

## 9. Burials and Funerary Practices<sup>1</sup>

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### 9.1. Introduction

There has been very little discussion of 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium burial and funerary practices in the region of Upper Mesopotamia. Only two relevant articles exist, the first by Bold & Green,<sup>2</sup> and the second by Schwartz<sup>3</sup>. Bold & Green analysed the burials of the Ninevite 5 Period (around the second quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium) excavated at Chagar Bazar, in the Khabur region, and at Mohammed 'Arab and Rijim, in the Middle Tigris region. These scholars focused their attention on the typology of artefacts and on the grave-goods found in the tombs. A similar typological and Processual approach was adopted by Schwartz in his study of the Ninevite 5 mortuary data from Chagar Bazar and Leilan, in the Khabur basin, and Nineveh, Billa and Mohammed 'Arab, in the Tigris region. In this case the data was analysed with regard to the socio-economic structure and social stratification within the population.

More recently JZ funerary practices were the subject of Valentini's PhD thesis, entitled: "Funerary Customs in the Middle and Upper Khabur Region during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium BC".<sup>4</sup> This is at present the only systematic study of burial and funerary practices spanning the period from the Late Uruk to the advent of the "second urban revolution" (corresponding to Periods EJZ 1-3a). This is the product of a trial approach in which the archaeological evidence relating to the tombs (type of burial, their location inside the settlement, and grave goods) was considered within the wider context of the living, their ideology and elements of material culture such as pottery, architecture, and seal impressions.<sup>5</sup>

The ultimate goal of the ARCANE project is to produce a reliable relative and absolute chronology for the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium JZ. In this contribution therefore a positivist and quantitative approach is used, with a specific focus on the different dimensions of variability: chronological (Periods EJZ 1-5), spatial (geographic distribution), and typological (frequency and association of the types of burials and grave-goods).<sup>6</sup>

With regard to documentation, the following is primarily based on the above-mentioned PhD thesis, which includes information on around 200 burials. This was supplemented by information on burials from most of the publications relating to 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium JZ sites. Finally, the data provided by the excavators in the inventories of the ARCANE database was also used. This dataset is significantly larger than that of previous studies, unfortunately however the available documentation includes a huge amount of only partially processed funerary context data. For this reason, the quantitative analysis produced in this contribution suffers from a lack of useful published data. The data for tombs dating to Periods EJZ 3b-5 for example, is meagre in comparison to the earlier EJZ 1-3a periods. Any inferences must therefore be considered as "trends" rather than absolute and objective conclusions.

### 9.2. Data analysis

#### 9.2.1 Types of burial

Most inhumations were below ground, thus it seems that there was no interest in making the funerary structures more visible. Moreover, there is no data to suggest the presence of signs or markers on the surface.<sup>7</sup> Shaft

<sup>1</sup> I want to remember here, with gratitude and love, my Prof. P.E. Pecorella who introduced me to the study of the burial practices after the excavation of the Barri tombs. I also wish to thank Mark Lebeau who asked me to be Topic Coordinator for burial practices in the JZ region for the ARCANE Project.

<sup>2</sup> Bold & Green 2003.

<sup>3</sup> Schwartz 1986.

<sup>4</sup> Valentini 2006, 2009.

<sup>5</sup> The most recent Post-Processual studies (see Parker Pearson 1999; Hodder 1992) demonstrate that a limited approach to funerary archaeology is not adequate. In the last ten years some Near Eastern archaeologists have adopted this approach in their study of funerary contexts. For studies of funerary practices in the Middle Euphrates region see: Laneri 1999; Porter 2002; Cooper 2006. For the tombs of 'Umm el-Marra see Schwartz et al. 2003.

<sup>6</sup> Parallels with funerary contexts of neighbouring areas (SM, CM, TG and ME) were minimised because they will be analysed in the later interregional stage of the ARCANE Project.

<sup>7</sup> A different situation is documented for MBA burial practices. In particular, for the Old Babylonian Hypogea, set under the contemporary private houses in Mesopotamia and JZ, see Valentini 2003b; Galli & Valentini 2006.

chamber tombs (see below Section 2.1.4) are the exception and probably held multiple, successive adult burials.<sup>8</sup>

Five main types of graves are attested in the JZ during Periods EJZ 1-5:

#### 9.2.1.1 Pit burials (Pl. 1)<sup>9</sup>

These are simple rectangular shaped inhumations. The pit size (normally around 1.5 x 1m) varies according to the age of the individual. Pit burials have no mud-brick or stone lining and were simply covered with earth. Their depth does not exceed 1 m.<sup>10</sup> Subtypes include pits covered with mud-bricks (Tomb 1267 at Barri), and pits with mud-brick floor (Tomb 3 at Abu Hujaira I).<sup>11</sup>

#### 9.2.1.2 Cist burials (Pl. 2 & 3)<sup>12</sup>

Cist tombs are characterised by the absence of a shaft, and walls built with vertically (Tomb NN18A4 at Atij and Grave 495 of Melebiya)<sup>13</sup> and/or horizontally (Tomb D13A3 of Atij)<sup>14</sup> placed mud-bricks, or less frequently slabs of different shapes and sizes (Tomb 11 at Rad Shaqrah and Grab 98B:86 at Khuera).<sup>15</sup> Most frequently, these graves are covered with mud-bricks placed horizontally (Tomb 1307 at Barri and Grave 495 at Melebiya).<sup>16</sup> Sometimes the mud-bricks are set vertically (Tomb 29/126-117 at Raqa'i)<sup>17</sup> and in one case the cist is covered with bricks set vertically in a fish-grate pattern (Graves 8429 and 8431 at Beydar).<sup>18</sup> In a few cases slab stones are used to seal the burials (Tomb 2232 of Melebiya).<sup>19</sup> At Melebiya, Tombs 2241 and 2243<sup>20</sup> are covered with a corbelled vault built of mud-brick. In a few examples the floor of the cist is also made of horizontally set mud-bricks (Tomb D13A3 at Atij)<sup>21</sup>.

#### 9.2.1.3 Burials in ceramic containers (Pl. 4)<sup>22</sup>

The containers used were predominantly cooking-pots (Tombs G.3, G.4 and G.6 at Abu Hufur; Tomb 11 at Hazna).<sup>23</sup> In only a few cases were others types of vessel used, for example closed jars (Tomb 10 at Hazna).<sup>24</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Another problematic case is that of the "Tomb of the Headless Warriors" excavated at Kashkashok III. The architecture of the building is not illustrated, but P. Quenet wrote that "L.29 might have been a (partly?) subterranean building" (Inventory JZ012/U006/I005).

<sup>9</sup> Inventories JZ014/C003/U003/I003 (Melebiya, Graves 491 & 492, EJZ 3a); JZ030/U001/I001 (Rad Shaqrah, Grave L33, EJZ 3a-b); JZ006/U001/I001 (Arbid, Grave L8, EJZ 4); JZ006/U005/I005 (Arbid, Grave L16, EJZ 4); JZ006/U002/I002 (Arbid, Grave L15, EJZ 4); JZ007/U001/I001 (Barri, Tomb 1267, EJZ 4); JZ017/U005/I005 (Abu Hujaira I I, T.3, EJZ 4); JZ005/U004/I007 (Mozan, Grab 27, EJZ 5).

<sup>10</sup> During excavation it is difficult to establish the exact depth of a pit, due to natural or artificial phenomenon such as erosion or pits. Frequently the recognised pit limits are not actually the original ones. This is a problem particularly when trying to ascertain the position of the grave in the stratigraphy.

<sup>11</sup> Inventories JZ007/U001/I001 (EJZ 4); JZ017/U005/I005 (EJZ 4).

<sup>12</sup> Inventory JZ013/I002 (Kneidij, Grave 68, EJZ 1/2); JZ002/I012 (Beydar, Grave 8429, EJZ 2); JZ027/C001/U001/I001 (Muhammed Diyab, Grave 4634, Late EJZ 2); JZ014/C002/U002/I002 (Melebiya, Graves 2232-2241-2243, EJZ 2/3a); JZ015/U011/I013 (Raqa'i, Burial 24, EJZ 3a); JZ015/U012/I014 (Raqa'i, Burial 25, EJZ 3a); JZ030/U002/I002 (Rad Shaqrah, Grave L4, EJZ 3a-b); JZ030/U003/I003 (Rad Shaqrah, Grave 5, EJZ 3a-b); JZ009/U001/I001 (Atij, Grave D13. A3.2, EJZ 3b); JZ009/U004/I005 (Atij, Grave NN18A4, EJZ 3b); JZ013/C005/U006/I006 (Kneidij, Grave 73, EJZ 3b); JZ005/C001/U001/I001 (Mozan, Tombs of the square A10a2, EJZ 5); JZ005/C001/U002/I003 (Mozan, Tombs of the square A14a10, EJZ 5).

<sup>13</sup> Inventory JZ009/U004/I005 (EJZ 3b); JZ014/C003/U003/I003 (EJZ 3a).

<sup>14</sup> Inventory JZ009/U001/I001 (EJZ 3b).

<sup>15</sup> Bielinski 1992: Fig. 3 (EJZ 4); JZ003/C001/I001 (EJZ 3b). The infrequent use of stone clearly reflects the availability of the raw material in the Khabur region.

<sup>16</sup> JZ007/C001/U003/I003 (EJZ 4); JZ014/C003/U003/I003 (EJZ 3a).

<sup>17</sup> Schwartz & Curvers 1992: Fig. 3 (EJZ 3a).

<sup>18</sup> JZ002/U017/I012 (EJZ 2); Bretschneider 1997, Tf. I (EJZ 2).

<sup>19</sup> JZ014/U002/I002 (EJZ 2/3a).

<sup>20</sup> JZ014/U002/I002 (EJZ 2/3a).

<sup>21</sup> JZ009/U001/I001 (EJZ 3b).

<sup>22</sup> JZ017/U006/I006 (Abu Hujaira II, T.5, EJZ 4).

<sup>23</sup> Kolinsky & Lawecka 1992: Fig. 19.1-3 (EJZ 3a); Munchaev, et. al 2004: tav. 6-10 (EJZ 1?).

<sup>24</sup> Munchaev et. al 2004: tav. 6-10 (EJZ 1?).

The containers were laid inside a small pit, both horizontally (Tomb 10 of Hazna)<sup>25</sup> and vertically (Tomb G.3 at Abu Hafur);<sup>26</sup> in the latter case the mouth of the container was covered by a mud-brick or a lid. In Tomb 2 at Hazna<sup>27</sup> the pot was instead laid inside a mud-brick cist.

