

**Multiple Interment Loculi Tombs at
Tell Dothan – Burial Behaviour as Cultural Process
in the Late Bronze/Early Iron I Levant**

A Thesis Submitted to
The College of Graduate Studies and Research
In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
For the Degree of Master of Arts
In the Department of Archaeology
University of Saskatchewan
Saskatoon

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ABSTRACT

What is considered anomalous among the Late Bronze/Iron I Age Canaanite tomb plans rests on the understanding of the ‘foreign’ and the ‘local’ elements of interments of that period. When Diane Bolger, in her discussion of ancient Cypriot mortuary practices, noted the shift in the scholarly literature from the emphasis on the identity and status of the dead to an examination of the ways in which rituals of death and burial reveal the motives and identities of the living (Bolger 2003), her observation highlighted the importance of burial as a process rather than an event.

The phenomenon of burials in loculi chamber tombs during the ‘transitional’ period of the end of the Late Bronze and beginning of the Early Iron Age is explored, building on the foundations established by Rivka Gonen’s work on Late Bronze burial behaviour in Canaan (Gonen 1992). The structural and ritual characteristics of the tombs that present evidence for cultural context and origins are considered, establishing whether the archaeological remains translate into a picture of a regional variation or a foreign influence. Are the Late Bronze/Iron I burials in Canaan examples of an amalgamation of cultural traits of variable geographical origins or did they represent an ‘immigration’ of a mortuary custom? Why are loculi cave burials considered intrusive in the Canaanite territory?

The examination of Tell Dothan, Lachish, Tell el-‘Ajjul and Megiddo, and of the Cypriot sites of Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, Korovia *Paleoskoutella* and Dhenia *Kafkalla* facilitates the discussion of loculi chamber tomb plan interments in the Levant have prompted.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my graduate supervisors Dr. Alison Maingon and Dr. Ernest Walker, as well as the members of my advising committee Dr. Christopher Foley and Dr. Margaret Kennedy for all their help and encouragement.

I also want to thank my colleagues in the Department of Archaeology for their support and friendship.

A big 'thank you' to Debbie Croteau, Department Secretary, for her help, support and patronage.

Finally, to my family, blood and adopted, for everything – *Thank You*.

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Chapter 1: Background

(...) Burial types prove to be a sensitive tool for detecting events and processes in society. (Gonen 1992:23)

1.1 Introduction

The general objective of this study was to explore the cultural process of burial as evident in the problem of Late Bronze and Early Iron Tell Dothan, where a plan referred to as *chamber tomb with loculi* was the design of choice in a Late Bronze/Iron I cemetery. The presence of what are considered in the literature on Canaanite burial practices anomalous tomb shapes, in the regions otherwise dominated by ‘typical’ Canaanite interment architecture, suggested possible foreign cultural connections. ‘Canaanite’ is understood, here and subsequently, as pertaining to the geographical region of Canaan rather than the ‘native’ Canaanite population. The potential area of origin required further investigation into the extent to which the mortuary practices both in Canaan and the greater Levant reflected purely local development or encompassed intrusive elements.

The key burial sites from two geographic areas in the Late Bronze and Early Iron I Canaan: the coastal plain and the Central Hill Country were examined (Figure 1.1). In these areas Gonen identified four sites as containing loculi chamber tombs: Tell Dothan, Tell el-‘Ajjul, Lachish, and Megiddo (Gonen 1992:22). Tell Dothan was chosen as the focus for this study of burial as cultural process and the origin of a burial design in a transitional period because of the quality of



Figure 1.1: Map of Levant and Cyprus (Copyright © 1998 Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, Revised: April 17, 2000

http://orientalinstitute.uchicago.edu/OI/INFO/MAP/SITE/Levant_Site_150dpi.html)

the preservation of its cemetery, its character as the only such site in the area, its well-defined stratigraphy, and the well-defined nature of its tomb plans. Finally, it was chosen to answer the questions of why and how this particular tomb plan was adopted at this particular site.

The five specific objectives of research established at the beginning of the investigation were: a) analysis of key Levantine sites (Tell Dothan, Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el –‘Ajjul), b) analysis of the selected Cypriot sites (Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, Dhenia *Kafkalla*, and Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*), c) examination of ceramic and small find assemblages (especially the Tell Dothan catalogues), d) establishment of database for comparison of pertinent Canaanite and Cypriot data, e) analysis of various cultural traits and burial behaviours evident in the archaeological material at those sites. In order to achieve these objectives a comparative analysis of the cultural traits and burial behaviours evident in the archaeological material at the Canaanite and the Cypriot sites was conducted.

The problem of the origin of loculi tombs at sites in the Levant is complicated by the fact that there is no comprehensive and uniform typology of burials in Canaan to date. To elucidate their possible origins at the four Canaanite sites, with special attention to Tell Dothan, mortuary practices in the Bronze Age Cyprus were examined, through comparison and contrast of select Cypriot tombs that span the Cypriot Bronze Age: Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, Dhenia *Kafkalla* and Korovia *Paleoskoutella*.

The cultural connection to the Bronze Age burial practices in Cyprus has been explored, if tentatively, by several scholars (e.g. Gilmour 1991, 1995; Gonen 1992; Stiebing 1970, 1971), but Tell Dothan has not been considered in these discussions in

any detail. Cultural influences do not necessarily reflect movements of ethnic groups. Nevertheless, a more detailed comparison of the tombs at this site with the Cypriot data is required. It is not proposed here that a direct introduction of an ethnically different population can be deduced from an appearance of a single cultural element, in this case a particular tomb design. Instead a specific site was examined to understand the process behind the transference of architectural features of tombs. The apparent similarity of Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan to some Cypriot tombs, particularly to Tomb 7 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, became a starting point for the analysis of the Cypriot burial practices in the Bronze Age and their impact on tomb plans in Canaan. It seemed that either, in contradiction to what Gonen concluded, the loculi chamber tombs in Canaan were not ‘foreign’ and therefore could be found even in the more isolated hill country, or they were, but had a more lasting impact on some communities than she realized and continued to be in use into the Late Bronze Age II and Early Iron I.

A method of comparison was implemented in order to clarify linear and multi-directional trends in the context of loculi tombs in Canaan during Late Bronze/Iron I. Creating a series of comparative tables and spreadsheets provided an uncomplicated way for conducting a visual assessment of existence of common concepts across spatial and temporal dividers, as expressed in the archaeological material. A theoretical framework complemented comparative analysis of two major groups of physical variables, architectural and artefactual.

Additional examples of architectural and artefactual aspects found in loculi chamber tombs in Canaan were drawn from sites on the Greek mainland, such as Marathon. The significance and relevance of these sites will be discussed in Chapter 6.

In regards to the spelling of 'tel' or 'tell' the spelling used by the original excavators or publishers of the particular site has been given, which in most cases is the standard form used in all relevant literature. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that 'tel' is the Hebrew spelling of the word 'mound' and 'tell' its Arabic equivalent. Apart from place names, the Hebrew spelling was used throughout the discussion.

To clarify the use of the term 'loculus' and 'bench', a *loculus* is, by definition, a niche, a depression cut into the wall of a tomb, on the level of the floor or above it. A *bench* can be a free standing block of stone or one left attached to a wall on a single side, but protruding into the chamber. Bloch-Smith presents a detailed comparison of these two components of mortuary architecture (1992:41-52). In the Lachish III report Tufnell used the term *loculus* in the context of a burial niche (Tufnell 1953). In the Megiddo report Guy described such burials as *niches* or *recesses* (Guy 1938). The Cypriot site reports referred to them as *niches* or *burial niches*, never as *benches*.

1.2 Theory

The elements of mortuary theories of Bright (1995), Leach (1979), Keswani (2004) Morris (1987, 1992), and O'Shea (1984) were incorporated in order to build a framework for examining loculi burials in their cultural context. These particular theoretical models were chosen to aid the burial analysis. Although some of the points they highlight overlap, the conclusions complement each other.

The formation of local customs, i.e. extreme regionalism and retention of an ancestral practice, was assumed for the purposes of comparison. In addition, the assumption was made that on the basis of similarities and differences existing in archaeological remains it would be possible to establish a system that would clarify

linear and multi-directional trends within the process of cultural influence in the loculi burial context.

Several theoretical elements, in particular, were pertinent. Morris' concept of "social structure" imbedded in the "un-verbalized models", though arising from his stance as a classical archaeologist whose work focuses on burial and society, was helpful because it emphasized the importance of context for an individual, whether alive or dead (Morris 1992: 1-30). O'Shea provided a background on the concepts of mortuary variability and ethnic differentiation in mortuary practices (O'Shea 1984: 23- 49, 286-301).

Bolger (2003), Bright (1995), Keswani (2004), and Webb (1999) provided geographically specific mortuary and ritual theory on the Cypriot practices. Gonen (1992), Cooley (1983), Hallote (2001) and Bloch-Smith (1992) supplied the equivalent on the Canaanite customs. The results of the applications of the theoretical approaches will be presented in Chapter 6. In addition, a group of conceptual variables was considered within the larger context of the theoretical examination of burials practices.

1.2.1 Conceptual variables

In addition to the two main groups of variables employed in the methodology, the architectural and the artefactual, another group of variables, stemming from the central question of the project, was singled out – the 'intrusive/foreign' and the 'local/traditional' characteristics of the interments. These elements functioned on a separate platform within my comparative analysis, in addition to existing as variations integral to and influencing the two groups of variables. It was important for the apparently culturally unique situation that the conceptual variables were included to

complement the physical ones. In practical terms the division was based not on the primary vs. secondary dichotomy, but rather on the cause vs. result one. This meant that neither of the conceptual variables was given higher significance than the other. Ideological judgments about the opposite sides of the dichotomies within the conceptual variables or the dichotomies existing between the conceptual and the physical variables were not made.

The conceptual variables included *time* (seasonal and cultural), *dichotomies* such as ‘intrusive/foreign’ and ‘local/traditional’, and the *ideological meaning* of burial and its components. The role of these categories was to highlight the reasons, or the human agency, behind the archaeological material, the way the physical variables encompassed the human element that created them. The range of influences on the burial process could be further subdivided into the ways cultural ideology might be expressed through architectural planning, burial methods, pottery and other grave goods. The intrusive vs. local dichotomy could be observed in each of these categories.

1.2.2 Cognitive Assumptions

As a group of possible comparisons was set to be explored, aside from identifying the variables with which one proposed to work, the basis for one’s choice, or one’s assumptions about the cognitive process needed to be recognized. Therefore, two vital questions, suggested by Bright, had to be posed as reference points: “a) from whose point of view does a relationship between variables exist, b) from whose perspective is a perceived change significant?” (Bright 1995:72). Bright states that

In each case there are at least three possible standpoints (a) those of the characters involved that is to say, the living and the dead (b) those of the

enquirer and (c) those of the subsequent reader of the completed research text. (Bright 1995:72)

The *enquirer's* perception of the relationships between archaeological variables and of the importance of the change these relationships might bring was the most immediate and the easiest to verify and correct. This was accomplished by asking what effects the *cognitive assumptions* would have on the research. Comparing them to the assumptions made by other scholars in the area also helped. The questions of how the choice of comparisons, relationships, variables, and sample sites were arrived at, and how a decision was made on attributing such quantifying terms as *unique, traditional, foreign, and local* or a *phenomenon* to the archaeological material will be addressed in the following sections. The working assumptions about the methodology and the material will be discussed in chapter 4.

1.3 Chronological Framework

Several different chronologies exist in the literature on the Bronze and Iron Ages of the Levant. Those employed in the major works on the subject, including Mazar's broadly accepted timeline (Mazar 1992; Table 1.1)¹ are presented below. The chronological framework for Cyprus was taken from Keswani (2004:186; Table 1.2), who synthesized her tables from Knapp (1994a: fig. 1), Webb and Frankel (1999:5), Merrillees (1992:Table 2), Karageorghis (1990b), Manning and Swiny (1994), and Manning et al. (2001). Unless otherwise stated, the chronological sequence of the excavators or publishers of a given site will be followed.

¹ For the sake of convenience I will use Mazar's chronology unless stated otherwise.

Table 1.1: Chronological framework for Canaan, after Mazar (1992).

Early Bronze I: 3300-3050 BCE
Early Bronze II-III: 3050-2300 BCE
Early Bronze IV-Middle Bronze I: 2300-2000 BCE
Middle Bronze IIA: 2000-1800/1750 BCE
Middle Bronze IIB-C: 1800/1750-1550 BCE
Late Bronze I: 1550-1400 BCE
Late Bronze IIA-B: 1400-1200 BCE
Iron IA: 1200-1150 BCE
Iron IB: 1150-1000 BCE

Table 1.2: Chronological framework for Cyprus, after Keswani (2004).

Chalcolithic: 3900/3700-2400 BCE
Philia Phase: 2500-2350 BCE
Early Cypriot I: ?2300-2150 BCE
Early Cypriot II: 2150-2100 BCE
Early Cypriot IIIA: 2100-2025 BCE
Early Cypriot IIIB: 2025-1950 BCE
Middle Cypriot I: 1950-1850 BCE
Middle Cypriot II: 1850-1750 BCE
Middle Cypriot III: 1750-1650 BCE
Late Cypriot IA: 1650-1550 BCE
Late Cypriot IB: 1550-1450 BCE
Late Cypriot IIA: 1450-1375 BCE
Late Cypriot IIB: 1375-1300 BCE
Late Cypriot IIC: 1340/1315-1200 +20/-10 BCE
Late Cypriot IIIA: 1200/1190-1125/1100 BCE
Late Cypriot IIIB: 1125/1100-1050 BCE

1.4 Mortuary Practice in Bronze and Early Iron Age Canaan

In Middle Bronze Canaan most sites with interments contained rock-hewn caves used for multiple, successive burials of mature individuals (Ilan 1995b, Wright 1985). According to both Bloch-Smith and Gonen, this predominant type of burial was indigenous to Canaan and continued into the Late Bronze, with some changes in geographical distribution (Bloch-Smith 1992:39, Gonen 1992:9). In the Late Bronze

Age rock-cut cave burials receded into the mountains and inner valleys (Gonen 1992:35). Gonen also stated that the less common, 'migrant' burial types never took hold in Bronze/Iron I Canaan.

Evidence of the practice of reusing tombs or caves from an earlier period was found at Middle Bronze IIA Tell el-Far'ah (S) (De Vaux 1955:548), Gibeon (Pritchard 1963:61), Jericho (Kenyon 1965:203), Khirbet Kufin (R.H. Smith 1962:17), and Megiddo (Guy and Engberg 1938:64, 69). Tufnell also mentioned in her report that such mortuary behaviour was suspected for some of the Lachish tombs (Tufnell 1958:280-291). The availability of solid, yet easily worked, bedrock could be connected to relative scarcity of other tomb types in the Central Hill Country. There were, however, sites, such as Megiddo, where suitable bedrock exists, yet where there is evidence of both rock-cut as well as other interment designs. Tombs of different types were often found together in clusters at this time, as at Tel Dan, Megiddo, and Hazor (Ilan 1995:128). Both the usage of rock-cut caves and the recycling of already existing tombs continued into the Iron Age.

In general, society's interaction with the deceased did not end with burial, as attested by post-interment offerings and the cult of the dead (Bloch-Smith 1992: 105-108, 122-130). Feeding of the dead and ancestral worship continued into the Iron Age in Canaan, despite the official prohibitions against necromancers and tithed food as grave offerings recorded in the Biblical texts (Bloch-Smith 1992:126-132).

1.5 Mortuary Practice in Bronze Age Cyprus

The transition from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age in Cyprus saw the foreshadowing of the cultural and social changes that were to develop during the Bronze

Age proper (Keswani 2004:37-8, Steel 2004:118). It was at this time that the island became part of the trade and exchange networks that enveloped the East Mediterranean, including the increased connections with southern Anatolia. The shift in settlement patterns and new uses of the mineral resources were accompanied by changes in material culture, funeral, ritual and religious expression (Steel 2004:119-48). Two of the settlements that will be examined together with the Canaanite sites, *Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba* and *Dhenia Kafkalla*, were established during the Early Cypriot Bronze Age, during which the Philia culture was introduced on the island. Seen as intrusive to Cyprus, it has been interpreted by some scholars as having originated in Anatolia, and having migrated to the island, indirectly, through exchange networks (Manning 1993: 35-58, Peltenburg 1996:17-43, Steel 2004:125). Others, though agreeing with the Anatolian provenience, favour the theory of small groups of settlers relocating to Cyprus to take better advantage of the copper resources (Webb and Frankel 1999:40).

The majority of Philia stylistic characteristics came from contexts associated with interments, mostly extramural (Steel 2004:122). However, according to Stiebing and Astrom, examples of bilobate chamber tombs, exhibiting features resembling those in chamber tombs with loculi, closest to the Canaanite type and seen as its precursors, belonged to Middle Cypriot II and III, approximately Middle Bronze IIB and C in Canaan (Astrom 1957:206, Stiebing 1970:14). They both claim this type of burial was native to Cyprus, where it developed gradually, while appearing suddenly in Canaan at the beginning of Middle Bronze IIC.

The rock-cut chamber tomb for multiple interments was introduced in Cyprus during the Late Cypriot Chalcolithic and developed as the principal tomb type during the Cypriot Bronze Age (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 70-72, 257). The tombs were usually part

of larger cemeteries and located on hill slopes, in close proximity to settlements (Steel 2004:139). The general plan of a Cypriot tomb in Bronze Age resembled that of rock-cut chamber tombs in Canaan of the equivalent period, including a dromos, a stamion and an entrance blocked with “a stone slab or stone rubble” (Steel 2004:139). A “degree of uniformity” in the ceramic and object assemblages from interments points to the existence of *funerary equipment* (Frankel 1988:41). Frankel and Webb viewed the funerary equipment as objects from a specific group that were removed from households purposefully and placed in tombs with the deceased (Frankel and Webb 1996:48). Manning interpreted the proliferation of liquid-holding vessels during the Philia phase and the Early Cypriot Bronze as evidence of ritual and competitive feasting (Manning 1993:45). The laying of sterile layer of earth/limestone rubble was important in multi-generation tombs used for long periods of time to minimize the unpleasantness of the decaying bodies or just to create an even surface.

During the Late Cypriot Bronze Age more changes in exchange and trade networks occurred; for example the exploitation of metal resources flourished. In turn there appears to have been an increase in elaboration of funerary ritual, as well as more variability in interment architecture, a shift to more intramural cemeteries/burials, pits in chamber floors were cut, and bodies placed in niches or directly on the floor, in an extended position. Secondary burial remained an important element of the burial process (Steel 2004:174).

1.7 Summary of Chapters

The discussion of the mortuary practice at Tell Dothan, in the rest of Bronze Age Canaan and in Cyprus, cannot begin without a review of the existing scholarship on the

subject. In Chapter 2, therefore, an outline of the previously published work is provided. In Chapter 3 a detailed overview of the four Canaanite and the four Cypriot sites is given. In Chapter 4 the methodology employed in the research and analysis, along with the description of the working assumptions and the explication of the analytical components of the comparative process is presented. Chapter 5 contains the analysis of results received from the application of comparative tools to the burial data from all of the eight sites. In Chapter 6 the results of this study are interpreted, and the various elements of mortuary behaviour and mortuary material are examined. The possible origins of loculi chamber tombs at Tell Dothan are also discussed. The results of the application of theoretical approaches are presented and the emerging picture of burial as cultural process is explored. Finally a summary of the discussion and a conclusion are offered, along with suggestions for possible directions of further research.

Chapter 2: Previous Scholarship

The seminal work in interment scholarship of the Late Bronze Age Canaan is, without a doubt, Rivka Gonen's 1992 monograph *Burial Patterns and Cultural Diversity in Late Bronze Age Canaan*. Her study proposes that the LB burial customs prove the gradual development of two population groups in Canaan during that period: the inhabitants of the mountains and the inhabitants of the coastal plain and central valleys. However, her typology of Late Bronze interment presents, as she herself admits, certain limitations. The *loculi* burials, she suggests, were of a 'foreign' origin, but did not have a lasting impact on the general mortuary practices of Canaan in the Late Bronze Age. She does not pursue this hypothesis nor does she discuss the reasons for such a situation (Gonen 1992:21-31,131,149). The question of *loculi* burials is the focus of this thesis.

Tell Dothan's original excavator Joseph Free (in 1953-1962) and the site's publishers Robert Cooley and Gary Pratico (in 1983, 1995, 1997 and 1998) produced a total of ten very preliminary reports on Tell Dothan. None of these deals with the cultural origin of *loculi* burials in any great detail. The 2005 volume, *Tell Dothan I. Remains from the Tell (1953-1964)* edited by Master, Monson, Lass and Pierce, only mentions the Western Cemetery in the context of the apparent Late Bronze II layers on the main tell. The western cemetery itself is to constitute the content of Volume II, yet to be published. Though both Gonen and Cooley and Pratico note that the Tumulus # 7

at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* (Karpas Peninsula, Cyprus) parallels the cave burials at Tell Dothan in a striking way (Cooley and Pratico 1995:167, Gonen 1992:132-33), they do not offer a formal comparison of the two sites.

Catherine Cockerham's 1995 *Burial Practice at Tell Dothan: was Tomb 1 a 'byt mrzh'?* is an unpublished thesis that discusses the Western Cemetery at Tell Dothan. It explores the question of the funerary feasting ritual 'mrzh' (appearing in the epigraphic sources from 14th century B.C. to 6th century A.D.) within the context of the funerary material excavated at Dothan. Cockerham argues that the "inordinate number of drinking vessels" found in all the five layers demonstrate that Tomb 1 might have been a place of funerary banqueting "of some type" (Cockerham 1995:4). She quotes Gonen exclusively on the subject of the presence and origins of loculi in Canaanite tombs, again without further exploring the question (Cockerham 1995:25-29). She does, however, discuss possible origins of the unique architectural feature of Tomb 1 – the ceramic pipe/channel.

In 2005 an article on bio-archaeological analysis of the Tell Dothan and Lachish material appeared in the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (Ullinger et al. 2005:466-476) discussing the use of dental non-metric traits in the understanding of cultural transitions. Though the analysis indicated that the Iron Age people of the southern Levant were related to their Bronze Age predecessors, it did not exclude the possibility of non-local origin for the Late Bronze population. In fact, the phenotypes of Late Bronze Dothan and Iron II Lachish showed more similarities between them than between either of them and other sites (Ullinger et al. 2005).

The reports of the British School of Archaeology in Egypt on Tell el-'Ajjul were published by Sir Flinders Petrie in five volumes, in 1931, 1932, 1933, 1934, and 1952.

An additional report on the Middle Bronze Age ‘Courtyard Cemetery’ by Olga Tufnell appeared in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology* in 1962 (Vol. 3:1-37). The most detailed publication on the Megiddo tombs is the University of Chicago’s 1938 site report by P.L.O. Guy. It contains descriptions of the individual tombs, as well as the review of burial customs from the Chalcolithic to the Roman periods, and a chapter on the human skeletal remains. Other site reports include: *Megiddo II. Seasons of 1935-1939* by Gordon Loud (1948), *Megiddo III. The 1992-1996 Seasons* by Israel Finkelstein, David Ussishkin and Baruch Halpern (eds. 2000), and *Megiddo 3. Final Report on the Stratum VI Excavations* by Timothy Harrison and David Esse (2004).

Olga Tufnell published the multi-volume Lachish report including the 1940 *Lachish II. The Fosse Temple*, the 1953 *Lachish III. The Iron Age* and the 1958 *Lachish IV. The Bronze Age*. David Ussishkin’s 1978 preliminary report *Excavations at Tel Lachish – 1973-1977* and the 2004 *The Renewed Archaeological Excavation at Lachish. Vol. III (1973-1994)* deal with the second phase of excavations at the site.

Priscilla Keswani’s work on mortuary ritual and society in Bronze Age Cyprus has established the groundwork for any study of the specific Cypriot sites in the Late Cypriot period (Keswani 1989, 2004, 2005). Her analysis identifies the variability and change in Cypriot tomb architecture. Keswani discusses *Paleoskoutella* in some detail within the context of Early and Middle Bronze Age burials in Cyprus (2004:47 ff.).

In her 2003 *Gender in Ancient Cyprus*, Diane Bolger notes the shift in the emphasis in scholars’ approaches from the identity and status of the dead to an examination of the ways in which rituals of death and burial reveal the motives and identities of the living (Bolger 2003). Her observation points to the importance of understanding death as a process rather than event. Examples of this change in

paradigm appear in various works, such as Campbell and Green's 1995 volume *Archaeology of Death in the Near East*, in which Garth Gilmour's discussion of the Aegean influences in southern Levantine funerary practices considers which aspects of tomb structure can be attributed to coincidental similarity and which to 'foreign' influence (Gilmour 1995:155-70). Gilmour uses Tell el-Far'ah (S) as the basis for his comparison. He points out, for example, that the stepped entrance should be seen as a "Canaanite" variation rather than an influence from outside (cases of stepped entrances in Mycenaean areas were isolated). Gilmour mentions only one tomb from Tell el-'Ajjul, Tomb 1166, as "showing considerable resemblance to the 900-series chamber tombs at Tell el-Far'ah (S)". He does not discuss other tomb types from the same cemetery that might exhibit foreign influences. Similarly, he classifies as benches what Gonen categorizes as loculi in the Cypriot tombs (specifically at Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, *Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba* and *Ayios Iakovos Melia*). This could be just a case of typological inconsistency rooted in the interpreter's point of view. This question of individual interpretation will be addressed in chapter 4 on methodology.

Indeed, the distinction between benches and niches seems to be an issue some archaeologists do not agree about, or at least do not see as significant (e.g. T. Harris, G. Gilmour, J. Green 2005: personal communications). Gilmour proposes that the diverse influences in Bronze Age Canaan, including the "exceptional funerary practices" derive from a plethora of distinctive origins of those influences. He makes an interesting point that the "typical" tombs in Cyprus show more resemblance to those of the same type in Canaan than to the "typical" Aegean tombs.

The formative typology of Cypriot tombs can be found in Gjerstad et al. Volume 1 of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* reports (Gjerstad, Lindros, Sjoqvist and Westholm

1934). The other relevant volumes are Astrom's 1972 Volume IV 1B, 1C and 1D and Dikaios and Stewart's 1962 Volume IV 1A, as well as Sjoqvist's 1940 *Reports on Excavations in Cyprus*, Astrom and Wright's 1962 article *Two Bronze Age Tombs at Dhenia in Cyprus* and Webb and Frankel's 2001 *Eight MB Age tomb groups from Dhenia in the University of New England Museum of Antiquities*, which provide the physical descriptions of the tombs, as well as the registries of finds.

Complementary to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition reports is Kehrberg's work on the Early to Middle Cypriot transition in Northern Cyprus, with a section devoted to tombs 806, 302, 313, and 322 at Lapithos (Kehrberg 1995 *Northern Cyprus in the Transition from the Early to the Middle Cypriot Period. Typology, Relative and Absolute Chronology of Some Early Cypriot III to Middle Cypriot I Tombs*). Similarly, Herscher's dissertation on the Bronze Age cemetery at Lapithos presents the results of the 1931 University of Pennsylvania's excavation (Herscher 1978 *The Bronze Age Cemetery at Lapithos, Vrysi tou Barba, Cyprus. Results of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Excavation, 1931*). This particular excavation was an expansion of the earlier Swedish expedition, continuing the exploration of the tombs in three separate areas under the collective name of the 800 series (as opposed to the Swedish Cyprus Expedition's 300 series).

The published scholarship presented above is essentially a review, and in the case of Tell Dothan the sum of available scholarship. The reports on Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el-Ajjul are much more extensive and detailed and provide for a more conclusive study. I have, therefore, limited the current review to the most comprehensive ones. In the Cypriot scholarship the amount of published data is even more extensive, thanks primarily to the work accomplished by the Swedish Cyprus Expeditions.

