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THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF MORTUARY RITUAL AS RITE OF PASSAGE IN
PREHISTORIC EUROPE

A Thesis
presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology
The University of Mississippi

by

JACQUELYN KYLE

July 2012

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the ways in which mortuary ritual functioned as a rite of passage at three sites in prehistoric Europe: Wor Barrow on Cranborne Chase, Tumulus 17 in the Speckhau Mound Group at the Heuneburg, and the Hochdorf tomb in southwestern Germany. The sites were selected with diversity among the dimensions of mortuary practice, including the presence and types of grave goods, the structure of the grave, and the treatment of the corpse, as a priority. By examining the ways in which cemeteries functioned as spaces of personal and group separation and transformation, I seek to clarify the role that death played in these societies as a precursor to transformation both of the deceased individual and of the living who remain. I have developed a set of archaeological correlates of each of the phases of the rite of passage of death, and this paper both elucidates and evaluates the set of correlates. Examining mortuary contexts with the understanding that mortuary ritual is a rite of passage both for the deceased and for the living rather than ceremonies to mark the cessation of life leads to a more thorough understanding of the data.

This thesis is dedicated to my mother and to my husband, each of whom provided support and encouragement in so many important ways.

I would like to thank Dr. Jay K. Johnson, Dr. Kate Centellas, and especially Dr. Matthew L. Murray for their invaluable feedback and suggestions regarding this thesis.

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I. INTRODUCTION

In 520 BC at what is now the village of Hochdorf in Baden-Württemberg, Germany, a man grand in both physical stature and social standing was entombed in a rich mound grave. What follows is a fictionalized narrative that demonstrates one possible way that the artifacts discovered in the tomb came to be there.

Death of a Chieftain

“We must make him comfortable,” she announced, turning to her family, “and call for Diarmidh.” Whisped instructions snaked through the room, and a younger cousin was sent to fetch the shaman. Sorcha herself went to collect the herbs she would need to send Bran beyond the reach of the pain that was all that was left to him in this life. It would be for Diarmidh to prepare the way for Bran’s soul to reach the Lady.

She sat by his bed, dripping the herb-infused water from a rag into his mouth and tracing a finger along his throat to encourage him to swallow. Diarmidh arrived as Bran’s breath began to grow faint. As she administered to her patient and the family sat in silent vigil, the shaman began his rites. Sorcha watched as he scattered small handfuls of herbs into the waiting braziers and the fire in the hearth. Her head began to swim as the room filled with fragrant smoke, and Diarmidh’s face flickered from man to beast in the firelight (Cunliffe 1997:116). Drumbeats sounded from someplace far away, faint at first. As they grew stronger, Diarmidh began a

strange dance. As his visage shifted from human to beast, his movements shifted—now the two-legged dancing of a man, now the lumbering romp of an animal. As the beat reached a crescendo and Sorcha’s disorientation grew intense, she saw the Lady come for Bran. The Lady in her Warrior aspect, clad in bright gilt armor with the head and face of a raven, swept across the room. When she left, she took her fiercest champion. It seemed as though the air had left the room. The air returned as Sorcha came back to herself. The drumbeats faded, Diarmidh slowed his dancing, the shifting ceased, and Bran was gone.

There was much to be done. Bran had accumulated a large amount of power during his life, much of which had fallen to his younger brother, Sorcha’s father Fionn, when Bran had grown too old to wield it. Though Sorcha had only just seen the Lady come for Bran’s soul, she had a part to play in the rituals which would come next whose function it was to reflect what she had just seen to the rest of the community. In this way, all could know the Lady’s heart regarding the souls of those who passed. That the Lady had come for Bran in her Warrior guise revealed him to be noble and bold, righteous and full of courage. He would take his place among the ancestors as one fit to be numbered among them, and would be honored and revered by all of those who followed the ways of the Hochdorf.

After the villagers of Hochdorf had bid their chieftain farewell, delegations from other powerful communities would come to pay their respects. Sorcha knew, though, that they would also come to assess the situation for possible political advantage. These were fractious times, and those who were smart sought advantage where they could (Cunliffe 1997:56). Fionn had hoped to meet with Connacht and cement their alliance before Bran’s death, but that could not be helped now. What was important was to be sure that they could present a strong enough face to the visiting parties that thoughts of conquest did not enter the picture. Connacht and his party

were expected within days, and news of Bran's death could not be delayed long past that.

Somehow, Sorcha suspected that she would not be left alone in her healer's hut to tend to the ills of the villagers in the coming days.

Sorcha felt as though she were caught in a whirlwind of activity. Her mother organized the women into an army of event planners while the men ensconced themselves behind closed doors for hours-long sessions on strategy for dealing with the political fallout from Bran's death. Bran's funeral would be not only an opportunity for the community to grieve its fallen chieftain, but also a political event; thus, it was important for every aspect to be as impressive as possible. Men were set to work constructing the double-chambered tomb, which would be covered by an enormous mound (Cunliffe 1997:59). Local artisans were commissioned to produce much of what would accompany Bran to the next life. The smith even fashioned a small lion to replace one that had broken off the huge cauldron that Bran had gotten from a trade contact in Greece (Cunliffe 1997:60). While the details of the community's more private mourning rites were not so critical, every aspect of the display that would be in place when Connacht arrived had to be perfect.

On the third day following Bran's death, the women cleaned his body and laid it out on the funeral wagon. Bran's body would lie upon the wagon for a length of time, its restful pose belying the arduous journey his soul would undertake as he earned his place among the ancestors. They dressed him in fine wool and linen held together with two gold fibulae made especially for the occasion. Around his neck they placed his golden torc. Gold also adorned his arms, his belt, and his shoes (Cunliffe 1997:57-62). Torches had been placed along the way to light the path to the tomb; they would be doused following the rites so that Bran's soul could not find its way back to the living. The villagers of Hochdorf gathered along the path to bid Bran

farewell. At dusk, the pipes began keening their mournful dirge. The drums measured each step as the procession made its solemn way from the house in which Bran had spent his life to the tomb where he would reside in death.

At the tomb, the procession came to a halt. One by one, those who had been closest to Bran in this life made certain that he was well equipped for the next. Fionn and a younger brother carried in the long bronze couch Bran had treasured as one of the most concrete manifestations of the power and influence he had worked so hard to gather. It had been part of an especially lucrative trade deal with the Greeks. Mediterranean goods were some of the most coveted by the elite families of the villages in the area, and Bran's trade contacts had been largely responsible for his power. Others stepped forward to cover the couch in skins, furs, and fabrics, and to lay an herb-filled pillow at the head. Bran's body was lifted gently off of the wagon and placed onto the couch. After Sorcha's brothers deposited the huge Greek lion cauldron, which had been filled with mead, she and her brothers' wives and daughters each carried in the nine great drinking horns that were used with the cauldron for feasting. Sorcha laid down her burden with the rest, whispered a few words of prayer to the Lady, and withdrew from the tomb. She watched as more distant members of the family did their part to make sure Bran would have everything he needed in the next world. When they had finished their work, large tapestries adorned the walls and Bran possessed everything a powerful man would need in the next world, from arrows and fishhooks to his birchbark hat (Cunliffe 1997:57-62). Moreover, the tomb would present an impressive display to any who came to judge the strength of those who lead Hochdorf.

RESEARCH TOPIC AND SIGNIFICANCE

We cannot, of course, extract the level of detail in the story with which I began this thesis from the archaeological record. We do not know who mourned for the man in the Hochdorf tomb. We do not know if those in his community feared for the uncertainty that followed his death or were secure knowing their new leader was strong, but we can infer a bit about the political situation at the time, if we pay attention to the Mediterranean imports and even the man's advanced age. We cannot know who wept for him, but we can posit that his death was felt deeply by the community, as he wore a chieftain's torque and conical birchbark hat. The only names we have for the occupants of the graves we excavate are those that we as archaeologists give to them. Often, we can surmise only part of the story of how the subjects of our research came to be entombed where we find them. While archaeologists endeavor to create a story from the pieces of evidence left behind by those who came before, the stories that we can piece together from the archaeological record are often in much more general terms than names and feelings and rivalries and politics. While thoughts and feelings elude us, though, we can learn much about the ritual and beliefs of those that buried the deceased. That many of the specifics of personality are lost when we look at the past through the blurred lens of the archaeological record, though, is one of archaeology's great strengths. With our view uncluttered by the banalities of daily life, we are better able to see the many ways in which what we learn applies to humanity as a whole.

The life of an individual is marked by rites of passage. Birth, puberty, marriage, and death are the major rites of passage, though not every society places the same emphasis on, or even acknowledges, each one (van Gennep 1960:12). The rites of passage each society acknowledges are considered the major transitions in a person's life: s/he is born, s/he becomes

a sexual entity, s/he becomes part of a family unit, and then s/he dies. These, then, are the moments set apart as significant to the functioning of the society as a whole, and the society offers certain tools—whether the companionship of those who undergo the transition with the person, the support of the community, or simply actual material goods—to each member as s/he makes these transitions. Rites of passage facilitate and acknowledge these transitions. It is important to study rites of passage because in doing so one is studying the process of *becoming* (van Gennep 1960). Understanding how one goes about becoming something else, transitioning from one life stage to another, gives one a unique perspective on that new life stage: the process of the change as well as those tools given by society to aid in the transition tell us something about the qualities needed in order to be successful in the new life stage.

According to Arnold van Gennep (1960:14), who elucidated first and best the stages of rites of passage, the three stages are: 1) the preliminal stage (I will use this term interchangeably with “original identity”), in which rites of separation from the previous identity (i.e. living) take place; 2) the liminal stage, in which rites of transition from the old identity to the new (i.e. living to dead) take place; and the postliminal stage, in which rites of incorporation into the new identity (i.e. dead person) take place. To these, I add a fourth element: that of eligibility. This, I believe, is an important addition, as it clarifies that one cannot simply participate because they wish to do so. Some quality makes that person eligible to undergo the rite. This does not always mean that, for example, every boy preparing to undergo a puberty rite will in fact have reached puberty; it simply narrows down the possible participants to those males for whom puberty occurred in the recent past or is expected to occur in the near future (van Gennep 1960:68).

This thesis examines death, and its accompanying ritual, as a rite of passage. Through my research, I examine graves as spaces of personal and group separation and transformation. I

examine the liminal stage of mortuary ritual. Specifically, I examine the process of transformation a person is thought to experience by changing from a member of the world of the living to a member of the world of the dead or the ancestors, the fear that accompanies the liminal stage, and the transformation that those left behind by the deceased undergo as that change mirrors the transformation of the deceased. I then develop a set of archaeological correlates of death as a rite of passage. I compare this set of guidelines to selected sites in Europe, but it has a broader applicability and may be useful in cross-cultural studies as well. For this reason, the sites selected are as diverse as possible in grave type, body treatment, and grave goods.

My research is intended to contribute to the body of knowledge regarding the ways in which death affects the individual and the society, as death is a crisis that precipitates a renegotiation of social identities and inheritance (Rakita et al. 2008:8). Death affects the biological individual, to be sure, but this thesis is concerned with the effects of death on the social individual. There has been thus far a dearth of archaeological research on the rite of passage of death and its repercussions for the social individual and the society. This thesis is offered in partial redress of the lack of such research. My research will also expand knowledge of how the people of prehistoric Europe thought about and expressed their ideas about society, death, and the afterlife. As I have chosen diverse sites, I will be able to identify correlations between certain mortuary practices and different attitudes toward death, with an emphasis on the significance and duration of the liminal period.

Archaeologists have long found graves fascinating for many reasons, not least of which is the abundance of data available. Indeed, graves represent some of the only data that were intentionally placed by those long-dead inhabitants of the ancient world (Parker Pearson

2000:178, O'Shea 1981:39). Archaeologists so rarely otherwise have the opportunity to excavate features that are left exactly as they were intended to exist by the people who created them.

Dwellings are abandoned, tools and instruments broken and discarded, but graves remain as they were until some later intruder disturbs them in pursuit of material gain or knowledge. We assign significance to each small detail of care given the deceased, drawing meaning from facets as small as the types of herbs strewn about, as grand as the orientation of the grave itself, and everything in between. Each grave has the potential to impart some new insight about those who created it. Much of the fascination with graves, then, comes from the vast amount of knowledge we can glean from them about the beliefs of the living.

It is necessary for archaeologists to recognize that the mortuary record is created by those who remain alive when contemplating the context of a burial; the deceased is not the one who buried her/himself, but rather the deceased functions as a sort of artifact in the burial rite enacted by others whose agendas may have been vastly different from that of the deceased (Parker Pearson 2000:32). In other words, it is important for archaeologists to keep in mind that that which they recover is not the deceased's idea of her/himself, but rather the result of a complex mix of identity and status conceived of by her/his culture, including relatives and other loved ones. Acknowledging that the dead do not bury themselves, so to speak, clarifies the importance of considering the rite of passage of death not only from the perspective of the deceased, but also from the perspective of the living.

ORGANIZATION

My thesis includes a review of the existing literature in the second chapter. I first cover ritual, including the anthropology and the archaeology of ritual. I discuss the traditional

characteristics of ritual: that the performers of ritual do not determine the ways in which ritual is carried out, a formality of decorum, an unchanging quality that lends authority to the ritual, that performing prescribed actions is necessary for the ritual to have taken place, and the lack of effect on the physical world (Rappaport 1999:32-46). I then narrow my focus to mortuary ritual in particular, which again is divided into the anthropology and the archaeology of death ritual sections. My review of rites of passage follows the section on ritual. I begin with a general overview of rites of passage, and then write more specifically about death as a rite of passage and liminality. Here again, I discuss some of the problems associated with identifying a rite of passage or the liminal period archaeologically.

In the third chapter, I elucidate my set of archaeological correlates of liminality and rites of passage in mortuary ritual. These correlates largely consist of evidence of each phase of the rite of passage as applied to death and mourning, as well as evidence of necrophobia, or fear of the dead. My discussion of the process of transformation from a member of the world of the living to a member of the world of the dead includes the treatment of the corpse by the living. Death causes a crisis of identity for certain relations and friends of the deceased. I attempt to discern the ways in which those left behind transform and renegotiate their social standing in the event of a death—in other words, I examine not only the liminal aspect of ritual undergone by the body, but also the liminality the group experiences as it adjusts after a death.

In the fourth chapter, I begin by elucidating my methodology. I then discuss each of the sites that I have chosen for the comparison of the set of guidelines elucidated in the third chapter. These include Wor Barrow at Cranborne Chase, Tumulus 17 at the Hohmichele, and Hochdorf near the Heuneburg. I begin with a brief overview of the region in which each site is located, and

then narrow my focus to the site within the region. Finally, I extensively discuss the individual graves within each site.

I selected three sites in prehistoric Europe based on my goal of including diverse types of information. Therefore, each site that I selected provides data different from the others. Wor Barrow, for example, contained disarticulated remains, while the other two sites did not. Tumulus 17 included a cremation, whereas the other two sites did not. The Hochdorf tomb contained lavish grave goods and exceptionally fine preservation, whereas the other two sites did not. While the three sites naturally have some qualities in common, each site selected for this thesis adds a new type of information that could be considered as I examine mortuary ritual as a rite of passage. This is important because one goal of this thesis is for my set of material correlates to have as wide an application as possible, and leaving out particular ways of corpse disposal would narrow the usefulness and validity of the set of material correlates.

In the fifth and final chapter, I compare my set of guidelines to each site to glean what new information I can from the application about each site. I examine the guidelines from the third chapter in more detail, and cite data from each site as applicable. I end the chapter by assessing the validity and applicability of my set of guidelines to mortuary archaeology as a whole with a discussion of their merits and weaknesses, and suggestions for future research.

II. LITERATURE AND THEORY REVIEW

Ritual exists in nearly every facet of life. It both reflects and shapes reality. Those who perform or observe ritual derive benefit from it even if it does not shape the physical world. It is a tool, and as such can be, and often is, manipulated to political ends. Rites of passage are a particular kind of ritual, one that is intended to facilitate the major changes in the life of a person. Not every society acknowledges the same rites of passage, but most acknowledge at least birth, marriage, and death.

RITUAL

Ritual can be defined in several ways. One way is as a structure—an enduring set of interactions among many features. Ritual underscores certain aspects of daily life through a performance (Bradley 2005:xiii). Bradley opines that there is no binary opposition between ritual and domestic activities, but rather that ritual often grows from daily life (Bradley 2005:30). The separation of ritual and daily life is unnecessary when one realizes that ritual communicates more than just religious beliefs, and that rituals fall along a continuum “from the local, informal, and ephemeral, to the public and highly organized, and their social contexts vary accordingly” (Bradley 2005:33). Another way ritual can be defined is as a customary practice wherein the formula of behavior is “prescribed and explicit even though meanings may be ambiguous, mysterious, or implicit” (Parker Pearson 2000:194). The hegemonic, or predominant, perspective has thus far been of ritual as the symbolic expression of beliefs performed in order to reaffirm

those beliefs, but this view is changing (Bradley 2005:182). As a group, societies create not only major ceremonies, but also smaller-scale daily events that become *habitus*, which is a socially learned way of acting and being that is acquired during daily life (Chapman 2000:161). These small-scale events left behind everyday sorts of artifacts such as pottery, houses, and other structures and artifacts, and are a large part of what is studied by archaeologists (Chapman 2000:162).

Ritual encompasses not only the spiritual, however, as rituals have the power to justify or undermine the entire social order (Parker Pearson 2000:194). The political nature of ritual is further emphasized by the power plays of participants as they attempt to delineate and renegotiate the hegemonic order (Parker Pearson 2000:194). Funerals especially are political events, as the death of a social being creates opportunity for others to reevaluate their own positions (Parker Pearson 2000:32).

Anthropology of Ritual

Early anthropologists did not always give ritual the attention that they bestowed upon other aspects of life. Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) recorded details of rituals he witnessed, but he did not devote nearly as much attention to ritual as he did to other aspects of society, such as kinship systems and politics. The reason for this, he said, was that he found the issue entirely too complex for understanding to be possible. Ritual deals with so much that is emotional, and thus uncertain, that he states that “all primitive religions are grotesque and to some extent unintelligible” (Morgan 1877:5). Claude Levi-Strauss (1968), too, devoted most of his attention to matters other than ritual, though he did discuss ritual as “instigators of feeling and desire.”

For other anthropologists, however, ritual became a central focus of their work. Victor Turner (1969), during his fieldwork among the Ndembu of Zambia, came to realize that without understanding their rituals, he could not fully understand much, if anything, about the Ndembu way of life. Much of daily life, including hunting, was intimately entwined with ritual, and the Ndembu regularly conducted spontaneous ritual acts. Turner was privy to these rituals and learned much both from his observation of the rituals and from subsequent questioning of informants about the rituals. He was concerned with the ways in which the Ndembu themselves viewed their rituals, believing that he, as an outsider, could not “penetrate the inner structure” to interpret the symbols, acts, and gestures (Turner 1969:16). Each gesture and song stood for something else, which made it impossible for him to gain a useful understanding of the rituals without help. Turner (1969:45) strongly disagreed with Morgan’s condemnation of “primitive” ritual as grotesque, pointing out that each symbol was “related to some empirical item of experience.”