#### 9.2.1.4 Shaft tombs (Pl. 5 & 6)<sup>28</sup>

These are characterised by a vertical shaft, usually sub-rectangular in shape, and around 2m deep. The shaft was dug into the ground or bedrock and had a burial chamber cut on one side of it at floor level, which contained the body. Normally a partition wall of mud-brick, set horizontally or vertically, separated the burial chamber from the shaft, as is the case with the Grab C001 at Khuera, Tomb 1515 at Barri, Burial 1 at Leilan, and Tomb 30.1.1.144 at Raqa'i.<sup>29</sup> At Chagar Bazar, 13 shaft tombs were recently excavated, and, although unpublished, Tunca suggests that they date to around Period EJZ 2-3a. Tomb 1302<sup>31</sup> at Barri is a subtype of the shaft tomb and is characterised by a pit with a niche on one side. Another subtype is Grave 35079 at Beydar, itself characterised by a vertical shaft, which extends at the bottom to the west and forms a small irregularly shaped chamber consisting of a rectangular mud-brick box.<sup>32</sup> As demonstrated by the examples at Mohammed 'Arab,<sup>33</sup> where more chambers are present beside the shaft, this type of structure was probably built to house more individuals. The entrance-shaft could be re-opened each time a person was buried. This hypothesis is supported by the size of the shaft, which was large enough to allow the passage of an adult to arrange the corpses inside the chamber. The tombs at Mohammed 'Arab<sup>34</sup> and Thuwajj<sup>35</sup> are the oldest attested in the Upper Mesopotamian region, and are contemporary with Period EJZ 1. The JZ examples are later, and date from Period EJZ 2 (Burial 1 at Leilan)<sup>36</sup> to Period EJZ 3a (Tomb 1515 at Barri). Based on the present evidence, the shaft tomb was initially used in the Middle Tigris valley and then spread throughout the JZ.<sup>37</sup>

#### 9.2.1.5 Chamber tombs (Pl. 7)

Only four examples of this type are attested. The two oldest examples were found at Kashkashok III. The architecture of the "Tomb of the Headless Warriors",<sup>38</sup> dating to EJZ 2-3a, is unfortunately not illustrated, but is described and illustrated on the plans as a single, almost square chamber (2.4 x 2.8m) probably with straight, grey mud-brick walls. According to the excavators, the tomb might have been a (semi-)subterranean building. Preliminary reports state that no doorway was found, although one does seem to be illustrated on the plan. Two headless skeletons accompanied by several pots and metallic objects were buried inside. It is not clear whether the second burial dating back to Period EJZ (1)-2, the "Princess' Tomb",<sup>39</sup> is a pit burial or a chamber grave. According to Quenet,<sup>40</sup> considering the valuable nature of the grave-goods, and the burial's unusual arrangement, with the dead placed around a 1m circle, the structure should be classified as a chamber tomb. The funerary structure may well have been located inside Room 41 of the Rounded Building, reusing this living space (2.3 x 2m) as a mortuary chamber for the "prestigious" deceased either at the time, or just after, the building was abandoned and intentionally filled. The third chamber tomb was excavated at Beydar and dates to Period EJZ 4a. The burial chamber

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Kolinsky & Lawecka 1992: Fig. 19.2 (EJZ 3a).

<sup>27</sup> Munchaev, Merpert & Amirov 2004: Tav. 3 (EJZ 1).

<sup>28</sup> Tunca 2006b: 153 named this type of tomb 'tombe à puits d'accès à cavité latérale'.

<sup>29</sup> JZ003/C003/I003 (EJZ 2/3); JZ007/C001/U004/I004 (EJZ 3a); JZ004/C001/U001/I001 (EJZ 2); Schwartz & Curvers 1992: 397-419 (EJZ 2). With regard to Burial 1 at Leilan, the archaeologists (see Schwarz 1988: 22-27) divided the shaft tomb into two structures: Burial 1 (for the skeleton), and Pit 2 (for vessels and grave-goods).

<sup>30</sup> Tunca 2006b: 156.

<sup>31</sup> JZ007/C001/U002/I002 (EJZ 3a).

<sup>32</sup> We could consider this tomb also as a variant of a cist burial, because this is the only "shaft tomb" containing the skeleton of an infant (see Milano & Rova 2003: 368-369 (EJZ 3a)).

<sup>33</sup> Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 15.

<sup>34</sup> Bold & Green 2003.

<sup>35</sup> Numoto 1996: Fig. 6-7.

<sup>36</sup> Schwartz 1988.

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<sup>38</sup> JZ012//U006/I005.

<sup>39</sup> JZ012/U007/I006.

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4 x 3.3m) is located at the bottom of a shaft inside Temple A, has mud-brick walls on both sides and a vaulted roof. Only parts of the roof were still intact at the time of excavation. The skeleton of the deceased and several gifts were found laid on a beaten-earth floor. The chamber was most probably intentionally filled. It is doubtful whether the last example, Tomb 20 at Arbid (EJZ 3a?), belongs to this category, but the structure described by Mallowan<sup>42</sup> as a vaulted grave with a domed roof of mud-bricks.

With regard to the chronological distribution of burial types (Table 1), pit- and cist-burials are the most frequently attested types in the entire 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (EJZ 1-5). The latter type appears to increase gradually from Period EJZ I to Period EJZ 3a. The burials in ceramic containers, although smaller in number, are attested in all different chronological phases (EJZ 1-5). Although the shaft- and chamber-tombs are attested on a much smaller scale, it can be observed that the former are only found during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (EJZ 1-2 to the EJZ 3a). The latter, by contrast, are attested both in the first (EJZ 2-3a, at Kashkashok III), and the second half (EJZ 4a at Beydar) of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium.

If the distribution of these types is considered in relation to different age groups, it is clear that foetuses and newborns were most frequently buried in pottery vessels. Only one adult pot-burial has been documented. This was found at Hazna (Tomb 17).<sup>43</sup> At Barri, *foetus* pit-burials were found below the floor of a shrine (see below Section 9.2.2).<sup>44</sup> Infants and adolescents were predominantly buried in cist tombs, whilst adults were buried predominantly in cist- and pit-tombs. With the exception of the Grab C.001 at Khucra,<sup>45</sup> shaft- and chamber-burials were used for adults.

#### 9.2.2 Location of burials

The location of burials during Periods EJZ 1-5 can be categorised as follows:

*Intra Moenia/Intra Muros*: burials inside a settlement, inside buildings/houses.

*Intra Moenia/Extra Muros*: burials in a cemetery within a settlement, but bearing no relation to buildings/houses.

*Extra Moenia*: burials in a cemetery located outside the settlement.

From Period EJZ 3a onwards there is an increase in *intra moenia/intra muros* burials, probably because the custom of burying infants in houses had spread.<sup>46</sup> *Extra moenia* inhumations are the least frequent.

Several observations can also be made regarding the relationship between location, burial type and age. All known pot-burials are *intra moenia/intra muros*.<sup>47</sup> Shaft burials are always located inside the settlement (*intra moenia*). Pit- and cist-tombs are attested both in *intra moenia* and *extra moenia* contexts. Most of the *intra muros* burials belong to newborns, infants and adolescents, and most of the *extra moenia* burials or *intra moenia/extra muros* burials belong to adults.

As mentioned, most *intra moenia* burials belong to newborns, infants and adolescents. When adults are buried *intra moenia* the disposal areas tend to be formal, isolated from habitations and often in abandoned areas

<sup>41</sup> JZ002/C003/U060/I005. There are two very different interpretations of the date of the grave chamber itself. According to Bretschneider (excavator), the burial chamber was built together with Temple A, during Beydar Phase IIIb (EJZ 3b). It was built as a royal burial place under the main room of the Temple (6682), which was closely linked to the palace (situated N of the Temple). The shafts were dug during Beydar Phase IVa (EJZ 4a) in order to reach the earlier burial chamber, which was known to exist. Alternatively, according to Lebeau (director), the burial chamber was constructed at the bottom of the shaft only after the shaft was dug. No burials had been dug here prior to Beydar Phase IVa (EJZ 4a). At this time the building was probably still used as a Temple, but there were also workshops in some of the S rooms. The author of the ARCANE database file (A. Pruß) prefers Lebeau's interpretation. There are no clear indications of earlier burials or of the removal of grave goods and there seems to be no reason to assume a different date for the digging of the shaft and the construction of the chamber. Two shafts were cut through the Phase IIIb gypsum floor. They were probably cut from the new upper floor in the main room of the Temple (6682), ca. 60 cm above the gypsum floor of Beydar Phase IIIb. This floor was, however, not observed during the excavation.

<sup>42</sup> Mallowan 1937: 126, Fig. 8.1.

<sup>43</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: 337-381 (EJZ 2?).

<sup>44</sup> Valentini 2006-2007: 476.

<sup>45</sup> Inventory JZ003/C003/I003. The shaft-tomb contained a 10-11 year old girl.

<sup>46</sup> With regard to the high number of newborns buried *intra-muros* in pots, it is perhaps informative to note anthropological examples where new-borns were buried in areas, frequently kitchens, where mothers kept their babies close to them. Consequently, the containers used were cooking-pots. Further, due to their young age, these individuals did not have a clear social position so possibly they were buried quickly inside the houses without any particular ceremony (Scott 1992:78-79).

<sup>47</sup> There is only one known example of pot-burial that is not associated with a house (*intra moenia/extra muros*): Tomb 17 excavated at Hazna – significantly this is an adult burial (Munchaev et al. 2004: 337-381).



The containers were laid inside a small pit, both horizontally (Tomb 10 of Hazna)<sup>25</sup> and vertically (Tomb C at Abu Hafur);<sup>26</sup> in the latter case the mouth of the container was covered by a mud-brick or a lid. In Tomb 2 at Hazna<sup>27</sup> the pot was instead laid inside a mud-brick cist.

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JZ002/C003/U060/1005 (4 x 3.3m) is located at the bottom of a shaft inside Temple A, has mud-brick walls on both sides and a vaulted roof. Only parts of the roof were still intact at the time of excavation. The skeleton of the deceased and the burial gifts were found laid on a beaten-earth floor. The chamber was most probably intentionally filled. It is somewhat doubtful whether the last example, Tomb 20 at Arbid (EJZ 3a?), belongs to this category, but the structure is described by Mallowan<sup>42</sup> as a vaulted grave with a domed roof of mud-bricks.