The scholarly literature on mortuary practices has also addressed parallels in burial architecture and ritual between Canaan and both Egypt and the Mid-Euphrates area, Mesopotamia. Gonen and Stiebing considered the presence of the Hyksos people in Canaan and Egypt and their possible influence on the Canaanite burial custom, an explanation first used by Petrie in the 1930s (Gonen 1992:23-34, Stiebing 1970, 1971). Sjoqvist's suggestions as to the similarity between Hyksos tombs at Tell el-Far'ah (S) and the Middle Cypriot loculi chamber tombs at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* and Late Cypriot I tombs at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* did not account for the fact that Tell el-Far'ah's tombs had benches and not loculi cut in them (Sjoqvist 1940b:146-8). He placed the origin of those Cypriot tombs in Anatolia and the Near East rather than in the Aegean world (Sjoqvist 1940b:150). The Hyksos 'scenario', thus, seeks to explicate the architectural innovation of loculi chamber tombs in Canaan and Cyprus of the Bronze Age as an adaptation by the local population of the West-Semitic customs brought in with the Hyksos 'conquest'. Though the plans of the tombs at Tell el-Far'ah (S) and of the Cypriot tombs are quite similar, the differences between benches and loculi found there are too significant to make a direct connection between them valid. Petrie's use of the term 'Hyksos', which Sjoqvist incorporated into his argument, is also problematic. Hyksos designation for sites such as Tell el-Far'ah (S) and Tell el-'Ajjul is considered outdated and essentially incorrect because of lack of clear evidence pointing to Hyksos authorship of the chamber tombs at these sites.

Stiebing traced the date of the introduction of chamber tombs with loculi into Canaan to Middle Bronze IIB and C (Stiebing 1971:111). He stated that chambers with loculi have been found only at sites where bilobate chamber tombs were also present,

and listed Tell el-‘Ajjul, Lachish and Tell el-Far’ah (S) as sites containing both types of tombs.

There were no bilobate tombs to accompany the loculi chamber tombs at Tell Dothan, making it the only site of its kind in Canaan. The Hyksos entry into Canaan from Egypt is usually dated to the beginning of Middle Bronze IIB, c. 1650 B.C.E., with the Hyksos rule in Egypt ending c. 1550 B.C.E. (Mazar 1992:175). Stiebing believed that the Hyksos arrived in Canaan not from Egypt but earlier, through Syria. He dismissed the Hyksos connection of these two tomb types on the basis of chronological discrepancies, giving the date for the introduction of loculi chamber tombs into Canaan as early Middle Bronze IIC (c. 1600-1650 B.C.E.), too late, in his view, for the Hyksos influence (Stiebing 1971:141). The scenario of the Cypriot origin seems thus more plausible. The similarities between the bilobate tombs in Cyprus and those in Canaan are greater than those between the loculi chamber tombs in those two areas, possibly due to the fact that the bilobate plan was introduced via a more direct route and by a larger and more dynamic group of traders or immigrants (Stiebing 1970:142-43). Since the loculi chamber tomb could be seen as a continuation of the bilobate tradition, the earlier, closer connection can serve to support the argument for the later and subtler influence. Keswani also considered a Near Eastern parallel for the Cypriot loculi chamber tombs, such as Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, by presenting the example of Halawa (Figure 2.1), in the Middle Euphrates area, of the third millennium B.C.E. (c. 2500 B.C.E.) (Keswani 2004:58, Figure 4.2). Orthmann’s report on the 1977 to 1979 excavations at Halawa included tomb plans that closely resemble the loculi tombs in Cyprus and Canaan (Orthmann 1977: Plates VII and XIV-XV; 1981: Plates 30-42; Appendix 1, Figures A.1.8 to A.1.10). However, the chronological gap of some 900 years make the

Mesopotamian examples of loculi tombs unlikely candidates as the origin of those in Canaan. The Hyksos and the Mesopotamian parallels while worth mentioning do not add significantly to the clarification of the origin of the loculi chamber tombs in Canaan. The issues will not be addressed in this thesis.

Chapter 3: The Sites – A Description

3.1 Sources

The data available from the four Canaanite and the four Cypriot sites reflects the often limited character of the recorded interment material from Canaan and Cyprus. Many of the excavation reports were written and published during the first part of the twentieth century, sometimes employing a style of scholarship that was less rigorous than what is expected today. The poor preservation of the burial grounds, caused by both environmental degradation and looting, added to the uneven nature of the available sources for the Canaanite and Cypriot tomb design in the Bronze and the Early Iron Ages. These factors account for the disproportionate amount of information, largely unpublished, on Tell Dothan and the circumscribed nature of the information on Tell el-‘Ajjul, Lachish and Megiddo. In contrast, the Cypriot data relating to Bronze Age burial practices were available in a more detailed and organized form.

The following description of sites used in the analysis of the loculi chamber tombs in Late Bronze Central Hill Country of Canaan (Figure 3.1) provides a synopsis of the environmental and cultural context, the chronology, as well as the extent and preservation of individual tombs at the four Canaanite and the four Cypriot sites, and of the associated grave goods and human remains.



Figure 3.1: Map of Canaan (source anon)

The observations were derived from the excavation reports, the published and unpublished artefact catalogues, maps, plans and photographs of tomb and cemeteries, as well as photographs and illustrations of the pottery and small find assemblages. The ceramic type numbers and the corresponding illustrations in the section on Lachish came from the typological system and the ceramic plates used in the Lachish reports (Tufnell 1953 and 1958).

3.2 Tomb Architecture and Artefact Content I: Tell Dothan, Tell el-'Ajjul, Lachish,

Megiddo

3.2.1 Tell Dothan

Tell Dothan is located between the northern Sharon Plain and the Jezreel Valley (Figure 3.2), rising 60 meters above the floor of the Dothan Valley (Master et al. 2005:7). The summit of the mound covers 10 of the 25 acres of occupational ground, with a spring on its southern edge. The Dothan Valley, flanked by the Samaria hills in the south and the Carmel Mountains range in the north, was open in the ancient times to “an extensive network of north-south imperial highways and east-west trade routes” (Master et al. 2005:7).

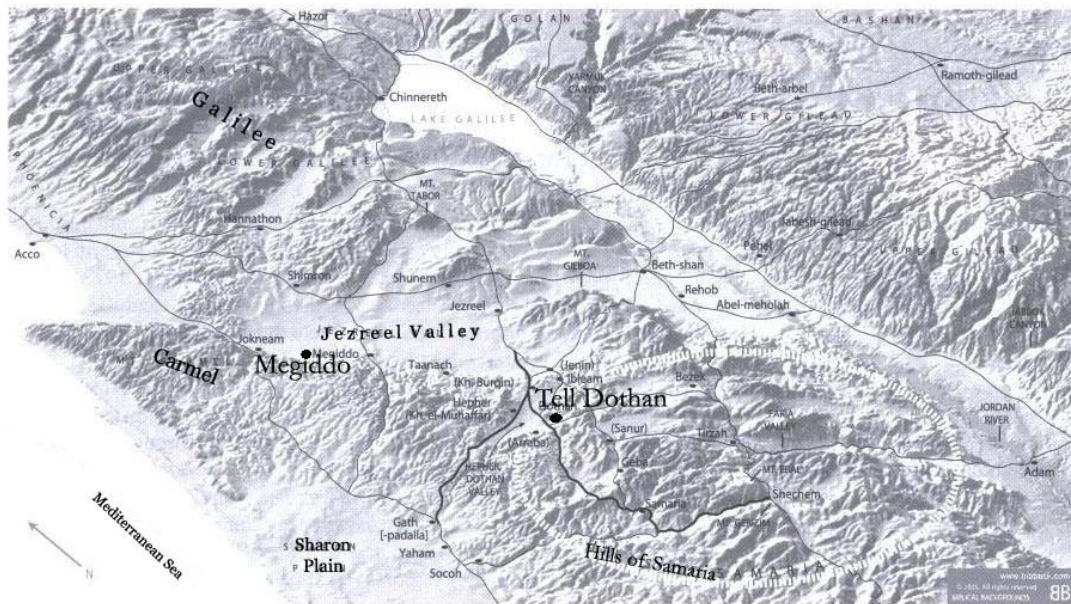


Figure 3.2: Regional map of northern Canaan (after Master et al. 2005:8, Fig. 2.1)

Tell Dothan’s position as a last settlement attached directly to the Central Hill Country allowed it a measure of control over the access to the northern highlands and a

share in the trade networks between Samaria, Galilee and the Jezreel Valley. It could be best described as a regional boundary centre (Master et al. 2005:9). According to Zertal's 1992 survey of the area, the foothills of valleys were the favoured location for settlement throughout the Bronze Age. During the Early and Middle Bronze Age, Tell Dothan shared the settlement patterns of the Samarian highlands to a larger degree than those of the Jezreel Valley and the Jezreel Valleys (Master et al. 2005:11). This situation continued into the Late Bronze, changing only in the Iron Age I.

3.2.1.1 Occupational phases on the main tel (Areas A, D, L and K)

After the Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze occupations, Tell Dothan was abandoned in Early Bronze III. Reoccupied in MB IIB, 1750 to c. 1450 B.C.E., and surviving the initial collapse of the Middle Bronze Age the settlement continued into the Late Bronze I (Master et al. 2005). The renewed excavations by Cooley (1980 and 2004) and surveys that followed the original excavations conducted by Joseph Free in the 1950s and 1960s) were unable to define any substantial ceramic assemblage or coherent architecture that might be dated to LB II on the tel. This was particularly disconcerting as the Western Cemetery in Area K (Figure 3.3), particularly Tomb 1, contained five strata, spanning the Late Bronze IIA through the beginning of the Iron I. The situation was further complicated by the fact that Late Bronze painted sherds "in the Canaanite tradition" were found in parts of Areas K, L and A that otherwise yielded only Iron I remains (Master et al. 2005:65). The excavators were not sure whether this situation reflected the Late Bronze II tradition or its continuation into Iron I. In Area A Late Bronze II imported pottery was also distributed throughout the Iron Age strata.

The extensive Middle Bronze settlement in the highlands of Canaan did not continue into the Late Bronze. The occupation of Tell Dothan, however, did persist into Late Bronze I, coming to an end by mid-15th century BCE.

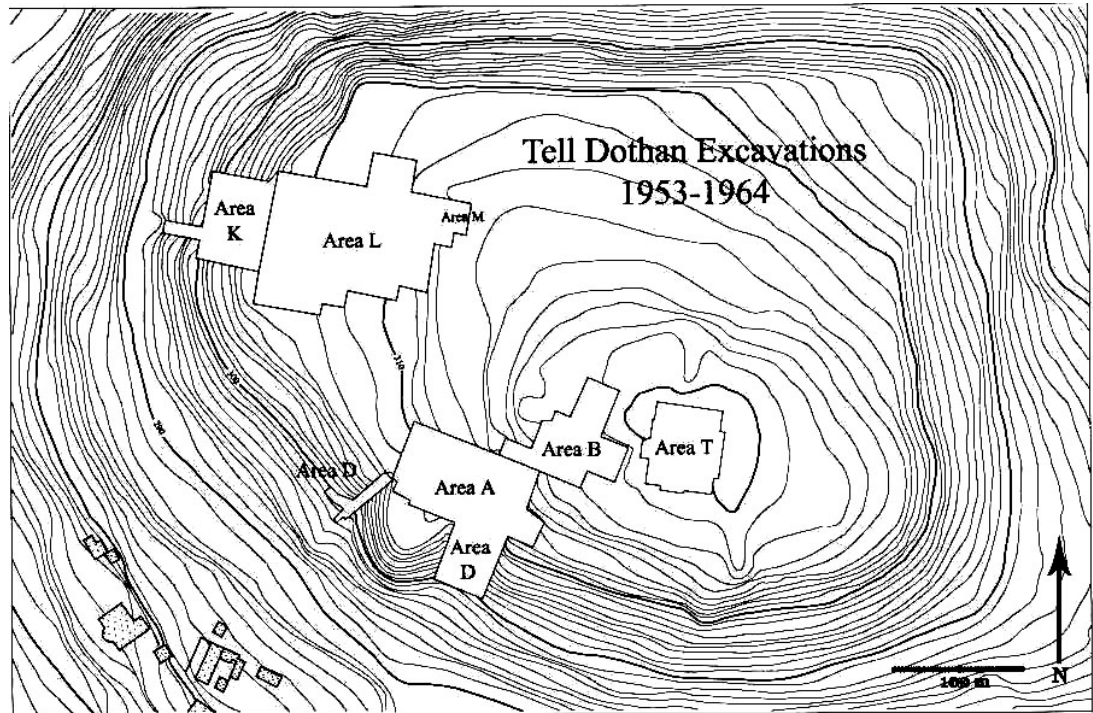


Figure 3.3: Excavation areas (after Master et al. 2005:24, Fig.4.5)

Late Bronze IIB saw a revival of valley settlements. Dothan yielded scant evidence of occupation during this period, apart from the material from the tombs and the limited data from the tel proper.

3.2.1.2 Area K: The Western Cemetery

The excavators note that unlike at many Canaanite sites where the inhabitants buried their dead in natural caves (e.g. Tell Jedur, Khirbet Rabud), or in already existing

Early and Middle Bronze tombs (e.g. Tel Regev, Beth-Shean, Gibeon, Jericho, Tell el-Far'ah North, Gezer, Megiddo), Tomb 1's constructors created a completely new burial site, cut into the remains of Early Bronze fortifications (Cooley and Pratico 1995: 167).

Tomb 1 (Figure 3.4), the largest and best preserved of the three tombs in the Western Cemetery in Area K, consists of three architectural components: a square cut, vertical shaft 1.51 m deep, a seven stepped entryway or stomion (3 steps within the shaft), with a doorway wider at the base than at the top (in Early Iron I the entrance was widened and a stone slab fitted into it to close off the chamber), and the main chamber with eight niches or loculi, referred to as crypts in the plan (Cooley and Pratico 1995:151-2).

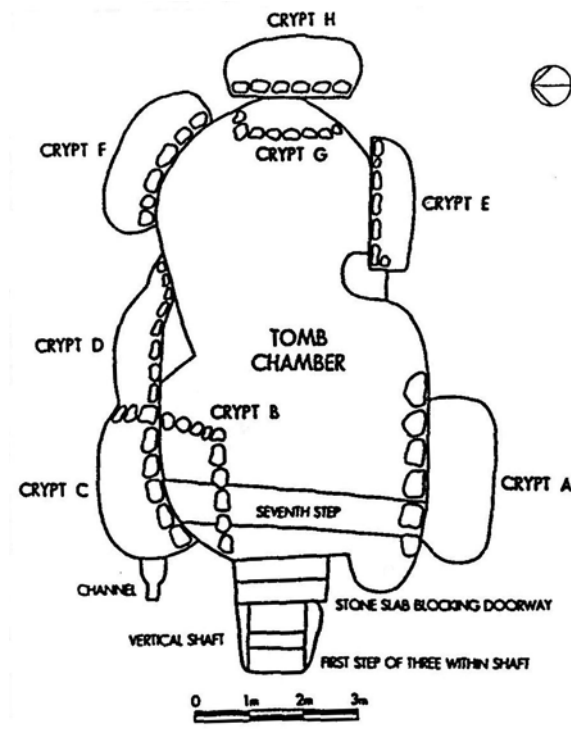


Figure 3.4: Plan of Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan (Cooley and Pratico 1995:152)

Six of the loculi were cut into the rock (approximately 1 m above the floor) and two were designated by constructing stone walls below two other rock cut niches. The tomb is roughly rectangular in shape with rounded corners and has a west-east orientation. The dome-roofed main chamber measures a maximum 10.65 m west to east and a maximum 6.90 m north to south (Cooley and Pratico 1995:151-2). The loculi vary in size from 1.76 to 3.36 m², with the combined surface totalling 18.83 m². A ceramic channel, inside a rock-cut tunnel, ended in a square orifice 0.60 m by 0.60 m, creating a 0.20 m circular opening at the ground surface and running from the tomb's northwest corner. Just below the channel's exterior opening two large storage jars, each with its own dipper juglet, were found. According to Cockerham the construction of the pipe resembles the features in the contemporary Ras Shamra tombs excavated by Schaeffer in the 1930s (Cockerham 1995:22; Schaeffer 1939:50-51).

Tombs 2 and 3 were constructed through a reuse of existing cisterns and were, in turn, extensively damaged by later quarrying of the limestone. Tomb 2 was a small shaft-type, approximately rectangular tomb, just southwest of Tomb 1. Measuring 22 m², its chamber had the entrance cut in its eastern side and the five loculi were cut into the northern, eastern and southern sides. Approximately 500 extremely fragmentary objects were excavated from chronological horizons parallel to those of Tomb 1.

Tomb 3 was located 35 m southwest of Tomb 1. This one was a bell-shaped cistern-tomb, with rounded floor, measuring 3.06 m² (1.6 m maximum depth). Despite the extensive damage to the tombs the excavators were able to discern only one level of burials, with the skeletal (two skull fragments and teeth of an adult and an infant) and pottery remains scattered over the general area of the tomb. The pottery assemblage indicates temporal correspondence with the latest level of Tomb 1 (Iron I).

The practice of multiple burials and the calcium carbonate flushed out of Tomb 1 by underground waters combined to create an archaeological scenario where a total of 204 skulls was recovered from all five strata, fused together with other human remains. The estimated number of 250-300 skeletons was derived from +/-47 fragmentary skulls in *Level 1*, +/-66 (9 complete skulls and 57 fragmentary skulls, including one infant) in *Level 2*, +/-48 (26 complete skulls and 22 fragmentary skulls) in *Level 3*, +/-33 (30 complete skulls and 3 fragmentary skulls) in *Level 4*, and +/-10 (7 complete skulls and 3 fragmentary skulls) in *Level 5*.

The 2724 whole pottery vessels found there were distributed among the five strata, which contained 611 pots in Level 1, 829 in Level 2, 592 in Level 3, 454 in Level 4, and 238 in Level 5 (Cooley and Pratico 1995:152-162). Approximately 137 vessels of this total were imported. In addition to the primary pottery categories, there were other vessel types represented by less than ten examples throughout the five strata in the tomb, namely: jar, funnel, vase, milk-bowl, strainer, bilbil, cooking pot, incense burner, kernos ring, special lamp forms, and anthropomorphic and zoomorphic vessels (Cockerham 1995:29-38, 49-50; Cooley 1997, 1998: Tell Dothan Publication Project Web Site).

3.2.2 Tell el-‘Ajjul

There were approximately eighteen tombs in the 400 group in what Petrie called “Lower Cemetery” (Petrie 1933: Plate LXIV), some of them integrated into the other burial groups of 300, 1500, 1600 and 1900. According to Gonen, the Eastern Cemetery at Tell el-‘Ajjul, dated to c. 1600 B.C.E, has the best known and most distinctive loculi burial caves in Canaan (Gonen 1992:131; Petrie 1931:127, Plate LVII, Fig. 6). The

central chamber functions also as the entrance shaft (Figure 3.5). The loculi, with vaulted ceilings, are cut into the walls. The exceptional feature, the burial of a horse, with some of its parts missing, appears only in one interment at Tell el-Ajjul – burial Tomb 411 (Figure 3.5 (right); Petrie 1931: Plate LVII). None of the other loculi tombs contained horse remains.

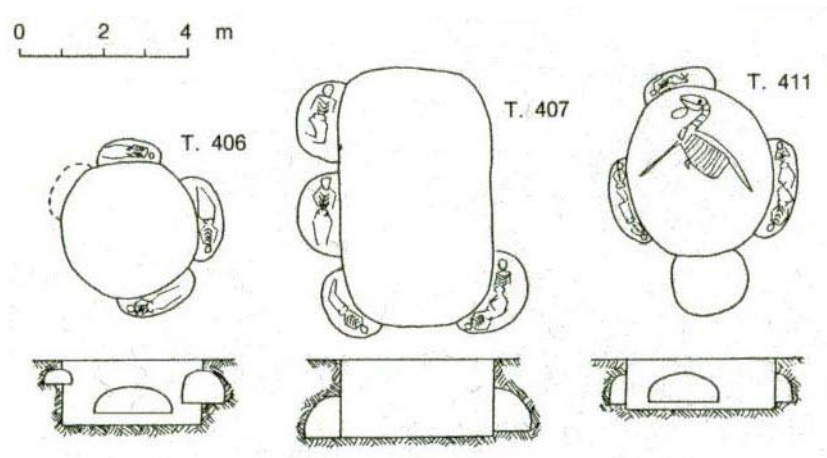


Figure 3.5: Plans of Tombs 406, 407 and 411 at Tell el-‘Ajjul (Petrie 1931: Plate LVII)

Other tombs, in the 100 group, included horses, asses, gazelles and oxen along with human remains, though the loculus design was not present. Petrie also recorded two tombs in the 200 group of the Copper Age cemetery that contained burial niches, without animal remains, Tombs 246 and 263 (Petrie 1931: Plate LVII). All the interments in Tomb 411, including the horse, seemed have been performed simultaneously. The combination of loculi and a horse burial has been otherwise reported only from a tumulus with two burial circles at Marathon in Greece and Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* in Cyprus (Dajani 1964:56-67; Marinatos 1970:354).

North-south orientated Tomb 411, c. 1600 B.C.E.-MBII/LBI, had an oval chamber c. 4 m in diameter, four semi-circular, rock-cut and raised loculi, with an average of two individuals per loculus (Petrie 1931: Plate LVII). Tomb 407 contained a rectangular, 19.25 m² main chamber with rounded corners and four loculi, all but one containing single individuals. Tomb 406 had a circular main chamber, 3 m in diameter, and three rock-cut, raised loculi, each with one individual in it. Between 18 and 28 pottery vessels and a few scarabs and metal toggles were recovered from the three tombs (Petrie 1931: Plate LXI).

3.2.3 Lachish

There were nine areas used for burials during the Bronze Age, Areas 100, 200, 500, 1000, 1500, 2000, 4000, 6000 and 7000, “in and around lower slopes of the mound” (Tufnell 1958:137), and seven during the Iron Age, 100, 200, 500, 1000, 4000, 6000 and 7000. The Bronze Age group in Area 4000, located on the lower slopes of the mound, in the north-east corner, contained approximately fifteen tombs. Six caves with loculi (as in figures 3.6 and 3.7) were found (Tufnell 1953: Figs. 28, 29; Plate 128). Only three, however, contained burials: Tomb 4002-3 (Figure 3.6), Tomb 4013, and Tomb 4019 (Tufnell 1958:280-81).

Tomb 4002-3 is a natural cave, artificially enlarged, possibly already in late Middle Bronze, into a roughly circular main chamber, 5 m by 3 m, with five rock-cut, raised loculi, (Tufnell 1958:280) and a smaller, 3.5 m by 3 m, side chamber. Four steps lead into the west-east oriented tomb. Reused in Late Bronze II and III (c. 1400-1200 B.C.E. according to Tufnell’s chronological scheme, Appendix A, Table A3) with floors plastered at this time, the tomb covered just over a century at the end of the Bronze Age.

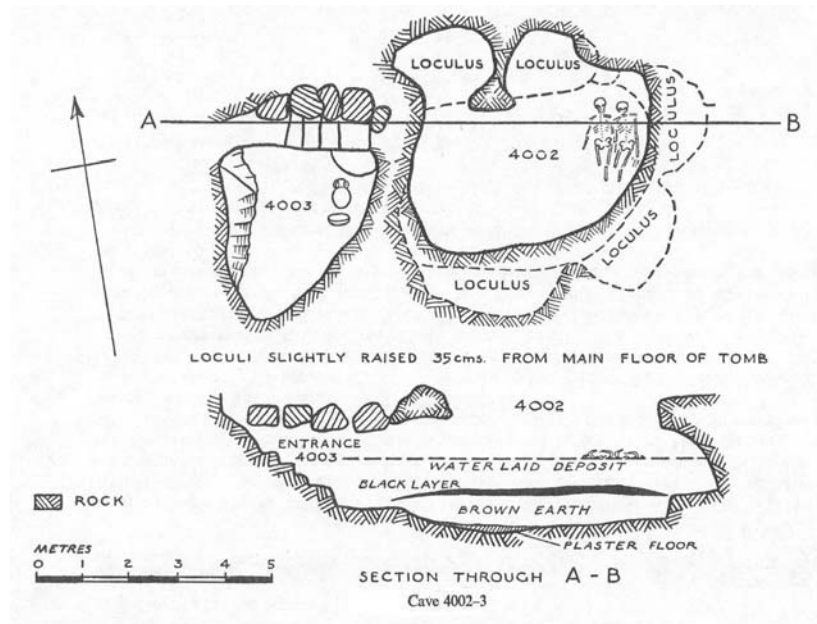


Figure 3.6: Plan of Tomb 4002-3 at Lachish (Tufnell 1953:239, Fig. 28)

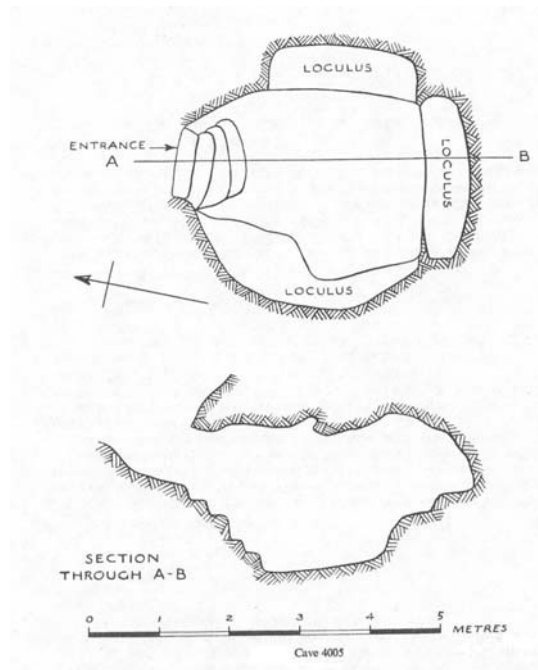


Figure 3.7: Plan of Tomb 4005 at Lachish (Tufnell 1953:241, Fig. 29)

The only clearly LB III vessels found were a small Mycenaean jug (Appendix A, Figure A.1 = Type No. 923 in Tufnell 1958: Plate 82) and a Mycenaean imitation pyxis

(Appendix, Figure A.1 = Type No. 948 in Tufnell 1958: Plate 83). Two human skeletons were deposited in the top stratum, in extended position, side by side, with heads towards the north.

Tomb 4013 (c. 1320-1250 B.C.E.) also had a plastered floor (6 m diameter), a depression in its centre and loculi along the north and west sides. The pottery suggested the tomb was cut early in the Late Bronze IIA and extended at least into early years of Late Bronze IIB.

Tomb 4019, LB II (c. 1400-1350 B.C.E.), had a plastered floor, 4 m diameter, four loculi and a depression in the centre. Later a line of stones was built dividing the space in two, possibly to protect/separate the Bronze Age remains when the cave was reused in Iron Age, c. 900-600 B.C.E. There was only one imported vessel in Tomb 4019, a *Bucchero* jug, Type No. 830 (Appendix A, Figure A.1.1, in Tufnell 1958: Plate 79), with the majority of pottery types being either local or imitations of Cypriot and Mycenaean).

Tombs 4005 (Figure 3.7), 4016, 4017, 4023, and 4031 are also chamber tombs with at least one niche. They were possibly first used (and artificially enlarged?) in the Middle Bronze Age. All the evidence of burials, however, comes from the Iron Age, post 900 B.C. (Tufnell 1953: 239-45). Main features include plastered floors with a depression in centre and mostly, though not exclusively, several loculi. The main chamber size usually ranges between 4 to 6 m in diameter. All the cave tombs of area 4000 compare, in their architecture as well as the evidence of horse remains, with the plan of Tomb 411 at Tell el-Ajjul. However, the artefact assemblage indicates a date in the Late Bronze Age, later than the loculi and horse burial at Tell el-Ajjul.

