

A Relational Approach to Mortuary Practices Within Medieval Byzantine Anatolia

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Abstract

How did Byzantine people treat their dead? How do the mortuary practices for which we have archaeological evidence relate to Byzantine understandings of eschatology and the other world? This thesis endeavours to fill a lacuna in the study of Medieval Byzantine mortuary practice by collating and analysing both previously published catalogues of graves and the data contained in two previously unpublished archives from the sites of Çatalhöyük and Alahan. A typology of sites and graves is developed categorising sites as interior church cemeteries, exterior church cemeteries, chapel burials and field cemeteries. Date ranges and standard grave forms for each category of site have been established as far as possible.

This thesis aims to put the data from cemetery sites in context in terms of the religious and political climate of Medieval Byzantine Anatolia in order to assess issues of regionalisation and identity through diversity in mortuary practice. The culmination of this thesis poses the question of whether it is possible to use archaeological data in combination with theoretical approaches to mortuary practice, emotion and ontology to discuss experience at the graveside.

The categories and type definitions of cemeteries and graves set out in this thesis form a suggested framework for the future analysis and publication of medieval graves from the region. The primary conclusions of this thesis are that a relational approach to archaeology allows for a greater engagement with the past at the level of the individual, and that the study of Byzantine mortuary practice has a considerable amount to contribute to questions of regionalisation and identity in the period. Finally, it is found that approaching mortuary practice from a symmetrical perspective and problematizing our understanding of Byzantine emotion enables a nuanced discussion of grief and mourning practices not accessible from the study of either the textual or the archaeological material alone.

To my family.

Acknowledgements

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The medieval Byzantine Empire which is studied in the present day is not the same as the actual Empire which included Anatolia and in which people lived between the beginning of the ninth century and the end of the twelfth century. The current archaeological assemblages of objects, bodies, landscapes, texts, images and concepts are inevitably incomplete, and do not correspond directly to the assemblages of living bodies, dead bodies, lived experiences, memories, objects, landscapes, texts, images and concepts which were present at the time. The gap between these two sets of assemblages is one of the things which makes the study of the past interesting. This thesis will endeavour to talk about moments in the past which were recurrent; the patterns of behaviour and practice which surrounded death. I will build from a foundation of contextual information, the political and social situations surrounding the death of an individual, through a synthesis of evidence which aims to draw back together the assemblages which were present at death, to an analysis of possible experiences at grave sides, including some of the more ephemeral aspects of mortuary practices: belief, meaning and emotion.

Byzantine mortuary practice presents an opportunity to ask questions about Byzantine society which are not easily facilitated through other types of data. Everybody dies, and in Byzantine contexts, the vast majority of people were buried. The variety of cemeteries which will be discussed in this thesis include urban sites and rural ones, sites which may well have contained 'elites', and sites where those who were buried are likely to have been impoverished and illiterate. Through exploring the trends and diversity evident in this data set it is my aim to investigate concepts of death and the afterlife which were common throughout society, and to suggest areas where different concepts and ideas may have influenced mortuary practices.

This thesis will focus on burial practices from medieval Anatolia as a defined dataset within the context of the wider Byzantine Empire. Anatolia has been selected as the geographical focus of this thesis which focuses on the ninth to the twelfth century because the Medieval Byzantine cemetery sites from Greece which have been excavated largely date to the thirteenth century and later, and because they have already been considered with Ivison's 1993 thesis on the topic. For these reasons, although the Greek material has in places been consulted as comparative material, the raw data from excavated medieval Byzantine Greek cemetery sites will not be included in the catalogue of material which forms appendix one of this thesis. The focus of this study is to be Anatolia, with two additional sites from Constantinople. The Constantinopolitan sites are included not only because

they have been fully excavated and published (a relatively rare state of affairs within the wider corpus of material), but also because they provide a picture of urban mortuary practices to contrast with the bulk of the Anatolian data set which is located in rural or semi-rural environs.

Although this thesis will focus almost exclusively on the Anatolian material, there is some extent to which the conclusions drawn may be relevant to the study of mortuary practices in the Byzantine Empire as a whole. In the absence of other broad synthetic overviews of mortuary practice (with the clear exception of Ivison's doctoral thesis), the trends noted in this thesis can perhaps be used as a starting point for the analysis of mortuary practices in the wider Empire.

This introductory chapter will set out my research questions along with the specific aims targeted to answer those questions and individual objectives to address each aim. The structure of the thesis will be outlined and key terms and concepts briefly introduced.

1.1 Research questions

My primary research question is 'how did Medieval Byzantine people in Anatolia treat their dead?'

This is supplemented by two subsidiary questions:

1. How can archaeologies of mortuary practice contribute to wider debates on regionalisation?
2. Using a combination of relational approaches to the past, is it possible to approach the mortuary practice of historic periods at the level of individual experience?

Byzantine mortuary practice has been the focus of very few archaeological studies. The only recent synthetic approach to the material is Eric Ivison's 1993 thesis which focused on tenth to fifteenth century burial across the entire medieval Empire. In the light of more recent work, my thesis will once again ask what we know about Byzantine mortuary practices as a starting point for deeper analysis. Mortuary practices are often a rich source of evidence for archaeologists which has been somewhat neglected in Byzantine studies. My second research question follows influential studies of regionalisation and identity in archaeology in seeking to use evidence for diversity and change in mortuary practices to inform on these debates. My third research question is perhaps the part of this thesis which will be most relevant to scholars outside of Byzantine Studies. The recent ontological turn in the social sciences asks us to reconsider belief, emotion, the nature of the material world and the relationships between humans, non-humans and knowledge. Mortuary practices, with their inescapable mix of living and dead bodies, beliefs (both sanctioned Orthodox ones and of a more informal sort), physical objects and emotions seem an apposite arena in which to trial the usefulness of some of these shifts in theory.

I intend to address the three research questions set out above through the aims and objectives set out below:

Aims and Objectives

My primary research question: 'how did Medieval Byzantine people in Anatolia treat their dead?' will be largely addressed by chapter 3 of this thesis, *Building a Corpus: Building a Chronology*. My first aim is to build a typology of grave types which will allow for diachronic change and regional diversity in order to facilitate the identification of Medieval Byzantine cemeteries and individual burials. The two objectives for this aim are to identify what Medieval Byzantine burials and cemeteries looked like through the production of a catalogue of Medieval Byzantine cemetery sites (appendix 1) in order to identify characteristics of burials from ninth to twelfth century sites, and to suggest a chronological range for previously undated sites through the application of the typology produced in the construction of the catalogue. These aims and objectives will be addressed in section 3.1, on the archaeological evidence for mortuary practices. The evidence for how Medieval Byzantine people treated their dead is not limited to the archaeological material, section 3.2 will draw on textual and artistic sources with the aim of further contributing to the research question 'how did Medieval Byzantine people treat their dead'?

Information on both sites and individual burials will be collated within this thesis in two ways. Primarily, a catalogue of sites will be included in the appendix which will list basic information for each site, who it was excavated by and when, where the site is, how many burials have been excavated, how many are suspected to be present if the site is not fully excavated, and what the chronological range of the burials is. Discussions of the chronological range of each site are included in section 3.1. All 13 core sites have catalogue entries, not dependent on the resolution of the data available. Where the data is sufficiently detailed, a catalogue of graves has also been included detailing all the available information for each grave, the minimum number of individuals (MNI) present, the orientation and construction of the grave, body position (if preserved in situ), evidence of re-use of the grave, small finds and inscriptions. Where individual graves are referenced throughout this thesis they will be given the three letter site code, followed by their grave number and skeleton number, which cross references to my catalogue rather than the original site reports. For example, the reference for the first individual recorded in grave 7 at the site of Barcun would be given the reference BAR007.1. The database numbers I have assigned to the graves align where possible with the numbers assigned by the excavators and if they have been changed this is noted in the catalogue entries in order that the records can be traced back to the original site reports. The database was a useful tool during analysis but its relational structure has meant that it is not

practical to print. Instead, and to avoid duplication of material, the information contained within the database will be presented here in catalogue form, collated first by site, and then by grave assemblage.

