PERFORMING DEATH

SOCIAL ANALYSES OF FUNERARY TRADITIONS IN THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST AND MEDITERRANEAN

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REMEMBERING AND FORGETTING IN EARLY BRONZE AGE MORTUARY PRACTICES ON THE SOUTHEASTERN DEAD SEA PLAIN, JORDAN

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INTRODUCTION

The political fallout from the March 2006 death of Slobodan Milosevic highlights the enormous range of ideas that people from different cultures hold about death and how politics, identity, and social memories are inextricably linked to mortuary practices. M. Bloch, in his presentation at this seminar, asserted that regardless of the particulars of a society's belief system, religious observances, burial practices, and acts of commemoration, people throughout the world must work to transform the social body and person who has died into something else, and this process involves the distillation of the living peoples' memories through a complex process of remembering and forgetting. The transformative work of distilling a social person into a non-living entity often involves commemorative rites, expressions of mourning, religious observations, sanctioned processing of the physical bodies of the dead and the living, as well as remembering certain aspects of that person and his or her life while forgetting others. In the case of Milosevic much of this distillation is taking place on a global geopolitical scale with enormous political implications for individuals, communities, ethnic groups, and nations. With a case of such global importance, it is easy to see why many archaeologists assert that even dead bodies possess agency (e.g., Robb this volume; Tarlow 2001; Williams 2004), because even in the state of not-living they continue to affect emotions, thoughts, memories, and actions among the living.

Recent literature on agency, practice theory, and archaeological practice encompasses a wide range of theoretical and methodological approaches in archaeology, including utilizing theoretical frameworks of *chaîne opératoire*, structuration, intentionality, phenomenology, citations, life histories of places and material culture, landscapes, and place-making (Dobres and Robb 2000, 2005; Joyce and Lopiparo 2005). Despite this diversity, Dobres and Robb (2005) argue that they all hold two concerns in common: social reproduction and materiality. In exploring social reproduction and materiality, the incorporation of practice theory into archaeological knowledge production has contributed a diverse set of methodological and theoretical case studies. In this paper I dedicate my time to discussing three recent theoretical strands of this overarching project that lend particular strength to my analysis and interpretations of mortuary practices in a group of prehistoric settlements and cemeteries on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain: (1) landscape and place-making/sense of place; (2) structured agency and structuration; and (3) embodiment and lived experience. For each of these approaches, we can consult the published literature and find particularly powerful and sophisticated analyses of mortuary practices (e.g., Arnold 2001; Fowler 2001; Gillespie 2001; Hastorf 2003; Joyce 2003; Meskell 1999; Thomas 2000; Williams 2004). All three approaches are obviously related by intersec-

tions between social memories, peoples' perceptions of living in physical spaces, the materiality of living in a human body, and the values that we attach to place, bodies, and identities in any given context. Moreover, the utilization of any or all of these approaches requires that the researcher be theoretically nimble, especially regarding the necessity to analyze data at multiple temporal and spatial scales (Dobres and Robb 2005). For mortuary practices, this type of analysis entails the examination of data including the spatial scale of individuals (the dead and the living) to communities, factions, cultural groups, and even regions, as well as the temporal scale of moments, days, and months to generations and centuries.

Because of the spatial limits of this paper, I can not exhaustively cover the theoretical and methodological frameworks in archaeology for each of these approaches. More importantly, they are well described and debated in the recent literature (e.g., Anschuetz, Wilshusen, and Scheick 1999; Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Dobres and Robb 2000, 2005; Joyce 2005). Instead I focus on demonstrating how I have found these approaches so effective in my own research by briefly examining mortuary practices from the southeastern Dead Sea Plain during the Early Bronze Age period (EBA), roughly encompassing the second millennium B.C.E.

NEW PLACES FOR THE LIVING AND THE DEAD IN EARLY BRONZE AGE SOUTHERN LEVANT

The Early Bronze Age I–IV of the southern Levant (roughly encompassing modern Israel, Jordan, and Palestinian Authority in the time period of ca. 3600–2000 B.C.E.) is a truly dynamic period in which people designed a new type of community in which to live, one walled with impressive fortification walls and towers. Several surveys demonstrate that while the countryside was by no means abandoned, many people moved their families into these bounded settlements and we see signs of increasing social differentiation (Amiran and Gophna 1989; Broschi and Gophna 1984; Esse 1991; Falconer and Savage 1995; Gophna and Portugali 1988; Harrison 1997; Helms 1989; Joffe 1993; Palumbo 1990; Rast and Schaub 1974; Schaub 1992; Steele 1990). In almost every walled community excavated, researchers found large, non-residential storage facilities, which relate to multiple lines of evidence suggesting intensified production of agricultural and pastoral products, as well as establishment of orchards for grapes and olives, all accompanied by expanded irrigation structures and irrigated fields (Greenberg 2002; Philip 2001, 2003). Previously I have argued that the creation of walled communities emerged simultaneously with the development of a Lévi-Straussian House Society (Chesson 1999, 2003, in press).

In thinking about inventing and building new types of places and communities, I have found Peter Whitridge's (2004) work particularly powerful, especially connections between place and human communities. I am intrigued by the convergence of all of these Early Bronze Age developments — invention of diverse types of walled towns, increasing social differentiation, intensification of agricultural and pastoral production, extensive use of irrigation technologies, widespread establishment of grape and olive orchards, development of administrative complexes for surplus storage, and the emergence of houses. These people invented a new kind of place to live and profoundly altered their living and working landscapes (Philip 2003). Large walled sites, often visible from each other, extensive terracing with orchards, the expansion outward of pasturage to accommodate the intensification of agricultural production, and irrigated field systems and check dams in wadis/river channels, would have transformed the places in which these people lived and worked, radically changing the way people moved through and experienced the landscape in their daily lives (Anschuetz, Wilhusen, and Scheick 1999; Bender 1998; Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Whitridge 2004). They inscribed this new way of life into the very ground through which they moved: durable and visible settlements, terrace systems, roadways, irrigation systems along with enduring new ways of considering property, resources and usufructure, status, and the role of the dead in the living community (Chesson in press).

Analysis of mortuary data suggests that during Early Bronze I–III we see an increase in social differentiation, especially of groups (Chesson 1999, 2001a–b). We also witness a shift in mortuary practices from the previous period, with a very interesting development: cemeteries become the rare exception rather than the rule, and despite a century of survey and excavation we find very little evidence throughout the overall region for mortuary practices in association with walled town life at all (Ilan 2002). Rafael Greenberg (pers. comm.) jokingly summarizes that this lack of data reflects the biblical notion that people lived for hundreds of years and so all the Early Bronze II town folk lived for 600 years and did not die until the end of the Early Bronze IV, a period for which we have little information from settlements but an enormous corpus of mortuary data from cemeteries. All jokes aside, this asymmetry in our database highlights an intriguing puzzle and problem for archaeologists. That these people are generally not burying their dead in cemeteries, I think, probably stems from their ideas about the relationship between the dead and the living communities in the Early Bronze Age, but this is an entirely different discussion for another time. I now turn to explore ideas of landscape, social memory, identity, and lived experience from the mortuary data we do have from this period.

EARLY BRONZE AGE ON THE SOUTHEASTERN DEAD SEA PLAIN, JORDAN

In turning to Early Bronze Age mortuary practices on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain in Jordan (fig. 6.1), our data set includes excavated contexts from two walled settlements and several cemeteries. The Expedition to the Dead Sea Plain began work in the 1970s and worked over several survey and excavation seasons until 1990, expanding on previous excavations at Bab edh-Dhra' conducted in the 1960s (Schaub and Rast 1989), while also excavating significant areas at the townsite of Numeira and the cemeteries of Feifa and Khanazir. The project directors, Tom Schaub and Walt Rast, identified five major Early Bronze sites: the two walled towns of Bab edh-Dhra' and Numeira and four cemeteries at Feifa, Khirbet Khanazir, Safi/Naqa, and Bab edh-Dhra' (Rast and Schaub 1974). The distance between the northern- and southernmost sites is only 45 kilometers; Numeira and Bab edh-Dhra' are located only 13 kilometers apart. On a clear day inhabitants would have been able to stand on the fortifications of their towns and see the walls and houses of the neighboring town in the distance, watching people move between these towns through irrigated and terraced field systems and nearby cemeteries.

The earliest occupational remains on the southeast Dead Sea Plain are represented by the Early Bronze IA cemeteries at Feifa, Safi/Naqa, and Bab edh-Dhra', where people traveled to these sites, set up temporary camp sites, and buried their dead as secondary burials in hundreds of rock-cut shaft (Bab edh-Dhra') or cobble- and slab-built cist tombs (Feifa and Safi/Naqa), accompanied by ceramic, wood, and stone grave goods, in approximately 3150 B.C.E. (Rast 1979; Rast and Schaub 2003; Schaub and Rast 1989). In the Early Bronze IB and early Early Bronze II (ca. 2950–2800 B.C.E.) people established a village adjacent to the cemetery of shaft tombs at Bab edh-Dhra'. During this earliest period of settlement on the plain, they reused earlier Early Bronze IA shaft tombs for burials, often with both primary and secondary burials.

