

PERFORMING DEATH

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

edited by

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STATUS, IDEOLOGY, AND MEMORY IN THIRD-MILLENNIUM SYRIA: “ROYAL” TOMBS AT UMM EL-MARRA

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In the study of early Near Eastern complex societies, Syria has functioned as a complement to Mesopotamia, the “cradle of civilization,” providing evidence of alternate trajectories to complexity and helping to dispel assumptions of Near Eastern urbanism as a uniform phenomenon (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003; Falconer and Savage 1995; Earle 1997: 64; Stein 1998: 15). Complex societies emerged in Syria during the Early Bronze Age (ca. 3000–2000 B.C.), with cities, states, urbanism, monumental architecture, writing, and intensified economic specialization discernible by at least 2500 B.C. (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 233–87). At Palace G at Ebla, a particularly graphic illustration of the new social reality, excavations revealed material evidence of an extraordinarily wealthy royal establishment that left thousands of cuneiform tablets detailing that institution’s administrative concerns (Matthiae, Pinnock, and Scandone-Matthiae 1995).

As is the case with most developing urban civilizations, Syrian complex societies were characterized by political and social inequality, in which an elite acquired a disproportionate share of political and economic power. While there may be evidence of both exclusionary and corporate configurations of power (Blanton 1998; Porter 2002a–b; Cooper 2006a–b), there is no question that urban societies in Syria were presided over by a relatively small number of individuals. The Ebla texts indicate that Ebla and other polities in third-millennium Syria were dominated by political actors that included kings, queens, and “elders,” the latter perhaps representatives of important kin groups (Archi 1988). In Syria, as with other early complex societies, a major challenge for archaeologists and historians is to determine how the dominant powerful individuals or groups acquired power, how they managed to retain it, and why the rest of the populace acquiesced or was compelled to accept the inequalities of the new social reality (Nelson 2002: 74).

One avenue allowing for a consideration of these issues is mortuary evidence, which has long served as a resource for studying past social systems. Archaeological approaches to mortuary data have evolved from a focus on social rank, based on the assumption that status differences in life are reflected in treatment upon death (Binford 1972; Saxe 1970), to the recognition that the lifetime status or accomplishments of the deceased may be substantially misrepresented in death: “funerals are lively, contested events where social roles are manipulated, acquired and discarded” (Parker Pearson 1999: 32). In the latter perspective, the focus is on the survivors and how they reaffirmed and renegotiated individual and group identities through the medium of mortuary ritual (e.g., Gillespie 2001). These differing perspectives may be

¹ I am grateful to Sally Dunham and Ted Lewis for reading and commenting on an earlier draft of this paper and to Macie Hall for her assistance in preparing the illustrations. Many of the ideas mentioned here were discussed

in the course of excavations at Umm el-Marra with Hans Curvers, Barbara Stuart, and other members of the expedition team.

conjoined in an integrative approach (Gamble, Walker, and Russell 2001; Chesson 1999) examining social organization and status in addition to considering the ways that survivors used mortuary ritual to construct social identity and accrue power and prestige.

In western Syria, an important consequence of recent work has been the discovery of monumental tombs with lavish contents located in the centers of communities. At sites in the Euphrates River valley like Jerablus Tahtani, Tell Ahmar, Tell Banat, Tell Bi'a, and Mari, funerary data allow for the consideration of changing social realities in the third millennium B.C. (Peltenburg 1999; Porter 2002a–b). Some 40 km west of the Euphrates, the excavations at Tell Umm el-Marra have recently provided a fresh and somewhat unusual infusion of elite mortuary data that allow for new perspectives on social hierarchy and its establishment in Early Bronze Age Syria. In this paper, I present data from Umm el-Marra and argue that the mortuary complex at the site can be understood as a materialization of elite ideology (DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996; Earle 1997: 143, 150) in which world views associated with central authority were made manifest in the physical world. Further, I argue that this ideology made consistent use of social memory to sanction elite authority, and that memory could be both emphasized and denied in the process of negotiating, contesting, and reinforcing social and political power.² In addition to the political aspects of the mortuary complex, I also attempt a brief foray into its interpretation as the site of religious ritual.

At about 25 hectares, Umm el-Marra is the largest Bronze Age site in the Jabbul plain of western Syria (figs. 3.1–2).³ The mound has been the subject of study by a joint expedition of the Johns Hopkins University and the University of Amsterdam since 1994 (Curvers and Schwartz 1997; Schwartz et al. 2000; Schwartz et al. 2003; Schwartz et al. 2006).⁴ In the Jabbul plain, rainfall agriculture is possible in the central and western zones, while the eastern zone is a dry steppe, historically the preserve of nomadic pastoralists. Located between these two environmental regions, Umm el-Marra may have functioned as an intermediary point for the exchange of products, information, and personnel. The site presumably also derived significance from its strategic location on a route leading from the Euphrates valley of Mesopotamia to areas farther west. Occupied throughout the Bronze Age, Umm el-Marra was probably a regional center subservient to major powers like Ebla and Aleppo; it has been tentatively identified as ancient Dub or Tuba, capital of a small kingdom mentioned frequently in the Ebla archives (Matthiae 1979; Catagnoli 1991).

THE UMM EL-MARRA MORTUARY COMPLEX

The tombs and related installations discovered at Umm el-Marra are located on a high point in the center of the site acropolis, a feature ca. 150 × 150 meters in area in the south cen-

² Social memory can be defined as “the construction of a collective notion (not an individual belief) about the way things were in the past” (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 2).

³ The area demarcated by and including the town ramparts is ca. 20 ha; the 25 ha estimate includes an indeterminate area north of the mound presently covered by village houses with indications of mounded topography and surface sherds (see Tefnin 1981/82, fig. 40).

⁴ The Umm el-Marra project is directed by Glenn Schwartz (Johns Hopkins University) and Hans Curvers (University of Amsterdam). We are grateful to the Directorate-General of Antiquities and Museums, Syria, for its support and encouragement. Among the major contributors to the project are the National Science Foundation (Grants SBR-9818205 and BCS-0137513), the National Geographic Society, the Arthur and Isadora Dellheim Foundation, and the Johns Hopkins University.

tral part of the site. On the Acropolis Center, six tombs have been excavated thus far,⁵ and their stratigraphy and contents indicate that they were built and used in a sequence that spanned two or three centuries, from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-third centuries (Schwartz et al. 2003; Schwartz et al. 2006). The tombs were often built adjacent to one another, with the complex expanding horizontally (fig. 3.3).

The two earliest tombs appear to be Tombs 5 and 6. Although Tomb 5 had been disturbed and its entry on the east blocked with boulders, pottery of the mid-third millennium and the bones of an adult male and an infant were found within.⁶ Tomb 6, the largest thus far discovered (ca. 9.6 × 4.8 m), was partly destroyed by Tomb 7 but contained the bones of an adult male partly found inside the remains of a wooden coffin, associated with gold and silver toggle pins and beads of lapis lazuli, gold, and carnelian. To the west, Tomb 3 had been much disturbed and its entry blocked, like Tomb 5. Also like Tomb 5, the remains of one adult and one adolescent were recovered.

In contrast to the disturbed Tombs 3, 5, and 6, Tomb 4 to the south contained a rich body of material deposited in two levels. In the lower level were three adult individuals, including a female interred secondarily. Jewelry of gold and silver, ivory hair ornaments, furniture inlays of ostrich shell (fig. 3.4), miniature basalt tables, and other objects were identified, including a pair of inlay statue eyes from a small square shaft in the tomb's northwest corner (fig. 3.5). The upper, later level of Tomb 4 (fig. 3.6) also contained three bodies: an adult male buried secondarily and the primary burials of a child and an adult female. In this layer were objects like gold toggle pins, silver headbands, a silver torque, and silver vessels. The secondary interments in Tomb 4 may represent bodies moved aside in order to make room for new ones. Alternatively, they may entail individuals who could not be interred until the proper time, for reasons such as ritual restrictions on the acceptable moments to place a body in the tomb or the need to accumulate the necessary resources for a proper (or impressively lavish) ceremony (Bloch 1971).

