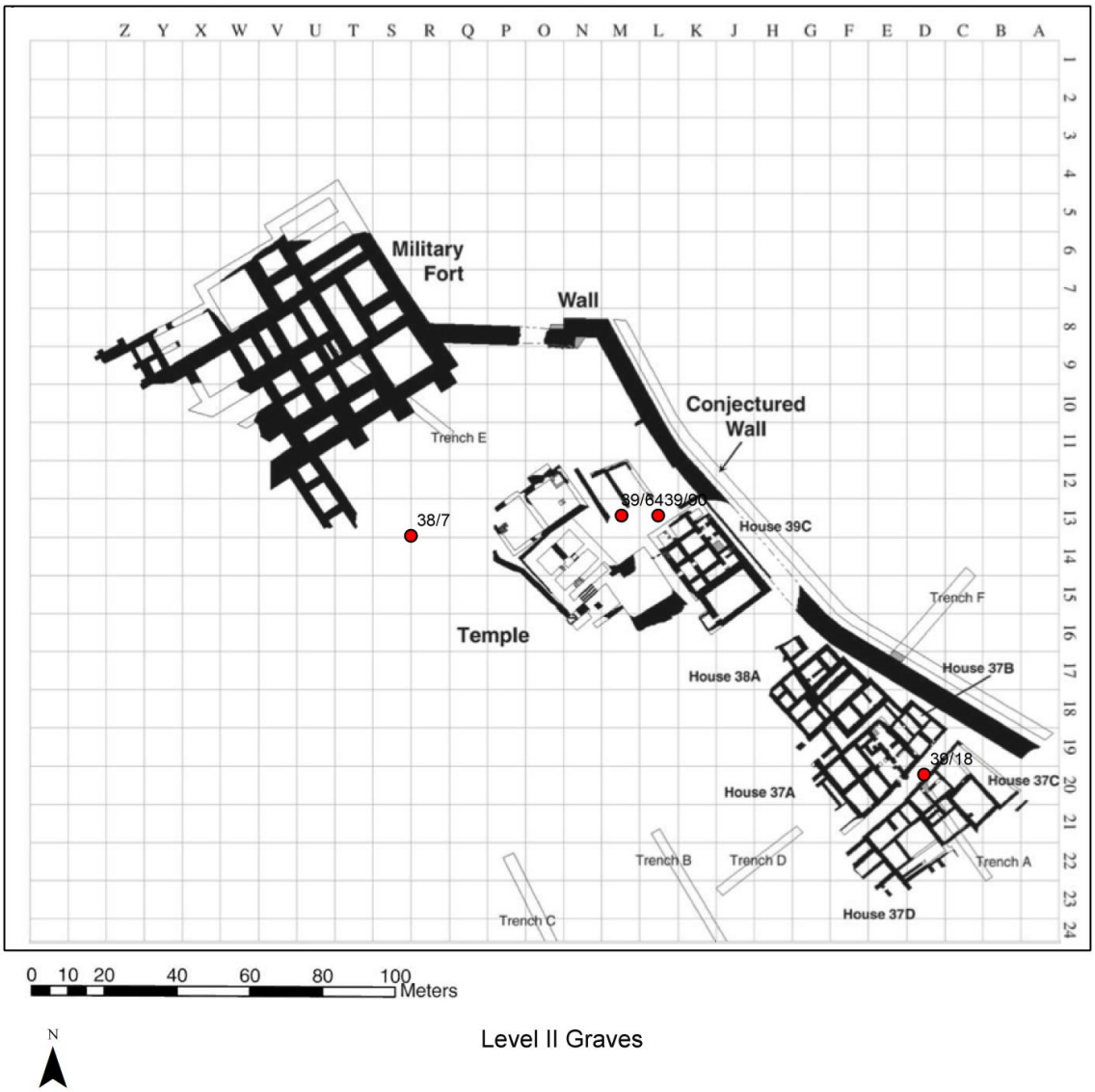


Figure 19. Level II graves, after Yener 2005: 143, Fig. 4.32.

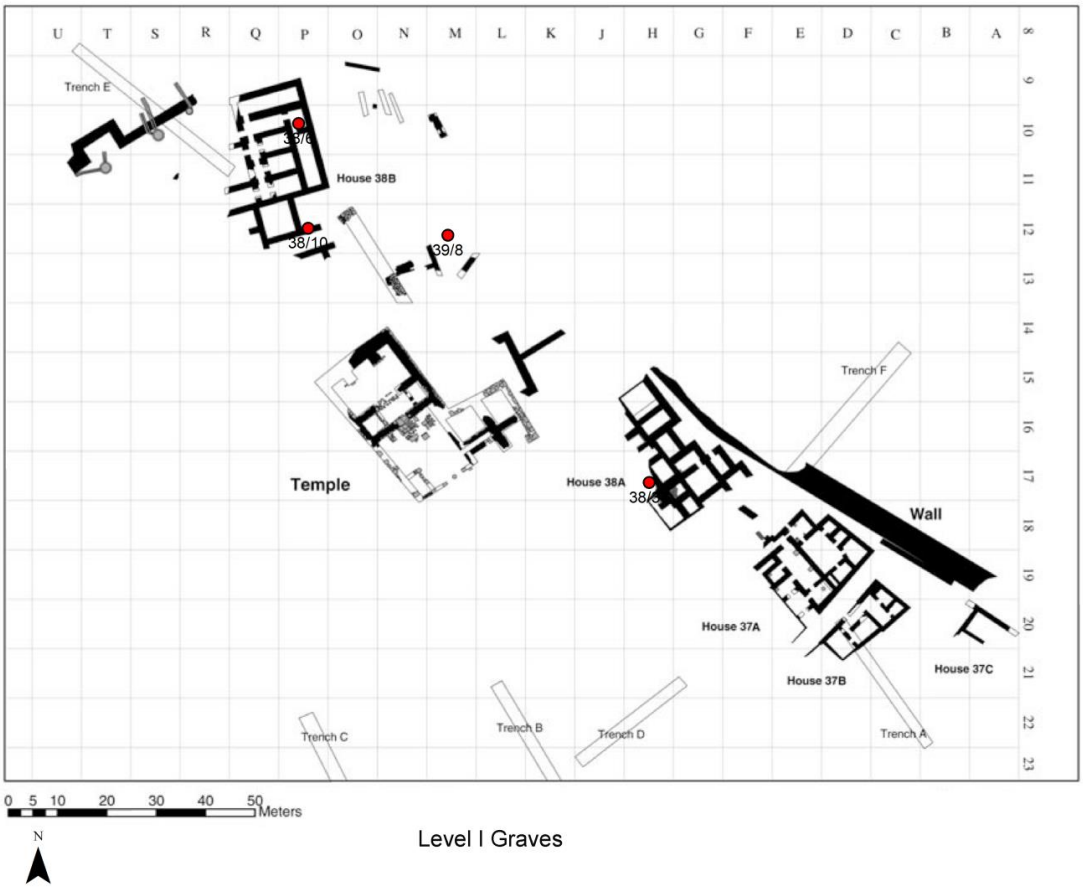


Figure 20. Level I and O graves, after Yener 2005: 144, Fig. 4.33.

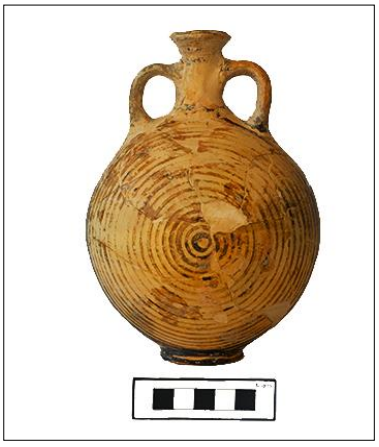


Figure 21. LHIIIA flask ATP/39/186, from ATG/39/68. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar

.

Figure 22. Staircase leading to the Shaft Grave (Woolley 1955: Pl. XXa).

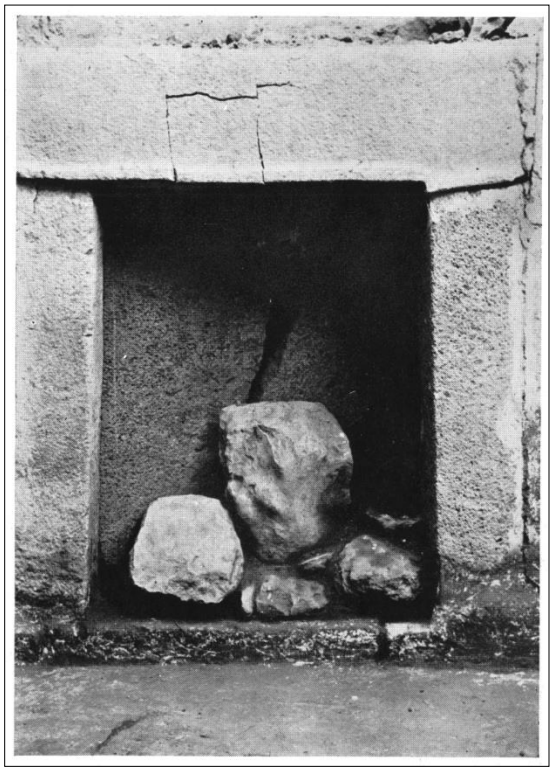


Figure 23. Door to the Shaft Grave (Woolley 1955: Pl. XXb).

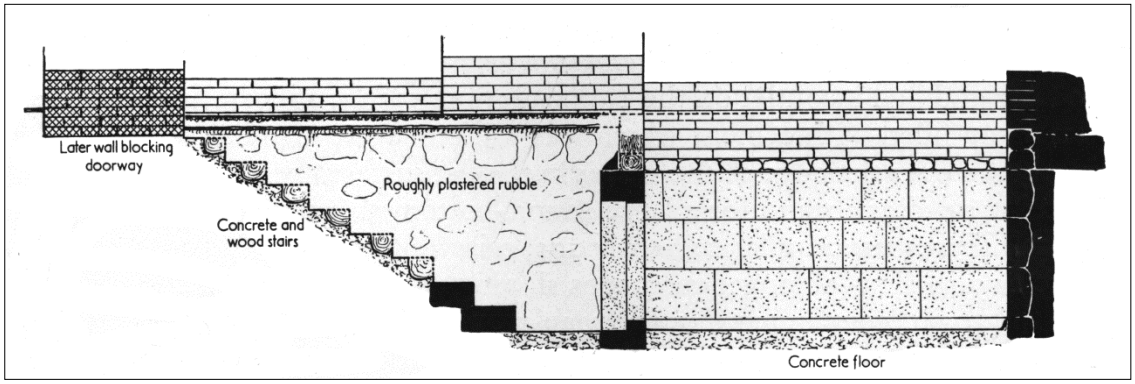


Figure 24. Section of the Shaft Grave (Woolley 1955: 96, fig. 36).

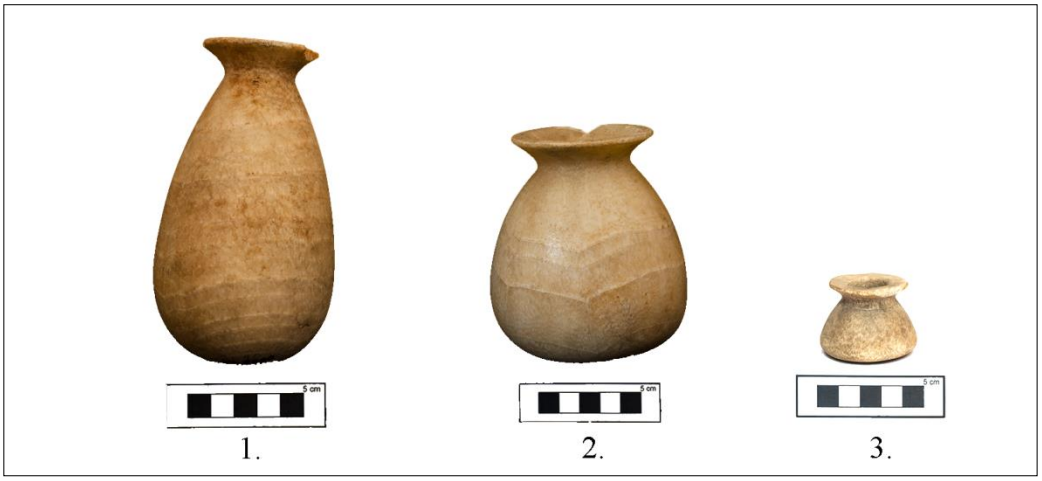


Figure 25. Alabaster vessels from the Shaft Grave. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT/39/244 2. AT/39/252 3. AT/39/261

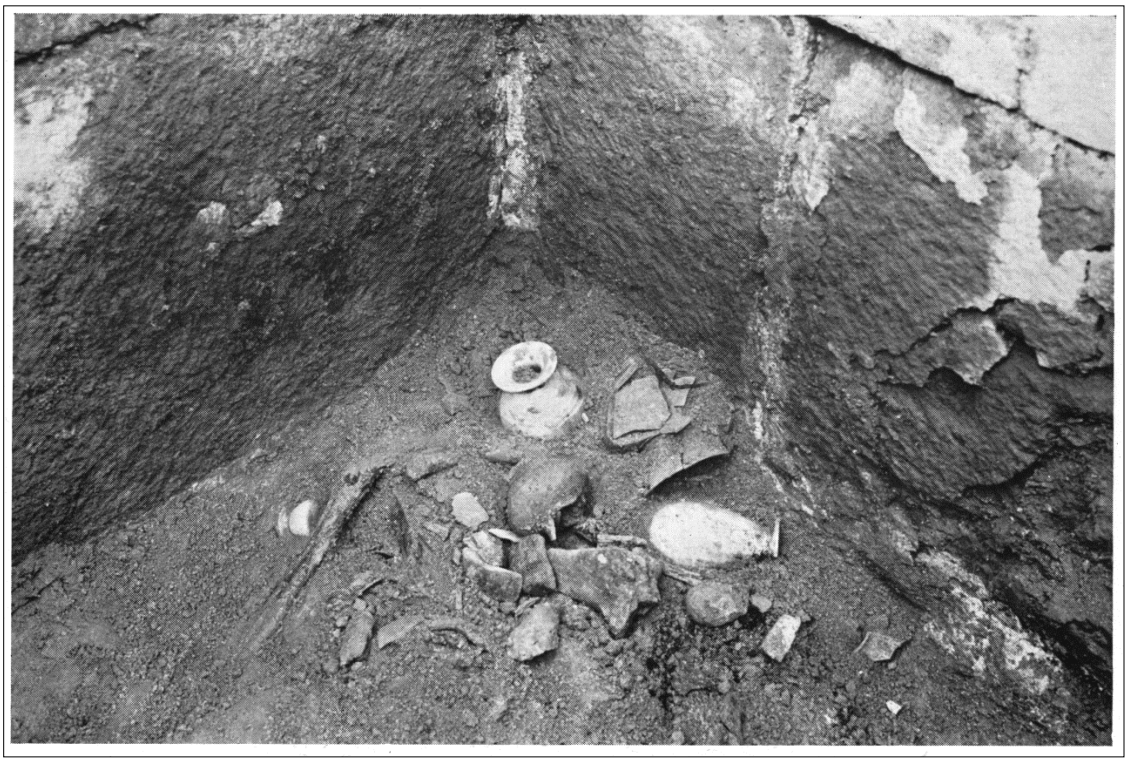


Figure 26. The burnt deposit in the Shaft Grave (Woolley 1955: Pl XXIa).

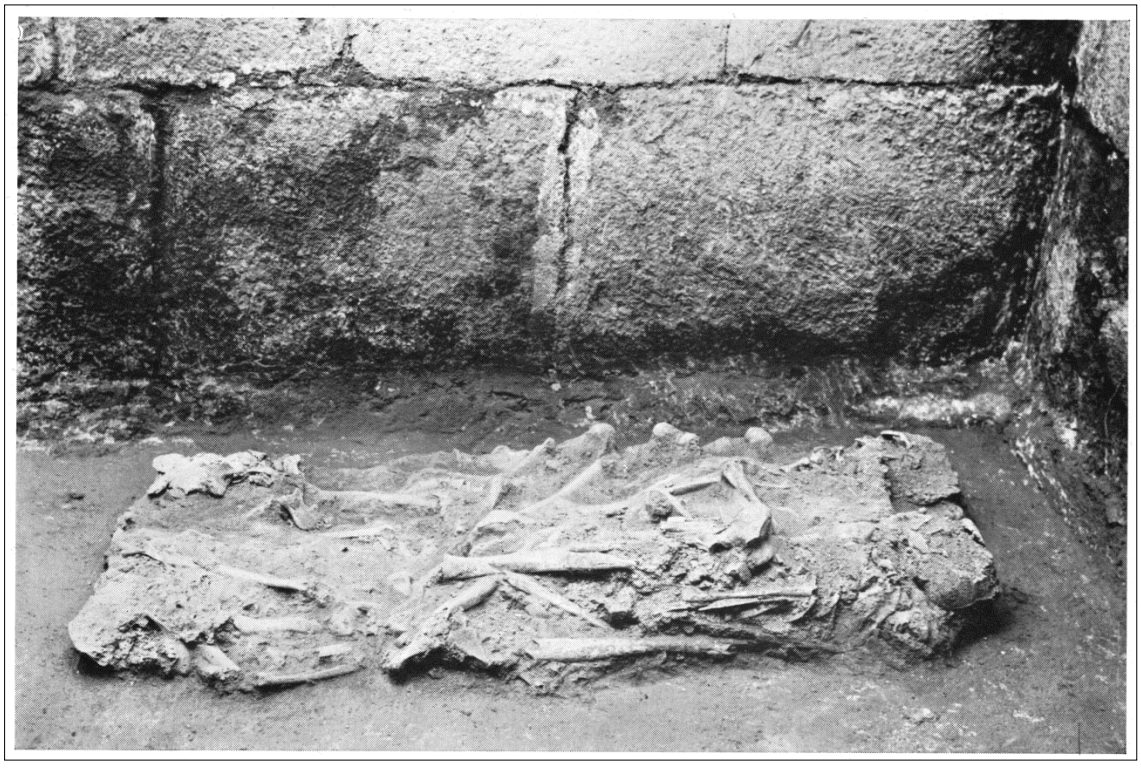


Figure 27. The human remains in the Shaft Grave (Woolley 1955: Pl. XXIb).

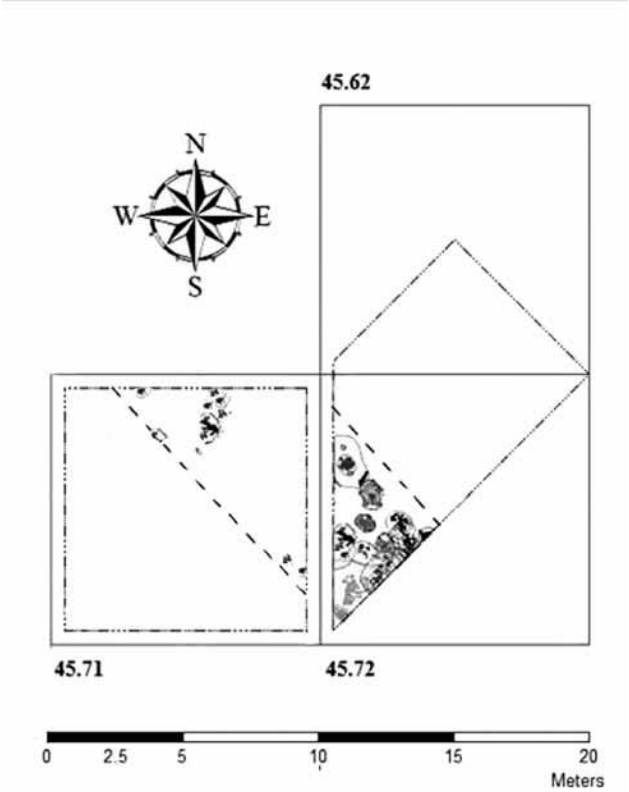


Figure 28. Phase 3 of the extramural cemetery in squares 45.71 and 45.72 (Yener 2010: 37, Fig. 2.5.2).

Figure 29. Grave vessels from squares 45.71 and 45.72 (Yener 2010: 46, Fig. 2.21).

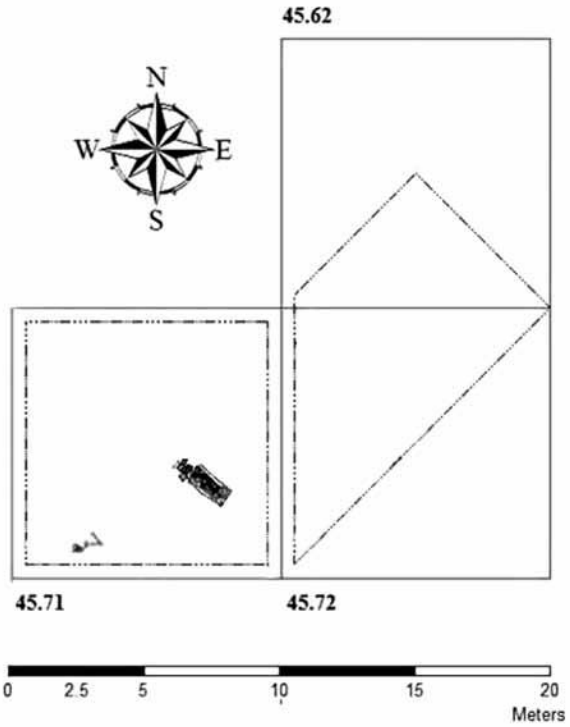


Figure 30. Phase 1 of the extramural cemetery in sqares 45.71 and 45.72 (Yener 2010: 37, Fig. 2.5.4).

Figure 31. The foundation of the Plastered Tomb (Yener 2013b: Fig. 2).

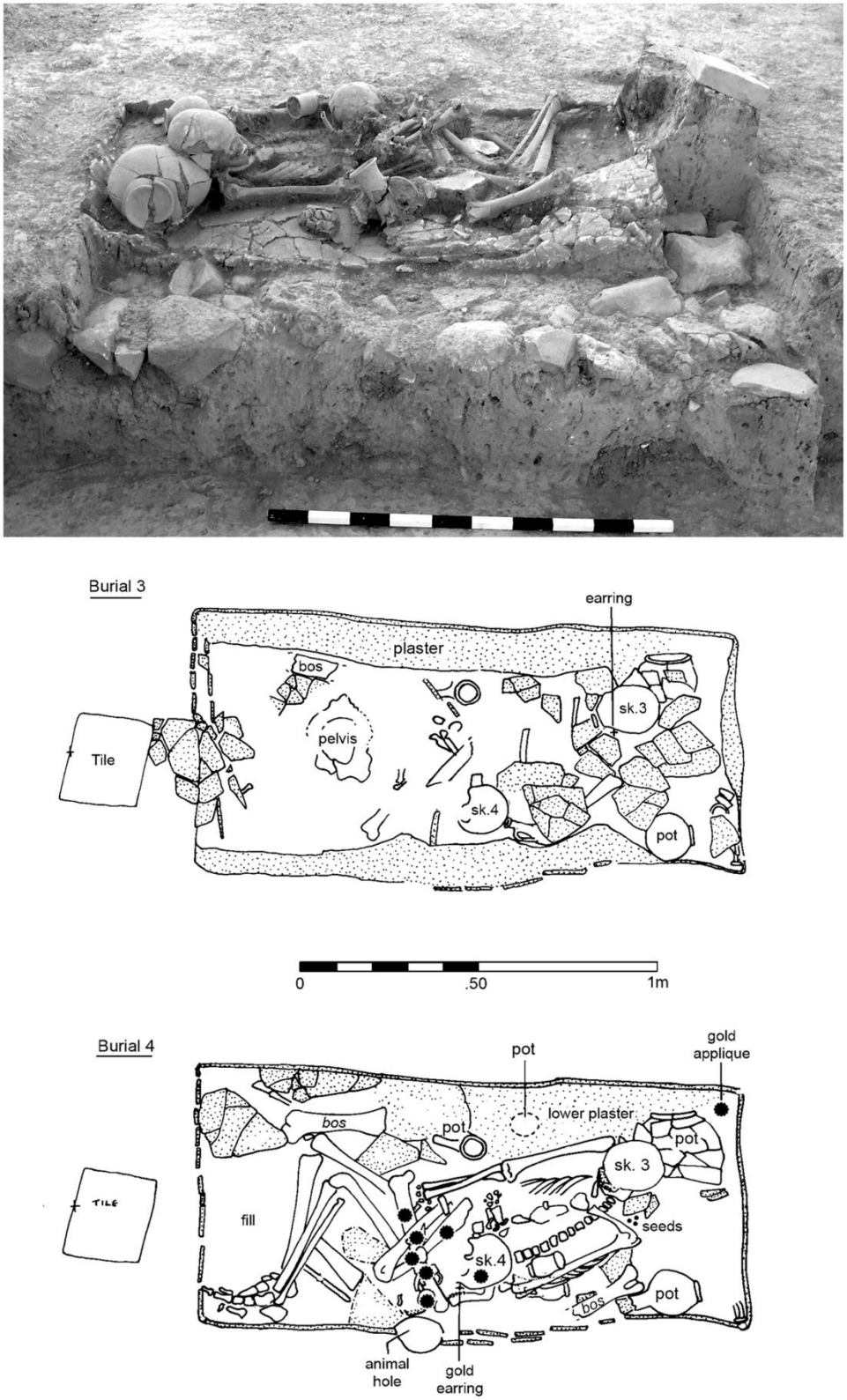


Figure 32. The two earlier burials from the Plastered Tomb (Yener 2013b: Fig. 2, Fig. 5).

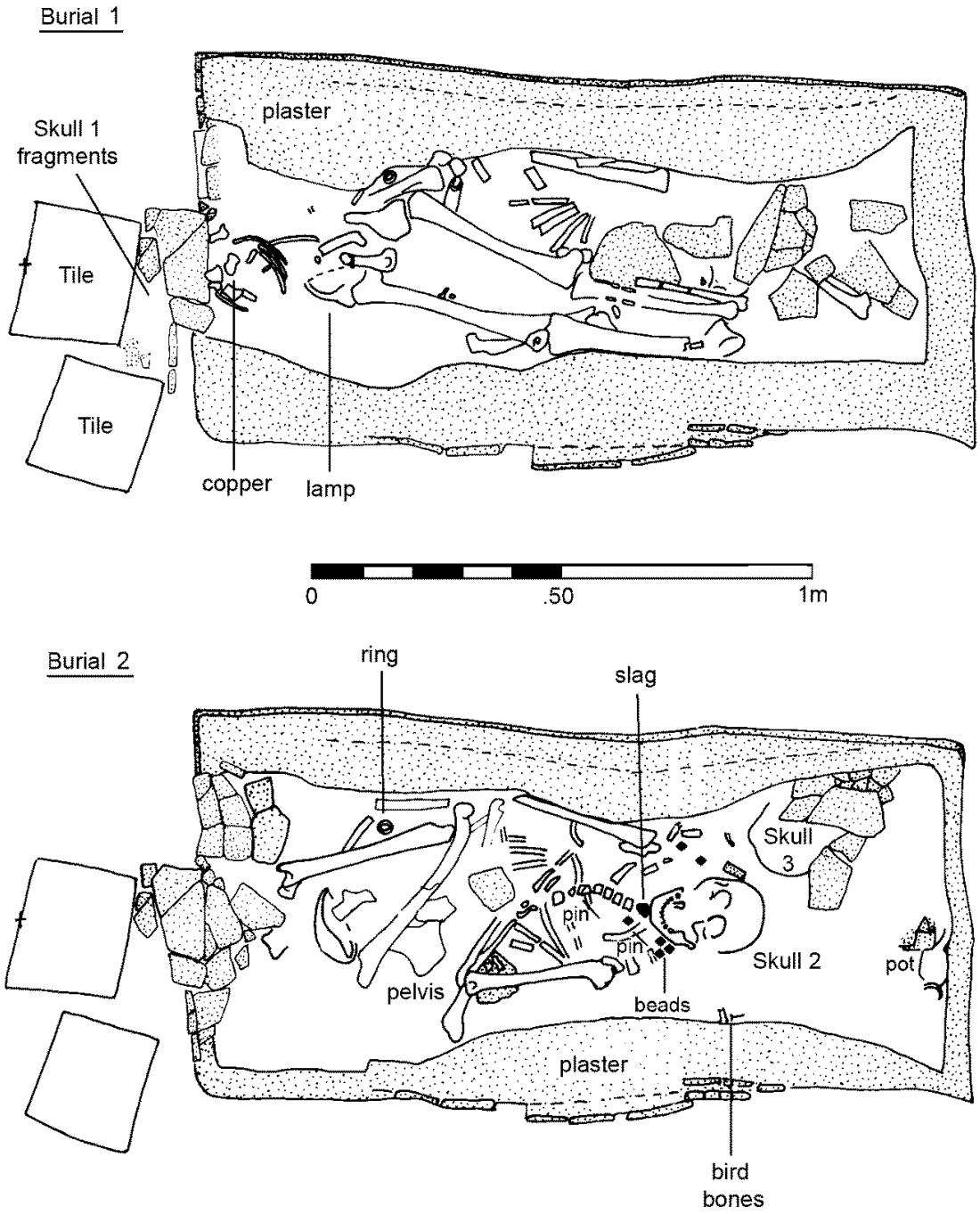


Figure 33. The later burials from the Plastered Tomb, from (Yener 2013b: Fig. 3, Fig. 4).