They also built a new type of burial structure at Bab edh-Dhra': an above ground, mudbrick, circular charnel house. They also continued to bury their dead at Safi/Naqa in large, slab-built tombs with secondary burials; Feifa by this time was no longer used as a cemetery. In the Early Bronze II/III, the village at Bab edh-Dhra' grew in size to 4 hectares and the inhabitants built a massive fortification wall with towers to encompass the site. The excavators also found ample evidence of living structures surrounding the walled town; it is clear that many people lived outside as well as inside the walls of the town (Rast and Schaub 2003). People also established the smaller, walled town of Numeira to the south (Coogan 1984). During this period, burial practices were restricted to Bab edh-Dhra', where the excavators found and excavated ten above ground, rectangular charnel houses, or body libraries (Chesson 1999; Schaub and Rast 1989), filled predominately with secondary burials and ceramic, wood, stone, and metal grave goods, constructed in the earlier Early Bronze IA/IB cemetery.[1] By the end of the Early Bronze III (ca. 2300 B.C.E.), Numeira was abandoned and we see a break in occupation at Bab edh-Dhra', where the Early Bronze IV people built a small village on the ruins of the Early Bronze II/III town. The Early Bronze IV people continued to bury their dead in the cemetery at Bab edh-Dhra', however a much larger cemetery, Khirbet Khanazir, was established 45 kilometers to the south of Bab edh-Dhra'. At both Khanazir and Bab edh-Dhra', the Early Bronze IV people are burying their dead in primary and secondary burials in stone-lined shaft tombs (Schaub and Rast 1989; McDonald 1995).

This very dense and generalized occupational history of the southeastern Dead Sea Plain highlights one of the most important aspects of the Early Bronze Age in this region: each time the nature and scale of occupation in this region shifted, so too did the mortuary practices (Rast 1999; cf. Morris this volume). Bab edh-Dhra' also offers one of only two instances where researchers have located and excavated a walled town and an associated cemetery (the other example being Jericho). I turn now to synthesize much of this data and demonstrate how we can gain insights into Early Bronze Age mortuary practices and communities on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain by employing landscape perspectives, practice theory, and phenomenological approaches.

EARLY BRONZE AGE LANDSCAPES OF THE LIVING AND DEAD

In the last two decades, there has been an increasing interest by ethnographers, archaeologists, and historians in landscapes and their relationships to identity, political structures, language, history, and commemoration (Anschuetz, Wilhusen, and Scheick 1999; Basso 1996; Bender 1998, 2001; Bradley 2000; Casey 1996; Cosgrove 1985; Cosgrove and Daniels 1989; Feld and Basso 1996; Johnson 2005; Knapp and Ashmore 1999; Tilley 1994; Whitridge 2004). The study of place and identity holds an important place in anthropological and archaeological research, especially in tracing the historical development of a culture and its identity and past. Whitridge (2004: 220–21) aptly summarizes the links between places, people, and experiences of community: "community comes into being through enculturation of people to a local history embedded in places." In Whitridge's (2004) fascinating analysis of Inuit landscapes, placemaking, and identities, he (2004: 243) states that landscapes are "shaped by ongoing histories of place-making, the hybrid conjoining of heterogeneous semantic fields — imaginaries — with the material world." In other words, people lived in, moved through, and shaped landscapes that were meaningful, layered, and mixed mosaics of ideas and things remembered and forgotten.

[1] An eleventh charnel house at Bab edh-Dhra' was excavated (R. T. Schaub pers. comm.), but to the author's knowledge the data have never been analyzed or published in any form.

In turning to the Early Bronze Age example here, there were many new elements to living in a fortified settlement, including the negotiation of living in a densely populated place; organizing one's daily schedule to include trips into and out of the massive walls to herd, farm, hunt, or trade; increasing social differentiation especially at the group level; and integrating the city's bureaucratic framework into daily life, including issues of sanitation, payment of tithes or taxes into communal storage, and entrusting oneself and one's family to the city's governance structures. The Early Bronze Age viewscapes (Owoc 2005) on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain included walled towns (visible from each other), abandoned and current cemeteries, extensive terracing with orchards, expansion outward of pasturage to accommodate the intensification of agricultural production, new tracks and roadways, irrigated field systems and check dams in wadis placed at the base of the western escarpment of the Kerak Plateau, abandoned Chalcolithic and Neolithic sites, and the Dead Sea (fig. 6.2). These new Early Bronze Age places would have transformed the landscape, radically changing the way people moved through and experienced their environment in their daily lives. With the invention of fortified towns in the Early Bronze Age, peoples' daily lives changed, as well as their identities: suddenly it made a difference to one's personhood depending on whether you were a city-dweller, a nomad, or someone who lived on the margins of both groups. People shifted their ideas about identity with the creation of a new way of life and a new type of place, and these new conceptions influenced the development of Early Bronze Age society and inscribed these societal forms on the social and physical landscapes.

In considering Early Bronze mortuary practices through this lens, the key is the creation and transformation of landscapes for the living and the dead over time. In a 2005 presentation on houses in the European Neolithic, Dusan Boric (in press) stated that in his research area, the dead were the first people to become sedentary. It struck me as funny, but also apropos for the earliest Early Bronze Age occupants of the southeastern Dead Sea Plain. During the Early Bronze IA people traveled to the southeastern Dead Sea Plain to bury their dead in secondary ceremonies; we have no evidence for permanent settlement in the Early Bronze Age before the Early Bronze IB/early Early Bronze II (ca. 2900 B.C.E.). We do not know where they came from, although it is tempting (and not necessarily unreasonable, I think) to imagine them descending 1,000 meters from the Kerak Plateau, making their way down switchbacks, leading donkeys laden with skeletal remains, pottery, wooden objects, mats, mace-heads, and stone vessels to bury their dead down by the Dead Sea. They deposited the segmented remains of their dead in shaft tomb chambers, following a set of guidelines for segmenting and sorting the remains and grave goods. Skeletal remains were placed on reed mats in the center of the chamber, skulls were lined up (often facing the opening) along the left edge of the mat, long bones and other postcranial remains were heaped onto the center of the mat, and grave goods were stacked to the right of the opening often lining the back and side edges of the chamber (Rast 1999; Schaub and Rast 1989). A short distance to the south, people also established very large cemeteries at Safi/Naqa and Feifa, placing the secondary remains of their dead in rock-lined cist tombs.

Sometime around 3000 B.C.E. people settled down in a small village next to the Bab edh-Dhra' cemetery and began farming (McCreery 2003) and raising livestock (Rast and Schaub 2003). I do not believe that their choice to settle next to the cemetery can be interpreted as simple coincidence; in fact they continued to utilize the cemetery. During this initial sedentary

phase, though, their mortuary practices demonstrate more fluidity and variability. In some cases they continued to deposit their dead in shaft tombs, but these were primary burials with fully articulated (and non-segmented) bodies. In other cases, they constructed above ground circular tombs from mudbrick (circular charnel houses) in which we find evidence of primary and secondary mortuary practices (Chesson 2001b; Rast 1999; Schaub and Rast 1989). People also continued to use the Safi cemetery, but in at least two cases constructed very large semi-subterranean shaft tombs (Najjar pers. comm.).

When the Early Bronze Age people constructed their fortification walls and gates around the heavily terraced town of Bab edh-Dhra‘ ca. 2900 B.C.E., they abandoned the subterranean mortuary contexts for aboveground rectangular charnel houses in the cemetery (Rast and Schaub 2003; Schaub and Rast 1989). They placed the remains of the deceased in the charnel houses, or body libraries, in secondary mortuary ceremonies. In many ways, the rectangular charnel houses resemble the rectangular architecture in and surrounding the walled town, thus mirroring the houses inhabited by the living. While these body libraries were not contained within a fortification or series of retaining walls, it is not a big jump to consider that we may be dealing with adjacent communities for the living and the dead (Chesson 1999, 2003; Rast 1999; Schaub and Rast 1989).

Around 2300 B.C.E. the walled communities of Numeira and Bab edh-Dhra‘ were abandoned and after a short gap people rebuilt a small, unwalled village on the ruins of Bab edh-Dhra‘ (Rast and Schaub 2003). They returned to the practice of subterranean shaft tombs, although they lined the shafts with stones. Farther to the south at Khirbet Khanazir they built roofless structures in the middle of which they constructed stone-lined shaft tombs in which excavators found the disarticulated remains of the dead. Khanazir contains eighty-five of these structures spread out over a large, chocolatey-brown escarpment rising from the floor of the Dead Sea Plain, giving the impression of a town for the dead overlooking the valley floor (R. T. Schaub pers. comm.; McDonald 1995).

We must view Early Bronze mortuary practices in light of the immense social, economic, and political transformations of Early Bronze society with the establishment and eventual abandonment of walled settlements, as well as the large-scale anthropogenic re-working of the physical environment with large fortified towns, terracing, irrigated fields, new roadways, and cemeteries. Interestingly, there is also a noted shift in the settlement and abandonment of these fortified towns from the Early Bronze I to Early Bronze III. In several cases (for example, Megiddo and Tell es-Sa‘idiyeh) Early Bronze I or II walled towns were established, abandoned, and sometimes reinhabited. In some cases, such as Sa‘idiyeh and Tell el-Handaquq South, people abandoned the Early Bronze II walled town and settled Early Bronze III Handaquq South, a mere 12 kilometers away. These reshaped landscapes contained abandoned (or dead?) villages and towns that would have been familiar to the people in the region (in a type of horizontal stratigraphy; cf. Greenberg 2003). In considering landscapes, social remembering and forgetting, and mortuary practices, these abandoned settlements and cemeteries most likely played an important role in anchoring the changes in the physical and social landscapes of Early Bronze Age society, and perhaps even provided the dead with an enduring place inscribed on the landscape for all to see.