My second research question: 'how can archaeologies of mortuary practice contribute to wider debates on regionalisation?' is addressed by the aim of creating a methodology which allows communication between disciplines and between scales of analysis. This will articulate the relation of the archaeological evidence for the mortuary practice of individuals to wider scale social and political change. This aim is enabled by the broad-scale analysis of the political and social context of Medieval Byzantium which will form section 2.1. We need to understand the political and social issues of the day in order to understand individual experience. The first objective addressing this aim is to define as far as possible what is known about political and religious borders during the Arab and Seljuk conflicts of the seventh to eleventh century (section 2.1). The second objective for this aim is to define as far as possible what is known about religious identity in the provinces between the ninth and the twelfth centuries and how it relates to what we know about identity in Constantinople and among the Constantinopolitan diaspora (section 2.1 and 3.2). These objectives will be met in part by a discussion of identity and ethnicity as methodological approaches which will be the focus of section 2.1.2 on Byzantine identities.

My third research question: 'Using a combination of relational approaches to the past, is it possible to approach the mortuary practice of historic periods at the level of individual experience?' is addressed by both the theoretical methodology set out in section 2.3 and by the sequential narrative of possible mortuary practices which make up chapter 4. The objectives which address this question are to appraise both the use of different approaches to archaeologies of emotion, and how useful concepts of relative ontologies and Actor-Network theory are to understanding eschatological anxieties and concepts of the divine (section 2.3.2), in addition to exploring how material culture can be used in mortuary practice to facilitate mourning (chapter 4).

This work has been influenced not only by the ontological turn in the social sciences (Alberti, Fowles, Holdbraad, Marshall and Witmore 2011), but also by the applied methodologies of a number of academics working on historic periods who aim to ask interesting questions with a broad, fairly holistic approach, rather than asking questions which emerge solely out of the disciplinary area with which they are most comfortable. These people include, but are by no means limited to Roberta Gilchrist (2012), Martin Hall (2000), John Haldon and Warren Eastwood (particularly in England *et al* 2008), Liz James (2010), Kazhdan and Constable (1982), and many others. Although this thesis has focused on the archaeological evidence, I have tried where relevant, to draw on the work of

theologians, historians, art historians and philosophers all of whom provide elements of analysis which I have drawn together in this thesis-assemblage.

Thesis structure

This thesis begins at the broadest scale of analysis, the social and political context of the cemeteries and previous approaches to burial, Byzantine or otherwise, contained in chapter 2. Chapter 3 will move onto a detailed analysis of the archaeological data, and a review of some of the relevant Byzantine theological positions on eschatology. The contextual information set out in chapter 2 on themes of identity (2.1), previous work on the topic (2.2) and potentially applicable theoretical approaches (2.3) will allow the data set out in chapter 3 from both archaeological (3.1) and textual and art historical contexts (3.2) to be pulled apart and reassembled into moments of experienced practice in chapter 4. The term 'moment' is one I will develop and refers to a relational concept of time, material and experience. Moments in this sense have much in common with the concept of assemblage (Bennett 2005). The moments of experienced practice to which this thesis builds are locating a grave site and opening the grave (4.2), dispersal of material culture (4.3), laying out the body (4.4.), shrouding (4.5), procession to the graveside (4.6), moments of deposition (4.7), and placing the cerecloth (4.8).

Chapter 2 Contextualising Methodology: Approaching Mortuary Practice and Byzantium

Chapter 2 is split into three sections. Firstly, section 2.1 is a discussion of political and religious context which aims to facilitate communication between disciplines and between scales of analysis for this thesis. The inclusion of this level of contextual information within my thesis will allow an exploration of how the archaeological evidence for mortuary practice of individuals is related to wider scale social and political change. Knowledge of the political climate of the areas in which the case study sites are located, and an awareness of the retreating borders of the Byzantine Empire throughout the medieval period is an important factor in considering the time frame during which specific sites were in use, why they stopped being used for burials and any issues of direct contact with alternative burial traditions (such as western mortuary practices used by the crusading armies of the medieval period). Secondly, section 2.2 provides a discussion of how analyses of mortuary practice have been used to address issues of individual and social identity in other times and places, and how they might be applied to the case study of Medieval Byzantine Anatolia. Finally, section 2.3 will introduce key theoretical concepts from other disciplines which I am applying to the Medieval Byzantine material, and explain the approach of theoretical *bricolage* which I have taken. All three sections of chapter 2 attempt to discuss how knowledge of Medieval Byzantium has so far been created and thus locate the gaps in the discussion which might be fruitfully addressed by this thesis.

2.1 Political context

The political and social context of burials is part of the assemblage which makes up experience at the grave side. An awareness of the context of the burials will facilitate interpretations of burials which include (but are not determined by) our knowledge of borders and border tensions from textual sources. For example this contextual information will cast light on the abandonment of funerary churches at Elaiussa Sebaste and Amorium, and raise interesting questions of identity for individuals interred field cemeteries and burials with dress accessories.

2.1.1 Borders

This thesis aims to address mortuary practice from the Medieval Byzantine period within the boundaries of the Byzantine Empire in Anatolia. I define the Medieval Byzantine period as the time between the approximate end of the 'dark age' in the ninth century, and the capture of Constantinople by the fourth crusade in 1204. This chronology roughly follows Magdalino's accepted definition of the Medieval Byzantine period as beginning in 780 and ending in 1204 (Magdalino 2002:169-214). The territories of the Empire changed significantly during this time. The Medieval

period in the region was defined by significant conflict, with a variety of aggressors, including the Byzantines themselves, pushing the borders of the Empire backwards and forwards over a number of frontier zones. The following illustrations are included in order to summarize these border conflicts and illustrate the location of my case study sites in their political context.