In area 500 (Appendix A, Figure A.1.2), another loculi cave was found – Tomb 536, in use in Late Bronze II to III, c. 1375-1325 B.C.E. (Tufnell 1958:240, Tufnell 1953: Plate 127). It contained a rectangular, c. 5 m long chamber, with two loculi in its west and in its east walls. The tomb was orientated on a north-south axis, with the entrance opening to the north. The report suggested the layout could also be a result of “quarrying or adaptation for later burials” (Tufnell 1953: Plate 127). The grave goods were very fragmentary, with pottery imports (Tufnell 1958: Plates 79, 81, 82, 83) more common than local imitations. 11 pieces of pottery and four objects were recovered (Tufnell 1958:240).

3.2.4 Megiddo

The loculi tombs were part of the extensive cemetery of over 100 tombs on the eastern slope of the mound. Three out of the four loculi tombs at Megiddo had only one loculus, a feature that Gonen claimed to be “exclusive” to the site (Gonen 1992:133).

Tomb 3 (Figure 3.8) was a chamber of irregular interior, adapted from a rougher natural cave with its entrance through an outside shaft (Guy 1938:72-3). Around the walls there were five niches, as well as several circular pits c. 1 m in depth. According to Gonen, these niches were hewn in LB II, though she did not specify the reason for this conclusion; nor did this assumption appear in the original site report by Guy. There were also two chambers at a lower level, approached from the main chamber by a staircase. Both LB I, LB II and the Iron I pottery types were found in a disturbed context.

Tomb 77 (Figure 3.9) was a rock-cut chamber, roughly rectangular, with an

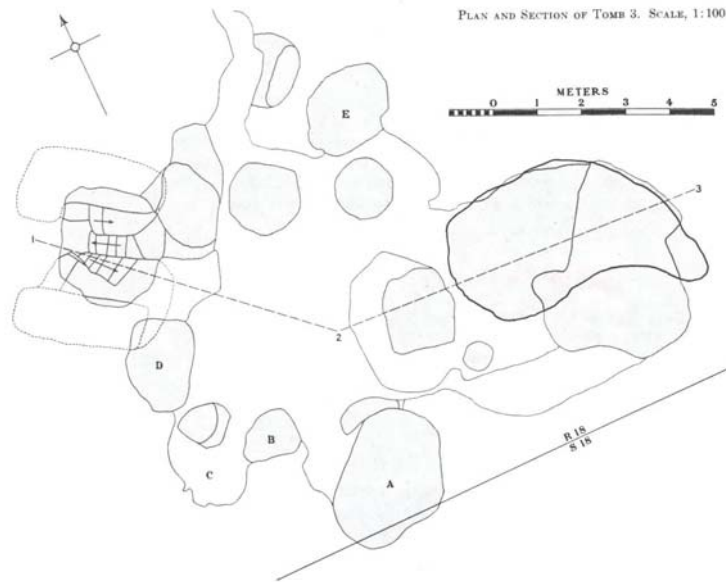


Figure 3.8: Plan of Tomb 3 at Megiddo (Guy 1938:73, Fig. 82)

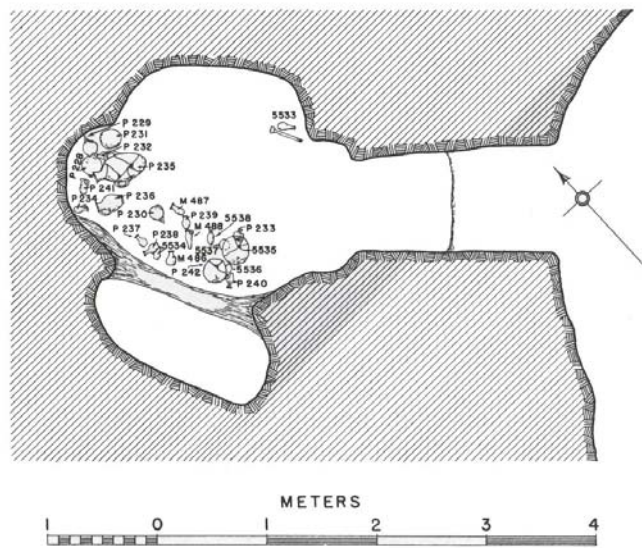


Figure 3.9: Plan of Tomb 77 at Megiddo (Guy 1938:84, Fig. 98)

entrance that had a vaulted opening and a narrow dromos, hewn in LB I (Guy 1938:82-4). The south-west side had one niche separated from the main chamber by a 0.45 m

high ledge. All the artifacts and a few bones, though no skulls, were found only on the chamber's floor. This tomb contained the largest group of imports in all of the Megiddo LB I burials: five Cypriot vessels (Guy 1938: Plates 41-2, 140).

Tomb 78 seems to have a shape similar to Tomb 77. A formal plan, however, does not exist owing to the large extent of the chamber's destruction (Guy 1938:84-5). The burial niche survived with fragmentary skeletal remains and the associated LB I pottery, largely homogenous, with two intrusive bowls: 3531 and P 248 – Iron Age (Guy 1938: Plate 42:22, 23).

Tomb 80, though badly damaged, may be dated to LB II on the basis of the character of its arched entrance and two vessels common in LB II funerary assemblages (Guy 1938: Plate 75:4-5). There were also two Iron I bowls (Guy 1938: Plate 75:6-7).

Megiddo's use of a single loculus within a tomb, the horizontally hewn dromos, and vaulted doorways provided the only example of their kind in Late Bronze Age Canaan found to date (Gonen 1992:134).

3.3 Tomb Architecture and Artefact Content II: *Dhenia Kafkalla*, *Ayios Iakovos*

Melia*, *Korovia Paleoskoutella*, *Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba

3.3.1 *Dhenia Kafkalla*

Early and Middle Bronze burial sites in Cyprus (Figure 3.10) could range from “small clusters of tombs” to “spatially extensive cemeteries” (Keswani 2004:39). Situated on a plain between two ridges, *Dhenia Kafkalla* belonged to the latter group (Astrom and Wright 1962:225). Most of the cultural material, now in various museum collections, came from looting and lacks any provenience. Very few of the tombs were excavated by archaeologists, and even fewer of the intact ones were ever published. The

catalogue of finds from looted tombs, presented in Webb and Frankel’s report (Webb and Frankel 2001) mentioned Stewart attributing those items to “eight individual tombs, numbered A-H” (Webb and Frankel 2001:1). No information was available regarding the architecture of those tombs. Maps indicating the number of tombs in the area have not been published, even if existing in the original manuscripts of the survey reports.

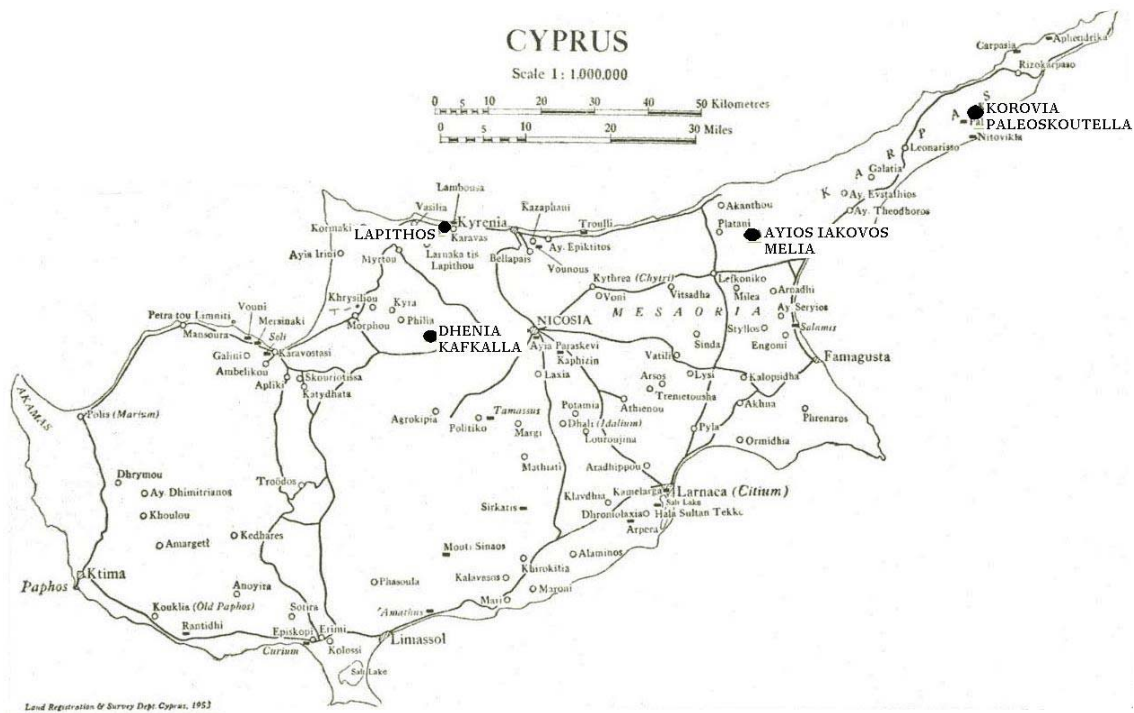


Figure 3.10: Map of Cyprus (after Keswani 2004:27, Fig. 3.1, 29, Fig. 3.2)

Tombs dating to Middle Cypriot period, with some re-use in Late Cypriot I, are located both on the southern (Tomb G.W.1, Tombs 70, 75, 81, 123, 163, 165. 167-9) and northern parts of the large limestone plateau of *Kafkalla* (Tomb 6, Tombs 5, 7-13, 49-50) (Webb and Frankel 2001:2-4). To date, the settlement sites that have been associated with the burial grounds there have not been investigated and are consequently

scantly known. The tombs at Dhenia *Kafkalla* were used predominantly in Middle Cypriot I and II, with renewed activity in Late Cypriot I and II. The richness of the cemeteries in the Dhenia *Kafkalla* region paralleled the long life of the settlement (Web and Frankel 2001:3). Large tombs were employed for centuries and retained an excellent state of preservation thanks to the hardness of the limestone capping. There is evidence of strong cultural and economic ties between the centrally located Dhenia *Kafkalla* and the north-coast site of Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* during the Middle Cypriot era (Astrom 1972:173, Frankel 1974:47-51, Stewart 1962:299).

The main burial chamber of Tomb G.W. 1 (Figure 3.11) is of roughly rectangular

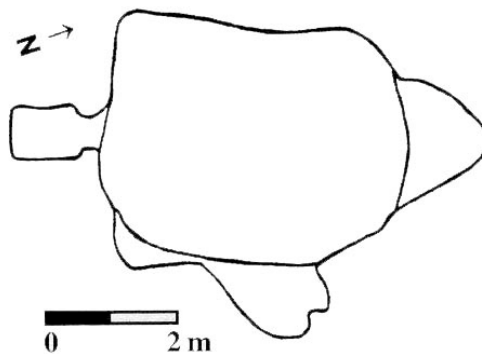


Figure 3.11: Plan of Tomb G.W.1 at Dhenia *Kafkalla* (Keswani 2004:59, Fig. 4.2.J)

shape, measuring 20 m², and has three loculi, one on its northern and two on its eastern side (Astrom and Wright 1962:233). The c. 1 m shaft dromos with a small stomion was cut into the southern side of chamber, making it quite similar to the more classic roof-entrance tombs. Some of the depressions in the uneven floor of the chamber contained concentrations of bones, but as a result of recent lootings they were too disturbed and undefined to plot and analyse. On the basis of the assemblage that survived the looting

of the tomb the excavators concluded it was used in the Middle Cypriot II, c. 1700-1650 B.C.E., and reflected the same cultural characteristics as the tombs at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (see below). The total number of pottery pieces, including sherds and fragments, came to 32+ objects, all Cypriot and hand-made. Because of the disturbed character of this tomb's contents an analysis of grave goods will not be attempted here. The several burials were estimated to cover a period of 50 years.

Tomb 6 (Figure 3.12) had an irregular shape, the main chamber measuring 36 m², with a c. 1 m cylindrical shaft for a dromos cut in the roof of the chamber (Astrom

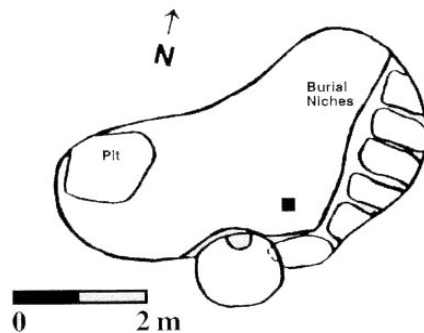


Figure 3.12: Tomb 6 at Dhenia *Kafkalla* (Keswani 2004:59, Fig. 4.2.K)

and Wright 1962:242). Along the eastern side there were six raised loculi, and the northwest corner contained a pit or a cist. The excavators noted the possibility of Tomb 6 being a joining of two separate or semi-separate chambers, with the shallow western part situated on an east-west axis and the deeper eastern one on a north-south axis. Extensive looting caused the remains of the disturbed burials to be mixed with the fill so thoroughly that they formed a thickly packed 'stratum'. The grave goods, disturbed in the same way as in Tomb G.W. 1, were more substantial totaling at 173 pottery vessels,

with some additional stone objects. The chronology, much more complicated than in G.W. T. 1, indicates use in Middle Cypriot I, II and III, and a re-use in Late Cypriot IA and later in IIA. Again, despite it being looted, the tomb's typological and stylistic characteristics mirror those at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* in the Middle Cypriot (Tombs 311, 313, and 315; Gjerstad 1934:76 ff.).

3.3.2 Ayios Iakovos *Melia*

The “tomb-field” (Sjoqvist 1940a:1) was located on a plain consisting of sedimentary limestone with some sand. According to Sjoqvist the people who cut the tombs were not restricted by topographical conditions and their choice of tomb shape originated in something more than just environmental circumstances. The Swedish Expedition excavations discovered two entirely looted tombs and fourteen untouched ones. The tombs built in Middle Cypriot III were found mainly in the south eastern area of the cemetery and exhibit many common architectural features: the stepped corridor shaped dromos and the flat, vaulted, irregularly-shaped chamber (Sjoqvist 1940a:1-54). Half of the tombs had one loculus or more.

Tomb 1 (Figure 3.13) consists of a 13 m² oval shaped chamber, 3.93 m by 1.22 m

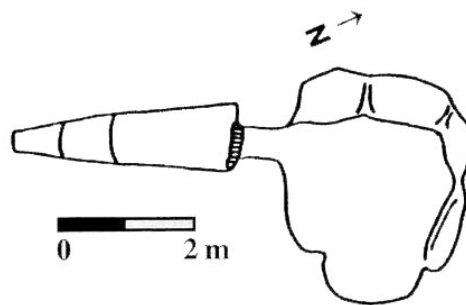


Figure 3.13: Plan of Tomb 1 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (Keswani 2004:59, Fig. 4.2.D)

dromos with two long steps and a 0.81 m by 0.51 m stomion – “a narrow, gently sloping tunnel” (Sjoqvist 1940a:1-5). The small oval doorway in the left half of the chamber was closed with a limestone slab (Sjoqvist 1940a:2). Five shallow loculi were cut along the walls, “four slightly raised above the floor level and enclosed by a low partition, the fifth on floor level” and separated from the main chamber by three stones. None of the bodies was found in situ, but the report suggests ten to twelve individuals had been buried there. The existing grave goods, especially the Plain White Ware and Red Slip sherds, indicate the chamber was occupied during the end of Middle Cypriot III, 1700-1650 B.C.E. 13 vessels in total were recorded in the object register, most of them bowls, with only two full size and one miniature jug in evidence.

Tomb 4 (Figure 3.14) had a 5.65 m by 1.36 m dromos with two deep steps

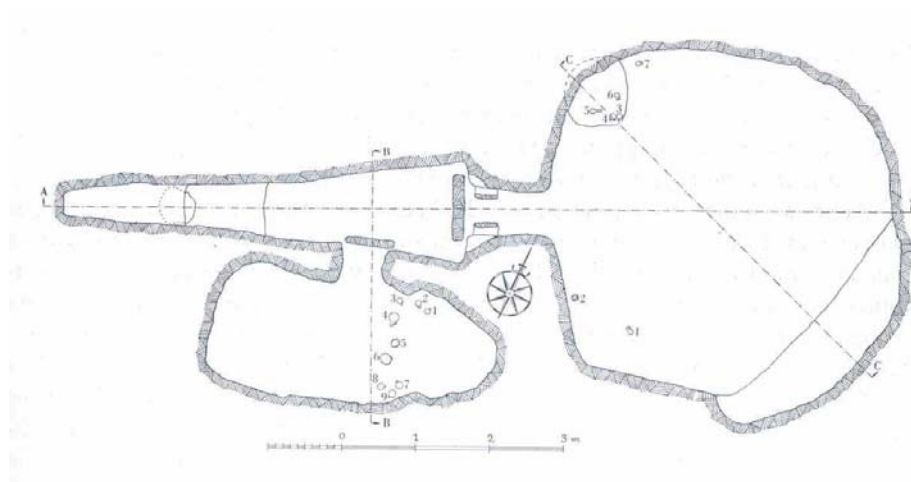


Figure 3.14: Plan of Tomb 4 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (Sjoqvist 1940a:4, Fig. 2.1)

ending in a sloping section. The first step formed the roof of a round ‘cupboard’ cut in the rock underneath it (Sjoqvist 1940a:8). This tomb had two chambers, an indication of the persistence of the Early Bronze tradition of multiple chambers. Tomb 10, which was

not built until LC I, also exhibited this feature. The 21.6 m², roughly circular Chamber A was blocked off with a large, square of black calcareous stone. The 1.09 m by 0.59 m stomion lay c. 0.15 m below the dromos' floor level and on the same level as the floor of the chamber. A shallow loculus was cut into the east wall, 0.15 m above the floor level. A circular 'well', c. 0.85 m², was found in the opposite corner. The much smaller (6.6 m²) oval Chamber B was cut into the right wall of the dromos, and blocked with a thin limestone slab. The short, 0.45 m by 0.66 m stomion ended in a single step. Chamber A contained remains of two burial periods. Chamber B's contents were earlier than those on the second layer in Chamber A. The 'well' was filled with a layer of mixed bones and burial remains, including four out of the seven complete vessels found in this chamber. The excavators suggest that after the first burial period the tomb was cleared, the well filled and the entire surface leveled. However, no secondary burial layer followed. Chamber B, though slightly earlier, was similarly cleaned out. The remaining pottery from both chambers contained 9 bowls, 5 jugs, 1 bottle and amphora, as well as various sherds. There was also a single bronze pin in Chamber B. Tomb 4 was dated to the middle of Middle Cypriote III, 1700 B.C.E.

Tomb 7 (Figure 3.15) consists of a 2.43 m by 1.29 m dromos with two steps, a 0.45 m by 0.69 m stomion, a doorway blocked by a thin stone slab and a 8.4 m² 'kidney-shaped' chamber (Sjoqvist 1940a:21- 24). There is no difference between the floor levels of the stomion and the chamber. The single loculus, 0.65 m above the floor, was located in the left half of the 'kidney' and possessed a low partition edge. Two pits, 0.20 m and 0.30 m in depth, were cut near the back wall and below the loculus, respectively. Skeletal remains and accompanying grave goods were found near the back wall, in the

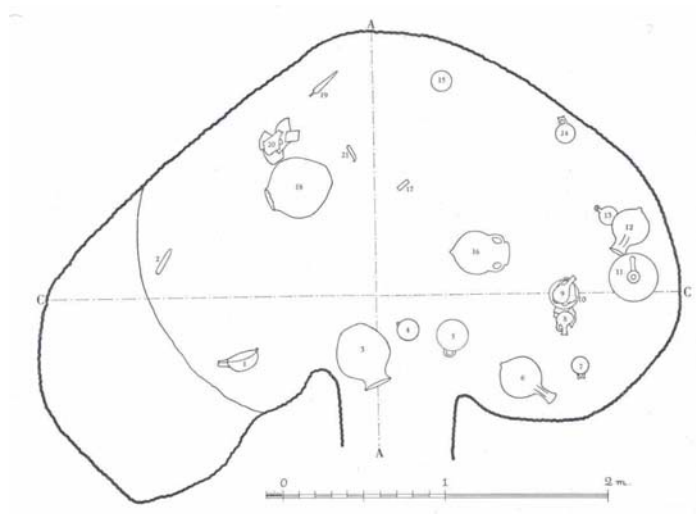


Figure 3.15: Plan of Tomb 7 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (Sjoqvist 1940a:22, Fig 8.9)

chamber's left half and inside the loculus. Four individuals were discovered. The pottery (8 bowls, 5 jugs, 2 jars and 2 amphorae) dates this tomb to the latter half of Middle Cypriot III, 1700-1650 B.C.E. In addition, there were two bronze daggers and two bronze knives.

Tomb 8 (Figure 3.16) had a 3.37 m by 1.10 m dromos with three steps and an entrance closed with two thin slabs and a thicker one (Sjoqvist 1940a:24-34). An additional 0.50 m high step leads from the 0.27 m by 0.59 m stomion down into the circular main chamber (20.5 m²). Three, symmetrically arranged, circular loculi were cut around the central area, 0.7-0.8 m above the floor. The surface of each loculus is approximately the same as the main chamber and they are separated from it by low edges. It is quite apparent from the well-preserved stratigraphy that there were three different burial phases in Tomb 8.

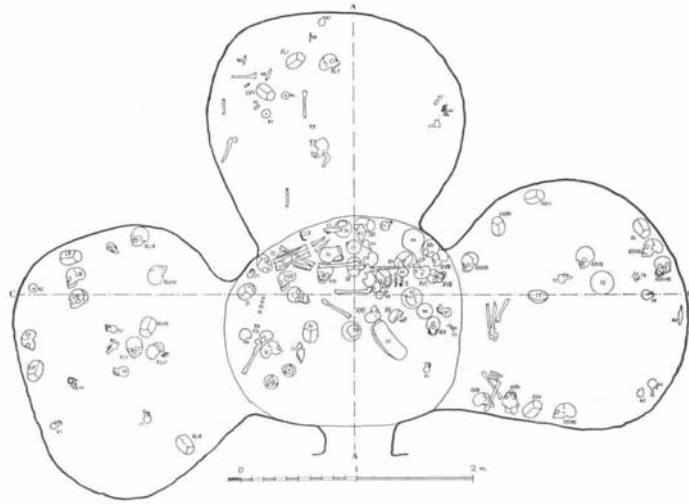


Figure 3.16: Plan of Tomb 8 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (Sjoqvist 1940a:28, Fig. 10.J)

Both the main chamber and the loculi were in use from the earliest phase. The practice of clearing the tomb for incoming burials was in evidence here and will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

The earliest stratum contained 10 bodies, including 9 skulls. The following burial period was “rich in bodies”, containing the skeletal fragments of 35 individuals (Sjoqvist 1940a:26). In the third and last burial phase traces of 18 bodies were excavated. The total count was 63 individuals.

The grave goods included various pottery vessels (32 jugs, 21 bowls, 7 bottles, 3 stirrup-vases, 2 pyxides, 1 amphora, 1 amphoriskos, and 1 krater), a variety of bronze objects (axe, knives, scraper, needles, pins, ring, bracelets, sheet), ivory pins, stone objects (grinder, mace-head, cylinder) and a glyptic cylinder. The first burial phase was dated to the end of Middle Cypriot III (<1650 B.C.E), the second to the beginning of Late Cypriot I (1650+ B.C.E.), and the third to Late Cypriot II (1450+ B.C.E.).

Tomb 12 (Figure 3.17) contained a 4.16 m by 1.21 m dromos with three irregular steps leading into a 0.94 m by 0.55 m tunnel-shaped stomion (Sjoqvist 1940:40-44). The entrance was closed off by several stones, including four recycled grinders.

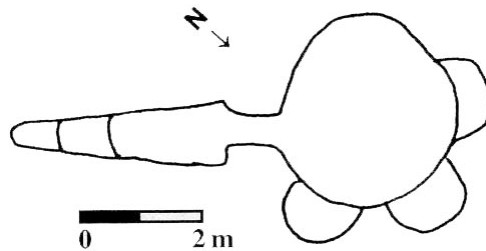


Figure 3.17: Plan of Tomb 12 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (Keswani 2004:59, Fig. 4.2.E)

The 16.7 m² circular chamber contained three loculi, “one in the back wall and two short, deep ones in the right side wall” (Sjoqvist 1940a:40). All three were cut c. 0.40 m above floor level. Two burial periods could be distinguished from the tomb stratigraphy with a variety of grave goods including pottery (16 bowls, 9 jugs, 1 amphora), bronze (knives, tweezers, pins), faience beads and stone (whetstones, mace-head) objects totaling 42 artifacts. The environmental and human destruction prevented the excavators from discerning either the number of burials or the type of burial custom. The first burials were dated to the middle of Middle Cypriot III (1750-1650/1600 B.C.E.) and the following ones to the beginning of Late Cypriot I (1650-1550 B.C.E.).

Tomb 13 (Figure 3.18) consists of a 4.47 m by 1.57 m dromos with two very short and steep steps at the back end (Sjoqvist 1940a:44-47). A slab of calcareous stone blocked the doorway. The usual tunnel-shaped 0.87 m by 0.81 m stomion ended with a low step leading to the chamber floor level. The 16.8 m² oval chamber had “a shallow,

raised [loculus] along the entire back wall”, with the floor in front of it forming a “low ledge”, later raised up to the loculus’ level with “roughly dressed stones”.

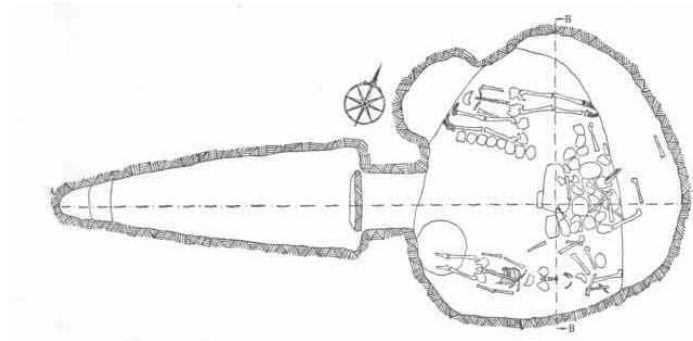


Figure 3.18: Tomb 13 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (Sjoqvist 1940a:43, Fig. 13.8)

To the left of the entrance the second smaller, semicircular loculus, c. 0.30 m above the floor level, was located. To the right of the entrance a cylindrical pit, c. 0.20 m in depth, was cut in the floor. According to the excavators at least two separate burial periods were evident. The earliest chronological layer contained only “the dark strata of mouldered, organic stuff” where bodies were once placed. The upper layer of the later period contained two skeletons, “enclosed by a thin stone partition to the left of the door” (Sjoqvist 1940a:40). Opposite that burial was an additional skeleton. The stone ledge and the back loculus contained remains of five other individuals

A total of 44 grave goods was found, the majority being pottery (17 bowls, 9 jugs including one of *Bucchero* type, 4 kraters, 2 pyxides, 2 bottles, 2 stirrup-jars, 1 vase) and the remaining objects including bronze rings and a pin, gold beads, faience cylinders, whetstone and a mace-head. The first burial period dates to the middle of Middle Cypriot III (1700 B.C.E.) and the second burial period to the Late Cypriote II (1450+

B.C.E.). The Late Cypriote I is not represented, creating a significant chronological gap in the occupational levels (Sjoqvist 1940a:44).

3.3.3 Korovia *Paleoskoutella*

Sjoqvist classified the necropolis at *Paleoskoutella* as atypical of Bronze Age Cyprus (Sjoqvist 1940a:106-128). He noted both its unusual location on a hilltop as well as the prevalence of the tumuli-covered tombs, unparalleled on the island (though he listed the site of Leonardi Vouno as a possible exception to non-tumuli tombs in Cyprus). Seven of more than twenty tombs were investigated at the site. Two had one loculus or more.