The sociologist Emile Durkheim (1893), who wrote in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, was a structural functionalist who believed in the superorganic, or a quality that is independent of the individual members of society. Structural functionalists see each part of a society as both contributing to and deriving benefit from the whole, much like separate parts of an organism. For Durkheim, ritual was that which bound individuals in a society together, strengthening the social structure as it symbolically portrayed that social structure (Durkheim 2008:42). He believed that the major dichotomy in the universe was the sacred versus the profane, the holy and the commonplace (Durkheim 2008:14). Durkheim (1893:15) believed that all religions were true, as they all “answer, though in different ways, to the given conditions of human existence.” He divided religion into belief and ritual. Beliefs are the thoughts and

opinions one holds, while ritual is the action one takes according to those beliefs (Durkheim 2008:13). Rituals differ from other activities in that they have a different object: the sacred. Ritual, then, consists of the prescribed acts that allow the profane (humans) to interact with the sacred (Durkheim 2008:15). Durkheim also believed that society had godlike qualities that both derived from and created ritual. During religious situations, people experience a high level of emotion. During these highly charged moments, they may feel divine presences. Since Durkheim believed that ritual was the way societies explained themselves to themselves, so to speak, these divine presences were created by and projections of the society itself. It is interesting that he believed in the stark separation of the sacred and the profane, so much so that he says that they have “always and everywhere been conceived by the human mind as two distinct classes, as two worlds between which there is nothing in common,” (Durkheim 2008:14) while also believing that the sacred was, in essence, created by the profane.

Two other anthropologists who explored ritual were William Robertson Smith and James Frazer, who wrote at the end of the nineteenth century. They believed that magic, and the ritual associated with magic, was more primitive than religion and the ritual associated with religion (Frazer 2010). Religion deals with ethics and deities. Rules of holiness protect the sacred from pollution, and followers are organized into a church. Magic deals with other sorts of conduct. Taboos protect from pollution in magic, and followers of a particular magician are more akin to a doctor’s patients than to the congregation of a church (Robertson Smith 1889:33). While Smith and Frazer considered ritual associated with religion to be worthy of study, that associated with magic was relegated to superstition and dismissed.

Godfrey Wilson (1968:241), a student of Bronislaw Malinowski who wrote in the 1930s, also recognized the importance of examining ritual, which he believed revealed deep truths about

the values of the society. “Men express in ritual what moves them most.” Since ritual is group activity, what is revealed are the values of the group as a whole (Wilson 1968:241). Sherry Ortner (1978:2) viewed ritual, even that which is on the surface a challenge to the established order, as reifying the social order. Ritual, then, both reveals and reifies that which is important to those who perform it.

One of the most influential anthropologists of ritual of in the later twentieth century, Roy Rappaport (1999:31) considers ritual to be “the social act basic to humanity.” Rappaport proposed five fundamental characteristics of ritual. First, ritual participants or performers do not determine what constitutes the ritual, but rather follow fairly precisely what others have established as constituting the ritual (Rappaport 1999:32). The history and the traditions of the ritual lend it authority, and a ritual composed entirely of new elements may smack of charade to witnesses or participants (Rappaport 1999:32). However, these completely new rituals are exceptionally rare, as most “new” rituals incorporate aspects of older rituals (Rappaport 1999:32).

Another feature of ritual is formality, in the sense of adherence to form (Rappaport 1999:33). This adherence to form is often how anthropologists recognize ritual. Regularity and convention characterize this form. Stylized, decorous gestures and postures are performed in a fixed order in a particular place (Rappaport 1999:33). They are repeated at intervals “established by clock, calendar, biological rhythm, ontogeny, physical condition, or defined social circumstance” (Rappaport 1999:33).

The third feature of ritual is that it is more or less invariant, which follows from the formality of ritual (Rappaport 1999:36). The “more or less” qualifier is important because performances are sometimes imprecisely rendered. Also, ritual changes over time, with different

aspects of ritual changing at different rates (Rappaport 1999:36). Finally, rituals are not ever so heavily encoded and formalized that there is no room for a necessary change (Rappaport 1999:36).

The fourth feature of ritual is performance. While liturgical orders or ritual instructions may be written down, the written description or instructions themselves do not constitute ritual (Rappaport 1999:37). The performance or acting out of the description or instructions is necessary for the ritual to have taken place, since “the act of performance is itself a part of the order performed” (Rappaport 1999:38).

The fifth feature of ritual is again formality, this time not in the sense of adherence to form, but rather as opposed to functionality or physical efficacy (Rappaport 1999:46). Homans (1941:172) wrote that “ritual actions do not produce a practical result on the external world.” Practitioners of ritual, though, feel that they are “not simply ‘saying something’ about themselves but ‘doing something’ about the state of their world” (Rappaport 1999:47). While only a bit of what is done in or by ritual actually affects the physical world directly, and does not affect the physical world by acting “with matter and energy on matter and energy, in accordance with physical laws of cause and effect,” ritual may direct other sorts of forces, such as the supernatural, toward that which they hope to affect (Rappaport 1999:48). Brück (1999:318) wrote: “As ritual acts do not appear to *do* anything, anthropologists have concluded that they must *stand* for something else: in other words ritual action is symbolic.”

Another characteristic of rituals is that they usually preserve cultural aspects such as manner of speaking or dressing that change in other aspects of daily life (Parker Pearson 2000:195). Ritual, then, is unique, though none of the features that constitute it are unique to ritual (Rappaport 1999:26). He (1999:27) argues that,

“The more or less invariant sequences of formal acts and utterances not entirely encoded by the performers logically entails the establishment of convention, the sealing of social contract, the construction of the integrated conventional orders we shall call Logoi, the investment of whatever it encodes with morality, the construction of time and eternity; the representation of a paradigm of creating, the generation of the concept of the sacred and the sanctification of conventional order, the generation of theories of the occult, the evocation of numinous experience, the awareness of the divine, the grasp of the holy, and the construction of orders of meaning transcending the semantic.”

The strange or grotesque nature of some of the acts or utterances associated with ritual may be explained if one considers ritual a form of communication. The distinct difference of rituals from ordinary acts only improves rituals’ efficacy as signals, since they are more easily identified as such (Rappaport 1999:50). Certain meanings can only be expressed through ritual, which adds an indefinable something to that which makes up ritual (Rappaport 1999:31). That this is true implies that there are no adequate alternatives to ritual, which in turn explains the ubiquity of ritual (Rappaport 1999:31).

Archaeology of Ritual

Historically, archaeologists have not dealt adequately with the topic of ritual. This is partly because they believed that one could never entirely understand it. In Hawkes’ (1954:162) hierarchy of inference, ideas about the “generically animal” aspects of humans, such as subsistence, are easy to infer from material correlates, while ideas about the more “specifically human,” such as ideology, are much more difficult. In addition, the differences between the perspective of the archaeologist and that of those who conducted the ritual make interpretation even more difficult. According to Biehl and Bertemes (2001), however, there is sufficient data available in many mortuary contexts to make drawing certain conclusions about the rituals involved possible. Archaeologists tend to not want to make these statements. Rather than trying

to discern the thoughts and feelings of the people who performed these rituals, it is more useful to examine the ways in which these thoughts and feelings were exhibited in ritual (Bertemes and Biehl 2001).

Culture historians, who describe much about societies but explain little, do not begin to plumb the depths of meaning attainable from the available evidence. They may describe the distribution of a particular practice, but do not in general question the meaning behind the practice (Binford 1972:213). Processualists such as Binford (1962:218-219), who wrote his major works in the 1960s, and Fritz and Plog (1970:408-409, Fritz 1978:38), who elucidated the first formal definition of processualism, acknowledged that ritual plays a role in the life of the community, but they designated ritual to be one small subsystem of life. David Clarke, too, relegated ritual and religion to one small piece of a much larger system, but he did acknowledge that religion affects the behavior of those who practice it (Clarke 1978:36). Insoll (2004:49), however, argues that instead of considering ritual one aspect of life, other subsystems should be considered aspects of a combined life/ritual system. He believes that ritual pervades all aspects of life, and that to separate it from, for example, subsistence, when subsistence is very often intertwined with ritual, is not useful or correct (Insoll 2004:46-53). According to Insoll (2004:76), a post-processual perspective is most useful in examining the past, as it allows for differing interpretations, agency, and the acknowledgment that the observer can never be neutral, among other things. Post-processualists tend to look at “symbolic aspects of human action at the expense of the practical”, and as such they have been a bit better about discussing ritual (Insoll 2004:76-78). Ritual often involves action that leaves behind material evidence, though “the full range of the complex of meanings is lost to us” (Hodder 1990:11).

RITES OF PASSAGE AS RITUAL

Rites of passage are one kind of ritual. Arnold van Gennep (1960:1), who wrote in the early twentieth century, discussed rites of passage as an intermediate stage between the incompatible worlds of the sacred and the profane. A social individual's life consists of a series of these transitions. Common rites of passage include "birth, social puberty, marriage, [parent]hood, advancement to a higher class, occupational specialization, and death" (van Gennep 1960:3). However, each of these is accompanied by ritual to a different degree in different societies, so that some societies emphasize puberty rites and others birth rites. In addition, some societies place a greater emphasis on certain aspects of rites of passage than on others. The point of rites of passage, though, is that they allow each person to shift from one well-defined category of existence into another well-defined category of existence (van Gennep 1960:3).

Rites of passage are subdivided into three categories: rites of separation, rites of transition, and rites of incorporation (van Gennep 1960:10). These are also known as preliminal, liminal, and postliminal rites. During rites of separation, ceremonial or symbolic behavior acknowledging the fact of separation of the individual from their previous well-defined position, "either from an earlier fixed point in the social structure, from a set of cultural conditions, or from both," takes place (Turner 1969:94). In the next phase, that of liminality, the ritual participant exists in a state that is characterized by few or none of the qualities of the individual's previous position or his/her impending position (Turner 1969:94). During the rites of incorporation, the passage of the individual into the next phase of his/her existence is completed (Turner 1969:10). Here again, each culture places a different emphasis on each of the three

stages (van Gennep 1960:10). The liminal stage is most often emphasized, as it is in this stage of the ritual that the change takes place.

Robert Hertz (1960), who wrote in the early twentieth century, is another one of the few who did examine mortuary ritual as a transition, even if he did not explicitly call it a rite of passage. His theory that the decay of the corpse provides a physical representation of the journey of the soul is one of the early acknowledgments of death as a transition. He also linked the transition of the corpse and of the soul to that of the mourners.

Liminality

Those undergoing the liminal phase of the rite of passage are “neither here nor there; they are betwixt and between the positions assigned and arrayed by law, custom, convention, and ceremonial” (Turner 1969:95). This period is characterized by ambiguity, as these liminal entities or “threshold people” are not fixed into any position in the classificatory framework of the society (Turner 1969:95). The participant becomes a tabula rasa who must acquire the characteristics of his/her new position (Turner 1969:103). It is interesting to note that the phrases used to describe these threshold people are terms like “ambiguous,” “betwixt and between,” “in and out of time,” “inauspicious,” “polluting,” “dangerous,” and that they “elude” and “slip through” societal categories (Turner 1969). This quality of existing both in and out of the social structure of a culture reflects the “recognition of a generalized social bond that has ceased to be and has simultaneously yet to be” (Turner 1969:96). Liminality is almost universally considered in these terms, perhaps because *communitas*, or a feeling of social equality and solidarity experienced by those in liminal phases, is challenging to the social structure in general (Turner 1969:108-109). Mary Douglas (1966:34) posits that the uneasiness associated with liminality is

due to the fact that people regard as dangerous that which is difficult to classify or does not fit into classificatory boundaries. Liminality is especially unsettling when associated with mortuary ritual.

Pollution and Purity

Liminality in mortuary ritual is due partly to ideas of pollution and purity. According to Bendann (1930:84), it is nearly universal that the corpse is regarded as “mystical and supernatural,” and that contact with the dead is alarming. The death of an individual is polluting in several ways. Physically, the putrescence of the corpse is potentially contaminating. Pollution generally refers to an impurity or taint, and often results when entities do not fall into recognized categories of classification (Parker Pearson 2000:24). Liminal entities in mortuary contexts by definition are “betwixt and between” and thus polluting. This pollution must be contained, often by rites of purification or transference or simply by physical separation (Parker Pearson 2000:24). Fire and water are often aspects of mortuary ritual, and each has purificatory properties in many societies (Bendann 1930:95). Water washes away physical pollution, which symbolically reflects the washing away of the pollution of the soul. Fire burns away pollution, leaving behind clean ash or bone (Bendann 1930:103).

Death is also a cause of pollution in part because it threatens the social order. A death results in the destruction of not only a biological being, but also a social being “grafted upon the physical individual whose destruction is tantamount to sacrilege against the social order” (Bloch 1982:4). This removal of a person from the fabric of society is not a clean cut that leaves the rest untouched, but rather a snag that causes a distortion that affects the entire tapestry. Thus the potential impact of even one death is monumental. Those who have higher rank or are sacred in

some way are even more polluting, which makes sense in that their deaths would create more far-reaching distortions than would the death of a commoner (Bendann 1930:84). To mitigate this impact, the society withdraws that which it has contributed to the deceased so that it may invest it in another. This results in rites of separation or disaggregation, wherein the corpse is taken somewhere to await the rest of the ritual and to be symbolically separate, as well as in rites of incorporation or reinstallation during the final disposal of the corpse, wherein “the collectivity emerges triumphant over death” (Bloch 1982:4). The need on the part of the mourners, or the whole of society, to adjust to the death of the deceased, or one piece of society, also accounts for the dangerous liminal time during which the deceased may be malicious and the mourners withdraw from everyday life (Bloch 1982:5). Society emerges whole though transformed as the deceased reaches the world of the dead and the mourners rejoin the world of the living (Bloch 1982:7).

MORTUARY RITUAL

Burial is more than simply a way to dispose of the dead, it is a social act laden with meaning. It is important to recognize that the dead do not bury themselves (Barrett 1996:396, Sofaer 2006:19-20). Mortuary finds are very useful as archaeological evidence since they represent “the direct and purposeful culmination of conscious behavior, rather than its incidental residue” (O’Shea 1981:39). Mortuary rites “serve to create an idealized representation—a ‘representing’ of the individual by others rather than by the man himself” (Parker Pearson 2000:4). Thus what is left for the archaeologist to discover may have little to do with the ways in which the deceased conceived of themselves. Rather, those left behind by the dead may have “thoroughly misrepresented” the dead, using the funeral to manipulate others or jockey for social

position (Parker Pearson 2000:32). Even if that sort of overt misrepresentation did not take place, it was up to those left behind to decide which of the deceased's numerous social identities to emphasize. When a woman held the multiple roles of "leader, mother, farmer, married woman," those whose right and duty it was to bury the woman had to choose among them (Parker Pearson 2000:73). That others select among the roles held by the deceased almost certainly always results in a representation of the deceased that is partial at best and manipulated and manufactured at worst. The variability that results from selection by others, however, can reflect the complexity of the social organization, as the number of identities one embodies increases with increased complexity (Goldstein 1981:120). Chapman (2000:28) discussed his view that the examination of groups of burials instead of the whole population of burials within a cemetery is the best way to determine the presence and variety of social statuses. Hertz (1960:36), too, posits that differences in mortuary ritual will manifest according to both the status the deceased held in the living community and the perception of the correlation between the living status and the status held by the deceased as a member of the world of the dead. Variation also manifests according to the social persona, aspects of which include "age, sex, social position, social affiliation, and conditions and location of death" (Chapman and Randsborg 1981:7). This variation is useful in that those who are treated differently in death were likely treated differently in life, which can reflect social structure (Goldstein 1981:54).

Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual

As death marks the end of a person's actions, it is not possible to study the dead anthropologically. Rather, anthropologists study the behavior of the living toward the dead, and the ways in which death affects the living (Fabian 2004:51). Davies (1997:5) notes the apparent

contradiction between what is seen and what is believed: the formerly active person ceases to act and becomes a passive corpse, but those who survive believe that the person continues to live in some way. Edward Tylor (2010) believed that the idea of the soul came from dreaming. He tried to imagine the ways early humans would explain dreams, a phenomenon that even modern humans cannot fully explain. They would, he thought, conclude that there was some aspect of humanity that was separate from the physical body. This belief would then lead to the idea that perhaps other entities, such as rocks, trees, and animals, would have these same “ghost-souls” and that perhaps these souls did not die simply because the physical body did. Frazer (2010) agreed, and expanded this to conclude that humans would then attempt, through mortuary ritual, to control the ghost-souls of the dead or the other spiritual entities. These attempts, through sacrifice or other placatory actions, would be the first rituals. For Hertz (1960:77), individuals and societies had much in common, and the human body is seen as a microcosm of society. Society is expressed through the individuals who compose it, who serve as a “vehicle and bearer of social values and beliefs” (Davies 1997:12). Society “imparts its own character of permanence” to the individuals who comprise it, and thus the death of an individual is challenging for society as a whole (Hertz 1960:77). When the microcosm dies, that which it represented is threatened. Thus, it is beneficial to consider the individual not dead, but only transformed (Davies 1997:13). Davies (1997:4) views mortuary ritual as a necessary and inevitable result of human self-awareness. He believes that the alteration of identity that comes not only for the deceased, who ceases to function in her/his earlier social capacities, but also to the living, who must take up those responsibilities, necessitates some ritual to help the living cope (Davies 1997:4). The rituals give the living the courage to continue to live even in the face of their impending doom (Davies 1997:5). Mortuary ritual also serves the living by making sure

that the bereaved are supported and comforted by others until they are able to function again (Davies 1997:15). Mortuary rituals help the living, who have the conflicting desires to “break and at the same time prolong their association with” the dead, to ease into the separation through a series of phases designed to carry out the separation slowly (Robben 2004:2-9). The living often are with the dead as they die, they prepare the body, and they mourn. Mourning, though, is an obligation one must fulfill regardless of one’s actual emotions (Robben 2004:7, Hertz 1960:197). The death of a member of a group causes a disturbance in the social order, and the wearing of special clothing, observance of taboos, and other aspects of mourning by those closest to the deceased, regardless of whether they actually feel sorrow at the death, help to bring the social group closer together (Robben 2004:8-13). Ritual, including mortuary ritual, may thus “actively shape the emotions” of those who participate (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:3).

Barrett (1988:50) discusses the differences between the living and the dead, and how the living are changed into and changed by the dead. Funerals transform the living into the dead, which often involves the removal of the spirit from the realm of the living. Mortuary ritual also transforms the living in that the obligations of the deceased are reproduced and bestowed upon selected mourners. Thus funerals are not only events for the mourning of the departed, but also for the remaking of society (Barrett 1988:50-51). Mortuary rites serve to separate life and death, and to mark the way from life to death. The period of liminality, or the transformation between life and death, is important in that it is in this period that the dead are dangerous to the living in many cultures (van Gennep 1960, Turner 1969). This dangerous quality of the dead is due to the fact that the dead in the liminal phase of mortuary rites have been separated from the living but not yet incorporated into the realm of the dead (van Gennep 1960, Turner 1969, Barrett 1988:51). It is important to distinguish between mortuary rites and ancestral rites. Mortuary rites

control the liminal phase, reducing the danger to the living through processes that can include physical separation and the offering of grave goods to the spirit, as well as renegotiating obligations and social statuses among the living. Ancestral rites, on the other hand, are performed toward those who have been dead for some time. Barrett (1988:52) points out the relationship between the two forms of ritual: funeral rites transform individuals from the living to the ancestral, while the ancestral world must prepare to receive the dead from the mortuary rites. Part of the mortuary rites may have included depositing the deceased after a period of some time into an ancestral tomb or to an ancestral cemetery, thus ending the liminal phase (Barrett 1988:52). Monumental architecture, such as tombs, is associated with physical focal points for ancestral rites. While human remains are associated with tombs, they did not always contain the remains of all of those ancestors associated with the monument (Barrett 1988:112).