Next in the chronological sequence, Tomb 1 was preserved intact and contained three layers of bodies. At the top were two young women side by side,⁷ each with a baby, accompanied by furnishings of gold, silver, and lapis lazuli. In contrast, the layer below, apparently deposited at the same time, contained two adult males with a much smaller number of objects of silver and bronze, including in one case, a bronze dagger and spearhead, and a baby off to the side. Below them was an adult of ambiguous sex found with a fragmentary silver cup and toggle pins. Finally, the latest tomb, Tomb 7, dating to about the twenty-third century B.C., differs from the preceding tombs in its intrusion into the earlier Tomb 6 and in its multiple chambers, only one of which has so far been excavated, which included the remains of a child or young adolescent.

The mortuary complex included not only tombs but additional installations. These features contained the skeletal remains of animals, particularly equids, and sometimes human infants. Installation A, for example, contained four equids and the skeletal remains of a baby; Installation B contained two equids standing upright in two separate compartments, with the

⁵ For a detailed presentation of data from the tombs and discussion of their chronology, see Schwartz et al. 2003; Schwartz et al. 2006.

⁶ Aging and sexing of the skeletons in the Umm el-Marra tombs was conducted preliminarily by Barbara Stuart, with the assistance of Elaine Sullivan and Adam Maskevich, and by Bruno Frohlich and Judith Littelton

for Tomb 1. More detailed analysis by Ernest Batey (University of Arkansas) in 2006 has modified some of the preliminary conclusions.

⁷ Detailed skeletal analysis indicated that the identification of one of these individuals (Skeleton D) as female, previously questioned (Schwartz et al. 2003: 330), is probably correct (E. Batey pers. comm.).

skulls resting on a ledge next to a spouted jar (fig. 3.7:1). Also in this structure were two sets of three puppies and a human infant. Installation C contained another standing equid, while Installation D (fig. 3.8) had at least six equids, a spouted jar (fig. 3.7:3), and human infant remains, in addition to two equid skulls, a spouted jar (fig. 3.7:2), and a large jar containing the remains of three human infants⁸ deposited next to and slightly higher than the feature. One additional equid skeleton was found west of Installation D placed against the east wall of a structure of as yet unknown function. Clearly, the interment of animals, especially equids, as well as infants, accompanied by rituals of pouring implied by the spouted vessels, was an important component of the procedures enacted in the Acropolis Center mortuary complex.

The above data permit the consideration of numerous social issues including such variables as power, identity, and gender, but it should be remembered that analysis of the tomb contents is still in progress and many conclusions on the skeletal, faunal, and artifactual remains may require revision in the future. Further, only two of the tombs excavated thus far had contents that escaped substantial disturbance, so the acquisition of a larger tomb sample, if possible, is desirable.

SOCIAL IDENTITY

A diversity of evidence supports the conclusion that the Umm el-Marra mortuary complex was associated with individuals of high social rank, perhaps the highest in the community. Objects composed of rare and valuable materials like gold, silver, and lapis lazuli are generally associated with the elite in this period (Casanova 2000; Ross 1999).⁹ Further, the complex is located in a prominent and conspicuous part of the site: the structures were at least partly aboveground, located in the center of the site, and situated on a high point that would have dominated the rest of the community and provided a persistent visual landmark for all its inhabitants. The privileged position of this necropolis also implies the special character of the persons buried therein, a status underscored by the absence of adult burials in other excavated Bronze Age contexts at Umm el-Marra, suggesting that mature individuals were usually buried off-site.¹⁰ This pattern recalls that of nineteenth-century A.D. Madagascar (M. Bloch pers. comm.), where the tomb of the ruler was placed in the center of the community represented and embodied by that individual. Similarly, in Archaic Greek colonial cities, the founding heroes were buried in the community center while all other individuals were interred extramurally, emphasizing the special status and continuing role of the heroes in the communities they established (Malkin 1987; Ekroth 2002).¹¹

It could be argued that the costly grave goods of the Umm el-Marra tombs reflect aspirations to elite status as opposed to a general acceptance of high rank. Funerals may be opportunities for negotiating, contesting, and elevating social status, and wealthy contents of tombs

⁸ According to analysis by E. Batey (pers. comm.), the contents of this jar, previously reported to contain a single infant (Schwartz et al. 2003: 338), included the remains of three individuals.

⁹ Costin (1994: 155) notes that jewelry is often a good status marker because it is visible, requires considerable labor to produce, and is often made from rare and valuable materials.

¹⁰ At contemporaneous sites in the Euphrates River valley to the east, non-elite persons were usually buried in sub-

terranean graves in extramural cemeteries, while monumental tombs were often intramural and aboveground (Carter and Parker 1995). Apart from the Acropolis Center mortuary complex, the only funerary interments recognized at Umm el-Marra in the third millennium are one or possibly two (Tefnin 1980: 90) sub-floor infant jar burials identified in the Acropolis East.

¹¹ Biblical sources also suggest that the kings of Judah were buried in a royal necropolis inside the walls of Jerusalem while other individuals were interred extramurally (Xella 1995: 2068).

do not necessarily imply a lofty social position for the occupants (D'Altroy 2001: 468). While the material remains in the Umm el-Marra tombs — as well as the tombs themselves — doubtless reflect competition, negotiation, and pretensions to power, it is nevertheless probable that the persons buried within and/or their survivors enjoyed a high status in the community, given the central and dominant location of the tombs and their consistent use over several centuries. It is unlikely that the community would have tolerated the burial of a group of lower ranking individuals with pretensions to higher status in such a conspicuous and central location over the long term.

While it is probable that the individuals in the Umm el-Marra tombs were accorded high status in their community, their grave wealth might elicit the question of whether they were provincial poseurs, putting on airs otherwise reserved for elites at the great centers like Ebla and Mari.¹² However, the presence of similar costly and well-crafted tomb objects at other mid-size centers (Banat) as well as smaller sites (Jerablus Tahtani) suggests that the elite individuals at Umm el-Marra were not abnormal in the quality and quantity of luxury materials in their tombs. Indeed, it is likely that the elites of this period at both large and small centers competed with one another in the display of mortuary architecture and funerary wealth. Lisa Cooper (2006b) proposes a model of peer polity interaction in which the elites of early urban Syria emulated one another's behaviors and symbols in order to impress not only the members of their own polities, but also their rivals elsewhere. Presumably the display of funerary objects prior to or during the funeral would provide an opportunity for onlookers to appreciate the resources expended on the occasion, and word would soon spread of opulence or parsimony (Scurlock 1991).

Given their elite status, can further details of the social identity of the tomb occupants be inferred? Considering the chronological sequence, the relatively small number of individuals per tomb, and the diversity of ages represented, it seems appropriate to posit that the tombs contained members of a series of important families or dynasties.¹³ If Umm el-Marra was the center of an autonomous polity, those interred in the tombs could be understood as members of the families of local rulers. According to the Ebla texts, Tuba had a king and a queen, as well as an individual with the title "little king" (Archi 1999). It could be protested that the objects in the tombs, while of high quality, are not as elaborate or abundant as those from royal graves from third-millennium Ur in southern Mesopotamia or Qatna in second-millennium western Syria (Zettler and Horne 1998; al-Maqdissi et al. 2003). At Umm el-Marra, no individual is associated with gold objects weighing more than 200 grams, far less than that of the gold artifacts disbursed for the funerals of high-ranking Eblaite persons as detailed in Ebla administrative texts (Archi 2002), some of whom received a total of 1,000 or even 2,000 grams of gold objects in their funerary gifts. However, the relative simplicity of the contents of the Umm el-Marra tombs might be understood as a reflection of Umm el-Marra's status as the center of a small polity of minor influence, as opposed to the great centers of power like Ebla and Mari. It is to be expected that there would be substantial differences between the resources collected and expended at the wealthiest and most politically influential cities and those of lesser status. It is also possible that the individuals in the Umm el-Marra tombs were not independent

¹² In the second millennium B.C., for example, it is suggested that Near Eastern rulers tried to enhance their status through acquisition and display of luxury items otherwise associated with more powerful rulers (Feldman 2006).

¹³ Bioarchaeological analysis of the skeletal materials to determine possible genetic relationships is ongoing but has not yet yielded definitive results.

hegemons but were high-ranking administrators and their families subordinate to rulers based elsewhere, for example, at Ebla or Aleppo.