Tomb 2 (Figure 3.19) had a 39 m² tumulus built over it on a roughly circular plan

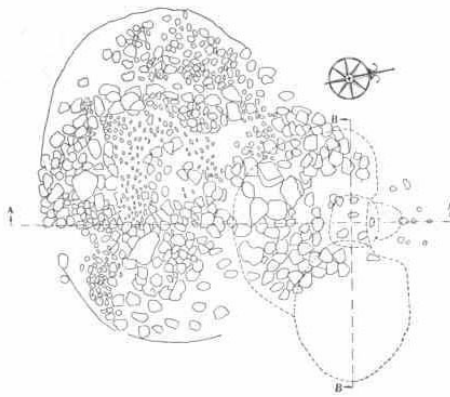


Figure 3.19: Plan of Tomb 2 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* (Sjoqvist 1940a:110, Fig. 42.8)

(Sjoqvist 1940a:111-112). The tomb itself is of the so-called “chimney-tomb” type, entered directly by a circular hole in the roof (Sjoqvist 1940a:111). Despite the absence of loculi, Tomb 2 will be discussed for its architectural similarities to Tell el-‘Ajjul in Chapter 5. The 7.32 m² chamber was ‘kidney-shaped’ with a door, which was closed

with a stone slab. According to the excavators all the bodies and grave goods were purposely removed from the tomb before its secondary sealing. The implications of this situation for the burial practices at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* will be addressed in the chapter on analysis. The tomb was dated on the basis of 61 pottery sherds found in the bottom layer to the latter part of Middle Cypriot III 1700-1650 B.C.E.

Tomb 4 (Figure 3.20) had a 16 m² circular tumulus covering a 14.8 m² rock cut

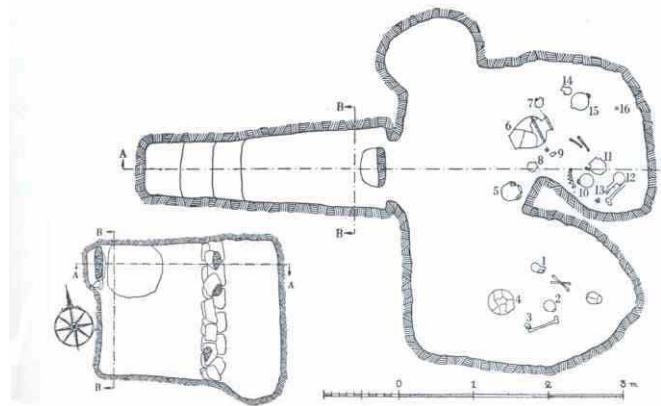


Figure 3.20: Plan of Tomb 4 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* (After Sjoqvist 1940a:117, Figs. 45.1 and 45.4)

tomb. The 3.22 m by 1.09 m dromos with three steps led to the 0.19 m by 0.80 m stomion and a doorway with a stone slab (Sjoqvist 1940a:113). The chamber was divided into two areas by a broad buttress. A small, semicircular loculus was cut into the corner, at the floor level, left of the entrance. The remains of two bodies were positioned on each side of the buttress together with their grave goods that included pottery (7 jugs, 4 bowls, 1 jar, 1 amphora, and 1 amphoriskos) and two terracotta

spindle-whorls. The excavators suggested that the individuals were all buried on one occasion, approximately in the middle of Middle Cypriot III, 1700 B.C.E.

Tomb 7 (Figure 3.21) was topped with a 385 m² tumulus (Sjoqvist 1940a:119). The 4.08 m by 1.05 m dromos with three steps ended in a 0.18 m by 0.80 stomion with a rectangular doorway closed off by a calcareous stone slab. The most elaborate and best cut of all the excavated tombs, Tomb 7 was divided into two sections by a projecting pillar located opposite the entrance. Each of the sections had two loculi in it, 0.40 m above the floor level and each separated by a buttress.

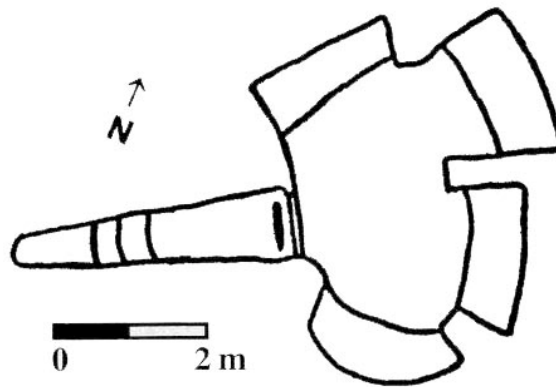


Figure 3.21: Plan of Tomb 7 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* (Keswani 2004:59, Fig. 4.2.G)

The tomb had not been entered after the building of the tumulus and no bodies or grave goods were deposited in the central area of the 19 m² chamber. Out of the fourteen individuals six bodies were placed in the loculi, two in each one. The remaining loculus had only one body in it. The other seven bodies were found right below the loculi, on the tomb's floor. The entire tumulus has been dated to the end of Middle Cypriot III (<1650 B.C.E.) and all the burials were classified as contemporary.

The grave goods included pottery (43 jugs, 37 bowls, 13 amphorae, 5 jars, 1 krater, and 1 cooking-pot), a lead spindle-whorl, a terracotta spindle-whorl, bronze knife, pins, rings, chain and fragments and a piece of gypsum plaster.

3.3.4 Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*

Located on a coastal plain, the cemetery at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* was one of several burial grounds in the area during the Early and Middle Cypriot (Herscher 1978:2). Apart from the unpublished material excavated by Myres and Buxton (c. 50 tombs,) the Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated twenty three more tombs in 1927 (Dikaios and Stewart 1962:384-7; Herscher 1978:2). In 1931 the University Museum of Pennsylvania excavated thirty-eight additional tombs (Herscher 1978:3). Apart from the three tombs described below there were at least eleven others which contained loculi (Herscher 1978:706, 782-780). Their architecture was not described in great detail, in any of the available reports, neither were their plans included, with the exception of Tombs 301, 307, 309, 312, 316, 317 and 319, of which general plans were published in a few volumes (Gjerstad et al. 1934:6-7, 221; Keswani 2004:57). It was, therefore, difficult to include them in the present comparative study.

The importance of Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, as a site with large numbers of tombs during each of the stages of the existence of its cemetery, started to rise at the end of Early Cypriot III and continued on that course all the way through the Middle Cypriot (Dikaios and Stewart 1962:298). According to Keswani the Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* tombs display more variation and are more architecturally elaborate than those at other sites of the Early Cypriote period (Keswani 2004:55-62). The majority of the tombs are reported to be multi-chambered complexes, with dromoi opening into 1 to 5 chambers

(Keswani 2004:55-62, 194). The burial chamber plans range from simple ovoid or circular ones to those furnished with semicircular raised niches cut into the walls (e.g. Tomb 322 and 313). There are also instances of the bilobate outline, created by carving the back wall of the chamber in order to form a projecting buttress or a 'pier' (Tomb 313, 316 and 833a). Over time the chamber floor area in Lapithos tombs increased from 5.25 m² in ECII-ECIII to 11.8 m² in MCI-MCIII (Keswani 2004:61).

From the records of the Buxton's and Markides' 1913 and 1917 excavations, those of the 1927-1931 Swedish Expedition and those of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Expedition in the early 1930s, we know that the Lapithos tombs could contain a varied number of burials, normally from one to seven, placed in a contracted position (Blegen and Wace 1932:191-93; Gjerstad 1934:33-162, Hersher 1978:1-5; Myers 1940:78-85). Overall the cemetery contained carefully designed tombs with side chambers and loculi stretching from the Early Cypriote III to the Middle Cypriot period (Kehrberg 1995:105).

The large Tomb 313 (MC I-MC III, 1950-1650 B.C.E.) included in its burial complex (Figure 3.22) a main chamber A (20.4 m²) and three side chambers B (9.4 m²), C and D (4 m²), and a wide, rectangular dromos oriented north to south and widening towards the entrance of the main chamber (Gjerstad groups C and D as one; Gjerstad 1934:86). There are six loculi cut into the walls of chamber A, and two into the walls of chamber B. In chamber A, a square projection opposite the entrance is complemented by three loculi on either side of the central axis. The three side chambers have two, one and one loculus respectively. According to Gjerstad the large numbers of pottery fragments found in the dromos show that it had been frequently emptied and filled again in the process of subsequent burials (Gjerstad 1934:87).

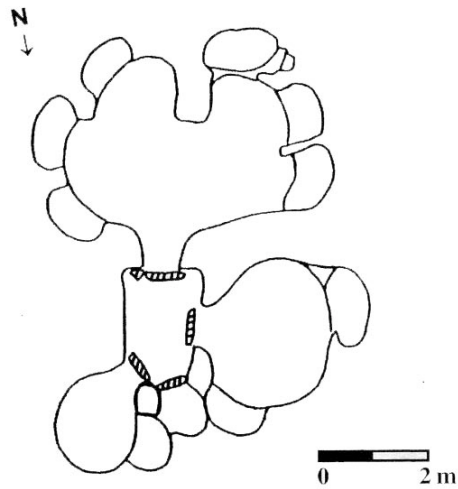


Figure 3.22: Plan of Tomb 313 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (Keswani 2004:59, Fig. 4.2.B)

The distribution of burials is as follows: chamber A – 15, chamber B – 6, chamber C-D – 3-5 (Keswani 2004:212). The pottery catalogue lists 29 pots in chamber C-D, 47 in B, and 34 in A.

The four chambers of Tomb 322 (Figure 3.23), A, B, D and E were described by

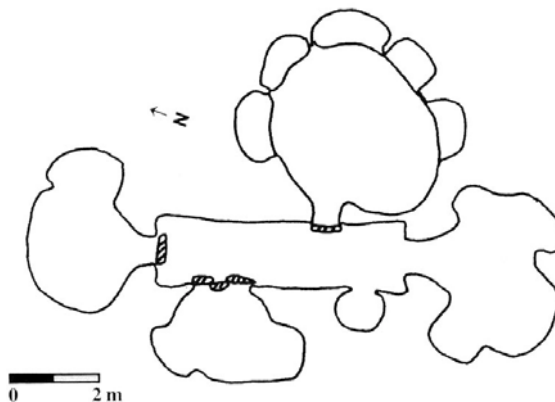


Figure 3.23: Plan of Tomb 322 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (Keswani 2004:59, Fig.4.2.A)

Gjerstad as one of the most elaborate interment complexes at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* and in Cyprus in general (Gjerstad 1934:142-7). The tomb's plan shows the long, rectangular and vertical dromos, oriented north-south, with four roughly oval-shaped chambers opening into it on four sides. The number of semi-circular loculi cut into these chambers ranges from 1 to 5. The available records mention only that chamber E measured 10.6 m², and chamber A – 27 m². Four burials were found in chamber E and 4-5 in chamber A, along with 97 pots in the former and 14 in the latter (Keswani 2004:210, 212). Remains of a horse were excavated in chamber B, as well as a nearly complete dog skeleton in 'cupboard' d. The tomb was in use from Early Cypriot IIIA to Middle Cypriot II (2100-1850 B.C.E.).

Tomb 806 (Figure 3.24) was the easternmost excavated by the Pennsylvania University Museum Expedition and lies just northwest of Tomb 322 (Herscher 1978:177, Kehrberg 1995:110-29). The dromos measures 7.6 m² and is oriented north-south. The three main oval-shaped chambers, A (15.3 m²), B (15.6 m²) and C (9.5 m²), open into it on its south, east and west sides. The entrances to all three chambers were closed by stone slabs. Chamber A includes three semi-circular loculi, chamber B – two and chamber C – one. A shaft was cut into a small burial cupboard, which was most probably containing remains of an infant (Herscher 1978:711). Six burials were uncovered, with three in chamber A, at least two in B, and at least one in C. The remains were buried between Early Cypriot IIIB and Middle Cypriot I (2025-1959 B.C.E.). A total of 110 pottery vessels were found in chamber A, 39 in chamber B, and 35 in chamber C (Herscher 1978:208-211). Other objects, small tools and personal implements, were mostly bronze pieces, beads of various materials and terracotta spindle

whorls, and were distributed as follows: chamber A – 14, chamber B – 3, chamber C – 8 (Herscher *ibid.*).

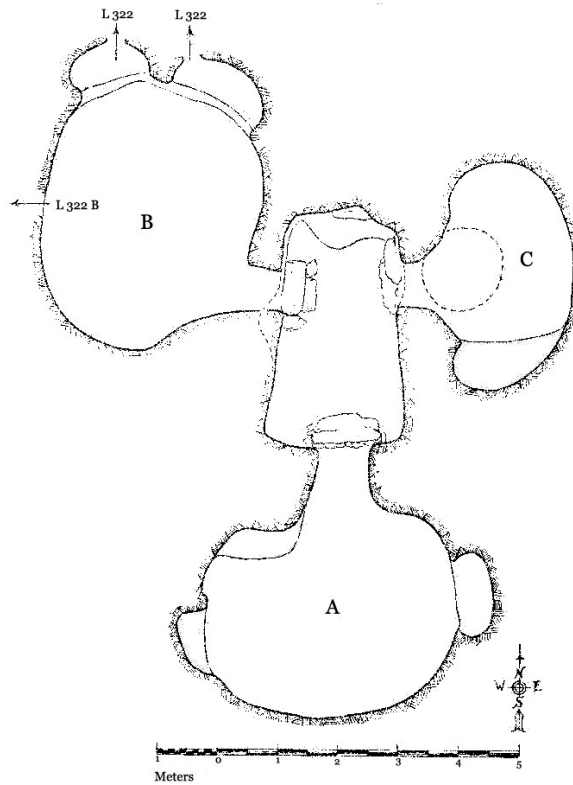


Figure 3.24: Tomb 806 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (Grace 1940:14, Fig. 8)

The following chapter 4 presents an explanation of the methodology employed in the analysis of the material from the four Canaanite and the four Cypriot sites discussed previously.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Comparative Analysis

The architectural and artefactual data collected from the Canaanite and Cypriot sites collected in the research process were compared through a method that may be simply termed *comparative analysis*. This comparative analysis, or *comparative manipulations*, encompasses the selection and manipulation of the set of physical variables in the various categories of comparison. The body of data from the sites was organized into a custom database and divided into sections according to the content. Excel spreadsheets were used to tabulate the data and the variables and to facilitate the comparative process.

Comparative analysis has been chosen as the analytical method in order to test the validity of the hypothesis that the loculi chamber tombs in Canaan are a cultural phenomenon and that they indicate a socio-cultural influence coming from Cyprus. As in Gibbon's description of "cross-cultural comparisons", comparative analysis has been employed as a tool for an "exploratory study" on a Late Bronze interment design in Canaan (Gibbon 1984:311-12). Although Gibbon's discussion centres on the formation of sound theoretical explanations for archaeological phenomena and is aided by ethnographic parallels (Gibbon 1984:324-325), the terms "cross-cultural comparison" and "exploratory study" apply here as parts of a method of analysis that employs a

physical act of comparison of archaeological data rather than theoretical cross-referencing of temporally and geographically separated cultures. The scholarship of Rivka Gonen and Lynn Bright has influenced the approach adopted. The process of comparative manipulations combines elements of both scholars' methodological schemes, while being a separate, expanded and at the same time more focused system of analysis.

4.2 Gonen's Preliminary Typology

Gonen's compilation of a typology of Late Bronze Age burials in Canaan contained two levels of examination: "individual characteristics of burials, such as physical aspects, cemetery organization, spatial relation to settlement, modes of placing the deceased, and funerary objects, as well as the burial ensemble in its entirety" (Gonen 1992: 5-7). Her results showed that the coastline and the highland regions were the two major geographical areas that exhibited a visible cultural division of burial design. The pit and the cave burial types clustered in a relatively clear pattern, the former along the western seashore and the latter in the central hill country.

Gonen argues that it is impossible at this point to establish a definitive typology of Late Bronze burials in Canaan. But that should not hinder the exploration of the 'non-typical' interment types. Directing our attention to the unique, 'foreign' burial designs might be more helpful to the understanding of burial patterns than trying to create an authoritative typology. It is possible that diversity and not consistency, is the pattern in the Late Bronze burial design in Canaan.

4.3 Bright's Variables

Lynn Bright's argument that research design should be "an integrated programme of analysis" has provided the foundation for the development of a flexible working model for comparative analysis employed in this project (Bright 1995:69). She has used the 'variable' and the 'relationship possibility' as her two basic concepts from which to begin her "analytical system for the study of the archaeology of death" (Bright 1995: 69-74). Bright's research design is particularly useful for fleshing out of my theoretical and methodological assumptions about the burial material that might otherwise go unnoticed. Her concern for the researcher's awareness of the presence of what she calls "the enquirer", and his or her effect on the information produced, ties in with the emphasis placed on typological consistency by Whittaker et al., which will be discussed later in this chapter (Whittaker et al. 1998:130).

Bright has introduced a network of essential "burial custom variables" complemented by another consisting of "burial custom relationship possibilities" as forming the first stage of her analysis (Bright 1995:70, Fig. 11.1). The fourteen burial variables, "deceased, living, ritual, grave offerings, domestic/other items, tomb, residence unit, burial place/cemetery, settlement, other activity area, environment, within the island, abroad, and enquirer", were each given a symbol to simplify the establishing of "relationship possibilities" (Bright 1995:71, Fig. 11.2-3). The goal of identification of variables and their variations is to highlight the contexts and interconnectivity of the data, where the different combinations of components may produce different sets of conclusions (Bright 1995: 71). Bright notes that the relationships themselves can be "re-grouped" to form such sets as: "physiological, physical, geographical, environmental, spatial, political, ideological, economic, social

and ritual relationships” (Bright 1995: 71). In addition, the temporal changes in and between the various relationships need to be examined. One should also consider the limiting factors of one’s model and the role they play, and have been playing pre- and post-excavation, in the reconstruction of the past social realities. In my project the major limitations of the research design originate in the environmental context of the finds and the often general, or even vague and uneven, nature of the excavation reports produced between the 1930s and 1960s. The dire state of preservation of many cemeteries and tombs, both in Canaan and Cyprus, has enforced a programme of analysis that relies significantly on the architectural evidence. The issue of the representative character of the cultural assemblages found in burials for the cultural and geographical area of the Canaanite hill country must also be addressed. Where do they fit in comparison with the assemblages from other contemporary sites in that area, as well as from Lachish, Tel el-‘Ajjul and Megiddo? How does the preservation of the sites influence conclusions about the cultural makeup of these assemblages?

Bright developed her research design to engage in a broader question of what she calls “The Archaeology of Death” (Bright 1995:68). Thanks to the general character of Bright’s variables nine out of her original fourteen could be modified to suit the specific data related to Canaanite and Cypriot burial practices of the Late Bronze Age. In this way I created an appropriate analytical system with its own set of variables and relationships.

4.4 Direction of Research

In the case of burial design in Canaan and Cyprus, investigating the changes in and between the various relationships involves examining whether the tombs and their

architecture can tell us anything about the cultural influences and the cultural processes in the Late Bronze Age. If the research is problem-oriented, one must begin with the central issue. The first question to ask, therefore, was of the central ‘characters’ of the comparison. As the problem under investigation focused on the origin of the ‘loculi tombs’ in the Levant, the chamber tomb with loculi was at the centre of the research design. In order to best describe the method of analysis the term ‘*comparative manipulations*’ was created. It encompasses the process of manipulating the set of pre-selected variables in the various categories of comparison. One must bear in mind, nevertheless, that not all variables and relationships may be relevant and may not produce results in the lines of enquiry if, for example, vital evidence is missing.

The comparative manipulations thus take Gonen’s typology of Late Bronze burials in Canaan and expand it by exploring the relationship between the Canaanite and the Cypriot mortuary practices. Analysis focusing on one type of burial, the loculi chamber tomb, allows for a closer examination of burial as process, as it brings the nature of the analysis into a more specific context.

4.5 Categories of Variables

Out of Bright’s list of burial customs variables and Gonen’s levels of examination a number of categories were chosen, for the purposes of the project, and divided into two primary groups – ‘*architectural variables*’ and ‘*artefactual variables*’.

The architectural variables group included:

(a) Tomb sub-variables

type & quantity size (length, width, depth in meters)
shape/layout
presence of loculi (cut, built)

loculi – quantity
loculi – size
entrance shaft (dromos)
steps passage way (stomion)channel
decoration orientation location in cemetery location of
remains in tomb pit/depression in the floor separation
between burials separation between
archaeological/chronological levels
time span

(b) Burial place/cemetery sub-variables

size shape/layout location time span

The artifact variables group included

human remains
pottery
personal ornaments
amulets/ritual objects
weapons
rare ceramics
small objects
small tools
non-ceramic vessels
flora and fauna
time span

These variables lent themselves well to the comparative study, encompassing the essential information necessary to conduct the analysis of burial design in Bronze Age Canaan and Cyprus. The architectural and the artefactual variables brought attention to the individual elements of the burial process. They contributed to the formulation of the right questions about the relationships between those components and about the way they might have been transferred into different geographical and cultural contexts. Because of the limited nature of the archaeological material concerning burial behaviour in the two geographical areas it was important that the available data be organized in a system that emphasized the physical aspect of interments and reflected the prevalence of the architectural remains over skeletal and in many cases artefactual material.

Tell Dothan represents, in its geographical and temporal contexts, the distinctiveness of the ‘loculi tomb’ design in the fullest known expression. Consequently all the variables were selected on the basis of Tell Dothan data and their characteristics. The selection for Tell Dothan was determined by the availability of archaeological material. The negative data, such as damaged tombs or missing human remains and grave goods, were also taken into account. The Tell Dothan data constituted the benchmark for the analysis of the other sites, both in Canaan and Cyprus, as the primary focus of the present study and the only site of its character in Late Bronze Age Canaan. The tables included in the Appendix, and referred to throughout the body of the chapters, are a compilation of the series of databases used as a major tool of analysis, and are as such not working tables but are instead meant to present a general picture of the architectural and artefactual data from the eight sites.

4.6 Assumptions

Before the variables and their relationships could be tested against the specific archaeological data, the working assumptions about the methodology and the material had to be recorded. The most easily identifiable assumptions were those made by the enquirer.

Several major assumptions emerged at the beginning of the research on loculi burials in Canaan and Cyprus. On a general level it was assumed that the correlations and relationships between the variables did indeed exist and it was possible to attribute social meaning to archaeological data. More explicitly, it was accepted that Gonen’s conclusions about ‘foreign’ vs. ‘local’ elements in LB Canaan were correct and that the Tell Dothan example represented an unusual phenomenon of tomb design in LB

Canaanite hill country. Also, since the anomalous tomb design suggested foreign, or at least non-traditional, cultural influences, it was assumed that loculi tombs were ‘intrusive’ or ‘non-local’ when appearing at three other sites in Canaan, and the ‘inhabitants’ of the tombs were connected either by kinship or ethnicity or both.

Furthermore, it was clear that the enquirer’s assumptions would, to some extent, influence the reader’s possible re-interpretation of the results. The reader is presented with data chosen by the enquirer. His or her recreation of the cultural and social meaning associated with that data is limited by the enquirer’s choice. The fact that the viewpoint of the ‘living and the dead’ presented to the readers is to a large extent the enquirer’s construct does not need further explanation. What should be clear is that the higher the maximum of possible scenarios, the less room there is for leaving some “significators of social change” (Bright 1995:72) unexplored. This became especially important during the process of choosing archaeological sites for the study of loculi chamber tombs.

4.7 Choice of Sample Sites

The following criteria were employed in selecting the sample of sites: time period, tomb design, environmental setting (location of tombs), as well as balance between the Cypriot and the Canaanite data sets. The limited nature of the sample pool from Canaan has had a direct influence on the formation of the sample pool from Cyprus. Because it was crucial to present a balanced view particular emphasis was put on matching the four Canaanite sites with an equal number of representative sites in Cyprus. In doing so, the goal was to produce a minimum number of comparative sites with a maximum number of comparative criteria. Such an approach has enabled the

structuring of a plausible comparative mechanism. Tell Dothan was chosen for its anomalous character among the Late Bronze and Early Iron I burials in the hill country of Canaan. The phenomenon of loculi chamber design prompted the search for evidence of similar tombs at other sites in the same temporal and/or geographical context.

Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el-‘Ajjul were selected as being the only other three sites in Canaan at which loculi chamber tombs have been found. The selection process for the Cypriot sites involved examining burial design in Cyprus from the beginning of Early Bronze to the end of Late Bronze Age and the beginning of early Iron. All the sites with any evidence of loculi were reviewed and the most representative four chosen on the basis of their prominence, as well as the best documentation and availability of data.

4.8 Data set

Once the selection of appropriate sites was established one could proceed with building the archive of all the architectural and artifactual data from the four Canaanite and the four Cypriot sites. Out of the available catalogues a custom database was compiled, organized to fit the objectives of the project. The main database was divided into sections according to the content. These are:

- Architectural variability: both Canaanite and Cypriot sites
- Dothan Tomb 1: five levels of data, physical and conceptual data manipulation
- Lachish catalogue: grave goods (pottery, objects), human remains (where available), faunal remains (where available) Megiddo catalogue: grave goods (pottery, objects), human remains (where available), faunal remains (where available) Tell el-‘Ajjul catalogue: grave goods (pottery, objects), human remains (where available), faunal remains (where available)
- Dhenia *Kafkalla* catalogue: grave goods (where available), human remains (where available), faunal remains (where available)

- Ayios Iakovos *Melia* catalogue: grave goods (where available), human remains (where available), faunal remains (where available)
- Korovia *Paleoskoutella* catalogue: grave goods (where available), human remains (where available), faunal remains (where available)
- Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* catalogue: grave goods (where available), human remains (where available), faunal remains (where available).

Each section was analyzed separately and in relation to the rest. Creating a separate database for the five strata of Dothan Tomb 1 allowed monitoring the changes in architecture, goods and population both within and between the strata.

4.9 The Comparative Process

The comparisons were conducted in the following units:

1. The four sites in Canaan
2. Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Early Iron I tombs in Canaan
3. MB and LB tombs within a particular site (if existing)
4. The individual sites in Cyprus
5. The Canaanite sites and the Cypriot sites
6. The different tombs at Tell Dothan
7. The different archaeological layers in Tell Dothan's Tomb 1.

Within each main level a series of more detailed comparisons took place. It was here, especially, that the process of manoeuvring the set of pre-selected, physical variables in the various categories of comparison was employed in order to screen the data for differences, similarities and patterns. It was also necessary, at this stage, to look at the questions of the duality of variables and the overlapping of boundaries within these secondary comparisons.

This method of comparative manipulations creates a situation where the same category of comparison may exist for different groups of variables. Similarly, the boundaries between levels of comparison may be fluid and changeable. For example, it is important to understand the location of the human remains within the architectural context of the tomb, while analysing the purely osteological data. Correspondingly, both the chronological and the ceramic analyses are integral to the architectural variables and the artefactual variables. They are part of the broader cultural and social ideology and might be products of the same human agents.

During the process of comparative manipulating it became clear that different scholars had classified the data under comparison in different degrees as different types. According to Whittaker et al. this is a problem presented by the majority of typologies (Whittaker et al. 1998).

4.10 Problems with Typology and Classification

The concern of Whittaker et al. over the inconsistency in the creation of archaeological typologies mirrors Bright's emphasis on 'the enquirer' as a major variable (Whittaker et al. 1998).

Poorly formulated typologies, human errors in classification, and theoretical biases may disrupt our ability to understand the typologies of others, to evaluate their interpretations, or even to be sure that our own are free of systematic errors. (...) What are the sources of variation and disagreement when different analysts classify artifacts? (Whittaker et al. 1998:130, 132)

Quite early into the research it had become apparent that evaluating the typological consistency would involve careful consideration of the burial terminology or the terminology of typology used by the different scholars. The observations of Whittaker

et al. are well illustrated, for example, by the inconsistencies between Gonen's and Gilmour's definitions of bench and loculus burials. Gonen arrived at her burial types through the physical examination of both individual and integrated characteristics of the interments. She created a firm typological distinction between the loculi graves of the Late Bronze and Early Iron I and the later, widely adapted in the so-called 'Israelite country', bench burials. Gilmour, however, does not understand 'niche' and 'bench' in the same way as Gonen. For him both regular stone-cut benches (as platforms protruding horizontally from the walls of the main chamber) and loculi (niches cut into the walls, whether raised or at floor level) are a single type and an interchangeable term (Gilmour 1991:135). Gilmour's typology implies that there is no significant difference between the bench and the loculus burials. He does not believe that the foreign cultural influence was present. Gonen, however, classifies both types as foreign burials, making them expressions of external cultural influences even in a scenario where their architectural features are considered to belong to a single tomb type. Gonen's review of all existing burial designs in Canaan recommends her burial typology as more useful than Gilmour's argumentation based almost entirely on the examples from Tell el-Far'ah (S). The present investigation has been centered on the origins of the burial design at Tell Dothan, where the rock-cut recesses are most definitely niches and not benches. Gonen's distinction between them allows for a more precise examination of possible cultural influences.