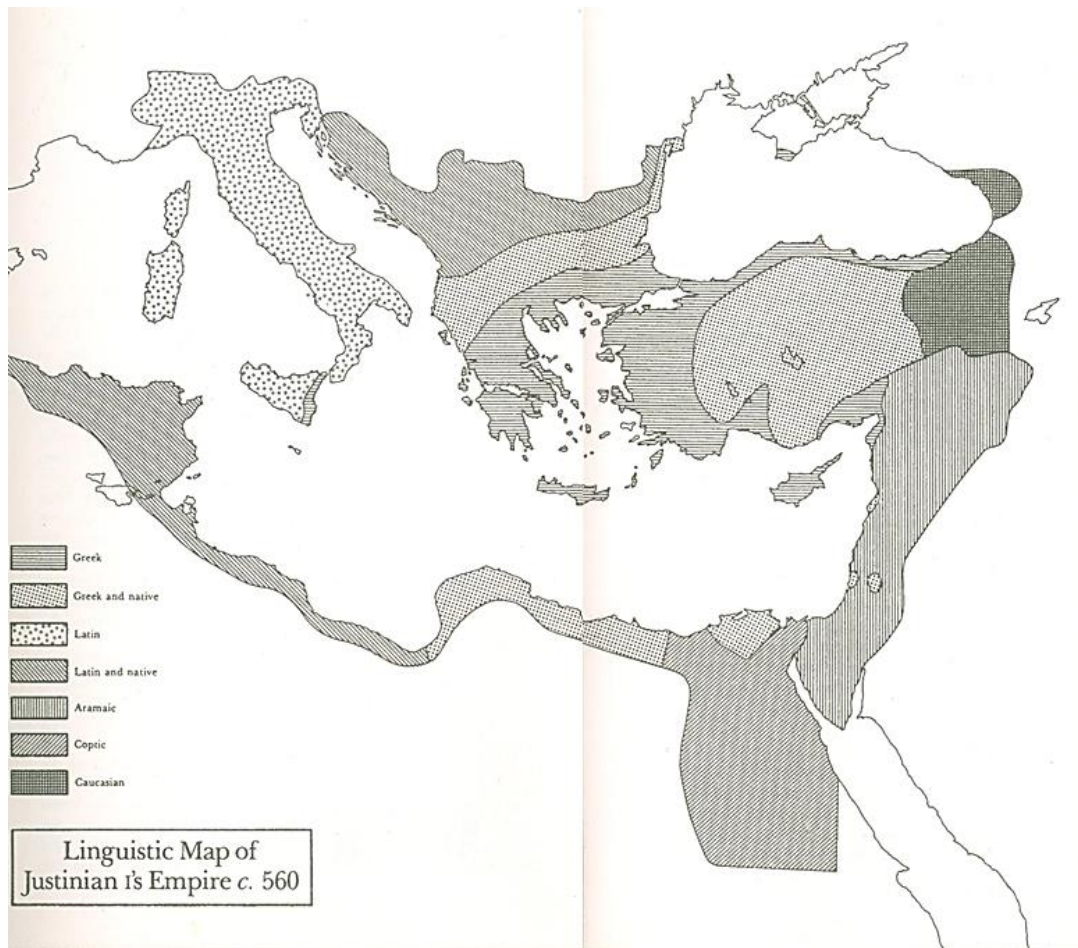


Figure 1: A linguistic map of the Empire in 560. Reproduced from Mango (1980:15)

The boundaries shown on the linguistic map of the Empire reproduced in figure 1 are a broad-brush sketch of the linguistic blocks present in the Empire in the sixth century. The languages spoken within Anatolia changed significantly throughout the seventh to the twelfth century, not least with the Arab and Seljuk invasions of the period. As a starting point however, figure 1 shows the relative dominance of Greek in the Eastern Empire as both the language of administration and as a language spoken generally among the population of the Anatolian heartland at the beginning of the Medieval Byzantine period.

Long before the beginning of the ninth century (the approximate political borders in 830 are shown on figure 2), the Eastern Roman Empire of the first three centuries of the new millennium had given

way to the Byzantine Empire (Chadwick 1991:449-454). Vast tracts of Byzantine territory had been lost to the Sassanid Empire in the sixth century, and the same land then taken by the Rashidun Caliphate in the 630s (Lewis 1995:37, 54-64). The Umayyad Caliphate took power from the Rashidun Caliphate in the 660s. Expanding into formally Byzantine territory the Umayyads conquered an area which included Syria, Egypt and south-east Anatolia bordered to the north by the approximate line of the Taurus and Anti-Taurus mountains (*op. cit.* 64-65). In the 750s eastern Asia-Minor passed into the hands of the Abbasid Caliphate (Wickham 2005:28-30). Although there was by no means a fixed border throughout the period of the Persian and Arab wars the disputed Anatolian territories formed a conflict zone along the line of the Anti-Taurus mountains, with the Taurus mountain range of Cilicia Trachea acting as the southern-most border of Byzantium (McEvedy 1992:28-34).

The ninth century saw the beginning of the decline of the Abbasid Caliphate, which began to break up, particularly to the north (McEvedy 1992:44-48). The Armenians gained more prominence as an ethnic group, creating the Kingdom of Armenia (see figure 3). Byzantine theology during the ninth century was locked within the wars of iconoclasm, which eventually resolved in 842 with the triumph of Orthodoxy under the Empress Theodora (Karlín-Hayter 2002:153).

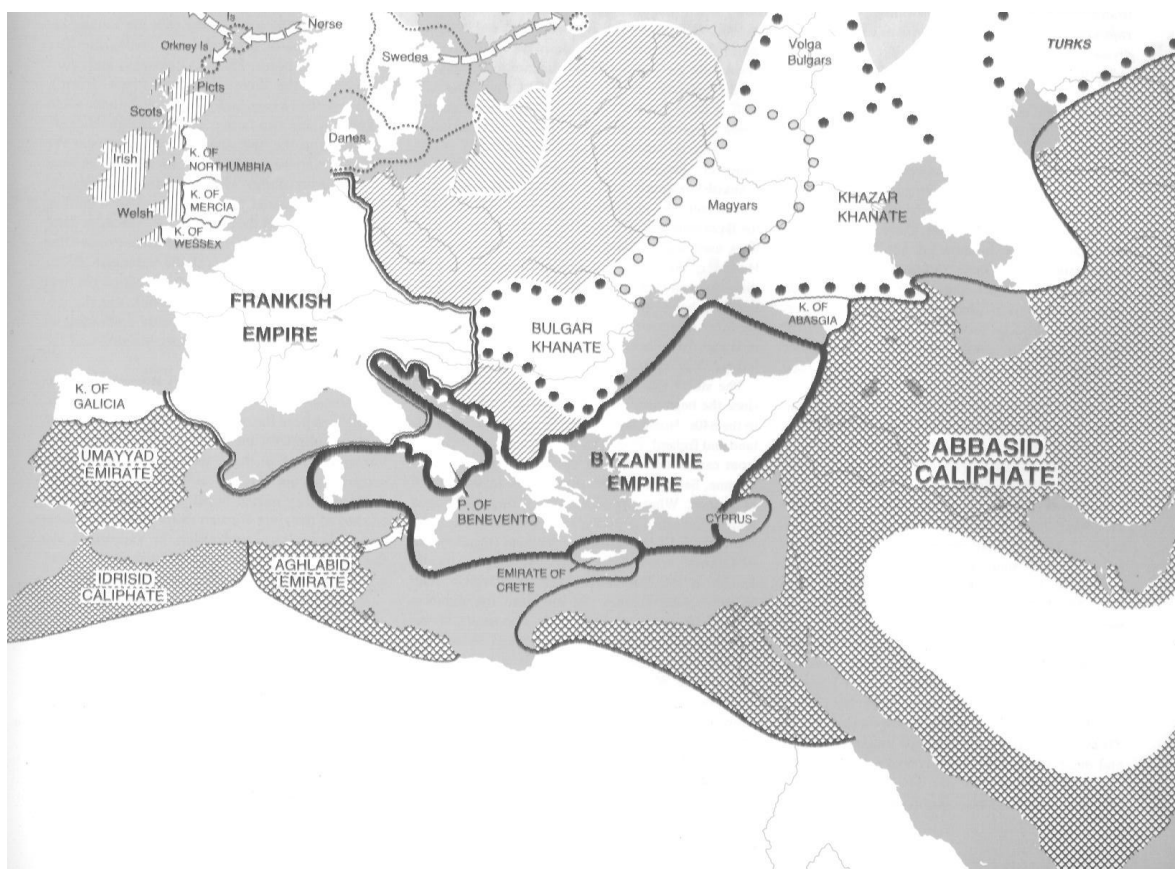


Figure 2: Map showing borders of the Empire in 830. Reproduced from McEvedy (1992:45)