Figure 34. Grave goods from the Plastered Tomb. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. A03-R2006 2. A03-R2007 3. A03-R1856 4. A03-R1760 5. A03-R2005 6. A03-R2041 7. A03-R2043 8. A03-R1511 9. A03-R1857 10. A03-R3042 11. A03-R2064 12. A03-R1946 13. A03-R2040 14. A03-R2014-19, A03-R1936, A03-R2054-55 15. A03-R1986 16. A03-R1881 17. A03-R1542 18. A03-R1959-1972, A03-R1979, A03-R1981, A03-R1982

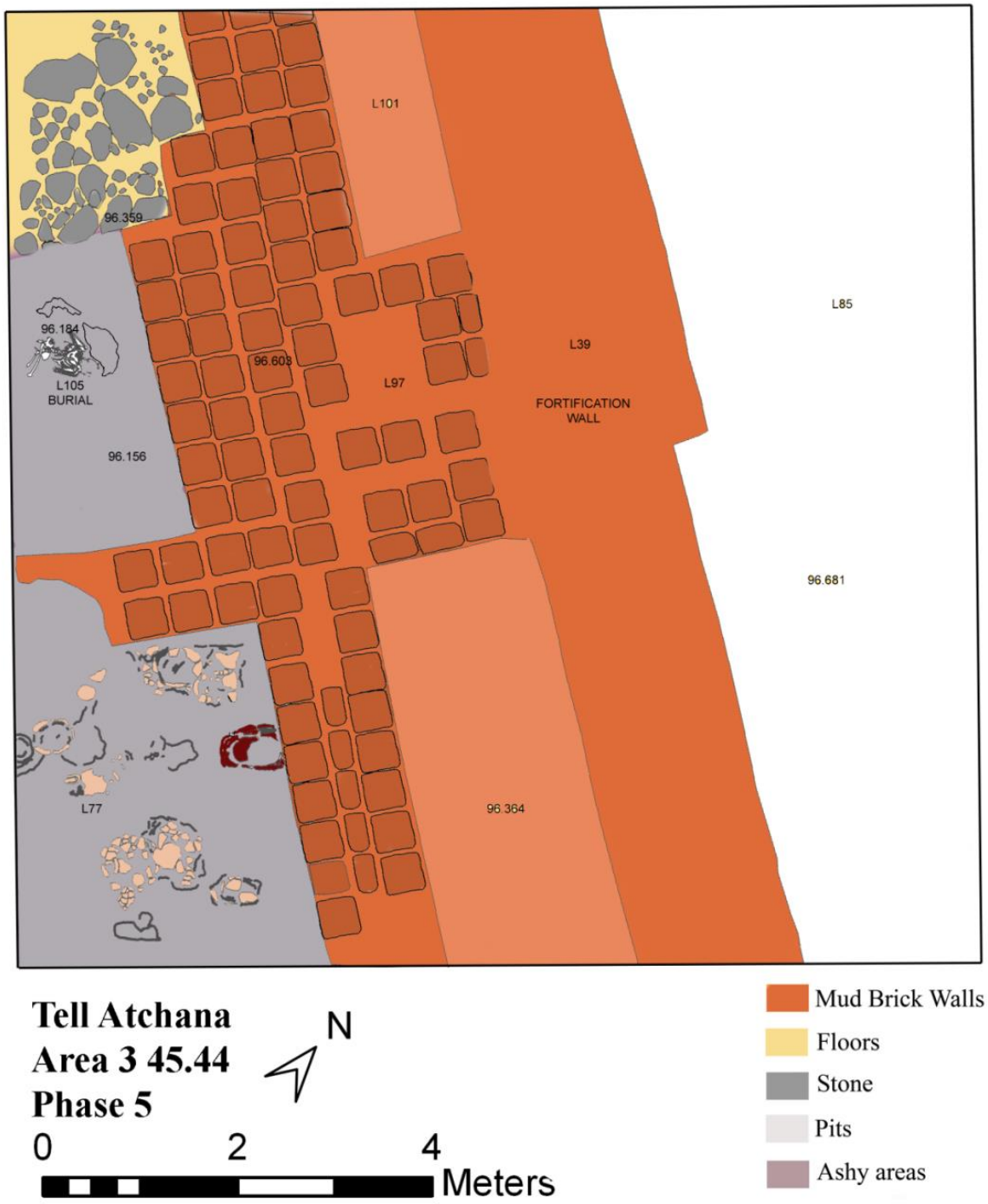


Figure 35. Square 45.44, Local Phase 5. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

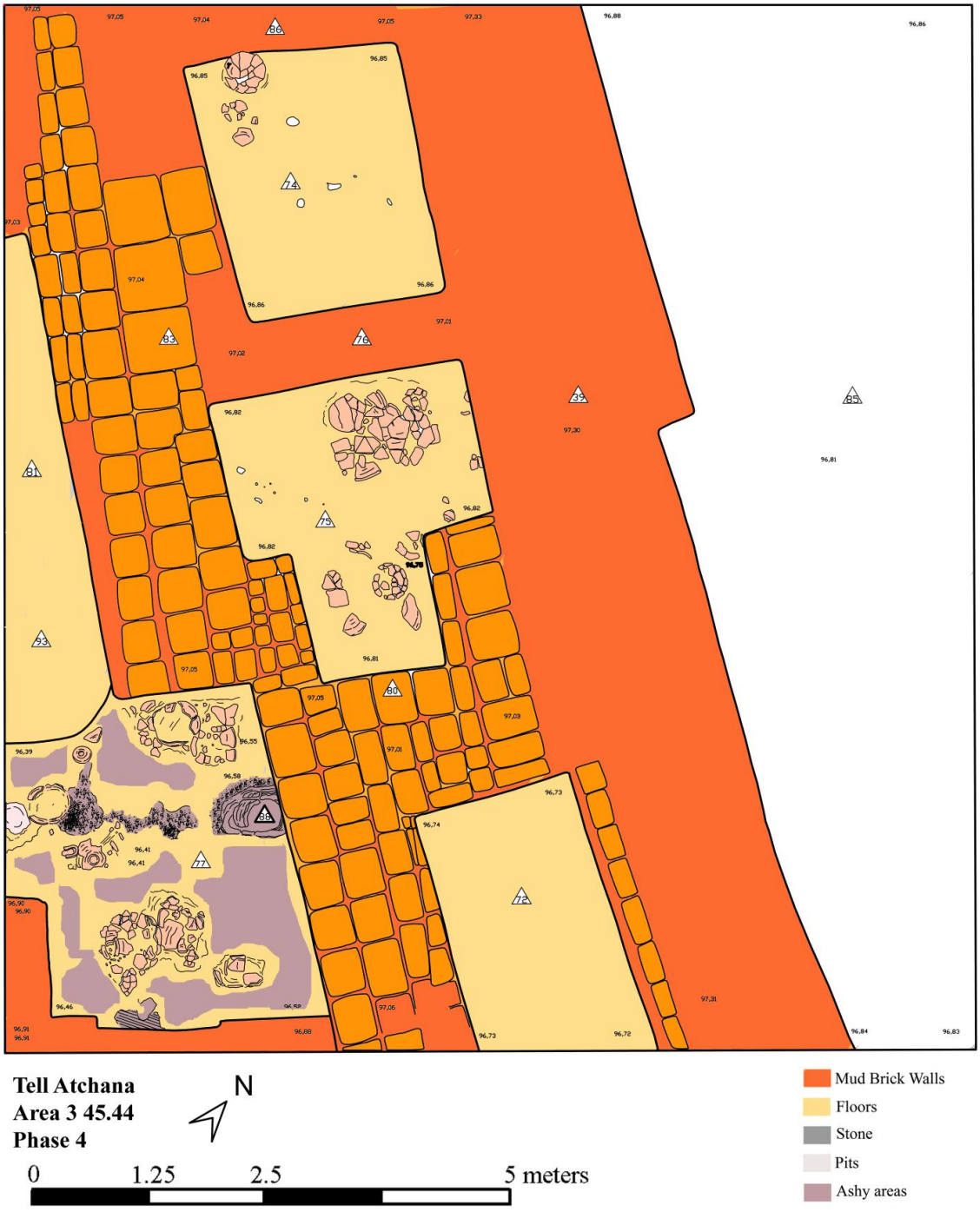


Figure 36. Square 45.44, Local Phase 4. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 37. Grave goods from 45.44, L106. Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT17461 2. AT17468

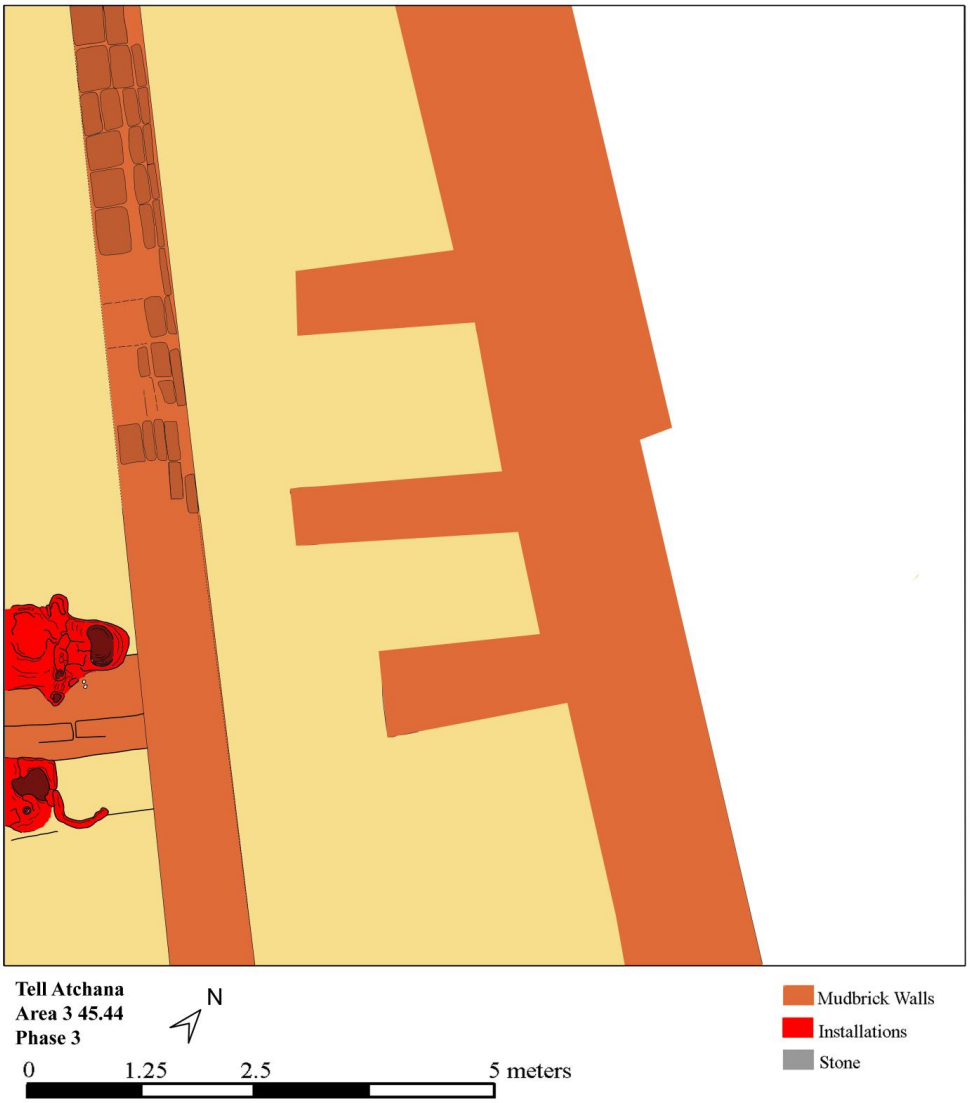


Figure 38. Square 45.44, Local Phase 3. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

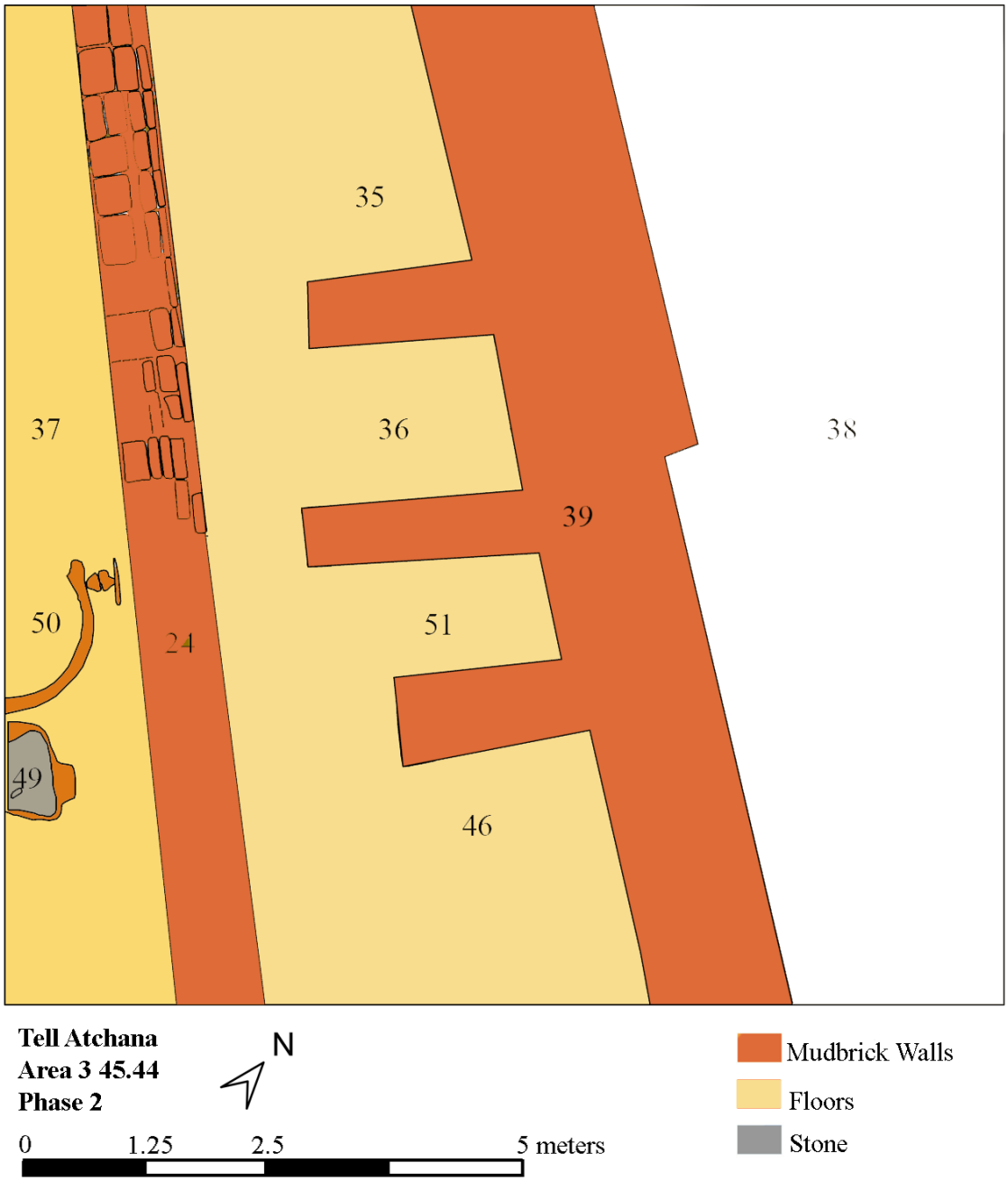


Figure 39. Square 45.44, Local Phase 2. Courtesy of MuratAkar.

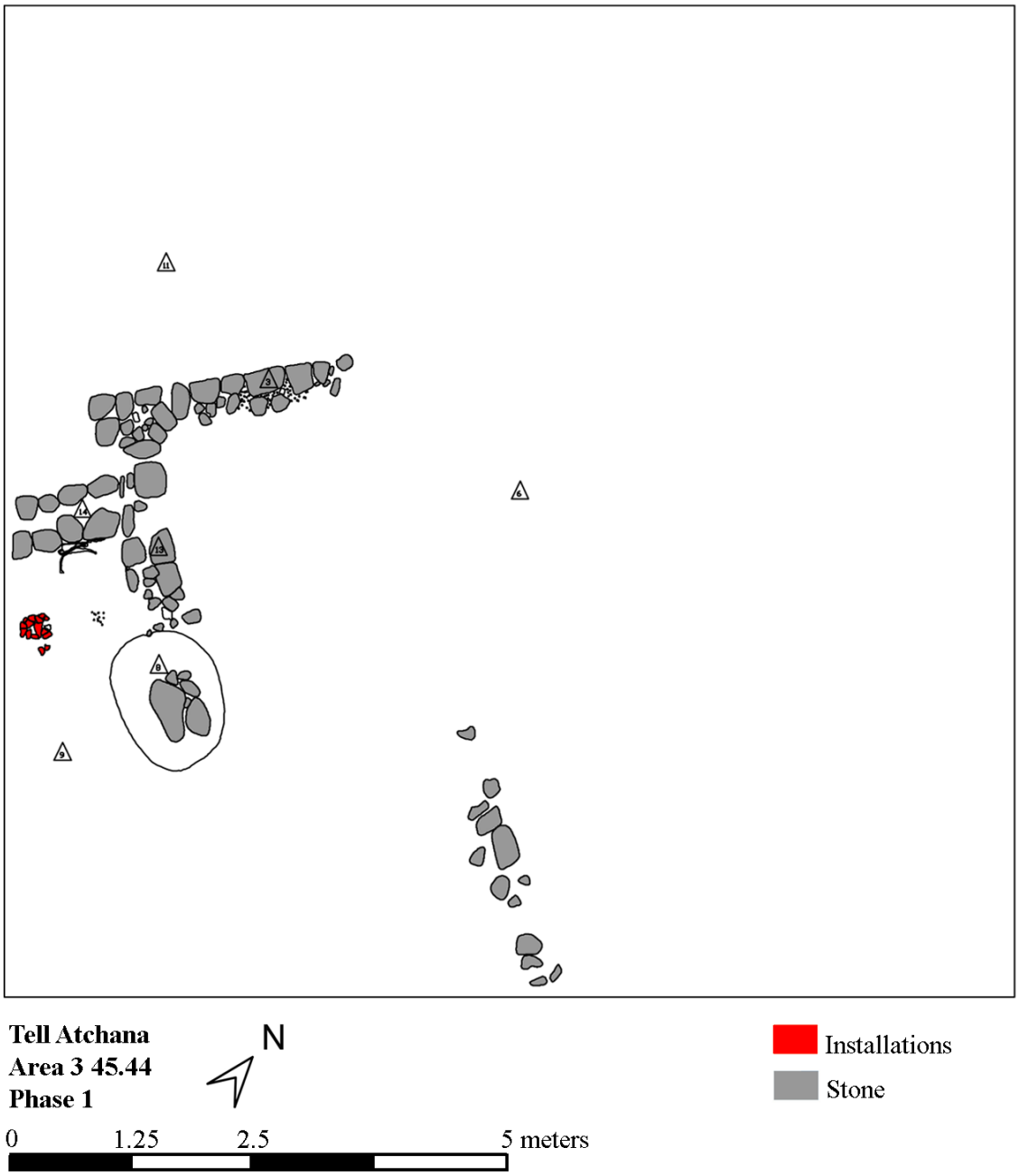


Figure 40. Square 45.44, Local Phase 1. Courtesy of MuratAkar.

Figure 41. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 137 (L136, L138, and L143). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT18099 2. AT18364 3. AT18695 4. AT18366

Figure 42. Square 45.44, likely Local Phase 6. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 43. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 131 (L121, L129, L134, and L135). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT17690 2. AT14624 3. AT17147 4. AT17660 5. AT18056 6. AT17691 7. AT17693

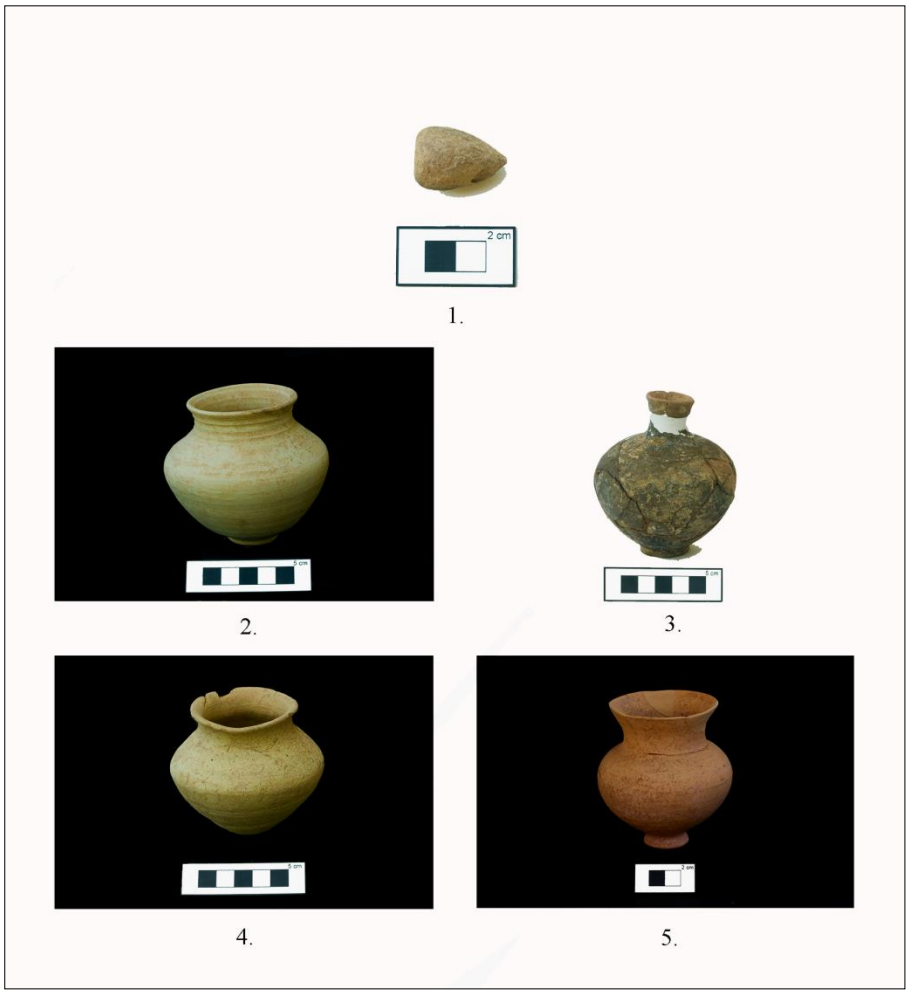


Figure 44. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 85 (L79, L82, and L110). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT8754 2. AT8137 3. AT8139 4. AT8785 5. AT13224

Figure 45. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 69 (L70 and L71). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT7378 2. AT7659

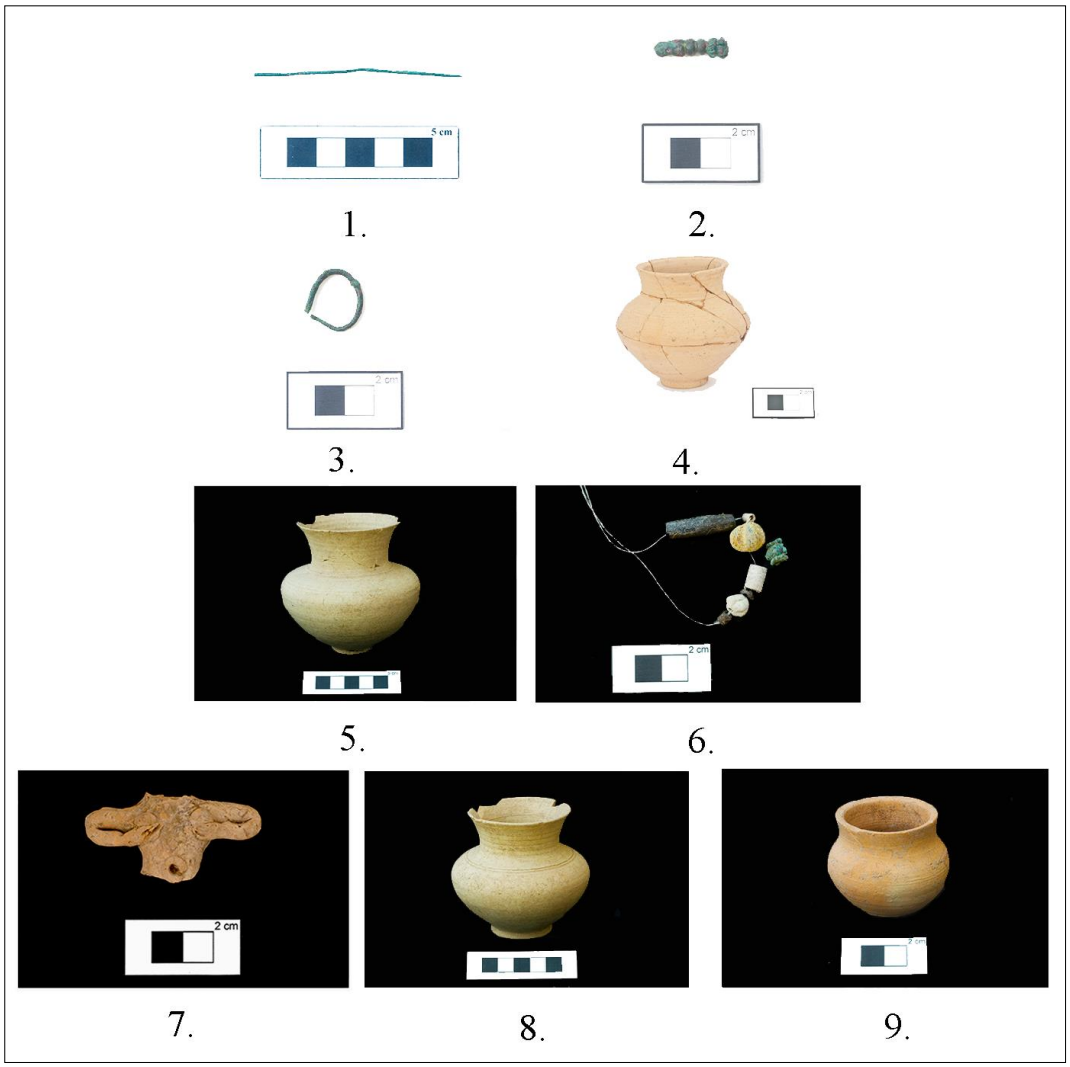


Figure 46. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 38 (L41, L54, L55, L56, L66, and L68). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT4271 2. AT4956 3. AT4983 4. AT6557 5. AT4991 6. AT4959 7. AT4982 8. AT6013 9. AT6589

Figure 47. Grave goods from 45.44, slope wash 22 (L31). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT3901 2. AT3902

Figure 48. Mudbrick remains in 45.45. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 49. Mudbricks in 45.45, detail. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