The Ebla texts also refer to elders of Tuba, as they do for many other towns in later third-millennium Syria (Archi 1988), and it is possible that the interred individuals at Umm el-Marra were not rulers but high-ranking members of important kin groups or of other factions. In this scenario, the individuals could have belonged to groups with different power bases, for example, with religious as opposed to military associations (Sugiyama 2004). Given the proximity of the steppe, one might suggest that some of the high-ranking persons interred at Umm el-Marra were lineage heads of nomadic pastoralist groups whose migratory activities were partly concentrated in this region.¹⁴

How does one distinguish between tombs belonging to members of an exclusionary ruling group as opposed to diverse factions with different power bases? If symbols of membership in groups of the latter type were associated with specific individuals in the tombs, they might provide data to support a corporate interpretation. The greater number and character of objects found with the women in Umm el-Marra Tomb 4, for example, have engendered the hypothesis that these individuals served as priestesses in a local cult (Dunham 2005; Schwartz et al. 2006). However, social actors can belong to more than one group (e.g., religious specialists may also have political associations, etc.; Yoffee 2005: 37; D'Altroy 2001: 454), and the identification of such group affiliations is not necessarily inferred easily from material remains in tombs. In the case of elders, we might observe that the Ebla texts refer to individual kings and queens in a single community but use the term "elders" in the plural, which suggests that elders and their families should be more numerous per generation than is implied thus far by the tombs at Umm el-Marra.¹⁵

When considering the question of social identity, it is fitting to recall that it is often difficult to ascertain the role and affiliation of individuals in elite burials even with the availability of written materials. In the case of the Royal Cemetery of Ur in southern Mesopotamia, the wealthiest elite cemetery of the third-millennium Near East, debate has continued for decades on the identity of the tomb occupants, with royalty, religious specialists, and representatives of public households among the posited options (Moorey 1977; Pollock 1991, this volume; Marchesi 2004).

The Ebla texts reveal that the royal palace often donated gifts to be used in the funerals of members of the elite at Ebla and at other places (Archi 2002). Included are various types of personal ornaments, many of which are matched by those found in the tombs at Umm el-Marra, including toggle pins, torques, headbands, frontlets, bracelets, beads, and small vessels of precious metal. The possibility exists, therefore, that some of the objects of precious materials found in the Umm el-Marra tombs were donated by a central authority, either at Umm el-Marra, Ebla or elsewhere, rather than being the personal possessions of the deceased individuals. Why rulers should have thought it appropriate to bestow funerary gifts is not articulated, but such donations may have been intended to reinforce ties of loyalty to the crown as well as to involve the royal establishment in the most important *rites du passage*, underlining its role as patron. The inclusion of such gifts in funerals provides an illustration of the tendency for funerals to reflect, not just the achievements and social status of the deceased individuals, but the intentions and acts of survivors and other members of the society with their own distinct agendas and statements to make.

¹⁴ I am grateful to Thomas McClellan for this suggestion.

¹⁵ We should be aware, however, that the number of individuals in the disturbed Tombs 3, 5, and 6 may have been greater than that currently attested.

ANCESTOR VENERATION — AND DESECRATION

Edgar Peltenburg (1999) has observed that the conspicuous, aboveground character of third-millennium intramural mortuary monuments in Syria implies that these monuments played an important role in the life of their communities after the death of the interred individuals. The illustrious dead and the living stayed in close proximity, with the dead remaining part of the community (Meskell and Joyce 2003: 42). Given the visibility of the high-ranking dead within the living communities, I follow Peltenburg in proposing that the individuals buried in such conspicuous monumental tombs were venerated as ancestors, in rituals that occurred repeatedly and persisted long after the death of the interred persons.¹⁶ At Umm el-Marra, support for this hypothesis includes not only the centrality and visibility of the mausoleums but also indications of offerings brought to tombs after the interment of the individuals within: both Tombs 3 and 4 contain evidence of ceramic and silver vessels and other objects at higher elevations than the majority of materials deposited on the tomb floors.¹⁷ At Ebla, further support for this hypothesis is provided by textual evidence attesting to a tradition of offerings made by the reigning ruler and his wife to deceased kings as well as other evidence of cultic attention devoted to royal ancestors (Fronzaroli 1993; Archi 2001). It is important to note, bearing in mind the occupants of the Umm el-Marra tombs, that examples of ancestor veneration attested in diverse societies have included women and children as well as adult males (McAnany 1995; Bloch 1971).

Presumably the immediate purpose of ancestor veneration was to appease the ghosts of the deceased so that they would assist their living descendants and refrain from harming them. In Mesopotamia and second-millennium Syria (Lewis 1989: 31), it was understood that a failure to perform proper rituals for the dead could result in angry ghosts haunting the living and causing misfortune. Conversely, proper care of the dead could result in blessings conferred by ancestors upon the living. Such blessings would, in the case of rulers, insure not only the well-being of the ruling individuals but also of the dynastic succession and the polity itself (Richardson 1999–2001: 194).

Apart from the religious benefits, it is probable that the elites of Umm el-Marra and other centers in western Syria also found the veneration of elite ancestors useful for the reinforcement and legitimization of their authority and status. When deceased members of high-ranking families are interred in conspicuous monuments and receive continued veneration, surviving members of the elite acquire and maintain prestige through their association with the revered dead (Milner 1984; Lewis and Stout 1998). The past is used to legitimize the social order of the present, whose inequalities are presented as natural and inevitable. Just as there were powerful leaders in the past, so the same should continue to apply in the present (Yoffee 2005: 39).

The mortuary complex at Umm el-Marra can be read, therefore, as a materialization of elite ideology (DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996).¹⁸ Deceased members of the elite were to be treated as revered ancestors, a principle given physical form through the mortuary monuments constructed in the midst of the community. These conspicuous and long-standing monu-

¹⁶ See also Porter (2002) for an extensive discussion of the role of ancestor veneration in third-millennium Syria.

¹⁷ In the upper level of Tomb 4, at least three ceramic vessels as well as fragments of bone combs, a miniature bronze chisel, and a silver bowl were discovered at an elevation considerably higher than the floor, where the great majority of finds were located. Five ceramic ves-

sels were found well above the floor in Tomb 3.

¹⁸ "... ideologies are given concrete, physical form. This process is the *materialization of ideology*. We argue that ideology is materialized in the form of ceremonies, symbolic objects, monuments, and writing systems to become an effective source of power" (DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996: 16).

ments continuously reinforced social hierarchy and served as a means by which the past validated and explained the present. The monuments functioned as symbols of the social order and affirmed that a social order consisting of rulers and ruled was proper and long-lasting.

In other examples of elite ancestor veneration, for example, in Classic Maya or Inca societies, the ceremonial reverence extended toward ancestors was appropriated from pre-existing religious concepts (Curet and Oliver 1998; McAnany 1995, 2001; Lau 2002; Lucero 2003). In earlier periods, all members of the society were understood to share a common ancestor, an idea that served to reinforce communality. When social hierarchies developed, ancestor veneration was reconfigured to legitimize and sanction the power and status of the new elites, who claimed closer proximity to important ancestors. The same pattern might be expected for third-millennium Syria, but more evidence will be required to support or reject such a proposition. If communal beliefs and practices were transformed into elite ideology, it will be appropriate to explore how and why this process occurred; one might propose that individuals striving for power either co-opted — or themselves served as — religious specialists who could assist in the project (McAnany 2001).

While elite ancestor veneration can be used to reinforce authority, some ancestors may not retain their exalted status over the long term. Tombs 3 and 5 at Umm el-Marra are distinct from the other tombs in that they were seriously disturbed, robbed of non-ceramic artifacts, and had their entrances blocked. I have hypothesized (Schwartz et al. 2006) that these phenomena are material manifestations of intentional desecrations meant to put the tombs out of commission, perpetrated by persons who wanted to sever the connection between the living community and the persons buried in the tombs. Presumably such an event occurred as the result of power shifting between conflicting factions, families, or powerful individuals. This is a process that Arlen and Diane Chase have termed “transformational reentry” in their work on Maya elite burials (Chase and Chase 2005). Had these disturbances been the act of ordinary robbers, one would not expect the thieves to have carefully blocked the entrances after they left. Had they been the result of reverential removal of bones for relocation elsewhere, such indiscriminate smashing of pottery or the retention of so much skeletal material would not be expected.¹⁹ While it is usually assumed that disturbance of wealthy graves was an act of avarice on the part of robbers, we should be alert to the possibility of deliberate desecration for political or social reasons.²⁰

¹⁹ An alternative scenario might be posed, however, such as robbers burglarized the tomb, then the tomb entry was blocked by authorities in order to prevent further disturbance. Blocking access to the tomb would impede future rituals of veneration taking place inside the tomb, but perhaps a looted tomb was considered to have been divested of its spiritual power.