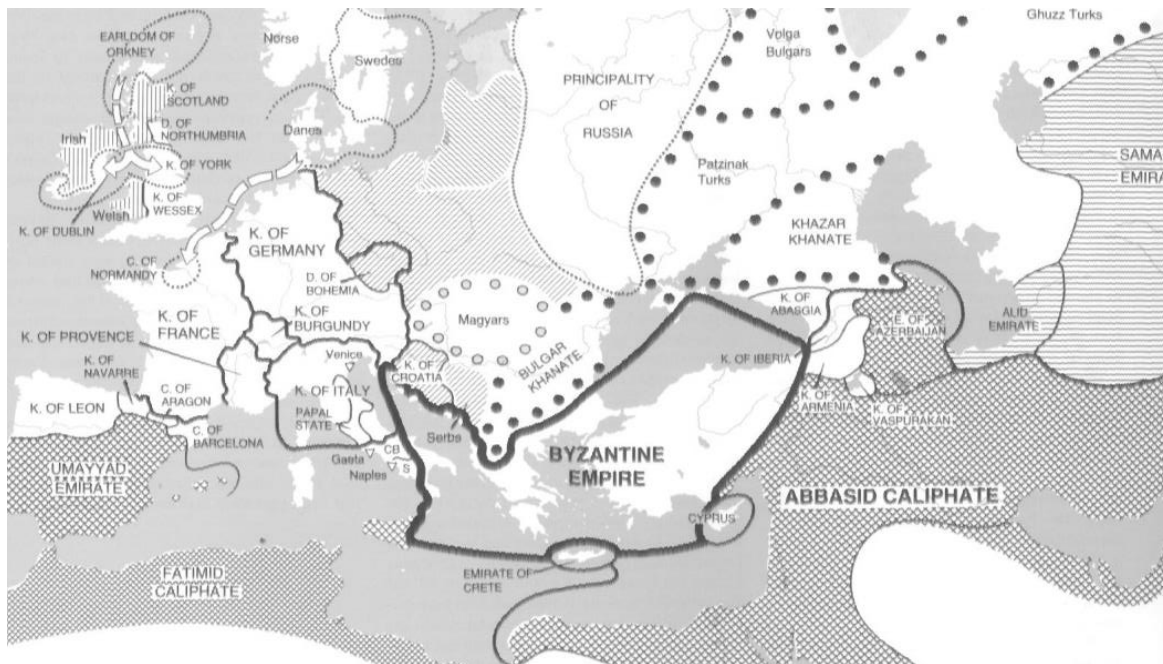


Figure 3: Map showing borders of the Empire in 925. Reproduced from McEvedy (1992:49)

During the tenth century (the borders of the first quarter of which are shown in figure 3) the Fatimid Caliphate largely took over where the Abbasid Caliphate left off, in an uneasy truce with the Byzantine Empire which occasionally broke down into border skirmishes and created the need for diplomatic missions to exchange captives (Kennedy 1990:137-142). The eleventh century saw the major border disputes in the region shift from the Arab wars to the north-western border and the Bulgar threat. The Byzantines were in general more successful against the Bulgars than they had been against the Persians and Arabs, resulting in a net gain, rather than a net loss of territory (Herrin 2007:212-219). During the eleventh century in north-east Anatolia, the Armenians came to populate two themes¹ of the Empire, Lykados and Mesopotamia, forming a significant ethnic minority within north-east Asia Minor by 1100 (Garsoïan 1998:54). Throughout the eleventh century (culminating in the 1070's) the Seljuk Turks annexed the territories of the Fatimid Caliphate to the extent that the entire eastern border of the Byzantine Empire was no-longer occupied by Arabs, but by Turkish aggressors, this territorial shift is shown in figures 4, 5 and 6 (Lewis 1995:89).

¹ Themes were militarized administrative units of the Byzantine Empire established by the seventh century and dissolved by the end of the eleventh (although the term continued to be used to refer to the areas defined by it until the end of Empire in 1453) (Kazhdan *et al* 1990:2034-2035).

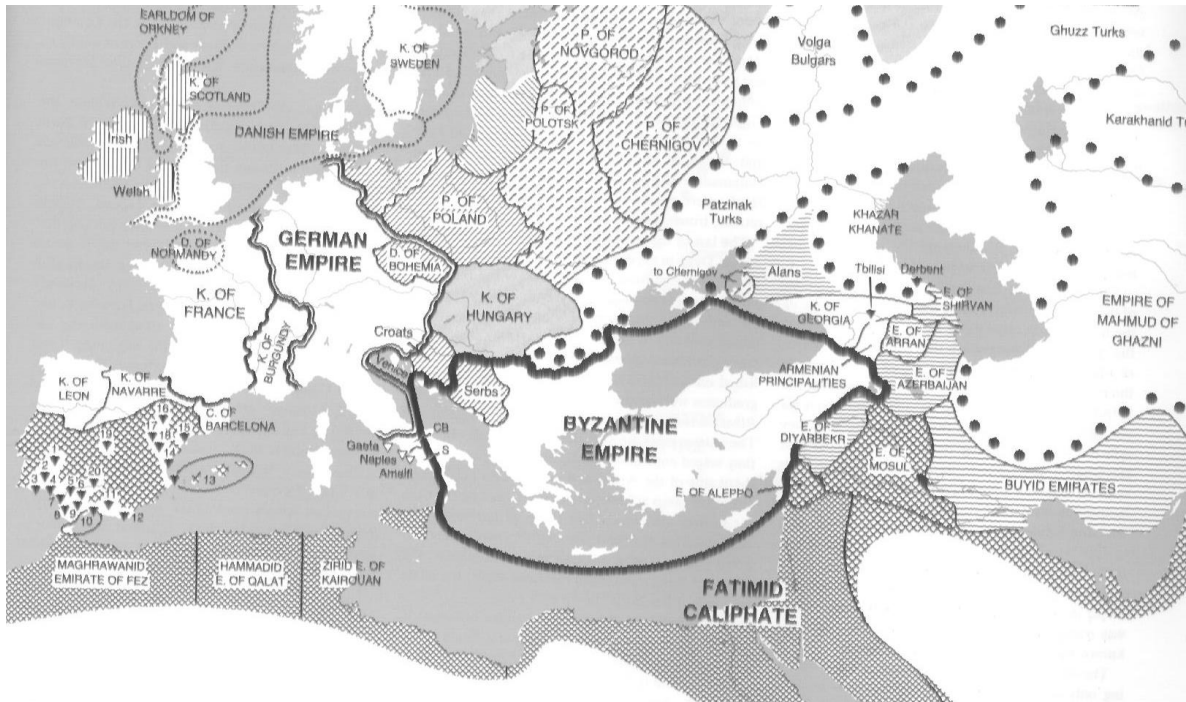


Figure 5: Map showing borders of the Empire in 1030. Reproduced from McEvedy (1992:59)