Helene Silverman (2002:3) introduced *The Space and Place of Death* by discussing place, both in the concrete and the abstract sense. Place can refer to the physical position held by a particular object and a position in relation to other places. She notes that place constrains our actions and helps to construct our world (Silverman 2002:4). Silverman quotes Parker Pearson to demonstrate that the living remove the dead from their world largely by removing them physically. The feelings of dread associated with the dead are thus confined to a particular place that is usually not among the world of the living, except often in the cases of infants, which may indicate their status as not-quite-humans (Silverman 2002:4). In addition, the presence of ancestors in a particular geographic location is a strong claim on the land around those ancestors (Silverman 2002:5). The places where the deceased reside, however, are not always primarily burial places, but rather were used more for feasting or other ceremonies. It is important for the

archaeologist to be careful of the assumptions s/he makes when examining burials (Silverman 2002:5).

Archaeology of Mortuary Ritual

Death is a natural subject for archaeology, as the ritual surrounding it leaves behind such excellent data, often preserved so well that it is possible to reconstruct with fair accuracy the way the burial or tomb would have looked at the time of its creation. However, archaeologists have not always fully investigated the ritual that results in mortuary deposits.

Processual archaeologists often assume a direct relationship between the grave goods and body treatment of the deceased and his or her social status in life (Binford 1972:210). This means that those with higher status should have more lavish grave goods or the obvious expenditure of more energy in the creation of their tombs. Conversely, the graves of those who are too young to have begun to participate in society as well as those who are so old that they have already withdrawn from full participation in society (i.e. infants and the very old) should demonstrate much less effort on the part of the living and fewer or less lavish grave goods (Binford 1972:211). Tainter (1978:125) expanded on Binford's idea, noting that for those deceased with higher social rank, the greater energy expenditure is due to the presence of more community involvement and disruption of activity at death. The way that the deceased are represented in death, according to Tainter (1978:110), yields information about the society of the living in that the deceased acquired the social identities represented as part of the society. Goldstein (1981:56-57) cautioned that what appears to be variation due to differential social rank could instead be linked to issues of time depth. The archaeologist must take into account the possibility that differential mortuary treatment may be due to rapid social change rather than social rank. Moreover, processualists believe that as the complexity of the society increases, so

too should the complexity of cemeteries, as each individual will have a greater number of social personae from which to select at the time of their death (Binford 1971:23, Rakita et al. 2008:4). Saxe (1970:3) noted that mortuary practices, as part of a cultural system, could only be understood in relation to that system. The ways in which the dead are treated yields information about the place of the dead and the responsibilities of the living (Saxe 1970:5). Often, the personae among which the living must choose are incompatible, such as when a man is both a king and a father (Saxe 1970:6-12). For those of higher social rank, there is a tendency for the persona chosen to be represented in death to be compatible with the high rank at the expense of less socially significant roles (Saxe 1971:71). Post-processualists argue that mortuary ritual often provides an opportunity for social status to be negotiated or appropriated (Rakita et al. 2008:8). Thus, a death can lead to active manipulation of power and status on the part of the living.

John O'Shea (1984:3) called for the investigation of mortuary assemblages to be subjected to the same scrutiny as the rest of the archaeological record in response to the assumption of many archaeologists at the time, such as Binford, and Renfrew and Kristiansen (1999), that the treatment of the individual in death could accurately predict the status of the individual in life. While O'Shea (1981:2) wrote that the disposal of the dead results in "the direct and purposeful culmination of conscious behavior," he urged caution, as the theoretical basis for this assumption had not yet been elucidated. Chapman and Randsborg (1981:2), too, asserted the need for a "body of theory" so that archaeologists could relate patterns of behavior.

Postmodernists are concerned with the interpretation of meaning. Clifford Geertz sees the analysis of the webs of significance in which man is suspended not as an experimental science, but rather an interpretive science that seeks to sort the "structures of signification" (Geertz 1977:5,9). Behavior, or social action, itself is not as important as the meaning behind

that action (Geertz 1977:10). One goal of postmodern anthropology is to build the repertoire of information available to those who study “other sheep in other valleys” (Geertz 1977:30).

Chapman and Randsborg (1981) call specifically for a body of mortuary theory so that mortuary finds can be related to patterns of human behavior. Tarlow (2011:4) notes that every detail of corpse disposal is potentially informative, and that the deceased no longer “experience the world as embodied selves,” but rather are the subject of treatment by others (Tarlow 2011:8). Michael Parker Pearson (2000:146) posited that the placement of the dead demonstrates the society’s relationship with their dead, including the extent of separation from the living and the guidance they give to the living. The disarticulation of the bones of the deceased that lie within the tombs reflects the incorporation of the deceased into the community of the ancestors (Parker Pearson 2000:146). Barrett, Bradley, and Green (2009) associate a variety of grave goods with complex organization, since a greater number of diverse identities associated with a person indicated a society in which a person could have more than one identity. As such, the mourners chose different identities of each person to honor in their grave goods (Barrett et al. 2009:120). The living would often choose either the most prestigious identities to honor or the identities that they personally appreciated most about the deceased, so that the grave goods associated with a burial do not necessarily represent the dead, or at least not the whole person, but rather are more indicative of the living left behind (Barrett et al. 2009:121). This thesis has a postmodernist slant. The aims of this thesis include building a body of knowledge about death as a rite of passage and interpreting the data yielded by the mortuary context in terms of the intent of those who created it.

Places of Burial

Cemeteries in many societies, as “places of death, disposal, or commemoration,” may provide much more than the chronology of the occupation of the cemetery or what is physically present in the form of grave goods (Hamilakis et al. 2002:12). Grave positioning, shape, depth, orientation, and body positioning all contribute evidence of kinship, gender, and status (Parker Pearson 2000:12). Cemeteries can be segregated according to status, age, or normal/deviant qualities (Shay 1985). Cemeteries are generally not abandoned due to being considered somehow “full.” The foundation of a cemetery by burying the first body serves to permanently declare the nearby area as belonging to those who buried the body. Thus, the abandonment and foundation of cemeteries can give us a better understanding of the society (Parker Pearson 2000:17).

The shape, depth, and orientation of the grave can be an important aspect of mortuary practices. Sometimes the grave aligns with other structures in a society, such as houses; other times, the grave must not be oriented in the same direction (Mack 1986). The shape and depth of the grave may correlate with the status or gender of the deceased (Parker Pearson 2000:5). Preparation and purification of the body are close to universal among today’s societies (Parker Pearson 2000:54). The body comprises “our primary and most fundamental source of contact with death” (Prior 1989:21). The corpse represents a portrayal of death, actively utilized by the living to depict both death and the afterlife (Parker Pearson 2000:45). This includes the position of the body in the grave (Parker Pearson 2000:54). The dead can be positioned in many ways: “prone on its back, lying on one side, lying facedown, or even sitting up or standing. Bodies may be laid with their legs flexed or even tightly bent, perhaps tied so that the knees touch the chin” (Parker Pearson 2000:6).

Liminality of the Deceased Individual

There are many ways to dispose of a corpse, and each has implications for the liminal period of the deceased. With inhumation, the liminal period for both the living and the deceased may end as the corpse is lowered into the grave, or perhaps when the grave is filled in (Barrett 1996:397). For cremation, the liminal period ends when the body has been transformed from flesh to bone, which also serves as a visual representation of the journey of the individual from the world of the living to the world of the dead (Barrett 1996:399). However, the mortuary rites rarely end upon the burning of the body. The ashes and burned bone fragments are gathered and often stored, sometimes for years “awaiting mingling with the bones of individuals still alive” (Parker Pearson 2000:7). They are then either scattered, in which case they are almost never visual archaeologically, or placed in a container of some sort, such as an urn. The container is then buried, often with grave goods, and the rites are concluded (Parker Pearson 2000:14). Cremation involves the burning of a corpse, usually upon a pyre (Parker Pearson 2000:6). Cremation “is usually neither a final act, nor sufficient in itself; it calls for a later and complementary rite” (Hertz 1960:43). The archaeologist can only discern that a cremation has taken place if the remains—ash and burned bone—are gathered and buried (Parker Pearson 2000:6). When the ashes are scattered after a cremation, it is nearly impossible to recover any of the material remains (Parker Pearson 2000:49).

During secondary burial, the liminal period is much longer. The body is either buried or deposited somewhere until the flesh decomposes and only dry bones remain. The bones are then unearthed or taken out of the charnel house and moved to a new location to be reinterred or buried. The physical changes of the deceased, from fleshed body to putrescent corpse to dry bones, mirror the spiritual journey of the deceased, from the world of the living to the in-between

place to the world of the dead, as well as the changes of the mourners (Parker Pearson 2000:50). The liminal phase, then, ends with the reinterment of the bones of the corpse, or perhaps when the body has completed its decomposition into bones (Barrett 1996:403). For both cremation and secondary rites, there is geographic separation of the places of liminality and of incorporation. This means that evidence of the liminal rites is not always visible archaeologically for these types of corpse disposal (Barrett 1996:398). Since the liminal period during inhumation ends in the same place as the body is buried, it is much more likely that “some of the symbolic materials used to structure the liminal period may be carried over into the grave” (Goldstein 1981:122).

Fear of the Dead

Human beings are sentient animals (Davies 1997:1). The animal aspect means that humans die, while the sentient aspect means that humans understand that they will die. This awareness of their impending demise forms part of the psychological environment to which humans must adapt. Mortuary ritual thus serves as an adaptive response to death (Davies 1997:1). The act of experiencing and conquering the encounter with death changes a society and bestows a “sense of power which motivates ongoing life” (Davies 1997:3). Parker Pearson (2000:194) posits that the origin of ritual could be related to dealing with death, from corpse disposal to the adjustment of the society and the bereaved. Societies handle the fear of the dead in many ways. Positioning the grave in a different orientation from the living in sleep serves to emphasize the contrast between the dead and the living (Mack 1986). Another way of emphasizing this contrast is evident in East Yorkshire in northeastern England during the Iron Age (ca. 300 B.C.). In the cemeteries at Garton Slack and Wetwang Slack, where residences are round, the places of the dead were distinguished from those of the living by their square shape

(Brewster 1982, Dent 1982). In this way it is possible to discern archaeologically the barriers that are meant to keep the dead from the living. Generally within a village or town, there exist areas that are designated as secular, and other areas that are designated sacred space (Parker Pearson 2000:124). Parker Pearson points out that the places of the dead are not always only where the physical remains of the dead are located, but can also be present in the form of memorials or altars (Parker Pearson 2000:141). The places of the dead can provide the archaeologist with much information about a society: the extent of separation or binding between the dead and the living, whether the dead occupy sacred or secular spaces, and how active the dead are in society are all significant (Parker Pearson 1992, 2000:124).

A fear of the dead would be evident as an extensive designation of sacred spaces as spaces of the dead. Another way this fear would be evident is if the places of the dead are physically separated from those of the living (Parker Pearson 2000:25). This separation may be achieved by locating the cemetery across a running stream from the spaces of the living, or at a higher or lower point than the spaces of the living (Davies 1997:14). These separated places of the dead often serve as a physical focal point for the fear of the dead (Parker Pearson 2000:25). Some societies devise a symbolic severance from the dead. Examples of this include the addition of a knife to the grave goods so that the dead may sever ties with the living, cutting a thread tying the living to the tomb, or taking a roundabout route on the way to the tomb or burial place so that the dead cannot find their way back to the living (Parker Pearson 2000:25). At times, places of the dead can be considered so seriously polluted that it is unsafe for the living to remain. The Pintupi of Australia would leave the place that a person died and not return for at least a year (Myers 1986:133-135).

Provisioning the dead with grave goods can also be interpreted as a way of handling the fear of the dead. Grave goods can be composed of the deceased's belongings as well as goods made specifically as gifts to the dead (Parker Pearson 2000:11). Often grave goods are deliberately broken. This is interpreted as ritually killing the objects so that they may travel with the dead (Leach 1976). They may prevent the return of the dead to the world of the living by ensuring that s/he is well equipped for the world of the dead or of the ancestors. A proper send-off may ensure that the deceased has no motive to return to seek vengeance for an array of grave goods that was so paltry as to either show a lack of respect or veneration for the deceased or deny the deceased the proper tools for the journey to the next world (Parker Pearson 2000:11). Societies in which the dead are seen as malicious beings may also equip the dead simply to placate the spirit or to bribe the spirit into pacification (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:96). At times, grave goods can even help the deceased make the journey to the world of the dead. The Saami of Scandinavia often killed a reindeer on the grave of the deceased so that s/he would have it to ride along his or her long journey to the world of the dead (Kharuzin 1890:157). Since the deceased often makes a journey to the land of the dead, those s/he leaves behind take care to equip him/her for the voyage, as they would for a living person who was about to travel (van Gennep 1960:153-154). If the deceased is not properly equipped for the journey, s/he may not be able to make his/her way to the land of the dead, and may come back unnaturally to the world of the living. The equipment for the journey includes physical items such as food and tools as well as magico-religious aid such as amulets and passwords (van Gennep 1960:154). Often they are placed in or on the grave, but they may instead be destroyed during the mortuary ritual (Leach 1976). There is clearly much variation in grave good assemblages, so it is important to discern as much as possible about the grave goods before using them as evidence. Even whether grave

goods are placed in or outside of a coffin is significant, since presence inside of the coffin would indicate at least a different moment of the ritual and perhaps different intentions of those left behind (Barrett 1996:397-398).

Fear of the dead can also be seen in the efforts undertaken by the living to be sure that the dead stay where they are meant to be. The Kol of India first help to speed their dead on the journey by placing the deceased on the ground, closer to the world of the dead (Hahn 1907:82). The Kol also take many precautions to keep the dead from finding their way back to the living. The survivors place the dead on a scaffold with the feet toward the front, and they take a roundabout route during the funeral procession so that the deceased becomes disoriented. The tools of the deceased are taken far away so that any lingering bits of the deceased cannot return, and even the litter used to carry the deceased is burned (Hahn 1907:82-88). The deceased are seen by the Kol as very polluting and as objects of extreme dread. Even after all of the precautions taken to be certain that the dead do not return, the Kol are still careful to leave food in front of their doors so that if, by some chance, the deceased's spirit does come back, s/he will be placated and will eat the food rather than harming anyone (Hahn 1907:88).

Another way that many societies diffuse the fear of death and its social consequences is through the incorporation of regeneration, fertility, and/or birth into the mortuary rites (Bloch 1982:1). Some cultures consider life a finite resource. Upon a death, the possibility of another life is created. The death of one person "releases the fertility" or life force embodied or borrowed by the deceased and makes way for a new generation (Bradley 2005:175). The fertility and regeneration do not always apply to human individuals, though, but can also refer to the fertility of the land or of domesticated animals. Generally, that which is thought to be the most vital resource in the maintenance of the social order is that which is revitalized (Bloch 1982:7). Thus

the rebirth referenced during mortuary ritual is not merely a denunciation of individual human mortality, but also reaffirms the social order (Bloch 1982:5). In some cases, the regeneration is appropriated by political entities, who bestow it upon the land as a gift, and thus reaffirm their own power along with the social order (Bloch 1982:41). Maurice Bloch (1982:227) wrote that “merging birth and death in the mortuary ceremonies is what creates a picture of fertility which transcends the biology of mere dirty mortality and birth. Mortuary rituals act out, therefore, not only the victory over death but the victory over the physical, biological nature of man as a whole.”

Examples of fertility seen in mortuary contexts can be found in Bronze and Iron Age Britain, as at Danebury and Stratford, where burial in grain storage pits is most common (Aldhouse-Green 1993:99, Bradley 2005:170). After the harvest, the seed grain was stored in pits dug into the ground over winter. In spring, the seed “[came] to life again,” and survived to be planted, which in turn brought life (Bradley 2005:168). The burial of individuals in these storage pits when they were no longer used can be interpreted as an attempt to link that quality of rebirth to humans, “to allow them to transcend the effects of life and death and embrace permanence” (Bradley 2005:172).

Liminality of the Living

For the living, the liminal period takes the form of mourning (van Gennep 1960:145). The period of mourning during secondary rites often correlates to the time it takes for the soul of the deceased to make its way to the land of the dead, with mourning lifted just as the corpse enters the world of the dead (van Gennep 1960:147). During mourning, the social life of the mourners is suspended, and they usually observe certain taboos (van Gennep 1960:149). The

mourners are reincorporated into society upon the performance rites that lift the mourning. This rite of incorporation often takes the form of the first meal after the lifting of mourning (van Gennep 1960:164-165).

The ways in which mourning is expressed often has much to do with purifying the society of the pollution caused by the death (Bendann 1930:28). The cutting off of hair in early twentieth century India was an effective method of pollution removal since it was thought that spirits clung to the hair (Bendann 1930:94). The cutting of hair was considered purifying by the Indians, and the growing out of hair by Nazarites who had made vows represented their uncleanness until they had fulfilled the vow (Bendann 1930:92). Spirits cling to blood as well in many societies, so the laceration or bloodletting of the body during mourning is purifying (Bendann 1930:98). The consumption of certain foods at certain times is polluting, so the abstinence from the consumption of these foods has a detoxifying or purifying effect (Bendann 1930:106). The consumption of cooked foods is taboo during mourning in some societies because the transition of the food from raw to cooked reflects too well the transition of the dead (Bendann 1930:103).

Another major function of mourning rites is the propitiation or placation of the deceased. Haircutting among the Tlingits of North America was done as a sign of respect for the dead (Bendann 1930:90). Lacerations and other self-mutilation prove to the deceased that the sorrow of the mourners is sincere (and thus that the self-mutilating mourner did not cause the death through witchcraft) (Bendann 1930:96). Consuming certain foods before the deceased has been buried and adequately provided for may be unwise, especially if one fears the vengeance of the dead (Bendann 1930:108).

Bendann (1930:57) emphasizes that these rites of purification or propitiation are not performed out of deep affection for the deceased, but rather out of fear of the dead. Much significance is placed on the proper disposal of the corpse. The burial alone of a corpse does not preclude his/her walking again, as “the natural tendency of the deceased...was to find his way back” to the world of the living (Bendann 1930:45). The main purpose of much mortuary ritual, then, is to prevent the deceased from finding his/her way back (Bendann 1930:60).

Summary

While ritual may sometimes be difficult to discern in the archaeological record, it is crucial to glean as much information as possible since ritual is one of the most fundamental aspects of life, and shapes the worldview of those who were practitioners. Rites of passage are a particularly significant type of ritual, in that they help to facilitate the major transitions in a person’s life. Therefore, the more we understand about the rites of passage of a particular society, the more we understand about the transitions that they believed significant. The data gathered from investigating the mortuary ritual of a particular society as a rite of passage can provide the archaeologist with an idea of the beliefs of that society about the afterlife. The purpose of this thesis is to provide a guide for extracting the relevant data from a mortuary site and inferring as much as possible the beliefs of those who created the site.

III. THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CORRELATES OF RITES OF PASSAGE AND LIMINALITY IN MORTUARY RITUAL

In the previous chapter, I reviewed the existing literature that deals with ritual, mortuary ritual, rites of passage, and liminality in both general anthropological and specific archaeological contexts. In this chapter, I will apply the knowledge that I have gained. In order to examine the process of transformation undergone both by the deceased and by the society composed of the living, I have developed a set of guidelines for identifying the archaeological correlates of rites of passage in general and liminality specifically. These guidelines can then be applied to nearly any site where mortuary ritual took place in order to identify the various stages of the rite of passage that occurred and thus, to gain a more thorough understanding of the site. The importance of examining mortuary ritual as a rite of passage cannot be overstated. Rites of passage help to facilitate all of life's major transitions. Examining mortuary ritual as a rite of passage in the archaeological record can enable archaeologists to better understand past societies, since by examining the process of transition from life to death, one can more fully understand both life and death.