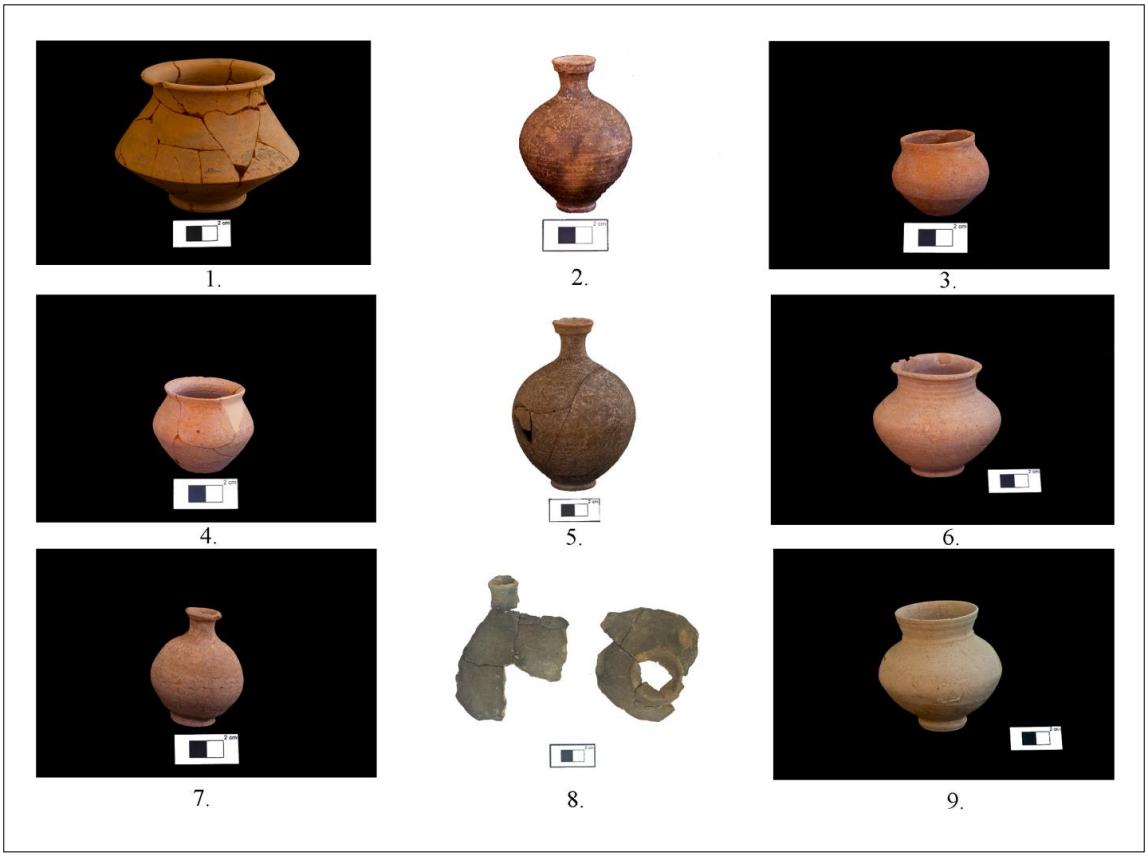


Figure 50. Grave goods from 45.45, cemetery fill 38 (L39, L43, L44, L45, L46, L47, and L54). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT14646 2. AT14699 3. AT15708 4. AT14670 5. AT14615 6. AT15712 7. AT15754 8. AT17030 9. AT17031

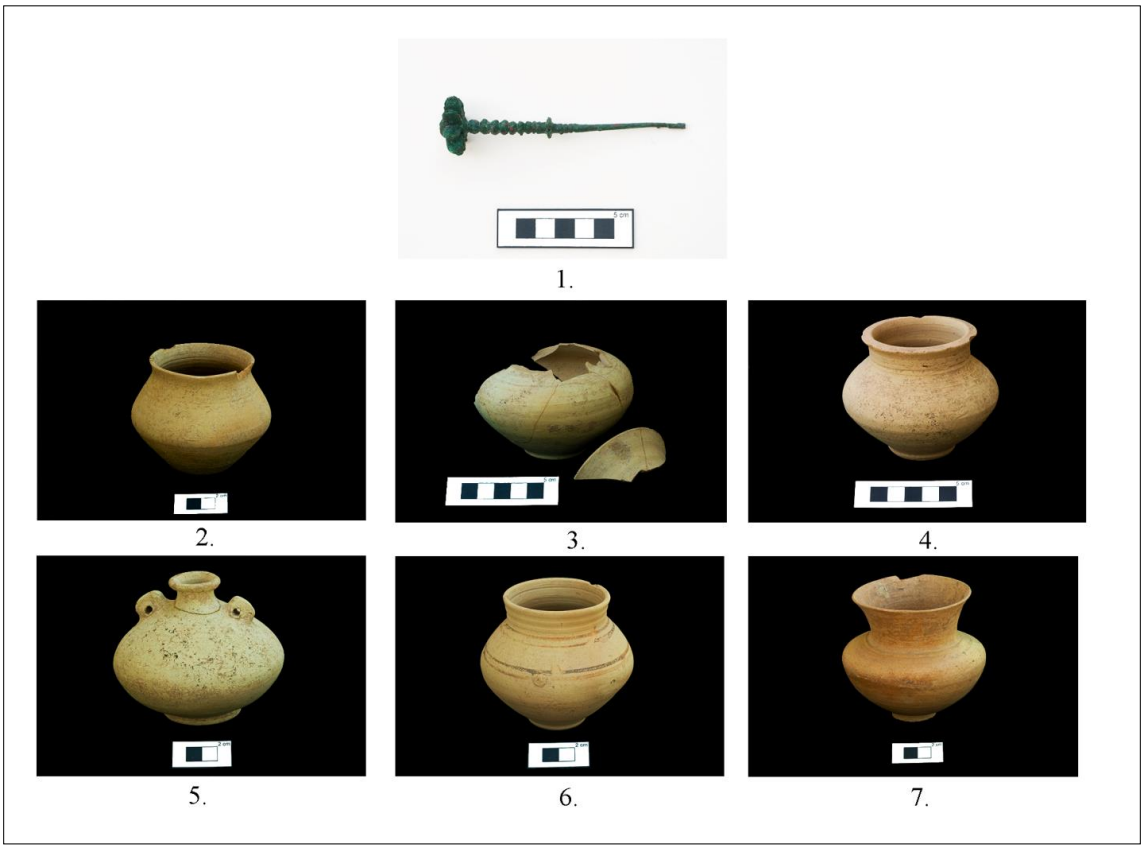


Figure 51. Grave goods from 45.45, cemetery fill 8 (L4, L10, L29, and L33). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT7949 2. AT10298 3. AT8805 4. AT8839 5. AT11403 6. AT11427 7. AT11448

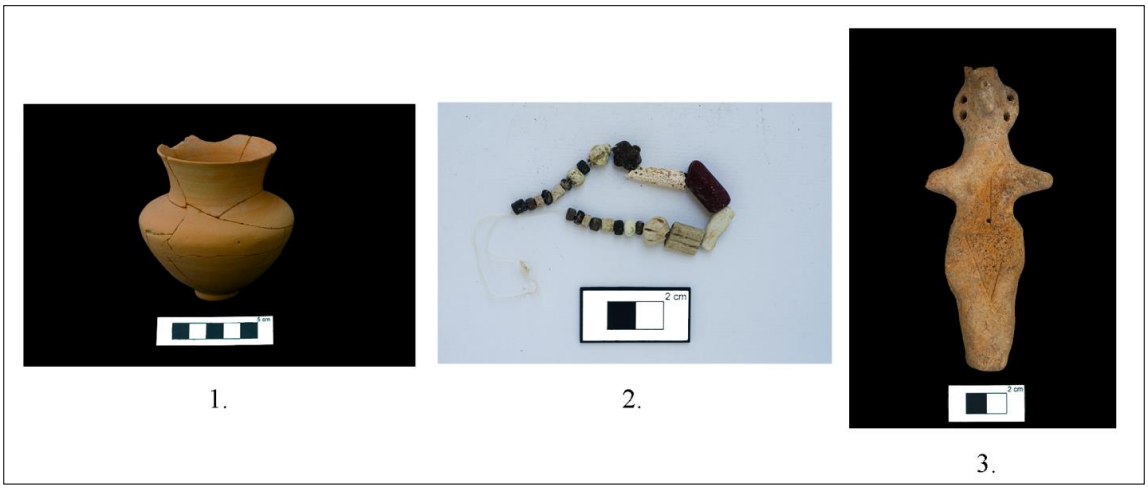


Figure 52. Grave goods from 45.45, topsoil 1 (L2 and L5). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT7927 2. AT7910 3. AT7908

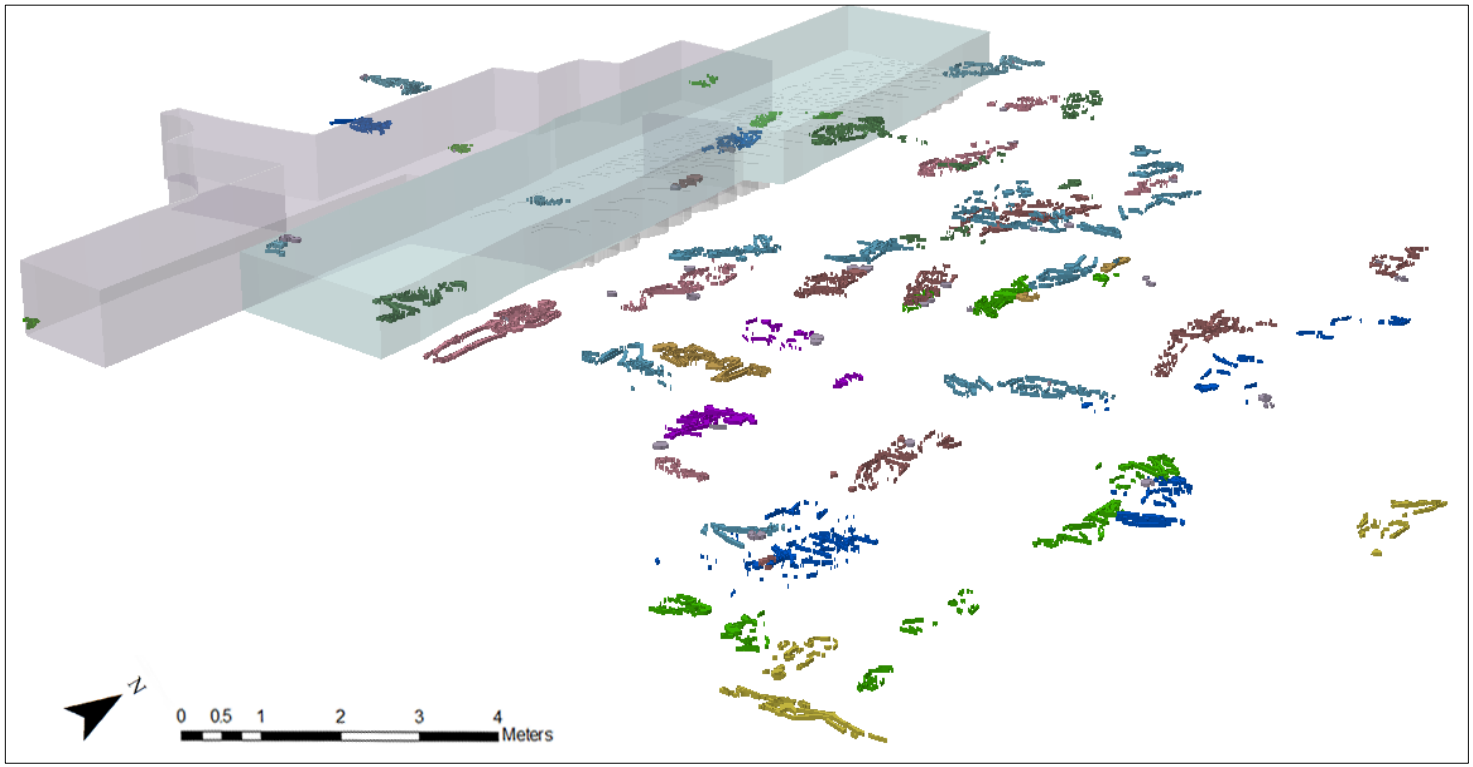


Figure 53. 3D GIS cemetery model overview.

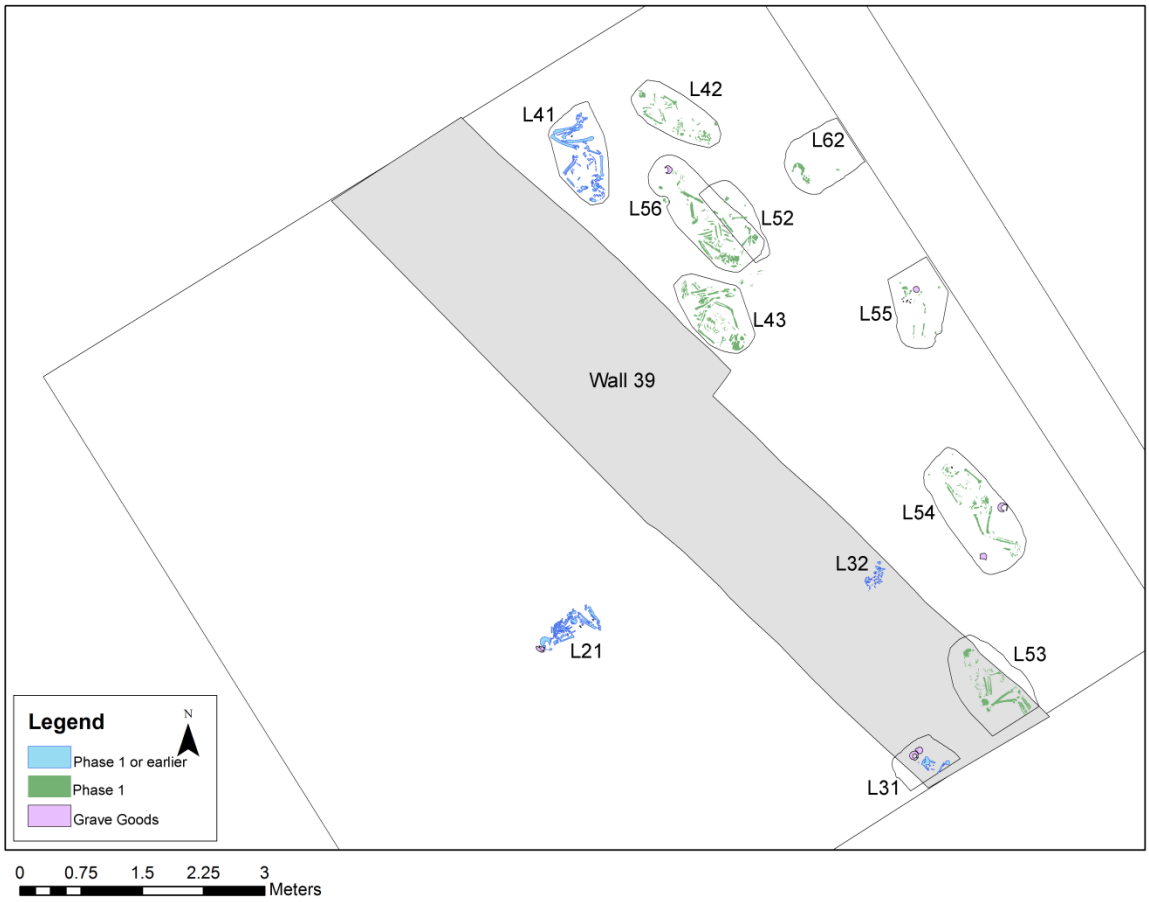


Figure 54. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from Phase 1 and earlier.

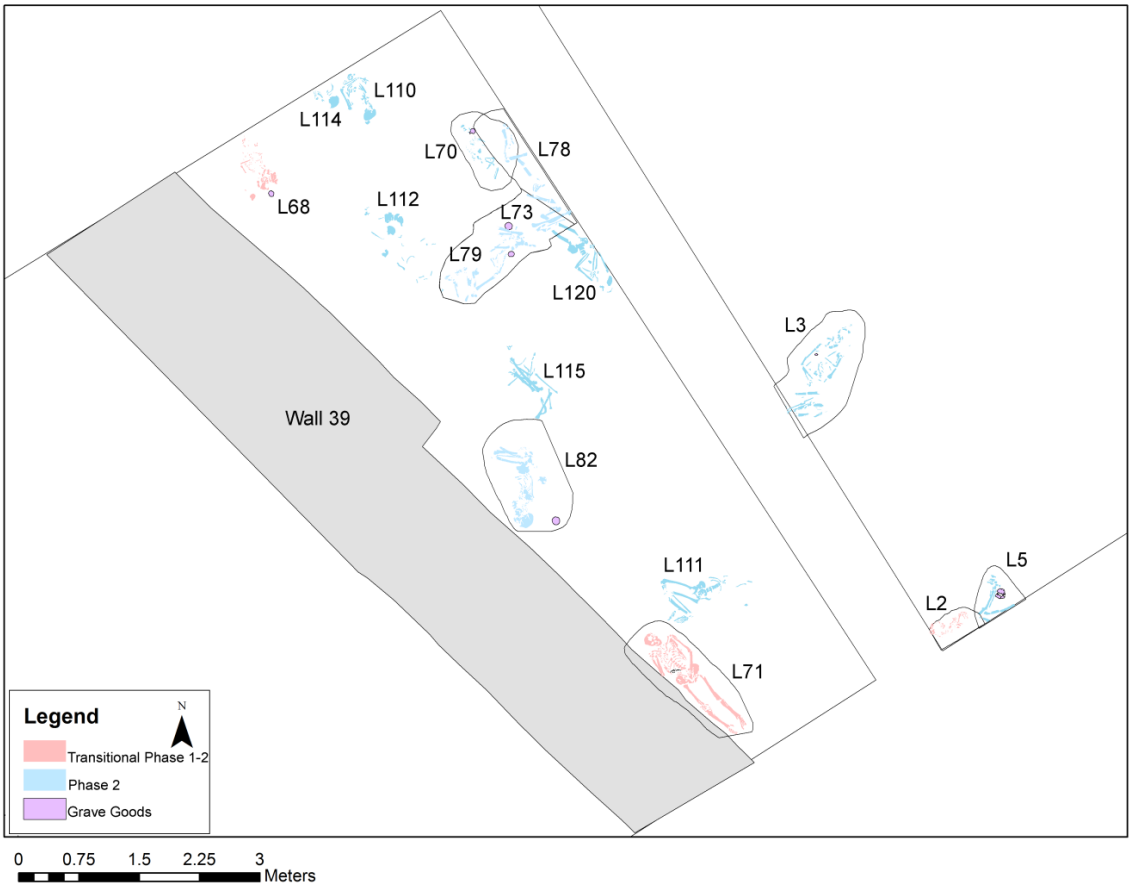


Figure 55. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from early Phase 1 and Phase 2

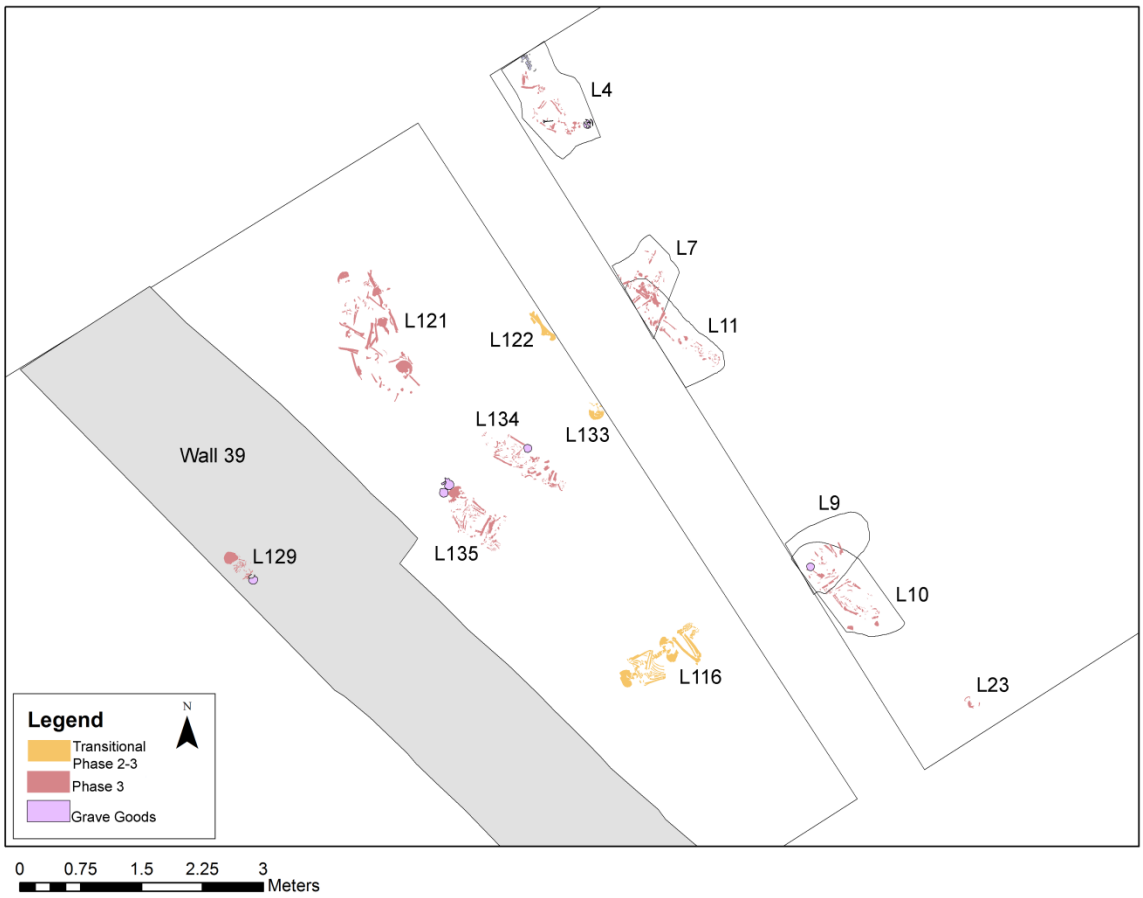


Figure 56. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from early Phase 2 and Phase 3.

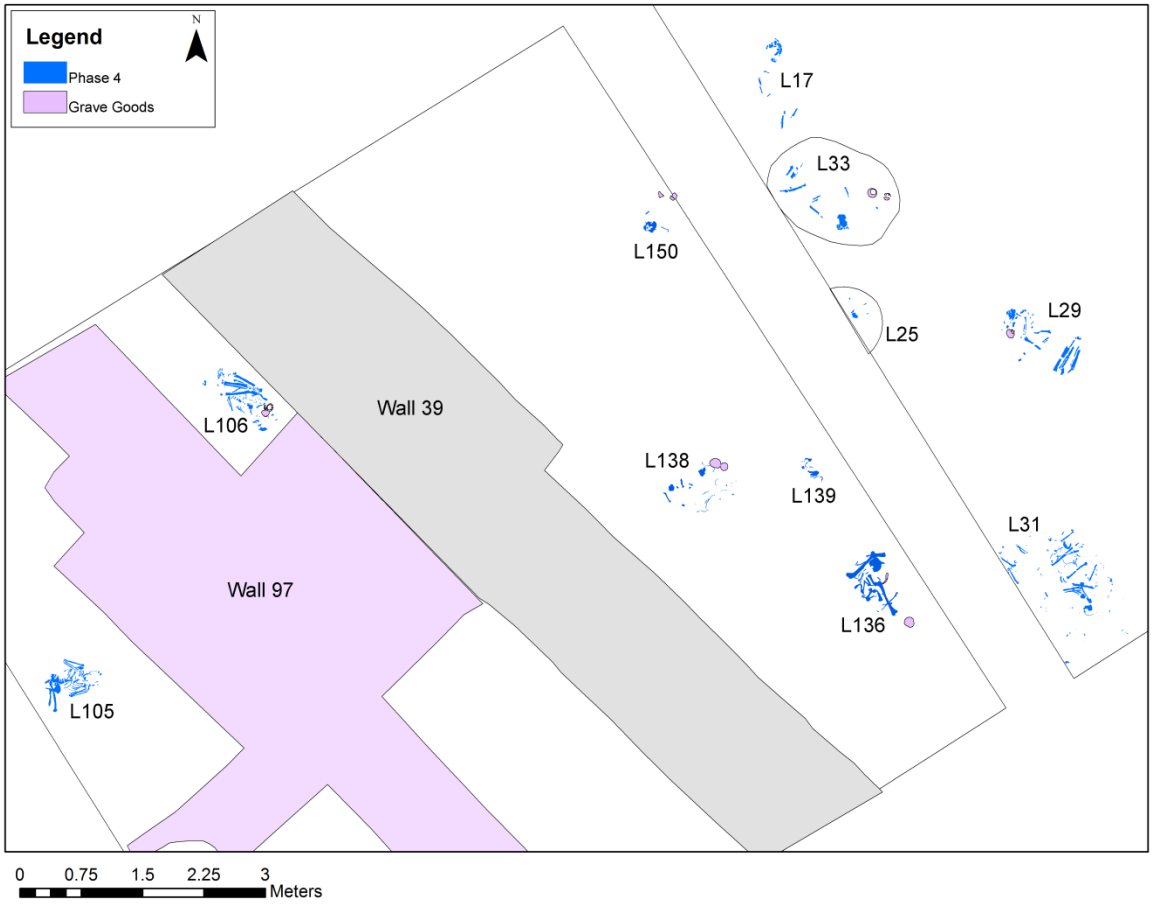


Figure 57. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from Phase 4.

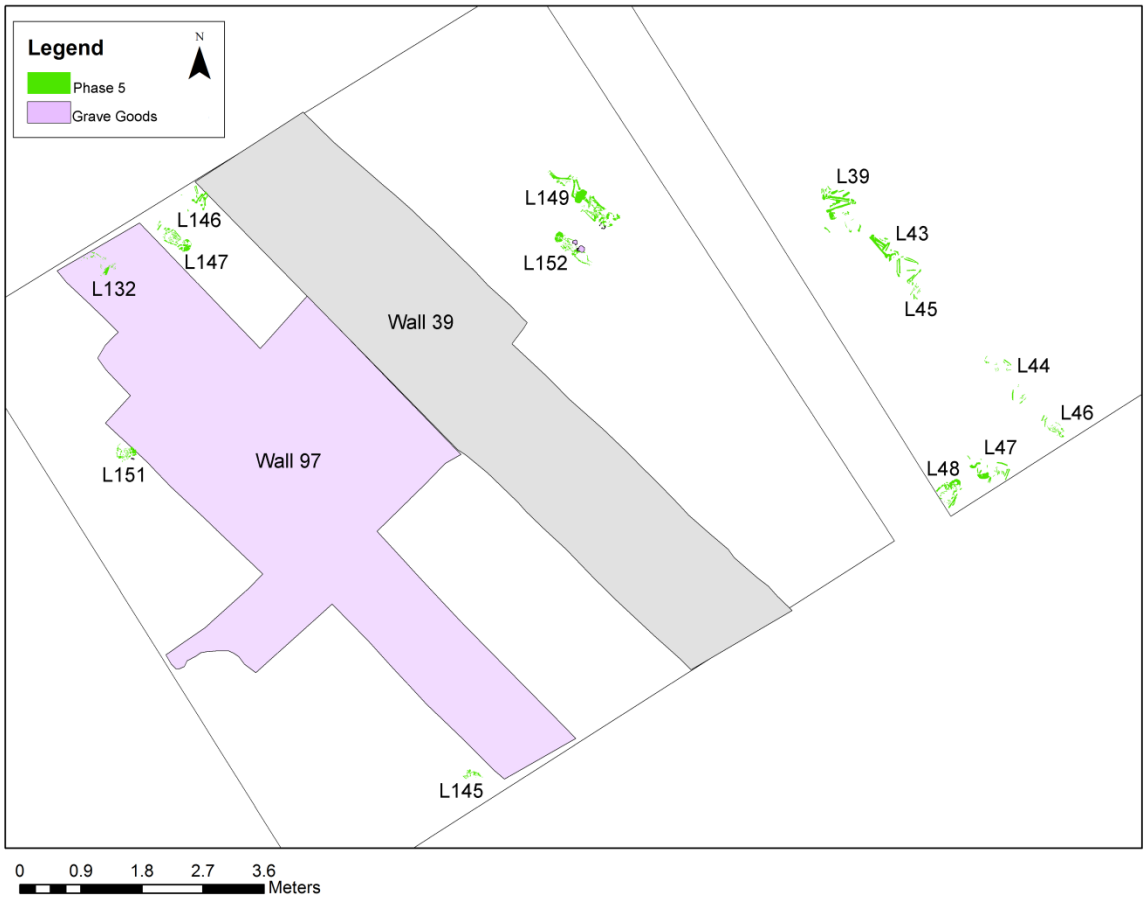


Figure 58. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from Phase 5.