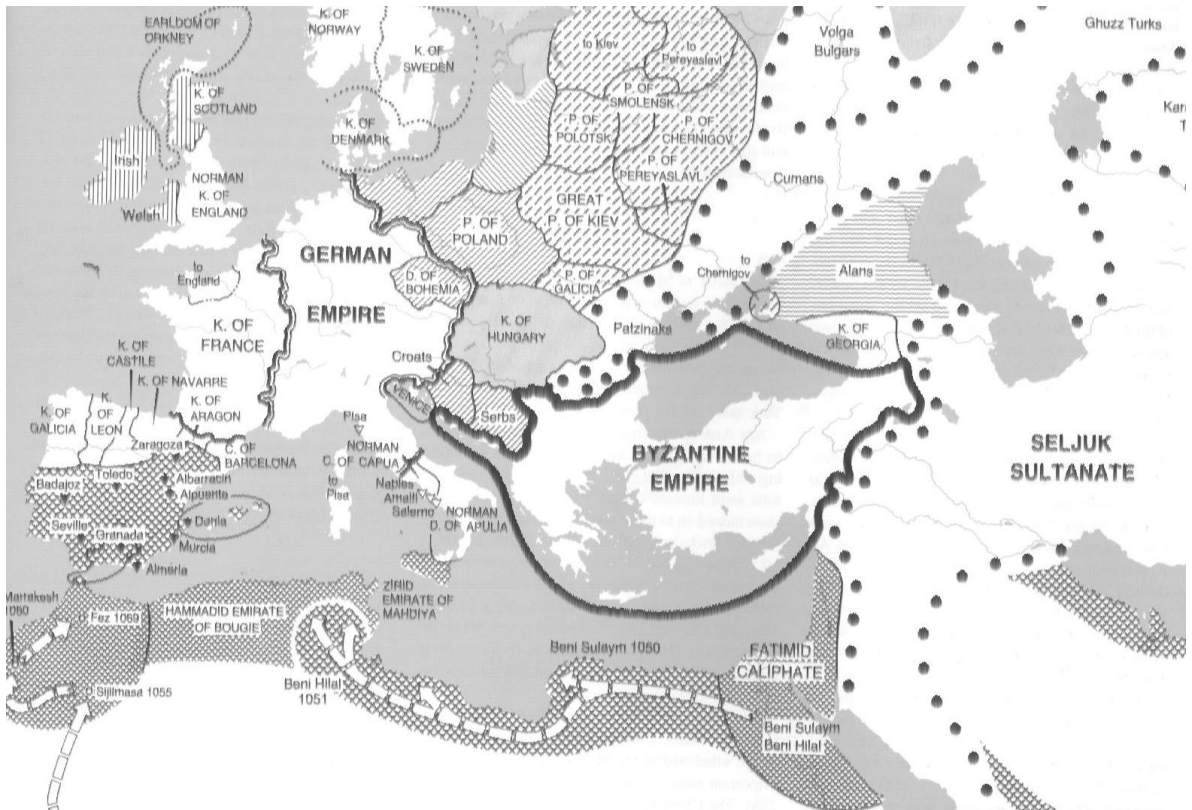


Figure 4: Map showing the borders of the Empire in 1071. Reproduced from McEvedy (1992:61)

Arguably the most pivotal moment in the eleventh century was the battle of Manzikert (a north-eastern Anatolian city) in 1071 (Herrin 2007:220-221); as an indirect result of the battle, the Empire lost half of its territory, the vast majority of Anatolia, to the Seljuks (McEvedy 1992:60-63). The approximate borders of the Empire before and after Manzikert are shown in figures 5 and 6. western Anatolia was reconquered by the Byzantines by the beginning of the twelfth century but the Byzantine Empire was vastly smaller than it ever had been before, leaving Constantinople in a severely weakened state prior to the siege and capture of Constantinople by the returning armies of the fourth crusade in 1204.

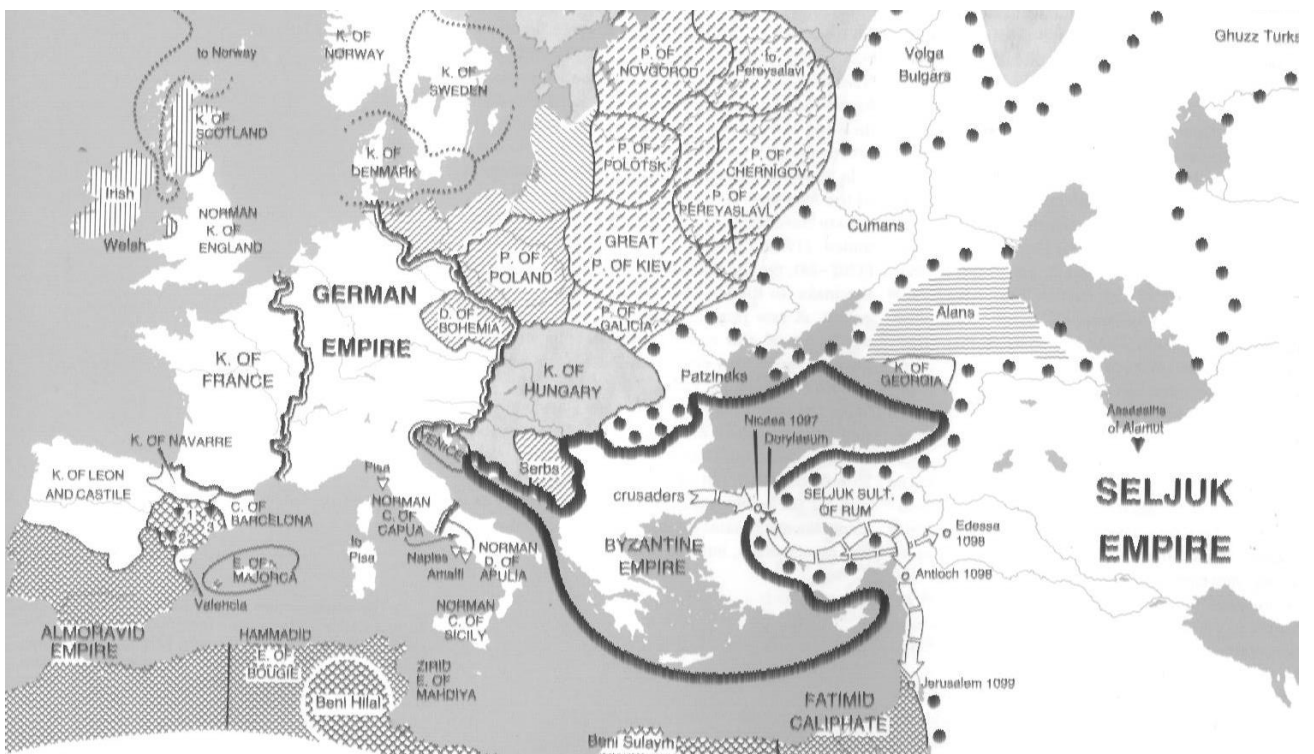


Figure 6: Map showing borders of the Empire in 1100. Reproduced from McEvedy (1992:65)