RITE OF PASSAGE

It is first necessary to elucidate what I mean when I use the term, "rite of passage." As I mentioned in the second chapter of this thesis, a rite of passage is a transition from one well-defined state or category in life to another (van Gennep 1960:3). The state from which the person

will change is the preliminal state. I will use the terms “preliminal state/phase” and “original identity” interchangeably in this thesis.

A rite of separation serves to distance the person from his or her preliminal state or original identity, and marks the beginning of the liminal period (see Figure 1). At this point, the person no longer belongs to any particular classificatory category. In this liminal period, the person neither belongs to her or his previous category in life nor yet to the next. The ritual subject here is a *tabula rasa* or clean slate, with characteristics of neither state (Turner 1969:95). Since the people who are in the liminal phase of their rite of passage fall between categories in the classificatory framework of society, they are troubling to those who do fall into certain categories. Categories of life exist in societies partly so that each person knows how to address those they come across. For example, a youth knows how to address a respected elder. The concept that these liminal people are “betwixt and between” indicates part of the unsettling nature of liminality: if a person does not fall into any particular category, then how should that person be treated (Turner 1969:95)? How can that person be expected to treat others? This likely explains the dread that is associated with liminal entities (Douglas 1966). Finally, there is a rite of incorporation or reincorporation. This rite both ends the liminal period and marks the transition into the person’s postliminal persona. The ritual subject fits into a category once more, and is no longer a threat.

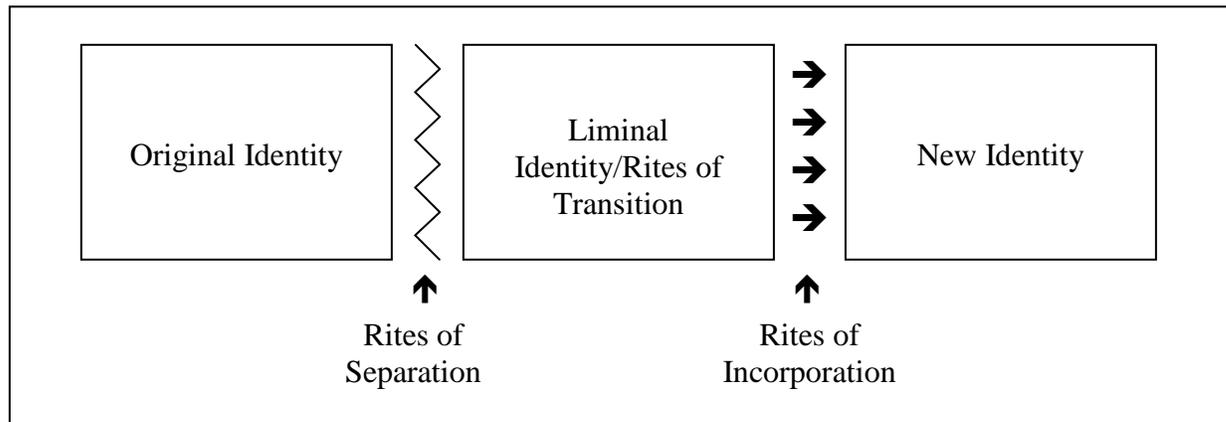


Figure 1: Graphic Depiction of the Rite of Passage

Rites of passage do not occur at random. The person undergoing the rite of passage must be considered by the rest of the society to be ready to change from one category in life to the next (van Gennep 1960, Turner 1969). A person cannot simply choose to transition if s/he does not meet the requirements, so to speak, of the new identity. Thus, in order for a member of the living to become a member of the world of the dead or of the ancestors, that member must experience the death of the biological self. Once the biological death occurs, a series of rites—of separation, transition, and then incorporation—must take place before the biologically deceased person is considered a member of the world of the dead. In other words, the biological death leads to the social death, but the two are not the same and do not occur at the same moment (van Gennep 1960, Turner 1969).

In order to examine death as a rite of passage, it is necessary to understand each of the phases of rites of passage as they apply to death. Archaeological correlates of death as a rite of passage may include evidence of each phase: the preliminal stage (or original identity), eligibility (or that which qualifies the person to make the transition), rites of separation (which

help to distance the ritual entity from his/her original identity), liminality (the period in which the change takes place), rites of transition (which facilitate the change), rites of reincorporation (which introduce the ritual entity into his/her new role or identity), and the postliminal phase (or new identity). I will examine the rites of passage that take place upon the event of a death from the perspective of both the deceased and those who remain alive. It is important to examine both perspectives. The deceased is the entity thought to be experiencing the transition from life to death, so it is necessary to understand as much as possible about the transition. As the living are the ones who are responsible for enacting the rites, and since the living too experience a change in the event of a death, it is also necessary to examine the role and experiences of the living. The table below is organized by phase of the rite of passage for both the deceased and the living. It lays out some of the possible archaeological correlates of each phase for both the deceased and the living.

Original Identity/Rites of Separation	Material Correlates
Original Identity:	
-Member of the world of the living	-Human remains
Rites of Separation:	
-Corpse transported outside	None identified
-Burning of possessions, house	Burned remains of possessions, house
-Killing deceased's wives, slaves, or animals	Presence of additional bodies or animals in grave
-Washing, anointing, or purification of corpse	Presence of residues
-Preservation of corpse	Lack of human hair Lack of evidence of insect activity
-Leaving place of deceased's death	Abandonment or disuse of settlement
-Laying out of deceased	None identified
-Erection of palisades around places of death	Presence of palisades around places of death

Table 1: Material Correlates of the Original Identity and Rites of Separation for the Individual

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE DECEASED

For deceased individuals, evidence of the preliminal stage—having been alive—is the remains themselves. The presence of a dead body indicates that there was once a live person. One becomes eligible for the transition from a member of the world of the living to a member of the world of the dead upon the death of the biological self. The transition requires rites to facilitate the death of the social self (Figure 2; van Gennep 1960:3). The first of these is a rite of separation, which serves to distance the one undergoing the rite of passage from his or her original identity.

Separation rites in mortuary ritual may include rites on both private and public scales. The laying out of the corpse away from others serves to keep the polluting effect of the corpse away from the living (Douglas 1966). The washing of the corpse signifies a change in the way the living view the deceased; the washing of a live person other than oneself or one's small children would be most unusual, but the living have already begun to see the corpse as not of the living. On a larger and more public scale, the erection of palisades or enclosures around barrows and cemeteries often serve to separate the sacred space of the dead from the profane space of the living (Midgley 1985:85-113).

While the living may experience quite strong feelings stemming from the separation from their deceased loved one, separation rites are often not emphasized in mortuary ritual as much as liminality (Parker Pearson 2000:25). When the deceased enters the period of liminality, a “third space” (Bhabha 1994) wherein they fall between classificatory categories, s/he is neither still living nor yet ancestor. In this liminal space, the previous parameters of the social self can be reinterpreted and even reconstructed through the ritual action of others as the deceased is reincorporated into society, this time as a member of the world of the dead (Gramsch 2007:13).

Liminality/Rites of Transition	Material Correlates
Display of corpse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Wagon, pedestal, dais, etc. among grave goods -Vegetation growth present in tomb
Storage of corpse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Disarticulated remains -Charnel house nearby
Fear or dread of the deceased	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Places of dead physically distant from places of living -Places of dead separated from places of living: situated across a river from living, placed high above living, placed below living -Efforts to keep dead from “walking”: heavy rocks on chest of deceased, shoes of deceased placed on wrong feet, low wall around places of dead -Grave goods as bribery or placation
Belief in world of dead or ancestors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Grave goods that reflect status -Grave goods that reflect occupation -Grave goods that include items that were useful in life -Grave goods that were ritually “killed”
Death seen as a journey	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Presence of food and drink in tomb -Presence of means of transportation -Presence of entourage or servants who were killed to accompany the deceased -Presence of other travel necessities

Table 2: Material Correlates of the Liminal Phase and Rites of Transition for the Individual

Material correlates of liminality can take many forms, many of which are listed in the table above. Different ways of disposing of the corpse have different implications for the interpretation of the liminal period. During inhumation, the liminal period may end either when the remains are placed into the grave or when the grave is sealed (van Gennep 1960:147). When the corpse is cremated, the liminal period may end either at the moment of immolation or when the cremated remains are buried. Evidence that the body was displayed for a length of time, thus extending the period of time between the biological death and the social death, may reveal a

longer liminal period (van Gennep 1960:148). The presence of a wagon or other platform among the grave goods can indicate that the body was displayed before it was inhumed. The archaeologist can use pollen or plant growth in the grave to determine how long the grave was open before it was sealed, which may indicate how long the body was displayed (Frey 1991:86). Evidence that a body was exposed or stored for a length of time before burial likewise indicates a lengthened liminal period (van Gennep 1960:152). This storage could be visible archaeologically if the remains are disarticulated. If a charnel house is nearby, then it may be the place where the corpse was stored until it was ready for burial.

Material correlates of liminality also may reflect the fear or uncertainty associated with those in the liminal stage of the rite of passage. Fear of the dead can manifest in a multitude of ways archaeologically. Very often, the dead are physically separated from the living (Parker Pearson 2000:25). The dead are placed in cemeteries, set aside from the places of daily life. While this separation can indicate the delineation of sacred space, it can also indicate discomfort with the restless soul that is no longer living but not yet quite dead (Hertz 1960:78). Sometimes, there is evidence that those who disposed of the deceased meant to keep the dead from “walking” or rejoining the living. The orientation of the grave, or of the body within the grave, is often toward the land of the dead. In other cases, the orientation of the grave or of the body in the grave must simply be different from the orientation of the houses of the living or the beds where the living sleep (Mack 1986). The presence of a wall too low to be meant to keep out the living around the cemetery can serve to emphasize for both the living and the dead the delineation between the spaces of the dead and those of the living and thus to keep the dead confined to the cemetery (Bendann 1930:45). During the Neolithic and the Iron Age, it was common to place heavy rocks on the chests of the deceased, particularly those that died unusual deaths (Balter

2005:613). Certain historical societies, such as the Iban of Borneo, include a knife with the grave goods of their dead in order that the dead may sever ties with the living (Gomes 1911:139-141), though it would be difficult to argue that this was the case with knives in ancient graves.

Grave goods can also serve as archaeological correlates of liminality and rites of passage. Sometimes they are given to placate the dead or to bribe the dead to leave the living alone (Huntington and Metcalf 1979). Grave goods may not necessarily reflect the fear associated with the liminal, though, and may instead be that which ends the liminal phase; equipping the dead for the next life may be what sends them onward (van Gennep 1960:154). Evidence that grave goods were meant to equip the deceased for the next life or for the journey to the next life may include much that was useful in the previous life. Often, though not always, the grave goods reflect the status of the deceased in life, perhaps indicating that the deceased was expected to retain this status among the dead (Binford 1971). Examples of this may include symbols of high status, such as items of personal adornment like gold torques. Remnants of fabric or leather can indicate the quality of the clothing worn by the deceased. Food and drink offerings may be present in the grave. Since these decay quickly, these are generally visible to the archaeologist as the vessels that held the drink, with perhaps some residue remaining, and the bones or other better-preserved remnants of the food. Feasting implements such as cups, bowls, knives, and more may be present. Weaponry or tools of the deceased's trade, as well as jewelry and other personal items may be included. These items indicate that the living do not see the deceased as having ceased to exist; if they believed this, then offerings and grave goods would not be necessary (van Gennep 1960:155). Rather, the living place the items they deem appropriate to the status of the deceased in order that the deceased may take his or her place among the dead. Whatever else grave goods may signify, though, they also serve as evidence of the postliminal phase: the world of the dead.

After all, there would be no need to equip the dead for the “next world” if there were no “next world”.

Rites of Incorporation/New Identity	Material Correlates
Deceased is now thought to be member of world of the dead or of the ancestors	-Inclusion in large burial mound -Inclusion in ancestral cemetery
Deceased was equipped for the world of the dead or of the ancestors	-Grave goods that reflect status -Grave goods that reflect occupation -Grave goods that include items that were useful in life -Grave goods that were ritually “killed”

Table 3: Material Correlates of the Rites of Incorporation and New Identity for the Individual

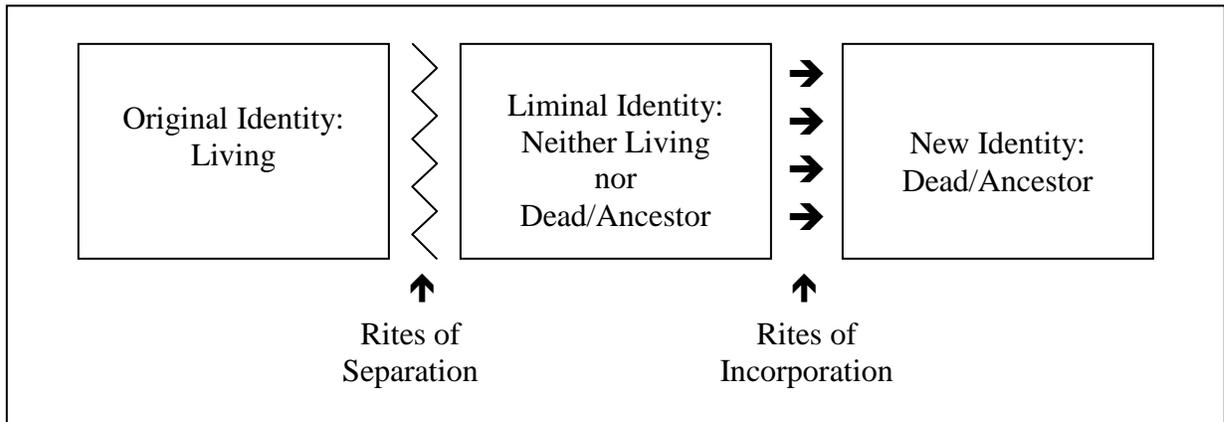


Figure 2: Graphic Depiction of the Rite of Passage of the Individual

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE LIVING

Those left behind by the deceased, including relatives and other loved ones, also undergo a sort of rite of passage, as indicated in the table at the beginning of this chapter. Rather than transitioning from alive to dead, the bereaved transition through stages of mourning and reincorporation into society. Figure 3 provides an example of the transition experienced by a woman upon the death of her husband. For this woman, the preliminal phase, or original identity, is her identity as a wife. When her husband dies, separation rites such as moving back to her

parents' house take place. She enters the liminal period of her transition, which is mourning. She must observe certain taboos and withdraw from her social life. She must also renegotiate her position in society, perhaps receiving an inheritance or trust from her husband. When an appropriate period of time has passed, she is reincorporated into society. This may be marked by a public appearance of some sort. With her reincorporation into society, her transition from wife to widow is complete. The society itself transitions through stages of chaos and then equilibrium. I will examine both of these phenomena.

Rites of Separation	Material Correlates
Washing, anointing, or purification of corpse	Presence of residues
Erection of walls or enclosures around tombs to delineate the space and mark it as sacred	Presence of walls or enclosures around tombs

Table 4: Material Correlates of the Rites of Separation for the Living

Mourning

For the bereaved, the preliminal stage can be as general as not having lost someone at all, or not having lost a spouse or parent or sibling or child or friend, or as specific as not having lost a particular spouse or parent or sibling or child or friend. The liminal phase for the survivors is mourning (van Gennep 1960:147). Survivors have certain obligations toward the dead that differ based on how closely related they were, whether by kinship or by choice. It is, perhaps, more useful to consider the outfitting of the corpse from the perspective of the survivors, as it is they who construct the identity visible to archaeologists rather than the deceased. Some of the mourners must dig or build the grave or tomb (Barrett et al. 2009:121). Some must prepare the body for interment. Some must equip the deceased with the appropriate grave goods (Barrett 1988:50-52). These are archaeologically visible obligations, and listed in the table at the beginning of this chapter. Other obligations of mourners such as the observation of certain

taboos and the avoidance of social activity are not necessarily archaeologically visible, and thus are not listed. The period of mourning is sometimes, as among the Habé of the Niger plateau, linked to the length of time that the soul of the deceased takes to make its journey to the next world (Desplagnes 1907:221).

Liminality/Rites of Transition	Material Correlates
Observance of certain obligations	-Equipment of deceased with grave goods -Preparation of deceased for burial
Renegotiation of status, inheritance, rights, and responsibilities	-None identified
Fear of the dead: effort to tie deceased into world of dead or ancestors or into the landscape	-Grouping of graves into ancestral cemeteries -Especially visible graves such as large monuments
Purification of pollution caused by corpse	-Exposure, so that the transition from putrescent corpse to clean bones can be seen -Cremation, which speeds the transition from putrescent corpse to clean ashes

Table 5: Material Correlates of the Liminal Phase and Rites of Transition for the Living

After the period of mourning, the mourners are reincorporated into society, often with a feast or some other public event (van Gennep 1960:164-165). The Merina of Madagascar mark the end of mourning by exhuming the corpse from its first grave, where it stays until the flesh is gone, and dancing with it so exuberantly that it disintegrates (Bloch 1982:210-217). This disintegration is necessary for the individuality of the corpse to be reduced physically, so that the corpse may be fully integrated into the communal tomb. The liminal periods of both the living and the deceased end when the corpse is placed into the communal tomb with the rest of the ancestors (Bloch 1982:217). Rites of reincorporation are only rarely visible archaeologically. If the reincorporation rite took place near the grave, perhaps evidence would exist in the form of animal bones with cut or scorch marks, feasting implements that were left behind, or the remains

of fires (van Gennep 1960:165). Even if this evidence existed, though, it would be difficult to the point of impossibility to associate it definitively with the rite of reincorporation as opposed to an earlier phase of the ritual, such as the funeral itself.

Rites of Incorporation	Material Correlates
Public event or gathering to incorporate mourners back into society	-Remains of feast or event, if it can be established that it was associated with this phase
Continuation of life after the death of the deceased, shows triumph of living over fear of death	-Evidence of subsequent activity including later burials and activity associated with settlement

Table 6: Material Correlates of the Rites of Incorporation for the Living

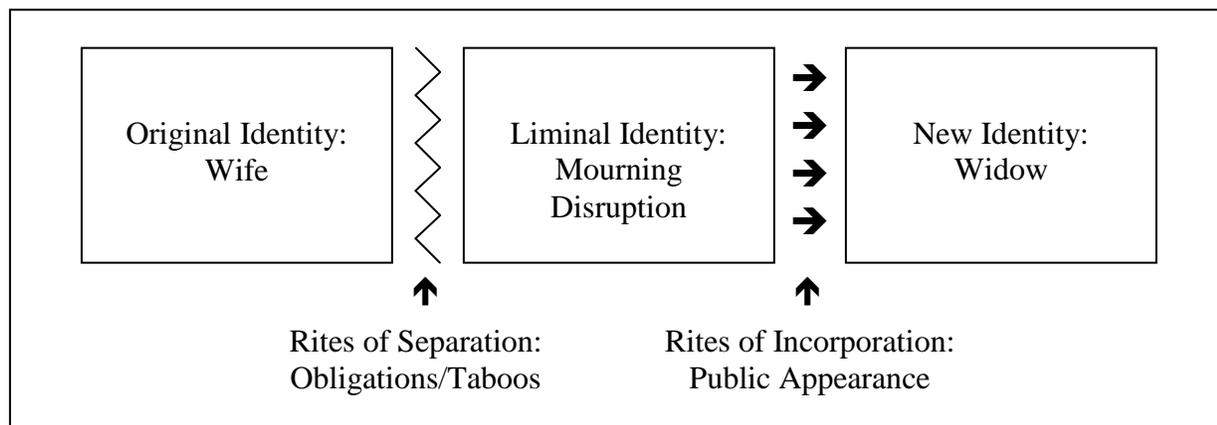


Figure 3: Graphic Depiction of the Rite of Passage of the Bereaved: In this example, a woman who loses her husband becomes a widow.