With regard to the chronological distribution of burial types (Table 1), pit- and cist-burials are the most frequently attested types in the entire 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (EJZ 1-5). The latter type appears to increase gradually from Period EJZ I to Period EJZ 3a. The burials in ceramic containers, although smaller in number, are attested in all of the different chronological phases (EJZ 1-5). Although the shaft- and chamber-tombs are attested on a much smaller scale, it can be observed that the former are only found during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (EJZ 1-2 to the EJZ 3a). The latter, by contrast, are attested both in the first (EJZ 2-3a, at Kashkashok III), and the second half (EJZ 4a at Beydar) of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium.

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*Extra Moenia*: burials in a cemetery located outside the settlement.

From Period EJZ 3a onwards there is an increase in *intra moenia/intra muros* burials, probably because the custom of burying infants in houses had spread.<sup>46</sup> *Extra moenia* inhumations are the least frequent.

Several observations can also be made regarding the relationship between location, burial type and age. All known pot-burials are *intra moenia/intra muros*.<sup>47</sup> Shaft burials are always located inside the settlement (*intra moenia*). Pit- and cist-tombs are attested both in *intra moenia* and *extra moenia* contexts. Most of the *intra muros* burials belong to newborns, infants and adolescents, and most of the *extra moenia* burials or *intra moenia/extra muros* burials belong to adults.

As mentioned, most *intra moenia* burials belong to newborns, infants and adolescents. When adults are buried *intra moenia* the disposal areas tend to be formal, isolated from habitations and often in abandoned areas

<sup>41</sup> JZ002/C003/U060/1005. There are two very different interpretations of the date of the grave chamber itself. According to Bretschneider (excavator), the burial chamber was built together with Temple A, during Beydar Phase IIIb (EJZ 3b). It was built as a royal burial place under the main room of the Temple (6682), which was closely linked to the palace (situated N of the Temple). The shafts were dug during Beydar Phase IVa (EJZ 4a) in order to reach the earlier burial chamber, which was known to exist. Alternatively, according to Lebeau (director), the burial chamber was constructed at the bottom of the shaft only after the shaft was dug. No burials had been dug here prior to Beydar Phase IVa (EJZ 4a). At this time the building was probably still used as a Temple, but there were also workshops in some of the S rooms. The author of the ARCANE database file (A. Pruß) prefers Lebeau's interpretation. There are no clear indications of earlier burials or of the removal of grave goods and there seems to be no reason to assume a different date for the digging of the shaft and the construction of the chamber. Two shafts were cut through the Phase IIIb gypsum floor. They were probably cut from the new upper floor in the main room of the Temple (6682), ca. 60 cm above the gypsum floor of Beydar Phase IIIb. This floor was, however, not observed during the excavation.

<sup>42</sup> Mallowan 1937: 126, Fig. 8.1.

<sup>43</sup> Munchaev et. al 2004: 337-381 (EJZ 2?).

<sup>44</sup> Valentini 2006-2007: 476.

<sup>45</sup> Inventory JZ003/C003/1003. The shaft-tomb contained a 10-11 year old girl.

<sup>46</sup> With regard to the high number of newborns buried *intra-muros* in pots, it is perhaps informative to note anthropological examples where new-borns were buried in areas, frequently kitchens, where mothers kept their babies close to them. Consequently, the containers used were cooking-pots. Further, due to their young age, these individuals did not have a clear social position so possibly they were buried quickly inside the houses without any particular ceremony (Scott 1992:78-79).

<sup>47</sup> There is only one known example of pot-burial that is not associated with a house (*intra moenia/extra muros*): Tomb 17 excavated at Hazna – significantly this is an adult burial (Munchaev et al. 2004: 337-381).



Table 1: Burial types in Jezirah during the EJZ 1-5 periods

Burial Type	EJZ 1	EJZ 2	EJZ 3a	EJZ 3b	EJZ 4a-c	EJZ 5
Pit burials	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Cist burials	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Burials in ceramic containers	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Shaft tombs	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present
Chamber tombs	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present	Present

of the settlement (*extra muros*).<sup>48</sup> Examples include the Level 5 cemetery (Pit M) at Chagar Bazar<sup>49</sup> (EJZ 1), the burials on the collapsed Oval Temple at Hazna<sup>50</sup> (EJZ 1), and those excavated in the abandonment layer of the settlements at Kneidij<sup>51</sup> (EJZ 1) and Raqa'i (EJZ 3a).<sup>52</sup> Burials excavated on the surface of Girnavaz<sup>53</sup> date back to Period EJZ 2-3a. Probably contemporary with these is a cemetery of 13 shaft tombs, excavated in *Chantier H* at Chagar Bazar.<sup>54</sup>

Regarding *intra muros* burials, the case of the infants (0-2 years) excavated inside the Sacred Area at Barri (EJZ 2) is problematic.<sup>55</sup> Under the beaten floor of the Shrine 1548, eight incomplete skeletons of foetus and newborns were found buried inside four small pits. Two other newborn burials were found under the beaten floor of Shrine 1297. Newborn and foetus *intra muros* burials are quite common in JZ during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium, but the practice of burying them inside temples is exceptional.<sup>56</sup> Another problematic case is Room 3 of Pit M (Level 3, EJZ 3a-b) excavated at Chagar Bazar. Mallowan<sup>57</sup> interpreted this as a small domestic shrine, with five infant burials. The case of the Burial Chamber 58550,<sup>58</sup> excavated at Beydar below the floor of Temple A, also presents some questions. Temple A was erected in Beydar Phase IIIb (EJZ 3b), but the excavators are unsure of Temple A's function in Beydar Phase IVa (EJZ 4). The building was probably still used as a temple, but there are also workshops in some of the southern rooms.

<sup>48</sup> The practice of burying adults inside buildings (*intra muros*) during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium in JZ, is not widespread like it was in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> millennium, when burnt-brick *hypogea* built below the floor of the contemporary houses became very common (see Valentini 2003b). In the Middle Euphrates region, the large-scale spread of huge *intra-muros* chambers seems to occur from the second half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (Laner 2004).

<sup>49</sup> Mallowan 1936: 1937.

<sup>50</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004.

<sup>51</sup> Klengel-Brandt et al. 1997, 1998.

<sup>52</sup> Inventory JZ015/U011.

<sup>53</sup> Erkanal 1989, 1990; Erkanal et al. 1992.

<sup>54</sup> Tunça 2006b:156.

<sup>55</sup> Pecorella & Pierobon 2008b: 7-21; Soltysiak 2008; Valentini 2006-2007: 476.

<sup>56</sup> The hypothesis that the monumental stone tombs (241-242, 300) excavated at Mari below the Ishtar Temple, were related to the sacred building (Jean-Marie 1999: 5-8) was recently rejected by Margueron 2004: 114-116. With regard to the three incomplete skeletons found in the ritual filling of the Shamagan Temple at Brak, it was demonstrated that there was no traces of a formal burial. The bones lay directly on the surface floor (Oates et al. 2001: 41-70; Molleson 2001: 350-352). The EJZ 2 burials inside the sacred precincts at Raqa'i (Tombs 30/108-81 and 30/108-144, see Schwartz 2000: 170) and Barri (1526-1527, 1554, see Pecorella & Pierobon 2008b: 16-18) are different because they were not inside the shrines.

<sup>57</sup> Mallowan 1947: 196-197.

<sup>58</sup> Inventory JZ002/C003/U060/1005.

The unique nature of the Barri burials is emphasised by two factors. Firstly they are pit burials, whereas most newborn burials in this period are in pottery vessels, and secondly they are multiple, successive, burials in contrast to other newborns burials, usually single inhumations.<sup>59</sup> In fact, each pit normally contained an incomplete skeleton (probably the last buried), interred with other incomplete skeletons. Although there is a lack of textual evidence concerning sacrificial practices involving newborns, we cannot exclude, *a priori*, the possibility of such foundation or propitiatory rituals.<sup>60</sup> If these structures were rural shrines<sup>61</sup> in an agricultural community, seasonal rites may have been performed in an attempt to ensure good harvests. If this postulated scenario is correct, it could be speculated that the burials inside the shrines were related symbolically with the concept of fertility.<sup>62</sup>

Two *intra muros* adult burials (1302 and 1307)<sup>63</sup> dating to Period EJZ 3a were excavated at Barri. These contained two adults (one male and one female) buried inside an open space occupied in the previous EJZ 2 period by the *temenos* of the Sacred Area. Based on the richness of the grave goods, which included a ritual mace, bronze objects, and vessels in JZ Bichrome and Metallic wares, it seems likely that they were an elite couple. Their location indicates a spatial continuity between the Sacred Area and the funerary context.<sup>64</sup> Barri's new elite, who constructed the new buildings during Period EJZ 3a, may have deliberately interred these individuals in a previously sanctified area in order to claim a link with the revered elite of the preceding era. To create a new memory the living are "obliged" to reconnect with their own past, to which their own dead ancestors belong. The "Princess' Tomb"<sup>65</sup>, excavated at Kashkashok III and dating to Period EJZ (1)-2, might constitute a parallel case. Here, the highly valuable nature of the grave-goods suggests that this structure was the tomb of an elite individual.<sup>66</sup> The funerary structure was probably located inside Room 41 of the Rounded Building, and was intentionally filled and reused after its abandonment.<sup>67</sup>

Cases of *extra moenia* burials include the unique example of a cemetery excavated outside the settlement on the secondary tell at Atij.<sup>68</sup> Here 12 burials dating to Period EJZ 3b were excavated, mostly of infants and adolescents. The adult burials excavated outside of the settlements at Beydar, close to the circuit wall (Area H), Rad Shaqrah, Mozan (Tomb Ob 1), and Melebiya (Grave 1000) might also be part of *extra moenia* necropolises.<sup>69</sup>

*Extra moenia* cemeteries are probably underrepresented in the present dataset due to the fact that excavations tend to focus on the tell, and only rarely extend beyond that. The presence of *extra moenia* cemeteries during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium seems to be confirmed by the scarcity of inhumations inside the settlements. Further, *intra muros* internments seem to be largely restricted to newborns, infants and adolescents. Thus, it can be hypothesised that, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium, only a selected part of the population was buried inside the settlement or its buildings.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Multiple and consecutive burials of infants are attested also at Raqa'i in Period EJZ 2 (Tombs 30/108-81 and 48/108, see Curvers & Schwartz 1990).