Throughout the course of the Early Bronze, there was a vertical movement of where people placed the remains of the dead, from subterranean (shaft tombs) to aboveground (charnel houses) and then to a combination of both (Khanazir-style burial contexts). I find significant the movement from subterranean to aboveground cemeteries. I interpret the visibility and location of the Early Bronze II–III body libraries as indicators of a changed relationship between

the inhabitants of the walled town and the community of their dead. Ideas of visibility and durability are particularly apropos in this context due to the enormous degree of reshaping places where people worked, lived, traveled, and buried their dead. Moreover, in creating enduring, visible monuments to the dead, the Early Bronze Age people literally inscribed their histories, identities, claims, and rights across the very fields, hills, and river valleys in which they worked, played, and lived.

As many researchers have noted, landscapes can be found at many scales, including that of the body itself (e.g., Whitridge 2004). The segmentation of the Early Bronze Age body in secondary mortuary practices and the careful placement in the shaft tombs (and presumably within charnel houses) in collective contexts represents the process of transforming a social person into something else through carefully orchestrated and sanctioned acts of remembering and forgetting (M. Bloch, in his presentation at this seminar; Taylor 1993). While we have no information regarding the primary mortuary rituals — including the context or process of defleshing — we have the evidence of a very structured process of disassembling and segmenting the Early Bronze dead among the shaft and cist tombs and charnel houses at Bab edh-Dhra‘, Safi/Naqa, and Feifa. Transformative mortuary practices, and their eschatological and cosmological significances, have been documented in many ethnographic contexts (e.g., Bloch and Parry 1982; Hertz 1960; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Taylor 1993). While the specific reasoning and meanings attached to the Early Bronze practices cannot be excavated, we can envision them as part of the distillation process of a dead person into a social memory by the living, and of the transformation of the individual to a member of a different type of collective.

Early Bronze Age people on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain inscribed their world view and identity onto landscapes at multiple scales. This inscription of durable and enduring ideas about life and death in their world is very evident in their secondary mortuary practices on the level of cemetery, collective burial contexts, and segmented bodies. The segmentation of bodies and their collective burial brings us neatly to the next topic to be discussed: structured agency and practice theory in the analysis of commemorative practices.

STRUCTURED AGENCY, COMMEMORATION, AND IDENTITY

Williams (2004) has encouraged archaeologists to focus attention on the materiality of the deceased's remains, as the dead body possesses agency as simultaneously a person and an object. He (2004: 264) notes that the vast majority of mortuary analyses concentrate on the actions of the mourners and that this approach "underestimates the complex engagements between people (both living and dead) and material culture in the production and transformation of social practices and structures." In his analysis of the Anglo-Saxon cremation practices and the creation of a secondary body to achieve an ancestral state, Williams demonstrates that the dead do hold the power to affect the emotions, thoughts, memories, and actions of the living (see also Tarlow 2001). The idea that the dead possess agency is not a new one (Robb this volume) and certainly seems to find support in the current political fallout with Milosevic's death.

In two synthetic articles on practice theory in archaeology, Joyce and Lopiparo (2005) and Dobres and Robb (2005) explore the problematics and benefits utilizing the methodological and theoretical frameworks of *chaine operatoire*, structuration, degrees of intentionality, phenomenology, citations, life histories of places and material culture in a diverse collection of case studies (including, but not limited to, Arnold 2001; Dobres and Robb 2000 and references therein; Fowler 2001; Gillespie 2001; Hastorf 2003; Hegman and Kulow 2005; Hendon 2004;

Joyce 2003; Meskell 2001; Owoc 2005; Pauketat and Alt 2005; Raharijaona and Kus 2001; Silliman 2001; Tarlow 2001; Thomas 2000; Williams 2004). Both sets of authors urge archaeologists to develop specific methodological approaches to applications of practice theory in archaeology. Dobres and Robb (2005) argue that archaeologists must develop explicit methodologies of "doing agency" (which they term "middle range interpretive methodologies") to provide archaeologists with an interpretive bridge to moving between material analysis and social theory. Meanwhile Joyce and Lopiparo (2005) encourage archaeologists who utilize practice theory-based analyses to see structure and agency as inextricably bound, and to avoid basing their analytical frameworks into a false dichotomy of the two. They argue that we must approach practice theory with an emphasis on structured agency, moving between microscale and macroscale contexts without severing the complex web of connectivity between structure and agency.

I have found several of these "practical tools" especially useful in examining and analyzing mortuary practices on the southeastern Dead Sea Plain. In particular, Hastorf's (2003) study of Middle Formative Andean mortuary practices offers a thoughtful and pragmatic case study of balancing notions of agency, intentionality, and patterns of collective structures. In this case study, Hastorf (2003: 307) notes that "the point of practice theory is not only to explain change over time through ... individual slippage, but also to understand the continuity and cohesion that occurs through the maintenance of certain cultural practices." I find it particularly useful to utilize practice theory to analyze Early Bronze Age mortuary practices, because the co-mingled and collective remains make it impossible for us to identify individuals as discrete actors, and these practices emphasize the notion of structured agency and the necessity to move between microscale and macroscale levels of analysis. The Early Bronze mortuary practices, contexts, and remains from this region offer a rich and intriguing data set with which to utilize a practice theory perspective, especially relating to life histories of people, their bodies, shaft tombs, charnel houses, and the shifting mortuary practices across space and through time. Due to space and time constraints, I limit my discussion to two examples: the first drawn from the Early Bronze IA shaft tombs and the second from the Early Bronze II–III charnel houses. In both examples I want to consider the repetitive and structured sequence of actions in these secondary mortuary practices as a vehicle for considering structured agency.

In cemetery excavations in the 1960s led by Paul Lapp (Schaub and Rast 1989) and those from the Expedition to the Dead Sea Plain project in the 1970s and 1980s, researchers excavated forty-two shaft tombs (with ninety-nine chambers) dating to the Early Bronze IA (table 6.1; Bentley 1987, 1991; Fröhlich and Ortner 1982; Ortner 1979, 1981, 1982; Rast 1999; Rast and Schaub 1974, 1978, 1980, 1981; Schaub 1981; Schaub and Rast 1984, 1989). This very rich database is associated with the pre-settlement period at the site, although excavators found evidence of campsites that they interpret as accommodations for the mourners when they traveled to the cemetery to bury their dead (Rast and Schaub 2003: 63). The Early Bronze IA people presumably used donkeys to transport the remains of their dead and the appropriate grave goods to the Bab edh-Dhra' cemetery. They dug vertical shafts of approximately 2–5 meters in depth and excavated anywhere from one to five small chambers off the base of each shaft.[2] They placed the skeletal remains on a reed mat located in the center of the chamber and

[2] Publications do not state whether the shaft tomb chambers were all excavated at once, or if they were added as necessary through the generations. It is clear, however, that they were reopened and reused, with some Early Bronze IA tombs being opened and remodeled in the Early Bronze IB. In discussions with the excavator, he indicated that particular attention was paid to excavating in the shafts to assess the site formation processes and

stacked grave goods along the edges of the mat and the chamber walls. If they were using the tomb for the first time, then they placed the mat down first, and then lined up the skulls on the left edge of the mat (often facing the entrance) and placed the post-cranial bones in an ordered pile on the center of the mat. During this process, they may have removed some objects and remains before sealing the chamber with a large, flat stone. The plan of Tomb A114N (fig. 6.3) illustrates the structured deposition of skulls, long bones, and miscellaneous skeletal elements, as well as grave goods within the tomb chamber. This pattern of segmentation, of skull piles to the left of the entrance, bone pile in the center, mat under the skeletal remains, and grave goods to the right of the entrance lining the edge of the chamber, is repeated throughout the corpus of Early Bronze IA shaft tombs, with rare exceptions. We can imagine that this process may have been accompanied by ritual ceremonies, involving a large group of participants and/or observers.

Ceramic vessels were found in chambers throughout the cemetery, generally placed along the right wall of a chamber. Numbers of vessels per chamber range from sixty to one, and one of the few discernable (but not very meaningful, I believe) patterns visible in the Early Bronze IA cemetery is of higher numbers of vessels associated with larger tomb areas and with larger numbers of interred individuals. Preliminary analysis of vessel types, sizes, or numbers across space in the cemetery shows no patterns. Other special classes of artifacts include mace-heads, stone vessels, wooden vessels, and other wooden objects, like staffs or tools. Mace-heads and stone vessels tend to co-occur in some areas of the cemetery. Mace-heads are always found in association with stone vessels, though stone vessels do appear without mace-heads.[3] Beads and pottery vessels are the most common artifacts found in Early Bronze IA shaft tombs. Beads, presumably from costume ornaments and clothing, are constructed from locally available materials, including local shell, bone, and stones, as well as materials whose sources are located far from the Dead Sea, including carnelian, ostrich eggshell, faience, gold, lapis lazuli, conus shells, and alabaster. Beads were found inside of the pottery vessels (especially one small jar form), distributed across the area containing the grave goods, clustered around the bone piles, and with the skulls. While they may differ slightly in numbers of beads and range of materials, all tomb groups include chambers with non-local and local beads.