Disruption

The living undergo another type of rite of passage as well. Humans know that they will die. Mortuary rituals help the living to overcome the fear of death, to continue to exist even in the face of such disruption as death (Davies 1997:1). Along these lines, a society that has experienced a death may move through the phases of the rite of passage in the following way. In the preliminal stage, there has not been a death and thus the continuity of the society is not threatened. However, losing a member, especially of a small group, may create chaos and

disruption on some level (Bloch 1982:4). During this liminal phase, it is important for the group to re-establish normalcy and to cement group continuity, to “emerge triumphant over death” (Bloch 1982:4, Gramsch 1995:72). One way of cementing group continuity is to tie the deceased into the world of the ancestors. In this way, the deceased does not represent an end, only a continuation of what has always been. By associating the dead with the ancestors and the past as quickly as possible, the living may put distance between themselves and death. This association of the deceased with the ancestors can be achieved in several ways, often by inhuming the deceased in an ancestral cemetery. Thus, rather than isolated graves, we more often see graves grouped together into cemeteries. The erection of especially visible graves such as mounds or monuments achieve this on an even larger scale, wherein the deceased becomes part of the very landscape itself (Gramsch 1995:79).

As death is often associated with pollution, a way of re-establishing normalcy is by purifying the pollutant, in this case the corpse. This can be achieved by exposure of the corpse until the putrefying flesh has decomposed into clean bones. The transformation of the soul from the land of the living to that of the dead is visible to the living through the transformation of the putrescent corpse to clean bones (Hertz 1960:78-79). The presence of disarticulated remains provides evidence of this idea. Fire can help speed this process (Gramsch 1995:79, Jorgensen 1977, Madsen 1973-4:152). The use of fire would leave behind burned bone, charcoal, and other pyre remains. Further, as rebirth into a new phase requires death in the old, the decomposition of the body symbolizes to the community the transition.

By conquering the pollution, the discontinuity and disruption of death, continuity is preserved (Bloch 1982:218, Wilson 1972:188). Moreover, the community is stronger for having overcome their experience with death, and feels “a sense of power which motivates ongoing life”

(Davies 1997:3). As the community recovers from the disruption caused by the death, they settle back into their lives, changed but not destroyed.

One of the duties of those who remain alive upon the death of a member of the community is to discern—and even influence—the ways in which status and obligations have changed (van Gennep 1960:147). When a person dies, someone inherits the rights and responsibilities as well as the status and privileges of the deceased. The one who inherits could be the offspring of the deceased or someone else who was already designated, or there could be a struggle or dispute over the inheritance. The Bara of Madagascar acknowledge this possible source of contention in their mortuary ritual (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:129). While they focus on the transition of the deceased during the burial, the gathering afterward is a different matter. Here, they focus on renewing and reordering their relationships, acknowledging that the relationships have been changed by the loss of the deceased. They settle old scores and renew old friendships. They finish by assigning new names to the deceased and to certain of the living, and declare that the time for missing the deceased has ended (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:130). This helps to speed along the recovery from the disturbance caused by the death, while that disturbance is extended perhaps longer than necessary in other cases.

Summary

This chapter contained a set of guidelines that point out possible material correlates (summarized in tables throughout the chapter), or archaeological evidence, of each phase of the rite of passage of death. In order to best utilize these guidelines, the archaeologist should consider his or her site in the context of each phase of the rite of passage of death. The data from the excavation may yield new types of information if viewed from the perspective of the

guidelines described in this chapter. In the following chapter, I applied the set of guidelines to three sites to test their usefulness and validity. As the reader will notice, the usefulness of the guidelines varies according to whether the grave is intact or has been looted, and the presence or absence of grave goods.

IV. METHODOLOGY AND DATA

METHODOLOGY

I began my research by acquiring a thorough grounding in the existing literature on the anthropology and archaeology of mortuary ritual, on rites of passage, and on European archaeological sites containing mortuary contexts. Through this research, I formulated the ideas discussed in the previous chapter. In order to test the usefulness and validity of those ideas, it was necessary to apply the guidelines to archaeological sites. After a careful evaluation of the many sites I encountered during my research, I selected three sites. It was important for my purposes to select sites that would demonstrate both the strengths and the weaknesses of my ideas. Hypothesizing that my ideas would be most useful when applied to sites that were intact and accompanied by copious grave goods, I was careful to avoid selecting only sites with those characteristics. Rather, I emphasized diversity in three dimensions of mortuary practice: treatment of the body, grave structure, and grave goods. Thus, found among the three sites I selected are a cremation, three exposed bodies, and several inhumations, a coffin, two chambers, and three mounds, a barrow with no grave goods, several burials with moderate grave goods, and one tomb with rich grave goods. This diversity allowed me to assess the strengths and weaknesses of my ideas by allowing me to determine which types of graves, body treatments, and grave goods to which my ideas are best applied.

When the three sites for this thesis were selected, I conducted a more meticulous review of the literature published on the sites. In this way, I accessed the data necessary to write the

thesis. Every detail was potentially useful, as my thesis deals with the entire transition of both the deceased and the living that remained. Primary sources included the works of the people who excavated each site as well as those who analyzed the findings. I required knowledge of each site that was extremely detailed, and I gained that knowledge through a thorough examination of the primary sources. One challenge that I encountered during the research for this thesis was that much of the primary literature was written in German, a language with which I am not familiar. To minimize the effect of the language barrier on the thesis, I crosschecked facts with works in English by other authors to be sure that my translations were as accurate as possible.

Armed with a thorough knowledge of both the chosen topic and the sites selected, as well as my ideas regarding the ways in which mortuary ritual as a rite of passage was likely to be visible in the archaeological record in general, I began to think about the ways in which mortuary ritual as a rite of passage was present in the sites that I chose. As I applied the ideas that I had already articulated to the actual sites, I realized that some ideas were more applicable than others, and indeed that I discerned still more evidence of mortuary ritual as a rite of passage at each site. I sought to place each detail that my research yielded into context as part of a rite of passage in order to determine the ways in which the mortuary ritual at each site took the form of a rite of passage.

I recognized that my ideas would have weaknesses. From the time that I first articulated my thoughts regarding liminality and mortuary ritual as a rite of passage, it was clear that I might not be able to discern sufficient information from the data to say much that is meaningful. Indeed, it came to pass that my ideas are more useful for contexts that are intact and richly outfitted. I was able to discern much more evidence of the ways in which the mortuary ritual at

Hochdorf, the most richly outfitted of the sites I selected, functioned as a rite of passage than at the other sites. Even at Hochdorf, the data present could be interpreted in many ways.

The grave offerings especially can be interpreted in many different ways. However, it is important to acknowledge that multiple interpretations of the same artifacts can be equally valid, as many practices have multiple purposes. For example, the textiles wrapping the grave goods at Hochdorf may serve, among other possibilities, both the practical purpose of protecting the offerings from dust and the ritual purpose of protecting the offerings during the uncertainty of liminality, allowing them to arrive safely with the deceased in the world of the dead or of the ancestors. The multivocality of the data should not be considered a weakness, but rather a characteristic to be acknowledged and explored. It allows us to explore the multiple ways in which past people may have interpreted the artifacts rather than limiting us to confining our conclusions to one meaning or use per artifact, which is less realistic. The multivocal quality of the data only weakens our conclusions if we do not allow for and acknowledge it.

The first site I selected for this thesis is Wor Barrow, a Neolithic barrow complex on Cranborne Chase in southern Great Britain. This site was interesting in that it contained a combination of articulated and disarticulated remains, which means that some of the bodies were exposed before burial. Selecting a site that contained remains that had been exposed meant that I could consider the effects of exposure on the material correlates of the rite of passage of death. This site also contained a second phase of burial, which allowed me to discuss the implications of burial in already established mounds. Pitt Rivers (1898), who owned Cranborne Chase and conducted much of the excavation on the Chase, published his findings on Wor Barrow extensively. I primarily utilized this source, as well as the much more recent findings of Barrett, Bradley, and Green (1991), in my thesis.

I also selected an Iron Age Hallstatt princely tomb at Hochdorf near the Hohenasperg in southwest Germany. This tomb was so richly outfitted that it provided a large quantity of data, making it ideal for compiling my set of material correlates. The tomb also survived intact, so I was able to gain a more complete picture of the prehistoric activities surrounding the death of the man buried there. The large quantity of grave goods combined with the lack of looting was valuable in that I was able to discern much more about the process of transition of the man at Hochdorf. For this site, I utilized a variety of sources. Hochdorf has been extensively published, and I incorporated many of these sources. The incredible level of detail available in the multi-volume German language series of books, in particular, released about the Hochdorf tomb has been extremely useful in allowing me to access and evaluate nearly every aspect of the site.

The final site that I chose was an Iron Age Hallstatt period tumulus near the Hohmichele and the Heuneburg in southwest Germany. While this site is geographically somewhat close to the tomb at Hochdorf, it provides rather different information. There were several graves in Tumulus 17, including both cremation and inhumation. The presence of different grave types in the mound made this site especially interesting for my purposes, as it provided a more diverse data set than a mound with only one type of burial. As with the evidence of exposure present at Wor Barrow, the cremation grave at Tumulus 17 added another facet of mortuary ritual that I was able to discuss in my set of material correlates. My sources for Tumulus 17 consist of the published and unpublished works of Bettina Arnold and Matthew Murray, who lead the excavation at Tumulus 17, and Seth Schneider.

WOR BARROW COMPLEX ON CRANBORNE CHASE

Cranborne Chase is an estate located in southern Great Britain (see Figures 5 and 6) on the southern edge of the Wessex chalk, which is rich with archaeological finds (Barrett et al. 1991:26). It formed a sort of bridge between the uplands and lowlands. There was little large-scale occupation during the Early Neolithic. Settlement was sparse and consisted mainly of fairly mobile communities (Barrett et al. 1991:34). During the Later Neolithic, however, that changed. Burial customs shifted from collective burial in long barrows in the Earlier Neolithic toward individual burial under round barrows in the Later Neolithic (Barrett et al. 1991:59).

The Wor Barrow complex is a group of tumuli on the Cranborne Chase estate, the largest of which (Wor Barrow) was used for two phases of burial. The first phase of burial, in the Earlier Neolithic, was dated to approximately 2790 B.C., and contained the remains of six males (Barrett et al. 1991:43). The second phase of burial took place in the Later Neolithic, and contained the remains of two males (Barrett et al. 1991:124).

Augustus Pitt Rivers, who established many of the modern rules of excavation, owned Cranborne Chase and carried out extensive excavations on his estate that produced a large amount of well-documented material (see Figures 4 and 5). Large portions of the Chase were, in medieval times, hunting grounds, and thus escaped the damage of agriculture (Barrett et al. 1991:8). The material from Pitt Rivers' excavations became available for study after his private museum closed in the 1960s (Barrett et al. 1991:8). There are, of course, some problems with his collection techniques, some of which are due to his practice of rewarding workers for particularly impressive finds. As Pitt Rivers became more familiar with excavation on such a large scale, though, his techniques became more refined and detailed (Barrett et al. 1991:13). His practice of having a carpenter produce three dimensional scale models of mounds proved quite

helpful later, as it provided the only evidence from his work for one of the round barrows, Handley 26, that is within the Wor Barrow complex (Barrett et al. 1991:14). His works, as well as those of Barrett, Bradley, and Green (1991), who later examined the whole of Cranborne Chase, comprised the primary sources used in this thesis.



Figure 4: Location of Dorset, Wiltshire, and Hampshire Counties in the United Kingdom

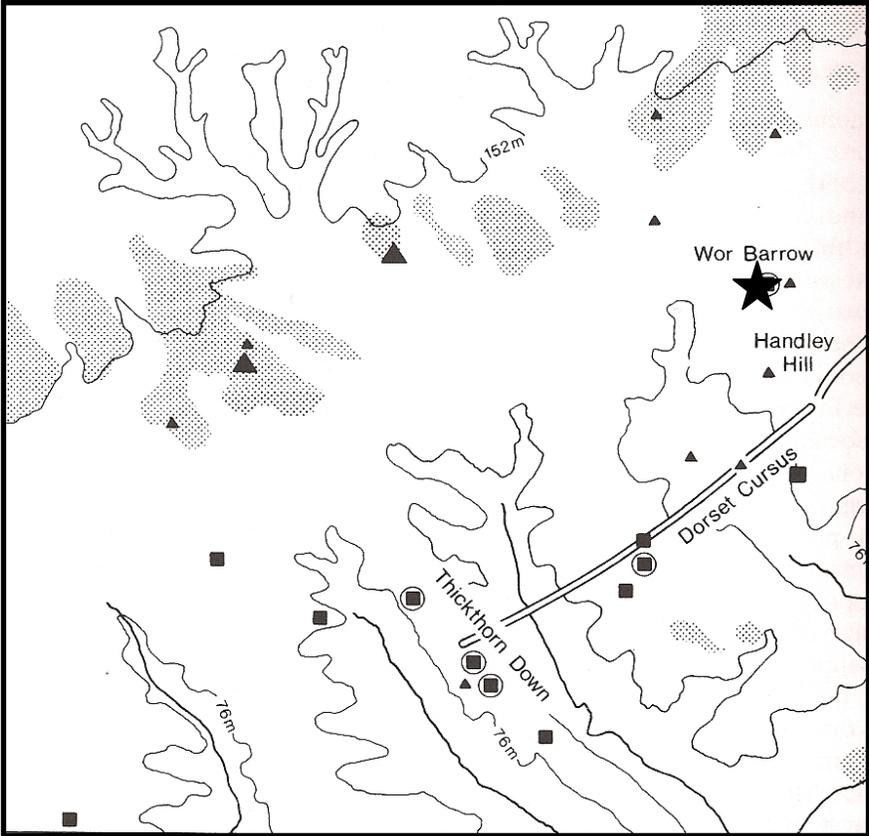


Figure 5: Location of Wor Barrow on Cranborne Chase

Cranborne Chase: Wor Barrow Complex

The Wor Barrow complex is a Neolithic site on Cranborne Chase in southern Great Britain (see Figure 5). There were two phases of Neolithic burial in Wor Barrow itself: an Early Neolithic and a Later Neolithic. The excavation of the first phase of Wor Barrow unearthed the disarticulated remains, or remains that were placed after the body had decomposed, of three males and the articulated remains, or remains that were placed while the body was still intact, of another three males. Wor Barrow is a bit different from the other two sites selected, as the inhumations of the three articulated males seem to have been associated with either ancestor rituals or the secondary burials of the three disarticulated males. The remains of all six bodies were found on the ancient surface surrounded by an oblong wooden enclosure that measured nearly two and a half meters long by just over a meter wide. To the north and the south of the primary interments were two oval-shaped pits (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). To the west of the burials was a line of nodular flints, arranged to form a sort of wall (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). Over the interments and pits had been built a mound 0.7 meters high (Barrett et al. 1991:123, Pitt Rivers 1898:66).

Bodies No. 1 and 2 were articulated, buried in a crouched position lying on their right sides with their heads toward the south (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). No. 6 was the other articulated skeleton. No. 6 was located to the northwest of Nos. 1 and 2, and was also buried in a crouched position on his right side with his head to the south (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). The remainder of the corpses, Nos. 3, 4, and 5, were disarticulated and deposited in the northeast corner of the oblong enclosure (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). The long bones of these three were placed parallel to each other next to their skulls (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). No artifacts were found with any of the six corpses interred in the oblong enclosure (Pitt Rivers 1898:62).

The second phase of burials took place in the Later Neolithic. This consisted of two male corpses buried together in a crouched position, both of which were fully articulated, and one of which was an adult. Beneath the two lower ribs of the adult male was one rather large lozenge- or leaf-shaped arrowhead (Barrett et al. 1991:84, Pitt Rivers 1898:63). This arrowhead may have been the cause of death of the corpse. This burial was located on top of the primary filling of the ditch nearly two and a half meters below the surface, and was covered with a round barrow.

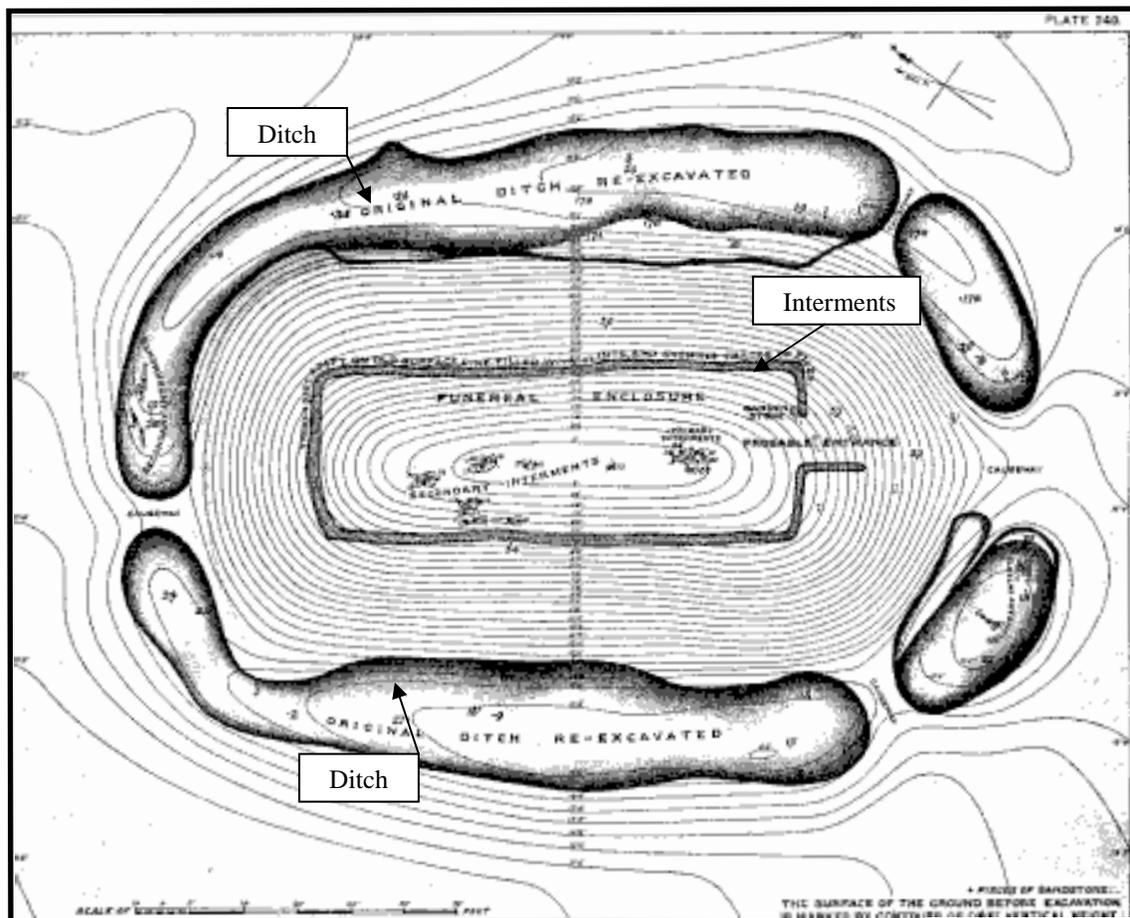


Figure 6: Plan of Wor Barrow: Both mound and ditch were excavated. Adapted from Pitt Rivers 1898

TUMULUS 17

Bettina Arnold and Matthew Murray excavated Tumulus 17 as part of a project called *A Landscape of Ancestors* in 1999 and 2000 (Arnold and Murray 2000, Arnold et al 2001, Arnold and Murray 2002, Murray 2007, and Schneider 2003). Tumulus 17 has not yet been extensively published, but there is sufficient material available to allow me to conduct the testing of my guidelines.