<sup>60</sup> In this regard, the case of the Merina community in Madagascar may provide some useful insights (Bloch 1971). In this community, death was perceived as a debt paid to the earth. The internment of the deceased's body in the ground was believed to assure the fertility of the field.

<sup>61</sup> Schwartz 2000; Valentini 2006-2007, 2008a.

<sup>62</sup> Valentini 2009.

<sup>63</sup> Inventories JZ007/C001/U002/I002; JZ007/C001/U003/I003.

<sup>64</sup> A third tomb, 1515 (Inventory JZ007/C001/U004/I004), contemporary with tombs 1302 and 1307, was excavated in another open space, close to the *temenos*.

<sup>65</sup> Inventory JZ012/U007/I006.

<sup>66</sup> A similar situation cannot be excluded for burial chamber 58550 at Beydar (JZ002/C003/U060/I005). In this case the tomb – if it dates back to Period EJZ IVa – was constructed in a layer of reuse of the Temple built in Period EJZ 3b.

<sup>67</sup> As a parallel the monumental Royal Tomb excavated in the destruction level in the Arslantepe Palace can be considered (see Palumbi 2004).

<sup>68</sup> Fortin 1994c.

<sup>69</sup> Bluard 1997; Lebeau 2003a; Suleiman 2003a (Beydar); Bielinski 1992 (Rad Shaqrah); Milano et al. 1991 (Mozan); JZ014/C001/U001/I001 (Melebiya).

<sup>70</sup> The excavation at Raqa'i strongly supports this hypothesis. A huge part of the settlement at Raqa'i was excavated but only infant and adolescent burials were found (see Curvers & Schwartz 1990; Schwartz & Curvers 1992).



### 9.2.3 Human remains, treatment of the deceased and position of the bodies

Paleo-anthropological studies of 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium JZ burials are very rare.<sup>71</sup> Normally the published material provides only general information about the age range of the deceased (i.e. infant, adolescent, adult) and only rarely states the gender of the bodies.

Archaeological evidence for 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium JZ burial practices so far attest to the exclusive use of inhumation; there is no evidence for cremation. In the unique case of the "Headless Warriors" Tomb<sup>72</sup>, excavated at Kashkashok III, the skulls are missing. The most likely hypothesis is that the bodies were mutilated before the burial, although we cannot exclude an unusual secondary burial practice.

In most cases burials are single inhumations, although some multiple and successive burials are documented both for new-borns (Raq'a'i, Tombs 9 and 48/108; Girnavaz, Tombs 149 and 156; and Barri, Tombs 1647, 1648, 1710, 1711, 1719 and 1720), and for adults (Kashkashok III, Tomb of the "Headless Warriors"; Rad Shaqrah, Tomb 9; Mozan, Tomb Ob 1).<sup>73</sup>

Most burials were made with the bodies lying on one side, in a more or less contracted position, with bent arms and legs.<sup>74</sup> Only a few examples of extended burials are known, for example Tombs 1302 and 1526 excavated at Barri.<sup>75</sup> The frequent recovery of metal pins close to the shoulders of the dead probably indicates that the bodies were buried dressed in clothes.

The orientation of the bodies and burials are extremely variable, even within the same site. *Intra-muros* – inhumations i.e. those below the floors of houses and inside a contemporary settlement, usually follow the orientation of the building.

### 9.2.4 Grave goods and equipment

Grave goods of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium demonstrate that the JZ had access to international trade routes supplying exotic objects and raw materials. Examples include pins, weapons and metal vessels, probably originating in Anatolia and the highland; semi-precious stones (carnelian, lapis lazuli), seashells, and mother-of-pearl beads, from Afghanistan, the Gulf and the Mediterranean.

Grave goods accompanied most individuals, regardless of age and burial type. Only in the case of newborn pot-burials do the examples without grave goods exceed the examples with them. The most frequent grave-goods are pottery vessels, followed by personal ornaments (pins, amulets, necklaces, bracelets, and seals) made in different shapes and materials. Objects such as weapons (axes, blades, daggers, spearheads), mace-heads and a variety of other metal tools are less common.

#### 9.2.4.1 Pottery

Pottery vessels accompanying the dead probably held offerings of food or drink. A limited number of containers, usually open shapes, accompanied newborns, infant and adolescent burials. In most cases vessels were placed close to the skeletons, sometimes by the hands and in front of the face. The considerable number and variety of vessel shapes (small jars, bowls and cup), found in shaft-tombs (Barri, Khuera and Leilan)<sup>76</sup>, and in chamber-tombs (Beydar and Kashkashok III)<sup>77</sup> probably reflect funerary banquet practices.

<sup>71</sup> See Soltysiak 2007 for studies of human remains and temporal trends in the frequency of dental caries in the Khabur basin.

<sup>72</sup> Inventory JZ012//U006/I005.

<sup>73</sup> Curvers & Schwartz 1990 (Raq'a'i); Erkanal 1989 (Girnavaz); Soltysiak 2008; Valentini 2009 (Barri: most of the skeletons were incomplete, except for the last interment; the paleo-anthropological analysis showed that each of the pit-burials included at least two individuals); JZ012//U006/I005 (Kashkashok III); Kolinski 1996b (Rad Shaqrah); Milano et al. 1991 (Mozan). As demonstrated by the tombs excavated at Mohammed 'Arab (see Bold & Green 2003), and also the shaft burials excavated in JZ, some of them perhaps had to hold multiple and successive burials.

<sup>74</sup> The position of the body is clearly related empirically with the first appearance at death. The foetal position refers to the position of the *foetus* inside the womb, and is related, in anthropology, to the concept of death and rebirth, in which the burial cut or tomb represents the womb, and the dead return symbolically to the unborn (for more details see Morin 1970: 139; Thomas 1976: 457-460; Bloch & Parry 1982: 24-25).

<sup>75</sup> Inventory JZ007/C001/U002/I002; Pecorella & Pierobon 2008b: 16-18.

<sup>76</sup> Inventory JZ007/C001/U002/I002 and JZ007/C001/U004/I004 for Barri; JZ004/C001/I001 for Khuera; JZ004/C001/U001/I001 for Leilan.

<sup>77</sup> Inventory JZ002/C005/U060/I005 for Beydar; JZ012/U006/I005 and JZ012/U007/I006 for Kashkashok III.

undecorated vessels were used with newborns, infant and adolescent burials throughout Periods EJZ 1-2. Burials on the other hand included special classes of pottery (e.g. Ninevite 5, JZ Bichrome, JZ Metallic and Painted Wares)<sup>78</sup> much more frequently, except for during Period EJZ 5.<sup>79</sup>

Among these special classes of pottery, it is possible to note the use of the following as grave-goods:

**Ninevite 5 ware.** Examples from all stages of this pottery's evolution have been found in burials. Examples from the oldest "Transitional phase" (corresponding to Period EJZ 0-1) come from Chagar Bazar (Grave 1) and Ninevite 5 painted examples (corresponding to Period EJZ 1-2) are attested in Burial 1 at Leilan.<sup>81</sup> Ninevite 5 incised decoration (corresponding to Period EJZ 1-2) is also present, but only in burials excavated in the central and eastern Khabur. The vessels at Hazna (Tomb 31), Chagar Bazar (Grave 67 and 68) and Leilan (Grave 1) should also be noted.<sup>82</sup> The latest variant, "Late Excised" (corresponding to Period EJZ 2) has been attested in burials excavated in the central and eastern Khabur at Kashkashok III, Muhammed Diyab, Girnavaz and Mozan.

**Painted Ware.** This refers to a kind of pottery that Rova<sup>84</sup> defined as a "local style of painted pottery with Karababa" ("Karababa") affinities". This pottery, mostly attested in the Central and Middle Khabur in Periods EJZ 1-2, seems to exist in only one form – a small globular jar. Examples of this painted ware are attested in the cemeteries of Chagar Bazar (Tombs 60, 70, 71, 177 and 190), Hazna (Tombs 10 and 31), and Kneidij (Tombs 84 and 101).<sup>85</sup> In the first two funerary contexts, the painted ware is attested together with incised ware.

**JZ Bichrome Ware.**<sup>86</sup> This pottery dates back to the late EJZ 2-3a period, contemporary with Late Excised ware and the earliest evidence of Metallic ware. This ware is only known from stands, painted in red and black with triangular and chessboard patterns. The "JZ Bichrome Ware" generally comes from funerary contexts located in the Khabur region, and is unknown in the eastern Khabur.<sup>87</sup> The geographical diffusion of this pottery seems to largely correspond with that of the older painted wares attested in JZ (see section 2.4.1.b). In the burials of Barri (Tomb 1302) and Beydar (Area H tombs) this pottery was found together with "Metallic ware" (see section 2.4.1.c). In the burials of Mozan (Tomb Ob1) and Girnavaz it was associated with Metallic and Late Ninevite 5 ware.

**JZ Metallic Ware.**<sup>90</sup> This ware is mainly attested in burials of the Western and Central Khabur. The repertoire of shapes appears really standardised and is mainly made up of small jars and conical cups. Examples include: Tomb Ob1 at Mozan (Late EJZ 2), Tomb 1302 and 1515 at Barri (EJZ 3a), Tomb 8028 and 8030 at Beydar (EJZ 2/3a), Tomb 491, 492 and 495 at Melebiya (EJZ 2/3a), and the Tombs at Girnavaz (EJZ 2/3a); Tomb L33, L4 and L5 at Rad Shaqrah (EJZ 3b); Tomb L8 and G1 at Arbid, Tomb 1267 at Barri, and Tomb 3 and 5 at Abu Hujaira (EJZ 4).<sup>91</sup> Besides proper Metallic Ware, similar pottery such as "JZ Gray Ware" is documented in forms such

<sup>78</sup> Between these classes, we can include also the JZ Burnished Ware (see Valentini 2008b; Smogorzewska 2009). Only one example of this pottery is attested in a funerary context: it is a small jar found in the Tomb 1302 at Barri (EJZ 3a, Inventory JZ007/P012). A second example was probably recognisable in a carinated bowl from Tomb 4634 at Muhammed Diyab (EJZ 2, see Inventory JZ027/P005).

<sup>79</sup> See Chapter 3 by Rova. The contemporary presence of vessels belonging to these special classes of pottery may confirm their chronology, synchronism and spread.

<sup>80</sup> Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 6-8, 11.