²⁰ Ancient Near Eastern rulers often feared the disturbance or removal of their remains after death, as the funerary inscription of Eshmunazar of Sidon (fifth century B.C.) makes clear:

“... Whoever you are, ruler and (ordinary) man, may he not open this resting-place and may he not search in it for anything, for nothing whatever has been placed into it! May he not take the casket in which I am resting, and may he not carry me away

from this resting-place to another resting place! Even if people goad you, do not listen to their talk, for any ruler and any man who shall open this resting-place or who shall take up the casket in which I am resting or who shall carry me away from this resting-place — may they not have a resting-place with the shades, may they not be buried in a grave, and may they not have son and seed to take their place! ...” (Pritchard 1969: 662).

For an example of the robbing of a royal tomb by a later, hostile, dynasty, see the removal of bronze objects from the tomb of Iahdun-lim by the agents of Iasmah-Addu in early second-millennium B.C. Mari (Ziegler 2000:17). This is not a case of tomb desecration for ideological reasons, however, but for the purpose of manufacturing weapons from the recycled bronze.

According to James Whitley (2002), who warns of “too many ancestors,” archaeologists have been too quick to employ ancestor veneration to explain patterns in their data. While this may be true for prehistoric Europe, ancestor veneration is probably far from the point of over-use for early Near Eastern complex societies, given textual evidence that indicates that ancestor veneration was of substantial importance (Katz this volume). Nevertheless, hypotheses of ancestor veneration should be tested carefully before they can be accepted. A weakness of our present interpretation, for example, is the assumption that the veneration of elite ancestors took place at their tombs. It is not clear from the Ebla texts that such rites were conducted at the ancestral tombs, and the Mesopotamian textual record is similarly vague (Katz this volume; Richardson 1991–2001).²¹

SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The evidence from Umm el-Marra and sites in the Euphrates valley has revealed that the building of ostentatious and conspicuous intramural funerary monuments was common in the third quarter of the third millennium B.C. in western Syria. This period marked the first florescence of urban, complex society in the region, including the advent of hierarchical political systems dominated by kings and associated elites, as noted in detail in the texts from Ebla, Mari, and Beydar. When rulers die, the social order is threatened, all the more so if the ruler has become a symbol of the unity of the polity. This danger is particularly acute when the institution of rulership is relatively new (Morris this volume). One way to counter this challenge is to keep the rulers, and the symbolism associated with them, present among the living even after death (Kertzer 1988: 18). Such a practice smoothes the transition to the next ruler, and the visibility and rituals associated with ancestral rulers assist in legitimizing the existing elite. As a result, elite funerary ostentation, visibility, and ancestor veneration are typically associated with newly emergent or unstable political systems (Metcalf and Huntington 1991; Parker Pearson 1999: 87; Childe 1945). However, once the new political order is well established, the need for funerary ostentation often declines, resulting in “cycles of ostentation” (Morris 1992). Perhaps the decreasing size of the tombs in the Umm el-Marra mortuary complex (from Tomb 6, the largest, to the smaller Tombs 3 and 4, to the smallest Tomb 1) can be understood in this context: as the power of the elite was more solidly established, less energy could be expended on their mortuary monuments.

The disappearance of conspicuous intramural elite tombs in the last quarter of the third millennium is presumably associated with the instability and decentralization that occurred in this period, when many cities were abandoned or lost their centralizing functions (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 282–87; Cooper 2006a–b). The causes for this “collapse” have been much debated and include such variables as climatic desiccation, human-induced environmental degradation, and military depredations from the Sargonic dynasts of southern Mesopotamia. Not all urban-based rulership disappeared, as is evinced by the evidence from Ebla, but no ostentatious and conspicuous funerary monuments are associated with the rulers who retained authority. If this pattern is not the result of the vagaries of archaeological discovery, it might be attributed to the rulers’ lack of resources, the absence of competition with other kings over

²¹ At Emar in the Late Bronze Age, ceremonies during the month of Abī included a ritual conducted “at the gate of the grave” concurrent with the presentation of offerings to *abu* shrines at the palace and in various temples

(Fleming 2000: 85–86). Fleming suggests that these activities concern rituals honoring deceased ancestors. If so, this would be provide a rare instance of a text specifying rituals of ancestral veneration transpiring at a tomb.

mortuary display, or a lessened need to legitimize authority, the institutions of rulership having been in place for many centuries.

When large, hierarchical polities reappear in profusion in the early second millennium, evidence for conspicuous funerary ostentation continues to be lacking (cf. the Ebla “royal” tombs, well provisioned but underground below the Western Palace floors; Matthiae 1997a). Despite the need to solidify their rule, the new Amorite rulers of the second millennium employed other means of legitimization. That they did not completely ignore their predecessors is clear from the institution of the *kispum*, a feast held in celebration of deceased rulers,²² but the construction of conspicuous funerary monuments is only one of a set of choices that the Amorite rulers would have had available for the purposes of legitimizing and strengthening their rule.

GENDER

In the Umm el-Marra tombs, there is little or no gender-specificity with respect to objects and their association with bodies of different sexes. Almost every object type is associated with individuals of either sex (e.g., beads, ivory hair ornaments, toggle pins, headbands, frontlets, bracelets, and shell discs). An important difference between the sexes is manifested, however, in the best-preserved Tombs 1 and 4: adult females have much larger collections of objects, especially those of precious materials, than men. Curiously, this same pattern can be observed in lists of objects meted out by the Ebla palace for use in the funerals of high-ranking individuals, objects that are often the same types as those found in the Umm el-Marra tombs (Archi 2002). One might suggest that such a pattern indicates higher status or power for women, were it not for much additional textual data from Ebla that suggest otherwise: men are the primary actors in the public realm. Women’s grave finery may have conveyed associative status (Parker Pearson 1999: 99), intended to communicate the power and wealth of male relatives or families. Perhaps women wore elaborate and attention-getting jewelry — in life and in death — in order to mark their status as “possessions” of men or their availability for that status. Further development of this important issue will be reserved for another context, but it should be noted that the earlier hypothesis of high-ranking women buried above lower ranking men in Tomb 1 (Schwartz et al. 2003) is weakened by the evidence from Tomb 4 that indicates that high-ranking women were generally buried with more grave wealth than high-ranking men.

BURIAL AS RELIGIOUS CEREMONY

As John Robb (this volume) observes, mortuary ritual is not only about politics, despite the archaeological focus on the latter variable.²³ At Umm el-Marra, the tomb contents allow for possible inferences on burial ritual as religious ceremony, but it must be acknowledged that these inferences will largely be preliminary and speculative.

Given Near Eastern textual sources as well as diverse data from other regions, we might expect the tomb contents to include, in addition to the physical remains of the deceased, personal belongings of the deceased, provisions intended for the afterlife, gifts for deities of the

²² In contrast to elite veneration of the third millennium that honored specific rulers, the *kispum* celebrated previous kings as a collective body. Porter (2002b) suggests that this trend denotes a shift from exclusionary power at third-millennium sites like Ebla to a more corporate form

of authority in the early second-millennium Amorite-ruled polities.