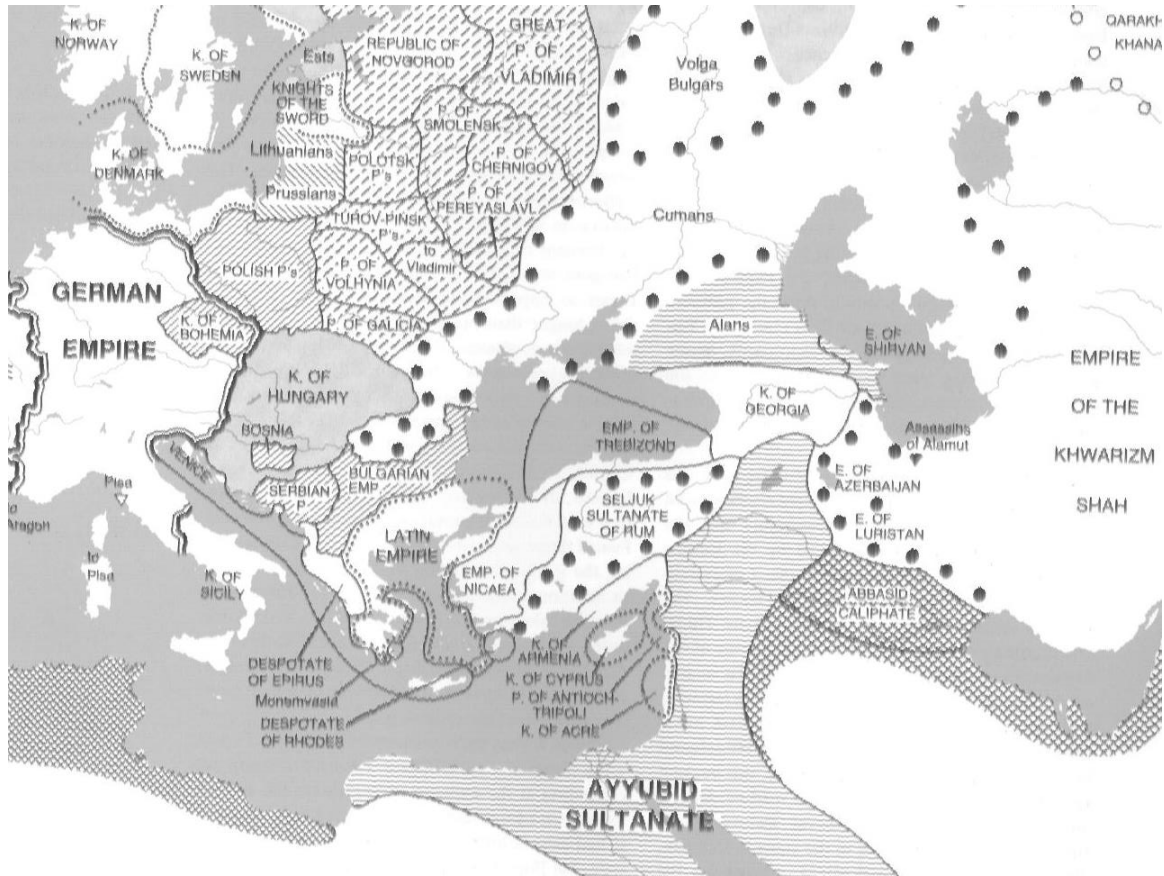


Figure 7: Map showing borders of the Empire in 1212. Reproduced from McEvedy (1992:71)

In summary the two most influential conflicts during the Medieval Byzantine period were the Arab conflict, more or less active from the seventh century and then, taking over from the Arabs, the ascendancy of the Seljuk Turks in the eleventh century (Reinert 1998:126). The movable nature of the border regions during periods of conflict may have increased exposure to ‘foreign’ identities considerably, as must the numerous crusading armies of Western Europe who trekked through the Byzantine heartland during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. There is some suggestion in the textual record that the rural Arab and Byzantine populations were relatively stable (or at least, given the option to be) regardless of who was technically in charge of a given region (Reinert 1998:130). Within these border regions, ‘identity’ did not necessarily depend on who was in charge; the political borders did not necessarily match the cultural, social or religious identity of communities. The ambiguity of the border zones along with increased exposure to other cultures must have had an impact on questions of identity for individuals living within these liminal zones. The next section of this thesis will critically examine previous work on Byzantine identity from textual sources before considering what archaeological data can add to the discussion. The increasing ambiguity of the borders of the Empire throughout the Medieval period along with increased exposure to other cultures must have significantly opened up questions of what it meant to be Byzantine.

2.1.2 Byzantine identities

'Byzantine' is an anachronistic label, assigned in the nineteenth century to the occupants of the Eastern Roman Empire after the fall of Rome in the West. As the term 'Byzantine Empire' is so fully embedded in modern scholarship I will continue to use it. However the use of a single term to cover the whole chronological and geographical range of the Empire does not equate to a homogenous identity for the people within its borders. The maps reproduced in section 2.1.1 above show that the area of land we refer to as the Byzantine Empire was a conglomerate of people, tongues, and religions, a hotchpotch of an Empire. This patchwork nature was equally the case within Anatolia, the geographical focus of this thesis. Given the variety of languages involved and the geographical scope of the Empire, identity is likely to have been complex, not defined so much by political affiliation to the Byzantine Emperor, but perhaps as Sîan Jones suggests, through practice (Jones 1997). The three further parts of section 2.1, covering Byzantine Identities, Identity and Ethnicity, and Anatolian Ethnicities, will discuss issues of ethnicity in an attempt to highlight some of the potential varieties in identity which may have been held by the individuals in the graves described in section 3.1.

The general consensus is that the Byzantines were cultural Romans who spoke Greek, and were (by and large) Orthodox Christians (Mango 1980:18-31, Kazhdan and Epstein 1985:167, Smythe 2010:67). This composite identity enabled individuals to call themselves *Romaioi* (Magdalino 2000:151). Not all of those who were considered *Romaioi* spoke Greek, some were not born and raised in the Empire and still others did not adhere to Orthodox Christianity. The people of Byzantium, like all people who owe some form of allegiance, or territorial ownership, to a large political unit, were non-uniform (Kazhdan and Constable 1982:29). The Greek term *ethnos* (of which the term *Romaioi* is an example) and the modern English 'ethnic' have similar meanings, both refer to groups of people who can be defined as distinct in comparison to others, however they are not synonyms. While a modern understanding of ethnicity has to take into account modern nations and globalisation, the term *ethnos* has a dictionary definition which refers to people as natural, discrete and static units, for example as 'a nation', 'a tribe', 'a race'. In contrast, the modern use of the term ethnic tends to be more fluid, acknowledging the subjective nature of the labels we give ourselves. A further distinction is that in some situations, *ethnos* had connotations of foreignness, equated with non-Christian identity. *Ethnos* in the sense of describing foreignness is related to the Koine Greek term *ethnikos*, defined by Arhweiler as "those foreign to both the Byzantine people and the Byzantine state" (Arhweiler 1998:2).

I will use ethnicity rather than *ethnos* to explore Byzantine identities as it is ethnicity rather than *ethnos* that has the greater body of critical literature behind it. It is worth bearing in mind however

that ethnicity would have been an etic concept for the people of the Byzantine Empire. The anachronistic term 'ethnicity' is frequently used as a mechanism to understand group formation in the past (e.g. Smith 1986, Hall 1997, Pohl 1997, Eriksen 1993). The term is theorised as a means of generalising human behaviour. Ethnic groups are developed through knowledge of a shared past (whether this knowledge has basis in fact or not is unimportant so long as it is an accepted truth).

The most prolific current writer on Byzantine identity is Dion Smythe (Smythe 1998). His chapter on the subject in Liz James' *Companion to Byzantium*, entitled 'Insiders and Outsiders', comprises a comprehensive literature review of recent work on the subject, followed by a discussion of categories of 'Insiders' and 'Outsiders' in the Byzantine Empire. Smythe's approach is targeted to produce an emic understanding of Constantinopolitan society; he is searching for groups of people who would have been considered 'outsiders' at the time. These categories include women, the Varangoi², those considered foreigners and the uneducated (Smythe 2010:74-78). This method is effective in that by defining what Byzantine society is not, by looking at those groups labelled as outsiders by contemporary authors, Smythe is able to explore how the Byzantines may have defined themselves as literate men born and resident in the Empire (*ibid.*). This is a functional means of thinking about the core values of one section of Byzantine society; values of Christianity, literacy, masculinity, and leadership.

Smythe's approach makes it clear that changes in identity were not orchestrated or static, but in flux throughout the period (Smythe 2010:80). I would extend this notion of fluidity to argue that identity emerges out of the combination of peoples' understandings of themselves and the way they are understood by others as well as the subject's understanding of how others see them, and others' understanding of how the subjects see themselves. This relational position is developed more thoroughly in chapter 2.3.

In seeking emic understandings of Byzantine culture, Smythe explores one aspect of identity, that of belonging. In his categorisation of insiders and outsiders, women are labelled outsiders to a population of which they form roughly 50%. If we add to this the other groups that Smythe places outside Byzantine society; the Varangian guard, those without education, and ethnic minorities in the military, well over 50% of the population of the Empire would have been considered outsiders. This works in Smythe's terms because he is seeking to define groups in opposition to a Byzantine identity which is limited to the elite milieu of Constantinople, essentially male politicians and theologians. Smythe's analysis is based on the Medieval Byzantium that is readily available through

² "Norsemen or Vikings in the Byz. Army... notable as the palace guard under the Komnenoi" (Kazhdan *et al* 1990:2152).

textual sources, and although the study is an insightful look at categories of person and political power in Constantinople, it is not the only means of examining Byzantine identities. If we move to analysis from a more etic perspective, defining people beyond a small group living in Constantinople as 'outside' Byzantine culture becomes problematic. A definition of what it is to be Byzantine beyond knowledge of the Constantinopolitan political elite available to us through the textual sources allows us to draw the population excluded by Smythe back into a conversation about identity.