<sup>81</sup> Inventory JZ004/C001/U001.

<sup>82</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 19 (Hazna); Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 4-5 (Chagar Bazar); JZ004/U001/P001-012 (Leilan).

<sup>83</sup> Inventory JZ012/P023-023 (Kashkashok III); JZ027/P003-004 (Muhammed Diyab); Erkanal 1989: Res. 9, 13 (Girnavaz); Milano et al. 1991: Fig. 8 (Mozan).

<sup>84</sup> See Chapter 3 by Rova.

<sup>85</sup> Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 2a-b, 2d, 6, 11 (Chagar Bazar); Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 9, 21 (Hazna); JZ013/P007; Klengel-Brandt et al. 1997: Abb. 19, 21 (Kneidij).

<sup>86</sup> On the "JZ Bichrome Ware", see Lebeau 2003a; Valentini 2003a.

<sup>87</sup> "JZ Bichrome Ware" stands were also found in some unpublished burials excavated at Hazna (Amirov, pers comm.).

<sup>88</sup> Inventory JZ007/C001/U002/I002 (Barri); Lebeau 2003a (Beydar).

<sup>89</sup> Milano et al. 1991: Fig. 8 (Mozan); Erkanal 1989: Res. 8-11; Erkanal 1990: Res. 9-13 (Girnavaz).

<sup>90</sup> For more details about this pottery, see Chapter 3 by Rova.

<sup>91</sup> Milano et al. 1991, Fig. 8 (Mozan); JZ007/I002/P004-012; JZ007/I004/P020-023 (Barri); Bluard 1997, pl. Ib, IIa (Beydar); JZ014/P034-035 (Melebiya); Erkanal 1989, Res. 8-10 (Girnavaz); JZ030/I001/P010; JZ030/I002/P016; JZ030/I003/P008 (Rad Shaqrah); JZ006/I001/P008; JZ006/I002/P012 (Arbid); JZ007/I001/P001 (Barri); JZ017/I005/P034; JZ017/I005/P039 (Abu Hujaira I).



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<sup>75</sup> Inventory JZ007/C001/U002/I002; Pecorella & Pierobon 2008b: 16-18.

<sup>76</sup> Inventory JZ007/C001/U002/I002 and JZ007/C001/U004/I004 for Barri; JZ004/C001/I001 for Khuera; JZ004/C001/U001/I001 for Leilan.

<sup>77</sup> Inventory JZ002/C005/U060/I005 for Beydar; JZ012/U006/I005 and JZ012/U007/I006 for Kashkashok III.

undecorated vessels were used with newborns, infant and adolescent burials throughout Periods 5 and 6. Burials on the other hand included special classes of pottery (e.g. Ninevite 5, JZ Bichrome, JZ Metallic and Painted Wares)<sup>78</sup> much more frequently, except for during Period EJZ 5.<sup>79</sup>

Among these special classes of pottery, it is possible to note the use of the following as grave-goods:

**Ninevite 5 ware.** Examples from all stages of this pottery's evolution have been found in burials. Examples from the oldest "Transitional phase" (corresponding to Period EJZ 0-1) come from Chagar Bazar (Grave 1) and Ninevite 5 painted examples (corresponding to Period EJZ 1-2) are attested in Burial 1 at Leilan.<sup>81</sup> Ninevite 5 ware with incised decoration (corresponding to Period EJZ 1-2) is also present, but only in burials excavated in the central and eastern Khabur. The vessels at Hazna (Tomb 31), Chagar Bazar (Grave 67 and 68) and Leilan (Grave 2) should also be noted.<sup>82</sup> The latest variant, "Late Excised" (corresponding to Period EJZ 2) has been attested in burials excavated in the central and eastern Khabur at Kashkashok III, Muhammed Diyab, Girnavaz and Mozan.<sup>83</sup>

**Painted Ware.** This refers to a kind of pottery that Rova<sup>84</sup> defined as a "local style of painted pottery with Karababa affinities". This pottery, mostly attested in the Central and Middle Khabur in Period EJZ 1, seems to exist in only one form – a small globular jar. Examples of this painted ware are attested in the cemeteries of Chagar Bazar (Tombs 60, 70, 71, 177 and 190), Hazna (Tombs 10 and 31), and Kneidij (Tombs 68, 84 and 101).<sup>85</sup> In the first two funerary contexts, the painted ware is attested together with incised ware.

**JZ Bichrome Ware.**<sup>86</sup> This pottery dates back to the late EJZ 2-3a period, contemporary with Late Excised ware and the earliest evidence of Metallic ware. This ware is only known from stands, painted in red and black with triangular and chessboard patterns. The "JZ Bichrome Ware" generally comes from funerary contexts located in the Khabur region, and is unknown in the eastern Khabur.<sup>87</sup> The geographical diffusion of this pottery seems to largely correspond with that of the older painted wares attested in JZ (see section 2.4.1.b). In the burials of Barri (Tomb 1302) and Beydar (Area H tombs) this pottery was found together with "Metallic ware" vessels.<sup>88</sup> In the burials of Mozan (Tomb Ob1) and Girnavaz it was associated with Metallic and Late Ninevite 5 ware.<sup>89</sup>

**Metallic Ware.**<sup>90</sup> This ware is mainly attested in burials of the Western and Central Khabur. The repertoire of shapes appears really standardised and is mainly made up of small jars and conical cups. Examples include: Tomb Ob1 at Mozan (Late EJZ 2), Tomb 1302 and 1515 at Barri (EJZ 3a), Tomb 8028 and 8030 at Beydar (EJZ 2/3a), Tomb 491, 492 and 495 at Melebiya (EJZ 2/3a), and the Tombs at Girnavaz (EJZ 2/3a); Tomb L33, L4 and G5 at Rad Shaqrah (EJZ 3b); Tomb L8 and G1 at Arbid, Tomb 1267 at Barri, and Tomb 3 and 5 at Abu Hujaira I (EJZ 4).<sup>91</sup> Besides proper Metallic Ware, similar pottery such as "JZ Gray Ware" is documented in forms such

<sup>78</sup> Between these classes, we can include also the JZ Burnished Ware (see Valentini 2008b; Smogorzewska 2009). Only one example of this pottery is attested in a funerary context: it is a small jar found in the Tomb 1302 at Barri (EJZ 3a, Inventory JZ007/P012). A second example was probably recognisable in a carinated bowl from Tomb 4634 at Muhammed Diyab (EJZ 2, see Inventory JZ027/P005).

<sup>79</sup> See Chapter 3 by Rova. The contemporary presence of vessels belonging to these special classes of pottery may confirm their chronology, synchronism and spread.

<sup>80</sup> Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 6-8, 11.

<sup>81</sup> Inventory JZ004/C001/U001.

<sup>82</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 19 (Hazna); Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 4-5 (Chagar Bazar); JZ004/U001/P001-012 (Leilan).

<sup>83</sup> Inventory JZ012/P023-023 (Kashkashok III); JZ027/P003-004 (Muhammed Diyab); Erkanal 1989: Res. 9, 13 (Girnavaz); Milano et al. 1991: Fig. 8 (Mozan).

<sup>84</sup> See Chapter 3 by Rova.

<sup>85</sup> Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 2a-b, 2d, 6, 11 (Chagar Bazar); Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 9, 21 (Hazna); JZ013/P007; Klengel-Brandt et al. 1997: Abb. 19, 21 (Kneidij).

<sup>86</sup> On the "JZ Bichrome Ware", see Lebeau 2003a; Valentini 2003a.

<sup>87</sup> "JZ Bichrome Ware" stands were also found in some unpublished burials excavated at Hazna (Amirov, pers. comm.).

<sup>88</sup> Inventory JZ007/C001/U002/I002 (Barri); Lebeau 2003a (Beydar).

<sup>89</sup> Milano et al. 1991: Fig. 8 (Mozan); Erkanal 1989: Res. 8-11; Erkanal 1990: Res. 9-13 (Girnavaz).

<sup>90</sup> For more details about this pottery, see Chapter 3 by Rova.

<sup>91</sup> Milano et al. 1991, Fig. 8 (Mozan); JZ007/I002/P004-012; JZ007/I004/P020-023 (Barri); Bluard 1997, pl. Ib, IIa (Beydar); JZ014/P034-035 (Melebiya); Erkanal 1989, Res. 8-10 (Girnavaz); JZ030/I001/P010; JZ030/I002/P016; JZ030/I003/P008 (Rad Shaqrah); JZ006/I001/P008; JZ006/I002/P012 (Arbid); JZ007/I001/P001 (Barri); JZ017/I005/P034; JZ017/I005/P039 (Abu Hujaira I).



as small jars found in the Tomb 1307 at Barri (EJZ 3a),<sup>92</sup> and the so called "Syrian Bottles" found in the burial chamber 58550 at Beydar (EJZ 3b-4a), and in grave L16 at Arbid (EJZ 4).<sup>93</sup>

#### 9.2.4.2 Personal ornaments

a. *Metal pins.*<sup>94</sup> These are mainly attested in burials of Period EJZ 2-3b. They accompanied internments of both genders as well as adolescent and adult individuals. They can be divided into two main variants: toggle-pins and simple pins. The first ones were normally found near the shoulders, and may well have fastened a robe; the second one could also be used for the hair. Toggle-pins can be categorised as follows: those with a discoid head (Princess' Tomb of Kashkashok III, EJZ 2),<sup>95</sup> those with a globular head, deliberately bent (Tomb 1302 of Barri, EJZ 3a; Tomb 35114 of Beydar, EJZ 3a; Tomb 42/90 at Raqa'i, EJZ 3a),<sup>96</sup> those with grooves (Tomb 7932 of Beydar, EJZ 3a; Tomb 2243 of Melebiya, EJZ 3a),<sup>97</sup> those with a simple globular head (Tomb 8431 of Beydar, EJZ 2-3a),<sup>98</sup> and those with a head in the shape of a schematic animal (Burial 1 at Leilan, EJZ 2; Grave 67 of Chagar Bazar, Late EJZ 1).<sup>99</sup> As well as simple pins there were: roll-headed pins (Tomb 19 at Hazna, EJZ 1; Tomb 2232 at Melebiya, EJZ 2; Tomb 8429 at Beydar, EJZ 2-3a),<sup>100</sup> pins with grooves (Grave 4634 at Muhammed Diyab, EJZ 2),<sup>101</sup> and one from Tomb D13.A3.2 at Atij, EJZ 3b).<sup>102</sup>

b. *Other metal personal ornaments.* These are not found as often as pins. Examples include: rings found in Graves 8431, 35104 e and 35111 at Beydar (EJZ 2-3a), and in Grave L15 at Arbid (EJZ 4)<sup>103</sup>; the earrings in Tomb 11 at Rad Shaqrah<sup>104</sup> (EJZ 3a-b); the bracelets found in Tomb 3 at Hazna (EJZ 1), in the Princess' Tomb at Kashkashok III (EJZ 2), and in Tomb NN18A4 at Atij (EJZ 3b)<sup>105</sup>. Finally, spirals were found in Tombs 29/132-12 and 29/132-42 at Raqa'i<sup>106</sup> (EJZ 3a), and four pierced bronze disks (probably clothing ornaments) came from Tomb A10a2 at Mozan<sup>107</sup> (EJZ 5).