²³ Winter (1999: 230) tellingly observes that ritual and the archaeology of mortuary practice are rarely explicitly connected.

netherworld, or the remains of ritual performances taking place at the tomb (Winter 1999; Katz this volume). The most abundantly attested object type in the Umm el-Marra tombs is pottery, with many scores of vessels included in the tombs that did not suffer serious disturbance.²⁴ As in other well-furnished Early Bronze Age Syrian tombs (see, e.g., Porter 1995), there is a marked diversity of vessel types and shapes: cups, bowls, small and large jars, and, in Tomb 1, large storage vessels. Both “common” wares and luxury wares are in evidence. The one major category conspicuous in its absence is cooking ware, with the exception of a large bowl from Tomb 4. One presumes that the vessels originally contained foodstuffs and potable liquids, and it might be posited that the vessels were included in order to provide food and drink for the deceased individuals in the afterlife, installed at the time of the funeral or added gradually in later years.²⁵ Contemporaneous Near Eastern texts underscore the importance of providing deceased ancestors with food and drink for their sustenance in the afterlife. Unfortunately, they usually fail to indicate where such offerings are to be placed, or whether the funeral should include a substantial provision of such materials (Katz this volume).

It is also possible that the ceramic vessels, including vessels for storing, presenting, and consuming food and drink, represent remnants of a funerary banquet or banquets (Forest 1987). Feasting has been recognized as an important mode of social integration as well as exclusion in early complex societies and has often been observed in funerary contexts (Pollock 2003; Bray 2003). In Syro-Mesopotamia, the *kispum* feast attested in the second millennium B.C. was held in honor of ancestors, usually deceased kings; the locus of these feasts is ambiguous (Tsukimoto 1985). The banquet termed the *marzeah* in Ugaritic and biblical sources also appears to have a mortuary connection but is unlikely to have taken place at the tomb (Lewis 1989).

In third-millennium Syria, the discovery of numerous “champagne vessels” in the monumental Tomb 302 at Jerablus Tahtani has been interpreted to reflect a mortuary feast (Peltenburg 1999).²⁶ Similar evidence has not yet been produced from Umm el-Marra. While the numerous ceramic vessels in the tombs might be interpreted as the remains of a feast, there is no reason to prefer this interpretation over an understanding of the vessels as being intended, along with their contents, for use in the afterlife. Although the segments of animals found in the Umm el-Marra tombs are probably to be understood as joints of meat, it is difficult to judge whether these are the remains of a feast or provisions for the afterlife; certainly, the inclusion of entire animals in tombs cannot be understood as banquet leftovers.²⁷ The only substantial hint of funerary feasting at Umm el-Marra is supplied by the oversized cooking ware bowl in the southeast corner of Tomb 4, suggestive of communal consumption (Bunimovitz and Greenberg 2004).

²⁴ Even Tomb 3, which was much disturbed, contained sixty-two reconstructable vessels.

²⁵ In two cases, vessels placed directly on or near the body might supply further support for the provision of the deceased with food or drink for the afterlife: in the lower level of Tomb 4, Skeleton E, although disturbed, had a small cup lying next to the mouth of the skull, and Skeleton B in the upper level of the same tomb had a small ribbed conical cup lying smashed on the chest.

²⁶ Evidence of feasting has also been inferred in the lavishly furnished royal hypogeum of mid-second-millennium B.C. Qatna (al-Maqdissi et al. 2003). However, an-

imal bones found beneath stone benches in room 1 might also be understood as joints of meat placed in the tomb for the consumption or use of the deceased individuals.

²⁷ The faunal remains in the Umm el-Marra tombs were analyzed by Jill Weber, who reports that there are no cut marks visible on the whole animals (sheep/goat in Tomb 6, bovid in Tomb 3), making it unlikely that they were eaten. Cut marks are visible on the joints of meat, but the marks appear to be from dismemberment, not filleting. Animals represented in the tombs include sheep/goat (usually the most common type), cattle, dog, equid, goose, duck, hare, pig, fox, weasel, frog, and shrew.

The ceramic vessels from Tombs 5, 3, 4, and 1 and a small number of silver vessels from Tomb 4 include examples of spouted jars, which corroborates the importance of the pouring of liquids and, presumably, of libations in tombs inferred elsewhere (Winter 1999; Porter 2002b: 21). Among the spouted vessels found in Tomb 3 and in both levels of Tomb 4 are one example each of a squat spouted jar with a corrugated shoulder and a spouted jar with a tall ridged neck, a rim with an interior groove to accommodate a lid,²⁸ and a long spout (fig. 3.7:4–5). Although they could have contained materials intended for consumption in the afterlife, it is tempting to see these vessels as a set used for the pouring of liquids in funerary rituals. Winter (1999) has proposed diverse uses for spouted vessels in funerary contexts in Mesopotamia, including libation, washing of the corpse, and ritual hand washing.²⁹ The latter entailed the pouring of water over the hands of funerary participants into a smaller vessel catching the water, a ceremony that may have been intended to purify the funerary participants after their contact with death.³⁰

The spouted vessels found in association with the equid sacrificial installations (fig. 3.7:1–3) also suggest the importance of the ritual pouring of liquids. Whether this consisted of libations of potable liquids, the collection and pouring out of the animals' blood, or another use remains to be determined. It might be noted that the ceremonies of equid sacrifice associated with the conclusion of treaties in early second-millennium B.C. Syria were accompanied by drinking an unspecified beverage from a cup (Lafont 2001: 266).

In Tombs 4 and 1 are found numerous examples of small ceramic "Syrian bottles," often thought to have served as containers for perfumes, oils, or unguents (Mazzoni 1994). In Mesopotamia, funerary ritual may include the anointing of the corpse with oil (Gadotti 2005: 291) as well as applying sweet oil to the hands of the funeral participants (Katz this volume). The association of Syrian bottles with the bodies in Tomb 1 may add support to an interpretation of their having been used for anointing the corpse, although the Syrian bottles in Tomb 4 are not found directly on the bodies. If the Syrian bottles, spouted vessels, or other receptacles are to be interpreted as vestiges of funerary ritual, they were presumably left at the grave and not used for subsequent purposes by the survivors due to ritual or religious reasons.

Apart from pottery, objects found in the tombs include bronze weapons and ornaments, basalt miniature tables and a grinding implement, ornaments of shell and stone, cockle shells containing kohl, a pair of shell and stone eye inlays, and objects of precious materials such as gold, silver, and lapis lazuli. The objects of precious materials are primarily items of personal adornment (e.g., bracelets, torques, beads, pendants, headbands, toggle pins). Such objects may have been possessions of the deceased individuals in life, items specifically reserved for funerals, or objects intended as gifts to netherworld deities. At present, it is difficult to select which of these options, if not others, seems most apt. In several cases, the ornaments were worn on the body (e.g., the pendants, cylinder seal, and beads on Skeleton A in Tomb 1), but in others the ornaments were found in a group adjacent to the body (e.g., Skeleton B in Tomb 1, Skeletons B and F in Tomb 4).

²⁸ A Syrian bottle with the same kind of rim was found in the upper layer of Tomb 4 (Schwartz et al. 2006, fig. 27:4).

²⁹ Mesopotamian texts often refer to the importance of survivors pouring water as part of their duties in caring for their deceased relatives, although it is not specified whether this act takes place in the tomb (Bayliss 1973). See also the use of oil for ritual purification of members

of the family after the death of a relative, attested in the Ebla texts (Biga 2003: 351, 353).

³⁰ One squat spouted jar with a corrugated shoulder from the lower level of Tomb 4 contained a small cup inside, as did several jars without spouts, indicating that the two vessel types were used together, perhaps in ceremonies of ritual hand washing.

In addition to jewelry of precious materials, the Umm el-Marra tombs also contained small numbers of silver vessels: one example in Tomb 1 (lowest level) and seven in Tomb 4 (upper level; figs. 3.9, 3.10:1–7). In Tomb 4, five of the vessels were deposited together with a large number of ceramic vessels in the northwest part of the tomb, while a silver (fig. 3.10:3) and a bronze bowl (fig. 3.10:8) were found by themselves in the area between Skeletons B and C,³¹ a silver bowl was located in the soil above Skeleton C, and a goblet and two silver cup fragments were situated below Skeleton C. It appears, therefore, that the vessels were not placed in the tomb as a discrete set and, in the majority of cases, they were installed in the tomb together with pottery vessels.³² It is curious that the silver vessels found in Tomb 4 are so small — perhaps only small quantities of precious liquids (perfumes, oils?) were being used with them.