Constantinople is frequently cited as the seat, although not the limit, of Byzantine culture (e.g. Magdalino 2000:151). During the Medieval Byzantine period the separation between life in the centre and life at the periphery was increasing. For the educated classes of the twelfth century, Constantinople was the place to be, the centre of an Empire which was becoming distinctly fuzzy at the edges; "Oh, land of Byzantium, Oh, thrice-happy City, eye of the universe, ornament of the world, star shining afar, beacon on this lower world, would that I were within you, enjoying you to the full! Do not part me from your maternal bosom." (anon, twelfth century, cited in Mango 1980:74). At the same time as the focus of the political elite was becoming increasingly centripetal (Garsoïan 1998:101), centralized government began to collapse (Mango (1980:31) places this in the eleventh century) and contact with foreign populations began to increase (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985:170-175). The 'others', outside Constantinople, had identities which are not readily accessible through texts, but it is perhaps possible to use the archaeological evidence to explore the nature of ethnicity in Anatolia beyond those groups privileged in the written record, the next section on this thesis; *Identity, Ethnicity* will briefly summarize an approach to ethnicity pioneered by Sian Jones, followed by a discussion of varieties of Anatolian ethnicity from the textual sources. This discussion of difference and change allows for analysis of the graves described in section 3.1 to be informed by varieties of Anatolian ethnicity.

Identity, Ethnicity

In developing an understanding of the concept of ethnicity which could be useful to archaeologists, Sian Jones foregrounded the subjective, relational nature of identity (Jones 1997:13). Jones' definitions rely on practice theory and counteract concepts of identity which are largely static, such as that "ethnicity constitutes the basic underlying essence of character of a group of people which persists through time and can be traced back to a unique origin" (*ibid.*).

Jones' definitions of the terms ethnic identity, ethnic group and ethnicity are as follows:

“Ethnic Identity: that aspect of a person’s self-conceptualization which results from identification with a broader group in opposition to others on the basis of perceived cultural differentiation and/or common descent.

Ethnic group: any group of people who set themselves apart and/or are set apart by others with whom they interact or co-exist on the basis of their perceptions of cultural differentiation and /or common descent.

Ethnicity: all those social and psychological phenomena associated with a culturally constructed group identity as defined above. The concept of ethnicity focusses on the ways in which social and cultural processes intersect with one another in the identification of, and interaction between, ethnic groups.” (Jones 1997:xi)

Some recent studies of Byzantine ethnicity are largely in line with Jones, for instance Gill Page, dealing with Byzantine ethnicity after 1200 defines ethnicity as “a subjective act of faith by members of a group, rather than an objective and quantifiable aspect of a group” (Page 2008:11) and although Smythe does not focus on practice, his approach foregrounds the flexibility and transience of identity and the instability of any taxonomy of ethnicity (Smythe 2010:80). It is Jones’ practice based concept of ethnicity which I aim to follow in the next section of this thesis on Anatolian Ethnicities, rather than taking forward the seemingly static concept of ethnicity which is referenced by the Byzantine Greek term *ethnos*.

In stating that the knowledge of a shared past does not have to have basis in fact, I am in agreement with Jones, who states that “ethnic groups are culturally ascribed identity groups, which are based on the expression of a real or assumed shared culture or descent” (Jones 1997:85). Following Jones I will now discuss some of the shared practices which go to make up varieties of Byzantine and Anatolian ethnic identities.

Anatolian ethnicities

In both Smythe and Page’s discussions of Byzantine identity, ethnic criteria are the things that make up Roman-ness, particularly language, religion and Roman culture. In establishing a group identity, here termed ethnicity, ethnic criteria include shared language, a perceived shared past and culture, and shared religion, or in Jones’ terms, shared practice (Jones 1997:128-144). The majority of the Byzantine population fulfil these criteria for an ethnic group, albeit a very large one, but the population of the Empire was not a homogenous mass. There were significant elements within Byzantine society who were to some extent at least, still considered *Romaioi*, insiders, who did not fulfil the ethnic criteria of Roman-ness. Identity is always more complex than it first appears. Using shared language (Greek), shared religion (Orthodoxy), and shared background (Roman-ness after Constantine) as the criteria contributing to what it meant to be *Romaioi* (after Malatras 2010:9), this section of my thesis will endeavour to summarize examples of complex Anatolian ethnicities,

including non-Romans who were integrated within Byzantine society, non-Greek speakers who were *Romaioi* and finally, non-Orthodox *Romaioi*.

As an example of a non-Roman who we might consider Byzantine, the military commander Prosouch was identified as *allogeneis*, (of another race, a stranger), rather than as *Romaioi* by the twelfth century author John Kinnamos, although there was clearly a political dimension to this deliberate exclusion from Roman identity (Kinnamos cited in Malatras 2010:3, definition of *allogeneis* from Liddell and Scott 1891:35). Prosouch was born Persian, but raised and educated in Roman ways. In Laiou's reading of the Byzantine judicial system, Prosouch was fully integrated in to Byzantine society as a Greek-speaking subject of the Emperor, and beyond that as an instrument of the military (Laiou 1998:162). Foreign birth was, however, enough of a difference to identify him as belonging to a separate *ethnos* or racial group. This reflects Jones' definition of ethnic identity as to do with cultural differentiation and common descent; despite full social integration, Prosouch's birth beyond the boundary of the Empire precluded him from being considered *Romaioi* by Kinnamos although in all probability he shared the rights and responsibilities of other citizens.

Greek was the dominant language of the Eastern Roman Empire by the sixth century, and continued to be the language of administration and of the educated classes throughout the Medieval Byzantine period (Mango 1980:13), its prevalence was shown in figure 1 at the beginning of this chapter. The languages spoken by the general population in the eastern provinces however included Syriac, Aramaic and a mass of local dialects: North Africa was dominated by Coptic and the previous territories of the Western Empire spoke Latin and a variety of native dialects (figure 1: Mango 1980, Smythe 2010:68). In the Medieval Byzantine period prior to the twelfth century, Greek was the language of the educated classes and Constantinopolitan diaspora, and without Greek, a person stood little chance of gaining access to the elite, or even of being accepted as a civilised foreigner (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985:169, Garsoïan 1998:101). This did not, however, limit the languages spoken by the population who were not literate (Mango 1980:23). The Medieval Byzantine Constantinopolitan prejudice against people who spoke more than one language (see Garsoïan for a discussion of translators as spies 1998:101) had subtly changed by the twelfth century, which Kazhdan and Epstein identify as a growing liberalism in the Empire's attitude towards foreigners, perhaps due to the necessity of increased contact with, and reliance upon the outside world (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985:18304, Laiou 1998, Smythe 2010:72). The twelfth century pride of Tzetzes in stating that he was able to greet "Latins, Persians, Alans, Rus, Arabs, Scythians and Jews all in their own tongues" (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985:183 citing Tzetzes) can perhaps be taken as a concrete example of this change in attitude.

The peasantry of the Empire spoke a variety of different languages; however they still considered themselves *Romaioi* (Magdalino 2000:151). Perhaps more importantly for the study of Byzantium, a large proportion of the population of the Empire spoke languages which were not Greek. Without definitive evidence that they considered themselves separate to the Greek speaking population, a definition of the non-Greek speaking population as a separate *ethnos* is not defensible. It is not that they were not Byzantine, but rather that our definition of what makes a Byzantine needs to be expanded to include non-Greek speakers. In addition to this, it is not unheard of to find Greek speakers defined as *allogeneis* (Malatras 2010:4). The implication of the varied linguistic regions of the Empire, and the existence of Greek speakers outside of the Empire, is that language alone is not enough to define the Byzantines as a single ethnic group.