Tumulus 17 is an early Iron Age (600-450 B.C.) mound in the Hohmichele, or Speckhau, mound group that includes 36 mounds near the Heuneburg on the upper Danube River in southwest Germany. The Hohmichele mound is one of the largest burial monuments in continental Europe (Riek 1962:1-2). The Hohmichele (see Figure 8) is associated with the Heuneburg, a hillfort or fortified enclosure that was occupied in the Early Iron Age from approximately 620-400 B.C. It was located on a promontory with a view of the Danube River, and surrounded by a trench approximately two meters deep (Kimmig 1983:70-80, Böfinger 2007:11-14, 20). The whitewashed mud brick wall, storage facilities, and the presence of evidence of manufacturing such as bronze, iron, and glass slag suggest that at least in some phases of occupation, the Heuneburg hillfort may have been a symbolic area, which could have been used for feasting and ritual activity while the community lived in the outer settlement (Arnold 1991:426, Schneider 2003:45). The Heuneburg at this time was characterized by a “prestige goods economy,” in which the elites controlled the flow of luxury goods, which often were Mediterranean imports (Cunliffe 1998:346). These elites would retain more expensive or sought-after items to demonstrate their own power and increase their prestige, and would dispense less expensive or sought after goods to elites of lower status through cycles of gift exchange. Another way that the elites controlled the flow of goods, creating demand and

reducing the available supply, was by burying their dead with lavish grave goods (Cunliffe 1998:341).

One example of the ways in which the Heuneburg elites attempted to associate themselves with their Mediterranean counterparts is the wall surrounding the hillfort. Built of mudbrick on drystone footings, it was entirely unsuitable for the temperate climate, but was entirely Mediterranean (Cunliffe 1998:346). The mud-brick wall was destroyed by fire, and replaced by a wall of wood and stone (Kimmig 1983:63-64). After the third time the wall was destroyed, around 450-400 B.C., the Heuneburg was abandoned (Kimmig 1983:64).

Tumulus 17

Tumulus 17 (see Figures 7 and 8) is located 150 meters south of the Hohmichele in the Heuneburg. Tumulus 17, which was 20.86 meters in diameter and 2.7 meters high, was built in several stages and contains five or six sets of human remains (Arnold et al. 2001:68, Arnold and Murray 2002:321). The first stage of the mound, on the ancient surface, consisted of a five-meter by five-meter “central chamber” containing a cremation (Grave 5) and an inhumation (Grave 4). These dimensions were indicated by the presence of post-holes, the walls of which were aligned at each of the cardinal points (Arnold and Murray 2002:321). Grave 5, the cremation and likely the primary burial, contained large amounts of charcoal, burned bone, and remnants of grave goods including pottery sherds, bits of bronze, the tip of an iron spear point, two iron spear shafts, and fragments of what was probably an iron knife belonged to the cremation, and the weaponry suggests that the deceased was male (Schneider 2003:72). Grave 5 has been interpreted as the remains of a funeral pyre (Arnold 2000:6). The deceased was burned and then

buried under the pyre. The cremation artifacts are dated to approximately 600 B.C. Grave 5 had been looted in antiquity.

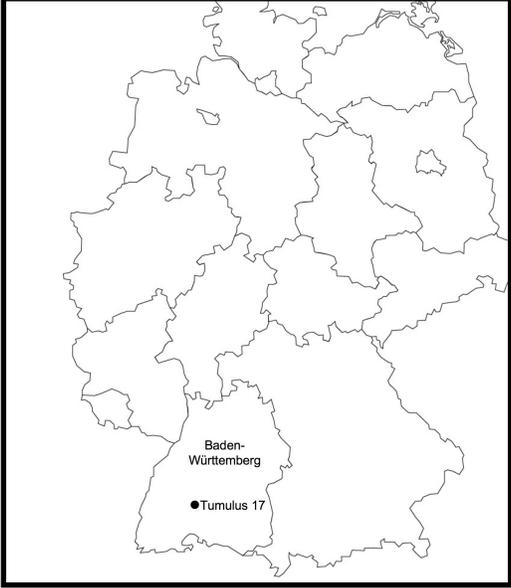


Figure 7: Location of Baden-Württemberg in Germany

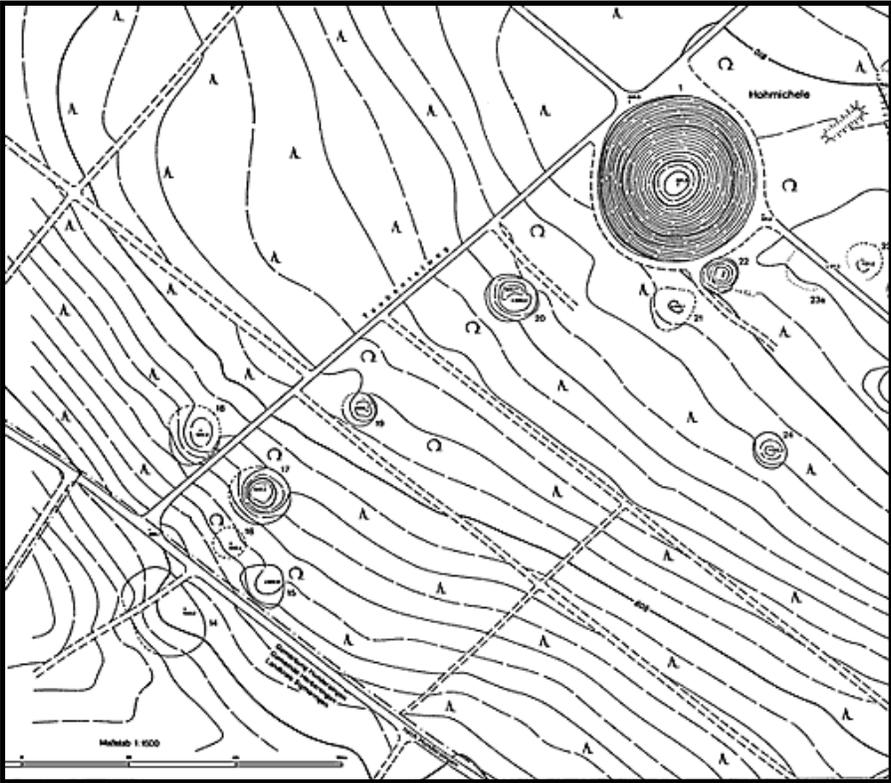


Figure 8: Map of the Tumulus 17 Area, adapted from Bettina Arnold

Grave 4, located along one wall of the central chamber, contained a female and was likely a secondary burial. She wore a belt with bronze studs, bronze bracelets, bronze fibulae or clothing fasteners, a bronze earring with glass beads, a globe-headed straight pin, and ornaments very near her head which could be either ear or hair ornaments. The adornments, namely the straight pin and the fibulae, date this grave to the Hallstatt D1 period, as does the cremation grave that Grave 4 disturbed (Arnold et al. 2001:69, Schneider 2003:71). Portions of the wooden ceiling of the chamber had fallen on top of the body, possibly occurring during the looting of the chamber (Schneider 2003:71).

Over the central chamber was built a one-meter high earthen mound. Artifacts found on the surface of this initial mound include burned pottery, bronze and iron fragments, charcoal, and burned bone. Some of the ceramic fragments on the surface of the mound were found to match those inside the mound, indicating that some of the ceramic pieces were reserved from the primary grave (Schneider 2003:174). Another fragment that matched the ceramics in the primary grave was found in a feature that was created many years after the initial mound (Schneider 2003:174). Over this mound were two layers of soil: the first of dense gray clay, and the second of light loam. This may have symbolically capped the burials underneath the layers (Arnold and Murray 2000).

Two additional secondary burials—Graves 1 and 3—were placed in Tumulus 17. In the clay layer of the mound was Grave 3. Wood residue suggests a narrow wooden coffin, which contained a male corpse and his grave goods. The grave goods included his weapons, a dagger and two spear points, as well as a bronze arm ring, a few fibulae, two of which were dated to 450 B.C., and a ceramic cup or beaker (Arnold et al. 2001:69, Schneider 2003:69-70). The only preserved bone was near the arm ring. The dagger was angled along the hip, suggesting that the

deceased was buried wearing it (Schneider 2003:70). It is interesting to note that though more than 100 years separated the three inhumations that were preserved well enough to discern orientation, all were placed with their heads toward the south (Arnold and Murray 2000).

Grave 1 is characterized by a wooden chamber made of oak planks measuring 1.4 meters by 2.2 meters (Arnold et al. 2001:68). It contained a bronze cauldron, an iron short sword, two iron spear points, an iron belt hook, and an iron plume clamp that held feathers onto a leather helmet (Arnold et al. 2001:69, Schneider 2003:66). Parts of the wooden spear shafts survived where the points were hafted to the shaft. The sword's sheath was of hide with the fur side out, and the sword itself had a single cutting edge and a handle made of horn (Schneider 2003:67). Though only tooth fragments survived, the grave goods indicate that the corpse was probably male (Schneider 2003:67). Both the stratigraphy of the mound and the artifacts indicate that Grave 1 was later than Grave 5, the initial burial, and possibly contemporary with or later than Grave 3, which was dated to approximately 450 B.C.

Stratigraphic evidence from Tumulus 17 indicates that the mound was modified and added on to through time, resulting in at least seven layers of fill (Arnold and Murray 2000). Some of these layers contained features such as deposits of charcoal and pottery. The deposits may be the remains of hearths or offerings (Arnold and Murray 2000).

The central chamber of Tumulus 17 is one of the largest known in Baden-Württemberg during the Hallstatt period, and is in fact larger than that of the Hohmichele, possibly indicating a power struggle (Schneider 2003:75, 84). Certainly the size of the central chamber of Tumulus 17 indicates its importance, and thus likely that of the primary burial within as well (Arnold and Murray 2000). Elites may have used Tumulus 17 quite a bit longer than originally thought. The Speckhau mound group was thought to have been abandoned after 540 B.C., but evidence from

Tumulus 17, including dates from time-sensitive fibulae and sherd refits from various contexts, indicates that it was used at least until approximately 400 B.C. (Arnold et al. 2001:68).

HOCHDORF

The primary sources for the Hochdorf tomb include the works of Jörg Biel (1985, 1989, 1991), who excavated the Hochdorf tomb, as well as those of the many people who have analyzed the copious amounts of data yielded by the excavation. These include Hansjörg Küster and Udelgard Körber-Grohne (1985), who analyzed the plant remains at Hochdorf, Dirk Krausse (1996), who discussed the feasting implements and drinking service, Johanna Banck-Burgess (1999), who analyzed the textiles from the tomb, and Julia Koch (2006), who discussed the wagon and harness equipment at Hochdorf. Further analyses are likely to be published in the near future.

The Hochdorf tomb is an example of a *Fürstengrab*, or “princely grave” that is located 18 kilometers northwest of present-day Stuttgart in the state of Baden-Württemberg, Germany (Küster and Körber-Grohne 1985:87). The late Hallstatt period mound was built around 530 B.C. We cannot be sure that the Hochdorf tomb was associated with the Hohenasperg, as the two were almost ten kilometers apart (Frey 1991:85). It is unclear where the chieftain of the Hochdorf tomb would have lived and exerted his power and influence. However, since the Hohenasperg was near, I will provide a bit of background.

The Hohenasperg is a hill between Stuttgart and Heilbronn (see Figures 9 and 10) where there was very likely a princely stronghold. While the medieval town of Asperg obliterated much of the archaeological evidence for this, the presence of so very many princely tombs surrounding the stronghold would indicate that this was the case (Frey 1991:85).

Like the Heuneburg, this area of early Iron Age southwestern Germany was characterized by a prestige goods economy, in which luxury items from the Mediterranean formed a basis for power and prestige. These luxury items, including feasting sets, often ended up in the tombs of these powerful elites. As I discussed earlier, this practice of entombing luxury goods decreased the supply available for exchange. Not every sign of high status in Hallstatt southwest Germany was connected with the Mediterranean, however. The conical birchbark hat with its incised designs of concentric circles was a local indicator of status. So, too, were the large quantities of gold contained in the tomb, which amounted to nearly one pound. This included his torque, armband, fibulae, and buskins. Gold also plated the dagger and adorned the drinking horn that was most likely associated with the deceased. Evidence such as the presence of gold debris suggests that much of the gold was prepared especially for this funeral (Scarre 1998:175).

Jorg Biel (1985) conducted excavations according to high standards. The high quality of the excavation, coupled with the multidisciplinary studies that have since been conducted upon the tumulus, has resulted in a wealth of data that makes this an ideal site to test my set of guidelines. He and others have published extensively on nearly every aspect of the site.

Hochdorf Tomb

The “princely tomb” of Hochdorf was created around 530 BC. The mound was originally approximately six meters high and 60 meters across, and was constructed with a masonry perimeter with timber support posts (Biel 1985:49-50). In the middle of this was a burial chamber, dug to a depth of 2.5 meters and measuring 11 meters wide by 11 meters long (Scarre 1998:177). The chamber consisted of two nested chambers, the smaller of which measured 4.7m x 4.7m x 1.2m internally (Biel 1985:54). The space between the inner and outer chambers was

filled with rubble (Biel 1985:55). A mound with a diameter of 40 meters was then built up to the lip of the chamber, which was still open. A ceremonial entrance was built of two stone walls with a ramp between them leading up the mound. The deceased as well as many of the grave goods were wrapped in textiles (Banck-Burgess 1999). The grave goods were lowered into the chamber during the funeral, and horses drew the wagon carrying the deceased up the mound, where the deceased was lowered into the chamber (Scarre 1998:177). A mound 60 meters across and six meters high was built over this, and was edged with stones (Scarre 1998:179). According to evidence from wood fragments in the mound, construction took approximately five years to complete (Olivier 1999:128).



Figure 9: Location of Baden-Württemberg in Germany

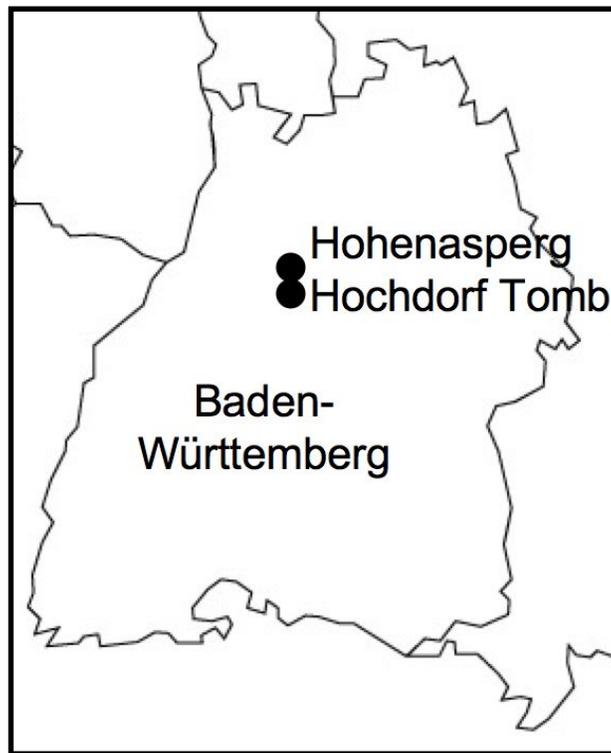


Figure 10: Location of the study area in Baden-Württemberg

Conditions such as the tightly compacted ceiling of four layers of oak yielded surprisingly good preservation of fabric, leather, and other materials that usually would have decomposed quickly, resulting in over 500 samples of textiles (Banck-Burgess 1999). The inner chamber was lined with fabrics held together with bronze fibulae, and indeed there is evidence that many of the grave goods inside were wrapped in fabric (Banck-Burgess 1999:27). This wrapping of the grave goods could have implications for the liminal period of the ritual. The textiles may have been meant to protect the grave goods as they transitioned through the dangerous liminal period of the rite of passage. Perhaps the grave goods were thought to be unwrapped at a later point in time by members of the world of the dead. There are other possible interpretations as well, including the purely practical function of protecting the goods from dust or debris or padding the goods so that they were not broken in transit from the place they were made to the grave. The ritual and the practical interpretations are not mutually exclusive, as phenomena often serve more than one purpose.

The fibulae allow us to date the tomb to the transition phase of the late Hallstatt period, around 530 BC (Küster and Körber-Grohne 1985:87, Frey 1991:87). The grave, which survived unlooted until its excavation in 1978, contained a rich assortment of grave goods (Frey 1991:85-86).

Vegetation had begun to grow on the bottom of the tomb, indicating that the tomb had been left open, and thus the deceased unburied, for at least four weeks (Küster and Körber-Grohne 1985:94, Scarre 1998:176). This could indicate that the body was preserved in some way. There were no fly larvae found, which could indicate that the preservation took place before decomposition set in. Loss of hair is a side effect of many preservation techniques, and while animal hair was preserved well in the tomb, not a single human hair was found (Scarre 1998:176). It is possible that, due to the man's advanced age, he lost his hair prior to death, but the possibility of preservation must be considered due to the length of time he was left unburied.

The contents of the chamber were arranged in a bipartite manner, with the body and its personal effects located in the western half and the wagon and other goods in the eastern half (Olivier 1999:113). Perhaps most notable among the grave goods is the bronze couch upon which lay the body. This couch was three meters long and of Etruscan design. The couch was covered with many layers of fabric (Banck-Burgess 1999:91). The illustrations on the back of the couch were made of perforations and depicted two four-wheeled wagons, each pulled by two horses. The wagons depicted on the back portion of the couch were driven by men with shields and either lances or goads. Between the two wagons were portrayed three groups of two men, each of whom held in one hand a sword and in the other an unidentified object (Biel 1985:84). According to Biel (1991:84), it appears that the men are dancing rather than fighting. Eight

female figures made of bronze supported the couch (Frey 1991:91). The foreign design indicates either that the couch was imported or that a foreign craftsman living in the area made it.

The man who lay upon the couch was very stoutly built and unusually tall for his time, approximately 1.8 meters in height (Krausse 1996:357). He was around forty years of age when he died, an elder for that time. He was wrapped in and placed upon many layers of textiles, both of fine and coarse quality, which were held together with cord (Banck-Burgess 1999:111). The layers included many badger skins, thin textiles of hemp, layers of twigs, badger-hair textiles, woolen textiles, and linen textiles (Banck-Burgess 1999:147). Underneath his head was found a blanket made of badger hair and a braided or woven plant-fiber mat, which served as a pillow (Banck-Burgess 1999:147, Olivier 1999:114). The birchbark conical hat on his head, sewn from two pieces of bark decorated with punched concentric designs, has been interpreted as a symbol of his high rank, as has the gold torque around his neck (Scarre 1998:175). Other gold adornments included a thick bracelet—which had been placed on the right forearm though these are usually found on the left arm in male graves of this time (Olivier 1999:121)—and two fibulae, and the weight of all the gold in the tomb was approximately one pound (Scarre 1998:175). His weaponry included a quiver of arrows, which had been hung on the wall of the tomb, and a knife partially covered in gold. It is interesting to note that he was equipped with weapons not of war, but of hunting and fishing (Scarre 1998:176). The arrows were placed with their points upward in the quiver, which is the opposite of the functional way of points downward (Olivier 1999:121). While most of the arrows were tipped with iron, one was tipped with bronze in a different shape (Olivier 1999:121). The arrows seem to have been collected from more than one set, as their shafts were made of five different woods, plus a sixth for the single bronze-tipped arrow (Olivier 1999:121). His birchbark hat and his belt and shoes were

also covered in gold. The waste gold in the grave indicates that, other than the torque, all of the gold objects were made specifically for the grave good assemblage (Frey 1991:87).