Other objects found in the Umm el-Marra tombs pose similar questions of interpretation and function. The three miniature basalt tables in the lower level of Tomb 4 associated with Skeletons E and F might be understood as implements for grinding cosmetics, perhaps intended to provide a luxurious existence in the afterlife. Bronze weapons found in Tombs 1, 4, and 6 may be personal possessions, markers of manhood (although a spearhead was possibly associated with the female Skeleton B in the upper level of Tomb 4), provision for life in the underworld, or some combination of the above. Three bronze pegs were deposited in the upper level of Tomb 4 at some distance from the skeletons, and Sally Dunham has suggested the possibility that they are linchpins, perhaps substitutes for wheeled vehicles intended to convey the deceased in the afterlife (Schwartz et al. 2006).

Apart from portable artifacts in the tombs, one can observe that evidence from Tombs 1, 4, and 6 indicates that adults in primary interments were provided with rectangular coffins or receptacles for the body made of organic or other materials, sometimes coated with lime plaster. The secondary burials in both levels of Tomb 4 also bear indications that the bones had originally been placed in a box or container of organic materials. When evidence survived, as in Tombs 1 and 4, the bodies of primary interments were oriented approximately east–west, with the head facing west. In each well-preserved primary interment (Tomb 1 Skeletons A–D, Tomb 4 Skeletons A–B), the legs were flexed, as well as one or both of the arms.

It is to be hoped that the acquisition of more data from the Umm el-Marra mortuary complex as well as further analysis of data already collected will help to refine and expand our understanding of the rituals performed at that complex. However, the discernment of meaning and religious belief from material remains will always pose special challenges, and we are likely to understand only a fraction of the funerary behaviors and meanings involved in the creation and maintenance of the Umm el-Marra complex.

EQUID INSTALLATIONS AND INFANT INTERMENTS

The striking incidence of installations with the skeletons of equids, other animals, and human infants provides further evidence of the richness and peculiarity of the mortuary behavior at Umm el-Marra. While texts have already indicated the symbolic and social significance of equids in mid-third-millennium Syro-Mesopotamia (Archi 1998; Oates, Oates, and McDonald 2001: 286), the Umm el-Marra data provide an unexpected material manifestation of this phenomenon. Presumably the interment of these animals and infants was associated with the ceremonies conducted in honor of the people buried in the adjoining tombs. The animals might

³¹ The silver bowl rested on the tomb floor facing up, while the bronze bowl faced down.

³² See Salje 1996 on the possibility of drinking sets of metal vessels identified in Mesopotamian tombs.

have been employed for sacrificial offerings to deities or ancestors, or they may have been understood as transportation in the afterlife. One may also note the sacrifice of equids at the conclusion of treaties in early second-millennium Syria (Lafont 2001), which, while not from a funerary context, indicates the continuing ritual role of equids in Syrian society.

Whatever their intended function, it is likely that the ritual importance of equids was connected to their association with the elite and their role as animals of prestige (Schwartz et al. 2006).³³ Their sacrifice would have provided an illustration of the wealth, power, and elite status of the associated deceased individuals and their survivors. The presence of the equid installations at Umm el-Marra provides us with an opportunity to consider the symbolic role of animals in early Syrian complex society, as opposed to the usual archaeological focus on their role as a source of food (Zeder 2003) or labor.

The inclusion of babies in features otherwise comprised of animals also requires explanation. It may be that it was deemed appropriate to include the bodies of infants together with sacrificed animals as part of the rituals honoring the high-ranking humans buried in the nearby tombs. The infants may have died of natural or other causes and then were inserted in the installations. Given the apparently sacrificial nature of the animal interments, there is also the possibility that the infants had been ritually killed. The killing of persons to accompany the burials of elite persons is often practiced in early complex societies, especially in newly emerging states like Shang China and First Dynasty Egypt, at least in part as a dramatization of the power of the new social order. Why infants and not individuals of more advanced ages were interred here remains to be ascertained. Perhaps they were understood as particularly efficient messengers to the supernatural world, as was the case with the Inca, where sacrificed children acquired power for the living by forging a stronger link with the spirit world (Kamp 2001). According to Stavrakopoulou (2004: 294), child sacrifice in biblical contexts was sometimes undertaken as a way to ensure assistance from deceased royal ancestors.

UMM EL-MARRA AS MORTUARY CENTER

Recently, Anne Porter (2005) has raised the possibility that Tell Banat, despite its monumental tombs and public buildings, was not a political center but instead served as a specialized mortuary site for elites based elsewhere. Can the same interpretation be advanced for Umm el-Marra? The textual evidence from Ebla may indicate that some kings of Ebla were buried, not at Ebla itself, but at another location (Archi 2001: 5), although the archaeological evidence has disclosed a possible royal hypogeum deep below the Ebla Palace G (Matthiae 1997b). Members of the elite might have been interred at some distance from their place of residence for reasons that could be social (e.g., a familial place of origin), political (e.g., burial at the spot where highly respected earlier members of the elite were interred), or religious (e.g., a location with particular sacred resonance), among others. The fact that the Umm el-Marra acropolis is dominated by a mortuary complex in the third quarter of the third millennium, as opposed to a palace or temple, might support the identification of the site as a specialized center for elite mortuary interment. However, the number of sites of diverse size and character with similar elite intramu-

³³ An extensive discussion of the equid installations is in preparation by Jill Weber, who has proposed that the equids are donkey-onager hybrids (Schwartz et al. 2006: 633–34). With respect to the two sets of three puppies

each interred in Installation B, one is reminded of the proposal to sacrifice puppies instead of donkeys at the conclusion of a treaty, attested in the Mari documents of the early second millennium B.C. (Charpin 1993: 182–86).

ral tombs (e.g., Jerablus Tahtani, Ahmar, Banat, Biʿa, Mari) suggests that the practice of interring high-ranking individuals in intramural tombs was not restricted to specialized sites but was relatively common in the mid–late third millennium B.C. in western Syria.

A MIDDLE BRONZE AGE MONUMENT: THE PERSISTENCE OF MEMORY

Although tombs were no longer built in the Acropolis Center at Umm el-Marra by the end of the third millennium, the special character of the area is again evident in the early second millennium B.C., the Middle Bronze Age, after a period of instability if not the total desertion of the entire site (Schwartz et al. 2003). In the early second millennium, a very large and unusual round stone platform termed Monument 1, subsequently much disturbed, was built above the area of the third-millennium tombs (figs. 3.11–12).³⁴

The function of Monument 1 is uncertain, with little non-ceramic artifactual material associated with it except for a fragmentary agate double-eye bead found in debris just to the north of the structure (fig. 3.13). However, the monument's unusual character, scale, central location, and proximity to the third-millennium mortuary complex indicate its special status and probable communal and ritual significance. The construction of a monumental edifice above the Early Bronze tombs in the Umm el-Marra Acropolis Center implies a persistence, or perhaps revival, of memory of the special character of this part of the site. It is not unlikely that the Middle Bronze Age rulers were referring to earlier predecessors to help legitimate their authority.³⁵ Alternatively, they may have intended to expunge the memory of the third-millennium rulers by sealing off the area of their tombs: “the more total the aspirations of the new regime, the more imperiously will it seek to introduce an era of forced forgetting” (Connerton 1989: 12).³⁶

CONCLUSIONS

The evidence from Umm el-Marra thus far suggests that funerals and tombs provided an important milieu for newly emerging elites of mid–late third-millennium Syria to represent and reinforce their authority. The physical presence of earlier ancestors in the center of the community and the rituals venerating them provided legitimacy for their descendants, while the utilization of social memory helped to sanction elite control and naturalize social hierarchy. Together with evidence of ancestor veneration is its opposite, the intentional desecration and sealing up of certain tombs, presumably as the result of political changes and animosities within the elite sphere. We may infer, therefore, that elite power was not monolithic at Umm el-Marra but could be characterized by conflict and competition.

After the tombs fell out of use, the mortuary complex itself became an object of memory, or the obliteration of memory, when Monument 1 was built on top of it in the early second millennium B.C. In this period, the Acropolis Center was again a sacred landscape, although its meaning and attendant rituals had probably changed.

³⁴ If the curving edge of the feature as currently exposed can serve as a guide, the monument would have a diameter of ca. 37 meters.