4.11 Comparative Manipulations: Manoeuvring the Variables

The first phase of the comparative process consisted of conducting manipulations of variables across the data from Tell Dothan Tomb 1, 2 and 3, Megiddo Tombs 3, 77,

78 and 80, Lachish Tombs 4002-3, 4005, 4013, 4016, 4017 and 4019, and Tell el-‘Ajjul Tombs 246, 411, 407 and 406. All the material available from the Tell Dothan pottery and small finds catalogues was divided into subcategories of *artefactual variables* (Appendix B, Tables B.7-B.8) within the five chronological strata (Levels 1-5) and their data manipulated in relation to each other. The percentage of human remains was established for each stratum. The major types of pottery were allocated to the stratum of their provenience and the percentage for each stratum was calculated. The amount of each pottery type in each level was also calculated. The same process was repeated for all the artefactual variables – personal ornaments, amulets/ritual objects, weapons, rare ceramics, rare small objects, small tools, non-ceramic vessels, flora and fauna.

For the sites of Megiddo, Lachish and Tell el-‘Ajjul the catalogues were limited to pottery and small objects only. Consequently the comparative analysis proceeded almost directly to deal with the tomb design. A database was compiled of all the architectural information from the loculi chamber tombs at Megiddo, Lachish and Tell el-‘Ajjul and compared with those at Tell Dothan through the manipulation of the *architectural variables* set (Appendix B, Table B.1). The burial architecture variables were scrutinized for evidence of architectural features that exhibited presence of relationships, continuities or patterns shared by the four sites.

The second phase of the comparative process involved the same type of manipulations, this time conducted with the variables extracted from the burial material from the four Cypriot sites (Appendix B, Tables B.2 and B.9). The individual loculi chamber tombs were: Tombs 322, 313 and 312 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, Tombs 1, 4, 7, 8, 12, 13 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, Tombs G.W. 1 and 6 at Dhenia *Kafkalla*, and Tombs 1, 4 and 7 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella*.

The third phase of comparisons combined comparative manipulations of the Tell Dothan tomb architecture and the equivalents from the four Cypriot sites (Appendix B, Tables B.3-B.6). The plan of Tell Dothan's Tomb 1, as well as of all the other tombs at Canaanite sites were set against each of the tomb plans at the Cypriot burial places. The preliminary observation of architectural styles in evidence was accompanied by a closer and more detailed comparison of each of the architectural variables at Tell Dothan Tomb 1 and the compiled information from all tombs at each of the Cypriot sites. Particular attention was paid to determining which of the Cypriot sites bore most resemblance to which Canaanite tombs. In Dothan's case Korovia *Paleoskoutella* Tomb 7 was identified. However, it was not always possible to create such a clear connection between the other Canaanite sites and a single Cypriot site. If a close Cypriot equivalent could not be found for a particular Canaanite site a cross section of tombs from all four Cypriot sites was used.

The comparative manipulations conducted on the remains of interments in Canaan and Cyprus involved material from eight Bronze and Early Iron sites. In the following chapter the results of the comparative manipulations are analysed. The relationships of differences and similarities among the architectural and the artefactual variables are presented.

Chapter 5: Analysis of Results

5.1 Introduction

The architectural and artefactual data described in Chapter 3 are analysed here, according to the lists of variables set out in the Appendix. The comparisons of the Canaanite and the Cypriot sites are presented in six sections, each containing three sub-sections: architectural similarities, architectural differences and comparison of pottery and other artefacts. The artefactual material appears in a single sub-section because of the scant evidence of its presence in some of the tombs under discussion. This situation did not justify creation of separate subsections for the similarity and variance among the ceramic and non-ceramic finds.

The significant similarities and differences among the architectural and artefactual data from the eight sites emerged from the *comparative manipulations*, as can be seen in the Tables B.3 to B.6 of the Appendix B. By tabulating all the data available a clearer picture was obtained of the connections or lack of them between the burial practices of Bronze Age Cyprus and Bronze and Early Iron Age Canaan. Examination of architectural and artefactual variables from each of the Canaanite sites involved setting them against the relevant material from the Cypriot sites. Through individual analysis of the Canaanite sites it was possible to focus on the unique variations in the use of loculi in each specific chamber tomb plan. This clarified which of the Cypriot examples, if any, presented the closest architectural and artefactual fit for that

particular Canaanite site. In some cases, as with Tell Dothan and Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, the similarities and differences were easily identifiable, in others the comparison was less clear-cut. The overall comparisons of the Canaanite and the Cypriot sites as groups were meant to aid the analysis where the detailed examination produced no definitive answers.

The architectural variables of Tell Dothan and of the other three Canaanite sites, Tell el-‘Ajjul, Lachish and Megiddo were tabulated in Table B.1, Appendix B. The analysis of each architectural variable involved examining it across the material from all four sites as well as in the context of the rest of the variables. Table B.2 presents the comparisons available for the Cypriot architectural data. Tables B.3-B.6 show the same type of variables employed to analyse the similarities and differences between the Canaanite sites and the Cypriot sites.

The artefactual variables were first organized in individual databases for each site. The analysis of the artefacts was subsequently conducted using Tables B.7 and B.9, where the most common pottery and object types in the Canaanite and Cypriot assemblages were recognized (Appendix B). A similar process determined the quantities and types of imported artefacts in Canaanite loculi chamber tombs (Table B.8, Appendix B).

The artefactual material from Tell Dothan’s Tomb 1 merits a separate section where each of the five strata is discussed separately and in relation to the other four. The central place this site occupies in the study of Late Bronze burial practices in Canaan and the preservation of its stratigraphy called for a detailed analysis of artefacts from each stratum in relation to the overall characteristics of the tomb’s assemblage.

The skeletal material, the major and rare pottery groups, and the small objects were examined for their presence in the five strata as well as in the tomb as a whole.

5.2 Tell Dothan: Analysis of the *Artefactual Variables*

Tell Dothan was analysed first, as the site where the stratigraphy and the artefact collection were best preserved. The results of the analysis of the artefactual variables presented below can be seen in Tables B.7 and B.8 (Appendix B). The five strata, or *Levels* as they are labelled in the original reports, represent the chronological sequence in the span of the life of the cemetery, from Late Bronze IIA to Early Iron I (or from Level 5 to 1). The significance of the quantitative and qualitative variations visible after the comparative manipulations were conducted on the Tell Dothan artefactual material will be considered further in the *Discussion* chapter. However, before the presence or absence of cultural connections and influences can be discussed, a detailed, quantitative analysis of the artefactual data will be introduced. The percentage of human remains in each of the five strata of Tomb 1 was distributed as follows:

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
23%	32%	24%	16%	5%

The percentage of pottery vessels (with actual numbers in brackets) was distributed as follows:

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
22% (611)	30% (829)	22% (592)	17% (454)	9% (238)

The most common vessel types in the two earliest strata, Levels 5 and 4, were bowl and lamp (Level 5: 27% and 32%, Level 4: 25% and 25%), followed closely by

pyxis (Level 5: 7%, Level 4: 11%), juglet (Level 5: 21% and 14%) and pot (Level 5: 5%, Level 4: 11%). In Levels 3 and 2 bowl (Level 3: 21%, Level 2: 24%) and pyxis (Level 3: 22%, Level 2: 24%) were most prevalent, while in Level 1 pyxis was the best-represented ceramic form (28%), with bowl (18%) and lamp (19%) taking second place.

The non-primary ceramics (i.e. 'other ceramics') were found in highest numbers, and most variety, in the two earliest strata. In Level 5 the milkbowl (33%) and the seven-fold lamp (33%) were most common. In Level 4 it was the bilbil (28%), in Level 3 the strainer jar, in Level 2 the cooking pot, and in Level 1 the pot with strainer. The stand and the amphoriskos were distributed evenly (all 33%). Overall bowls formed 22 percent of all pottery vessels in Tomb 1, lamps 21 percent, pyxides 21 percent, and juglets 17 percent. 5 percent (approx. 137 vessels) of the pottery total was imported.

In terms of personal ornaments the most common were rings, in all levels except Level 2 where earrings (56%) were more numerous (Level 1: 54%, Level 3: 100%, Level 4: 57%, Level 5: 83%). Scarabs constituted the majority of amulets in the four latest strata (Level 1: 67%, Level 2: 78%, Level 3: 67%, Level 4: 100%). Level 3 contained a *kernos* ring, the only ritual object of this kind found in Tomb 1. Level 5 did not contain any amulets or ritual objects at all. Weapons were represented mostly by daggers (Level 1: 69%, Level 2: 54%, Level 3: 75%, Level 4: 71%, Level 5: 89%), with spear points and projectile points in second and third place. Of small objects, seashells formed 67 percent of the total in Level 5, in Level 4 tweezers equaled 40 percent, in Level 3 alabaster pieces were 67 percent. In Levels 2 and 3 all types of small objects found were distributed in equal amounts. The content of the most common small tools varied as follows: whorls (75% of Level 5, 75% of Level 3, 37% of Level 2, 50% of Level 1) hooks (67% of Level 4), and spindles (50% of Level 1). Bronze rings formed

14 percent of the objects total in the tomb, daggers 18 percent, bronze bowls 10 percent, and scarabs 6 percent.

The details of the artifacts and skeletal remains from Tombs 2 and 3 were not listed in the preliminary report aside from the total number of finds. Consequently they could not be analysed or compared in a useful way.

5.3 Tell Dothan, Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el-‘Ajjul: Similarity and Variance

5.3.1 Architecture: similarities

The figures below illustrate the similarities in tomb plans at Tell Dothan, Lachish (Figure 5.1), Megiddo and Tell el-‘Ajjul (Figure 5.2).

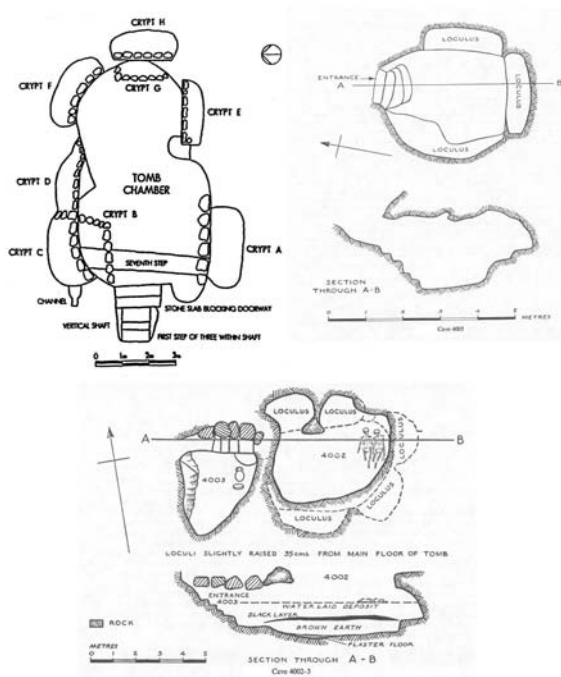


Figure 5.1: Plans of Tombs at (clockwise) Tell Dothan (Tomb 1), Lachish (Tombs 4005 and 4002-3) (Cooley and Pratico 1995:152; Tufnell 1953:239, Fig.28 and 241, Fig.29)

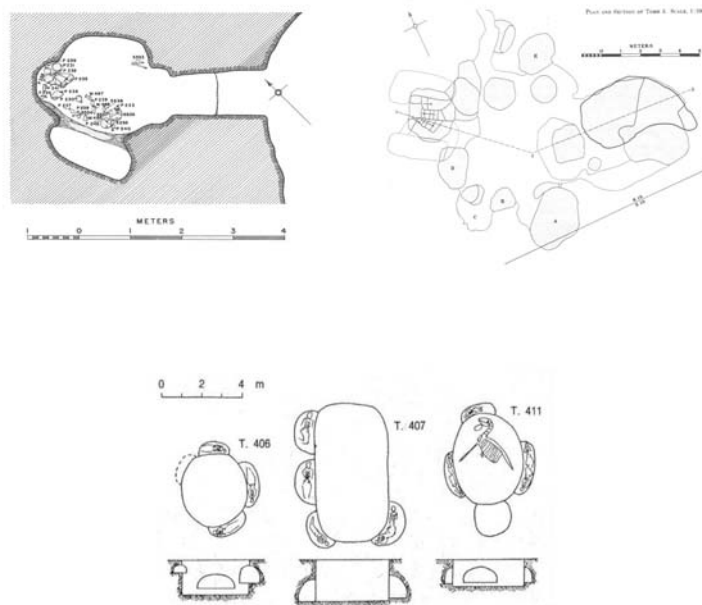


Figure 5.2: Plans of tombs at (clockwise) Megiddo (Tombs 77 and 3) and Tell el-‘Ajjul (Tombs 406, 407 and 411) (Guy 1938:73, Fig.82 and 84, Fig.98; Petrie 1931:Plate LVII)

The Middle Bronze tombs at Lachish were noted to “compare in shape” with the horse burials at Tell el-‘Ajjul, with the original entry “through a hole in the roof, blocked by a stone” (Tufnell 1958:280). It was also mentioned that those tombs reused in Late Bronze had plastered floors (Tufnell *ibid.*). In regards to the orientation, all of the tombs reused in Iron Age were recorded as having “steps or passages leading to them” on the north side, a result of them being “driven into the rock face” (Tufnell *ibid.*). Tomb 4002 at Lachish was the only one with a northeast entrance, a characteristic of its Bronze Age original construction (Tufnell 1953:239). The Canaanite tombs shared a similar time span (LBII, EI I) and circular shape of their main chambers (Lachish and Tell el-‘Ajjul).

The size range of tombs at Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el-‘Ajjul fitted in two groups: under 10 m² and over 14 m² (Figures 5.1 and 5.2). However, only one of

Megiddo's tombs was close in size to Tomb 1 at Dothan. Loculi appeared at all the four sites (Megiddo and Ajjul had some raised ones) and are within a similar size range.

Apart from the Tell el-‘Ajjul tombs, which had roof entrances, all dromoi were either completely vertical or sloping. Tell Dothan Tomb 1 possessed the highest number of steps in its dromos (seven), while at Lachish and Megiddo the number ranged from one to five steps. There was no decoration in any of the tombs. There were several pits/depressions in the floor of the chambers at Lachish and Megiddo. The situation at Tell el-‘Ajjul is unknown owing to lack of record.

The location of human remains in the tomb was generally uniform in all the cases where *in situ* data were available. Even though the stratigraphic situation was intact only at Tell Dothan, the archaeological strata at the other sites still presented an informative picture. There was no clear preference visible for one specific orientation of the tombs, or bodies inside them, at any of the sites².

5.3.2 Architecture: differences

Neither at Megiddo nor at Tell el-‘Ajjul did the tombs have stomaia. There were no channels like the one at Tell Dothan at any of the other three sites. Megiddo was the only Canaanite site with examples of single loculus chamber tombs.

² For information about crania from the various tombs at Lachish see Tufnell 1958: 318-25. They were not, however, referenced by individual tombs. For information about skeletal remains from tombs at Megiddo other than the ones discussed here, see Guy 1938:192-217. For a discussion of dental nonmetric traits at Lachish and Tell Dothan, see Ullinger et al. 2005:466-476.

5.3.3 Pottery and objects: comparison (Appendix B, Tables 7 and 8.)

Site reports for Megiddo and Lachish provided general catalogues of pottery and objects, while Tell el-‘Ajjul’s had a more limited scope and lacked consistency. At Lachish approximately 21 percent of all pottery vessels recovered from Tomb 4002-3 were imitation Mycenaean pyxides, 21 percent were lamps, and 28 percent were bowls. Mycenaean imports comprised 7 percent. Among other artifacts, the largest group consisted of beads (87%) of various materials. Imported objects, all of Egyptian provenience, accounted for 98 percent of the total. In Tomb 4005 bowls (23%) and juglets/dippers (38%) dominated the pottery assemblage. The objects included beads (33%) and earrings (20%) in highest amounts. Imports amounted to 33 percent of all objects and were represented by onyx eye-beads, most probably of Egyptian origin. Tomb 4013 contained the largest amount of pottery among the Lachish burials. 46 percent of those were bowls, with lamps (13%) and imitation Base Ring Ware juglets(11%) as the second and third largest groups. Imitations of imported wares (Cypriot White Slip and Mycenaean pyxides) constituted 10 percent. Cypriot imports made up 2 percent of all pottery. Beads formed 94 percent of objects, and scarabs and seals 4 percent. Imports from Egypt equalled 99 percent of the total number of objects. Tomb 4019 yielded pottery of which 39 percent were lamps and 39 percent jugs. 64 percent of the objects consisted of a variety of beads. Cypriot imports formed 5 percent of all pottery, while Egyptian imports made up 78 percent of the non-pottery artifacts.

At Megiddo, Tomb 3 contained a large group of bowls (54%), and a smaller one of jugs (11%). Imported Cypriot bilbils amounted to 2 percent. Rubber/polishers made up 19 percent of objects, while flint 47 percent. Juglets in Tomb 77 formed 32 percent of all pottery. Jugs formed another 32 percent. Cypriot imported milk-bowls equalled 14

percent, and Cypriot juglets 9 percent of the assemblage. Imports made up 23 percent of the entire pottery body. Stone vessels represented 80 percent of objects. One diorite and two Egyptian calcite vessels were the only imports recorded among the objects, constituting 60 percent of the non-pottery finds. In Tomb 78, bowls equalled 40 percent of all pottery found, while juglets 30 percent. No imports were recorded. Tomb 80 (including 80A and 80C) contained mostly bowls (68%). Although the majority of pottery in this tomb seemed to date to Iron I or later, there were some pieces, particularly in 80A, of Late Bronze II origin (bowls and a stirrup cup). Objects consisted chiefly of basalt bowls (18%) and flint (23%). Imported pottery accounted for 12 percent of all vessels and imported objects made up 23 percent.

The exact amount of pottery and objects found at Tell el-‘Ajjul was not clear from the way it was recorded and published (Petrie 1931). Therefore, approximate numbers will be given here and the percentages will not be calculated. Tomb 406 contained at least three bilbils and one Cypriot bowl. No objects were recorded. Tomb 407 had at least one of each of the following ceramic types: jug, bowl, juglet, and Cypriot bowl. At least three bilbils and three miscellaneous vessels were reported. One scarab was also found. Tomb 411 contained a minimum of one bowl, one Cypriot bowl, and at least two juglets, four bilbils, and five miscellaneous vessels. Here also one scarab was recorded.

Bowls were the most common types of pottery vessels at all of the Canaanite sites, accompanied either by lamps (Tell Dothan Tomb 1, in three of the tombs at Lachish) or jugs and juglets (in two of the tombs at Lachish, in two of the tombs at Megiddo). The tombs at Lachish contained more Egyptian imports than the rest of the

sites, while Megiddo and Tell el-‘Ajjul yielded more imported Cypriot and Mycenaean vessels.

5.4 Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, Dhenia *Kafkalla*, Korovia

***Paleoskoutella*: Similarity and Variance (Figures 3.11-24)**

5.4.1 Architecture: similarities

Three out of the four sites had circular or bilobate tombs. Two of the four sites had multiple main chambers in their tombs, with a maximum of four at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*. The chamber size varied from 3.4 m² to 36 m². All the tombs had loculi, although of their numbers varied, from one to eleven (in a multiple chamber tomb). Two of the four sites had steps in the dromoi of their tombs. All tombs had stomia. There were no channels (with one exception) in any of the tombs. No decoration was found on the walls or doorways of the chambers. At two of the sites there was evidence of pits/depressions in the floor of the chamber. The location of human remains in the tombs did not follow any particular pattern. This was due, perhaps, to the often-poor preservation of the skeletal evidence. There was no visible pattern in the orientation of the tombs at any of the sites.

5.4.2 Architecture: differences

Time span for the four sites encompassed the periods from Middle Cypriot III (c. 1700-1600 B.C.) to reuse in Late Cypriot I and II (c. 1600-1200 B.C.). Dromoi at the sample Cypriot sites were quite varied, including horizontal entrances, vertical and roof shafts, and a stepped corridor. The chronological sequence of the burials could not be determined, except at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* where the depositions in the loculi

appeared to have been contemporaneous. The separation between the strata ranged, in state of preservation, from intact to unknown.

5.4.3 Pottery and objects: comparison (Appendix B, Tables 9.1-4)

Full, published pottery and objects catalogues exist for Tomb 806 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*. Pottery catalogues for other tombs of this site have also been published, although classified by ware not shape. That was the case with the ceramic data from Tombs 312, 313 and 322 (Astrom 1972: 179, 189, 198-9). Some information was available from Keswani's 2004 volume, which provided the details of the object collection in addition to the overall pottery numbers published in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition reports for 1934, 1962 and 1972 (Keswani 2004:197-216, 226-48). Tomb 806 contained in its three main chambers and one cupboard 192 pieces of pottery. The most prevalent vessel types were bowl (33%) and large jug (33%). Among the objects, the most common were bronze items, especially pins, (35%) as well as terracotta spindle whorls (19%). Chamber A also contained some imported goods – paste, gold and silver beads (36% as a combined group). Tomb 322 contained 211 pottery vessels in the four main chambers. Out of the 28 objects the most common were spindle whorls (21%) and copper pins (21%). Among the imported items there were silver rings and pins, gold and silver spirals, faience necklaces, a marble plank idol and a Minoan dagger and razor. Chamber d³ contained an almost complete dog skeleton, while chamber b some remains of a horse.

112 pottery vessels were found in the three main chambers of Tomb 313, including an *askos* (a ritual pouring vessel of a zoomorphic or anthropomorphic shape).

³ Letters designating chambers are either upper or lower case in accordance with the original reports.

The most prevalent objects included copper hook-tang weapons, most recently interpreted as spearheads (9%; Phillip 1991:59-107), copper pins (23%), and spindle whorls (9%). Tomb 312 contained only 9 pieces of pottery and a few sheep/goat remains.

Tomb 1 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* contained a pottery assemblage of which bowls formed 77 percent. Tomb 4 yielded mostly bowls (56%) and jugs (31%), as well as one bronze pin. 47 percent of the vessels in tomb 7 were bowls and 29 percent were jugs. A few objects were found, including a bronze dagger and two bronze knives. Tomb 8 exhibited a similar distribution of pottery, with 47 percent of it being jugs and 31 percent of it bowls. Among the 27 objects 15 percent consisted of bronze knives and 18 percent of bronze needles. Tomb 12 contained mainly bowls (61%) and jugs (35%). Bronze pins formed 41 percent of the objects found, and bronze knives 18 percent. A few faience beads were also in evidence. Tomb 13 included bowls (46%) and jugs (22%) as two largest pottery groups, as well as bronze rings (18%), faience cylinders (18%) and gold beads (27%).

At Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, Tomb 2 contained only sherds. In Tomb 4 the most common pottery types were jugs (50%) and bowls (28%). The only objects found were terracotta spindle whorls. In Tomb 7 a very similar situation occurred, with bowls forming 37 percent of all pottery, and jugs 43 percent. In terms of objects spindle whorls accounted for 30 percent of the total, while bronze rings for 26 percent. Bronze pins made up 22 percent.

At Dhenia *Kafkalla*, in Tomb G.W.1 the most prevalent pottery types were again bowls (28%) and jugs (31%). No objects were excavated from this tomb. In Tomb 6,

bowls formed 60 percent of the total and jugs 19 percent. Ceramic spindle whorls made up 90 percent of all the objects.

5.5 Tell Dothan Tomb 1 and Korovia *Paleoskoutella* Tomb 7: Similarity and Variance

Gonen and Cooley and Pratico stated in their respective publications that Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan and Tomb 7 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* were comparable on the basis of their architecture. The purpose of this section is to examine that argument. Figure 5.3, below, illustrates the similarities between the two tombs.

5.5.1 Architecture: similarities

The main chambers of Tell Dothan's Tomb 1 and Korovia *Paleoskoutella*'s Tomb 7 were both rectangular, with between 4 to 8 loculi, a stepped dromos, and clearly distinguishable stomion (Figure 5.3). There were no depressions in the floor of the main chamber and no decorations. The human remains were placed both in the main chambers and in the loculi. Chronological separation between burials was detectable and both tombs were orientated in the east-west direction, with the entrance pointing towards the west.

5.5.2 Architecture: differences

The time period for the occupancy of the two tombs differs. Korovia *Paleoskoutella* was in use at the end of Middle Cypriot III (c. 1600 B.C.E.), while Tell Dothan's occupancy does not begin until Late Bronze IIA (1400 B.C.E.). Despite the monumental

size of Tomb 7's tumulus (385 m²), the size of the actual tomb does not exceed 19 m², much less than the 74 m² of Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan. There was no known evidence of a tumulus at Tell Dothan, and no ritual channel at Korovia *Paleoskoutella*.

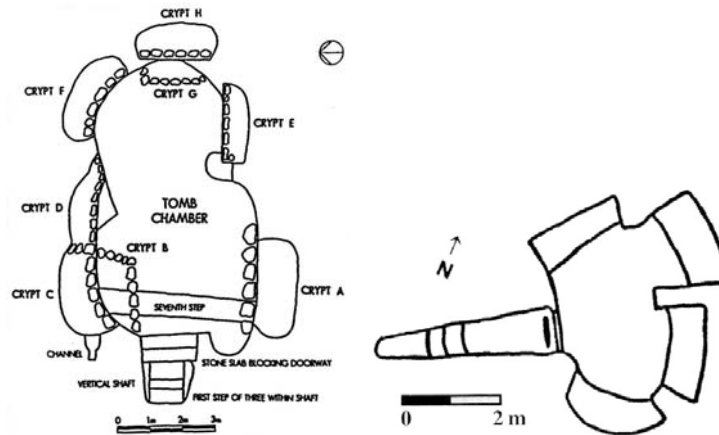


Figure 5.3: Tomb plans: Tell Dothan Tomb 1 (left), Korovia Paleoskoutella Tomb 7 (right) (Cooley and Pratico 1995:152; Keswani 2004:59, Fig.4.2 G).

The concurrent burials in Tomb 7 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* did not resemble those at Tell Dothan, which were deposited over some 300 years, between 1400 B.C.E. and 1100 B.C.E.

5.5.3 Pottery and objects: comparison (Appendix B, Tables 7.1, 8.1 and 9.1-4)

As at Tell Dothan, one of the two most common pottery types at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* was the bowl, but the lamps so prevalent at Tell Dothan were not found at the Cypriot site. Bronze rings and daggers were the most common objects in Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan, appearing in all the five strata. The only other objects present in all five strata were spear points (5%), though scarabs accounted for a larger percentage of the total (6%). At Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, bronze rings also formed a significant

percentage of all the objects in Tomb 7, second only to terracotta spindle whorls.

Although at Tell Dothan whorls were representing a much smaller percentage of objects, they appeared in all strata but one (Level 4) and in similar amounts in each, with an average of 3 per stratum.

5.6 Tell Dothan and the other Cypriot sites: similarity and variance

5.6.1 Architecture: similarities

The three figures below were grouped together to highlight the similarities in tombs plans between Tell Dothan and the Cypriot sites. The shape of the main chamber and the position of loculi at Dhenia *Kafkalla* Tomb G.W.1 were similar to the arrangement at Tell Dothan Tomb 1. Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* and Dhenia *Kafkalla* had vertical dromoi in some of their tombs (Figures 5.4, 5.5 and 5.6). Steps were cut at two out of the four Cypriot sites. Since most of the human remains were not in situ no comparison can be made with those at Tell Dothan.