c. *Amulets, pendant and necklaces.* Amulets and beads belonging to necklaces are frequently associated with the body of infants and adolescents, but are also attested in adult burials. The most numerous groups of beads (in chronological order) come from: Tomb 21 at Hazna (EJZ 1); the Princess' Tomb at Kashkashok III (EJZ 2); Grave 8429 at Beydar (EJZ 2); Grave 2243 at Melebiya (EJZ 2-3a); Grave 7932 at Beydar (EJZ 3a); Tomb 1302 at Barri (EJZ 3a); Tombs 29/132-12, 29/132-21, 29/132-48 at Raqa'i (EJZ 3a); Graves RS 95-C-196/197, RS 95-C-193/194 at Rad Shaqrah (EJZ 3a-b); Tomb NN18A4 at (Atij, EJZ 3b); Burial chamber 58550 at Beydar (EJZ 3b-4), and Tomb 1267 at Barri (EJZ 4).<sup>108</sup> Beads are documented in various shapes (cylindrical, corrugated tubular, biconvex, biconical, ring, barrel, spherical, disk, melon with grooves, ovoid, lozenge) and materials (terra cotta, gyp-

<sup>92</sup> Inventory JZ007/I003/P016-018.

<sup>93</sup> Inventory JZ002/I005/P615-616-618 (Beydar); JZ006/I005/P023, P031 (Arbid). The jar with a restricted neck and medium ware found in Grave A14a10 (EJZ 5, see JZ005/I003/P007) seems to belong to the so-called "Red Brown Wash Ware" (for more details about this pottery see Laneri et al. 2009).

<sup>94</sup> The general term "metal" is used instead of copper or bronze, since only a few objects considered in this contribution have been chemically analysed. Objects made from other metals are practically absent, except for the silver bead found in Grave 67 at Chagar Bazar (Late EJZ 1, see Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 4), the three gold beads found in the "Princess' Tomb" at Kashkashok III (EJZ 2-3a, see JZ012/O025), the lead/silver beads found in Tomb 1302 at Barri (EJZ 3a, see JZ007/O013), and the lead pendant found in Tomb RS95-C-197/197 at Rad Shaqrah (EJZ 3a-b, see JZ030/O021).

<sup>95</sup> Inventory JZ012/O009.

<sup>96</sup> Inventory JZ007/O007-008 (Barri); Milano & Rova 2003b: 21, 24-25 (Beydar); Curvers & Schwartz 1990: Fig.14-17 (Raqa'i).

<sup>97</sup> Suleiman 2003a: Fig. 5; JZ014/O003.

<sup>98</sup> Bretschneider 199: Abb. 6-7, Tf. II.

<sup>99</sup> Weiss 1990a: Pl.136-139; Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 4.

<sup>100</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 12 (Hazna); JZ014/O001 (Melebiya); JZ002/O842 (Beydar).

<sup>101</sup> Inventory JZ027/O001.

<sup>102</sup> Inventory JZ009/O001.

<sup>103</sup> Bretschneider 1997: Abb. 6-7; Milano & Rova 2003: 21, 24-25 (Beydar); Inventory JZ006/O008 (Arbid).

<sup>104</sup> Bielinski 1992: Fig. 3.

<sup>105</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 3-5 (Hazna); JZ012/O012 (Kashkashok III); JZ009/O033 (Atij).

<sup>106</sup> Curvers & Schwartz 1990.

<sup>107</sup> Inventory JZ005/O036-O039-O042-O043. Parallels with this kind of object were found at Barri in the Graves 1148 (Pecorella & Pierobon 2005b: 33) and 990 (Pecorella & Pierobon 2004b: 38) of the cemetery dated back to the beginning of the MBA (OJZ 1).

<sup>108</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 22 (Hazna); JZ012/O025 (Kashkashok III, the excavators estimated about 6000 beads); JZ002/O846 (Beydar); JZ014/O006-007 (Melebiya); Suleiman 2003a, Fig. 5 (Beydar); JZ007/O013 (Barri); Dunham 1993a, Fig. 4-15; Schwartz & Curvers 1992, Fig. 4 (Raqa'i); JZ030/O021-029 and JZ030/O006-020 (Rad Shaqrah); JZ009/O029-032 (Atij); JZ002/O603-609, O616-620 (Beydar); JZ007/O002.

shell, mother-of-pearl, bones, and semi-precious stones as rock-crystal, carnelian, obsidian, quartz, agate, lapis lazuli, grey stone, green stone, black stone). Metal beads were uncommon, those found were made of silver (Grave 8429, Beydar, EJZ 2 and Grave L33, Rad Shaqrah, EJZ 3a-b),<sup>109</sup> or gold (three beads from the "Princess' Tomb" at Kashkashok III, EJZ 2)<sup>110</sup>. There is also a peculiar class of pendants and amulets made of shell, mother-of-pearl, bone, and frit. Geometric, human and animal figurines<sup>111</sup> were also found, the most common being quadrupeds, birds, and fishes. Pendants and amulets have been mainly found in burials of Middle Bronze sites<sup>112</sup>, dating to Period EJZ 3a-b. Examples include Raqa'i (Tombs 42/90, 48/90, 42/96-35, 29/132-12, 21, 29/132-48, Level 2, EJZ 3a), Rad Shaqrah (Tombs RS 95-C-196/197, RS 95-C-193/194, EJZ 3a-b), Atij (Tombs D13A5 and NN18A4, EJZ 3b), and Abu Hujaira (Tombs 3 and 5 of the EJZ 3a-b and Tombs of the EJZ 3a). Finally, shell rings have also been found. These were probably used to decorate the clothes of the dead. They are documented in the grave-goods of Tomb 22 at Hazna (EJZ 1), Grave 7932 at Beydar (EJZ 2-3a), Grave 2243 at Melebiya (EJZ 2-3a), Tomb 1302 at Barri (EJZ 3a), and Grave 5 at Rad Shaqrah (EJZ 3b)<sup>114</sup>.

**4.2.4.2 Cylinder Seals.** Seals are only rarely found in graves. Probably due to their strong symbolic value, they were also used as pendants or amulets. Those seals documented were made of stone or frit. Significantly, they were all decorated with geometric motifs. All of the seals were found in adult graves and dated to Period EJZ 2-3a. Examples include: Tomb 8429 at Beydar (EJZ 2); Tomb 4634 at Muhammed Diyab (EJZ 2) and Grave 2243 at Melebiya (EJZ 3a).<sup>115</sup> A cylinder seal in *Piedmont Style* was found in Burial 1 at Leilan (EJZ 2)<sup>116</sup> and a stamp seal with geometric motifs was found in Grave 50 at Chagar Bazar (Late EJZ 1).<sup>117</sup>

#### 4.2.4.3 Weapons, metal vessels and mace-heads<sup>118</sup>

These objects had an important symbolic as well as intrinsic value, due to the specialised techniques used to produce them. For this reason they seem to be concentrated in adult burials, housed mainly in shaft- and chamber tombs such as the "Princess' Tomb" (EJZ 1-2), and the "Tomb Of The Headless Warriors" (EJZ 2-3a) at Kashkashok III; one of the tombs at Girnavaz (EJZ 2-3a); Tombs 1307 and 1515 at Barri (EJZ 3a); Tomb 98B:86 at Khuera (EJZ 3b-4a), and Burial Chamber 58550 at Beydar (EJZ 3b-4a)<sup>119</sup>. An exceptional case is the Cist-grave A10a2 at Mozan (EJZ 5).<sup>120</sup>

Weaponry found includes axeheads, battle-axes (sometimes in the shape of a crescent), dagger blades, and spearheads.<sup>121</sup> Bronze vessels have only been found in the Burial Chamber 58550 at Beydar (EJZ 3b-4a),<sup>122</sup> although one small metal strainer was found in Grave A10a2 at Mozan (EJZ 5).<sup>123</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Inventory JZ002/O844; JZ030/O019.

<sup>110</sup> Inventory JZ012/O025.

<sup>111</sup> For the symbolic function of amulets and pendants see Dunham 1993a.

<sup>112</sup> Occasional examples of this kind of pendant/amulet are also attested at other JZ sites. A bone pendant in the shape of a nude female was found in Tomb 1267 at Barri (EJZ 4, see JZ007/O001). This is comparable with a pendant from Tomb 42/90 at Raqa'i (EJZ 3a, see Curvers & Schwartz 1990: Fig. 16) and with a well known figurine from Tomb 1267 at Brak (see Oates 2001c: 295). Two interesting beads in shape of jar with double mouth also come from this tomb (Inventory JZ007/O002).

<sup>113</sup> Dunham 1993a (Raqa'i); JZ030/I002/O021-022 and JZ030/I001/O006-009 (Rad Shaqrah); Fortin 1990a: Fig. 21 and JZ009/O032 (Atij); JZ017/I005-I006 and Martin & Wartke 1993-94: Abb. 14-15 (Abu Hujaira I).

<sup>114</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 15-18 (Hazna); Suleiman 2003a: Fig. 5 (Beydar); JZ014/O005 (Melebiya); JZ007/O012 (Barri); JZ030/O005 (Rad Shaqrah).

<sup>115</sup> Inventory JZ002/O841 (Beydar); JZ027/O002 (Muhammed Diyab); JZ014/O007 (Melebiya).

<sup>116</sup> Weiss 1990a:136-139.

<sup>117</sup> Bold & Green 2003: Fig. 12.

<sup>118</sup> As for the pins, the general term "metal" was preferred instead of copper or bronze due to the lack of chemical analysis.