Based on preliminary publications of sex or age designations, there is no spatial patterning of location in the cemetery or within tombs based on sex or age.[4] Approximately 23% (59 of 256) of the Early Bronze IA population has been identified as male or female, and in some instances also aged by physical anthropologists, and an additional 24.6% (63 of 256) has been

the construction of the shaft and chambers. R. T. Shaub (pers. comm.) felt that the shafts and the chambers were excavated in most cases in one event. If this were the case, we can suggest that these tombs were "built to order" with no renovations or expansion of chamber numbers. Thus these shaft tombs share an interesting trait with the charnel houses, and by extension to the intentions of the builders and users. Could it be that the builders knew (or had a general idea) of each unique tomb "needing" to hold a certain number of individuals? With Bentley's (1987, 1991) analysis supporting genetic relatedness among the occupants of chambers in a shaft tombs, these built-to-order tombs suggest that the Early Bronze Age people held a very structured and well-defined idea of whose skeletal remains and how many people's remains and goods would be deposited in the tombs. Ideas about relatedness and who would be buried where most likely was linked to genetic relatedness (Bentley 1987), but also probably involved a web of economic, social, and political connections.

[3] This co-occurrence of mace-heads and stone vessels is one of the only robust patterns identified in preliminary analysis of the material culture in these tombs. While we have identified this relationship, it is difficult to ascertain what it might mean in a context that was reused, and for which we cannot identify specific objects placed (or removed) in any single depositional moment.

[4] Final analysis of the Early Bronze IA skeletal remains by Ortner and Fröhlich at the Smithsonian is nearing its final stages, and we expect publication in the near future (R. T. Schaub pers. comm.).

aged as subadults (approximately sixteen years of age or younger, including neonates; table 6.2). While still preliminary in nature, analysis of the aged and sexed individuals in association with different classes of objects also demonstrated no patterns of association. Men, women, and children of all ages were buried with the full range of artifact classes and materials, reinforcing the pattern of ambiguity that we see in terms of who is buried with whom, and with what types of objects. While no robust or obvious distributional patterns of the co-occurrence of types of peoples with types of material culture have been found, Bentley's (1987) analysis of dental morphology demonstrated that people buried within a shaft tomb (containing one to five chambers) were more likely related to each other genetically than to others buried in different shaft tombs.

From the perspective of a practice theory approach, data from these mortuary practices offer an excellent example of structured agency, in which people follow a guideline of how to bury their dead in terms of mapping out the segmented remains. However, it is equally significant that there seems to be no discernable (at least to the modern analyst) pattern of what types of grave goods accompany what types of people into the tomb (these guidelines may be masked by the co-mingled nature of the materials, or it may in fact be an accurate interpretation). In considering that this cemetery was used at least for three generations, we can approach this data by considering the *chaine operatoire* ("how to bury a person or non-person at Bab edh-Dhra'") or life history perspective (by documenting the construction and use of the tombs and cemetery) and consider the nature of individual and collective agency in burying the dead collectively in very structured ways. We may also examine the issue of intentionality, innovation, or the exercise of individual and collective agency. For example, in placing different types of goods with certain interments (or removing some elements), individual or group actions imbued with emotion, intentionality, and powerful meanings may be invisible in the data set with which we work.[5] In all these cases, we gain insight into the complex interplay between the inseparable workings of structure and agency. Ultimately we can explore how Early Bronze people may have worked to transform their dead through these commemorative practices into some different type of entity with these structured and repeated sequences of remembering and forgetting.

In turning to the Early Bronze II–III charnel houses, or body libraries (Chesson 1999), in the cemetery at Bab edh-Dhra', we are dealing with the mortuary practices associated (presumably) with the inhabitants of the walled community. Eight of these charnel houses have been published (Schaub and Rast 1989), while the material culture and skeletal remains of charnel houses A22 and A55 are currently being analyzed in preparation for final publication[6] (table 6.3). All the Early Bronze II–III charnel houses were rectangular, mudbrick structures with stone thresholds, and sometimes with cobbled flooring. In a few cases, excavators found evidence for shelving and all charnel houses were filled with disarticulated skeletal remains from secondary burials.[7] The charnel houses fall roughly into two groups based on their size, with

[5] A small number of human figurines were found in a restricted number of tombs, and further detailed analysis of this assemblage will explore these issues.

[6] Eight of the charnel houses have been published in Schaub and Rast's 1989 volume, but this report does not include a systematic skeletal analysis of the remains that were lost in a shed collapse in the 1970s in Jerusalem. Skeletal analysis of remains from charnel houses A22 and A55 is currently underway, and these will be published in conjunction with an archaeological analysis of the material culture associated with these individuals. It is probable that the MNI in these two cases will be increased with analysis by the physical anthropologists conducting the research, and it is believed by the team at this point that the preliminary MNIs listed for the other charnel houses would likely have been larger had they not relied solely on skull counts.

[7] In one case (A22) there was a series of fully articulated skeletons in what appears to be the final use of the charnel

the smaller structures measuring approximately 15 square meters, and the larger ones measuring anywhere from 35 to 121 square meters. In all cases, there is no evidence for renovating the body libraries to make them larger: they were built to size and not changed throughout the potentially several hundred years of use.[8] Previously I have argued that these differently sized charnel houses represent Greater and Lesser Houses, along a House Society model (*sensu* McKinnon 1991; Chesson 1999, 2003, in press).[9]

In the eight larger charnel houses, preliminary MNIs (based only on skull counts) range from forty-six to 200 individuals. In the smaller charnel houses, preliminary MNIs were not recorded or published. Ceramic vessels were the most common grave gift accompanying the dead in these structures. In the smallest charnel houses, twenty and thirty vessels were found; in the larger body libraries, pottery vessel counts range from forty-six to 783. In addition to ceramics, beads were the next most common item placed with the skeletal remains: the larger charnel houses contained beads of non-local materials, including metal, ostrich egg, faience, alabaster, carnelian, lapis, crystal, and bone, while the smaller charnel houses contained stone and bone beads of local materials. Finally the excavators found mace-heads, metal weapons, and slate palettes (all presumably possessing some links to access to ritual knowledge and/or non-local resources and serving in some sense as prestige goods) in some of the larger charnel houses. In the case of larger charnel houses, we have clear evidence for increased access to non-local materials, to prestige items connected with trade and exchange with foreign neighbors such as Egypt and Mesopotamia, and to weapons signifying power and authority in the community. The differences in access to non-local materials and prestige goods supports arguments for differential access of Houses to material culture through exchange networks.

The state of preservation of these charnel houses is not as good as most of the shaft tombs due to their aboveground setting. However, we can see from excavations that they were carefully built, generally with more effort and resources than their settlement counterparts, with carefully bonded brickwork, slab-lined entrances and thresholds, and cobbled floors in some cases (fig. 6.4). Their doorways were not tall enough for people to enter the structure without stooping or crawling on their knees, and I imagine that inside would have been very dark, odoriferous, and packed with shelving, grave goods, and skeletal remains. They were built to size and only in the case of A22 modified with an interior, low mudbrick partition wall bisecting the interior space. We assume, from the stratigraphic evidence of shelving, that people placed the remains of their dead on shelves within these charnel houses. Remains of matting and cloth suggest that skeletal remains may have been wrapped in cloth and placed on mats on these shelving units or on the floor (fig. 6.5). Further radiocarbon analysis will be conducted in the near future to attempt to anchor use-lives of the body libraries within a clearer range than the roughly 800 year period implied by the ceramic chronology. Since the cemetery was adjacent to the town, people could have visited the remains of their dead easily, and I imagine that there may have been community-wide commemorative ceremonies involving one or more charnel houses and their respective living counterparts over the many generations and centuries of use.

house, before the building may have been intentionally burned. This interpretation is still unproven and merely a conjecture, requiring further analysis of the excavation notes and the skeletal remains.

[8] Analysis of radiocarbon analysis of samples from all charnel houses is planned in the near future as the publication editors (Schaub and Chesson) finish the final publication for Numeira and turn their full attentions to the cemetery volume.

[9] It might be interesting to rethink this interpretation, if we consider that some of the people living at the daughter town of Numeira may have been buried at the Bab edh-Dhra' cemetery in the charnel houses; could we be seeing Lesser Houses (or expanding Greater Houses) whose main population lived at Numeira?