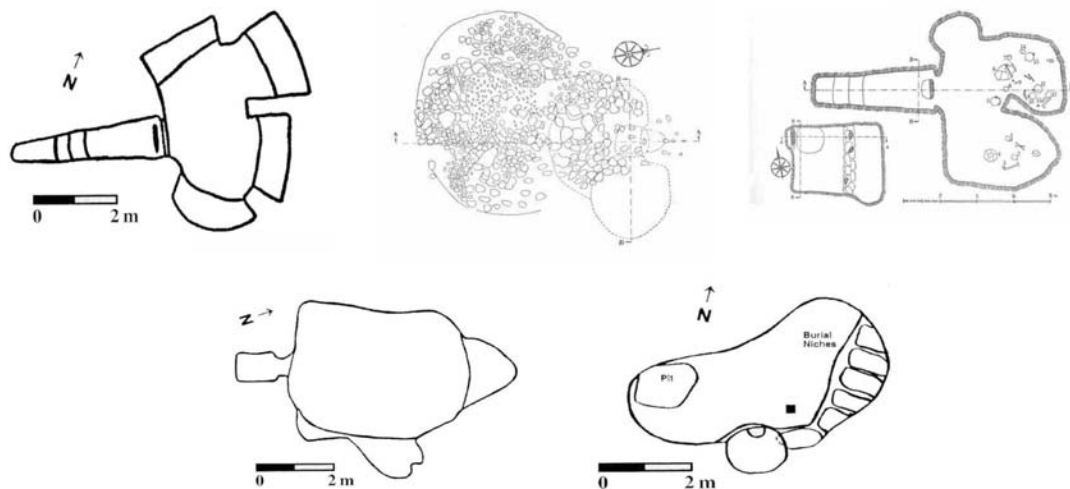


Figure 5.4: Plans of tombs at (upper) Korovia *Paleoskoutella* (Tombs 7, 2 and 4) and (lower) Dhenia *Kafkalla* (Tombs G.W.1 and 6) (Keswani 2004:59, Figs. 4.2.J, 4.2.G, 4.2.K; Sjoqvist 1940a:110, Fig. 42.8 and 117, Figs. 45.1 and 45.4)

All Cypriot examples had stomia, and no decorations. There was a shaft cut from the surface and opening into a burial cupboard in Tomb 806 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (Herscher 1978:707).

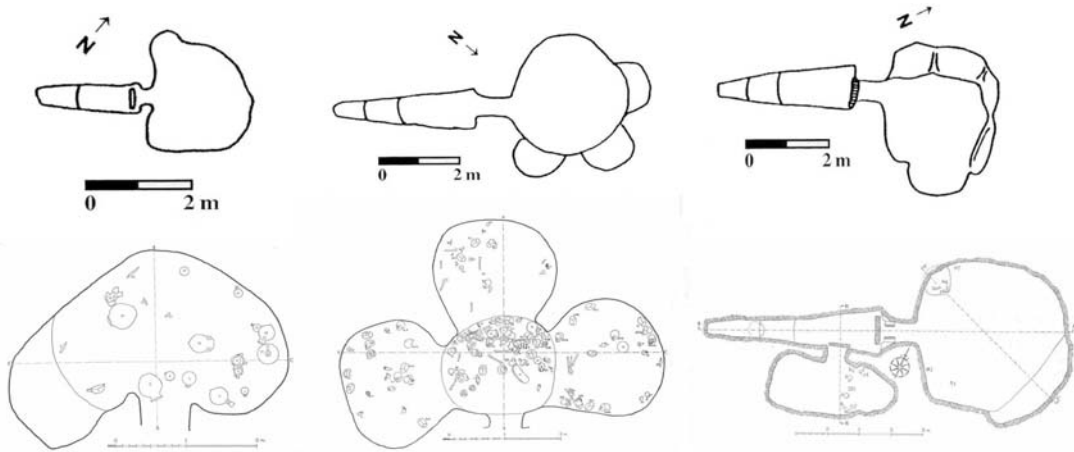


Figure 5.5: Plans of tombs at Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, (upper) Tombs 6, 12, 1, (lower) 4, 7 and 8 (Keswani 2004:59, Figs. 4.2.D, 4.2.E; Sjoqvist 194a:4, Fig. 2.1,:22, Fig. 8.9, :28, Fig. 10.J)

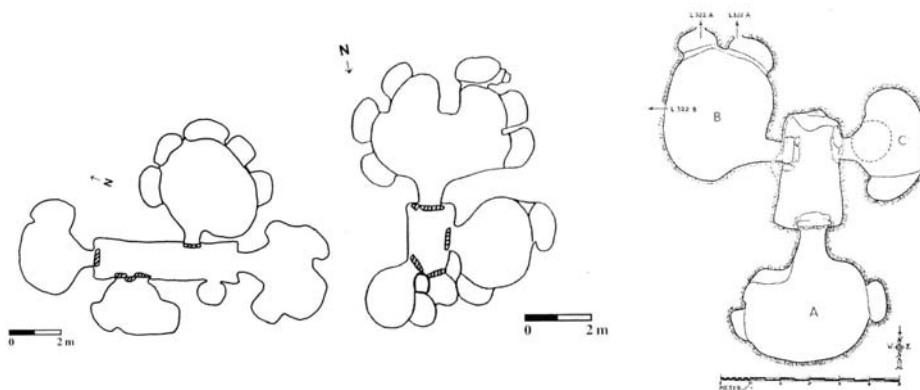


Figure 5.6: Plans of tombs at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, (left to right) Tombs 313, 322 and 806 (Grace 1940:14, Fig. 8; Keswani 2004:59, Figs. 4.2.A-B)

5.6.2 Architecture: differences

The largest of the Cypriot tombs, Dhenia *Kafkalla* Tomb 6, was half the size of Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan. All the other tombs were smaller. None of the Cypriot

examples, except one (Tomb 806 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*), had a channel like the one at Tell Dothan. Two, possibly all, of the sites had depressions in tomb floors, a feature not exhibited at Tell Dothan. At none of the Cypriot sites did the preservation of stratification equal that at Tell Dothan and the separation between burials is thus largely unknown. The orientation of the tombs also differs at most of the Cypriot sites, with the exception of Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, where two out of three tombs were orientated like those at Tell Dothan, namely west-east. All of the Cypriot examples date to periods earlier than the occupancy at Tell Dothan's cemetery.

5.6.3 Pottery and objects: comparison (Appendix B, Tables 7.1, 8.1 and 9.1-4)

The information on pottery types excavated was not available for Tombs 322, 313 and 312 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, Tomb 13 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, and Tomb 2 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella*. In the rest of the Cypriot tombs the two major pottery types were bowls and jugs. In the majority of these tombs the bowls represented a higher percentage than the jugs, a characteristic they shared with Tell Dothan's Tomb 1. Similarly, spindle whorls were found at three of the four sites in Cyprus, (Ayios Iakovos *Melia* being the exception) and often as the most common object.

5.7 Lachish and the Cypriot sites: Similarity and Variance (Figures 5.1-2 and 5.4-6)

5.7.1 Architecture: similarities

The dimensions of the main chambers at Lachish and at the Cypriot examples vary within a similar range, from circular tombs 4 meters in diameter to rectangular

ones, c. 14-20 m². The loculi were cut and raised above floor level in the majority of the Cypriot examples and at Lachish. The semi-vertical stepped dromos in Lachish Tomb 4002-3 bore a close resemblance to a combination of vertical shafts and stepped corridors at the Cypriot sites. Lachish had floor pits in two out of six tombs. A similar ratio was observed at Ayios Iakovos *Melia*.

5.7.2 Architecture: differences

Two of the six main chambers at Lachish were rectangular, a characteristic shared only with Tomb 7 at Dhenia *Kafkalla*.

5.7.3 Pottery and objects: comparison (Appendix B, Tables 7.2, 8.2 and 9.1-4)

At Lachish, two tombs displayed distribution of pottery types similar to what observed at Tell Dothan. One tomb mirrored the Cypriot model, and one contained lamps and jugs as most the common vessels. The objects in most tombs at Lachish differed in most tombs from those at the Cypriot sites. Only one tomb contained more than one of any type of metal implement. This pattern was also visible in the types of imports found in the Lachish tombs. There were more items imported from Egypt than from Cyprus and Mycenae.

5.8 Megiddo and the Cypriot sites: similarity and variance (Figures 5.2 and 5.4-6)

5.8.1 Architecture: similarities

The small size of the main chamber of Megiddo's Tomb 77 mirrored some of the smaller tombs at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* and Ayios Iakovos *Melia*. Its irregular shape most resembled Tomb 6 at Dhenia *Kafkalla*. The single loculus in two of the Megiddo tombs was paralleled at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* and Ayios Iakovos *Melia*. The slanted dromos in Tomb 77 was closest to that in Tomb 6 at Dhenia *Kafkalla*. There were no channels and no decoration in any of the Megiddo tombs. The floor depressions in Megiddo Tomb 3 were paralleled at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tombs 4, 7 and 13 and at Dhenia *Kafkalla* Tomb 6. Body placement at Megiddo was similar to that at most of the Cypriot examples.

5.8.2 Architecture: differences

Tomb 3 was larger than any of the Cypriot examples. There were also two chambers at a lower level, approached from the main chamber by a staircase. The excavators do not speculate on the purpose of this extension. There were no stomia in two of the four Megiddo tombs.

5.8.3 Pottery and objects: comparison (Appendix B, Tables 7.3, 8.3 and 9.1-4)

Most common pottery types found in the tombs at Megiddo were similar to those from the Cypriot sites, either the bowl-jug combination or a bowl and juglet or bowl and jar. Lamps were not prevalent. In terms of objects, contrary to the situation in the Cypriot tombs, the most prevalent types were stone vessels and tools, and flint. Imports came equally from Egyptian and Cypriot and Mycenaean sources.

5.9 Tell el-‘Ajjul and the Cypriot sites: Similarity and Variance (Figures 5.2 and 5.4-

6)

5.9.1 Architecture: similarities

Cut and raised loculi at Tell el-‘Ajjul resembled those at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* and Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*. At least two tombs at Lapithos, 313 and 322, had the same type of vertical roof entrance and lack of stomia that also appeared at Tell el-‘Ajjul. The placement of the burials mirrored the situation in Tomb 7 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella*. The latter and Tomb 407 at Tell el-‘Ajjul also shared the rectangular shape and similar dimensions of the main chamber.

5.9.2 Architecture: differences

At Tell el-‘Ajjul all human remains were found in situ, in the loculi, unlike at most of the Cypriot sites.

5.9.3 Pottery and objects: comparison (Appendix B, Tables 7.4, 8.4 and 9.1-4)

Quantitative analysis could not be conducted on pottery and objects from Tell el-‘Ajjul’s tombs because of the imprecise nature of the site reports. However, it should be noted that bowls and jugs, as well as juglets were represented by at least one vessel in two out of three tombs. Toggles and scarabs were present. There was evidence of imported items, the majority being Cypriot bowls, Cypriot bilbils and Egyptian scarabs. The most significant parallel with the Cypriot tombs is evident in the presence of the horse skeleton in Tomb 411. Tomb 322 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* contained some horse remains, in addition to cattle bones and a dog skeleton.

5.10 Summary

Analysis of the architectural and artifactual data from the Canaanite and Cypriot sites was conducted in order to establish whether one could detect connections between function, such as cutting of loculi for individual burials, inclusion of dromoi, or plastering of floors, and style, such as types of imported grave goods, between the tombs and their assemblages at these sites could be detected. Through a comparison of the loculi chamber tomb plans and the pottery and object assemblages from sites in Canaan to those found in Cyprus, the stylistic and functional connections could be explored. In the following chapter the emerging patterns, or lack of them, will be presented and tentative answers to the central questions of this study will be offered.

Chapter 6: Discussion

6.1. Introduction

This chapter will discuss the emerging patterns, or their absence, in the burial practices of Late Bronze and Early Iron I Canaan and offer tentative answers to the central question of this study. How can we account for the presence of the Tell Dothan cemetery, with its group of loculi chamber tombs, in the Central Hill Country of Late Bronze and Early Iron I Canaan? In the region otherwise dominated by ‘typical’ Canaanite interment architecture the possibility of a Cypriot cultural influence prompted further investigation of the extent to which the mortuary practices Canaan reflected local development or encompassed intrusive elements. The results of the analysis of the archaeological material provided several directions to the interpretative process. As with the preceding chapters I have divided *Discussion* into two sections, architecture and artifacts, with additional sections devoted to the treatment of human remains and to sacrifice and feasting. The chapter closes with a consideration of burial as a cultural process and with some tentative conclusions about the origin of loculi chamber tombs in Canaan and suggestions for the direction of future research.

The various limitations of the evidence in many instances prevented the reaching of definitive conclusions about the existence of patterns in loculi chamber tombs in Canaan and Cyprus. The poor preservation of human remains and of burials at Canaanite sites in general, the uniqueness of the Tell Dothan’s cemetery, the

unpublished character of its catalogue, and the fact that the functional information about pottery vessels was largely missing from the Cypriot reports all contributed to the difficulties in interpreting the results of the analyses conducted.

The temporal context of the loculi chamber tombs is essential to the understanding of their place in Cypriot and Canaanite Bronze Age cultures. The earliest instances of loculi in chamber tombs in Cyprus came from an Early Cypriot IIIA (c. 2100 B.C.E.) burial at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, to be followed by the Middle Cypriot I, II and III (c. 1950-1650 B.C.E.) examples from other sites. The earliest evidence of loculi chambers tombs in Canaan was at Tell el 'Ajjul in the Middle Bronze IIB –C (c. 1600 B.C.E.). The construction of the loculi in Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan occurred only in Late Bronze IIB (c. 1300 B.C.E.). Thus the evidence of chronology would suggest a west-to-east flow of cultural influence, with the appearance of loculi at Tell Dothan some 300 years later than the earliest examples in Canaan.

6.1.1 Cypriot traders in Canaan

Trade networks between Cyprus and Syro-Palestine were already established in the Middle Bronze Age (Prag 1985:154-165). Beginning in the late 1700s and 1600s BCE and increasing in the late 1600s and 1500s B.C.E., the trade is well attested by the presence of Cypriot wares in Canaan, with examples of such ceramic types as White Painted, Red on Black, Red on Red, Red Slip, Black Slip, Red Polished and Composite. In Late Bronze, the continuity and development of Cypriot trade with Canaan was affected by the unfolding political events. The destruction of many Canaanite towns by the Egyptians and their pursuit of the Hyksos northwards as far as the Euphrates (south Syria), c. 1550 B.C.E., led to the disruption of markets and distribution routes, and has

become the accepted end of Middle Bronze in Canaan. The succeeding century saw a series of Egyptian campaigns in Syro-Palestine, till c. 1469 or 1483 BCE, when Tuthmosis III began a major campaign as a response to an Asiatic revolt, pushing into Euphrates again within the decade. The traditional date for the beginning of Late Bronze II in Canaan is c. 1400 B.C.E. The intervening periods of prosperity and political unrest are often held to account for the varying quantity and type of imported Cypriot wares in Syro-Palestine, in the main city centres of the coast and the main inland routes. According to Tufnell the greatest quantity of Base Ring ware appeared after the campaigns of Tuthmosis III. The periods of unrest, with their limited trade opportunities and interrupted import/export activities, must have been the times of increased productivity of local imitations of Cypriot wares (Tufnell 1958:201, 210, 236).

6.2 Loculi Chamber Tombs: An Interpretation

6.2.1 Architecture

The initial visual examination of the tomb plans and cross-sections seemed to confirm Gonen's and Cooley and Pratico's conclusions about the similarities between Tell Dothan Tomb 1 and Korovia *Paleoskoutella* Tomb 7. The primary feature common to both tombs was the architectural design, particularly the carefully cut and separated loculi, as well as the orientation on the west to east axis, the placement of bodies in the individual niches, and a deep, vertical shaft for a dromos.

At Dhenia *Kafkalla* the vertical dromos represents an alternative solution to the usual sloping one, used on flat plateaus in Cyprus. At Tell Dothan this type of dromos suggests the most ergonomic exploitation of the environment, namely a hill slope consisting of limestone and chalk deposits. Apart from Dothan, where the loculi were

blocked off with low stone walls, the burial niches were either cut above the floor level or, as at Megiddo, partitioned off with a ledge. A clear effort to separate the *loculus* from the rest of the main chamber was evident in all of the Canaanite and the Cypriot tombs. On average, the main chambers in Cypriot tombs tended to be larger than their Canaanite counterparts, with the exception of Dothan. In terms of layout both the circular and the rectangular plans are equally represented at the Cypriot sites, as in the Canaanite ones. Examples of multi-chamber tombs were much more numerous in Cyprus, with the highest concentration at Lapithos. Steps in Cypriot tombs appeared only in the vertical, sloping *dromoi*, and not as in Canaan, in *stomia*. Ledges separating *loculi* from the main chamber were common in Cypriot tombs and in Canaan were found at Megiddo.

In Bronze Age Cyprus, as in Canaan, most tombs were used more than once and the earlier remains were pushed aside to make room for the next burial. There were, however, instances where effort was made to avoid disturbance of past interments. The practice of covering a layer of remains with another of silt and crushed limestone was evident at Tell Dothan as well as at Lapithos and everywhere else in Cyprus (Herscher 1978:792-3). Tombs 4, 7 and 8 at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* are good examples of the Cypriot clearing and preparation practices closely resembling those at Tell Dothan. In Late Bronze Canaan plastered floors could also be found at Lachish, where Tombs 4002-3, 4013, and 4019 exhibited evidence of this practice.

Sjoqvist examined the Late Cypriot Bronze Age pottery imports and trade while looking at the evidence of Mycenaean activity in Cyprus and the presence of Cypriot merchants and artisans in Syria and Palestine. He noted the adaptation of the Cypriot pottery designs transplanted into a new cultural environment, “The latter [artisans]

developed an artistic style of their own, bearing the stamp of provincialism, but still closely akin to the corresponding style of their native country”(Sjoqvist 1940b:184). Perhaps in the case of tomb construction at Dothan there was the same type of gradual ‘watering down’ of cultural elements that Sjoqvist postulated for ceramic styles. The fact that the majority of grave goods seemed to have been of local origin supports this argument.

Another example pointing strongly towards a direct relationship between architectural design of interments and the ethnic, ideological or at least geographical affiliation of the tomb’s builders/owners came from Laish/Dan. Forty bodies were found in the same burial in Tomb 387 indicating interment on the basis of kinship. According to the scholars who reported on the site, this might mean that the two generations buried in Tomb 387 were considered “foreigners” by other inhabitants of the site, a perception that might have extended into the realm of death (Gunneweg and Michel 1999:993-995). The common burial quarters and the presence of Mycenaean pottery might indicate a cultural separateness and a community integration (as there was also evidence of both Cypriot imported ware and a local Canaanite one). The authors also argued that the differences in architectural layout of the tombs corresponded to a different provenience of the Mycenaean pottery (Gunneweg and Michel 1999:989).

Although at Tell Dothan the majority of pottery seemed to be produced from local clay, the insistence on a particular tomb plan and burial arrangement represent a retention of a once non-local cultural element within a larger complete cultural integration of a group of people. The Cypriot presence in the Levant, a possible source for the appearance of the loculi chamber tomb in the area will be discussed in section 6.4.

6.2.2 Human remains: body location and positioning in loculi chamber tombs

The body location and positioning in the chamber tombs with loculi in the Canaanite and the Cypriot interments did not form a clear pattern. However, individual tombs sometimes contained skeletal remains preserved well enough to determine the body's position. In Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan the bodies were laid down on the floor of the chamber or in the loculi in an extended position. There was also evidence in Tomb 1 of the practice of covering the body with sherds of large storage jars (Cooley and Pratico 1995:166). The custom of removing previous burials to make room for the new ones was already in use in Canaan in Middle Bronze II (it has been documented at Jericho, Megiddo, Beth-Shean, Gibeon and Safed) In this respect Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan, with skulls forming the major group in the skeletal remains, does not differ from other multiple interment tombs of the Middle Bronze, Late Bronze and Early Iron I Ages.

The rock-cut loculus labelled by the excavators as *Crypt H*, dated to Late Bronze IIB, was the only context within Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan where a direct association could be established between an individual burial and its accompanying grave goods. The body was placed in an extended position, with pottery vessels at its head and feet⁴. This also seemed to be a general practice in the Cypriot burials, for example at Ayios Iakovos *Melia*.

At Tell el-‘Ajjul and Lachish the bodies were placed in a fully extended position, on their backs or on their sides, facing the main chamber. Human remains at Megiddo

⁴ Seven vessels: dipper juglet and large flask next to the head, a bowl, a juglet, a jug, a pot and a Cypriot bowl next to the feet (a clam shell was associated with this second group). There were no other types of grave goods apart from the ceramic assemblage placed with this burial (Cooley and Pratico 1995:162).

were too disturbed to yield any meaningful information, though some long bones surviving in Tomb 78 seemed to point to an extended position of the skeleton. From the surviving skeletal remains in tombs at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* it can be concluded that a similar extended position was employed in most of the loculi chamber tombs in Cyprus. At Korovia *Paleoskoutella* some bodies might have been flexed, lying on their sides, facing the main chamber. However, at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* the only recognizable preference in body placement was with the head facing the main chamber or the entrance, in a sitting or squatting position.

The ‘foetal’ position of the bodies at Middle Bronze Dan that Ilan connected to the fertility function of death seemed to be absent from Tell Dothan (Ilan1995:135-36). The extended position with vessels arranged around the head and feet could suggest a preparation for rest or a liminal stage in the deceased’s progress into ancestor-hood.

6.2.3 Artefacts

The significance of the quantitative and qualitative variations in evidence after the comparative manipulations were conducted on the Tell Dothan artifactual material lies in their role as indicators of the presence or the absence of cultural connections and influences.

Table 6.1: Number of human remains in Levels 1-5 at Tell Dothan, Tomb 1.

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
Human Remains	47	66	48	33	10

As can be seen from the data (Table 6.2) the sharpest jumps in the amount of burials appeared in Levels 4, 2 and 1, which belonged to the Late Bronze IIA, Late Bronze IIB

and Iron I respectively, and the addition of the loculi to the main chamber in Level 3 coincided with the lowest increase in pottery. Level 1 represents the only decrease in the number of interments from the preceding stratum, while still being richer in burials than Levels 5 and 4. The kind of demographic or ideological changes that could have caused this reduction are difficult to determine in the absence of extensive evidence of occupation on the tel during Late Bronze II. Favourable environmental conditions, which allowed for steady increase of population, or a relaxation of burial custom are two of the most probable explanations. Keswani notes on a similar situation in the Early to Middle Cypriot burials, using the example of *Vounous* (Keswani 2004:53).

Several additional points can be made about these figures. The steady increase, from Level 5 to 2, in the quantity of individuals buried in Tomb 1 could perhaps be attributed to the growing size of the Tell Dothan community, whether semi-nomadic or not. It is this gradual, measured expansion that makes such an argument more feasible. Relaxing of social stratification rules would leave a more uneven picture, with changes clearly visible in some strata and not at all in others. On the other hand, the significant increase in burials during the second phase of Late Bronze IIA, Level 4, seems to indicate a kinship or ethnic group of people who are settling in the area, or perhaps moving back to it. During the next phase, the Late Bronze IIB (Level 3), the amount of grave goods increased to a smaller degree than the amount of bodies (Table 6.3). Was community wealth compromised at this time? Or was the small cache of imported heirlooms included with other possessions in burials finally exhausted? The creation of additional burial space and the smaller increase in burial goods suggest a tightening of resources available to the population being buried.

Table 6.2: Number of primary pottery vessels in Levels 1-5 at Tell Dothan, Tomb 1.

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
Primary Pottery Vessels	611	829	592	454	238

The types of the ‘primary’ vessels that were most common as grave goods changed three times during the 300 years of the ‘occupation’ of the tombs, between Levels 5 and 4, 3 and 2, and in Level 1. The types of non-primary ceramics differed in every stratum. The small percentage of imports was most probably unevenly distributed throughout the five strata, although the Tell Dothan report mentioned only Levels 5 and 4 as containing any imported items. Between 130 and 140 imported ceramics are mentioned in the preliminary site report (Cooley and Pratico 1995:167). They were not, however, all placed exclusively in the two earliest levels as the imported vessels from these strata amount to less than 130 items, leaving Levels 3 to 1 as the location of the remaining imports. The precise number of imports cannot be deduced from the preliminary report or the Tell Dothan Publication Project catalogue. The confirmed amounts, in the report and the catalogue, are 32⁵ imported vessels in Levels 5 and 4 and 16⁶ imported vessels in Levels 3 to 1. Other types of possible imported pottery vessels, such as kraters, ring flasks, jugs and juglets and pyxides, could be local imitations. One can suspect that some of the juglets and jugs are of a foreign type, such as *Bucchero* ware and Mycenaean straining jars, but it is not possible to make a definitive statement based on the available photographs and drawings.

⁵ Including milkbowls, Base Ring ware (bowls), Mycenaean IIIB type stirrup jars, Mycenaean vases, an amphora, an alabastron, and bilbils.

⁶ Including Mycenaean IIIB type stirrup jars, a Base Ring ware bowl, a Cypriot juglet, a Mycenaean vase, and an amphoriskos.

The non-primary ceramics (referred to as *rare ceramics* on the list of variables in Chapter 4) decreased in quantity over time, from Level 4 to 1, with the first two phases, Levels 5 and 4, of the cemetery producing the largest numbers of rare vessels of all the strata. The few stirrup jars (21) came mainly from Levels 4 and 3. The relatively low amount of imported pottery could point to an immigrant group's integration into the local community or to a sufficient distance in time as well as space for the imported pottery to become less abundant. There was some evidence of Cypriot imports among the decorated pottery from the Middle Bronze II and Late Bronze I occupation of the tel (Master et al. 2005:60). Few individuals buried with large amounts of rare or imported pottery could mean the existence of a burial custom requiring individuals to be buried with all their worldly possessions rather than with items especially chosen as grave goods.

The funerary gifts at Megiddo in Late Bronze I included very few imports perhaps illustrating a minimal trade between this site and Cyprus (Gonen 1992: 47-52). In Late Bronze II the amount of imports rose slightly, from 4.5 percent to 5 percent, among all the multiple interment tombs, while at the same time the Canaanite potters started to imitate the Cypriot and Mycenaean products. The increase in the amount of vessel types associated with food processing and consumption, such as bowls, kraters and cooking pots, was accompanied by the decrease in use of juglets. One could argue that the above-mentioned cultural behaviours combined signalled a change in the economic status of the buried and the mourning population. At Lachish and Tell el-‘Ajjul the ceramic situation is even harder to analyse because of the limited nature of surviving pottery pieces.

At Lachish the imported items recovered from the loculi chamber tombs consisted of a Mycenaean juglet and two jars, three Bucchero jugs, one Base Ring ware bowl and one flask, seven scarabs, and seven scarab-and-seals. There were also several imitations of Mycenaean ware, Base Ring ware and Cypriot White Slip ware. The stratigraphy of tombs was not preserved at Lachish and it was difficult to conclude how representative the remaining imports were of the original content. Most of the Lachish loculi chamber tombs contained between 11 to 18 pottery vessels, with one exception where the total for the tombs was 117 vessels. However, even in the latter example the imports stood for less than 1% of the tomb's assemblage. Bowls, lamps and juglets or jugs were the most popular vessels in those tombs. It certainly seems as if simple food and drink containers, with an addition of portable lights, formed the 'burial kit' at Lachish. At Tell el-'Ajjul jugs, juglets and bowls appear in the loculi chamber tombs, and the imports include unspecified Cypriot wares, bilbils, scarabs, and an ostrich egg. The excavators did not provide exact amounts for the finds.