<sup>119</sup> Inventory JZ012/I006/O010-011, O013-015 and JZ012/I006/O005-008 (Kashkashok III); Erkanal 1989:Res.12-14; Erkanal 1990: Res. 14-15 (Girnavaz); JZ007/I003/O015 and JZ007/I004/O017 (Barri); JZ003/I001/O002-007 (Khuera, it should be noted that the following were also found in this tomb: parts of a stone bear statue with stone clothing, a copper nose, a copper ear, and stone/shell/mother-of-pearl eyes, see JZ003/O008-009, O011-014); JZ002/O601, O614, O622, O625, O627-628 (Beydar).

<sup>120</sup> Inventory JZ005/O037, O040, O045.

<sup>121</sup> Axeheads are attested also in the Tomb 3 of Hazna (EJZ 1, see Munchaev et al. 2004, tav. 3), in the Tomb 68 of Chagar Bazar (Late EJZ 1, see Bold & Green 2003, Fig. 5), in one of the burials excavated at Girnavaz (EJZ 2-3a, see Erkanal 1989, Res.13), and in the Tomb 20 of Arbid (EJZ 3a?, see Mallowan 1937, Fig. 12.11). A dagger blade is attested in the Tomb 6 of Hazna (EJZ 1, see Munchaev et al. 2004, tav. 5). A spearhead were found in the Tomb 20 of Arbid (EJZ 3a?, see Mallowan 1937, Fig. 13.3)

<sup>122</sup> The Beydar tomb seems to be used as a ritual deposit of metal object, included this unique group of vessels, composed by bowls, cups, goblets, strainers, flasks, and by a cauldron with handle and lugs (Inventory JZ002/O601, O600, O602, O610-611, O613, O624, O626, O629).

<sup>123</sup> Inventory JZ005/O038.



Mace heads were also found mainly in adult burials. Some basalt examples in the shape of flattened spheroids were found in Tomb 1307 at Barri (EJZ 3a), and in Grave A14a10 at Mozan (EJZ 5); a copper mace head came from Grave 98B:86 at Khuera (EJZ 3b-4a), and a terra cotta example from Tomb 1267 at Barri (EJZ 4).<sup>124</sup> The latter one had a bone handle composed of two elements, both decorated with incised geometrical and herringbone motifs. A now decayed wooden core probably connected the mace head and handle.

#### 9.2.4.4 Food offerings

Food offerings were probably put inside the burials for the dead and their travel through the afterlife. These may have included both food and drink. Unfortunately, we have no archaeological traces of liquid in any of the vessels.<sup>125</sup> Animal bones have been found but they have rarely been studied in detail.<sup>126</sup> Traces of animal bones were found in Tombs 3 and 6 at Hazna (EJZ 1), in Tomb 1307 at Barri (EJZ 3a), in Tomb 20 at Arbid (EJZ 3a?), in Burial Chamber 58550 at Beydar (EJZ 3b-4a), and in Grab 27 at Mozan (EJZ 5).<sup>127</sup>

### 9.3. Conclusion (Pl.8 & Table 1)

There is considerable variability in the quality of the available archaeological documentation for the different chronological periods and sites. Nevertheless, through an analytical and typological study of the data for 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (EJZ 1-5) burial practices, it is possible to discern some main features and trends. These reveal the complex ideology that was actively used in funerary practices, and suggest that the living consciously chose the position of the tombs and the composition of the grave goods.<sup>128</sup>

Shaft- and chamber tombs are clearly the largest and most complex. Elite members of society were probably buried in these types of grave. For the other burial types there is no significant variability throughout the different periods (EJZ 1-5). Nor are there any significant differences or discontinuities to be noted in terms of the geographic distribution of the burial types.

Regarding the location of the burials, it is important to emphasise that there were two co-existing funerary customs. Adults were generally buried in cemeteries (*extra moenia* or *intra moenia/extra muros*) whereas newborns, infants and adolescents were by contrast buried *intra muros* i.e. within domestic contexts inside the settlement. Regarding cemeteries, only one *extra moenia* example is certainly attested: the Secondary tell at Atij.<sup>129</sup> Regarding the *intra moenia* cemeteries, it appears that the formal disposal areas chosen by the living were mostly concentrated above the destruction levels of the previous settlements and buildings. This is the case at the cemeteries of Chagar Bazar (Pit M and *Chantier H*), Hazna, Girnavaz, Raqa'i, and Kneidij.<sup>130</sup> The maintenance of a permanent, specialised, bounded area for the exclusive disposal of the dead, could be interpreted as a ritualisation employed by corporate social groups and elites to legitimise and attain their lineal descent from the dead - lineal ties to the ancestors - and to use and control crucial but restricted resources (cultivable lands?).<sup>131</sup> At the other sites, as explained for the burials excavated at Barri and Kashkashok III,<sup>132</sup> communities of new inhabitants decided to bury their own dead above and inside abandoned buildings, to keep alive a collective memory in which the dead fulfilled the role of maintaining ties between the living and their predecessors. This could be a case of stimulus regeneration in which burials and funerary practices were used to legitimise structures of hierarchy and the continuity of power.

Finally, with regard to grave goods, there was a fundamentally different typology of depending upon the age of the dead. The general absence of objects accompanying newborn's burials has been demonstrated. So too the standardisation of grave goods accompanying infants and adolescents - usually common pottery and necklaces - and, most importantly, the presence of groups of valuable or special objects (such as weapons and ritual mace heads) with only in a few adult burials, especially the shaft- and the chamber tombs. If the thesis of processual

<sup>124</sup> Inventory JZ007/O014 (Barri); JZ005/O044 (Mozan); JZ003/O001 (Khuera); JZ007/O003-004 (Barri).

<sup>125</sup> For grains of cereals found inside some burials at Abu Hujeira, see Martin & Wartke 1993-94.

<sup>126</sup> See Cordy et al. 2009 for a recent contribution about the animal offering inside the Bronze Age tombs at Chagar Bazar, and their relations with rituals and cuneiform texts. Unfortunately these authors didn't mention any 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium grave with animal offerings.

<sup>127</sup> Munchaev et al. 2004: Tav. 3-5 (Hazna); JZ007/I003 (Barri); Mallowan 1937: 127 (Arbid); Debryne 1997: 146 (Beydar); JZ005/I007 (Mozan).

<sup>128</sup> If we consider the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium JZ burials altogether, we note their obvious "poverty" in comparison with the contemporary tombs excavated in Lower Mesopotamia, for example at Ur (Woolley 1934), Kish (Moorey 1978), Abu Salabikh (Martin et al. 1985), or Khafajah (Delougaz et al. 1967).

<sup>129</sup> Fortin 1994c.

<sup>130</sup> See *infra* § 9.2.2.

<sup>131</sup> For more details about formal disposal areas, see Parker Pearson 1999: 136-138.

<sup>132</sup> See *infra* § 9.2.2.

Funerary archaeology<sup>133</sup> is accepted – i.e. that the quantity and quality of objects accompanying the dead are important as an indicator of funerary variability and the grave goods are directly related to the status of the dead – it could be concluded these were elite members of the communities. Other adult graves however, which constitute the majority of the sample, show a significant presence of special classes of pottery that seem distinctive in the funerary dimension, including Ninevite 5, Painted ware, and Metallic Ware. In most of these cases, burials contain only a few objects suggesting they are not rich tombs. Here, we must go over the Processual approach, and we can suppose that in all these wares the aesthetic sense prevailed over the function and the intrinsic value of the vessels. This pottery, which was made to be seen, had a strong ostentatious value. This value was probably revealed during the practice of deposition at the funerary banquet. The funerary context assigned to the pottery – as well as to some other objects – had an important symbolic value, determined by the specific selection of grave goods by the living at the moment of burial. In this way also single vessels, for example the jars of painted ware found in the EJZ 1 graves at Chagar Bazar, Hanza and Kneidij, like the Ninevite 5 and Metallic wares vessels found in the EJZ tombs, from EJZ 1 to EJZ 3a, were a “medium” of information.<sup>134</sup> If it is assumed that these special classes of pottery were made and diffused only in a restricted area,<sup>135</sup> it is possible to suppose that their symbolic value was ideologically related to the concept of identity, and used by the living to convey social information. In this sense, messages delivered on pottery vessels might be related on a horizontal scale to convey information about ethnicity and group affiliation inside the population, more than a result of increased vertical complexity. This is an aspect of the funerary practices that seems, chronologically, to characterise Period EJZ 1-3a, and that fits in well with the spread of new elites and cultural identities in the JZ during the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium; a phenomenon culminating in the advent of the “second urban revolution”, between Periods EJZ 3a and EJZ 3b.<sup>136</sup> Assuming the lack of useful published data for EJZ 3b-5 funerary contexts, the above-mentioned interpretations of grave-goods – including the significant disappearance of decorated vessels in burials of Period EJZ 3b-5 – could be the starting point to verify, in the JZ, the discontinuity between the burial practices of the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium (Period EJZ 1-3a) and those of the second half (Period EJZ 3b-5), characterised by a completely different kind of socio-economic structure, and different instances related to the funerary practices, marked by a wider cultural homogeneity, a recurrence of the same structures, and by a standardisation of the grave-goods, in particular the pottery.

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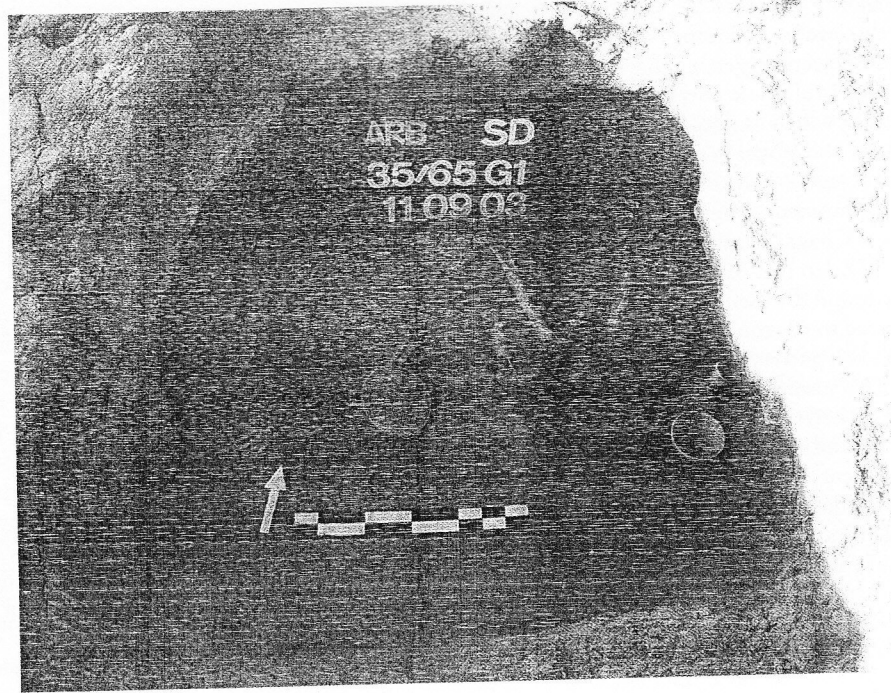
<sup>133</sup> Binford 1972.