I believe that these body libraries held the remains of the dead from the walled town of Bab edh-Dhra', and possibly also the daughter townsite of Numeira. A rich body of ethnographic data investigating the connections between secondary burials, ancestor worship, social memory, and identity exists from past and present societies throughout the world (see Chesson 2001b for a brief, and certainly incomplete, review of this literature). Secondary burials lend an occasion for individuals and groups to reassert and renegotiate their identities, commemorate their dead, and to reassert their visions for the future in the community (e.g., Feeley-Harnik 1989; George 1996; Kan 1989; Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Schiller 1997; Weiner 1976). The positioning of the body libraries in the cemetery adjacent to the town, but always visible from the town walls, would have been a constant reminder to people of the positions and linkages between the communities factions (Brumfiel 1992) such as kin groups, Houses, and other groups connected through webs of social, economic, ritual, and political obligations. In quiet, small-scale everyday practices, and in inclusive, community-wide, ritually significant occasions, the charnel house's very presence, visibility, and repeated use reinforced the transformative practices of remembering and forgetting the dead, calling to mind Ken George's (1996) claim that "commemorative tradition can … provide a community with a comforting sense of its own continuity and place in the world."

Because of the mixed nature of the deposits it is difficult to discuss with specificity the nature of the structured deposits in the charnel houses. With the collapse of the roofs and the deterioration of the walls of the charnel houses, and in some cases the extensive (intentional?) burning of the buildings, excavators were unable to identify discrete depositions of skeletal remains and grave goods. While acknowledging the problematic nature of interpreting Early Bronze II–III commemorative rites by analogy of the practices of the Early Bronze IA people, there are some clear similarities and suggestions of continuity in the disarticulation of human remains and the placement of grave goods, particularly prestige items, within the body libraries. While the specific meanings and shades of identities may differ between the two periods, both groups used similar sequences of repeated practices and followed a set of structured guidelines to process and transform their dead. I do not believe that it is coincidental that people in both periods were buried collectively, that there seems to have been an underlying current of grouping by kinship (at least in the Early Bronze IA tombs), and that through time they elaborated on the contexts and nature of mortuary practices as people settled into the region and built a large, enclosed community. Recalling the previous discussion of landscapes on bodies, settlements, cemeteries, and naturalized geography, considerations of structured agency in mortuary practices augments our perception and understanding of the profoundly important role that Early Bronze Age commemorative rites played in negotiating, asserting, and challenging their ideas the past, present, and future of life in these new towns.

LIVING AND DYING IN THE EARLY BRONZE AGE SOUTHEASTERN DEAD SEA PLAIN

In approaching these data from the perspective of analyses of lived experience, embodiment, and performance, we further enrich our reconstructions of the society and their mortuary practices. Joyce's (2005) recent comprehensive overview of these themes synthesizes the wealth of archaeological studies exploring "the body as a metaphor for society, as instrument of lived experience, and as surface of inscription" (Joyce 2005: 140). Joyce describes the diverse approaches to analyzing the materiality of bodies in the past, with many contemporary social theorists challenging the simplified assertion that bodies and their ornamentation serve a communicative function (citing Wobst 1977), such as displaying a person's group identity and status (Joyce 2005: 142, citing Robb 1998). Recent archaeological approaches to lived experience and embodiment interrogates assumptions about costume, adornment, and identity; for archaeological analyses of mortuary practices, this reevaluation holds particularly powerful implications (cf. Fowler 2001; Joyce 2001, 2003; Meskell 1999, 2001; Robb this volume; Tarlow 2001; Williams 2004).

Several researchers (Robb this volume; Tarlow 2001; Williams 2004) have urged archaeologists analyzing mortuary practices to consider both the mourners and the dead. I want to explore briefly what it meant to be a person living and dying in a material body at Bab edh-Dhra'. From preliminary results of current bioarchaeological analyses, in considering lived experience in the daily lives and deaths of the Early Bronze Age people of the plain, skeletal indices indicate a large change in activity patterns, mortality, disease, and interpersonal relations when comparing the Early Bronze IA pre-sedentary people, and those that dwelled within or just outside the walls of the Early Bronze II–III community at Bab edh-Dhra' (and perhaps also at Numeira; Ortner and Frohlich n.d.; Ullinger pers. comm.). In preliminary comparisons of these collections, Ullinger states that the skeletons of Early Bronze II–III town dwellers show more degenerative diseases, such as osteoarthritis, eburnation (of knees), and fused toes (from repetitive positions, perhaps). We do not know exactly where or how the Early Bronze IA people lived (they have always been presumed to be nomadic, since little research into the previous Chalcolithic or contemporary Early Bronze IA period in the immediate region has offered a potential "home" for these people). If they were nomadic or transhumant, with varying levels of mobility tied to rights to and availability of pasturage and water, then it is understandable that we might see a shift in the types of daily activities that members of an sedentary agro-pastoral community might have experienced. Population density and stresses might also have been more intensively experienced in the highly terraced and tightly clustered residential areas that have been excavated in Bab edh-Dhra' (and probably also in Numeira; cf. Kuijt 2000), and disease could have played a large factor in the community. Certainly, the emotional toll of high infant and child mortality rates would have influenced daily life in the settlement and the frequency of repeated use of the cemetery.

It is too early in the analysis of Early Bronze II–III body libraries to determine whether town dwellers lived longer than their pre-town forebears (50% of whom had died by the age of twenty-one years; Ortner and Frohlich n.d.) or experienced more illness in their lives. What is clear, however, is that death was a part of daily life, before, during, and after the occupation of Bab edh-Dhra' and Numeira. These communities were confronted daily by high infant and child mortality rates (roughly 40%), evidenced archaeologically in secondary commemorative rituals with shaft tombs and charnel houses. Commemorative ceremonies, primary mortuary rites, and the "work" of distilling a person's memory through remembering and forgetting were frequently interwoven into the rhythms of life throughout the Early Bronze Age as a whole. Whether people were immediately involved and participating in primary or secondary mortuary rituals, they probably were acquainted with someone who was. The webs of relationships in these towns were intricate, but not massive in scale. In turn, people experienced the loss of loved ones, children, elderly, neighbors, friends, acquaintances, and rivals frequently, and the emotional impact of working through one's own grief or witnessing others working through the same issues would have influenced the ideas about death, mourning, and surviving the dead.

In analyzing and interpreting data from Early Bronze Age secondary commemorative rituals, it has been helpful to me to consider Ken George's study of modern headhunting ritu-

als in Sulawesi, in which he describes that "Like all ritual crowds, these choral and liturgical gatherings are ephemeral social bodies. Yet in the transitoriness we can catch a glimpse of the community's enduring forms of organization" (George 1996: 192). The scale of secondary rituals, their communal nature, and the frequency of repetition of memorializing ceremonies would have provided Early Bronze Age community members with ample opportunities to assert, negotiate, reaffirm, and sunder social, political, and economic relationships and structures at the individual and group levels. George (1996: 200) describes that

> Posed against the indeterminant, the contingent, the incoherent, and the open-ended, the ritual forms an enclosure where procedure and will can produce designed effects, as for example in the tension and resolution of mourning … And although we may associate commemoration with recollection and looking backward, it is also prospective — it offers a structure of anticipation. Memory — as a form of sociality and as a form of something remembered — is kept in motion.

It is this extraordinary combination of looking forward, of gazing back, and on experiencing the present that is combined in commemorative rituals described by George that I find so evocative of how the practice of mourning and secondary rites might have been experienced by the Early Bronze Age people of the southeastern Dead Sea Plain (fig. 6.6).

In thinking about the experience of living and dying in a body, one interesting question for lived experience of the dead and living is this: what happened to people when they died? Why do we have segmented skeletal remains from secondary mortuary practices in the vast majority of cases, and what could these types of meanings have attached to them? These few exceptions are associated with shifts in settlement systems; could these transitional mortuary practices be linked to negotiations on social, political, ritual, and economic structures within a community settling down (in the Early Bronze IB–early Early Bronze II) or in the abandonment of the town (late Early Bronze III–early Early Bronze IV)? Could the metaphor of travel for the Early Bronze IA people, who did not live in the area but buried their dead in the valley, have been important? For the town dwellers, could their storage of the dead in a group of body libraries a few hundred meters from the walled town hold significance for place-making communities of the living as well as the dead? Could the metaphors of the body and its segmentation in death signify key Early Bronze Age perceptions about what it meant to be human and alive, or to be dead and something else entirely (ancestor, perhaps)? The only cases of primary mortuary practices are associated with periods of transition in occupation in the cemeteries of Bab edh-Dhraʿ and Safi/Naqa. In these cases we see primary interment in traditional contexts (new construction or reuse of Early Bronze IA shaft tombs) or in new, innovative mortuary contexts (circular charnel houses at Bab edh-Dhraʿ and the large slab tombs at Safi/Naqa). The exceptional nature of these cases reminds us of Ilan's assertion that to be buried in primary or secondary rituals during the Early Bronze Age was exceptional. What does this say for experiencing death and the decay of the dead for these communities?

While most of these questions cannot be answered easily, or at all, I argue here that the segmentation of the body, and the placement of certain parts of the dead along with grave goods played a critical role in transforming a social person into a non-living entity through structured remembering and forgetting. Importantly commemorative rites combine structured acts of remembering and forgetting by groups and by individuals, and as George notes, involves both "procedure and will" working toward the distillation of a person's legacy to loved ones, acquaintances, and the greater community. Practice theory in its myriad incarnations provides archaeologists with potent tools for approaching questions of how people "performed

death" in the past, and it offers enormous potential for exploring the crucial work of distilling memories with nuanced simultaneous attention to things and people (not) forgotten.