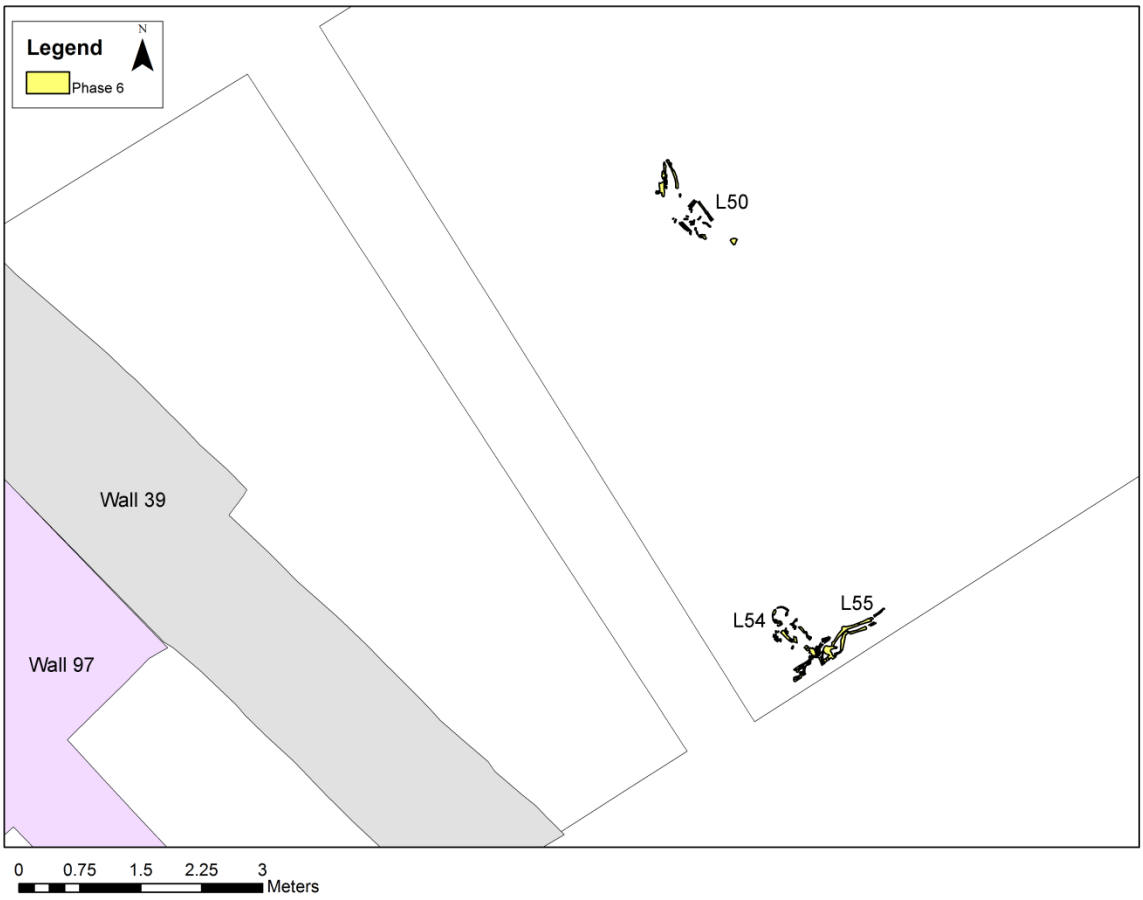


Figure 59. 45.44 and 45.45 graves from proposed Phase 6.

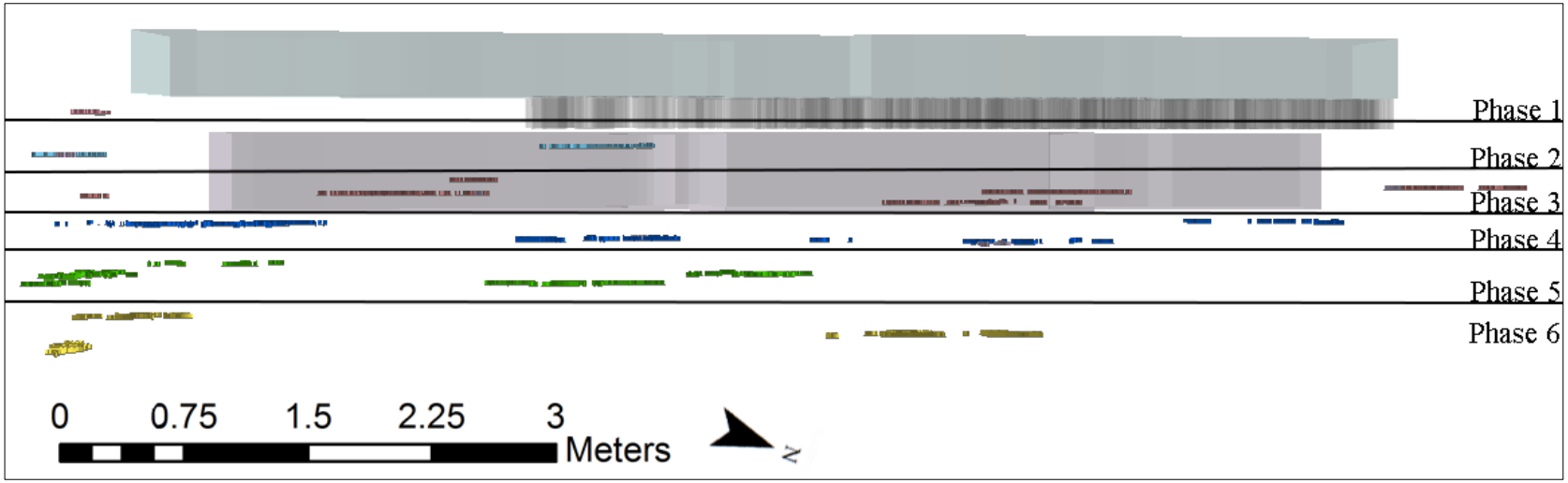


Figure 60. 45.45 grave elevations in 3D model.

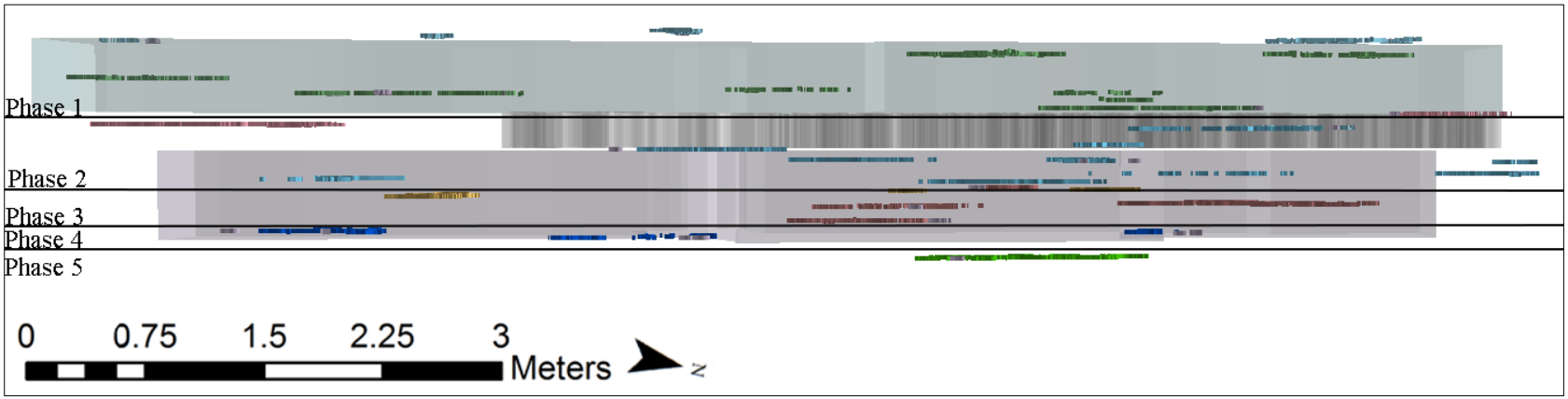


Figure 61. 45.44 grave elevations in 3D model.

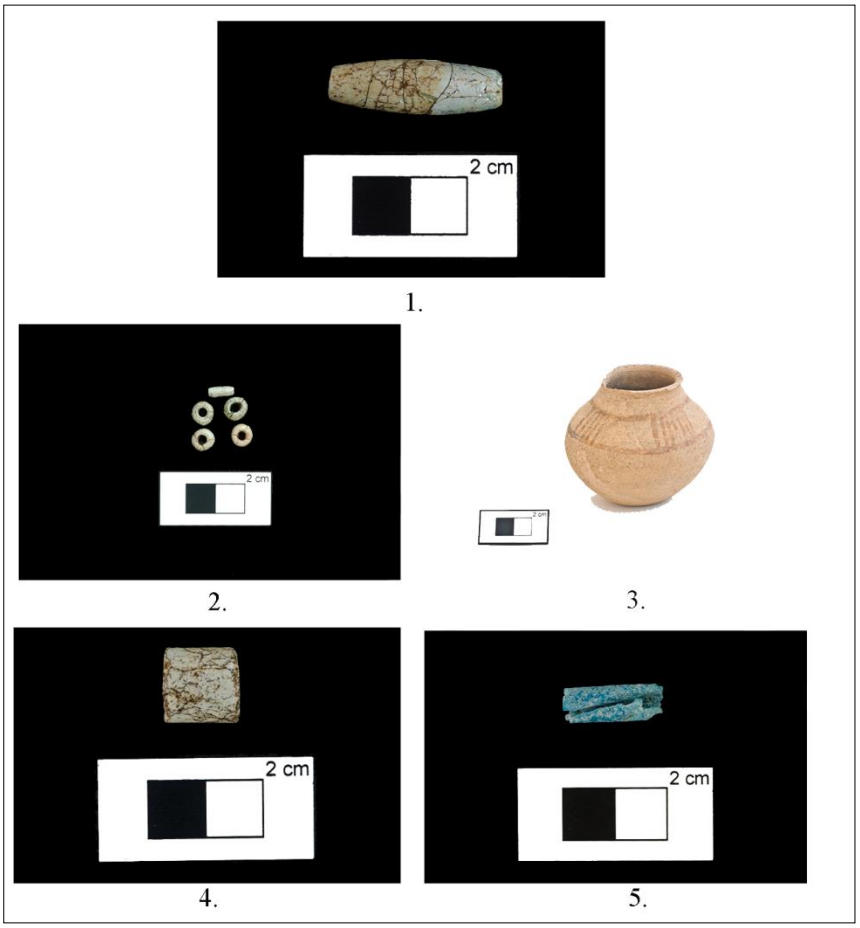


Figure 62. Grave goods from 32.54 (L81 and L85). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT17539 2. AT12902 3. AT12903 4. AT17536 5. AT17535

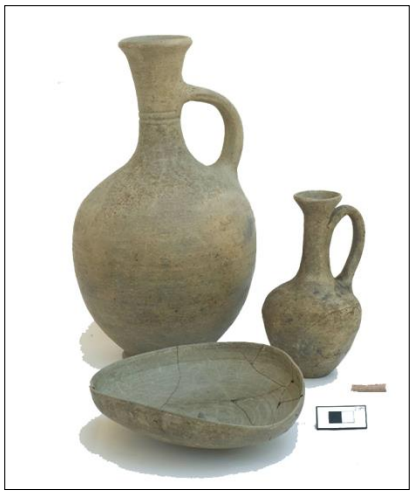


Figure 63. Grave goods from 32.57 (L160). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. Left to right: AT10061, AT10067, AT10066, AT10058

Figure 64. Grave goods from 42.29 (L44). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. AT19131 2. AT19133

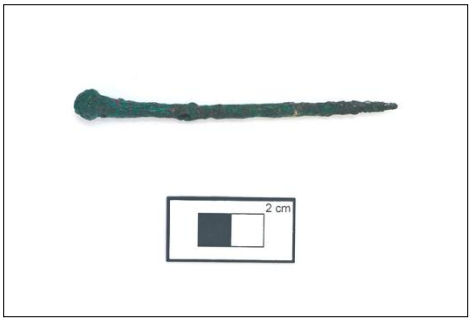


Figure 65. Grave goods from 44.85 (L32). AT16082 Photos courtesy of Murat Akar.

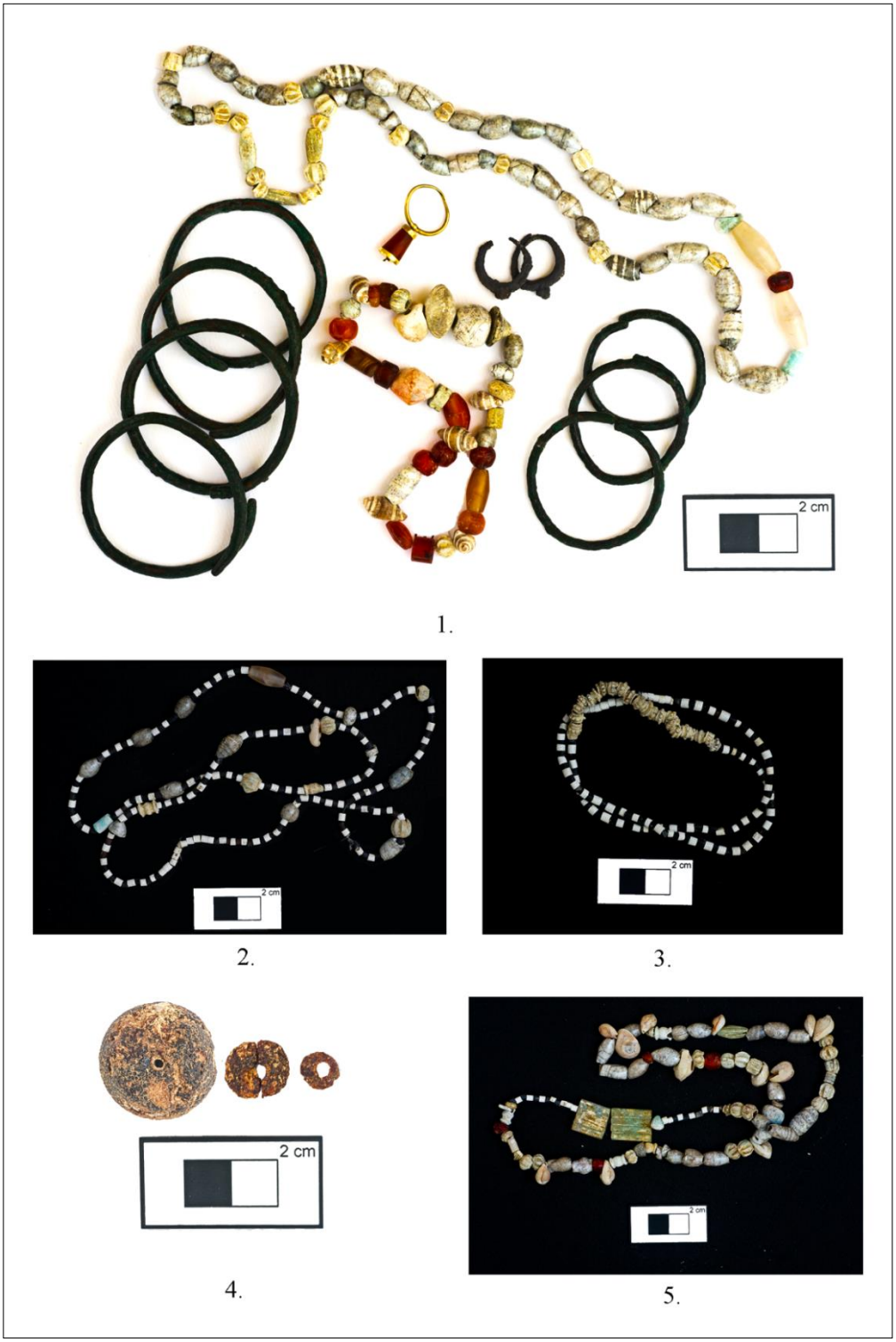


Figure 66. Grave goods from 64.94 (L25). Photos courtesy of Murat Akar. 1. Neckace: AT17883; beaded bracelet: AT17881; earrings: AT17886; pendant: 17887; metal bracelets: AT17894, AT19181, AT19182, AT19183, AT19184, AT19185, AT19186 2. AT17884 3. AT17892 4. AT17885 and AT17893 5. AT19180

Figure 67. Grave goods from Qatna (Morandi Bonacossi et al. 2009: 15, Fig. 7).

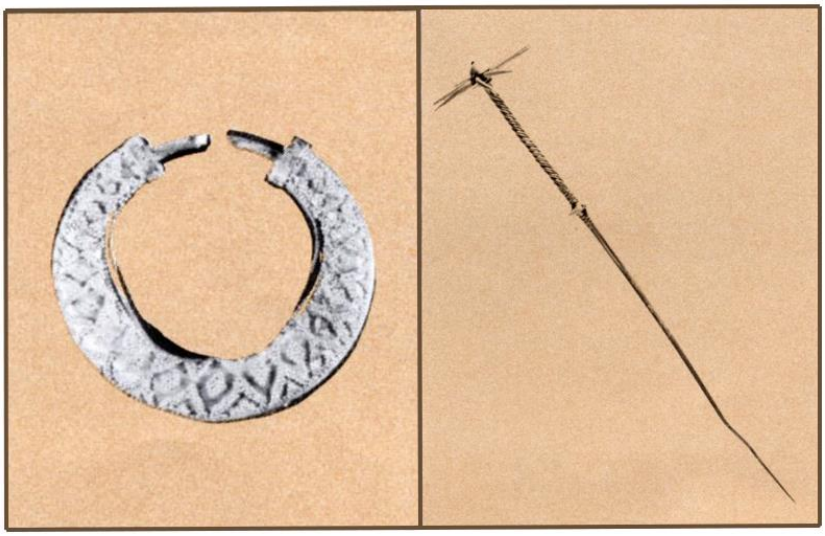


Figure 68. Jewelry from the Tomb of the Princess at Ebla (Matthiae 1984: 24).

Figure 69. Ceramics from the Tomb of the Lord of the Goats (Matthiae 1984: 25).

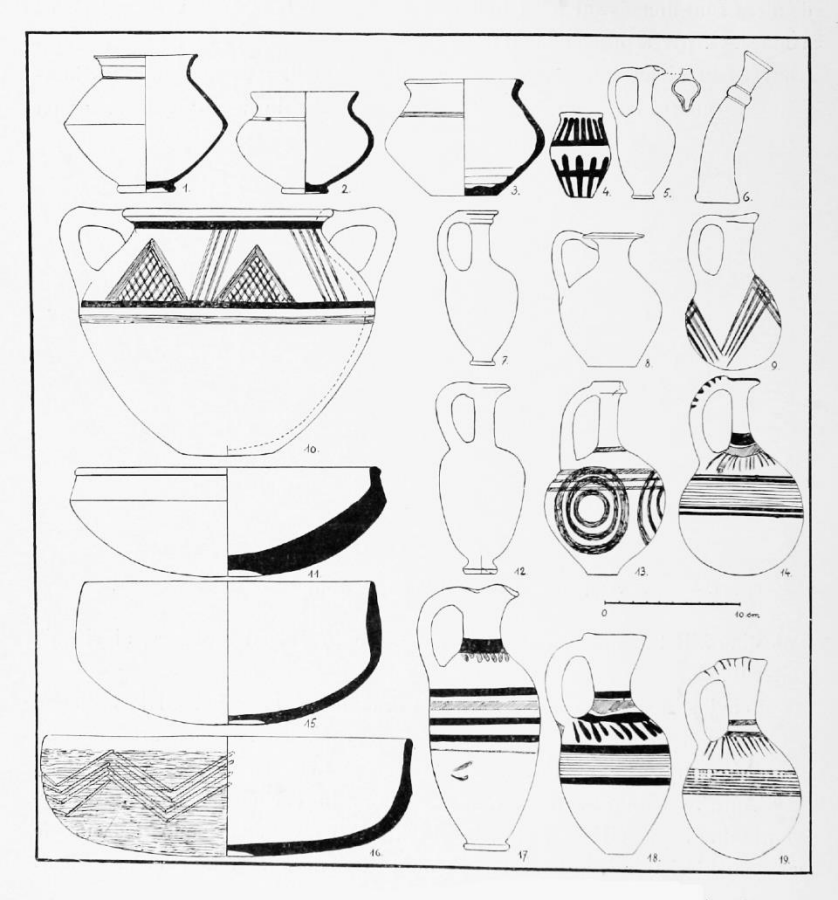


Figure 70. Ceramics from MBA shaft graves at Ugarit (Schaeffer 1932: 18, Fig. 12).

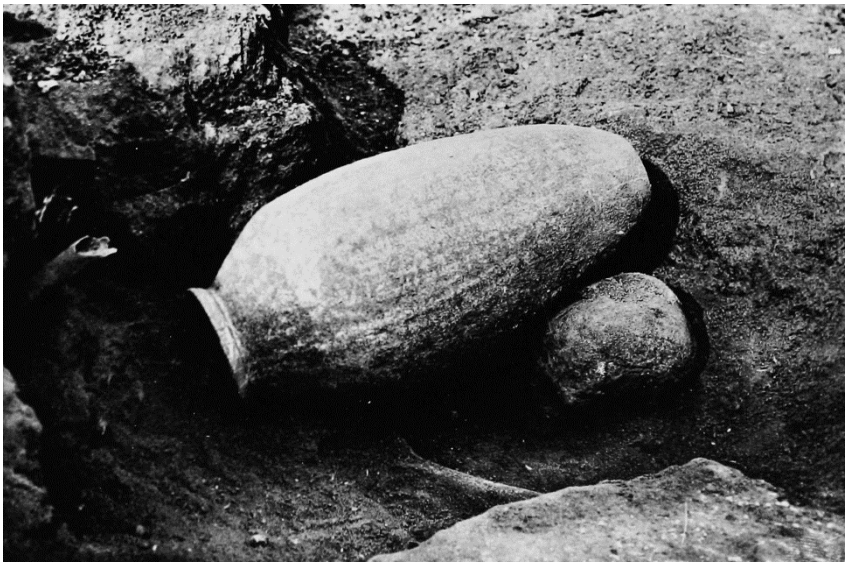


Figure 71. Secondary pithos burial from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1931: Pl. X: 3).

Figure 72. Cylinder seals and scarabs found in graves. 1. AT/37/47, from ATG/37/2. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 2. AT/39/176, from ATG/39/68. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 3. AT/38/127A, from ATG/38/5 (Collon 1982: 144, no. 102) 4. AT/38/127B, from ATG/38/5 (Collon 1982: 72, no. 45) 5. AT/39/163, from ATG/39/64. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 6. AT/39/177, from ATG/39/70 (Collon 1982: 99, no. 81) 7. AT/38/139, from ATG/38/7 (Collon 1982: 109, no. 95) 8. AT/39/215, from ATG/39/90 (Collon 1982: 85, no. 61) 9. AT/39/49, from ATG/39/18 (Collon 1982: 110, no. 97) 10. AT/39/54, from ATG/39/18 (Collon 1982: 86, no. 62) 11. AT/39/189, from ATG/39/71 (Woolley 1955: Pl. LXV) 12. AT/39/229, from ATG/39/86 (Collon 1982: 89, no. 66) 13. AT/37/181, from ATG/37/33. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 14. AT/39/205, from ATG/39/80 (Collon 1982: 84, no. 60) 15. AT/39/206, from ATG/39/80 (Collon 1982: 77, no. 50) 16. AT/39/207, from ATG/39/80 (Collon 1982: 79, no. 53) 17. AT/39/107, from ATG/39/46. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 18. AT/39/231, from ATG/39/91 (Collon 1982: 76, no. 50) 19. AT/29/226, from ATG/39/81 (Woolley 1955: Pl. LXI)

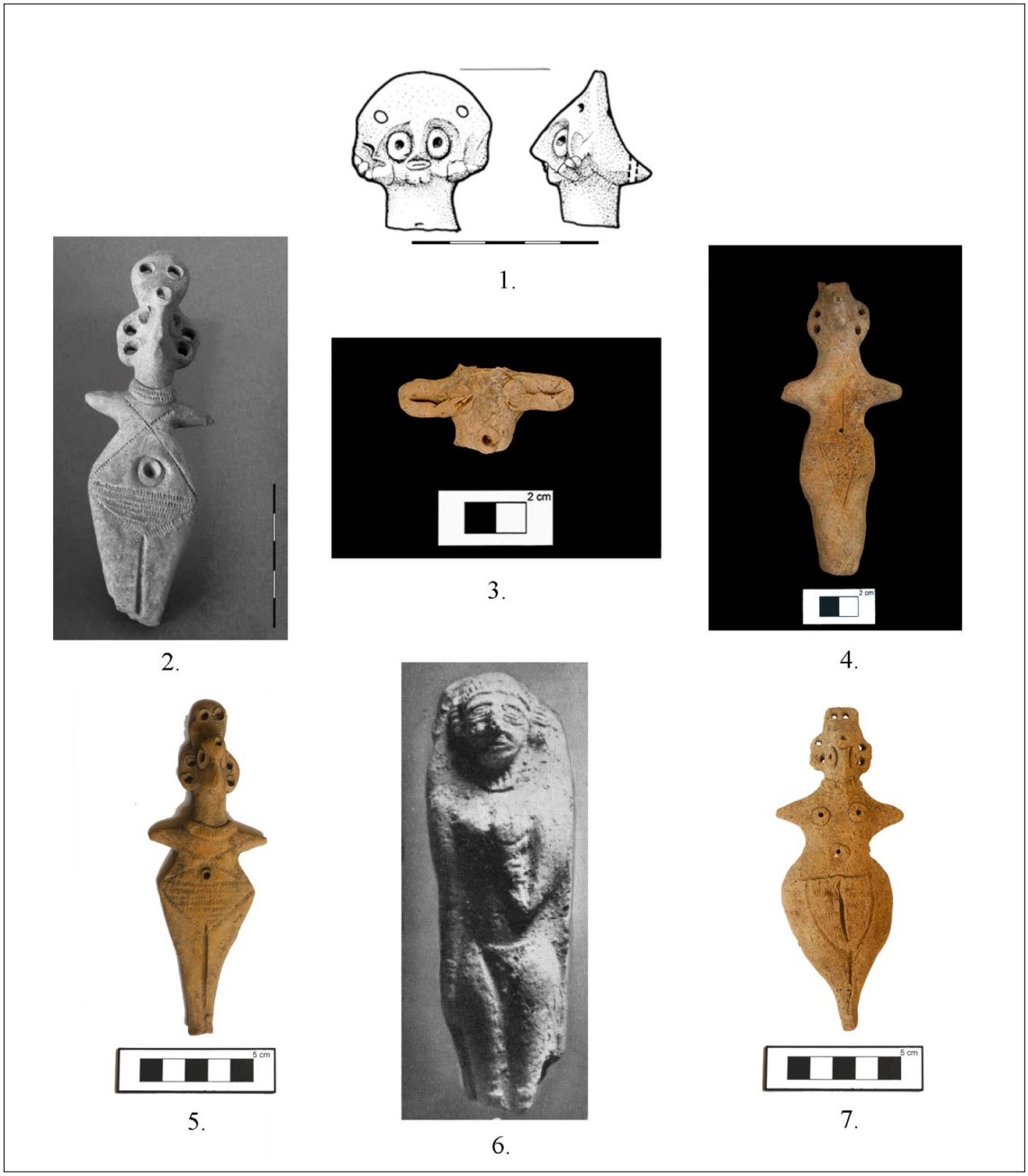


Figure 73. Female figurines found in graves. 1. A03-R1948, from L03-3057 (Yener 2010: 244) 2. A03-R1284, from cemetery matrix (Yener 2010: 47, Fig. 2.24) 3. AT4982, from 45.44.L56. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 4. AT7908, from 45.45.L2. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 5. AT/46/238, from ATG/46/15. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar 6. AT/39/75, from ATG/39/29 (Woolley 1955: Pl. LVI) 7. AT/49/17, from ATG/49/5. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar

APPENDIX C

CATALOGUE

Locus Number: 81
Area: 1
Square: 32.54
Phase (Period): 2c (Period 3)
Adjoining Loci: 80
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Child
Description: In corridor 80 of a building that was part of the Period 3 Castle complex, L81 contained the burial of a 3-5 year old child. The child was deposited on its left side with tightly flexed legs and its arms flexed upwards towards its face. The grave was oriented northeast-southwest and the head was to the southwest. The child was interred against the northern wall of the corridor, and the grave measures 0.25 x 0.8.
Grave Goods: Beads of vitreous material AT12902 in situ at the wrist; Syro-Cilician hole mouth jar AT12903 at the head
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 74. Square 32.54, L81. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 85
Area: 1
Square: 32.54
Phase (Period): 2d (Period 3)
Adjoining Loci: 78, 80, 82
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: Just north of L81, in a gap, locus 82, between the plastered walls of the burned Castle complex, L85 was oriented northeast-southwest with the head to the southwest. This male, aged 25-35 years, was buried on his back with his legs extended and his feet pressed vertically against a standing wall. His arms were crossed over his torso and his head faced left. He was covered with plaster pieces, which likely fell from the adjoining wall. The grave measures 1 x 1.8 meters.
Grave Goods: Beads of vitreous material AT17535-AT17539 around the neck; bronze pin AT17540 to the left of the skull
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 75. Square 32.54, L85. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 119
Area: 1
Square: 32.57
Phase (Period): 3b (Period 6?)
Adjoining Loci: 109, 132, 133
Burial Type: Accidental
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: Found at the threshold leading into a kiln area, L119 lay on the floor of the kiln room. The adult man, 30-35 years old, was oriented northeast-southwest. He lay facedown with his arms underneath his torso and his legs bent backwards. He was pressed against the wall and his head was in the corner of the room, just inside the threshold slab. The remains measure 1 x 1.5 meters. His death may well have been the result of foul play, as one fist was clenched and his wrist was twisted, perhaps indicating that his hands were bound, though this is speculation.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 76. Square 32.57, L119. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 160
Area: 1
Square: 32.57
Phase (Period): 3d (Period 6?)
Adjoining Loci: 157
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: L160 was represented within the square mainly by the grave goods. Only the top of the skull extended from the eastern balk, but judging from this, the burial appears to be oriented east-west. The exposed portion measures 0.6 x 0.6 meters. It was dug into street 157. The bones, locus 164, are burnt, as is the area exposed above the head. This is likely the result of a burning episode after deposition.
Grave Goods: Grey Burnished ware narrow-neck jug AT10061, conch shell pendant AT10058, Grey Burnished ware long-necked globular juglet AT10066, Grey Burnished ware omphalos bowl AT10067, and metal slag AT10069 all above the head
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 77. Square 32.57, L160, detail. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 78. Square 32.57, L160. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 166
Area: 1
Square: 32.57
Phase (Period): 3d (Period 6?)
Adjoining Loci: 158
Burial Type: Bone scatter
Age, Sex:
Description: In a grave within pitted burnt deposit 158, L166 is apparently a bone scatter measuring 1.75 x 1.5 meters. Some of the bones are in anatomical positions, but the majority are scattered. The remains seem to be oriented roughly east-west. Belonging to the same phase as L160, whatever caused this burnt deposit may account for the burning seen there. L166, however, seems unaffected by the burning, and may therefore post-date the episode.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 79. Square 32.57, L166. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 247
Area: 1
Square: 32.57
Phase (Period): 2b (Period 5?)
Adjoining Loci: 236
Burial Type: Accidental
Age, Sex: Adult female
Description: This young adult female was found at the bottom of a very deep well, locus 236. She was facedown with her legs and arms splayed. Her left arm was under her torso. The remains measure 1.7 x 0.4 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 80. Square 32.57, L247. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 44
Area: 1
Square: 42.29
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 3?)
Adjoining Loci: 42
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Child
Description: Within accumulation fill 42, this 3-5 year old child was found on its right side with its legs flexed and lying on its back. The arms were crossed over the stomach. The grave was oriented northeast-southwest with the head facing southwest and measures 0.7 x 1 meters.
Grave Goods: Beads of vitreous material AT19133 at neck, Nuzi ware hemispherical rounded cup AT19131; astragalus AT19124; metal item AT19117
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 81. Square 42.29, L44. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 15
Area: 2
Square: 44.85
Phase (Period): 1a (Period 1?)
Adjoining Loci: 14
Burial Type: Possibly secondary
Age, Sex: Adult, 19-25 years old
Description: Within Local Phase 1a, fill 14 contained pits and tandirs, a fragmentary burial was found. L15 consisted of a skull placed upright and fragments of a pelvis nearby. The skull faced the southwest and belonged to an adult aged 19-25 years. A chunk of iron oxide was found beneath the skull. Given the iron oxide and the non-random positioning of the skull, this may be the remains of a secondary burial. It is possible, however, that these remains were displaced from some other grave, as they were quite near the modern surface of the tell. The area around the remains measures 0.5 x 1 meter.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 82. Square 44.85, L15. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 20
Area: 2
Square: 44.85
Phase (Period): 1b (Period 1?)
Adjoining Loci: 19
Burial Type: Possibly bone scatter
Age, Sex:
Description: L20 was a partial skull which had no other human bones present in relation to it. It was found facing down in fill layer 19 and lying against a wild boar mandible. Based on the position of the skull and the lack of other human remains, it appears that this skull may have ended up in this area as part of depositional wash. It is unclear whether or not the skull can be associated with the boar mandible, as other animal skeletons, some articulated, were found in the surrounding fill.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 83. Square 44.85, L20. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 32
Area: 2
Square: 44.85
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 2?)
Adjoining Loci: 26, 32
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult female
Description: L32 is oriented northwest-southeast and was found in fill 26. The skeleton, locus 31, was very well preserved and lay on the right side with flexed legs and arms flexed upwards towards the head. It was identified as a possibly middle aged female. No grave cut was visible, although the area around the remains measures 1.66 x 0.5 meters. Three metal objects were found in situ on the skeleton.
Grave Goods: 3 broken pins near the chest AT16617, AT16082 and AT16621, although these may be 2 pins broken into 3 parts
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 84. Square 44.85, L32. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 18
Area: 2
Square: 44.86
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 2?)
Adjoining Loci: 13
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: In debris layer 13, the northwest-southeast oriented L18 was found. The individual, locus 22, is an adult male deposited on his right side with his legs flexed. His head is towards the southeast and his arms are flexed. His right arm is flexed upwards towards his face and his left arm also appears to be flexed, although it was not preserved in its entirety. The grave measures 1.5 x 0.65 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 85. Square 44.86, L18. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 5
Area: 2
Square: 44.95
Phase (Period): 1b (Period 1?)
Adjoining Loci: 2, 4, 6
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Young adult female
Description: L5 was found within mud brick detritus fill 4, and possible architectural remains were nearby, indicating that this individual may originally have been buried under a floor or in a courtyard. The close proximity of this phase to the modern surface of the tell created poor preservation conditions, however, so little remains of any architecture. The individual in the grave, locus 6, was a young adult female and was very well preserved. The grave is oriented northeast-southwest with her head to the southwest and measures 1.85 x 1.5 meters. Her legs are tightly flexed, as are her arms, which are somewhat beneath the rest of her body. Her face was pointing slightly downwards.
Grave Goods: Pin AT14365; 4 chipped stones AT14366, AT14367, AT14368, and AT14369
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 86. Square 44.95, L5. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 9
Area: 2
Square: 44.95
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 2?)
Adjoining Loci: 4, 7, 8, 13
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult female
Description: L9 was dug into a possible Local Phase 2 courtyard 13 near pyrotechnic feature 10. The grave is oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the southeast. The legs were both tightly flexed, although the left leg was in the normal position below the rest of the skeleton and the right leg was in front of the pelvis, with the knee at the chest. The arms extended downwards and the hands were placed between the legs. The female in her 20's or 30's, locus 8, was mostly on her back, though facing slightly to the right, and a half clam shell was found on her hip. The grave measures 0.8 x 1.65 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 87. Square 44.95, L9. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 5
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 0-1a (Period 4 or later)
Adjoining Loci: 1
Burial Type: Possible pot burial
Age, Sex: Infant
Description: Within locus 5, among a matrix containing beads (AT2114, 2140), female clay figurines (AT2116, AT2142, AT2672), metal fragment AT2147, and metal pin AT2663, was a badly preserved in-situ shallow bowl, that had a cover on top and an infant ulna and femur inside. Only a few fragments of the infant remained inside the bowl, as this locus was near the topsoil and highly eroded.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 88. Square 45.44, L5. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 7
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 0-1a (Period 4 or later)
Adjoining Loci: 12
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Unable to determine
Description: As the burial was largely in topsoil, it was in very poor condition. A clear burial cut, measuring 1.6 x 1 meters was found, but within the cut, only the badly preserved skull was found in-situ. Numerous other small fragments of bone were found within and around the cut.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 89. Square 45.44, L7. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 21
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1b (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 16
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adolescent
Description: Under the floor of room 16, was an intact and articulated adolescent burial. The grave, measuring 2 x 2.22 meters, was cut northeast/southwest, with the head to the southwest and the feet to the northeast. The individual lies on the right side with legs are tightly flexed and the arms pulled up towards the chest. The grave appears to have a parabola-shape.
Grave Goods: Three beads around the wrist AT3225; bronze ring AT3224; Simple ware shallow bowl AT3223 on top of the skull
Photo/Drawing:

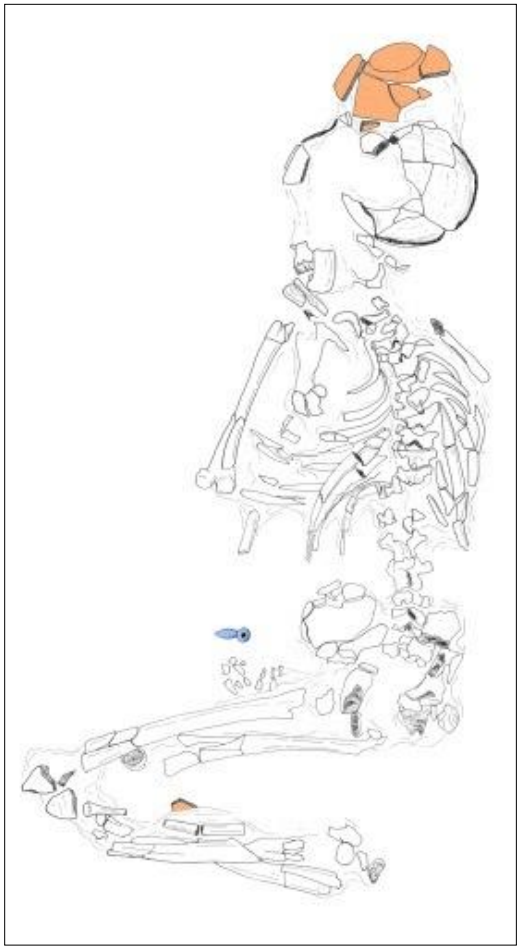


Figure 90. Square 45.44, L21, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 31
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 0-1 (Period 4 or later)
Adjoining Loci: 22
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: Oriented northwest/southeast, with the head toward the northwest, this burial remained half inside the southeast baulk. The rectangular grave cut was visible, and the visible section 0.5 x 0.7 meters. Only the badly preserved skull, facing upwards, and right shoulder of the individual was within the square.
Grave Goods: Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT3901 and Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT3902 above the skull
Photo/Drawing:

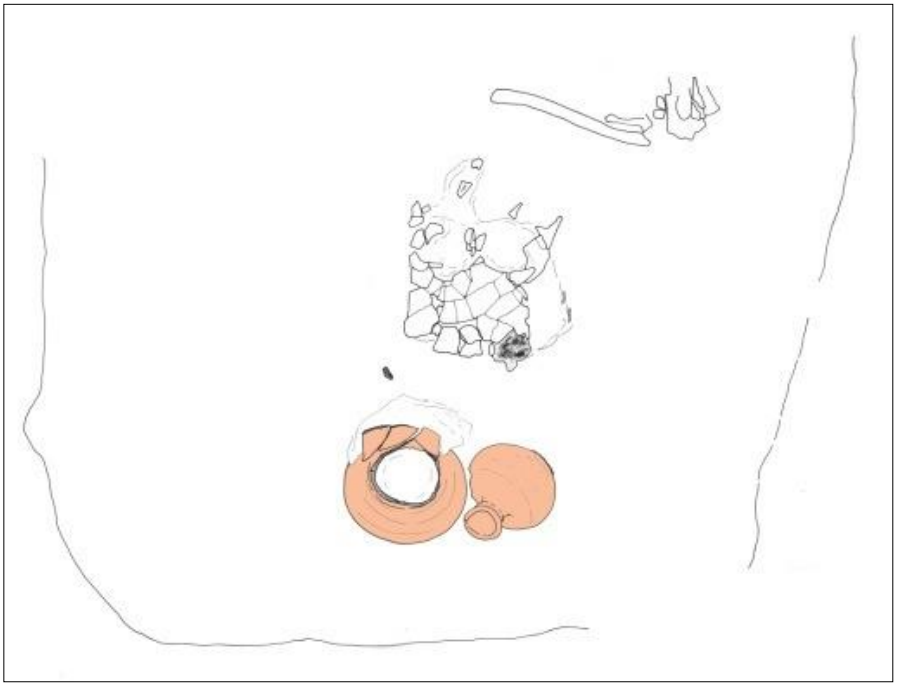


Figure 91. Square 45.44, L31, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 92. Square 45.44, L31. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 32
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 0-1 (Period 4 or later)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 39
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant
Description: This badly preserved infant burial was not in a visible grave cut, although the area around the bones measured 0.5 x 0.55 meters. Only the skull, ribs, arms, and possibly some of the legs were found in-situ. Numerous small bones from the infant were also found scattered around the burial.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 93. Square 45.44, L32, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 94. Square 45.44, L32. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 41
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 0-1 (Period 4 or later)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This adult flexed burial was in moderately good condition, with most of the skeleton present, except the midsection of the body, which was missing due to animal activity. The individual lay on its left side, with its head to the southeast and feet to the northwest, legs flexed, and arms bent over the pelvis. The head lay on its side, facing north. The rectangular burial cut was well distinguished and measured 1.3 x 0.6 meters, though a portion of it extends into the northwest baulk.
Grave Goods: Metal pin 4271 at the right shoulder
Photo/Drawing:

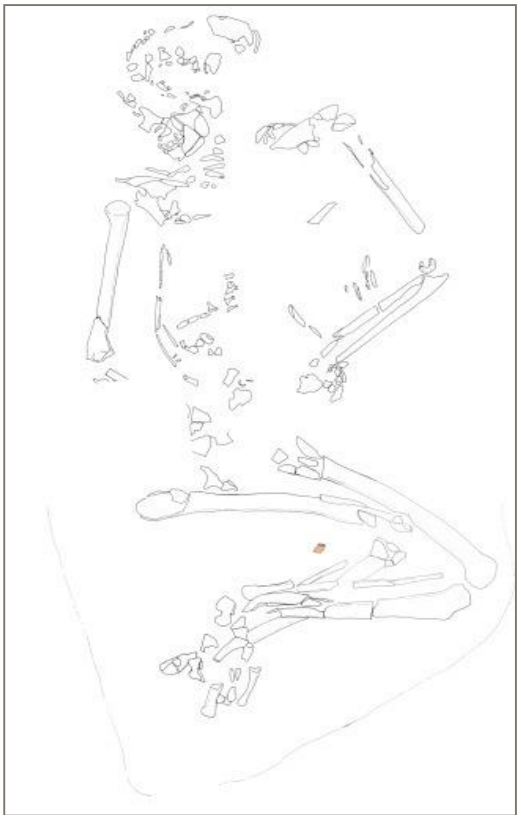


Figure 95. Square 45.44, L41, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 96. Square 45.44, L41. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 42
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This burial was very close to topsoil and was in poor condition. This was an adult flexed burial with a rectangular cut measuring 1.35 x 0.67 meters. The individual was lying on its back with its head to the northwest and feet to the southeast, one arm over the pelvis, the other over the shoulder, with the skull on its side facing the southwest, towards L41. The flexed legs were largely missing, as was most of the skull and midsection.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

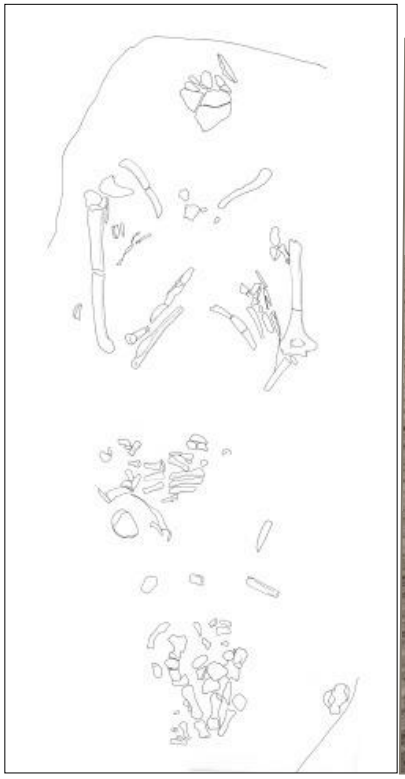


Figure 97. Square 45.44, L42, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 98. Square 45.44, L42. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 43
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: Located slightly southeast of L41 and L42, this adult individual was laying on its back in a flexed position, with its skull to the southeast and feet to the northwest. The head was lying on its side facing northeast, the legs were flexed with knees pointing northwest, and the arms were folded over the pelvis. This skeleton was nearly complete, except for some of the vertebrae and lower scapula. The well distinguished burial cut was ovular in shape and measured 1.23 x 0.83 meters. Along the eastern edge of the burial cut, a few bones of a human infant, the skull and ribs were found, as well as a number of isolated human adult bones that did not come from the L43 individual. These are possible slope wash, as a number of human bone isolates were found within the locus 38 excavations.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

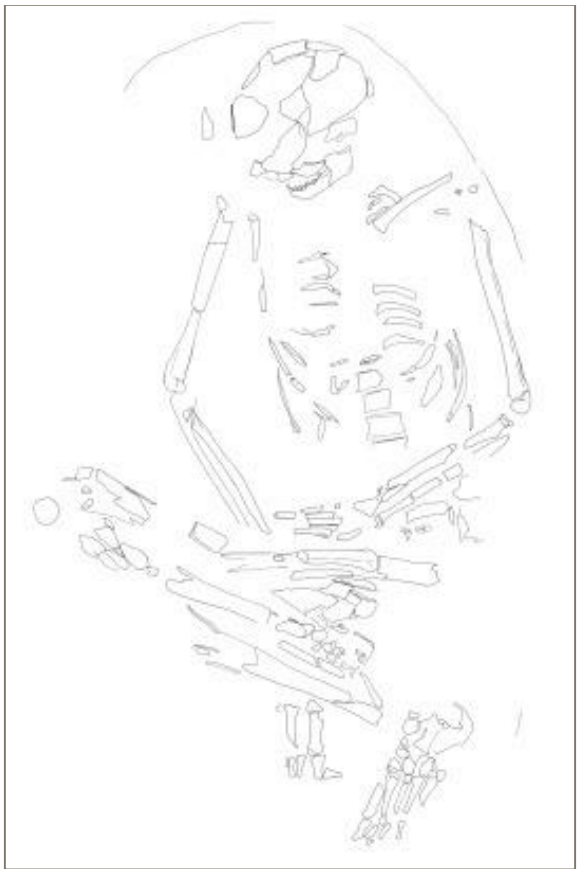


Figure 99. Square 45.44, L43, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 100. Square 45.44, L43. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 52
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 56
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: The rectangular burial cut measured 1.1 x 0.88 meters, oriented northeast/southwest, with the head to the southwest. However, the remains within the burial were not very well preserved, and the majority of the skeleton missing. As a result, nothing can be said of the original positioning of the body, except it appears that the arms were folded over the chest. A nearby isolated femur, located in Locus 38, lot 159 (AT4725), may belong to this burial, due to its close proximity.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

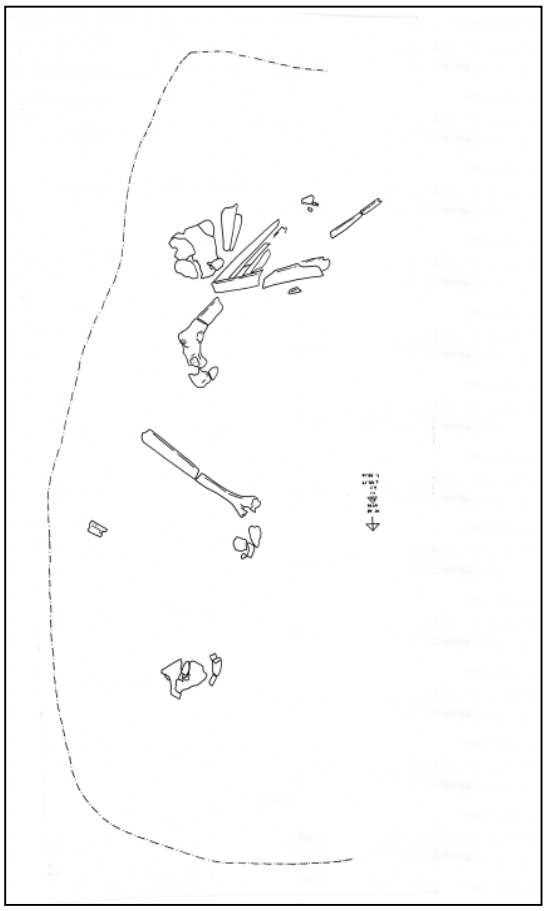


Figure 101. Square 45.44, L52, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 102. Square 45.44, L52. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 53
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 39
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This burial cut into the northeastern edge of the L39 wall along the southeastern baulk. The burial was of an articulated adult within a mostly clearly defined burial cut measuring 1.3 x 0.84 meters. The burial was oriented northwest to southeast, though the southeastern edge of the burial cut continued into the southeastern baulk, and the burial was not complete within the square. The individual lies on its left side, with its head to the northwest. The head lies on its left side, facing the east. The arms were folded in front of the chest, the fingers slightly curled. The legs were very loosely flexed, so that they form a 90 degree angle, and the feet and ankles of the individual go into the southeastern baulk.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

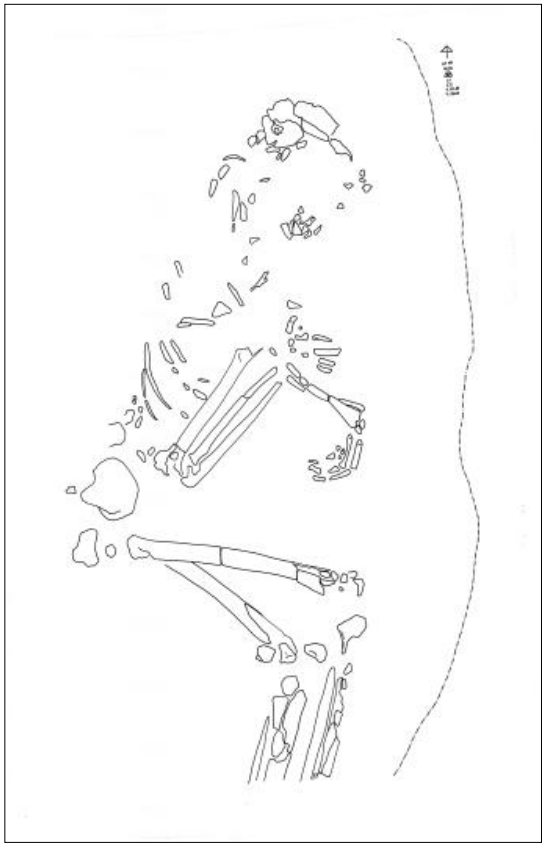


Figure 103. Square 45.44, L53, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 104. Square 45.44, L53. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 54
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: The burial cut measured 1.6 x 0.75 meters, oriented northwest to southeast. The individual, an articulated tall adult, lies on its back with the skull to the northwest and the feet to the southeast. The skull was lying on its left side, facing the northwest. The arms were loosely flexed over the pelvis, and the legs were also loosely flexed, with the knees to the southeast.
Grave Goods: Simple ware shoulder goblet AT4991 near the pelvis; jar fragment AT4984 near the feet; earring AT4983 at the skull; toggle pin head AT4956 found in screening
Photo/Drawing:

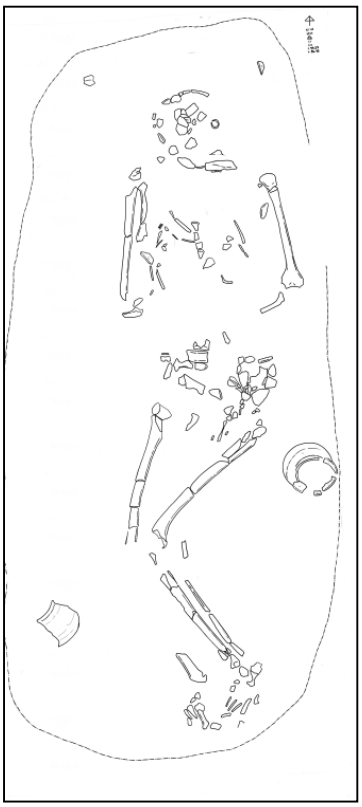


Figure 105. Square 45.44, L54, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 106. Square 45.44, L54. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 55
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Young child less than 2 years old
Description: L55 was located within a well defined burial cut, oriented northwest to southeast, measuring 1.3 x 0.72 meters. The skeleton lies on its back, with the skull facing upwards and the arms straight and extended along it sides and its legs extended. The head was to the northwest, with the feet to the southeast. The burial was not well preserved, with only a badly crushed skull, the left arm, both legs, and a small number of ribs and vertebrae found intact.
Grave Goods: Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT4958 near skull; 8 beads of stone and vitreous material AT4959 around neck
Photo/Drawing:

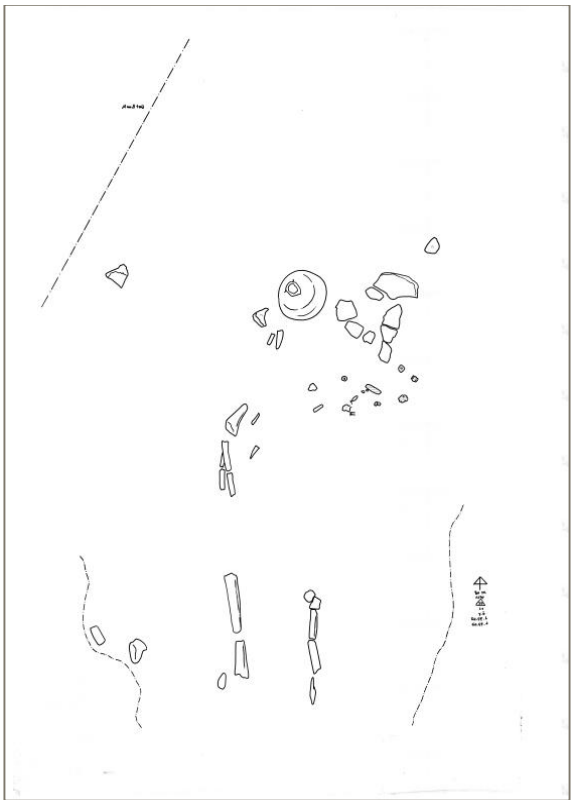


Figure 107. Square 45.44, L55, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 108. Square 45.44, L55. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 56
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 52
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: An articulated adult, lying in a burial cut measuring 1.7 x 0.7, oriented northwest to southeast. The individual lies on its left side, skull to the southeast, feet to the northwest, the legs very tightly flexed, and the knees facing up, so that the legs were flexed vertically, resulting in a pronounced twist of the body. The feet were crossed at the ankles, and lie flat on the surface of the burial. The arms were bent, with the right hand held loosely clenched over the chest and the left tightly clenched and held just below the chin. The skull was lying on its left side, facing the southwestern baulk.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT6013 on toes; female figurine fragment AT4982 and carved basalt fragment AT6574 in the fill above the burial
Photo/Drawing:

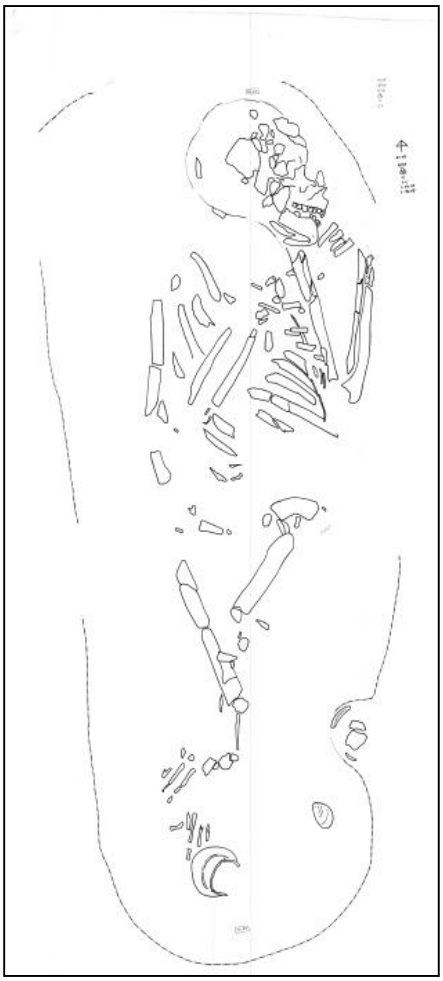


Figure 109. Square 45.44, L56, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 110. Square 45.44, L56. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 62
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Multiple inhumation, possibly secondary
Age, Sex: Two adults
Description: The unarticulated remains of two individuals. While a clear burial cut was found, measuring 0.5 x 0.85 meters, oriented northeast/southwest, and continuing into the eastern baulk, all that remained within the cut itself was one large human mandible, facing upwards, with the teeth to the north, and a second pair of maxillae and mandible, smaller than the first but still clearly an adult, facing up, but with the teeth to the south. The jaws were right next to one another and no other remains of either individual were found except for some small isolated fragments. This locus was found near topsoil, so it is possible the rest of the skeletons have eroded away. Alternatively, it is possible that this is a secondary burial or some type of skull deposit.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

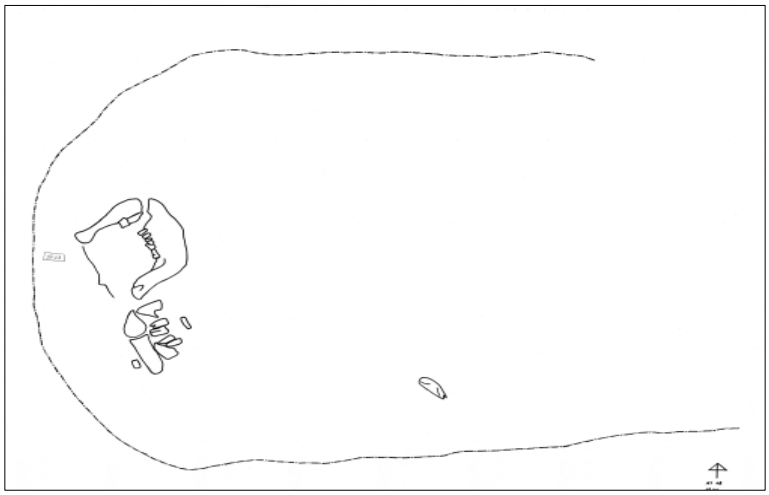


Figure 111. Square 45.44, L62, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 112. Square 45.44, L62. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 65
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1 (Period 4)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 66, 67
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Child
Description: This was the articulated burial of a small child. This is part of a cluster of three burials that also includes L66 and L67. It adjoins directly to L66 at its northwestern edge and lies approximately 7 centimeters above L66, and thus was likely the latest of the three. The burial lies in a clearly defined cut, measuring 0.77 x 0.72 meters, oriented northwest to southeast. The individual lies on its left side, with the head to the northwest. The head lies on its left side, facing east. The left arm was somewhat tightly flexed, bringing the hand up near the skull. The right arm was loosely flexed, with the hand held just above the legs. The legs were very tightly flexed, with knees pointing northeast. The skeleton was rather badly preserved.
Grave Goods: Small lead fragment AT6031 in the fill above
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 113. Square 45.44, L65. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 66
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1-2 (Period 4-5)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 65
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Young adolescent
Description: This is part of a cluster of three burials that also includes L65 and L67. It lay directly under L65 with its skull under the skull of the L65 skeleton. As well, this burial lay approximately 5 centimeters above L67. The burial cut was clear, measuring 1.3 x 0.75 meters, and oriented northwest to southeast. The burial consists of the skeleton of either an older child or young adolescent. The individual lay on its back, head to the southeast, feet to the northwest. The head faced upwards, and the arms stretched out on top of the body, so that the hands rested at the pelvis, crossed loosely at the wrists. The legs were loosely flexed, one on top of the other, with the knees to the northwest and the feet to the southeast. The skeleton was largely complete, even if most of the bones were quite fragmented.
Grave Goods: Simple ware short-neck jar AT6573 above the arms where they cross
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 114. Square 45.44, L66. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 67
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1-2 (Period 4-5)
Adjoining Loci: 65, 66, 69
Burial Type: Inhumation, secondary
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This is part of a cluster of three burials that also includes L65 and L66. It is located approximately 5 centimeters beneath and to the southwest of L66, making it the oldest of this burial cluster. The roughly round burial cut for this burial was quite clear, measuring 0.62 x 0.7 meters. However, no indication of orientation was possible for this burial, as it was unarticulated. The remains within the pit were of a single adult human. The degree of disarticulation was high: the mandible was touching the pelvis, the skull was one foot away from the mandible, etc. It seemed that a complete skeleton was present in the pit, but that it was secondarily buried. The only bones missing were the hands, feet and patella.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 115. Square 45.44, L67. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 68
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1-2 (Period 4-5)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Young child
Description: A very clear burial cut, measuring 0.94 meters by 0.85 meters, oriented northwest to southeast, continued into the northwestern baulk. The skeleton was that of a very small child, and was complete within the square. The body lies on its back, with the head to the northwest. The skull lay on its left side and faces east. The arms were folded at ninety degree angles, with the hands held over the chest. The legs were loosely flexed, and the head was toward the northwest. The skeleton was very badly preserved, with all the bones being very fragmentary.
Grave Goods: Simple ware closed miniature jar AT6589 above the head
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 116. Square 45.44, L68, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 117. Square 45.44, L68. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 70
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 69
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Young child
Description: The burial cut was clearly defined and measured 1.1 x 0.66 meters, oriented northwest to southeast. The skeleton was that of a small child, lying on its left side, with the head to the northwest. The head was too badly preserved to tell which direction it was originally facing. The arms were bent at the elbows, held in front of the chest, with the hands near the pelvis. The legs were loosely flexed. The bones were all somewhat badly preserved.
Grave Goods: Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT7378 near the jaw
Photo/Drawing:

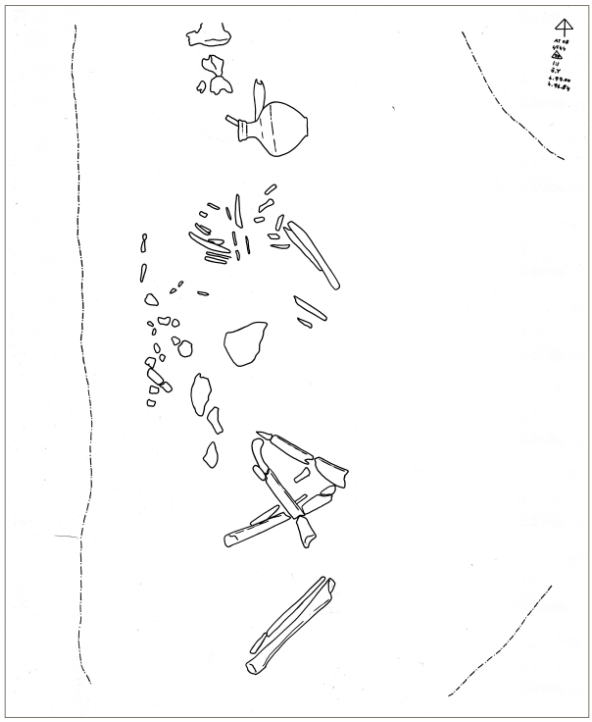


Figure 118. Square 45.44, L70, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 119. Square 45.44, L70. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 71
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 1-2 (Period 4-5)
Adjoining Loci: 53, 69
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This burial lay in a very clear burial cut, measuring 2.1 x 0.71 meters, oriented northwest to southeast, directly below part of L53. The burial was that of a very tall adult. The individual lay on its back, head to the northwest and facing upwards. The left arm was slightly flexed along its left side, then folded over the pelvis, the hand somewhat extended, with the fingers resting above the pelvis. The right arm was tightly flexed, so that the hand rest just below the chin, the hand curled under, with the fingers extended. The legs were extended, with the left foot pointed downward and the right foot lying on its right side.
Grave Goods: Many black and white beads of vitreous material AT7659 found strung in a white, white, black pattern, above the left hand fingers at the right hip
Photo/Drawing:

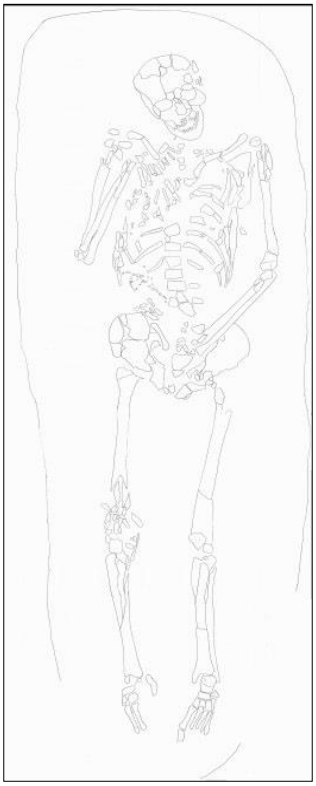


Figure 120. Square 45.44, L71, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 121. Square 45.44, L71. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 73
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 78, 79, 85
Burial Type: Inhumation, secondary
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This is part of a burial cluster that also includes L78, L79, and L112. This burial lies just slightly under L78, and parts of it lie directly on top of the next burial, L79. As this burial was connected on its northwestern and southeastern edges to the L78 and L79, respectively, as well as the fact that the burial cut continued into the northeastern baulk, the cut for this burial was difficult to distinguish. As it was, it measured 1.14 x 0.55 meters, with no orientation. This burial contained the unarticulated secondary remains of a single adult. Found within the locus was some fragments of long bones, the pelvis, some vertebrae and ribs, one scapula, and hand bone fragments. The rest of the bones, including one full arm, may exist in the northeastern baulk.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

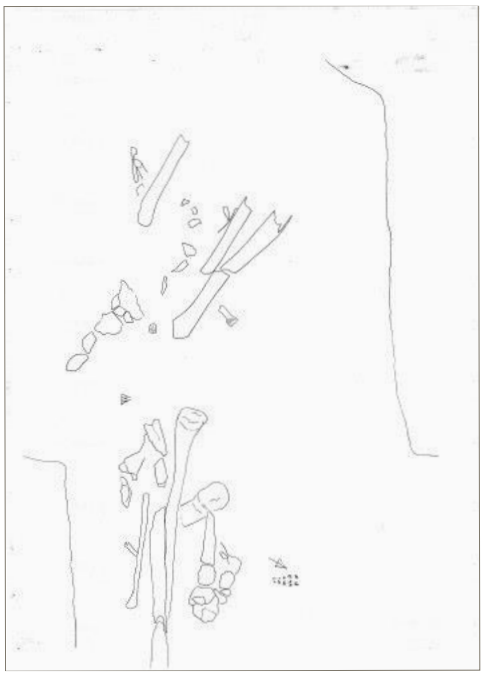


Figure 122. Square 45.44, L73, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 123. Square 45.44, L73. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 78
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 69, 73
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Young adolescent
Description: This is part of a burial cluster that also includes L73, L79, and L122 and is just above L73, making it the youngest burial in the cluster. This burial was found in a well defined burial cut, measuring 1.10 x 0.34 meters with a northwest/southeast orientation. However, much of the burial continued into the northeastern baulk, so this was a very incomplete burial. The individual appears to lie on its back with the legs to the northwest. The skull was not in the burial cut. The right arm was straight, along the side of the body, with the fingers folded inwards. The left arm was crossed over the body, joining the right arm. The legs were crossed at the thighs and slightly bent, with the right foot flat upon the ground.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

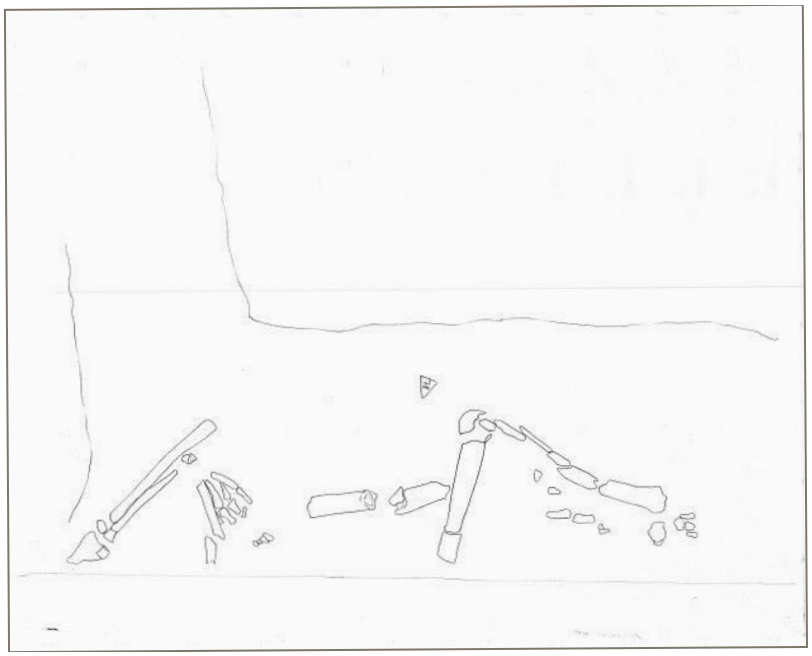


Figure 124. Square 45.44, L78, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 125. Square 45.44, L78. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 79
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 69, 73, 85
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This is part of a burial cluster that also includes L73, L78, and L112, and was located directly beneath L73. The pelvis of L73 lay on top of the skull of L79, partially crushing it. The burial lay in a clear burial cut, measuring 1.47 x 0.88 meters, oriented northeast to southwest. The individual lies on its left side, head to the northeast legs to the southwest. The head lies on its left side, facing the southeast. The arms were folded across the chest, with the right arm over the left, and the fingers loosely curled. The legs were loosely flexed, with the right leg lying on top of the left leg, and the knees to the southeast. The burial was disturbed, possibly in antiquity by digging the L73 burial cut. The femurs of both legs have been moved, so that they were upside-down, possibly when L73 was buried. Other than being moved around, the bones were in generally good condition.
Grave Goods: Simple ware short-neck jar AT8137 under the chin; Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT8139 above the skull; toggle pin shaft AT8112 found in screening
Photo/Drawing:

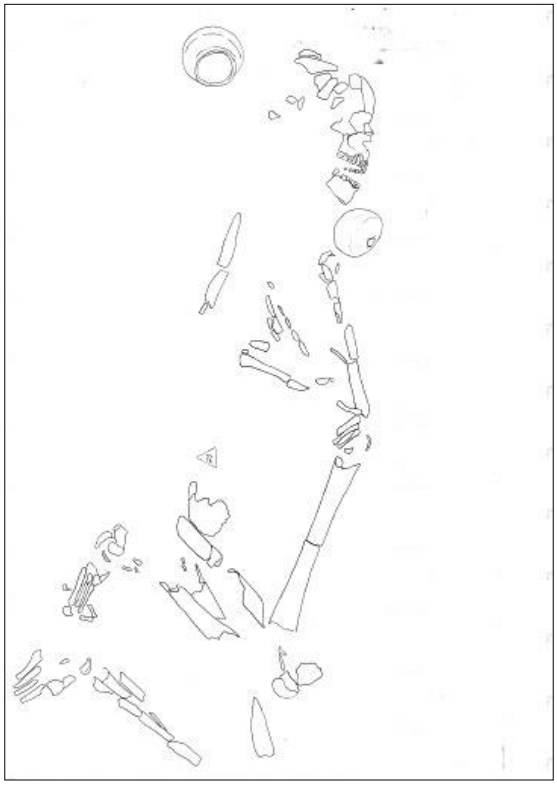


Figure 126. Square 45.44, L79, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 127. Square 45.44, L79. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 82
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 67, 69, 85
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: The articulated burial of a small adult. The burial cut for this locus was quite clear, measuring 1.43 x 1 meters, oriented northwest to southeast. The individual lay on its left side, with the head to the south, facing west. The body was placed in a fetal position, the legs very tightly flexed and held curled directly under the pelvis, with the right leg stacked over the left leg. The arms were folded over the chest. Animal burrowing destroyed the lower halves of the arms and both hands, but it appeared that the arms were held along the sides of the body, and then bent at the elbows, hands held in front of the chest.
Grave Goods: Simple ware biconical jar AT8785 near the skull in southeast side of cut; clay weight AT8754 in the fill above
Photo/Drawing:

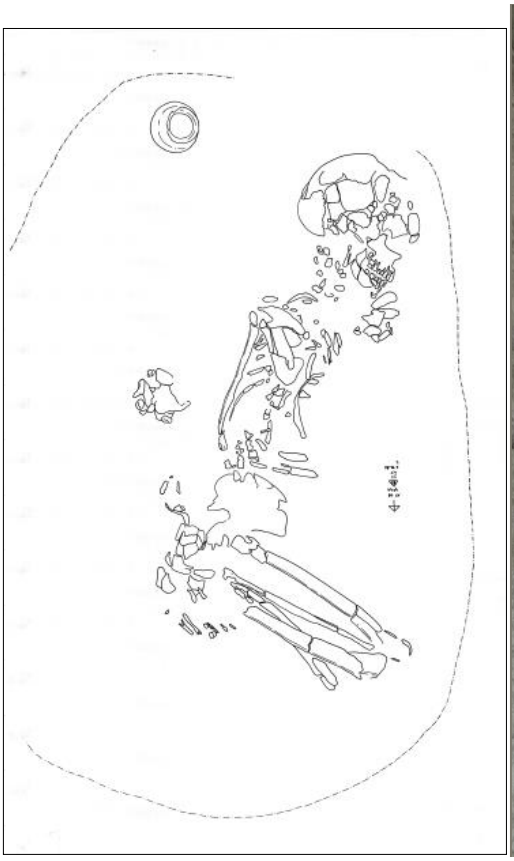


Figure 128. Square 45.44, L82, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 129. Square 45.44, L82. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 105
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 95, 108
Burial Type: Accidental death
Age, Sex: Adult female
Description: This woman seems to have died in a sudden catastrophic event, such as an earthquake. She was found in one of the burnt room contexts, room 108, on the southwest side of the fortification wall. Because she was not buried deliberately, this individual is not considered in this thesis and is merely included here in order to be comprehensive.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 130. Square 45.44, L105. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 106
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 101
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: This burial is within a casemate of the L39 fortification wall. The burial cut is oriented northwest/southeast, with the head to the southeast facing left, and measures 0.5 x 1 meters. The skeleton was nearly complete and tightly flexed up towards the chest and laying on its right side. The arms were extended along the body, with the hands brought together over the pelvis.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT17461; Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT17468
Photo/Drawing:

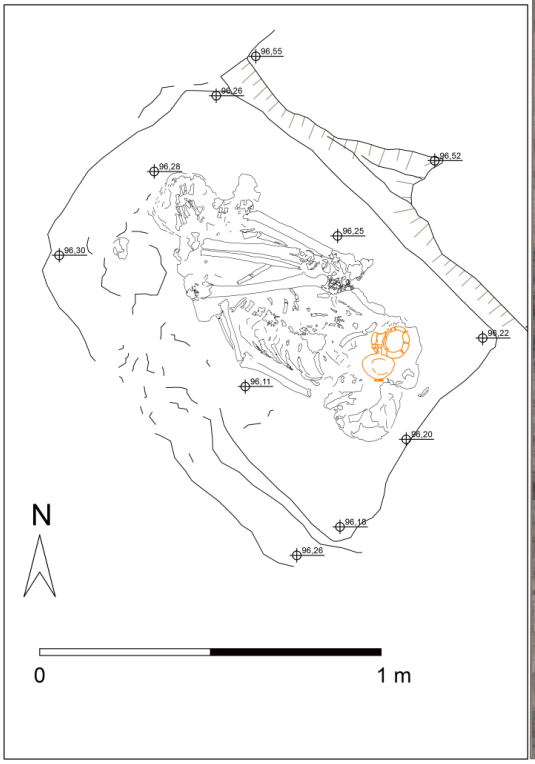


Figure 131. Square 45.44, L106, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 132. Square 45.44, L106. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 110
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 85
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: L110 was close enough to L114 that part of the cranium from the individual in L114 was exposed while excavating around L110. Despite this close association, there is no evidence that the proximity was intentional, and besides being at relatively the same depth, there is no evidence the remains were buried concurrently. The individual, as far as could be discerned, was lying in a flexed position; this however cannot be stated with certainty since the remains extend into the north balk. The individual appear to be lying on their left side with the head facing east and oriented south. Based on the skull, the individual appears to be an adult male. The grave measures 0.8 x 0.5 meters.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT13224 in front of the face
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 133. Square 45.44, L110. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 111
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 85, 113
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: This was the second burial in a cluster of three graves – L111, L113, and L116 - near the southeastern baulk. L111 was articulated, lying on the right side and oriented with the feet to the southwest and, presumably, the head to the east. The remains abruptly ended above the last thoracic vertebra, east of which was a small scatter of bones, which very likely belonged to this individual but disarticulated and insufficient to represent the remainder of the individual. The grave measures 0.7 x 1.25 meters. Initially it was suspected the upper half of the skeleton could have been removed by erosion, but then as excavations continued, it was revealed that where the upper body of the individual would have been located there was another grave at the same depth, L113. It may be possible to locate the upper body of the individual in L111 by examining the remains located slightly above L113, as later features such as 121 suggest that the remains were sometimes included in the back fill for newly excavated graves.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 134. Square 45.44, L111. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 112
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 85
Burial Type: Dense bone scatter
Age, Sex:
Description: A clearly defined grave scar along the northern edge of the locus marked this grave, however, the remains inside we widely scattered and disarticulated across an area measuring 0.9 x 1.45 meters. Aside from fragments of between at least one skull, there was little present within the scar to indicate that this was an intentional grave. There was no clear orientation of the remains. These probably do not constitute a secondary burial but rather a dense bone scatter.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 135. Square 45.44, L112. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 113
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 85, 111, 116
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: L113 was the latest in the burial cluster that also included L111 and L116. The remains in this grave, measuring 1.25 x 0.5 meters, were complete but poorly preserved. The individual in this grave was lying on its left side, with its legs tightly flexed, feet and knees together and arms lying across the torso. The remains belonged to an adult. These remains represent the first case of what appears to be the practice at Alalakh of cross cutting existing graves. These remains are positioned where the skull and upper body of L111 would have been. It is likely that in the process of digging L113, the grave diggers came across L111 and removed the bones to make room for the individual they were burying in L113.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 136. Square 45.44, L113. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 114
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 85
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: The skull and bones of the upper body of this individual were located only partially extruding from the northwestern baulk in an area measuring 0.4 x 0.6 meters. L114 appears to be a flexed burial, as the skull and upper arms which protrude from the north baulk appear to follow all the conventions of the typical flexed burial. The skull was oriented to the south. The skull also indicates that the remains were lying on their left side.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 137. Square 45.44, L114. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 115
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 85
Burial Type: Secondary
Age, Sex:
Description: L115 consists mostly of what appears to be the paired long bones of a single individual, although three fibulae were present. The bones were stacked in an orderly pile, oriented roughly parallel with wall 39 in a pit measuring 1.1 x 0.8 meters. The skull, the majority of the pelvis, and the bones of the hands and feet were missing. The pairs of long bones appear to be from the same individual and are paired as right and left bones, arguing against the possibility that this was simply the careful curation of random remains in the cemetery area and in favor of this being a deliberate burial custom. The most convincing evidence that this was an intentional secondary burial was that the head of the left femur was fractured off of the bone but was found elsewhere within the stack of bones.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 138. Square 45.44, L115. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 116
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2-3 (Period 5-6)
Adjoining Loci: 111, 113, 131
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: The flexed burial in L116 was similar in many regards to the other burials in the cluster (L111, L113). The individual was lying on its right side and was facing south in a grave measuring 0.8 x 1.5 meters. The feet of the body were pulled up below the pelvis and the hands where clutched on the chest. Like L111 the burial sloped deeper in elevation toward the head. A peculiar aspect of this grave was the absence of the right leg. The individual's feet were both present in an anatomically correct position and completely articulated, indicating that the leg was originally in place, but was lost afterwards. The most likely explanation for this is the very large animal run which directly undercut the burial. Based on examination of the skull, this individual is likely an adult male.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 139. Square 45.44, L116. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 120
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 85
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: This individual's remains were arranged in a typical flexed position lying on the left side, with the arms lying on the chest. A noteworthy aspect of this grave was the apparent narrowness of the burial pit which the individual was placed in. The pit measures 2.5 x 0.5 meters. In most typical burials, the bones of the legs are oriented as if the individual was lying on a flat surface, but in this case they project almost vertically from the soil. This orientation suggests the grave was too narrow to allow the legs to settle properly in the grave cut. Additionally, the skull was located considerably higher than pelvis, another indicator that the pit dug to bury this individual was not very large.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 140. Square 45.44, L120. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 121
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 112, 119, 131
Burial Type: Bone scatter on top of inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: This bone scatter was large in extent, over 2 x 1 meters, and multilayered, with enough remains to make it clear this feature contained at least 4 individuals, and possibly as many as 6. Among all the disorganized scatter of bones, the remains of a single adult in a typical flexed burial was present. This locus indicates that the occupants of Alalakh would occasionally dig through an existing grave in the process of digging a new grave, and, evidently, this did not halt the grave digging process. Above the typical, nearly complete, burial the remains were in no organized fashion and the bones of multiple individuals were intermixed and placed directly on top of the individual. The best explanation for the arrangement of remains in the locus is that a large grave was excavated for the individual in the center of the locus and the grave diggers, while preparing the new burial came upon the remains of at least 3 other individuals. The grave diggers set those bones aside, put the recently dead individual into the new grave, and then piled the bones of the grave they disturbed back on top of the remains.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware short-neck jar AT14624 in the northeast corner
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 141. Square 45.44, L121. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 122
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2-3 (Period 5-6)
Adjoining Loci: 85, 120
Burial Type: Secondary
Age, Sex:
Description: Immediately to the north of L120, these remains were located directly beside the northeastern baulk in an area measuring 0.5 x 0.3 meters. The proximity of these remains to L120 remains was such that they were likely interred at the same time. The orientation of L120 suggests that initial burial pit the remains were placed in was quite narrow, the knees of L120 were oriented roughly a 110 degree angle vertically from the pelvis. This nearly straight up and down orientation of the legs from L120 placed the knees above L122, but the bones of the feet from L120 were located beneath L122. The entirety of human remains in L122, were two crossed human femurs. The entire left femur and half of the right were present. The remains were very similar in size, further indicating they belonged to the same individual. We can be certain that these remains are not from the individual in L120 since that individual also had both femurs. These remains were likely buried concurrently with the remains in L120.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 142. Square 45.44, L122. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 129
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 128, 131
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Small child about 3 years old
Description: The remains in L129 are of an infant in a flexed position, lying on its right side. The arms seem to have been crossed at the pelvis, though the remains were highly fragmentary. The grave was cut northwest/southeast with the head to the southeast and measures 0.83 x 0.33 meters. Based on examination of the teeth, the individual is 3 +/- 1 years old.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware short-neck jar AT17147 near the feet
Photo/Drawing:

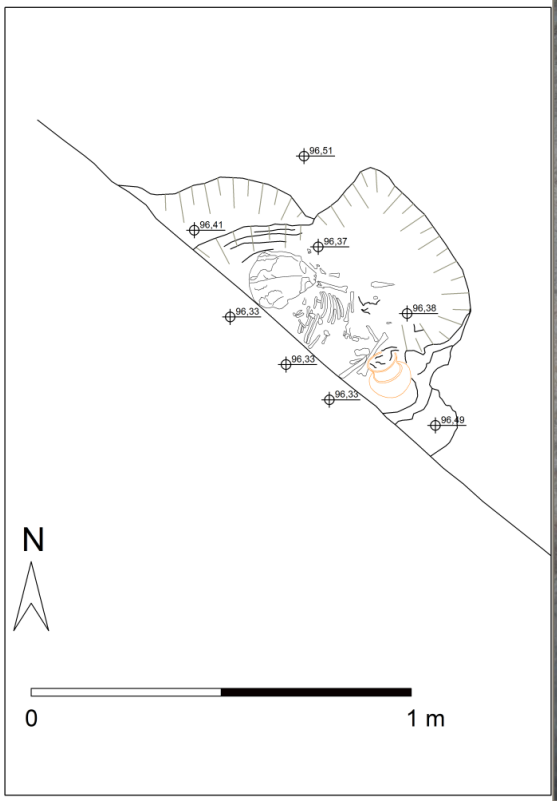


Figure 143. Square 45.44, L129, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 144. Square 45.44, L129. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 130
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2-3 (Period 5-6)
Adjoining Loci: 39, 128, 131
Burial Type: Bone scatter
Age, Sex: Older adult
Description: L130 was found where wall 39 and the southern baulk meet. Little was noted concerning L130 in the excavation notebooks, apart from a general northwest/southeast orientation and that the individual seems to have deposited on its left side, but judging from the description of the feature, the remains that were found were very disorganized and in a scatter that measures 1 x 2 meters. They were collected without being mapped or photographed. The remains suggest that the bones found in the area was highly fragmented and spread over a relatively large area, described in the database as 2x1 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing: None