At Tell Dothan the process appears to be the reverse of that at Megiddo. Between Late Bronze IIA and Early Iron I a transition took place in the kind of items included in the burials, from kitchen vessels to luxury containers (personal or for liquids). It is another argument for the gradual disappearance of the custom of burying individuals with a selection of (luxury) items rather than with an entire personal inventory.

The Iron I occupation of Tell Dothan is better marked by archaeological evidence than that of the Late Bronze II (Master et al. 2005:67-77). Level 2 contained remains from both Late Bronze IIB and Early Iron I. The upper layer of this stratum, and the whole of Level 1, was the chronological equivalent to the Early Iron I occupation on the tel, and contained multi-handled kraters and single-spouted lamps also

found in the Iron I strata of Area A of the settlement. After the destruction of the Iron II strata the tel entered a period of abandonment. At the end of the eighth century B.C.E., however, it was again used as a burial site, a parallel to its role during the Late Bronze II and Early Iron I when an 'active' cemetery was accompanied by little to no evidence of tel occupation.

6.3 Rituals Associated with the Tombs

The analysis of a cemetery in Bronze Age Canaan would be incomplete without a consideration of ancestral worship and the accompanying ritual. At Tell Dothan the discussion of the cult of the dead centres on an installation connected with Tomb 1.

6.3.1 Ritual and the cult of the dead

The presence of the channel cut into one of the loculi ("Crypt C", Cooley and Pratico 1995:152) has been interpreted in several different, sometimes contradictory, ways (Cockerham 1995, Cooley and Pratico 1995, Lev-Tov and Maher 2001, Pitard 1994). Cooley and Pratico asserted that the opening had "obviously (...) a ritual function, (...) libation offerings for 'feeding the tomb'" (Cooley and Pratico 1995:152). The excavators drew parallels with similar installations found in the Ugarit tombs of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C.E., first interpreted by Schaeffer as associated with funerary ritual (Schaeffer 1939:50-51). They provided no explanation for why a channel was cut above only one loculus, nor why above this particular one. Lev-Tov and Maher disputed the ritualistic function of the channel at Tell Dothan pointing out that Tomb 3, located slightly south west of Tomb 1, first served as a water cistern before being adapted for a burial chamber (Lev-Tov and Maher 2001:92). They argued a

similar history for Tomb 1, thus explaining the channel as an opening cut for the rainwater to collect in the cistern below. Since there is no mention in the report of Tomb 1 ever having been a cistern, and moreover, since the loculus was added only in Level 3, the argument that the channel was a rainwater conduit of a water cistern seems unlikely.

One would assume that a rainwater channel would be cut in a straight line, with minimum effort and as short in length as possible, therefore making the opening and the loculus contemporary (or the loculus earlier than the opening). The poor quality of the photos recording the inside of Tomb 1 did not allow for definite conclusions as to whether loculus C ('Crypt C') might have been a natural niche, later artificially enlarged to admit a human body, or whether it was cut into the chamber wall concurrently with the other loculi of Level 3⁷.

Cockerham examined the ceramic pipe which was inserted into the channel, and stated that its construction was "similar to those found by (...) Schaeffer in and around the Late Bronze Age tombs at Ras Shamra [Ugarit]" (Cockerham 1995:22). Her final conclusion favoured the theory of the ritual 'feeding of the dead'. Pitard, however, dismissed the pipes and subterranean chambers at Ugarit as funerary or ritual in character (Pitard 1994:20-37). His argument included a discussion of the architectural differences between the funerary installations of Ugarit and Canaan in the Bronze Age. He emphasized, convincingly, the point that the most significant aspect of the burial behaviour, the plan of the tombs, differed considerably between the two geographical areas. While the tombs at Ugarit were intramural and constructed chambers, the Canaanite burials were almost exclusively caves for multiple interments and individual pits outside of settlements. According to Pitard, the transference of ritual burial

⁷ Photos are not included because of their poor quality.

behaviour in the ancient Near East was irrevocably connected to the transference of burial architecture (Pitard 1994:34-35).

Even if such cultural transference did not occur in Canaan, does that exclude the possibility of the Canaanites practising rituals for the benefit of their dead? Is the confirmation of the channel's function as ritual necessary to support the argument for the cult of the dead at Tell Dothan? The evidence from Tell Dothan, Lachish, Tell el-'Ajjul and Megiddo seemed to suggest otherwise. In Canaan the main avenues of ancestral worship were animal sacrifices, ritual feasting or simply feeding of the dead through placement of foodstuffs in the graves (Bloch-Smith 1992:122-132). All the vessel types usually associated with the Canaanite and 'Highland/Israelite' burials, the open and closed vessels and lamps, were present at Tell Dothan. Bloch-Smith listed lamps especially as specific to the highland interments (Bloch-Smith 1992:141). At Tell Dothan they appear in highest concentration in Levels 5, 4 and 1, namely during the Late Bronze IIA and the Early Iron I Ages.

Overall, the most common pottery vessels in Tomb 1 included bowls, lamps, with pyxides and juglets alternatively as the principal liquid containers in the different strata. Chalices, flasks and small dipper juglets found in all five strata could be identified as drinking vessels. At Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el-'Ajjul, despite the limited preservation of the assemblages, the most common pottery vessels appeared to be similar to those at Tell Dothan. The emphasis on food containers and light implements as grave goods represents a certain pattern. If not directly pointing to a custom of funerary feasting, it reflects the need felt by the living to provide the life essentials to the dead. The scant evidence of organic remains showed that foodstuffs such as olives, sheep, fish and clams were parts of funerary offerings in Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan. The

several stirrup and strainer jars also found there suggested the use of oil or consumption of fermented beverages. To date no results of residue analysis of the contents either of the vessels or from the ceramic pipe in the channel have been published and the possibility of libations remains debatable. The paucity of purely ritual vessels, one *kernos* ring and five anthropomorphic vessels, suggests they were personal items. Cooley and Pratico grouped them with amulets.

However, to approach the question of cultural transference from an alternative angle, one might consider the presence of unusual tomb architecture as the cultural element transferred. In the case of Tell Dothan, ‘local’ grave goods and interment ritual were combined with ‘foreign’ architectural planning. Even if one does not accept the ceramic channel as proof of Cypriot or Ugaritic influence, the tomb design of the loculi chamber tombs at Tell Dothan could stand on its own as an argument for at least residual cultural transference.

The “collective secondary interments” existing at Tell el-’Ajjul, at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* Tomb 313A, at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* Tomb 6, and at Korovia *Paleoskoutella* Tomb 7 might represent a similar ritual practice or ideology associated with death and the dead (Keswani 2004:50). Such direct parallel to simultaneous burials did not appear at Tell Dothan. Nevertheless, what Keswani called a “grouping of related lines of individuals” seems to be in evidence at the site (Keswani 2004:51). The significance of “social affiliation and identity” is clearly evident in the tombs at Tell Dothan, where it is highly probable that kinship groups were buried in reusable chambers with loculi, over several generations (Keswani 2004:54).

6.3.2 Sacrifice and feasting: the equid finds

Parallels for the practice of including horse skeletons in loculi chamber tombs, such as at Tell el Ajjul, have been found in Middle Helladic and Late Helladic Tumulus 1 at Marathon in Greece and in Early Cypriot III and Middle Cypriot I Tomb 322 at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (Dajani 1964:56-67, Marinatos 1970:354, Papadimitriou 2001: Appendix, Figure 45.c, Vermuele 1964: Plate XLVII.B). As in Tomb 411 at Tell el-‘Ajjul, the horse buried in Tumulus I at Marathon was missing its hind legs and parts of its shoulder. Another Late Helladic tholos at Marathon contained a double horse burial found intact under the floor of the dromos (Marinatos 1970:354, the author did not provide specifics of the tomb).

It appears that horses, and donkeys or oxen, were used alternatively as sacrifice and ritual feasting offerings or purely as sacrificial animals, at least in the Greek mainland of the Mid-Late Bronze Age. In Cyprus and in Canaan, in the loculi chamber tombs, only the ritual feasting seemed to have been practised as part of the burial custom. This could have been simply because of the less prominent and prosperous, or smaller communities in Cyprus and Canaan, where an equid might have been considered an item of luxury and too precious for sacrifice, or to dispose of without deriving at least some nutrition out of it for the participants of the funeral ceremony. Martin also reports equine remains from the Late Bronze and Early Iron Canaanite contexts at Tell es-Sa’idiyeh (Martin 1988:83-84). The various horse bones from the Iron Age had cut marks, suggesting feasting. The Late Bronze material, however, included a part of a hind leg, a not particularly meaty section of the animal, suggesting ritual sacrifice. Another explanation for this could be a matter of economy in choosing food offerings.

Tell el-‘Ajjul was recorded as the location of the first evidence of equid interment in Syro-Palestine (Wapnish 1997:337). Other Middle Bronze horse and human interments in Canaan included Lachish, Jericho, Azor, Tell Jemmeh and Tel Haror (Wapnish 1997:349). According to Grigson the first domestic horses in the Levant appeared during the fourth millennium, as evidenced by the data from sites in the Negev (Grigson 1993:645-55). However, the domesticated horse was not present at Tell el-‘Ajjul and the rest of Canaan in any significant numbers until the Persian period, and did not become more common until the Arab and Crusader periods. The Middle Bronze IIA and IIB-C or early IIC periods remain the primary temporal context for the equid burials in Syro-Palestine and Egypt. Wapnish also considered the Azor Late Bronze and Early Iron I burials and the foundation sacrifice at Tell el-‘Ajjul (c.1300 B.C.E.) a continuation of the Middle Bronze custom (Wapnish 1997:358). Both Wapnish and Oren identify the equids at Tell el-‘Ajjul as donkeys, while Marinatos reported the horse from Marathon as being of the Przewalski class, a small wild species (Oren 1997:270, Marinatos 1970:356). This type of equid could suggest another variation on a foreign custom or a local custom unrelated to its parallels elsewhere in the Levant and the Aegean.

The evidence of loculi chamber burials in Middle Bronze at sites other than Dothan and Lachish and the absence of equid burials at Tell Dothan point to a residual migration of an interment custom. At the same time, it seems that the equid burials in Greece, the Levant and were independent of each other, while their introduction in Egypt came as an influence from Syro-Palestine (Wapnish 1997:360).

6.4 Burial as Cultural Process: Theoretical Approaches Applied

Although the outward signifiers of social change should be sought it is necessary to steer clear of simplistic cause-and-effect solutions based purely on data viewed chronologically. (...) the real difficulty lies in attributing a social meaning to them [variables and their relationships] (Bright 1995:72)

The cultural process of burial incorporates all the actions of the living prior, during and immediately after the interment, as well as, in the case of multiple burial tombs, the period between consecutive burials. The architectural and artefactual variables form relationships that are expressed during the construction of the tomb, such as size and shape of the main chamber or the presence and number of loculi, during the preparation of the body, such as dressing it or placing it in a shroud, and during the funeral rites, such as, sacrifice or ritual feasting. During this time the play between the ideal and the practical takes place, with the social structure the living believe in and the real processes taking over the body of the dead individual, such as decomposition of the flesh and loss of identity.

Burial at Tell Dothan appears as a cultural process that is simultaneously linear and multi-directional. The chronological sequence of the appearance of loculi chamber tombs or the biological descent of the generations who used them, manifested in the archaeological strata, can be classified as the linear processes. The trade and exchange, the reverse migration of stylistic components, from the original *receiver* to the original *transferor*, and the incorporation of several different cultural components into a new product represent the multi-directional cultural processes. Burial, while remaining an agent of social and cultural affiliation or even ethnic identity, is subject to cultural forces similar to those that shape other areas of the cultural expression of a particular group. Whether the commonality of cultural elements, such as the loculi in the Canaanite and

the Cypriot tombs, can be established beyond the reasonable doubt remains under discussion.

The role of the living in the burial process is also reflected in the act of returning to the gravesite at times other than the actual burial. The channel at Tell Dothan can thus be seen as a way of revisiting the dead and of continuing the mortuary ritual without opening of the tomb itself. If there is a need for communication with the dead it can be easily achieved with minimum effort and expenditure of resources through the ritual of libation. Similarly, the lighting of the lamps before and during burial presents a service that the living provide for the dead.

The only undisputable cultural element of mortuary practices present at Tell Dothan and all of the other Canaanite and Cypriot sites analysed is the loculus or the burial niche. Did the loculus *mean* something entirely different at the four Canaanite sites? How was that meaning different from Cypriot examples? When discussing the symbolism of cemeteries and their components one must look at symbols as parts of a set. Aspects of burials are meaningful symbols within the context of the mortuary culture and the burial process (Bright 1995:73-74, Leach 1979:49). At Tell Dothan, as at the other loculi chamber tombs in Canaan and Cyprus, the burial niche contained within the chamber tomb and supplied with pottery vessels and other objects, in a certain sense, provides context for itself. It is, therefore, a meaningful part of the burial process, despite the fact that the reasons for its creation and its symbolism might not be retrievable.

Cooley and Pratico saw the loculi as clearly intended for individual burials “but in the context of the group, often family” (Cooley and Pratico 1995:167). The extended, on-the-side or full-length supine position seemed to suggest sleep or rest rather than the

'return to the womb' concept often associated with the flexed, embryonic arrangement of the body. Placing of pottery sherds of large storage jars over the body seems to reinforce the viewing of death as rest (Cooley and Pratico 1995:166). In Tomb 7 at Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, the closest Cypriot parallel to Tell Dothan, two bodies were placed in three out of the four loculi. Whether that expressed functionality or a special connection between those buried in the same loculus is not known. The relatively well-preserved skeleton in Crypt H of Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan had various food and drink vessels arranged around it, with the liquid vessels at its head and the food vessels at its feet, though no personal items were part of the grave goods. The significance of such choice on the part of the living could be that sometimes nourishment after death had higher priority than personal possessions from the past life. The role of the loculi in Tomb 1 at Tell Dothan seemed to be functional. They were added in Level 3, according to the excavators, after the floor of the main chamber has been filled with bodies to accommodate new burials.

There seem to be more similarities between Tell Dothan and the Cypriot sites than between Tell Dothan and Tell el-'Ajjul, Megiddo and even Lachish (with its two rectangular tombs and the population genetically connected to Tell Dothan's). The similarities between Tell Dothan and Korovia *Paleoskoutella* could be coincidental. Consequently, one might suggest that certain interment designs are generic and will appear equally inevitably in the areas of high cultural traffic as well as in those of geographical and cultural isolation. To quote Ian Morris:

The use of symbols in ritual depends on sumptuary rules, in the sense of sanctions laying down what is right and proper in the given circumstances for people occupying particular places in the ideal social structure.
(Morris 1987:154)

Burial could serve as a reflection of an ideal of order, propriety and continuity, loculi and the separation of the layers of burials as expressions of the need to create that order in places associated with death. To extend control over the process of burial and over the dead themselves would thus also be an attempt to enforce the social structure of the living.

A parallel burial design and the associated ritual could stem from a social structure evolving along parallel lines, or it could be an outcome of similar physical environment. The locations of the loculi chamber tombs in Canaan are found in at least two distinct geographical areas. The geographical location of the Cypriot examples was closer to that of Tell Dothan than to that of Lachish, Megiddo or Tell el-‘Ajjul.

According to Gonen’s general conclusions the chamber tombs with loculi did not constitute a clear geographical clustering. Considering the sample size of four known sites one cannot talk of ‘clustering’ of this type of burial plan in Canaan. The loculi tombs resembling those at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* were present along the rest of the northern part of Cyprus, as far east as Ayios Iakovos *Melia* and Korovia *Paleoskoutella*, as well as slightly south of Lapithos, at Dhenia *Kafkalla*. The reason for an island-wide distribution might have been the “extensive social ties based on kinship, marriage, alliance, and exchange relationships” (Keswani 2004:62). The individual local ‘cultural stamp’ is present and clearly visible at the Canaanite sites with loculi chamber tombs to a degree far surpassing that existing in chronologically preceding and contemporary Cyprus. The temporal changes in variability could be affected by social complexity, symbolic change or leveling ideologies, as argued by Morris, which fits into the concept of burial as a process (Morris 1987:138-9). One may view burial as a series of changes

that transform the mourners and the mourned (the social unit and the symbols it uses) and that express ideological meaning (social complexity and ideology).

The changing burial demographics at Tell Dothan were most likely the products of all three factors proposed by Morris. The process of burial in the cemeteries at Tell Dothan, as at other Canaanite and Cypriot sites discussed, probably involved the settlements adjacent to them and their living inhabitants in more ways and on more regular, even daily, basis than the actual day of the burial of a particular individual. Unfortunately, in Tell Dothan's case the very sparse evidence of occupation on the tel at the time of the first four phases of the cemetery makes investigating the relationship between the 'living' assemblage and the burial one difficult. The seeming lack of occupational remains on the tel during the Late Bronze II could be a result of careless excavation of a poorly preserved stratum. The inhabitants themselves might have provided another cause for the incoherence of the Late Bronze II occupation on the tel by treating many of the vessels and objects as heirlooms and altering the "depositional pathways" of the artefacts (O'Shea 1984:24, Master et al. 2005:65).

Depositional pathways contributing to formation of archaeological record of burials can be of three types, i.e. intentional, coincidental, and accidental. At Tell Dothan the cutting of the loculi, the building of wall separations, the use of earth and plaster fills, the redistribution of earlier remains as preparation for the placement of the new ones, and the arrangement of grave goods are all examples of *intentional depositional pathways*. Other contributing factors, such as the cutting of the channel above Crypt C, lie somewhere between the coincidental and the intentional. The collapse of the roof of the main chamber of Tomb 1 is a good example of a clearly accidental depositional pathway. A cemetery with little archaeological connection to a

contemporary settlement presents itself as a reversal of the “archaeologically [in-] visible burials” that Morris proposed for villages and other non-urban centres (Morris 1987:157).

6.5 Conclusions and Summary

6.5.1 The origins of the Canaanite loculi chamber tombs

The migration of the loculi chamber tomb design into the central hills of Canaan, and its presence at Late Bronze Age Tell Dothan is perhaps best explained as a journey characterized by many stops and meanderings. As can be seen from the archaeological record discussed in previous chapters, chronologically viewed data does not directly translate into an understanding of the social meanings behind them.

The loculi tombs at Lachish and Tell Dothan appear to be closer to the Cypriot plan, while the Tell el-‘Ajjul roof-entrance tombs might represent an adaptation to the existing environment, of the coastal plain and sandy soils, within the burial structure concepts familiar to their builders. The loculi chamber tombs could have also arrived at Tell Dothan from the Canaanite coast, instead of directly from Cyprus. Sjoqvist’s theory on how design, when transplanted to a different area from the point of origin, tends to produce smaller, simpler examples, would make sense for both of those scenarios (Sjoqvist 1940b:184-86). The similarity of the architecture of the tombs and the variation of the grave goods seems to confirm that the portable objects were more prone to change, customization and personalization. The type of loculi found at Tell Dothan, Lachish, Tell el-‘Ajjul and Megiddo are also known from the later burial caves at Tell ‘Eitun (Iron Age), located south-east of Lachish, in the hills of Hebron, where they seem to have been introduced by the Philistine people (Edelstein et al. 1972:86-89).

Gonen lists the Tell 'Eitun tombs as containing benches and not loculi (Gonen 1992:127). However, the most recent photographs of the site show natural caves that were artificially enlarged with two burial niches cut into two opposite walls, and that can be definitely classified as loculi and not as benches (Shellef 2006, personal communication). The strong structural similarity between the niches at Tell 'Eitun and those at Tell Dothan, Lachish, Tell el-'Ajjul and Megiddo provides yet another argument for the distinct character of loculi chamber tombs in Canaan.

Cultural influences connecting Canaan and Cyprus often surface in the discussions of Bronze Age interments. Stiebing traced the date of the introduction of chamber tombs with loculi into Canaan to Middle Bronze IIB and C (Stiebing 1971:111). He stated that chambers with loculi have been found only at sites where bilobate chamber tombs were also present, and listed Tell el-'Ajjul, Lachish and Tell el-Far'ah (S) as sites containing loculi chamber tombs. There were no bilobate tombs to accompany the loculi chamber tombs at Tell Dothan, making it the only site of its kind in Canaan.

The similarities between the bilobate tombs in Cyprus and those in Canaan are greater than those between the loculi chamber tombs in those two areas, possibly due to the fact that the bilobate plan was introduced via a more direct route and by a larger and more dynamic group of traders or immigrants (Stiebing 1970:142-43). Since the loculi chamber tomb could be seen as a continuation of the bilobate tradition, the earlier, closer connection can serve to support the argument for the later and subtler influence.

The practice of multiple interments in reusable tombs was already known in Middle Bronze IIA Syro-Palestine and its presence, in a merged form, together with the cutting of loculi at such sites as Tell Dothan and Lachish, might represent a two-tier

development of burial architecture, consisting of adaptation of outside cultural influences and of local invention. As has been illustrated by the example of the Philistine population's absorption into the native Canaanite society⁸ during the Iron Age, such cultural and social development is often a reciprocal process between the native and the immigrant peoples. The immigrant Philistines were eventually completely culturally absorbed into the native Canaanite society, adopting, for example, Canaanite gods and the Semitic script as their own.

According to Stiebing just such a rapid adoption of the Canaanite material culture occurred when the Cypriot immigrants settled in Southern Canaan in Middle Bronze Age, bringing with them, amongst other things, the bilobate tomb design (Stiebing 1970:143). The pottery from such tombs at the sites in Southern Canaan was of local Canaanite type, reinforcing the theory of the merging of cultures. In addition, Tell el-Far'ah (S) seemed to have been abandoned at the end of Middle Bronze IIC and not inhabited to any significant degree until Late Bronze II (MacDonald, Starkey and Harding 1932; Petrie 1930; Stiebing 1970, 1971). There is a possibility that some of the population migrated to different regions of Canaan, for example to Tell Dothan and Lachish, bringing with them some of their traditions of burial architecture and rituals. The study conducted by Ullinger et al. using dental non-metric traits to determine genetic configuration of the Late Bronze population of Tell Dothan and the Iron II population of Lachish concluded that the two were closely related, suggesting the supposed ethnic distinction between 'Canaanite' and 'Israelite' to be superficial in nature (Ullinger et al. 2005). Ullinger et al. mentioned, however, that in terms of blood

⁸ See the articles on *creolization* by Aren Maeir that discuss the relationship between the Philistine and the Canaanite or 'Israelite' cultures: Maeir 2001, 2003, 2004 and Maeir et al. 2006, as well as by Itzhak Shai 2002, by Shai and Maeir in press, and Shai et al. forthcoming.

ties the inhabitants of Tell Dothan and Lachish differed more significantly from the people at other sites in southern Levant than from each other (Ullinger et al. 2005:474). Their conclusion also illustrates the subtlety of population movements as well as the interwoven character of cultural influences in Canaan of the Bronze Age. The relationship between kinship and the population movements seems to be an obvious one. However, the reason why a group from Tell Dothan decided to move specifically to Lachish remains unknown.

The objective of this thesis was to explore the cultural process of burial as evident in the problem of Late Bronze and Early Iron Tell Dothan, where the design of choice in the Western Cemetery was the chamber tomb with loculi, a supposedly anomalous tomb shape in the regions otherwise dominated by ‘typical’ Canaanite interment architecture. The suggested possible foreign cultural connections were explored through comparison of Tell Dothan material with that from Lachish, Megiddo and Tell el-‘Ajjul in Canaan and with burial data from Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, Korovia *Paleoskoutella* and Dhenia *Kafkalla* in Cyprus. Re-examination of the existing hypotheses on the patterns of interment architecture in Canaan of the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages was combined with an examination of possible Canaanite – Cypriot connections. The largely unpublished Western Cemetery at Tell Dothan was analysed on the basis of existing tomb plans and site photographs as well as the grave goods catalogue assembled during the 1953 to 1964 excavations by Joseph Free and classified by the Tell Dothan Publishing Project coordinators Robert Cooley and Gary Pratico. The available material culture from the four Canaanite and the four Cypriot sites underwent *comparative manipulations*, an analytical process the goal of which was to highlight the similarities and differences among the tombs and their contents.

This thesis built on, but went beyond the work of Gonen and Bright. Its burial custom analysis focused specifically on Tell Dothan, as a site in a distinct geographical and cultural area. The analysis covered various aspects of burial behaviour, both architectural and artefactual, such as rituals associated with interment and the cult of the dead, or the integration of several cultural influences into a ‘local original’. The interpretation of the evidence has demonstrated, I believe, that Gonen’s hypothesis of a “foreign” origin for the loculi chamber tomb, possibly stemming from Cypriot influence, was more plausible than she suspected. Ultimately, this work has added to our knowledge of the nature of the loculi chamber tombs in Canaan, shedding further light on one of the problematic issues of Bronze Age burial architecture.

The aim of this project was to further the knowledge on the subject of loculi chamber tombs in Canaan and to bring the numerous questions a little closer to concrete and clear answers, as well as to generate further investigation of this type of burial architecture.

6.5.2 Further research

The problem of chamber tombs with loculi used during the Bronze Age in Canaanite Tell Dothan emerged out of the invisibility of Early Iron I burials in Canaan, in what later became the ‘Israelite’ territory. In an area where archaeological evidence exists for Early Iron settlements but not for interments the phenomenon of Tell Dothan and its relatively well-preserved cemetery prompted questions about the *archaeology of death* in general, and more specifically, about the concepts of *typical* and *unique* or *local* and *foreign*.

The above study demonstrates a need for more rigorous and *micro-focused* research exploring the development of loculi and bench tombs in Canaan, as well as a *macro-research* into burial sites and the surviving human remains and grave goods. Such investigation should include an index of the locations of burial collections and a systematic record of published and unpublished material as well as compendia of detailed information about the state of known burial sites. The transmission of architectural concepts in relation to the transmission of portable goods and the visibility of these in archaeological record within the context of burial behaviour also needs to be explored further. It would be useful to have an overview of the interrelations between Levant, Cyprus, Syria and the Aegean and their role in shaping burial traditions across the Eastern Mediterranean.

In the Near East burials in natural and man-made caves continue to be looted to supply the antiquities black market. They are often not excavated for lack of resources, as well as for political reasons. The dire situation burial data remain in seems especially poignant when one agrees with Saxe that an interment is in its essence a system of non-verbal communication; when lost it creates an irreplaceable gap in the archaeological record (Saxe 1970:75-6).

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Appendix A

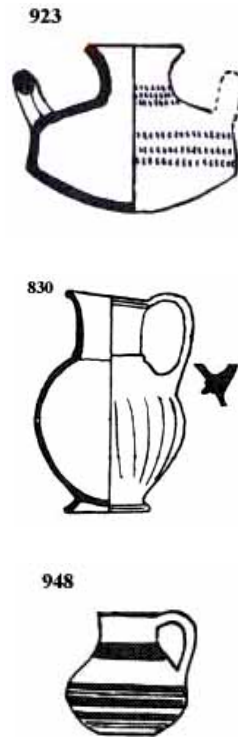


Figure A.1: Pottery vessels from Lachish, Types 923, 830 and 948 (Tufnell 1958: Plates 79, 82-83).

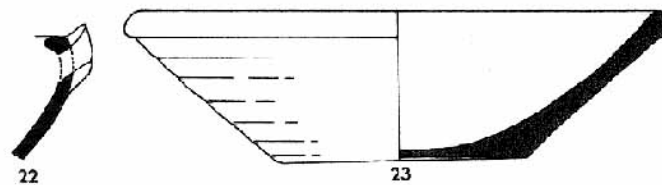


Figure A.2: Pottery vessels from Tomb 78 at Megiddo (Guy 1938: Plate 42:22, 23).