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TABLES

CATEGORIES OF INFORMATION

Area m^2: Square meters of area in chamber
CV: Number of ceramic vessels (in group)
CV/Ch: Number of ceramic vessels per chamber in group
CV/Ind: Number of ceramic vessels per individual in the chamber
Fem: Number of identified females
FG: Number of figurines (in group)
FG/Ch: Number of figurines per chamber in group
FG/Ind: Number of figurines per individual in the chamber
Group: Tombs excavated in group identified by excavators
Males: Number of identified males
Mean m^2: Average chamber area in square meters
MH: Number of mace-heads (in group)
MH/Ch: Number of mace-heads per chamber in group
MH/Ind: Number of mace-heads per individual in the chamber
MNI: Minimum number of individuals
MNI Males: Number of identified males in group
MNI Fem: Number of identified females in group
MNI S/A: Number of identified subadults in group
MNI Unid: Number of unsexed individuals in group
No. Ch.: Number of chambers in group
S/A: Number of identified subadults
SV: Number of stone vessels (in group)
SV/Ch: Number of stone vessels per chamber in group
SV/Ind: Number of stone vessels per individual in the chamber
Tomb: Name of tomb and chamber
Tombs: Numbered tombs excavated by group
Unid: Number of unsexed individuals

ABBREVIATIONS

Ch.	Chamber
E	East
EB	Early Bronze
N	North
N/A	Not Applicable
S	South
W	West

Table 6.1. Preliminary Published Data on Tomb Size, Skeletal Remains, and Numbers of Select Objects in Sample (Group IV) Early Bronze IA Tombs. Bab edh-Dhra', Jordan

Tomb	*Area m^2*	*MNI*	*Males*	*Fem*	*S/A*	*Unid*	*CV*	*CV/Ind*	*MH*	*MH/Ind*	*FG*	*FG/Ind*	*SV*	*SV/Ind*
A65S	4.6	1	0	0	0	1	17	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
A65E	3.2	2	0	0	0	2	12	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
A65W	3.1	5	0	0	1	4	14	2.8	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.2
A67E	1.2	4	0	0	0	4	10	2.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
A67N	2.6	4	0	0	1	3	10	2.5	1	0.25	0	0	1	0.25
A68E	?	Y	?	?	?	?	28	?	2	?	0	?	2	?
A68N	3.2	2	0	0	1	1	23	11.5	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
A68S	4.8	3	0	0	0	3	19	6.333	0	0	0	0	1	0.333
A68SE	4	2	0	0	0	2	23	11.5	1	0.5	0	0	1	0.5
A68W	4.8	5	0	0	0	5	24	4.8	0	0	0	0	2	0.4
A69	2.4	5	0	0	2	3	25	5	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
A70	3	4	0	0	0	4	6	1.5	0	0	0	0	1	0.25
A71S	4.2	6	0	0	1	5	46	7.667	1	0.167	0	0	0	0
A71N	4	3	0	0	1	2	33	11	0	0	0	0	1	0.333
A71W	4	10	0	0	0	10	59	5.9	0	0	0	0	0	0
A72NE	3.4	2	1	1	0	0	24	12	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
A72NW	2.9	3	1	0	1	1	60	20	2	0.667	0	0	1	0.333
A72S	2.4	3	0	0	0	3	45	15	1	0.333	0	0	0	0
A75	8.4	4	0	0	0	4	28	7	0	0	0	0	1	0.25
A76E	3.2	3	0	0	1	2	20	6.667	1	0.333	0	0	1	0.333
A76W	3.4	3	0	0	0	3	18	6	0	0	0	0	0	0
A77	3.2	1	0	0	0	1	31	31	0	0	0	0	0	0
A78NW	4	4	0	2	2	0	21	5.25	0	0	0	0	0	0
A78NE	1.9	2	0	0	1	1	28	14	0	0	0	0	0	0
A78SW	3.2	4	0	0	2	2	21	5.25	1	0.25	2	0.5	0	0
A78SE	?	?	?	?	?	?	29	?	1	?	2	?	0	?
A79N	2.9	5	1	1	3	0	12	2.4	1	0.2	0	0	1	0.2
A79S	3.2	3	1	1	1	0	14	4.667	1	0.333	0	0	1	0.333
A79W	2.9	4	1	1	1	1	41	10.25	1	0.25	0	0	1	0.25
A79E	2.6	2	0	0	1	1	27	13.5	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
A80N	3.2	2	0	0	0	2	27	13.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
A80S	2.6	4	1	1	2	0	22	5.5	0	0	0	0	0	0
A80E	2.6	2	1	1	0	0	6	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
A80W	2.9	5	1	1	1	2	53	10.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
A100S	2.3	7	0	0	4	3	8	1.143	0	0	0	0	0	0
A100E	3.6	10	3	1	6	0	48	4.8	0	0	3	0.3	0	0
A100W	2.9	4	1	2	1	0	23	5.75	0	0	0	0	0	0
A101N	?	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A101E	?	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A101S	?	2	0	0	1	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A102E	?	3	3	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A102S	?	1	0	0	0	1	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A103S	?	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A105NE	?	1	0	1	0	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A105SE	?	1	1	0	0	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
A105NW	?	1	0	1	0	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?

Table 6.1. Preliminary Published Data on Tomb Size, Skeletal Remains, and Numbers of Select Objects in Sample (Group IV) Early Bronze IA Tombs. Bab edh-Dhraʿ, Jordan (*cont.*)

Tomb	*Area m²*	*MNI*	*Males*	*Fem*	*S/A*	*Unid*	*CV*	*CV/Ind*	*MH*	*MH/Ind*	*FG*	*FG/Ind*	*SV*	*SV/Ind*
A106S	?	1	0	1	0	0	?	?	?	?	?	?	?	?
Group IV Average	3.337	3.244	0.378	0.333	0.778	1.756	25.81	8.379	0.405	0.1	0.189	0.023	0.541	0.162
Group IV Total	116.8	146	17	15	35	79	955	N/A	15	N/A	7	N/A	20	N/A
EB IA Mean	3.14048	3.25	0.3412	0.3059	0.765	1.821	23.35	8.592	0.324	0.096	0.25	0.085	0.62	0.234
EB IA Total	197.85	273	29	26	65	153	1728	N/A	23	N/A	18	N/A	44	N/A

* Object found in shaft, not in chamber

Please Note: Significant amounts of data (MNIs and numbers of objects) are unpublished for several tombs and therefore could not be included in the overall study sample and figures for Early Bronze IA overall averages and totals.

Sources: Bentley 1987, 1991; Fröhlich and Ortner 1982; Rast and Schaub 1974, 1978, 1980, 1981; Schaub 1981a; Schaub and Rast 1984, 1989.

Table 6.2. Summary of Contents of Early Bronze IA Shaft Tombs by Excavated Cluster of Tombs (Group) and Chambers (Ch.). Bab edh-Dhraʿ, Jordan

Group	*Tombs*	*No. Ch*	*Mean m²*	*MNI*	*MNI Male*	*MNI Fem*	*MNI S/A*	*MNI Unid*	*CV*	*CV/Ch*	*MH*	*MH/Ch*	*FG*	*FG/Ch*	*SV*	*SV/Ch*
I	A81 (E, S, W, N), A82 (E, SE, SW), A85, A86 (SW, SE, NE), A89NW, A91, A92, A120	15	3.26	34	2	3	3	26	272	18	4	0.3	0	0	11	0.7
II	A83	1	5	3	0	1	2	0	24	24	0	0	0	0	0	0
III	A5 (E, S), A6 (E, N), A7 (E, S)	6	3.48	16	0	0	2	14	166	28	0	0	8	1.3	5	0.8
IV	A65 (S, E, W), A67 (N, E), A68 (W, N, S, E, SE), A69, A70, A71 (S, N, W), A72 (NE, NW, S), A75, A76 (E, W), A77, A78 (SE, NW, NE, SW), A79 (N, S, W, E), A80 (N, S, W, E), A100 (S, E, W), A101 (N, S, E), A102 (E, S), A103S, A105 (NE, SE, NW), A106S	56	3.34	146	17	15	35	79	955	17	15	0.3	7	0.1	20	0.4
V	A1, A3, A12	3	3.15	11	0	0	0	11	56	19	0	0	0	0	0	0
VI	A45	1	1.5	3	0	0	1	2	21	21	0	0	0	0	0	0
VII	A9, A10, A110 (SE, NE, NW), A111W, A114N	7	3.12	38	9	6	17	6	173	25	3	0.4	3	0.4	7	1
VIII	C1, C2, C3, C5, C6, C9, C10 (E, W), C11	9	2.75	22	1	1	5	15	61	6.8	3	0.3	0	0	3	0.3
Total	48 Tombs	98	N/A	273	29	26	65	153	1728	N/A	25	N/A	18	N/A	46	N/A

Sources: Bentley 1987, 1991; Fröhlich and Ortner 1982; Rast 1999; Rast and Schaub 1974, 1978, 1980, 1981; Schaub 1981a; Schaub and Rast 1984, 1989

Table 6.3. Summary of Early Bronze II–III Charnel Houses and Contents, Including Preliminary MNIs and Grave Goods. Bab edh-Dhra‘, Jordan

CH	*M²*	*MNI*[a]	*#Ves*	*MtW*	*Mh*	*StnP*	*Fig*	*CBC*	*MoP*	*SBSP*	*CarP*	*MetB*	*OstB*	*FaiB*	*AlaB*	*CarB*	*LapB*	*CryB*	*CalB*	*ShB*	*SBB*	*Gold*
INSUFFICIENT INFORMATION PUBLISHED CURRENTLY																						
A55	13.4	60	170+																			
LESSER CHARNEL HOUSES																						
A42	15.1	Unk	30																			
C4	15.5	Unk	20					1													27	
GREATER CHARNEL HOUSES																						
A8	35.3	Unk	121	Y					1					25								
A44	36.8	41	142	1(r)									1?	28		3			4	37	9	
A20[b]	46.1	Unk	46	Y								3	1	3		6			4	9	6	
A41	53.6	42	231	2		2				2				2		2		2		1+	4	1
A21	65.6	53	516	1(r)	1(a)	1	1	1		1	1	4		61		40			4	56	76	
A51	67.3	200	783	7		4						2		13+	1	49	1+		2	5+	81	
A22[c]	120.9	170	450+	2		1						Y										Y

[a] All MNIs are preliminary and based on the counting of skulls. The skeletal remains of A55 and A22 are currently under analysis by bioanthropologists and we expect the MNI count to increase (S. Sheridan and J. Ullinger pers. comm.)