³⁵ As a possible analog, one can cite the reverence shown by the Greeks of the Iron Age toward tombs of the Mycenaean period (Antonaccio 1995).

³⁶ It is also possible that the builders of Monument 1 made use of a high point on the site and were not concerned with (or aware of) the significance of earlier structures.

I have no doubt oversimplified the actions and ideas of the people in question and may have attributed more shrewdness and intentionality to the Syrian Bronze Age elites than they deserve. I might be overly cynical about their motivations as well. We tend to think of ancient rulers, as René Girard (1987: 54) disapprovingly remarked, as “glorified gang-leader[s], supported by pomp and decorum, capable of dissimulating [their] origin with deft propaganda concerning ‘divine right.’” The reality may well have been much more nuanced and driven by historical specificities. It is also difficult to gauge how successful the dissemination of elite ideologies really was; rituals and ideologies of resistance may also exist (Kertzer 1988: 2), but they are more difficult to discern in the archaeological record than wealth-laden funerary monuments.

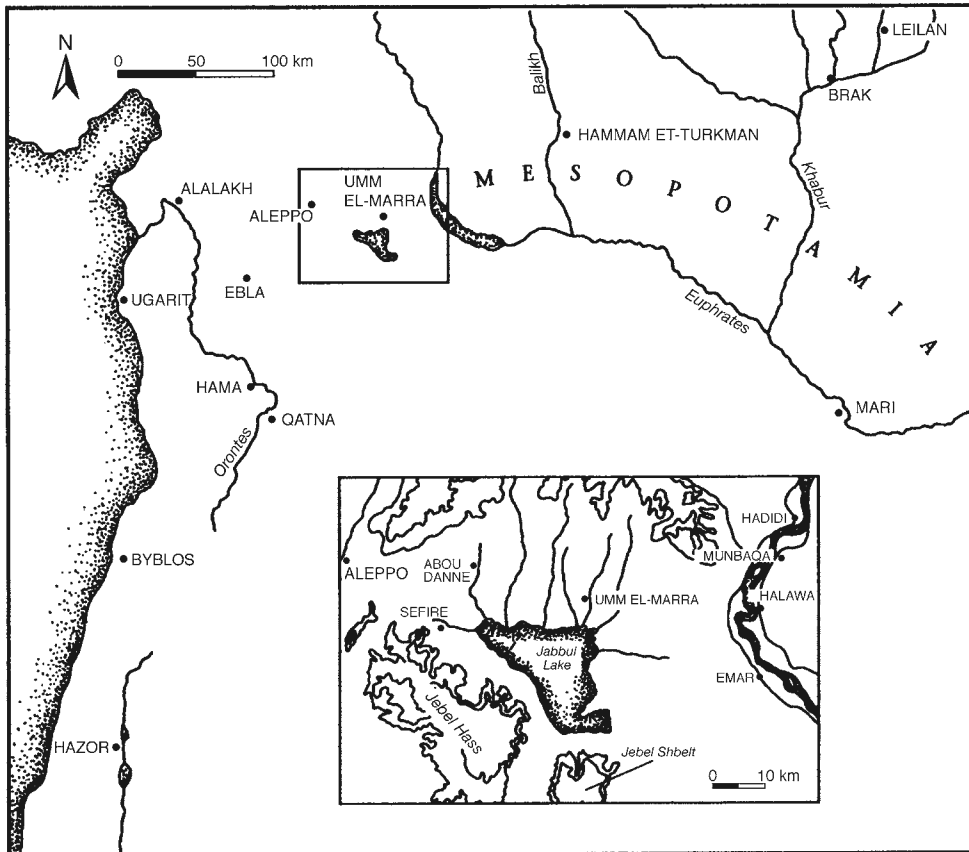