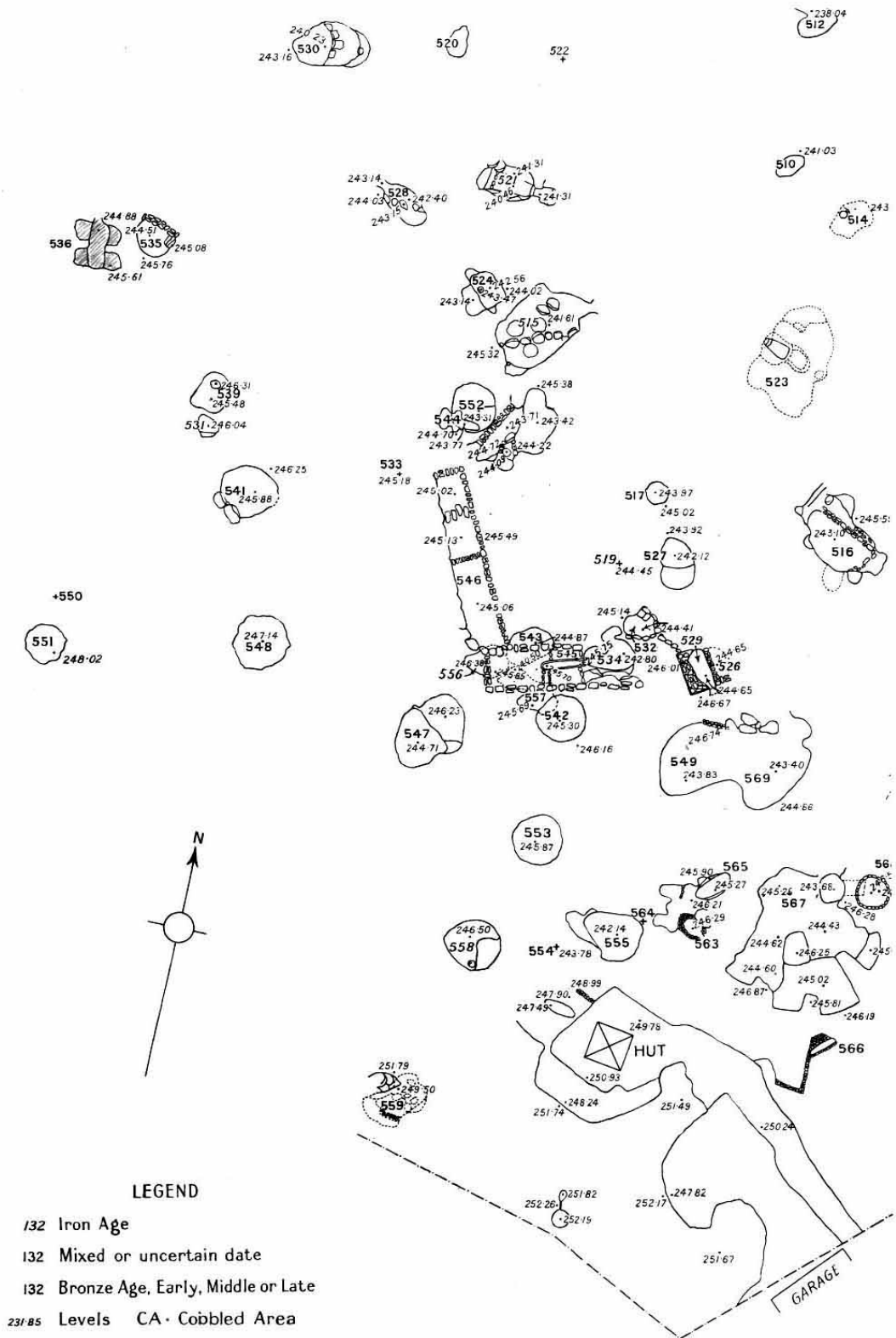


Figure A.3: Area 500 at Lachish, Tomb 536 visible in top left corner (Tufnell 1958:240, Tufnell 1953: Plate 127)

Table A.1: Chronological framework for Canaan, according to Gonen (1992).

Late Bronze IA: 1550-1500 BCE (18th Dynasty)
Late Bronze IB: 1500-1400 BCE (18th Dynasty)
Late Bronze II: 1400-1300 BCE (18th Dynasty)
Late Bronze III: 1300-1200 BCE (19th Dynasty)

Table A.2: Chronological framework for Megiddo, after Guy (1938).

Middle Bronze I-II: c. 2000-1600 BCE
Late Bronze I-II: 1600-1200 BCE
Iron I: 1200-1000 BCE

Table A.3: Chronological framework for Lachish, after Tufnell (1953, 1958).

Middle Bronze I: 2100-1900 BCE
Middle Bronze II: 1900-1750 BCE
Middle Bronze III: 1750-1600 BCE
Late Bronze I: 1600-1450 BCE
Late Bronze II: 1450-1350 BCE
Late Bronze III: 1350-1200 BCE

Table A.4: Chronological framework for Tell Dothan, after Cooley and Pratico (1995).

Late Bronze IIA: 1400-1300 BCE
Late Bronze IIB: 1300-1200 BCE
Early Iron I: 1200-1100 BCE

Appendix B

Table B.1: Canaanite tomb architecture: comparison

Variables	Tell Dothan	Lachish	Megiddo	Tell el-'Ajjul
time span	LB IIA -- EII	MB?, LBII-III, reuse in Iron II	LB I -- Iron I, reuse in Iron II	c. 1600B.C. --MBII/LBI
shape/layout	2 rectangular, 1 bell-shaped	2 rectangular, 4 circular	all irregular	1 rectangular, 3 circular
size	74 m ²	15 m ² , 14 m ² , c. 8,96 m ² , & c. 6 m in diameter & 4 m in diameter	50 m ² and 5 m ²	4d, 3d and 19.25m2 (5.5x3.5)
loculi	6 cut, 2 built	5, 3, 3, 2 cut & raised, 2.4 cut	5, 1, 1 cut	2, 4 vaulted/raised/cut, 3, 4 cut/vaulted
loculi: size	1.76 – 3.36 m ²	c. 1 individual	c. 3.57 m ² , or 1 adult extended	1 adult
entrance shaft (dromos)	1.3 m ² , vertical	all vertical, possible roof entrance	slanted, lesser/higher degree	all roof entrances
steps	7 in stomion	4, 4, 3, 5, 4, none	none or 1	none
passage way (stomion)	yes	yes	no	no
channel (ritual)	into 1 of loculi	no	no	no
decoration	no	no	no	no
pit/depression in floor	no	in 2 of 6	5+ in 1 of 4	n/a ⁹
body location in tomb	5 strata, main chamber & loculi	n/a or fragmentary & scattered	1 in loculus, 1 floor, rest unknown	all found in loculi
separation btw burials	yes	n/a	n/a	all contemporary?
separation btw strata	yes	unknown or archaeological	n/a or archaeological	n/a
orientation	W-E	all N-S/SN but 1 W-E	not clear	n/a
location in cemetery	tell's W edge, slope of Area K	n/a	n/a	n/a

⁹ n/a= not available

Table B.2: Cypriot tomb architecture: comparison

Variables	Ayios Iakovos <i>Melia</i>	Lapithos <i>Vrysi tou Barba</i>	Dhenia <i>Kafkalla</i>	Korovia <i>Paelouskontella</i>
time span	mid MCIII -- LCI, LCII	ECIII -- MCII	MC I, II, III, reuse in LCIA, IIA	end of MCIII
shape/layout	4 of 5 circular, 1 bilobate, vaulted	circular & bilobate chambers & dromos	irregular, semi-circular/semi-rectangular	2 of 3 bilobate, 1 irregular
size	13 m ² , 21.6 m ² , 6.6 m ² , 8.4 m ² , 20.5 m ² , 16.7 m ² , 16.8 m ²	10.6 m ² , 27 m ² , 20.4 m ² , 9.4 m ² , 3.4 m ² , 4.7 m ² , & 4 m in diameter	20 m ² , 36 m ²	7.32 m ² , 14.8 m ² , 19 m ²
loculi	5, 1, 1, 3, 3, 3	11+, 10+, 2, 6	10+	1, 4
loculi: size	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
entrance shaft (dromos)	most horizontal, 1 stepped corridor	vertical shaft, roof entry	1 vertical, 1 cylindrical 'roof' shaft	1 roof, 2 horizontal
steps	1-3 long in dromos in most	no	no	2 of 3 in dromos
passage way (sto mion)	yes	to individual chambers	yes	yes
channel (ritual)	no	no	no	no
decoration	no	no	no	no
pit/depression in floor	in 3 of 6	n/a	yes	n/a
body location in tomb	4 of 6 in chamber or loculus, 2 not in situ	1 in chambers, 2 of 3 n/a	1 in depressions, 1 not in situ	1 removed, 1 in chamber, 1 in chamber & loculus
separation btw burials	in 1, rest n/a	1 intact, rest n/a	n/a	yes
separation btw strata	5 of 6 yes, 1 unclear	1 of 3 intact	n/a	1 of 3 simultaneous, rest n/a
orientation	S-N roughly	N-S	S-N	1 N-S, 2 of 3 W-E
location in cemetery	SW area	n/a	S ridge to W, N plateau	n/a

Table B.3: Tomb architecture at Tell Dothan and the Cypriot sites: comparison.

Variables	Tell Dothan	Korovia <i>Pteleouskoutella</i>	Dhenia <i>Kafkalla</i>	Ayios Iakovos <i>Melia</i>	Lapithos <i>Vrysi tou Barba</i>
time span	LB IIA -- EII	end of MCIII	MC I, II, III, reuse in LCIA, IIA	mid MCIII -- LCI, LCII	ECIII -- MCII
shape/layout	2 rectangular, 1 bell-shaped	2 of 3 rectangular/ bilobate, 1 irregular	1 irregular, 1 semi-circular/semi-rectangular	4 of 5 circular, 1 bilobate, vaulted	circular & bilobate chambers & dromos
size	74 m ²	7.32 m ² , 14.8 m ² , 19 m ²	20 m ² , 36 m ²	13 m ² , 21.6 m ² , 6.6 m ² , 8.4 m ² , 20.5 m ² , 16.7 m ² , 16.8 m ²	10.6 m ² , 27 m ² , 20.4 m ² , 9.4 m ² , 3.4 m ² , 4.7 m ² , & 4 m in diameter
loculi	6 cut 2 built	1, 4	3, 6, all cut	5, 1, 1, 3, 3, 3	11+, 10+, 2, 6
loculi: size	1.76 -- 3.36 m ²	n/a	adult individual	n/a	n/a
entrance shaft (dromos)	1.3 m ² , vertical	1 roof, 2 horizontal/sloping	1 vertical, 1 cylindrical 'roof' shaft	most horizontal, 1 stepped corridor	vertical shaft, roof entry
steps	7 in stomion	2 of 3 in dromos	no (1?)	1-3 long in dromos in most	no
passage way (stomion)	yes	yes	yes	yes	to individual chambers
channel (ritual)	into 1 of loculi	no	no	no	no
decoration	no	no	no	no	no
pit/depression in floor	no	no?	yes	in 3 of 6	n/a
body location in tomb	5 strata, main chamber & loculi	1 removed, 1 in chamber, 1 in chamber & loculus	1 in depressions, 1 not in situ	4 of 6 in chamber/loculus, 2 not in situ	1 in chambers, 2 n/a
separation btw burials	yes	yes	n/a	in 1, rest n/a	1 intact, rest n/a
separation btw strata	yes	1 of 3 simultaneous, rest n/a	n/a	5 of 6 yes, 1 unclear	1 of 3 intact
orientation	W-E	1 N-S, 2 of 3 W-E	S-N	S-N roughly	N-S
location in cemetery	tel's W edge, slope Area K	n/a	S ridge to W, N plateau	SW area	n/a

Table B.4: Tomb architecture at Lachish and the Cypriot sites: comparison.

Variables	Lachish	Dhenia Kafkalla	Ayios Iakovos Melia	Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba	Korovia Paleouskoutella
time span	MB?, LBII-III, reuse in Iron II	MC I, II, III, reuse in LCIA, IIA	mid MCIII -- LC I, LCII	ECIII -- MCII	end of MCIII
shape/layout	2 rectangular, 4 circular	1 irregular, 1 semi-circular/semi-rectangular	4 of 5 circular, 1 bilobate, vaulted	circular & bilobate chambers & dromos	2 of 3 bilobate, 1 irregular
size	15 m ² , 14 m ² , c. 8.96 m, c. 6 m & 4 m in diameter	20 m ² , 36 m ²	13 m ² , 21.6 m ² , 6.6 m ² , 8.4 m ² , 20.5 m ² , 16.7 m ² , 16.8 m ²	10.6 m, 27 m, 20.4 m, 9.4 m, 4 m in diameter, & 3.4 m ² , 4.7 m ²	7.32 m ² , 14.8 m ² , 19 m ²
loculi	5, 3, 3, 2 cut & raised, 2.4 cut	3, 6, all cut	5, 1, 1, 3, 3, 3	11+, 10+, 2, 6	1, 4
loculi: size	c. 1 individual	adult individual	n/a	n/a	n/a
entrance shaft (dromos)	all vertical, possible roof entrance	1 vertical, 1 cylindrical 'roof' shaft	most horizontal, 1 stepped corridor	vertical shaft, roof entry	1 roof, 2 horizontal
steps	4, 4, 3, 5, 4, none	no (1?)	1-3 long in dromos in most	no	2 of 3 in dromos
passage way (stomion)	yes	yes	yes	to individual chambers	yes
channel (ritual)	no	no	no	no	no
decoration	no	no	no	no	no
pit/depression in floor	in 2 of 6	yes	in 3 of 6	n/a	no?
body location in tomb	n/a or fragmentary & scattered	1 in depressions, 1 not in situ	4 of 6 in chamber/loculus, 2 not in situ	1 in chambers, 2 of 3 n/a	1 removed, 1 in chamber, 1 in chamber & loculus
separation btw burials	n/a	n/a	in 1, rest n/a	1 intact, rest n/a	yes
separation btw strata	n/a or archaeological	n/a	5 of 6 yes, 1 unclear	1 of 3 intact	1 of 3 simultaneous, rest n/a
orientation	N-S/S-N, 1 W-E	S-N	S-N roughly	N-S	1 N-S, 2 of 3 W-E
location in cemetery	n/a	S ridge to W, N plateau	SW area	n/a	n/a

Table B.5: Tomb architecture at Megiddo and the Cypriot sites: comparison.

Variables	Megiddo	Dhenia <i>Kafkalla</i>	Ayios Iakovos <i>Melita</i>	Lapithos <i>Vrysi tou Barba</i>	Korovia <i>Paleouskoutella</i>
time span	LB I -- Iron I, reuse in Iron II	MCI, II, III, reuse in LCIA, IIA	mid MCIII -- LCI, LCII	ECHII -- MCII	end of MCIII
shape/layout	all irregular	1 irregular, 1 semi-circular/semi-rectangular	4 of 5 circular, 1 bilobate, vaulted	circular & bilobate chambers and dromoi	2 of 3 bilobate, 1 irregular
size	50 m ² and 5 m ²	20 m ² , 36 m ²	13 m ² , 21.6 m ² , 6.6 ² , 8.4 m ² , 20.5 m ² , 16.7 m ² , 16.8 m ²	10.6 m, 27 m, 20.4 m, 9.4 m, 4 m in diameter, & 3.4 m ² , 4.7 m ²	7.32 m ² , 14.8 m ² , 19 m ²
loculi	5, 1, 1 cut	3, 6, all cut	5, 1, 1, 3, 3, 3	11+, 10+, 2, 6	1, 4
loculi: size	c. 3.57 m ² , or 1 adult extended	adult individual	n/a	n/a	n/a
entrance shaft (dromos)	slanted, lesser/higher degree	1 vertical, 1 cylindrical roof shaft	most horizontal, 1 stepped corridor	vertical shaft, roof entry	1 roof, 2 horizontal
steps	none or 1	no (1?)	1-3 long in dromos in most	no	2 of 3 in dromos
passage way (stomion)	no	yes	yes	to individual chambers	yes
channel (ritual)	no	no	no	no	no
decoration	no	no	no	no	no
pit/depression in floor	5+ in 1 of 4	yes	in 3 of 6	n/a	no?
body location in tomb	1 in loculus, 1 on floor, rest n/a	1 in depressions, 1 not in situ	4 of 6 in chamber/loculus, 2 not in situ	1 in chambers, 2 of 3 n/a	1 removed, 1 in chamber, 1 in chamber & loculus
separation btw burials	n/a	n/a	in 1, rest n/a	1 intact, rest n/a	yes
separation btw strata	n/a or archaeological	n/a	5 of 6 yes, 1 unclear	1 of 3 intact	1 of 3 simultaneous, rest n/a
orientation	not clear	S-N	S-N roughly	N-S	1 N-S, 2 of 3 W-E
location in cemetery	n/a	S ridge to W, N plateau	SW area	n/a	n/a

Table B.6: Tomb architecture at Tell el-'Ajjul and the Cypriot sites: comparison.

Variables	Tell el-'Ajjul	Dhemia <i>Kafkalla</i>	Ayios Iakovos <i>Melia</i>	Lapithos <i>Vrysi tou Barba</i>	Korovia <i>Paleouskoutella</i>
time span	c. 1600BC. -- MBII/LBI	MC I, II, III, reuse in LCIA, IIA	mid MCIII -- LC1, LCII	ECIII -- MCII	end of MCIII
shape/layout	1 rectangular, 3 circular	1 irregular, 1 semi-circular/semi-rectangular	4 of 5 circular, 1 bilobate, vaulted	circular & bilobate chambers & dromos	2 of 3 bilobate, 1 irregular
size	4 m, 3 m in diameter, & 19.25 m ²	20 m ² , 36 m ²	13 m ² , 21.6 m ² , 6.6 ² , 8.4 m ² , 20.5 m ² , 16.7 m ² , 16.8 m ²	10.6 m, 27 m, 20.4 m, 9.4 m, 4 m in diameter, & 3.4 m ² , 4.7 m ²	7.32 m ² , 14.8 m ² , 19 m ²
loculi	2 of 4 vaulted/raised/cut, 3 of 4 cut/vaulted	3, 6, all cut	5, 1, 1, 3, 3, 3	11+, 10+, 2, 6	1, 4
loculi: size	1 adult	adult individual	n/a	n/a	n/a
entrance shaft (dromos)	all roof entrances	1 vertical, 1 cylindrical 'roof' shaft	most horizontal, 1 stepped corridor	vertical shaft, roof entry	1 roof, 2 horizontal
steps	none	no (!?)	1-3 long in dromos in most	no	2 of 3 in dromos
passage way (stomion)	no	yes	yes	to individual chambers	yes
channel (ritual)	no	no	no	no	no
decoration	no	no	no	no	no
pit/depression in floor	n/a	yes	in 3 of 6	n/a	n/a
body location in tomb	all found in loculi	1 in depressions, 1: not in situ	4 of 6 in chamber/loculus, 2 not in situ	1 in chambers, 2 of 3 n/a	1 removed, 1 in chamber, 1 in chamber & loculus
separation btw burials	all contemporary?	n/a	in 1, rest n/a	1 intact, rest n/a	yes
separation btw strata	n/a	n/a	5 of 6 yes, 1 unclear	1 of 3 intact	1 of 3 simultaneous, rest n/a
orientation	n/a	S-N	S-N roughly	N-S	1 N-S, 2 of 3 W-E
location in cemetery	n/a	S ridge to W, N plateau	SW area	n/a	n/a

Table B.7.1: Pottery and objects from the Canaanite tombs ('local'): comparison of most common types.

Tell Dothan	Tomb 1 (Total)					Tomb 1 (by Level)				
	% of total	Objects	% of total	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	% of total	% of total
Pottery										
bowl	22%	ring	14%	18%	24%	21%	25%	27%		
lamp	21%	dagger	18%	19%			25%	32%		
pyxis	21%	bronze bowl	10%	28%	24%	22%	7%	11%		
juglet	17%	scarab	6%				14%	21%		
pot	7%						11%	5%		

Table B.7.2: Pottery and objects from the Canaanite tombs ('local'): comparison of most common types (continued).

Lachish	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	<i>Objects</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Tomb 4002-3	14							
<i>Pottery</i>						<i>Objects</i>	96	
bowl	4	28%				bead	84	87%
lamp	3	21%				scarab	6	6%
pyxis	3	21%						
juglet	2	14%						
pilgrim flask	1	7%						
storage jar	1	7%						
Tomb 4005	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>					<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>
<i>Pottery</i>	13					<i>Objects</i>	15	
bowl	3	23%				earring	3	20%
juglet/dipper	5	38%				bead	5	33%
Tomb 4013	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>					<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>
<i>Pottery</i>	117					<i>Objects</i>	156	
bowl	54	46%				bead	147	94%
lamp	15	13%				Scarab&seal	7	4%
Tomb 4019	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>					<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>
<i>Pottery</i>	18					<i>Objects</i>	14	
lamp	7	39%				bead	9	64%
jug	7	39%						

Table B.7.3: Pottery and objects from the Canaanite tombs ('local'): comparison of most common types (continued).

Megiddo									
Tomb 3		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>				<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>		79					32		
bowl		43	54%			rubber/polisher	6	19%	
jug		9	11%			flint	15	47%	
Tomb 77		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>				<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>		22				<i>Objects</i>	5		
jug		7	32%			stone vessel	4	80%	
juglet		7	32%						
Tomb 78		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>						
<i>Pottery</i>		10							
juglet		3	30%						
bowl		4	40%						
Tomb 80		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>				<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>		25				<i>Objects</i>	17		
bowl		17	68%			flint	4	23%	
jar		2	8%			basalt bowl	3	18%	
cooking bowl		2	8%						
cover		2	8%						

Table B.7.4: Pottery and objects from the Canaanite tombs ('local'): comparison of most common types (continued).

Tell el-'Ajjul								
Tomb 406		<i>Quantity</i>				<i>Quantity</i>		
<i>Pottery</i>	bilbil	c. 3			<i>Objects</i>	0		
	bowl, Cypriot	c. 1						
Tomb 407		<i>Quantity</i>				<i>Quantity</i>		
<i>Pottery</i>	jug	1			<i>Objects</i>	toggles	n/a	
	bowl	1				scarab	1	
	bilbil	c. 3						
	juglet	1						
	bowl, Cypriot	c. 1						
	miscellaneous vessel	c. 3						
Tomb 411		<i>Quantity</i>				<i>Quantity</i>		
<i>Pottery</i>	juglet	c. 2			<i>Objects</i>	toggle	n/a	
	bowl	1				scarab	1	
	bilbil	c. 4						
	bowl, Cypriot	1						
	Miscellaneous vessel	c. 5						

Table B.8.1: Pottery from the Canaanite tombs (imported): comparison.

Tel Dothan	Imports =5% of vessel total	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5
Tomb 1	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>Quantity</i>
Base Ring bowl				1	1	1
milkbowl*					2	4
vase, Mycenaean			1		3	1
bilbil*					6	3
amphoriskos*	1					
amphora*					1	
alabastron*				1		
Cypriot juglet					1	
stirrup jar	1		3	8	9	

Note 1 : all pottery also included in 'most common' catalogue, unless otherwise noted with asterix

Note 2: bucchero jugs, milkbowls, bilbils, Base Ring ware – Cypriot provenience

Table B.8.2: Pottery from the Canaanite tombs (imported): comparison (continued).

Lachish		Quantity				Quantity
Tomb 4002-3						
<i>Pottery</i>	Mycenaean juglet	1			Objects	84
						6
					amulet, Egyptian	4
Tomb 4005		Quantity				Quantity
<i>Pottery</i>	all Iron Age	n/a			Objects	n/a
Tomb 4013		Quantity				Quantity
<i>Pottery</i>	Bucchero jug ¹¹	1			Objects	147
	Base Ring lentoid flask	1				1
					scarab & seal	7
Tomb 4019		Quantity				Quantity
<i>Pottery</i>	Bucchero jug	1			Objects	9
						1
					scarab	1

¹⁰ faience, alabaster – Egyptian provenience

¹¹ bucchero jugs, milkbowls, bilbils, Base Ring ware – Cypriot provenience

Table B.8.3: Pottery from the Canaanite tombs (imported): comparison (continued).

Megiddo							
Tomb 3			<i>Quantity</i>				
<i>Pottery</i>	bilbil		2				
Tomb 77			<i>Quantity</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	milk bowl		3	<i>Objects</i>	diorite vessel		1
	juglet, Cypriot ¹²		2		Egyptian Vessel ¹³		2
Tomb 78							
	n/a						
Tomb 80			<i>Quantity</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	jar body sherd?		1	<i>Objects</i>	shell		1
	stirrup cup, Mycenaean		1		bead, faience		1
	chalice, possibly Mycenaean		1		dagger pommel, marble		1
					statuette base, Egyptian		1

¹² bucchero jugs, milkbowls, bilbils, Base Ring ware – Cypriot provenience

¹³ faience, alabaster – Egyptian provenience

Table B.8.4: Pottery from the Canaanite tombs (imported): comparison (continued).

Tell el-'Ajjul									
Tomb 407			<i>Quantity</i>						<i>Quantity</i>
<i>Pottery</i>	Cypriot bowl		c. 2	<i>Objects</i>	scarab				1
	bilbil		c. 3						
Tomb 406			<i>Quantity</i>						
<i>Pottery</i>	Cypriot bowl		c. 1						
	bilbil		c. 3						
Tomb 411			<i>Quantity</i>						<i>Quantity</i>
<i>Pottery</i>	Cypriot bowl		1	<i>Objects</i>	scarab				1
	bilbil		c. 4		ostrich egg				1
					steatite ?				n/a

Table B.9.1: Pottery from the Cypriot tombs: comparison.

Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba							
		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>
Tomb 806		192				37	
<i>Pottery</i>				<i>Objects</i>			
bowl		63	33%	spindle whorl		7	19%
jug		63	33%	bronze pins		13	35%
				bead		12	32%
Tomb 322		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>
<i>Pottery</i>		211		<i>Objects</i>		144	
				spindle whorl		30	21%
				copper pin		31	21%
Tomb 313		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>
<i>Pottery</i>		112		<i>Objects</i>		179	
				copper pin		42	23%
				copper spearhead		17	9%
				spindle whorl		17	9%
Tomb 312		<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>				
<i>Pottery</i>		9					

Table B.9.2: Pottery from the Cypriot tombs: comparison (continued).

Ayios Iakovos Melia							
Tomb 1	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>					
<i>Pottery</i>	13						
bowl	10	77%					
jug	2	16%					
Tomb 4	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	16			<i>Objects</i>	1		
bowl	9	56%		bronze pin	1		
jug	5	31%					
Tomb 7	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	17			<i>Objects</i>	3		
bowl	8	47%		bronze dagger	1	33%	
jug	5	29%		bronze knife	2	67%	
Tomb 8	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	68			<i>Objects</i>	27		
jug	32	47%		bronze needle	5	18%	
bowl	21	31%		bronze knife	4	15%	
Tomb 12	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	26			<i>Objects</i>	17		
bowl	16	35%		bronze pin	7	41%	
jug	9	61%		bronze knife	3	18%	
				whetstone	3	18%	
Tomb 13	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	37			<i>Objects</i>	11		
bowl	17	46%		gold bead	3	27%	
jug	8	22%		bronze ring	2	18%	
				faience cylinder	2	18%	

Table B.9.3: Pottery from the Cypriot tombs: comparison (continued).

Korovia Paleoskoutella								
Tomb 2		Quantity	% of total					
Pottery	61							
sherd	61							
Tomb 4		Quantity	% of total			Quantity		
Pottery	14				Objects	2		
jug	7		50%		spindle whorl	2		
bowl	4		28%					
Tomb 7		Quantity	% of total			Quantity	% of total	
Pottery	100				Objects	13		
jug	43		43%		spindle whorl	7	30%	
bowl	37		37%		bronze ring	6	26%	

Table B.9.4: Pottery from the Cypriot tombs: comparison (continued).

Dhenia Kafkalla							
Tomb G.W.1	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>					
<i>Pottery</i>	32						
jug	10	28%					
bowl	9	31%					
Tomb 6	<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>			<i>Quantity</i>	<i>% of total</i>	
<i>Pottery</i>	173				22		
					<i>Objects</i>		
bowl	104	60%			spindle whorl	20	90%
large jug	33	19%					