[b] Charnel House A20 had been looted and therefore the number of vessels does not correlate to size of structure, as in all other cases

[c] Costume elements not completely published: reported as several pieces of gold leaf jewelry and one necklace of gold beads and spacers

Sources: Rast and Schaub 1978, 1980; Schaub and Rast 1989

CATEGORIES OF OBJECTS

MtW	Metal Weapons	*Mh*	Mace-head	*StnP*	Stone Palette
Fig	Figurine	*CBC*	Carved Bone Cylinder	*P/IB*	Pierced/Incised Bone Object
MotP	Mother of Pearl Pendant	*SBSP*	Stone, Bone, or Shell Pendant	*CarP*	Carnelian Pendant
MetB	Metal Bead	*OstB*	Ostrich Egg Bead	*FaiB*	Faience Bead
AlaB	Alabaster Bead	*CarB*	Carnelian Bead	*LapB*	Lapis Lazuli Bead
CryB	Crystal Bead	*CalB*	Calcite Bead	*ShB*	Shell Bead
SBB	Stone or Bone Bead	*Gold*	Gold Bead or Foil		

CLASSIFICATION OF OBJECTS

Unk	Unknown Quantity	Y	Present, Quantity Unknown	(r)	Rivet on Metal Weapon
(a)	Material of Mace-head is alabaster	+	Includes at least the number indicated and probably more		

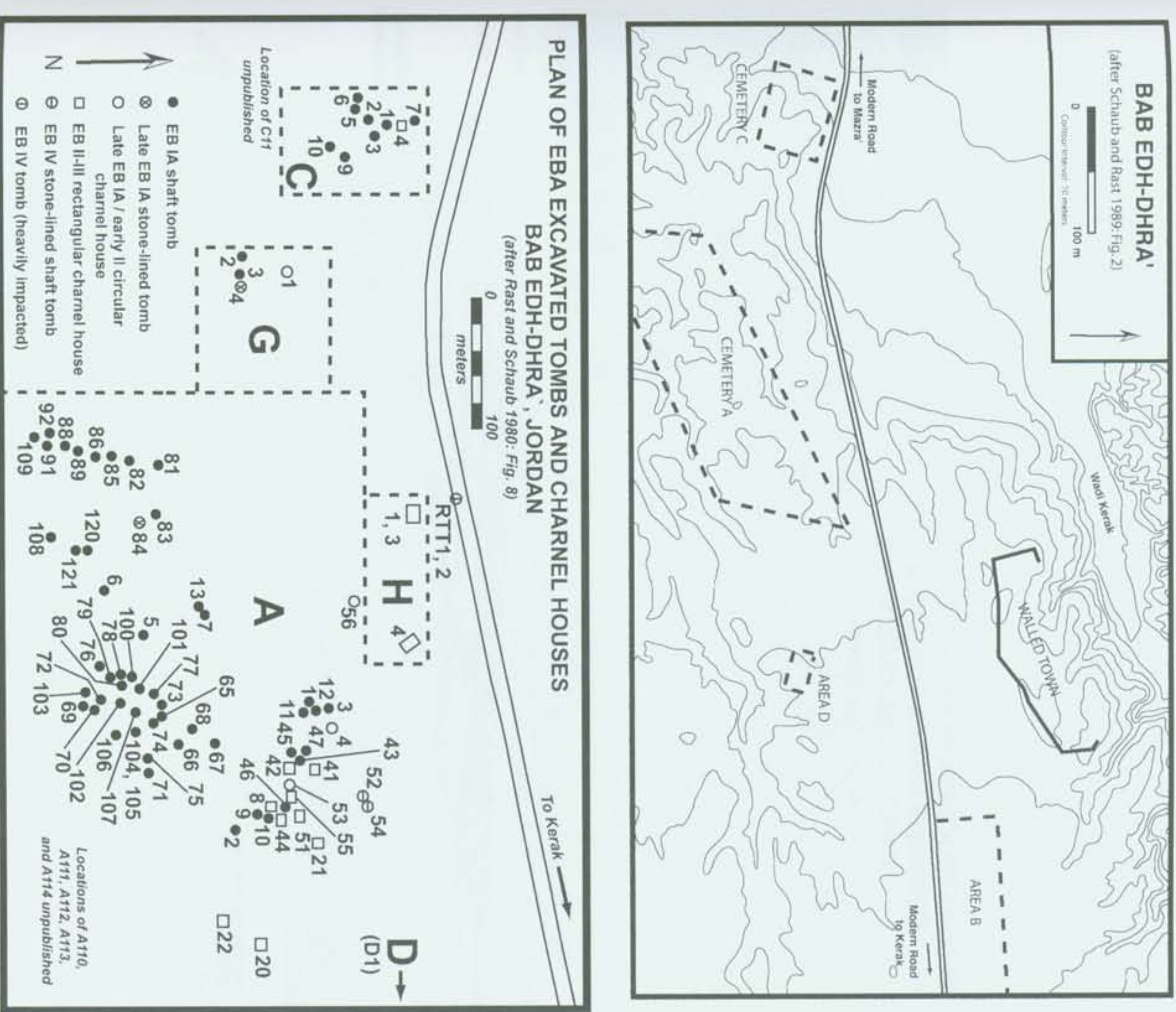

Figure 6.1. Map of Early Bronze Age Cemetery and Settlement Sites on the Southeastern Dead Sea Plain

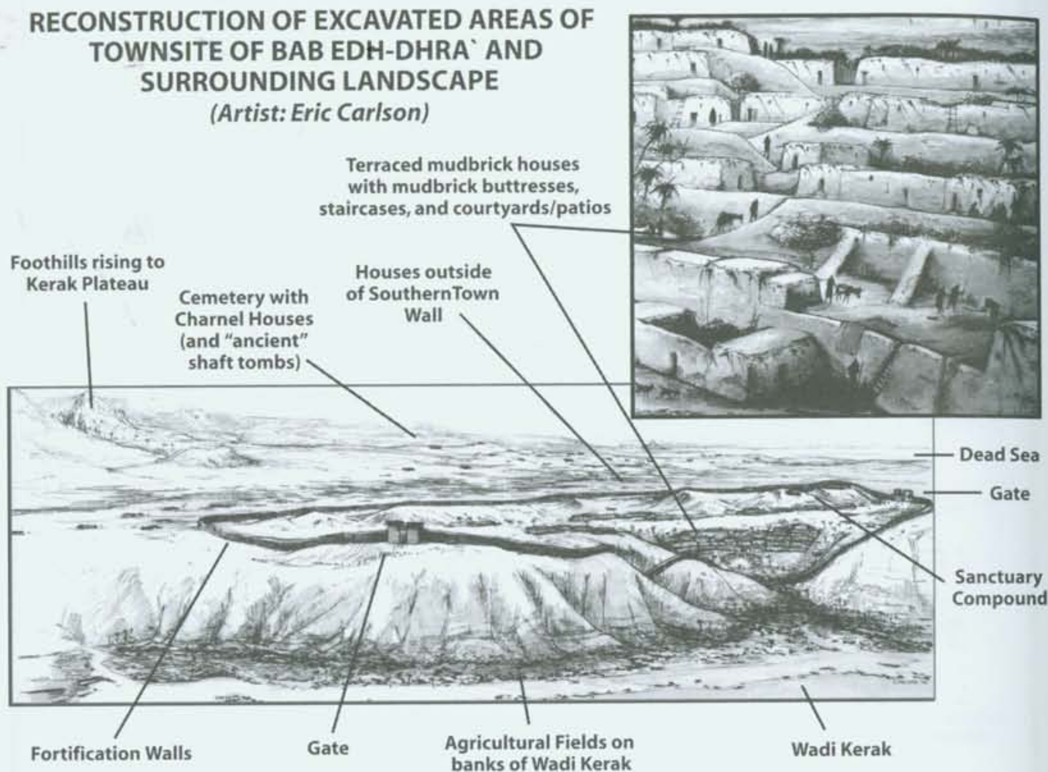

Figure 6.2. Reconstruction of the Walled Town of Bab edh-Dhra' (looking from the north across Wadi Kerak) and the Surrounding Landscape (artist Eric Carlson; reconstructions used with permission of artist)