Locus Number: 132
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 97, 109, 123, 140
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adolescent
Description: The remains of L132 were in exceptionally poor condition. The most that can discerned from the remains is that they were of an infant or child buried on its left side with legs flexed and arms extended. The grave is oriented northwest/southeast, and the head appears to be towards the southeast, facing left. The remains extend into the southeastern balk, and the exposed area of the grave measures 0.8 x 0.7 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

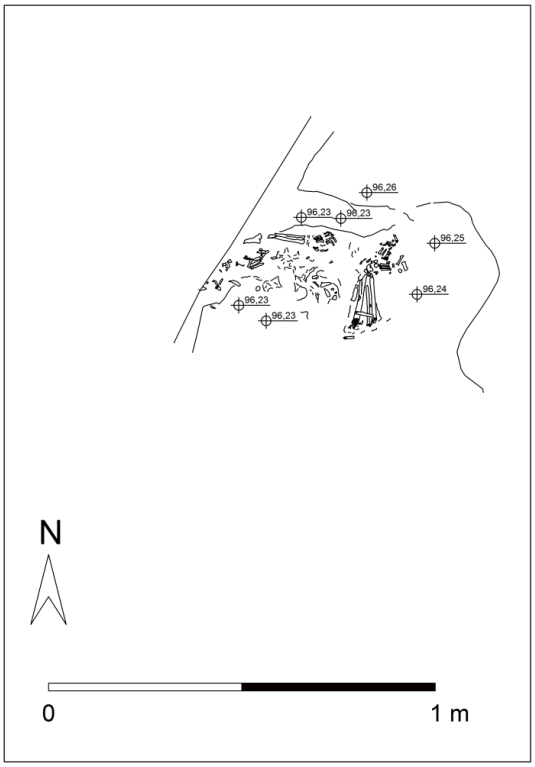


Figure 145. Square 45.44, L132, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 146. Square 45.44, L132. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 133
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 2-3 (Period 5-6)
Adjoining Loci: 124, 131
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: The remains in L133 are the fractured remnants of a skull close to the east baulk. The grave cut is oriented northwest/southeast with the head to the southeast, facing upwards. It measures 0.4 x 0.3 meters. Almost nothing can be discerned from them other than that they are of an adult. From the few teeth remaining, the individual may have been 18- 24 years old. Apart from the skull fragments, there were several finger bones.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

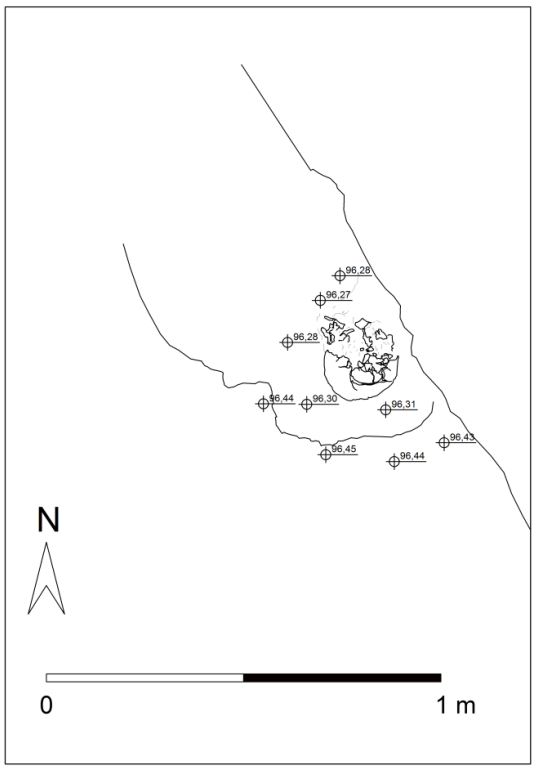


Figure 147. Square 45.44, L133, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

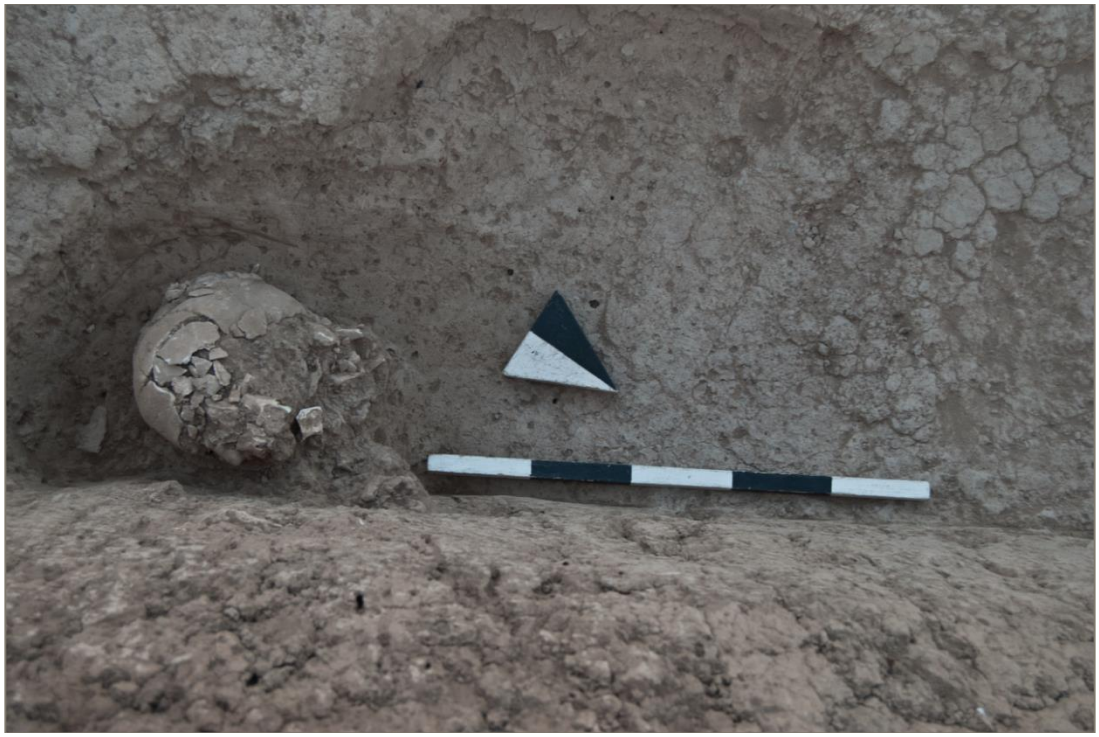


Figure 148. Square 45.44, L133. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 134
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 124, 131
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: The remains in L134 were deposited supine with flexed legs. With the exception of the feet for some reason these remains were very poorly preserved. The grave is oriented northwest/southeast with the head to the northwest, facing right, and measures 1.4 x 0.7 meters. The right arm was slightly bent with the hand resting on the pelvis, and the left arm was crossed over the torso, grasping the right elbow. Based on the skull and finger bones, this person was 25 years or older.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware short-neck jar AT17660 at the left elbow; Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT18056
Photo/Drawing:

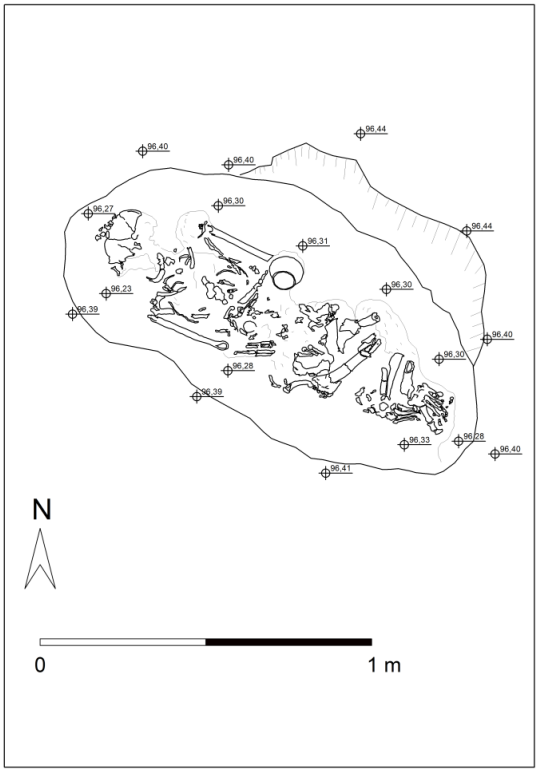


Figure 149. Square 45.44, L134, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 150. Square 45.44, L134. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 135
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 97, 131
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Older adult
Description: The remains in L135 were of an older adult of undetermined sex, lying on its left side with legs tightly flexed and arms flexed up to rest just below the neck. These remains were complete and articulated but in extremely bad condition. The grave measures 1.25 x 0.4 meters. The individual lay on its back in a northwest/southeast orientation with its head to the northwest, facing left. Some fragments of the mandible and a few worn teeth indicate that the remains were of a considerably aged individual.
Grave Goods: Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT17691, Simple eare trefoil globular pitcher with braided handle AT17693, and animal figurine AT17690 just above the head
Photo/Drawing:

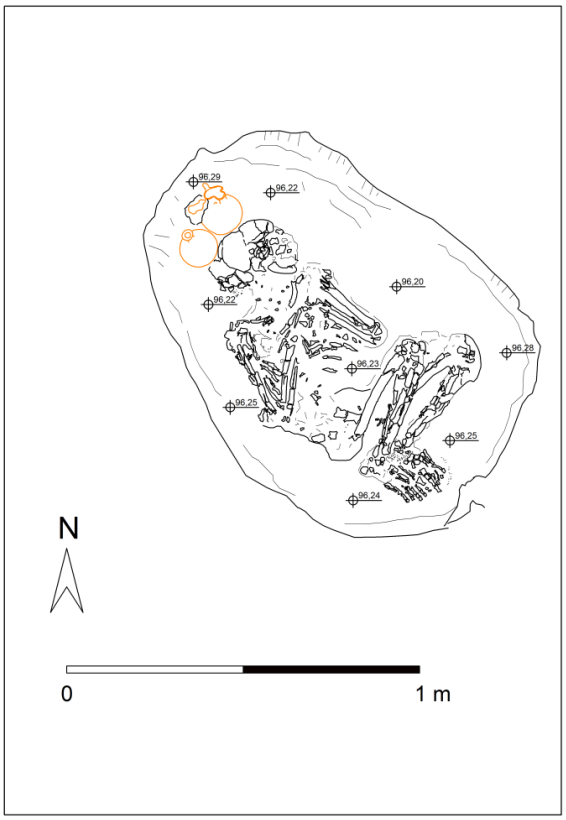


Figure 151. Square 45.44, L135, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 152. Square 45.44, L135. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 136
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 97, 137
Burial Type: Secondary
Age, Sex: Adult, possibly male
Description: The remains in L136 are of a full grown and robust adult. Despite the fact the remains were disarticulated and spread over an area measuring 1.4 x 0.85 meters, it can be assumed that they are all of a single adult, as the bones are all of a similar size, there are no duplicate bones, and the long bones frequently are paired. The individual is likely male and was 30-35 years of age. The high degree of disarticulation combined with the presence of most of the bones and the relatively good preservation suggest that this is a secondary burial, rather than a bone scatter or disturbed grave.
Grave Goods: Simple ware biconical cup AT18099
Photo/Drawing:

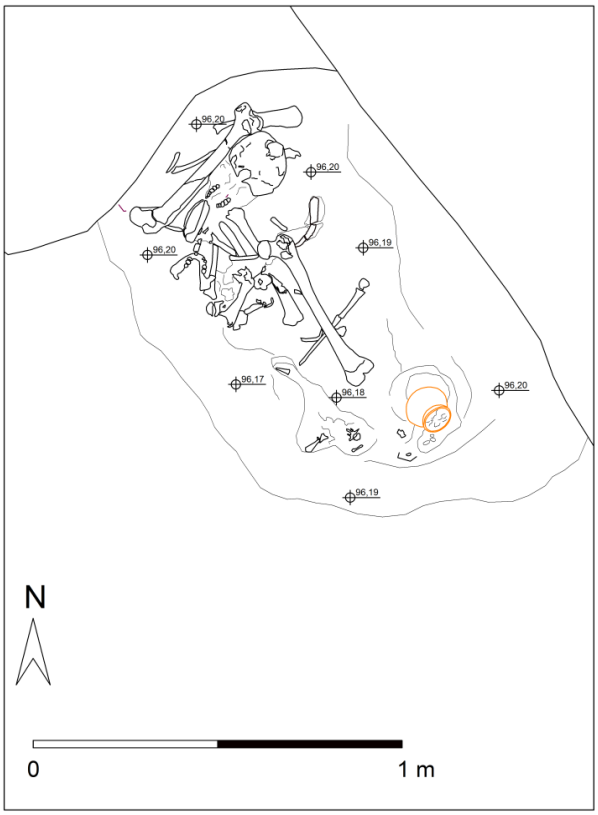


Figure 153. Square 45.44, L136, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 154. Square 45.44, L136. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 138
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 137
Burial Type: Possible bone scatter
Age, Sex: Infant
Description: Despite the fact that the remains in L138 were found scattered over a relatively large space 1.2 x 0.9 meters in size, they very likely come from a single infant: all bones were very similar in size, with no more than one of each element and they were relatively well preserved. The remains were roughly oriented northeast/southwest, although this is tentative, given the high degree of disarticulation. It is likely the individual was between one year and two years eight months old.
Grave Goods: Simple ware short-neck jar AT18364; Simple ware hemispherical cup AT18366
Photo/Drawing:

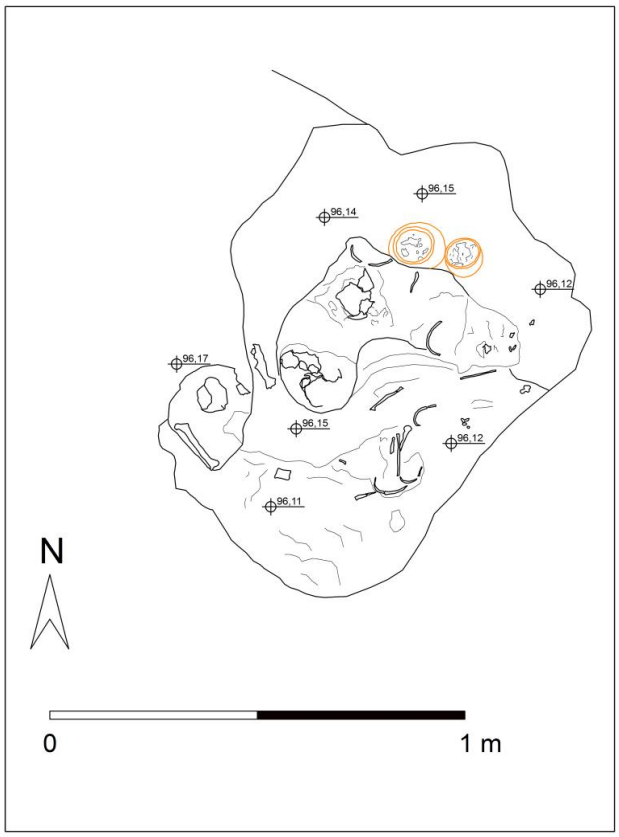


Figure 155. Square 45.44, L138, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 156. Square 45.44, L138. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 139
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 137
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Child
Description: The remains in L139 were a disorganized “pile” of bones belonging to a very young individual. The individual seems to be oriented roughly northwest/southeast with the head to the northwest. The area where the bones were found measures 0.8 x 0.67 meters. Despite the disturbed state and the poorly preserved bones, a number of teeth were preserved that suggest an age of 3 years old plus or minus 1 year.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

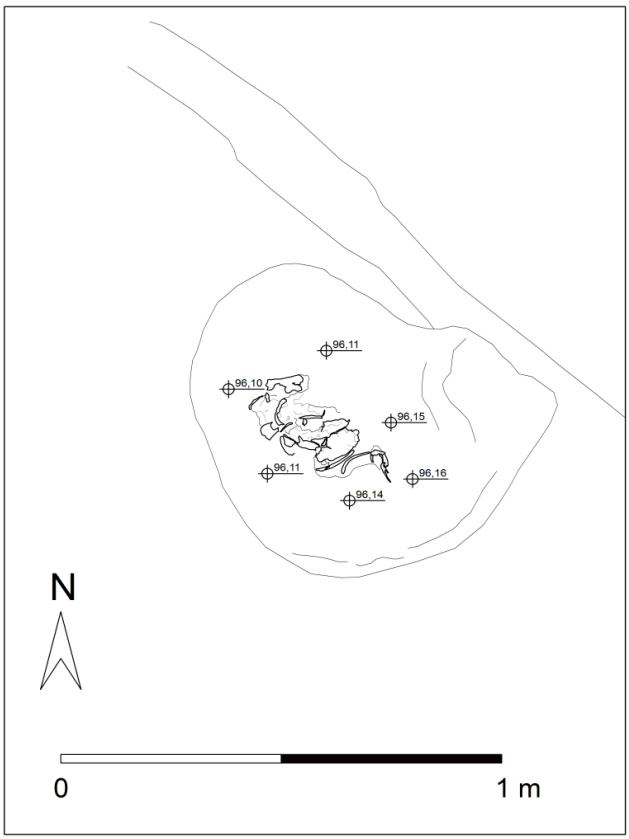


Figure 157. Square 45.44, L139, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 158. Square 45.44, L139. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 143
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 137
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: Extending slightly in the northwestern balk, L143 was deposited on his back. His legs were very slightly flexed and his arms were crossed over his torso and pelvis. The grave was oriented northwest/southeast with the head to the southeast, facing left. It measures 1.7 x 0.8 meters. This skeleton was significantly better preserved than most of the other burials in this phase. The skull features suggest strongly that the individual was male. Due to the good state of preservation, a potential DNA sample was collected from the remains.
Grave Goods: Simple ware short-neck jar AT18695 behind the head
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 159. Square 45.44, L143. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 145
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 97, 142
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant
Description: L145 was found at the intersection of wall 97 and the southeastern baulk of the square, within room 142. The skeleton has flexed arms and legs and is lying on its left side. The grave is oriented northwest/southeast and measures 0.4 x 0.48 meters. The remains were of an individual who was between birth and 3 months of age.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

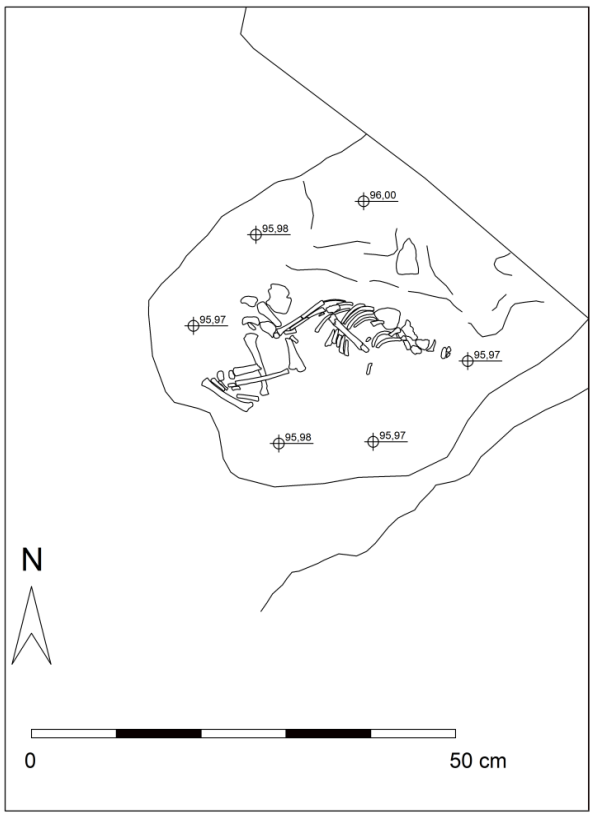


Figure 160. Square 45.44, L145, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 161. Square 45.44, L145. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 146
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 39, 97, 140
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adolescent
Description: The individual in L146 was only partially exposed from the northwestern baulk within room 140 and consists of the remains of the lower body of an adolescent. The grave as contained within the square measures 0.45 x 0.45 meters. The individual was deposited on the left side with legs tightly flexed and was oriented northwest/southeast, with the feet to the southeast and the head remaining inside the balk. The bones were poorly preserved, and a reptile, probably a snake, burrowed into the remains and laid several eggs, further disturbing them. This individual is below the age of 14.5 years.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT18691 in the northwestern balk just above the reptile nest
Photo/Drawing:

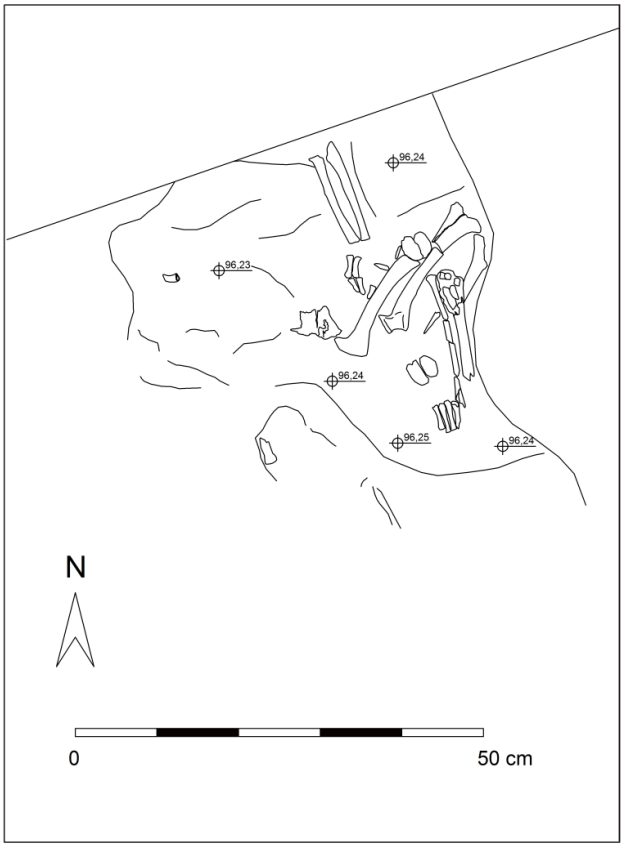


Figure 162. Square 45.44, L146, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 163. Square 45.44, L146. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 147
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 97, 140
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Child
Description: The young child in L147 was found in close context with L146. Both graves were found in room 140 while removing wall 128, and L147 measures 0.8 x 0.4 meters. The remains were buried on the left side with the arms crossed over the chest and legs flexed. The grave was oriented northwest/southeast with the head to the southeast, facing left. Unlike the nearby locus 146, the body is well preserved except where an animal burrow or root disturbed the remains. Based on the analysis of the teeth, the individual was 4-5 years old.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

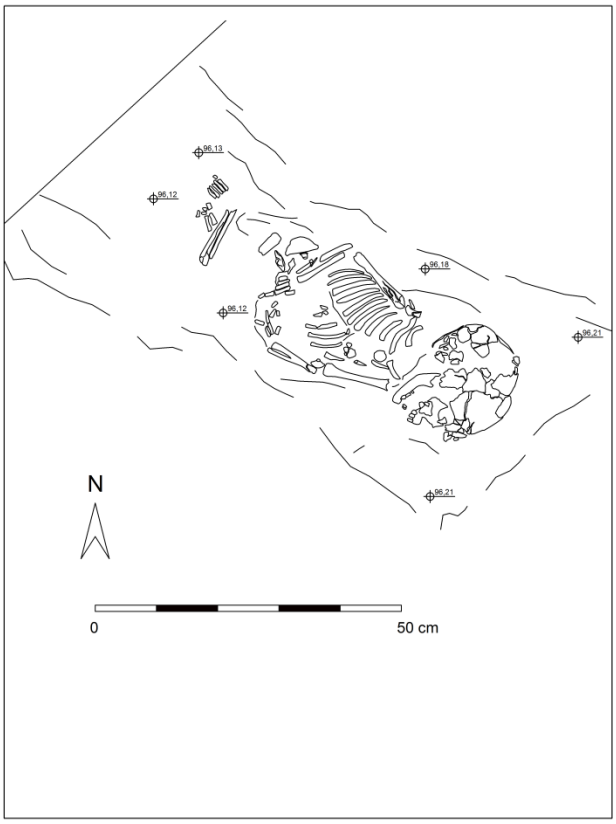


Figure 164. Square 45.44, L147, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 165. Square 45.44, L147. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 149
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 137
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adolescent
Description: The supine adolescent in L149 was buried with the knees flexed slightly upwards and the arms crossed on the chest. From the visible grave cut, oriented northwest/southeast, it is clear that this individual's position was the result of a very narrow grave, which measures 1.5 x 0.6 meters. The head was to the southeast and faced left. It is possible that the individual was male, possibly around the age of 15.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 166. Square 45.44, L149, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 167. Square 45.44, L149. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 150
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 137
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant
Description: L150 consisted of the disturbed remains of a young infant. Very little of the individual could be located, primarily the skull and some ribs. These remains were found in the immediate proximity of L149 and may have been disturbed during the digging of L149. L150 is seems to be oriented northeast/southwest and may have been deposited on the left side. The graves measure 0.6 x 0.55 meters. Based on the fragmentary remains, an age range of two to three years is likely.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

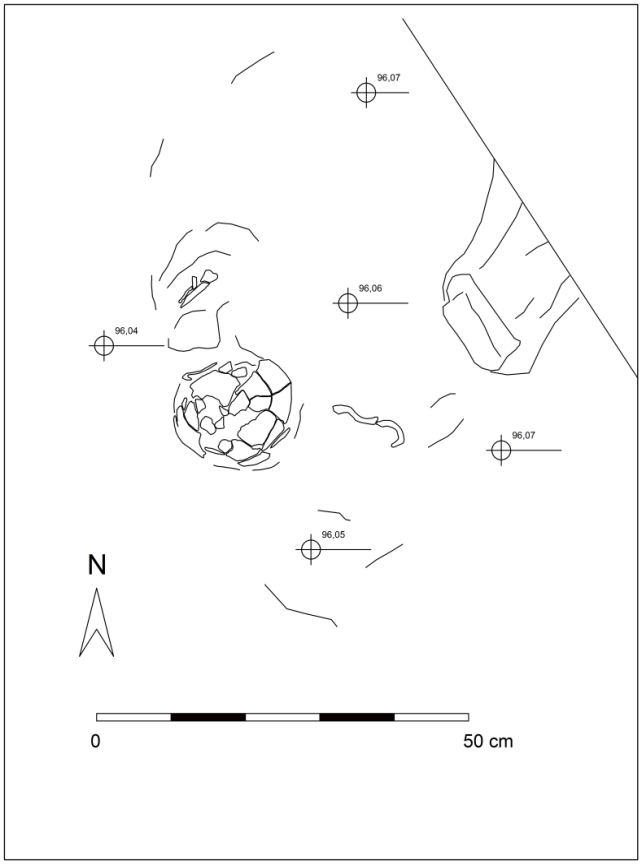


Figure 168. Square 45.44, L150, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 169. Square 45.44, L150. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 151
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 140
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant
Description: The individual in L151 was flexed nearly into a fetal position, with flexed arms and legs, lying on its left side. The burial is oriented northeast/southwest with the head to the northeast, facing left. The teeth suggest an age of sometime between birth and six months of age. This infant was buried in room 140, and the graves measures 0.44 x 0.3 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