Another notable artifact found in the Hochdorf tomb is the wagon that was likely used during the mortuary ritual (Frey 1991:87). With the wagon was harness for two horses, a yoke with rich detail, two sets of bridle gear, including leather reins decorated with bronze discs, and a nearly two meter long goad (Koch 2006:274). Much of this would usually have decomposed quickly, but was preserved due to the unique conditions of the tomb. The wagon was located on the east side of the burial chamber. The wagon was covered with sheets of iron (Koch 2006:274). It is possible that the wagon was lowered into the grave in a disassembled state and then partially reassembled (Koch 2006:262, 274). The corpse was displayed for some time, possibly on the wagon, before he was placed on the bronze couch and the tomb was sealed (Scarre 1998:176). Nine bronze platters and three matching bowls were placed upon the wagon (Krausse 1996:357). The bowls had rims inlaid with pearl (Krausse 1996:359). Also upon the wagon were the harness and horse equipment and tools for slaughter (Koch 2006:262). The slaughter tools were placed on the wagon as a set after the horse harness (Koch 2006:263). Banck-Burgess (1999:145) divided the textiles present on the wagon into two categories: the first likely belonged to a cushion, and the second group included those used to wrap the items on the wagon.

Nine drinking horns were hung on the walls of the tomb, one of which was made of iron and measured one meter long. The iron drinking horn had a larger capacity than the rest and was decorated with strips of gold (Krausse 1996:357, Olivier 1999:114). This larger iron horn seems to have been reserved for the deceased, as it was placed on the wall directly behind where his head lay (Olivier 1999:114). The horns were all too large to have been used to drink the mead in

the cauldron (Olivier 1999:119). Ornamental cords hung from the ends of the horns, and held lockets and beads made of bone (Krausse 1996:357).

A large bronze cauldron with a capacity of 500 liters contained a gold bowl filled with mead, rather than with wine, as would be the case if they had fully adopted Mediterranean habits (Frey 1991:105). The cauldron was covered with textiles, which survived mainly where it touched the lions, and a golden hemispherical cup was placed on top of the fabric (Banck-Burgess 1999:116, Krausse 1996:357, Olivier 1999:115). The cauldron had three lion handles, one of which was a replacement made by a local craftsman (Scarre 1998:175). While the cauldron itself was of Mediterranean design, the drink within and the feasting equipment were local (Scarre 1998:176). A layer of sediment including beeswax and pollen remained in the cauldron upon excavation, indicating that the mixture inside was not a finished mead, but rather a fermentation mixture (Banck-Burgess 1999:147). The honey came from native plants that flowered in the summer, perhaps indicating that the burial took place between August and October (Banck-Burgess 1999:147). The hybridization of local and Mediterranean practices that we have seen associated with the cauldron continues in the form of the stand upon which the cauldron rested. While the Greeks would have used a metal tripod, the cauldron in the Hochdorf tomb is supported by a locally made wooden stand covered in iron (Krausse 1996:357, Olivier 1999:115, 118). The banquet service also included an iron axe for the slaughter and two large iron knives to cut the meat (Krausse 1996:357).

In the following chapter, I will apply the set of guidelines for identifying archaeological correlates of rites of passage and liminality in mortuary ritual from the third chapter to each site. I selected each site because they made available the types of data I needed to assess my set of

guidelines. The application of those guidelines to each site will yield information both about the site and about how I can improve them.

V. ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Now that I have discussed both the set of guidelines for identifying the archaeological correlates of rites of passage and liminality as well as the data available from my selected sites, I will apply the guidelines to the data in order to test the usefulness of the guidelines. The usefulness will be determined based upon whether and the extent to which applying the guidelines yields new information. I will proceed through each stage of the rite of passage of death for both the individual deceased and the living who remain. In this way, I will gain an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of the guidelines so that I may improve upon them in the future.

The Deceased

Original Identity and Rites of Separation

As I discussed in Chapter 3, the original identity, or preterminal state, for the rite of death is having been alive. The presence of remains provides the archaeological evidence for the preterminal phase. At Wor Barrow on Cranborne Chase, the remains of six males were found for the first phase of use and of two males for the second phase (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). At Tumulus 17, bone preservation was poor, so only tiny bits of five or six bodies remained (Arnold et al. 2001:68, Arnold and Murray 2002:321). At Hochdorf, the primary burial was very well preserved (Scarre 1998:173). At each of these sites, the remains, however small the quantity, provide the archaeological evidence of the preterminal state.

Rites of separation for the deceased are mostly private acts. One rite is the washing or preservation of the corpse. At Hochdorf, there is evidence that the body of the man in the primary burial had been preserved and displayed for at least four weeks (Scarre 1998:176). The evidence of the preservation and display of the deceased provides the material correlates of the separation rite. The preparation can be interpreted as a rite of separation in that the deceased has begun to be treated as an object rather than a person. This separation from his former existence as a living person is necessary for the man at Hochdorf to enter the liminal phase (van Gennep 1960:148).

Rites of Transition and Liminality

Grave goods can serve many purposes. One interpretation of grave goods, which can certainly serve more than one function even within the same grave, is as equipment for the journey to the next world undertaken by the dead (Parker Pearson 2000:11). When one travels, one begins at a particular point, makes a journey, and ends at a destination. So too does the ritual entity begin as a member of the world of the living, make a journey, and end as a member of the world of the dead. The Egyptians buried their dead with elaborate instructions for reaching the land of the dead, including directions for avoiding or getting past any monsters they may encounter along the way (Taylor 2010:239-241). Many societies, such as the ancient Greeks, placed coins in the mouths or upon the eyes of their dead, so that they may pay their way to the afterlife. The Greeks believed that those without coin to pay the ferryman Charon must remain forever outside of the world of the dead, hungry and dangerous (Hollis 1990:284). The Saami slaughtered a reindeer on the grave of the deceased so that s/he might ride it when s/he tired along the arduous journey (Kharuzin 1890:157). The Hochdorf man was equipped with a wagon

and horse equipment (Koch 2006). If the usefulness of the wagon and harness was thought to be restricted only to transporting the deceased to the grave, then surely those who buried him would not have buried it, too, unless it had been so thoroughly polluted by its contact with him that it too had grown dangerous. Perhaps, then, the wagon and harness were meant for the use of the deceased along his journey.

Grave goods can also equip the dead for their new roles as members of the world of the dead or of the ancestors. Part of what takes place during rites of passage in general, as discussed in Chapter 2, is that society equips those undergoing the rite of passage with that which they will need to be successful in their new roles (van Gennep 1960:17). In the case of mortuary ritual, the living do not necessarily know firsthand what will be necessary. The living must therefore take care to include all that might be required of the dead in the next world. Those in the first phase of burial at Wor Barrow were interred with no grave goods, unless of course either the articulated or the disarticulated remains served as such for the other (see discussion later in this chapter). The two males buried in the second phase at Wor Barrow were likewise unaccompanied by grave goods. The only artifact that was found with them was a projectile point, but as it was found underneath the ribs of the adult male, it could just as easily have been the cause of death as an artifact deliberately placed there (Barrett et al. 1991:124). The man who was likely the primary burial at Tumulus 17 was cremated with, at the very least, his weaponry and something made of pottery, though many of his grave goods were lost to looters (Arnold and Murray 2000). The inclusion of his weaponry may indicate that it was thought necessary in some capacity in the afterlife, if only to convey his status. The woman buried in the same chamber as the man was buried with many items of personal adornment (Arnold et al. 2001:69, Schneider 2003:71). These items help to identify her as a woman of high status, and thus may indicate that those of

high status in life could hope to hold the same status among the dead. The man at Hochdorf was lavishly equipped. In addition to the wagon and harness for transportation, the man at Hochdorf was buried with feasting implements including nine large bowls and nine drinking horns (Krause 1996:357). These feasting implements, along with the large cauldron filled with mead, may have been included so that the deceased could feast with his counterparts in the land of the dead. I discussed earlier the grave goods that indicated his high status—the Mediterranean imports and influences including the couch, the cauldron, and the feasting implements, as well as the large quantity of gold and the conical birchbark hat. The inclusion of all of these status markers may signify that he was expected to retain this status among the dead. In addition to the marks of his status, the grave goods of the man at Hochdorf included items for personal hygiene, hunting, and fishing (Küster and Körber-Grohne 1985:88). If the world of the dead were at all like the world of the living—and the grave goods of the man at Hochdorf indicate that this is the case—then the same sorts of items that are useful to the living would be useful to the dead. The man was buried with signs of his high status—perhaps he would retain that status among the dead (Scarre 1998:176).

When a corpse is displayed, the liminal period is lengthened (van Gennep 1960:148). At the point in the rite of passage of death in which the deceased is displayed, the deceased have ceased to be seen as living beings, but have not yet begun to be seen as belonging to the world of the dead. The four weeks or more that the man at Hochdorf was displayed may correspond to the amount of time it took to gather and create the grave goods that were thought appropriate to his status. Another reason for the length of time he was on display may be that the community required the additional time to adjust to his loss. Perhaps the length of time he was on display

was considered the amount that was proper and respectful. Regardless of the reason, one effect of the delay in burial was a delay in the ending of the liminal period.

The liminal phase of rites of passage are often accompanied by feelings of dread or fear on the part of those not undergoing the rite due to the “betwixt and between” nature of liminal entities (Turner 1969:95). The rite of passage of death is no different, and in fact may represent an even greater cause for fear due to the disruption it causes. I discuss this fear of *death* in the section on the rite of passage undergone by the living later in this chapter. For now, I focus on the fear of the *dead*. This dread of the liminal dead, who are objects of fear due to their liminal nature and also due to their physical putrescence, can be seen archaeologically in a number of ways. The living may attempt to bribe, placate, trick, or restrain the dead so that they do not come unnaturally back to the world of the living (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:96).

Bribery and placation may or may not be seen in the archaeological record. Measures such as placing food on one’s porch so that the deceased will eat instead of harming the living would not survive in the mortuary archaeological record, though it may be present in settlement contexts. Instead, we can see evidence of bribery and placation in the form of grave goods. The living may believe that if they do not give the deceased his or her proper due, the dead person will be angry and seek revenge (Metcalf and Huntington 1991:96).

The likely central chamber of Tumulus 17 had been looted, but bits of the grave goods of Grave 5 remained. The size of the chamber indicated that the one buried within was of some significance, though the grave goods that would provide additional evidence of his status were looted or recovered from the grave (Arnold and Murray 2000). The woman in Grave 4, also in the central chamber, was buried with accoutrements that marked her as a woman of some status, and the people responsible for outfitting this woman in death may have done so out of some fear

or sense that were she not properly outfitted, she may not rest peacefully but rather seek vengeance upon those who denied her her due.

At Hochdorf, great care was taken to present the deceased as a man of high status. Present in the tomb were many of the status markers appropriate for a late Hallstatt man of high standing (Biel 1999:111). Those who gained power in late Hallstatt southwestern Germany controlled the flow of luxury goods from the Mediterranean. For this reason, the presence of items from the Mediterranean in a tomb would indicate that the deceased was of high status. The presence of more impressive Mediterranean items could indicate a correspondingly higher status for the deceased. The Hochdorf tomb contained some rather impressive imports from the Mediterranean. The bronze cauldron was quite large, holding up to hold 500 liters of mead (Krause 1996:357). Another import from the Mediterranean was the design of the locally made bronze couch upon which the deceased rested (Banck-Burgess 1999:111). Finally, the inclusion of the feasting implements in the tomb, which included nine bowls and nine drinking horns, was a Mediterranean practice.

Bribery and placation were only a couple of the possible ways of keeping the dead at rest. They are methods that rely on the compliance of the dead. Trickery and restraint were also employed against these dangerously liminal entities, and these methods could keep the dead where they belonged regardless of the willingness of the deceased to cooperate. Many of the methods of trickery and restraint do not leave marks upon the archaeological record, and so are lost to us. Examples of the ways devised by the living to trick or compel the deceased to stay where they are meant to be that would not survive in the archaeological record are seen among many living societies. As noted in Chapter 2, the Kol of India, take elaborate measures to confuse the deceased, such as disorienting the corpse on the way to the tomb (Hahn 1907:82).

While many of the tricks designed to confuse the dead are not seen in the archaeological record, we are able to identify some of them. At Hochdorf, for example, the gold-covered buskins or shoes were placed on the opposite feet from those for which they were made (Biel 1985:63-64). One could certainly interpret this phenomenon as a simple mistake, or perhaps a deliberate but insignificant prank. However, the importance of the man entombed at Hochdorf was such that either of the aforementioned scenarios was unlikely. Indeed, even if the person in charge of the dressing of the Hochdorf man were so inept or mischievous as to place the shoes on the wrong feet, it is extremely unlikely that the mistake would have remained unnoticed throughout the entirety of the funeral ritual. Therefore, the placement of the shoes must have been both deliberate and proper. One very compelling explanation for the deliberate placing of the shoes on the wrong feet is that the placement was meant to keep the man at Hochdorf from walking and finding his way back to the living (Biel 1985:63-64). This may have been thought necessary because of the extended period of time that the Hochdorf man remained unburied. The elite man's body, no longer alive but not yet incorporated into the world of the dead, must have been a chilling presence in the village during the four weeks or longer that he remained unburied after his death. The placement of the shoes and its resultant binding of the man's spirit may have provided comfort to those who lived in the village.

Sometimes bribery, placation, and trickery were not enough to make the living feel at ease regarding the liminal dead. In these cases, they dealt with the fear associated with these liminal entities by locating their dead away from the places of the living (Davies 1997:14). The distancing of the dead from the living could take place on a multitude of scales. Often cemeteries are separated by distance from the places of daily life, such as outside of the settlement area. Other times the distance is less a factor, but the presence of a physical barrier separates the

spaces of the living from those of the dead. Thus we find walls around cemeteries and enclosures or ditches surrounding mounds, as at Wor Barrow. Perhaps the ditches at Wor Barrow were thought to keep those interred within the mound from escaping to harm the living.

The barrier can also be natural, and indeed we often find cemeteries placed across a river or ravine from the living (Davies 1997:16). In still other instances, the barrier separating the living from the dead is symbolic. In some cases, the orientation of the grave, or the houses of the dead, must be different from or opposite that of the houses of the living. Similarly, the orientation of the body in the grave must in other cases be different or opposite that of the beds of the living (Uchibori 1978).

Another type of separation may be found at Tumulus 17. One of the layers of mound fill was a cap of sterile soil. This layer may have been viewed as a symbolic barrier between those within the mound and those without. The graves (Grave 1 and Grave 3) that were on the outside of the barrier represented by the cap of sterile soil were created much later, and seem to indicate that at least the barrier and perhaps the mound itself had been reinterpreted, that the barrier had been either forgotten or was thought to have fulfilled its purpose. Perhaps the danger posed by the dead inside the mound had passed.

The living have devised numerous ways to protect themselves from the dead and thus to deal with their fear of the dead, from bribing the dead to stay away, placating them with grave goods appropriate for or grander than their status as well as with offerings, and tricking and restraining them so that they cannot walk again amongst the living,

The ending point of the liminal period is not always the same. Different ways of dealing with the corpse result in differing lengths of time spent by the corpse in the liminal period. When bodies are exposed before burial, the liminal period is extended (van Gennep 1960:152). The

time it takes for the flesh to rot from the bones adds to the liminal period. The physical manifestation of the pollution of the rotting body giving way to clean bones is also a visible expression of the liminality of death (Bendann 1930:95-103). The body's changes may mirror those of the soul. Bodies that have been exposed result in disarticulated remains. These account for one half of the bodies in the first phase of burial at Wor Barrow (Pitt Rivers 1898:66). There were six sets of remains buried at Wor Barrow. Three of these were fully articulated and three were disarticulated. The six sets were buried at the same time, upon the death of the articulated males. It is not clear which sets of remains, if either, were intended to accompany the other. One possible scenario is that the disarticulated bodies were, in life, men of some importance. When they died, they were exposed until their flesh decomposed. When the time came to bury them, the three males who were articulated in the grave were killed to accompany the disarticulated males to the next life, perhaps to function as servants. These men could have been criminals, war captives, or slaves in life, and thus the status in death of servant may have been thought fitting. The killing of humans, though usually women, to accompany others as servants was common in Viking Age Norse elite burials (Friebert 2000:11).

Another possible scenario is that the three articulated bodies were the ones of primary importance. In this scenario, the disarticulated males were perhaps ancestors who were curated for use in this grave. They were exposed or stored somewhere at least until their flesh had decomposed, and likely much longer. In this case, perhaps this showed an effort to incorporate the articulated bodies into the world of the ancestors. By actually burying them with the ancestors, they would more easily be able to think of them as the ancestors themselves. With either explanation, the liminal period of the disarticulated remains was longer than that of the articulated remains, and ended upon their interment.

For cremations, the liminal period may end upon the immolation of the corpse. As I discussed in the literature review in the second chapter, the decay of the corpse is a physical expression of liminality, wherein the putrefying flesh gives way to clean bones as the departed soul makes its way to the next life (Bendann 1930:95-103). This purification of the pollution characteristic of both decay and liminality is expedited through cremation (Gramsch 1995:79). Fire is both destructive and purifying. In a way, fire disrupts the disruption of death. It breaks down the pollution present in the corpse and purifies it (Gramsch 1995:79). In these cases, the grave goods are burned along with the body, perhaps indicating the necessity of “killing” that which must accompany the deceased to the next world. At Tumulus 17, the likely primary burial, Grave 5, contained cremated remains as well as the burned remains of the grave goods, including pottery sherds, pieces of bronze, and weaponry (Schneider 2003:72). The fact that the grave goods were burned along with the body indicates that the immolation marked the end of the liminal phase. The liminal phase for cremations can also end upon the burial of the cremated remains. This would be indicated by the presence of unburned grave goods with the cremated remains.

For inhumations, the liminal phase may end with the closing of the tomb. At the sites selected for this thesis, there were many inhumations. The second phase of excavation at Wor Barrow contained two inhumed males (Barrett et al. 1991:84, Pitt Rivers 1898:63). The likely central chamber of Tumulus 17 contained an inhumed female (Arnold et al. 2001:69, Schneider 2003:71). In addition, the tumulus contained two other inhumations, both likely males. For all of these, the liminal period likely ended upon the closing of the graves.

The Living

This section will focus on the rite of passage of death from the perspective of those who remain alive in the event of a death. The living have much to do when a death occurs. They have certain obligations toward the deceased. They must learn how best to function without the deceased, which means that it must be decided who will take up which of the deceased's obligations and enjoy which of his or her rights, privileges, and status (Hertz 1960:78). The living must also deal with the fear that the death has brought to the fore: that of their own impending demise. In other words, the death of a person in the community causes a disturbance (Robben 2004:8-13). As the living progress through their rite of passage, they must recover from this disturbance and resume their lives.