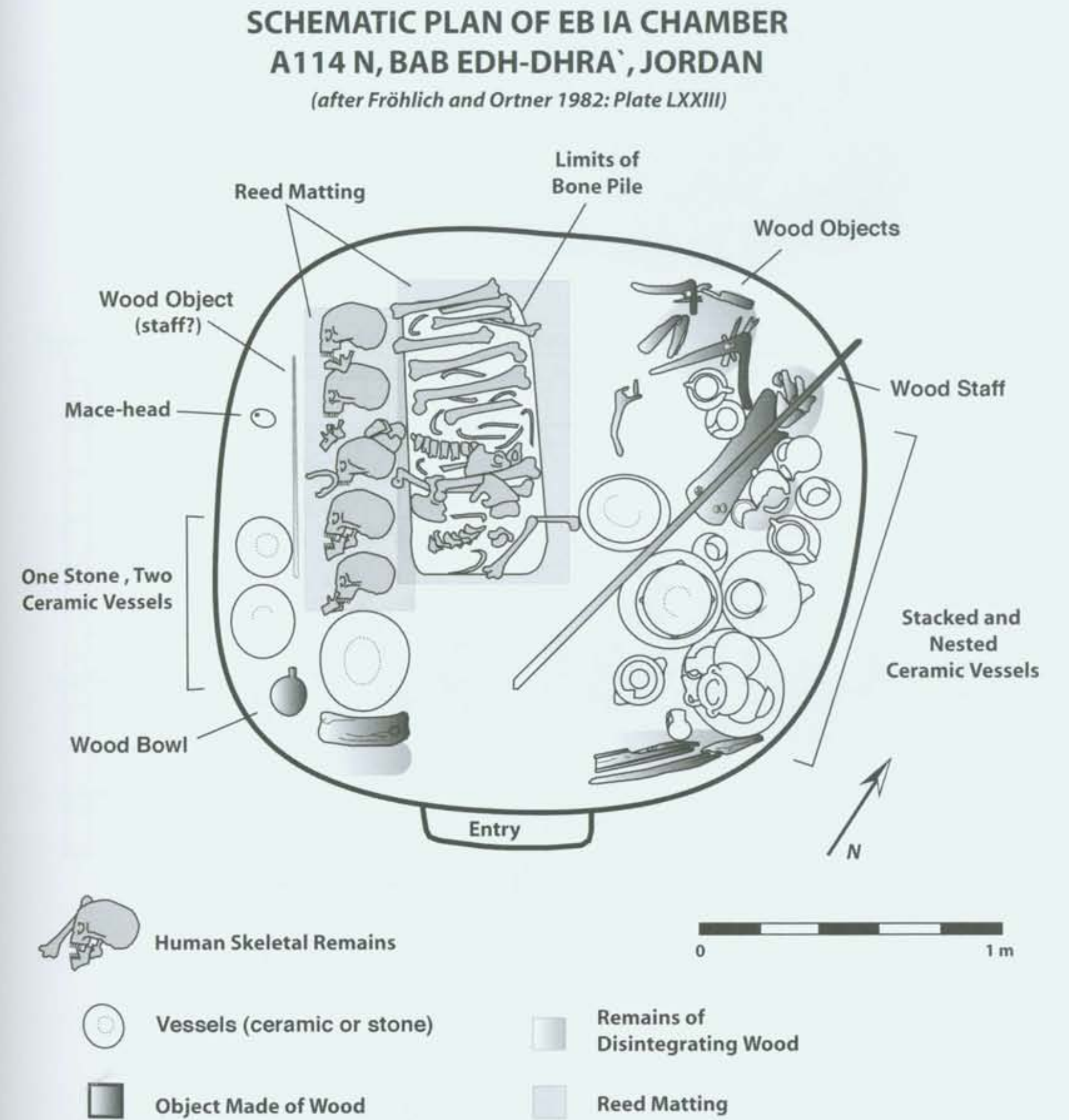

Figure 6.3. Schematic Plan of Early Bronze IA Shaft Tomb A114N. Bab edh-Dhra', Jordan

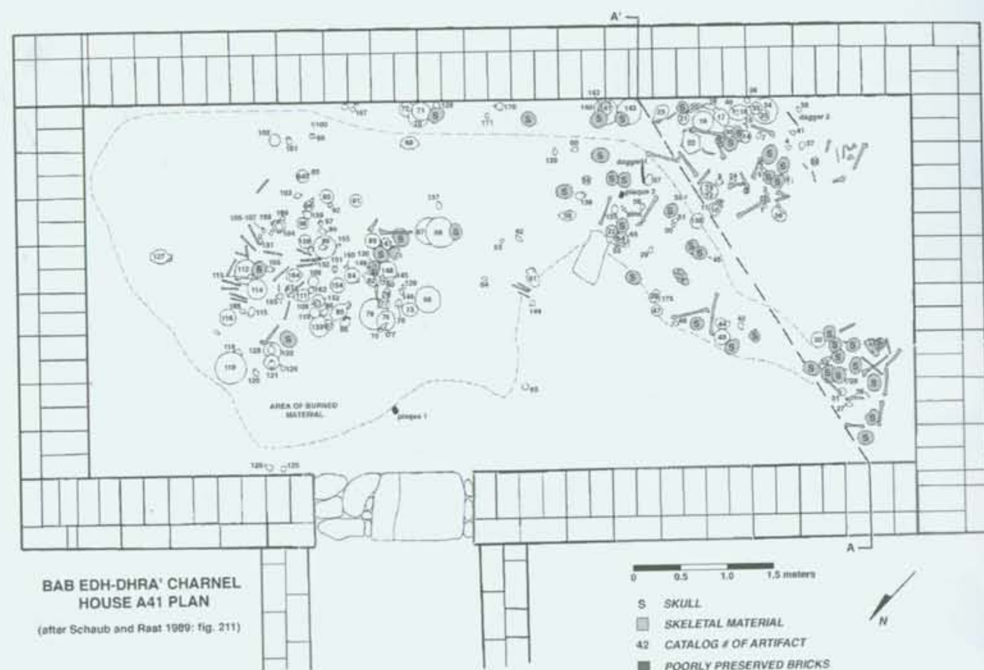

Figure 6.4. Plan of Charnel House A41. Bab edh-Dhra', Jordan

Figure 6.5. Reconstruction of Early Bronze II–III Charnel House at Bab edh-Dhra', Jordan (artist Eric Carlson; reconstructions used with permission of artist)

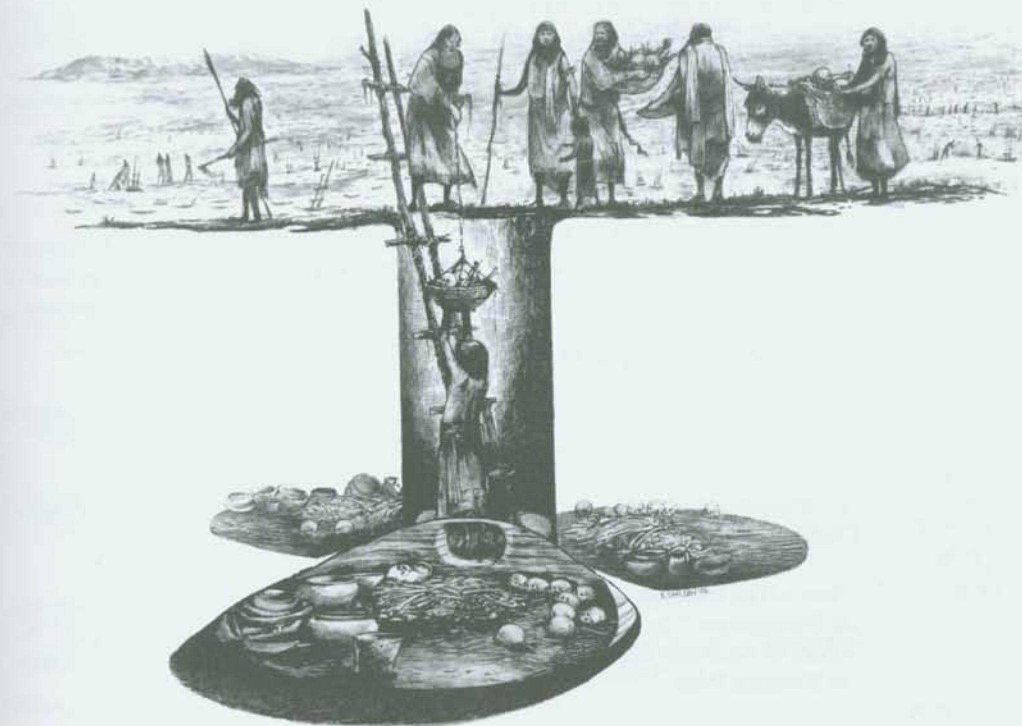

Figure 6.6. Reconstruction of Early Bronze IA Shaft Tomb at Bab edh-Dhra', Jordan (artist Eric Carlson; reconstructions used with permission of artist)

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