Figure 3.1. Syria, with Jabbul Plain Inset

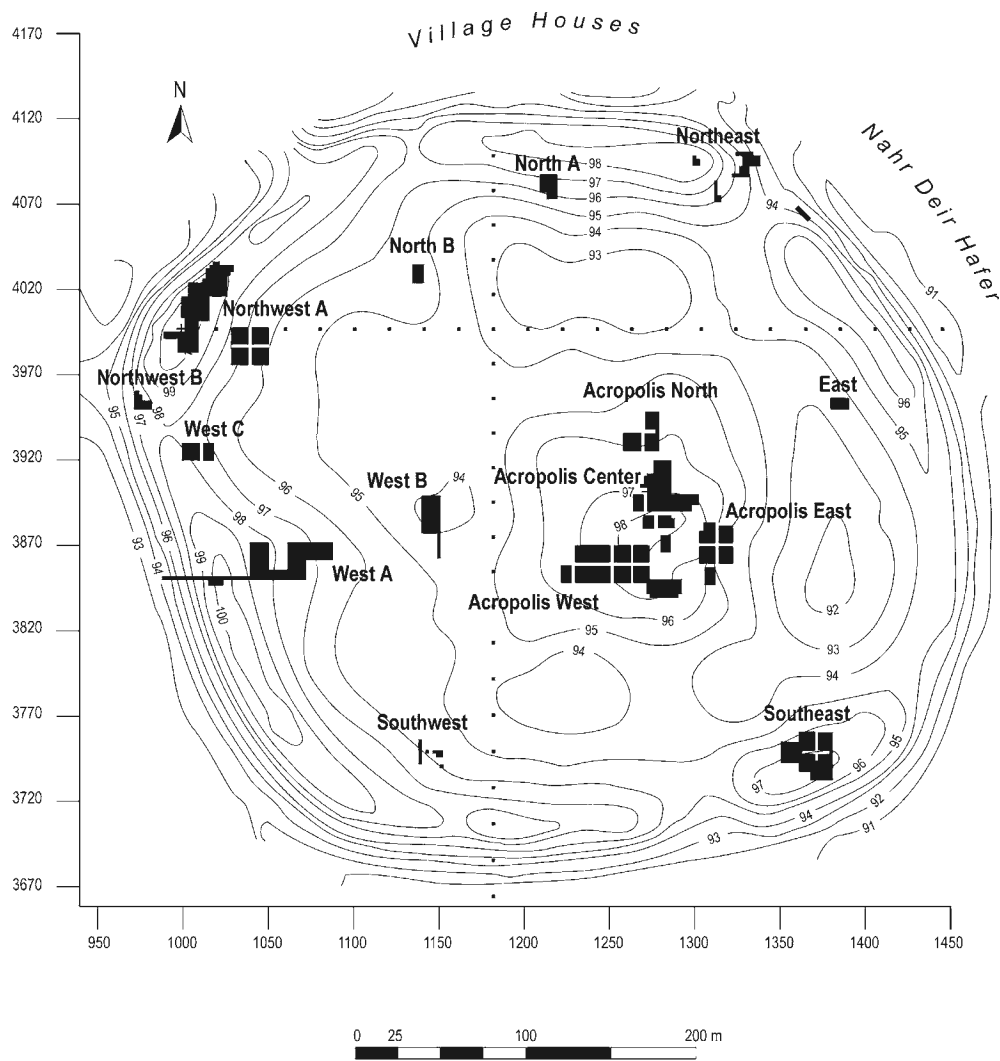


Figure 3.2. Umm el-Marra

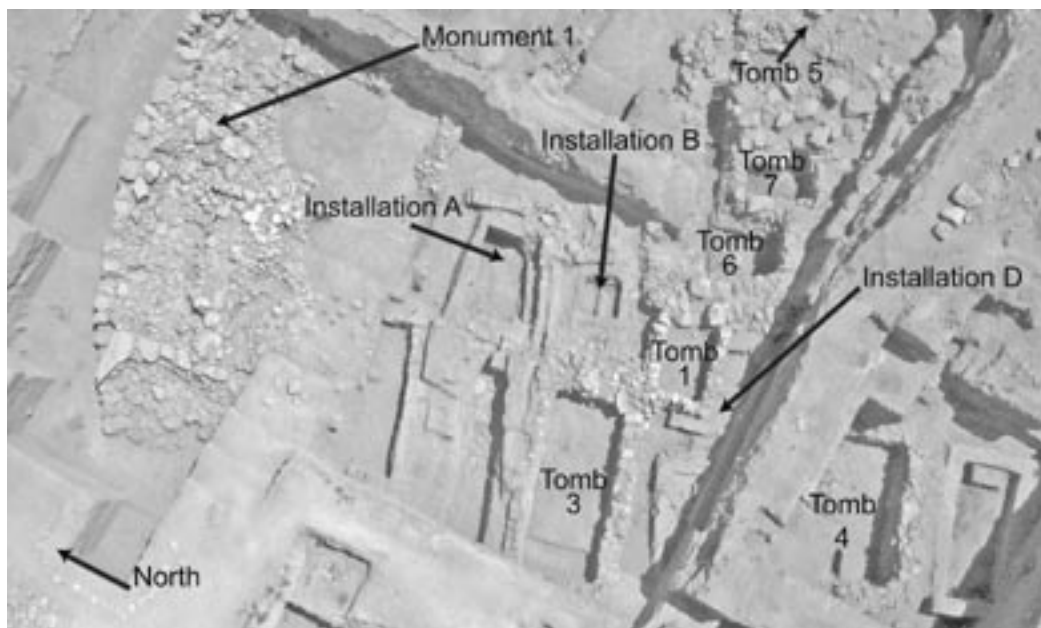


Figure 3.3. Acropolis Center Excavations, Umm el-Marra

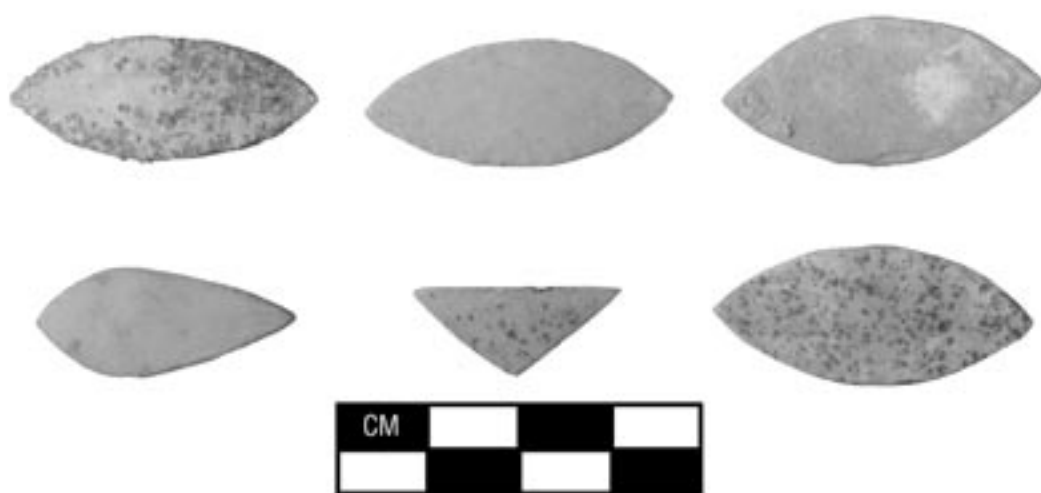


Figure 3.4. Ostrich Shell Inlays, Tomb 4 Lower Level

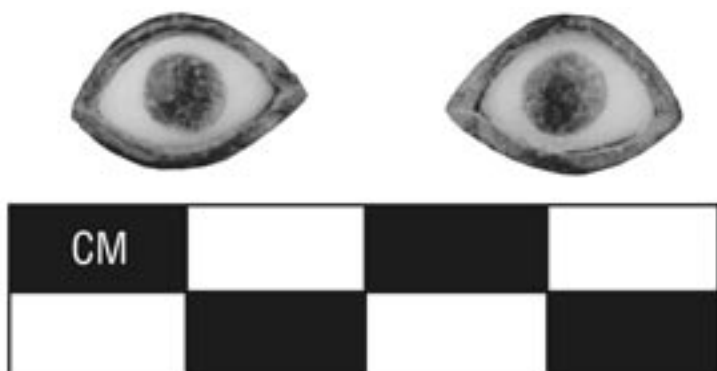


Figure 3.5. Inlay Statue Eyes, Tomb 4 Lower Level



Figure 3.6. Tomb 4 Upper Level (note vessels at higher elevation, lower left).
Test Trench at Lower Right

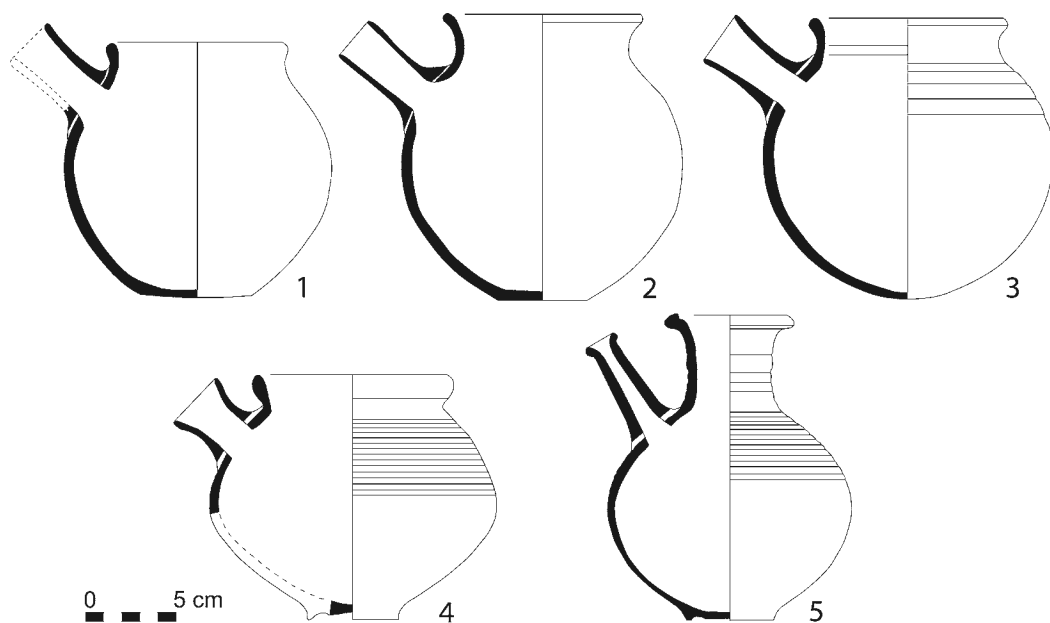


Figure 3.7. Spouted Vessels from Installation B (1), above Installation D (2), Installation D (3), and Tomb 4 Upper Level (4–5)



Figure 3.8. Installation D, Looking East



Figure 3.9. Silver Vessels from Tomb 4 Upper Level

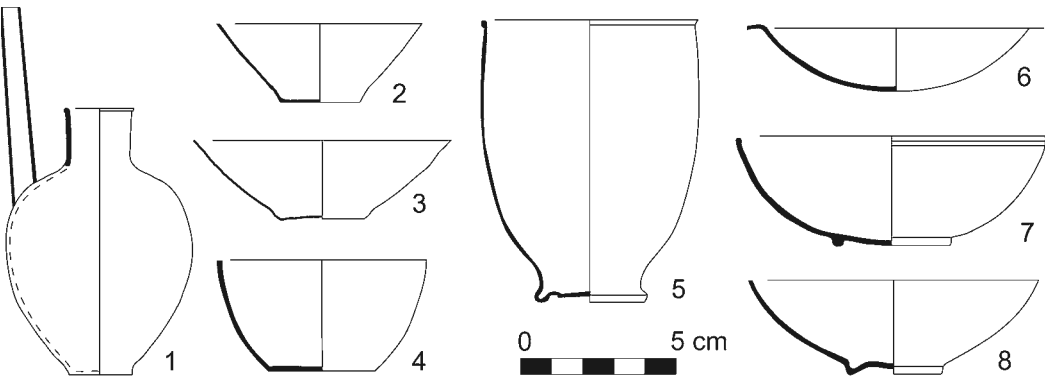


Figure 3.10. Silver (1–7) and Bronze (8) Vessels from Tomb 4 Upper Level



Figure 3.11. Monument 1, Looking Southwest. Portions to South (upper left)
Previously Excavated and Removed



Figure 3.12. Monument 1, Looking East



Figure 3.13. Agate Double-eye Bead Found North of Monument 1

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