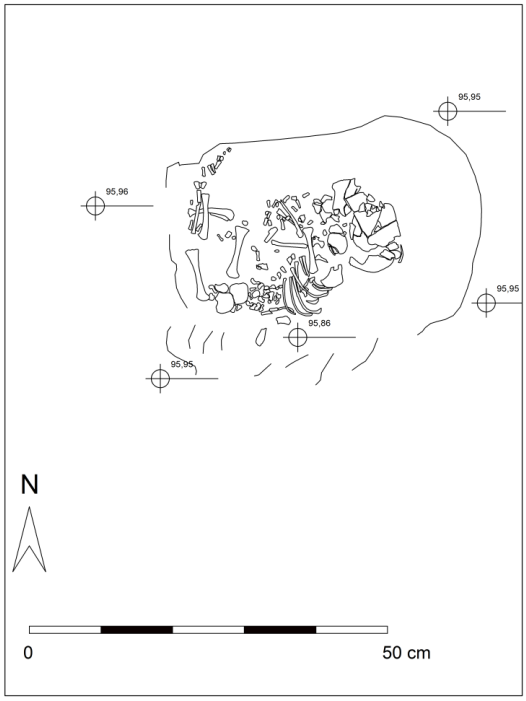


Figure 170. Square 45.44, L151, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 171. Square 45.44, L151. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 152
Area: 3
Square: 45.44
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 137
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Small child
Description: The individual in L152 was placed on its back with the legs bowed outwards and the arms flexed over the chest. The grave was oriented northwest/southeast with the head to the northwest, facing left, and measures 0.72 x 0.32 meters. The remains are preserved well, by the standards of the skeletons above this, but poorly preserved compared with the remains at the same depth. Based on the dentition, the individual was 1.5-2 years old.
Grave Goods: Bronze ring AT19265/6; ring (silver?) AT19265/6; necklaces AT19269; Simple ware biconical cup AT19261 at the left elbow with broken vessel AT19267 nearby; Simple ware globular juglet AT19263 at the left hip
Photo/Drawing:

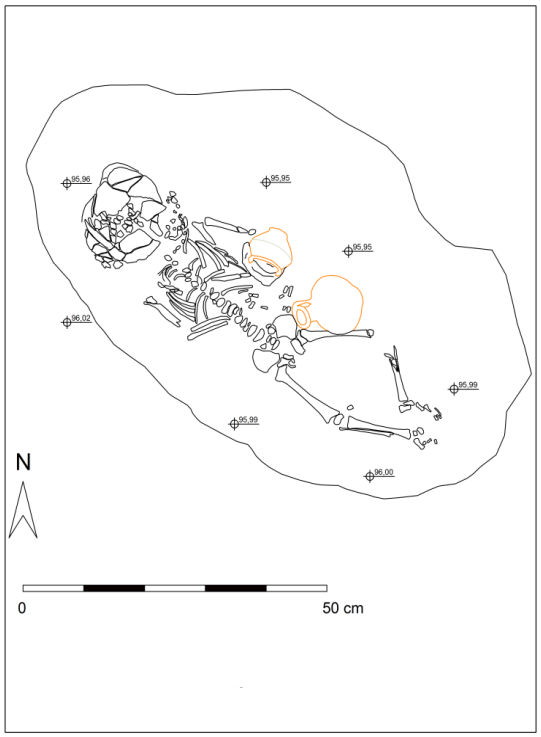


Figure 172. Square 45.44, L152, illustration. Courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 173. Square 45.44, L152. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 2
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 1-2 (Period 4-5)
Adjoining Loci: 1
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Child/adolescent
Description: Assigned the burial number 45.45.1, L2 is a north-south oriented burial of a child or adolescent individual. This burial is oriented northeast-southwest and measures 0.35 x 0.60 meters. The skeleton was only partially within the square and therefore the burial was composed mostly of fragmented and disarticulated cranial bones, making the positioning of the body impossible to determine. The majority of the skeleton is assumed to be within the southeastern balk. The orientation of the head is to the northeast.
Grave Goods: Female figurine AT7908; beads of stone and vitreous material AT7910 below the figurine
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 174. Square 45.45, L2. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 3
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 1
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: Initially numbered 45.45.2, L3 is an adult individual whose skeleton is moderately well preserved. The grave is oriented northeast-southwest and measures 1.10 x 0.90 meters. The skeleton is entirely within the square but the burial cut abuts the southwestern balk. The head is to the northeast and facing right. Both arms are well preserved, but only the right arm is fully articulated, and it is crossed above the pelvis. The left arm appears to be folded over the chest. The legs are loosely flexed to the left and raised slightly above the height of the rest of the body. The skull is highly fragmented and disarticulated. During the removal of this burial, L9 and L10 were also exposed underneath L3.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 175. Square 45.45, L3. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 4
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: Numbered 45.45.3, L4 abuts the northwestern balk. The individual is oriented northwest-southeast and is highly fragmented and disarticulated. The burial measures 1.30 x 0.70 meters. The head of the individual is to the southeast. The orientation of the arms is unclear, but one arm appears to be crossed over the torso. Only the right leg is visibly articulated, and it is loosely flexed. Above the leg the remains of what appears to be an entire tortoise shell (AT8806) were collected as faunal remains. These tortoise remains were present throughout the depth of the burial, first appearing at the initial stages of excavation and continuing past the removal of the skeleton, and are most likely an intrusion.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT8805 east of head; astral head pin AT7949 at right shoulder
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 176. Square 45.45, L4. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 5
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 1
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: Assigned number 45.45.4, L5 is an adult burial oriented northwest-southeast and abutting the southeastern baulk. The grave measures .55 x 0.65 meters. Only the legs are within the square, with the feet are to the north. The legs of are loosely flexed to the left, perhaps suggesting that the individual is oriented on its left side. The bones are moderately well preserved. The right leg lies flexed over the left.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT7927 behind feet
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 177. Square 45.45, L5. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 6a
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: L6a is part of a burial cluster constituted by three adult individuals, L6a, L6b, and L6c, along the southwestern baulk. L6a was assigned burial number 45.45.5, although the group of three was assigned a single locus number, which has been broken up into a, b, and c for this project. The overall cluster is oriented northwest-southeast and measures 1.35 x 1.10 meters. L6a is not articulated with the other two individuals and is to the east of them. This individual measures 1.13 x 0.60 meters and is oriented northeast-southwest, with the head to the northeast. The legs are loosely flexed and the adult appears to be on its right side. The skeleton is highly fragmented and partially disarticulated, particularly the skull. The entire torso of this individual is not present. The arms appear to be raised toward the head.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 178. Square 45.45, L6. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 6b
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 5)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: L6b was assigned burial number 45.45.7, and is the second in the cluster of L6a, L6b, and L6c. This is the upper of two individuals in this burial that are partially within the southwestern balk and lies directly above L6c. Of the three individuals in burial, this is the only one that is primarily within the balk. It is oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the southeast. It measures 0.90 x.025 meters. Only part of the skull, arm bones, leg bones and isolate fragments were within the square. Only approximately half of the skull was collected, as the other half remains within the southwestern balk.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing: see Figure 178

Locus Number: 6c
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: The third individual in the L6a-L6b-Lbc cluster is L6c, assigned number 45.45.9. This is the earliest burial in the cluster and is the lowest skeleton. The burial measures 1.10 x 0.45 meters and is oriented northwest-southeast. The individual's head is to the southeast. Nearly the entire upper left part of the body is within the southwestern balk. The individual lies on its back with legs loosely flexed to the right. The right arm, the only arm within the square, is extended alongside the body. Half of the pelvis and the upper body remain within the western balk.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing: see Figure 178

Locus Number: 7
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Multiple, inhumation and secondary
Age, Sex: Adults
Description: Assigned number 45.45.6, L7 is a secondary disarticulated adult burial along the southwestern balk that appears to have cut a primary articulated adult burial. It therefore is comprised of the remains of multiple individuals. The primary burial is oriented northeast-southwest, and the grave cut measures 0.95 x 0.70 meters. The burial is highly disarticulated and dense. The disarticulated remains include a fragmented skull, pelvis, and arm and leg bones. The primary burial is oriented with feet and legs to the northeast, although the rest of the body remains in the southwestern balk. The legs are loosely flexed and on their right side. The minimum number of individuals within L7 is two, but it is possible that the burial contains more than this.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 179. Square 45.45, L7. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: L9
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Child
Description: L9 was initially named burial 45.45.8. It is a northeast-southwest oriented burial of a child that lies immediately underneath L3. It measures 0.40 x 0.35 meters. The head is to the southwest and is highly fragmented. The legs are flexed, and only one arm is visibly articulated and raised toward the head. The body was deposited on its left side. In general this burial is poorly preserved.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 180. Square 45.45, L9. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 10
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: Numbered 45.45.10, L10 is a northwest-southeast oriented burial that lies below L3, nearby and parallel to the southwestern balk. It measures 1.20 x 0.40 meters. The individual is lying on its back with its head to the southeast facing left. It is of moderate preservation. The left arm is folded over the chest while the right arm is extended and crossed on the pelvis. The legs are tightly flexed to the right.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware short-neck jar AT8839 at feet, White Slip II sherd in pottery bag AT8838 (likely from slope wash)
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 181. Square 45.45, L10. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 11
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation, possibly multiple
Age, Sex: Child/adolescent
Description: Assigned burial number 45.45.11, L11 is a burial of a child or adolescent that is oriented northwest-southeast. It measures 0.90 x 0.40 meters. The head is to the southeast and faces east. This burial lies along the southwestern balk and is lying on its right side. The arms are raised toward the head. Only one leg is clearly articulated and present, and it is flexed to the right. There were leg fragments collected that likely belong to the other leg. A heel bone that appears to be from an adult, and not the articulated individual, was collected from the pelvic region of the younger individual and was collected separately. In general L11 is of poor preservation and is highly fragmented.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 182. Square 45.45, L11. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 13
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: Named 45.45.13, L13 was initially uncovered during the removal of L11. It is an adult burial that is highly fragmented and disarticulated. It is oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the northwest. Long bone and skull fragments were collected, but the poor state of preservation prevents any further conclusions. The area where bone fragments were found measures 0.25 x 0.4 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 183. Square 45.45, L13. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 17
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: L17 is the grave associated with skeleton L16. This roughly oval-shaped burial is oriented north-south and facing southeast and measures 1 x 1 meter. The individual's legs are loosely flexed and it rests on the left side. The head is towards the south and facing towards the east. The arms appear to be flexed up towards the face. A soil sample was taken for palynological purposes.
Grave Goods: Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT9524
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 184. Square 45.45, L17. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 19
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: This is a poorly preserved inhumation that extends from the southeastern balk, with the feet towards the northwest. It is oriented northwest-southeast, and the individual interred, locus number 18, is in an extended position and appears to be lying on its back. The grave measures 1 x 0.5 meters.
Grave Goods: Shell pendant AT9818
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 185. Square 45.45, L19. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 21
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation, possibly secondary, possibly bone scatter
Age, Sex:
Description: L21 is next to the southwestern baulk and consists of a pile of disarticulated remains, including skull fragments, vertebrae, and teeth. There is no clear burial cut, so orientation cannot be determined, and preservation is poor. The remains were given the locus number L20. This may be a badly preserved secondary burial or it could be a bone scatter.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT9842; chipped stone AT9833
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 186. Square 45.45, L21. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 23
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Multiple inhumation, secondary
Age, Sex:
Description: L23 is composed of the remains of three individuals, given the locus number 22, represented by three separate mandibles. The grave is next to the southeastern baulk, and it is possible that the mandibles have been displaced from their original graves. However, given the other examples of skulls and mandibles found in association with each other, such as L62 (above), it seems more likely that this is a deliberate secondary burial, the grave cut of which is unclear.
Grave Goods: Simple ware s-curve jar AT10209
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 187. Square 45.45, L23. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 25
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: L25 is a disturbed and badly preserved burial. The skeleton, locus 24, is represented by long and flat bone elements that appear to comprise one individual, along with numerous micro fragments. The area was severely disturbed by root disturbance and compaction, and no grave cut was visible. It was not photographed or mapped.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing: None

Locus Number: 27
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 3 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adolescent
Description: L27, and its skeleton, locus 26, is the burial of an adolescent individual. The grave is oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the northwest. The legs are tightly flexed, as are the arms. The bones are poorly preserved and fragmentary. A soil sample was taken immediately adjacent to the remains.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 188. Square 45.45, L27. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 29
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Multiple inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: L29 consists of two individuals who were buried one on top of the other. The grave is oriented northwest-southeast. Directly on top of each other, the remains were placed head to toe, intersecting at the midsection. Due to post-decomposition processes, the bones became interspersed, and each individual's head was found associated with the other's lower elements. Their bones became commingled to the point where it is difficult to discern whether they were buried at the same time, buried at different times and intentionally placed together, or whether it the close association is merely a coincidence, although this last seems unlikely. It appears that the legs of both individuals were flexed, but the high degree of mixing that occurred makes it difficult to determine more about the body positioning. Both sets of remains were removed together and labeled locus 28. Soil samples were taken from within the two vessels, as well as the soil matrix surrounding the burial.
Grave Goods: Simple ware squat globular juglet AT11403; Simple Fine ware banded short-neck jar AT11427; Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT11448
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 189. Square 45.45, L29. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 31
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Multiple inhumation, possibly slope wash, possibly secondary
Age, Sex:
Description: The arrangement of the skeletal material, locus 30, within L31 may be a secondary burial, or multiple-use ossuary-type grave. However, subsequent to removal of the skeletal elements, it became apparent that the bones were from multiple burials, and that their organization and distribution pattern may be the result of slope wash. If this is the case, then L31 is not in situ. The long bones are oriented northeast-southwest, mirroring the direction of the slope and pointing down the mound.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 190. Square 45.45, L31. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 33
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: L33 is oriented east-west with the head to the east. The individual, locus 32, was deposited with flexed legs and arms folded across the torso.
Grave Goods: Simple ware shoulder goblet AT10298 near the right shoulder
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 191. Square 45.45, L33. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 35
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Young child
Description: One of the most degraded skeletons, the young child in L35, assigned locus number 34, appears to have flexed legs, but little can be said about body positioning due to the very poor preservation. The grave is oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the northwest. Soil samples were taken from the grave matrix.
Grave Goods: Copper-based bracelet AT11450 *in situ* on the left arm
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 192. Square 45.45, L35. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 37
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 4 (Period 6)
Adjoining Loci: 8
Burial Type: Bone scatter, possibly secondary
Age, Sex:
Description: L37 is extremely fragmentary, and is only represented by scattered fragments, assigned to locus 36. The fragments were indicative of being a burial, or the severely compacted remains of one, but it is virtually impossible to be certain. This may be a badly preserved bone scatter or secondary burial, or it may be a severely degraded primary inhumation. It was neither mapped nor photographed.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing: None

Locus Number: 39
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 41
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: The individual in L39 was originally lying on its right side in a northwest-southeast oriented grave with its head to the southeast. The legs are flexed but the midsection of the skeleton is not preserved, likely due to animal burrowing, as has been seen in other burials from the cemetery. The grave measures 1.5 x 0.75 meters.
Grave Goods: Simple Fine ware biconical jar AT14646 under feet
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 193. Square 45.45, L39. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 43
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Multiple Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult female
Description: Near the southwestern baulk, L43 was capped with a scatter of disarticulated human bone, very likely from the adjacent L39, although studying the baulk in the vicinity shows that there were other nearby burials. Oriented northwest-southeast and measuring 0.9 x 0.75 meters, L43 has flexed legs is lying on its back, with its arms apparently crossed at the pelvis. A tentative inspection of the pelvis suggests that the individual was female, and located on what approximately would be the chest of this individual were the remains of an infant, L45. It is possible that this was a dual burial of a woman with her child, although poor preservation and the surrounding graves, dense in this area, make it difficult to be certain. However, given the evidence of similar burials from the Woolley corpus, this seems somewhat more likely.
Grave Goods: Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT14699 at the hip
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 194. Square 45.45, L43. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 44
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant/young child
Description: The very fragmented remains in locus L44 were noticed because they were in close association with a globular jar which contained the deciduous teeth of a child, which may be from the individual in L44. The grave is oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the northwest and measures 1 x 0.5 meters. The remains in the grave were complete, clearly of an infant or toddler, and in a flexed position. However, the preservation of the remains was so partial as to prevent any further assessment.
Grave Goods: Simple ware biconical jar AT14670; 8 astragali AT14650 from a sheep or goat; small worked stone AT14682 and Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT14615 nearby
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 195. Square 45.45, L44. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 45
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Multiple inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant/young child
Description: The infant or young toddler remains in L45 were found in close association with the adult female in L43, close to southwestern baulk of the square. Similar to other infant burials in this square, the remains of the individual in this burial were very fragmentary, and only some of the long bones were present. The grave measures 0.75 x 0.5 meters. The orientation of the remains suggests the typical flexed legs, with the individual lying on its right side and head oriented towards the southeast in the northwest-southeast grave. The remains were evidently placed on the chest of what appears to the remains of a female. It is feasible that these remains were placed on the chest of the underlying female at the time of burial, but because of the state of preservation it may be that the association is coincidental.
Grave Goods: Simple ware short-neck jar AT15708 and Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT15710 to the southeast
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 196. Square 45.45, L45. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 46
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant
Description: The remains of the infant L46 were located while excavating around a large vessel along the southern baulk, directly above L55. The remains of L46 were close to complete and likely the remains of a neonate or young infant. The bones were very fragile and not well preserved, as was typical of infant burials in this square. The grave was oriented northwest-southeast with the head towards the southeast and measures 1 x 0.6 meters. The infant was deposited in a fetal position with the legs flexed and the hands placed in front of the body.
Grave Goods: Simple ware short-neck jar AT15712
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 197. Square 45.45, L46. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 47
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: L47 as found in close association with L48 and L49, but nothing indicates that any of the individuals were buried together. These graves were at slightly different depths, and at no point did the remains of one touch individual touch another, neither was there any evidence for one large grave scar. It is possible that these were not interred at the same time, but rather because of the density of burials in the area the graves happened to be close together. L52 was found just below L47. The remains in L47 were of an articulated adult, protruding from the southeastern baulk. The grave was oriented northwest-southeast with the head towards the southeast and still inside the baulk. The exposed portion of the grave measures 0.75 x 0.5 meters. The adult was deposited on its back with its arms crossed at the pelvis and the legs apparently flexed.
Grave Goods: Simple ware globular juglet AT15754 in the crook of the arm
Photo/Drawing:

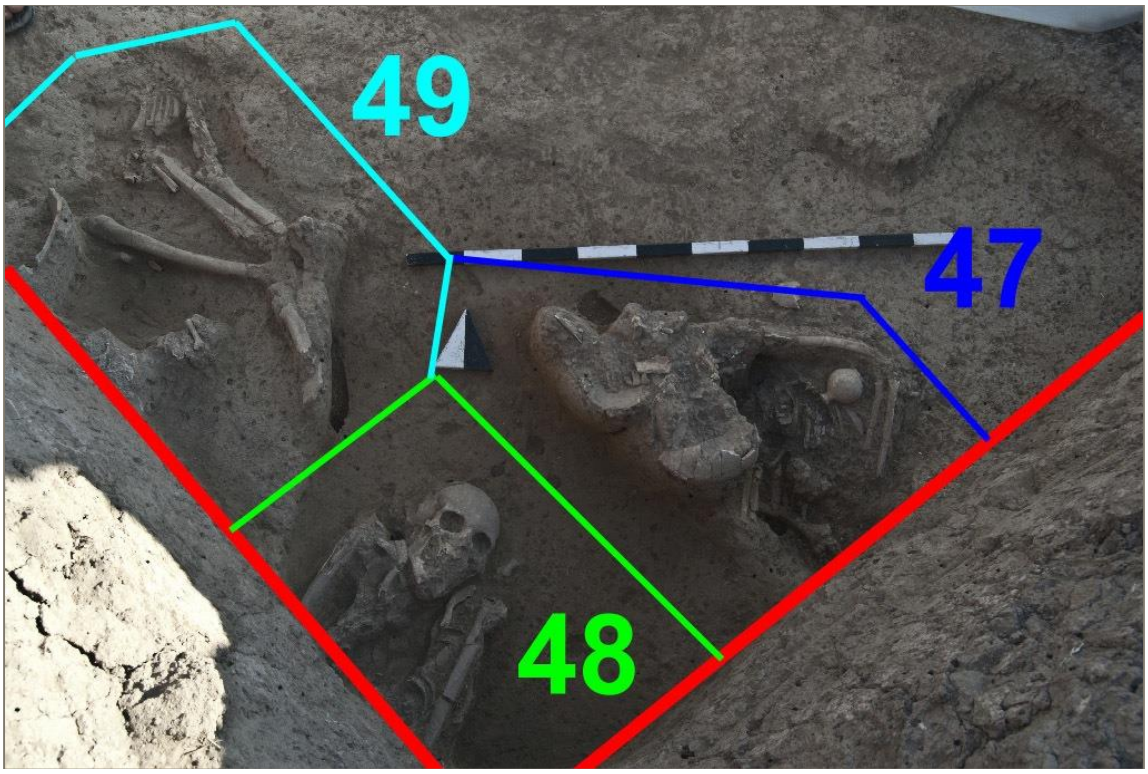


Figure 198. Square 45.45, L47. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 48
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: L48 was located along the southwestern baulk to the southwest of L47 and oriented northeast-southwest, the opposite direction of L47. L48 contains a single adult individual, lying on its back, with the head oriented to the northeast. Within the square, the grave measures 0.75 x 0.6 meters. The orientation of the legs is unknown, since they are contained within the balk, and the arms are extended along the body, as far as they are exposed. The hands are also with the balk. L54 and L55 were found directly below L48.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 199. Square 45.45, L48. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 49
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 5 (Period 7)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 40
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult female
Description: L49 is the northern most of the three graves located in the southern corner of the square, L47, L48, and L49. L49 is only partially exposed from the southwestern baulk, and measures 0.65 x 0.75 meters. Within the square, the remains consisted of the lower limbs and pelvis of a tentatively female adult, lying on its right side, with its feet to the southeast. The grave seems to be oriented northwest-southeast, and the legs are loosely flexed.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 200. Square 45.45, L49. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 50
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 6 (Period 7-8?)
Adjoining Loci: 38
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex:
Description: L50 was not closely associated with any other graves at a similar depth. The grave measures 1.8 x 0.7 meters. The individual in the grave was in the typical flexed position, with flexed legs and arms crossed at the torso. The state of preservation is such that the remains were considerably fragmented, although the elements that were preserved were articulated. The grave was oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the southeast. No skull was found, only a mandible, suggesting that the rest of the skull eroded down the slope.
Grave Goods: Bronze needle AT15748 and Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT15733 nearby
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 201. Square 45.45, L50. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 52
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 6 (Period 7-8?)
Adjoining Loci: 38. 40, 55
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant/young child
Description: The infant or toddler remains in L52 were located below L47 and above L55, though there is no clear association with any other individuals. Similarly to other infant burials, the remains were not well preserved. The surviving elements were only a set of legs, which appear to have been flexed, with the feet pointing to the south and the head presumably once pointing to the north. This burial, then, was north-south oriented. The remains measure roughly 0.4 x 0.4 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 202. Square 45.45, L52. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 53
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 6 (Period 7-8?)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 42
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Infant/young child
Description: L53 was particularly poorly preserved, and consisted of the partial remains of a leg, ribs and skull fragments of an infant. These were in roughly anatomical positions, although the poor preservation of the remains made a clear definition of the body's position difficult to clearly understand. Based on the preserved fragments, the body appears to have been oriented northwest-southeast, but little else could be determined. The area surrounding the remains measures 0.75 x 0.5 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

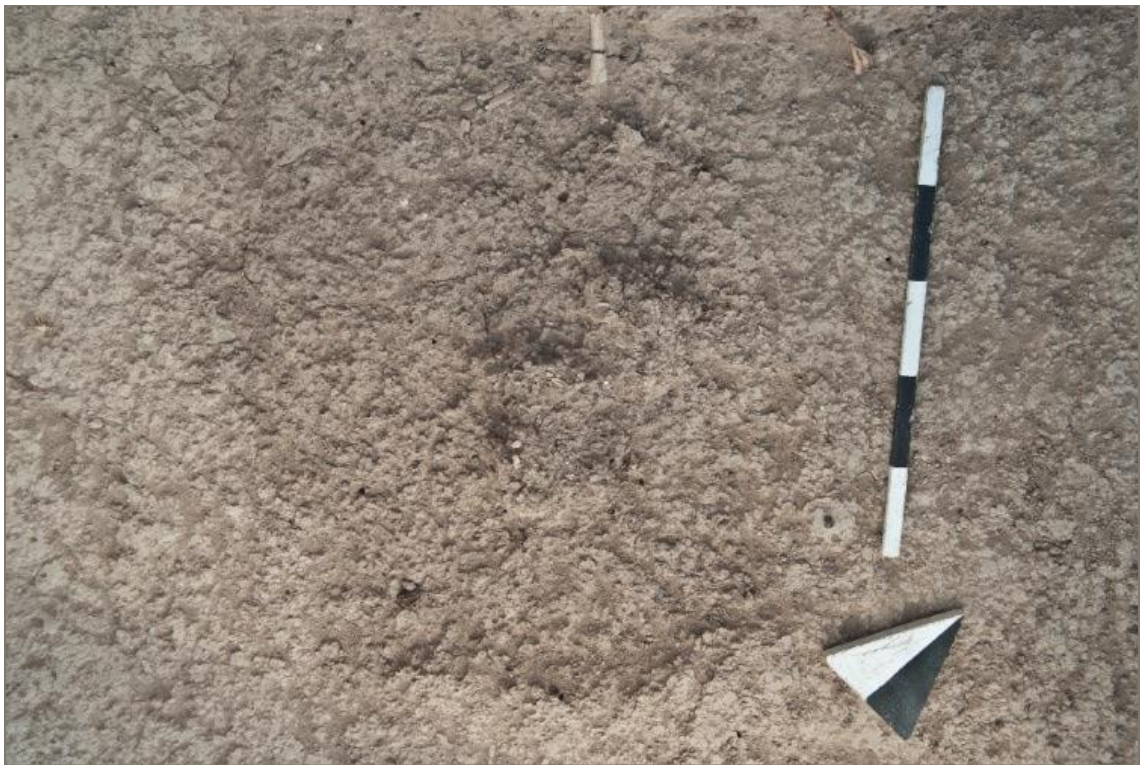


Figure 203. Square 45.45, L53. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 54
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 6 (Period 7-8?)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 40, 55
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult
Description: L54 was found below L48 in the corner formed by the southeastern and southwestern baulks and was directly above L55. L54 consisted of the articulated remains of an adult with flexed legs, although the legs partially extend into the southeastern balk. The grave was oriented northwest-southeast with the head to the northwest and measures 0.85 x 0.5 meters. The arms were flexed up and the hands were below the chin. The bones were very soft and fragile.
Grave Goods: Syrian Brown-Grey Burnished ware piriform juglet AT17030; Simple Fine ware shoulder goblet AT17031
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 204. Square 45.45, L54. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 55
Area: 3
Square: 45.45
Phase (Period): 6 (Period 7-8?)
Adjoining Loci: 38, 40, 53, 54, 56
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adult male
Description: L55 was below L52 and L54 and oriented northeast-southwest. The head was toward the southwest, although the skull remained inside the southwestern balk and the southeastern balk contained right side of the body. The individual was on its back with the legs flexed upwards, a position seen in L120. Like the other examples of this somewhat odd positioning, it seems that the grave excavated for the individual was too narrow to allow the legs to fall one way or the other. The right arm crossed over the torso to grasp the left arm, which was extended alongside the body. The grave measures 0.5 x 1.25 meters.
Grave Goods: None
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 205. Square 45.45, L55. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Locus Number: 25
Area: 4
Square: 64.94
Phase (Period): 2 (Period 2)
Adjoining Loci: 24
Burial Type: Inhumation
Age, Sex: Adolescent
Description: L25, an adolescent under the age of 14, was deposited on its back with the arms crossed at the pelvis. The grave was located under the floor of room 24, oriented northwest-southeast, and measured 0.2 x 0.3 m.
Grave Goods: Over 600 beads of metal, amber, faience and stone AT17880-AT17885, AT17892-AT17893, AT19180-19186 around the torso; gold and carnelian pendant AT17887; two silver earrings AT17886; seven bronze bracelets AT17894, AT19181-19186 around the forearms and ankles
Photo/Drawing:

Figure 206. Square 64.94, L25. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.

Figure 207. Square 64.94, L25, detail. Photo courtesy of Murat Akar.