Rite of Separation

Rites of separation for the living are often large-scale public acts. The building of enclosures or barriers around tumuli or cemeteries can be interpreted as a separation rite, as the barrier effectively delineates the spaces of the living from those of the dead. At Wor Barrow, two pits were dug. The soil from these pits likely provided the material for the mound, but the digging of the pits may also have served as a separation rite (Barrett et al. 1991:124). As Alexander Gramsch (1995:74) argued, the process of digging the pits, and the resultant physical barrier created by the digging, would create not only a physical barrier between the living and the dead, but also—and perhaps more importantly—a barrier in the minds of the living. By identifying the space where the deceased would be placed as separate, as set apart, the living are creating a distance between themselves and the deceased (Bloch 1982:4). This distance is necessary for the transitions of the liminal phase to occur. The living must stop seeing the dead

as members of their world, and begin to see them as part of the world of the dead or of the ancestors, if the living are to make their way through the liminal phase and conquer the fear of death (Bloch 1982:218, Wilson 1972:188).

Rites of separation can also include some of the obligations owed to the deceased. Not all of the rites of separation are visible in the archaeological record, but some do leave evidence. Just as the washing and preservation of the corpse was a rite of separation from the deceased's perspective, so too is it a rite of separation from the perspective of the living (Bendann 1930:103). The act of treating the corpse as an object rather than as a human helps the living to adjust their thinking to begin viewing the corpse as one of the ancestors rather than as one of the living. This way of conceptualizing the deceased as already "one of them" (the ancestors), so to speak rather than "one of us" (the living) is part of the adaptive response to death that helps the living to cope with the fact of their own eventual deaths (Davies 1997:1). I pointed out earlier in this chapter the ways in which preservation leaves its mark upon the archaeological record, as it did at Hochdorf. I mention the practice again here to emphasize the difference in significance based upon which of the entities' perspectives we examine. The preservation is yet another way in which the living begin to treat the corpse as an object rather than a person, and the act of treating the man at Hochdorf as an object helped to adjust the thinking of those who preserved him.

Liminality

The liminal phase for the living that were close to the deceased is mourning (van Gennep 1960:147). One obligation of certain mourners is the selection and production of grave goods. I have discussed the grave goods found at the selected sites in the section on the rite of passage of

the deceased. Here, however, I wish to discuss grave goods from the perspective of the ones who choose them. When one selects the objects that will accompany the deceased to the next world, one must choose from a number of different factors (Barrett et al. 2009:120). The deceased filled many roles—perhaps as a parent, a spouse, a ruler, a trader, and an avid hunter, among many others. Those who select the paraphernalia that will accompany the deceased are effectively *constructing* an identity for the deceased. It is not possible to know how the deceased would have chosen to present him- or herself (Barrett et al. 2009:121). In picking and choosing among the qualities possessed by the deceased (and even perhaps attributing qualities that were *not* possessed by the deceased), the living are gaining even more distance from the deceased as a living person, distilling his or her many dynamic qualities into a static few. No grave goods survived at Wor Barrow other than, perhaps, one or the other sets of remains. If the articulated remains were intended to accompany the disarticulated sets, then those who created the burial may have intended to show the disarticulated males to be strong and important enough to merit accompaniment. If the opposite were true, and the disarticulated remains were intended to accompany the articulated males, then those responsible for the burial may have intended to show their deceased as intimately connected with those who came before.

At Tumulus 17, the man who was likely the primary burial was cremated with his weaponry, including spear points and shafts and a knife. Unfortunately, the rest of his grave goods were removed, so it is impossible for us to discern the full picture created by those who cremated and buried him. From the items that survived the looting, it is clear that those who chose his grave goods included those that depicted him as a hunter or a fighter. Whether this was true of him in life, we cannot know.

The female interred in the same chamber as the male was buried with much personal adornment. Her belt, which was studded with hundreds of bronze studs, represented a significant time investment. The belt, along with the bronze bracelets, fibulae, earring with glass beads, and ear or hair ornaments, was carefully chosen to present the woman as one of high status.

Those who buried the probable males in the chamber of Grave 1 and in Grave 3 outfitted them with the equipment of a warrior. Regardless of whether they were in life warriors, or would have chosen to present themselves as such, the people responsible for their graves made certain they were depicted as warriors.

The tomb at Hochdorf resulted from extensive planning and preparation. Large quantities of gold were produced specifically for the funeral (Scarre 1998:175). Thus, we can infer that the way in which the man at Hochdorf was presented was intricately planned as well. He is presented as highly powerful and influential, able to wield extensive resources. The conical birchbark hat, large quantities of gold, and the grave goods that were imported from or influenced by the Mediterranean—including the bronze couch, the cauldron, and the feasting set—combine to give the impression of a well-connected, wealthy man. The presence of hunting tools such as a fish hook and a quiver of arrows combined with the absence of weaponry for war indicate that those who buried the man at Hochdorf did not wish him to be seen as warlike. Again, it is important to remember that what we recover has very little to do with how the deceased conceived of her/himself. Rather, that which we see represents an identity that was constructed for the deceased by those living who selected the grave goods.

Rites of Incorporation

In order for the living to be reincorporated into their lives, they must face their fear of death (as opposed to the fear of the dead, which I discussed in the section on the liminality of the deceased). Much of this is accomplished by establishing the deceased as quickly and firmly as possible into the world of the dead or of the ancestors (Gramsch 1995:79). The more quickly the living are able to think of the deceased not as one of the living, or “one of us,” but rather as one of the dead, or “one of them,” the more quickly they are able to believe that the possibility of their own death is not so immediate, that death is something that happens to “them” and not to “us.”

One way to achieve this is by including the deceased in an ancestral cemetery (Gramsch 1995:79). Rather than placing individual graves in isolated areas, burials are often grouped together. The bodies of the second phase of burial at Wor Barrow may have been placed there due to the presence of an already-established burial. A visible burial mound existed, and the inclusion of the additional two corpses could indicate an effort to identify these men as “them,” the dead, as quickly and firmly as possible (Barrett et al. 1991:123). Indeed, even the first phase of burial at Wor Barrow may exhibit evidence of this. The three sets of disarticulated remains could be older than the articulated sets, their inclusion indicating an especial effort on the part of those who buried the three articulated bodies to associate them with the past or with the world of the ancestors (Bloch 1982:4).

At Tumulus 17, the presence of so many elite burials in one mound over such a long period of time would have been helpful in re-establishing continuity after the death of one of those interred there. Just as the mound itself lends a sense of permanence and separation from death, the presence of a series of elite burials comprises a sort of society of the dead into which

the newly deceased is incorporated. The interment of the newly deceased among this lineage of elites lends a sense of continuity to the death, as the deceased takes his or her place among others of his or her kind (Gramsch 1995:72). The mound was used for several generations (Arnold et al. 2001:69, Schneider 2003:69-70). While we do not yet know whether those buried in the mound were closely related, the significance of inhuming a body where others were already known to be buried would achieve similar results as burial with ancestors.

One other way that the living may tie the newly deceased into the world of the ancestors is by curation, which occurs when pieces of the same artifact or set of artifacts is preserved for later use. This occurred at Tumulus 17 with ceramic sherds (Schneider 2003:173, Murray in press:3). The curation of ceramic sherds may indicate that these sherds became identified with the past (Schneider 2003:173). Sherds that match those found in the central chamber were found in other contexts in the tumulus as well, even though many years passed between the burials (Murray in press:3). This practice is associated with ancestor veneration and could indicate a desire to associate each subsequent grave with the ones that came before, connecting them even more intimately than burial in the mound alone could achieve (Schneider 2003:171).

Another way of achieving the same result is by tying the deceased into the very landscape itself. This would be indicated by the presence of extremely visible mounds. These are present at all three of the sites selected for this thesis. At Wor Barrow, the mound was small, though visible, measuring 0.7 meters high (Barrett et al. 1991:123, Pitt Rivers 1898:66). At Tumulus 17, the mound was large, measuring 20.86 meters in diameter and 2.7 meters high (Arnold et al. 2001:68, Arnold and Murray 2002:321). The mound at Hochdorf was even larger, measuring 60 meters in diameter and approximately six meters high (Scarre 1998:177). At Hochdorf, the mound took approximately five years to build, but the effect on the landscape would have been

significant very quickly after his burial. The rituals that took place at these mounds served to place the dead as members of the world of the ancestors. The mounds, as places associated with these rituals, thus became place of the ancestors (Murray 2007:2). The powerful reminder provided by the visible presence of the mounds would ensure that the knowledge of the mounds as places of the ancestors would be passed down through the generations (Murray 1995:39). In a way, these mounds would come to embody the ancestors (Murray 2007:2). Just as the people who created these mounds changed the landscape in which they lived, the altered landscape would, in turn, affect the people who changed it (Tilley 2008:271). Each of these mounds would leave a visible mark upon the landscape, thus helping to place the deceased, in the minds of the living, as belonging to the ancestors rather than to the living. The result of this would be a lessening of the fear of death.

One additional way that the living deal with the fear of death is by thinking of death and fertility as a cycle. If one considers death to be a phenomenon that allows for renewal and progress rather than an ending, it becomes easier to process (Parker Pearson 2000:138). Evidence of fertility symbolism can be seen in the second phase of burials at Wor Barrow. The bodies were buried in a crouched, or fetal, position. This is often interpreted as fertility symbolism, since the bodies are interpreted as having been placed that way to symbolize the return to the womb of the earth (Parker Pearson 2000:137).

The extent of the disruption caused by a death is not always the same for each person. As the number of people that relied upon the deceased for protection or support increased, so too did the extent of the disruption (Robben 2004:7, Hertz 1960:197). In smaller communities where each person is important to the overall functioning of the community, the death of any one person would create a large disturbance. This may have been the case at Wor Barrow. Cranborne

Chase was very sparsely populated at this point during the Neolithic, so the deaths of those both in the first phase and in the second phase likely caused quite a disturbance in the community (Barrett et al. 1991:120). Each person in the community may have filled an important role. In larger communities, the deaths of the more important community figures would cause a greater disturbance than that of people who filled less vital roles. Thus, the deaths of the elites at Tumulus 17 and the man at Hochdorf may have also created a large disturbance. Each of these people likely provided support and protection to the rest of their communities, and the lack of that would cause, at the very least, some discomfort to the community, if not outright danger.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Rites of passage mark the moments in a person's life that are considered the most important changes by the society in which that person lives. In investigating these moments of change, anthropologists can learn much about the values of a society. I chose to examine the rite of passage of death, which is the rite of passage that most often leaves archaeological traces. Through the archaeological record, we can access evidence of the ancient experience of death. Beliefs about death and the afterlife can structure the way people live their entire lives, so it is worthwhile to examine these beliefs from every facet possible. I noticed in my review of the literature that many archaeologists did not examine death from the particular perspective of the rite of passage, though death is one of life's great transitions. In this thesis, I sought to examine death specifically as a rite of passage, both from the perspective of the deceased and from that of the living. Each perspective is important. The transition of the deceased is clear, but the living, too, both enact the transition of the deceased and experience a transition of their own. Anthropologists study social entities, so the behavior of the living is perhaps more relevant than

the perceived behavior of the dead in mortuary ritual. The activity of the living rather than the dead creates the archaeological record. Once again, it is important to remember that the dead do not bury themselves, so the activities of the living are at least as important as those of the dead when examining mortuary ritual as a rite of passage.

My goals in writing this thesis were as follows. First, I intended to examine mortuary ritual as mechanisms of personal and group separation and transformation. For a rite of passage to occur, the ritual entity must separate from the original identity, transform, and then be incorporated into the new identity. By examining mortuary ritual as a rite of passage, I planned to identify a multitude of archaeological correlates of each aspect of the process of death. One of my goals was to organize the correlates of each phase of the rite of passage of death in such a way that other archaeologists would be more easily able to identify aspects of their own sites that may represent phases of death as a rite of passage. A further goal was that my guidelines would be useful in burial contexts all over the world. In this way, I intended to contribute to the body of knowledge regarding the ways in which death affects the individual and the society as a whole.

There are weaknesses in my set of guidelines. One of these is that rites of passage are phenomena that may be more thoroughly studied among living societies, as so much of the intended meaning of those who buried the dead is lost when they are not available for discussion. It is often difficult to discern from the archaeological record alone which interpretations of certain phenomena, such as crouched burial or the presence of feasting equipment in the grave, are the most valid. Further, the grave goods and practices that seem most significant to the archaeologist may be vastly different from those that were most significant to the people who created the graves.

Another weakness of the set of guidelines I have developed is that it can only be useful when applied to evidence that survives in the archaeological record. Unfortunately, many aspects of ritual do not leave behind archaeological evidence. The examples that I cited from historical societies, such as the measures taken by the Kol of India to make certain that their dead do not walk again (Hahn 1907:82), illustrate the level of detail that we cannot access from the archaeological record. More than just nuance and subtleties are lost when the only data available are those which outlasted the people who created them, and unfortunately the set of guidelines that I developed is only useful for those data that are recoverable.

Graves in which part or most of the mortuary assemblage had been looted are even more difficult than intact graves, as we can only guess what is missing—and guessing is not valid methodology. The primary grave of Tumulus 17 provides an example of this. The evidence present points toward the man having been someone of importance, but without the rest of the grave goods, his status is difficult to ascertain with any degree of certainty. Only that which is present in the grave can be considered. Thus, the set of guidelines elucidated in this thesis is most useful when graves are intact, as these graves provide a more complete set of data.

The guidelines are also less helpful when applied to sites with little or no grave goods. The first phase of burial at Wor Barrow on Cranborne Chase contained no artifacts. The only potential grave goods consisted of one or the other sets of remains. Without the additional context provided by grave goods, it was difficult to extract more information from the data using the guidelines. Not all funerary rituals involve grave goods, of course. The absence of grave goods in mortuary contexts is as significant as the presence of grave goods, albeit more difficult to interpret. The presence of grave offerings, however, provides a potentially rich source of data that my guidelines are more suited to interpreting.

Despite the limitations discussed above, I believe that my guidelines have value. Though we cannot use them to glean every bit of information that was important from the perspective of those who created the graves, we can apply the guidelines to glean new knowledge—enough to gain a more thorough understanding of the people who created the graves, and therefore enough to be worthwhile. By applying the guidelines to burials, we may gain a deeper understanding of the mortuary ritual that created the burials and thus of the people who created the burials. The anthropologist who investigates death among living societies is even better placed to examine death as a rite of passage. These guidelines are intended as a reminder to look for evidence of each phase of the rite of passage of death, and to examine the funeral event as a transformative event for both the deceased and the living. In this way, they are useful for both archaeologists and sociocultural anthropologists. Further, though I selected sites in Europe to explore the usefulness of the guidelines, I believe that the guidelines could be applied to mortuary sites in any part of the world with success—that is, with the result of a more thorough understanding of the mortuary ritual that occurred. This thesis represents the first of my contributions to the anthropology and archaeology of mortuary ritual. The set of archaeological correlates to the rite of passage of death elucidated in these pages form the basis of what I hope will grow to be a large pool, perhaps even a cross-cultural database, of the material correlates of death as a rite of passage. The encouragement in this thesis to examine death as a transition for both the living and the deceased rather than simply as the cessation of life marked by a ceremony will, I hope, lead to further research, both on my part and that of others, on the topic. This is important in that by studying death as a transition, we are better able to understand the widespread and varied effects that the death of one person has on those around him or her and the society as a whole in addition

to the repercussions thought to be experienced by the deceased. While the perspective of the deceased is not to be discounted, that of the living must not be overlooked.

To improve upon the usefulness and validity of the ideas in this thesis, future research should be conducted to contribute archaeological correlates of the rite of passage of death from other cultures than those of prehistoric Europe. While the principles of the guidelines are applicable to any culture, the archaeological correlates themselves are specific to prehistoric European contexts, and may therefore be less useful in other contexts. A database of archaeological correlates from many cultures could be useful in creating an awareness of the importance of examining death as a transitional period for both the deceased and the living.

Further research should also be conducted to acknowledge and examine the presence of multiple liminal periods in mortuary ritual. It is possible that societies in which the ancestors play a role in everyday life may recognize multiple phases or levels of activity or involvement of the ancestors. The transition to each phase would likely involve ritual action of some sort, with each phase of transition taking the form of a rite of passage.

An extension of the multiple liminalities that would be an interesting avenue of future research is the cycle of fertility and death. Perhaps those societies that consider fertility and death a cycle view regeneration as the new identity. In these societies, perhaps the rite of passage does not have a terminus in the new identity, but rather cycles through the phases of the rite of passage over and over.

Another direction for future research is the presence and degree of change through time in perceptions of death and transformation. The archaeological record preserves static moments in a dynamic environment of changing ideas and attitudes, but perhaps an examination of these

static moments could yield an understanding of the ways in which the prevailing attitudes and perceptions of death as a transition changed throughout time.

While archaeologists cannot extract the minute level of detail present in the narrative that began this thesis, we can in fact glean rather a lot from the record left by those who walked the earth in the millennia before us.

As time passed, the unfamiliar swelling of the earth that held the body of Bran faded in Sorcha's awareness. Once a jarring sight, a wrongness in the land, the distended mound of earth became simply a part of her world, just as much a piece of the landscape as any hill or forest or river. It is fitting, though Sorcha, that the man who was such a big presence in her world in life would remain so in death. Though he took his place among the ancestors, he remained among them, the monument to his existence never allowing them to forget his life.

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VITA

JACQUELYN KYLE

EDUCATION

- The University of Mississippi University, Mississippi
August 2010-July 2012
Master of Arts Degree with a major in Anthropology Expected July, 2012
- Thesis: “The Archaeology of Mortuary Ritual as Rite of Passage in Prehistoric Europe”
- The University of Mississippi University, Mississippi
August 2007-May 2010
Bachelor of Arts Degree with a major in Anthropology Received May, 2010

EXPERIENCE

- Cultural Resources Surveying West Point, MS June 2011
- At this site, we conducted Phase I surveying.
- Shady Grove Marks, MS July-September 2011
- A fellow graduate student and I conducted fieldwork necessary for his thesis at the Shady Grove site. We dropped a test unit to determine the depth of the shell ring present. We also did topographical surveying using a TOTAL station.
- Sinking Ponds Field School East Aurora, NY July 2012
- At Sinking Ponds, I learned both laboratory and field archaeological techniques, ensuring that I have the skills to both conduct fieldwork and analyze the findings. At the six-week program, I also learned to use a theodolite to map the site and a Flote-Tech flotation machine. There was an emphasis on lithic and ceramic analysis.

POSITIONS HELD

- Graduate Assistant University, MS August 2010-May 2012
- As a graduate assistant, I worked for my major professor, Dr. Matthew L. Murray. My duties consisted mainly of grading assignments and proctoring examinations. I also gave a lecture based on my thesis research to his class, *Archaeology of the Ancient Celts* in Spring 2011 and plan to do so again in Spring 2012.

AWARDS AND MEMBERSHIPS

Graduate Fellowship

August 2010

- This fellowship is awarded to the incoming graduate student in the department at the University of Mississippi with the highest combined grade point average and GRE score.

Francis James Award

May 2010

- The Francis James Award is the only award of the anthropology department at the University of Mississippi, and is given to the outstanding graduating senior in anthropology.

Society for American Archaeology

- I am a student member of the Society for American Archaeology.

Gamma Beta Phi

inducted August 2011

- Gamma Beta Phi is an honors society with a heavy emphasis on community service.

Phi Kappa Phi

inducted August 2011

- Phi Kappa Phi is an honors society. The members rank in the top ten percent of their class.

PAPERS PRESENTED

Society for American Archaeology

April 2012

- I presented aspects of my thesis at the Society for American Archaeology conference, which was held in Memphis, TN.

Theoretical Archaeology Group

May 2012

- I presented my research at the Theoretical Archaeology Group's Buffalo TAG 2012 conference held at the University at Buffalo.