<sup>134</sup> See *infra* § 9.2.4.1.

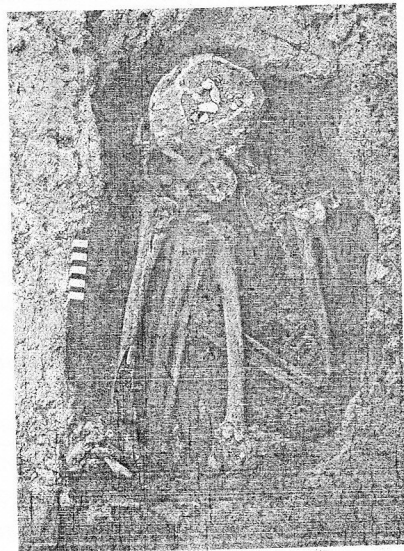
<sup>135</sup> See Chapter 3 in this volume by E. Rova.

<sup>136</sup> See Akkermans & Schwartz 2003: 211-287.

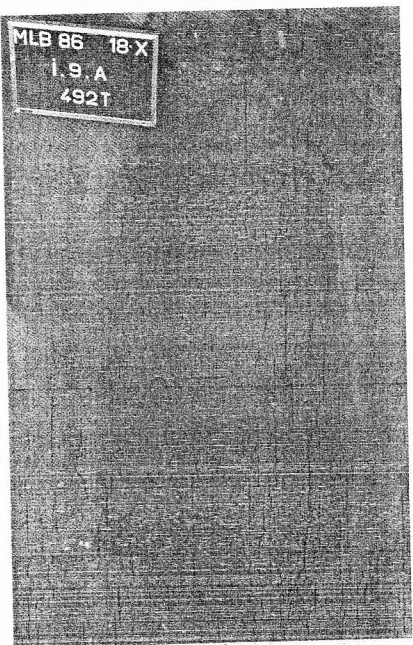




a



b

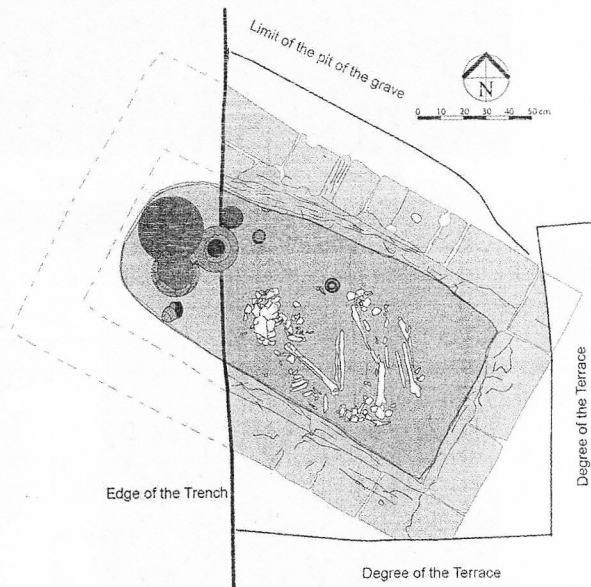


c

Pl.1 Pit burials: a: Grave L8 - Arbid (Inventory JZ006\_U001); b: Tomb 1267 - Barri (Inventory JZ007\_U001); c: Grave 492 - Melebiya (Inventory JZ007\_U003).



a

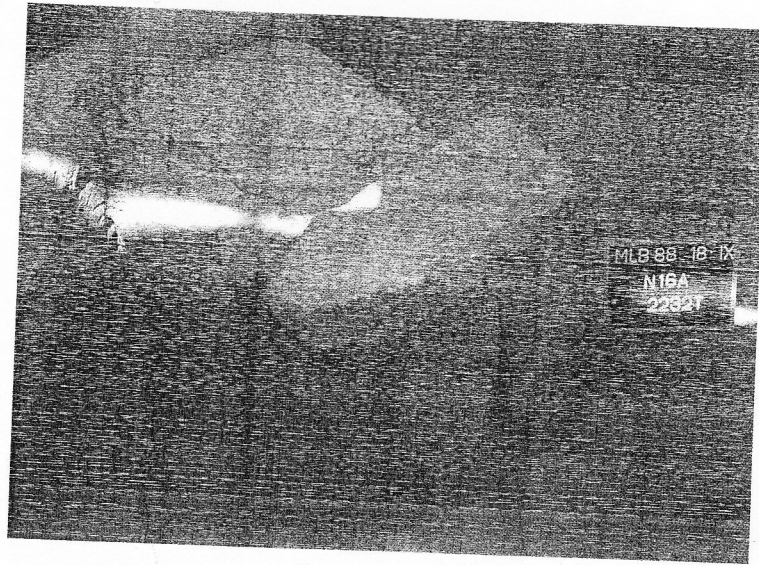


b

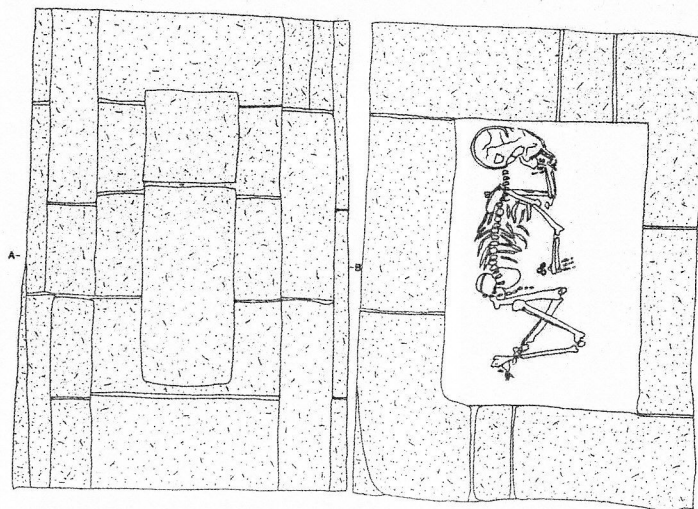
Fig. 2 Cist burials: a: Tomb 1307 – Barri (Inventory JZ007\_U003); b: Grave 4634 – Mohammed Diyab (Inventory JZ007\_U003).



*Burials and Funerary Practices*

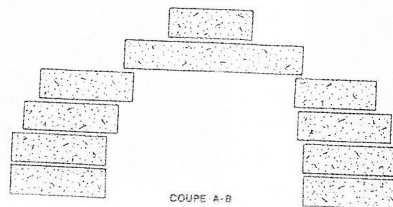


a



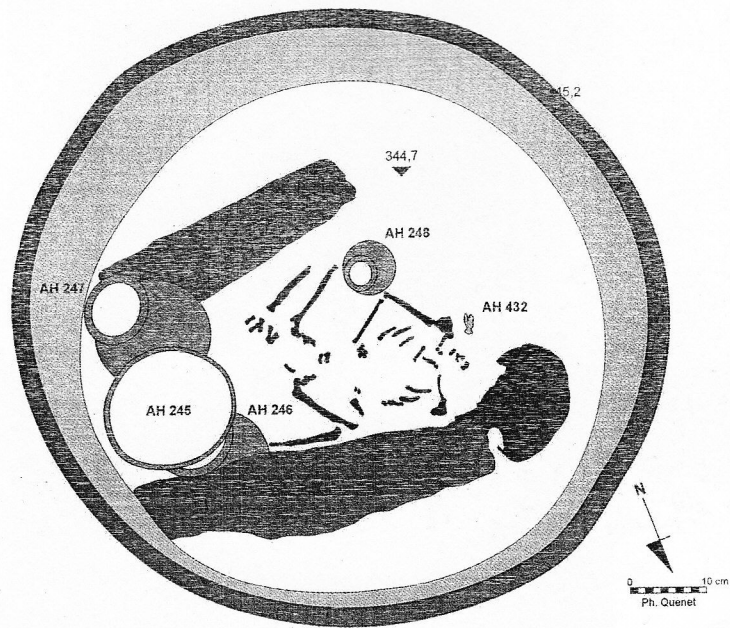
Ech.:1:10

2243

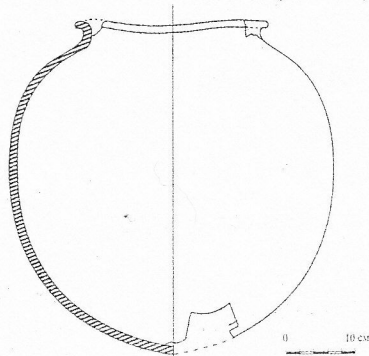
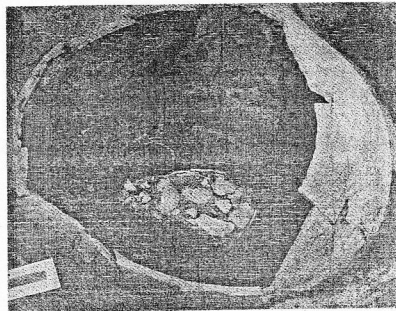
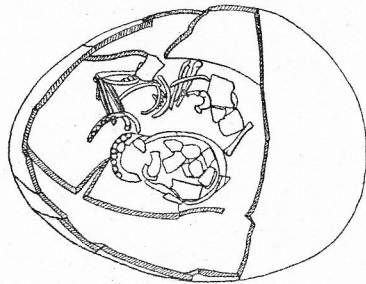


b

Pl.3 Cist burials: a: Grave 2232 – Melebiya (Inventory JZ014\_U002);  
b. Grave 2243 – Melebiya (Inventory JZ014\_U002).



a



b

Pl.4 Burials in ceramic containers: a: Tomb 5 – Abu Hujaira I (Inventory JZ017\_1006); b: Tomb 10 – Hazna (see Munchaev et al. 2004, tav. 6-10).