Adherence to Orthodox Christianity is taken as a third means of distinguishing the *Romaioi* by a majority of writers on the subject (Mango 1980:30, Garsoïan 1998:87). The heretic John Italos was defined as a barbarian by Anna Komnene in the twelfth century despite being a Greek speaking-cultural *Romaïos* in part due to his perceived heresy and the level to which he stressed the importance of classical philosophers, although his political position must also have impacted Anna's portrayal of his character (Anna Komnene V.8-9 cited in Malatras 2010:3, Kazhdan 1991:1060). There were, however, even exceptions to the rule that to be *Romaioi* required adherence to Orthodox Christianity. Using Laiou's criteria of integration (based on the Byzantine judicial system) the Jewish community was largely integrated in to Byzantine society (Laiou 1998:161). In twelfth-century Constantinople however, there is textual evidence for separate burial grounds for Jews. Positive evidence for Jewish mortuary practices from Anatolia in the Middle Byzantine period is sparse, the reference of the Constantinopolitan author Choniates' in the twelfth century to a place "separated off for the burial place of the Jews" is one of the only textual references to specific practice, and there is no archaeological evidence for the use of separate burial grounds (Choniates cited in Smythe 2010:77). The separation of the Jewish and Gentile populations is a marked divergence from Late Antique practice where Jewish graves were not separated from the rest of the population, for example, the Jewish tombs in the necropolis outside Korykos are dispersed throughout the necropolis, only distinguishable by their iconography, including depictions of menorahs (e.g. Herzfeld and Guyer 1930:90). Despite a distinct religious identity and the probable use of separate burial practices in the Medieval Byzantine period, the Jewish population of Anatolia were legally non-Orthodox citizens of the Byzantine Empire with identical rights and responsibilities

to Greek-speaking, Orthodox *Romaioi*, even if the court in which they were judged was separate from the general court (Laiou 1998:162).

The Armenians are another group who had a borderline Byzantine identity. Garsoïan defines them as “the largest non-Greek unit of Byzantine society” (1998: 53). A huge influx of Armenians in the tenth and eleventh centuries in the aftermath of the Macedonian victories populated the eastern frontier of the Byzantine Empire with newly formed Armenian themes (Garsoïan 1998:54). The Armenians are one of four groups listed by John of Kitros in the early thirteenth century to be restricted to a specific residence (effectively an ‘Armenian Quarter’) “either within or without the city” (John of Kitros cited in Garsoïan 1998:59) although none has been located. Armenian identity, similarly to Jewish identity was distinct within Byzantine society, separated by language, and perceived origin, but it was Armenian adherence to a non-Orthodox faith which causes the most comment and anxiety within the textual sources. After the official split of the Orthodox and Armenian churches in the seventh century the exchanges between the two churches were bitter, the Armenian faith was defined as heresy, which was tantamount to treason against the Emperor (Garsoïan 1998:67-75), yet beyond the realms of theology it seems that increasingly during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, adherence to the Armenian faith did not rule out a career in government or the military (Garsoïan 1998:100-101).

Jews and Armenians comprise two groups who were not Orthodox, but existed within a Byzantine context. Whether or not their self-disclosed ‘identity’ was primarily Jewish, Armenian or *Romaioi* is debatable, and not necessarily provable, but by the eleventh century they were becoming integrated within society, and towards the end of the Medieval Byzantine period integration was largely complete (Garsoïan 1998:88-100). At the opposite end of the spectrum, Bulgarians and Russians who were Orthodox, were definitively not considered *Romaioi* despite being under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Byzantine – Bulgarian conflict of the late tenth and early eleventh century caused something of a crisis of confidence in Byzantine identity, to which religion was so central, and was framed as a civil war (Arhweiler 1998:4). This fact suggests to me that Orthodox identity was central to identification as *Romaioi* by the Medieval Byzantine period, perhaps increasingly so as contact with the outside world inevitably increased with the climate of political instability.

This increased contact with the outside world seems to have slowly affected the position of foreigners within Constantinopolitan society so that by the twelfth century the earlier uniformly

negative stereotypes of other ethnic groups had been modified to include more positive attributes (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985:184). Kazhdan and Epstein place this eleventh and twelfth century shift immediately prior to the adoption of a form of national identity post 1204, when the Byzantine Empire began to think of its self not so much as a collection of *Romaioi* and *Barbaroi*, with the tribal identities of Late Antiquity still intact, but rather as an ethnic or national group, self-defined as Greek (*Hellenes*) (Kaldellis 2007, Page 2008, Kazhdan *et al* 1991:911-912). Kazhdan and Epstein view this shift in attitude to foreigners as a phenomenon unique to Constantinople and the Constantinopolitan diaspora, citing the conservatism of theology as a proxy for the view of the people, including those in rural zones (Kazhdan and Epstein 1985:186). The theological establishment seems to always have reacted more strongly to foreign populations than the military; the Armenians for example were held anathema by the theological establishment for being heretics, but by the twelfth century were largely integrated into the Empire in legal terms. Although I agree that the increased contact will have differently affected the urban and rural populations, I think that more can be done to explore the changing nature of identity in rural and liminal areas. Arhweiler's work on nomads is an example of a more nuanced discussion of the rural reaction to categories of 'outsider'. Arhweiler traces the incursion of nomads into the settled life of the Anatolian heartland from the first incursions with the Turkish invasions of the tenth century through to the development of a more reflexive relationship including the blurring of ethnic divisions and cultural mixing during the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Arhweiler 1998:10-15). The approach to identity employed by Arhweiler works along the same lines as the approach to ethnicity advocated by Sîan Jones (despite the difference in source material), examining practice as evidence for more fluid ethnic identities. It is to this practice based approach that I think mortuary archaeology has the most potential to contribute.

Conclusions for section 2.1

There were various contributing factors to 'being Byzantine' (James 2010, part I), the received wisdom is that identity as *Romaioi* involved some combination of Orthodoxy, political allegiance to the Empire and Greek language, and there is persuasive evidence that these are the criteria by which Byzantines self-defined in the ethnic terms of the twelfth century (Jacoby 2010: 597, citing Page 2008). The means by which this topic has been addressed in the literature has, however, privileged the literate men of Constantinople (something which has been criticized, but not fully resolved, by both Kazhdan and Constable 1982:19-22 and Dion Smythe, who additionally mentions that leaving out material culture is "par for the course" in studies of identity (2010:67)). From a broader collection of sources it is clear that how 'Byzantine' we think someone was depends on which

criteria we base our definitions of 'Byzantine-ness'. The Jewish and Armenian populations were integrated politically into society, and integrated in to the military, they acted as members of a Byzantine society even though the Jews were officially tolerated as non-Orthodox and the Armenians were treated as heretics and outcasts or as a separate ethnic group without reference to religion (Garsoïan 1998:124).

Perhaps one of the problems with this debate is that in addressing questions of 'Byzantine-ness' we appear to be seeking a sense of nationalism, of belonging to a cohesive state, that is fully anachronistic to a Byzantine context, and a pervasive myth in the present (Geary 2002:15-62). Nationalism has a tendency to oversimplify identity, we can spend all the time we like searching for a mythical 'homo Byzantinus' (cf. Kazhdan and Constable 1982:29) when in reality composite ideologies, with one or more facet in the ascendant depending on the individual in question is much more likely. I am a European, but if pressed, I am much more likely to identify as British, or an Atheist, a Northerner, a Yorkshire woman or as a girl in her mid-twenties from Hunters Bar depending on who is asking and what the context is. The last of these self-definitions is by far the most informative, but it only allows people to place me in my social milieu if they know Sheffield, specifically the west side, and are familiar with the clichés that go along with an S11 address. This level of refined understanding is not forthcoming from the texts for the majority of the Empire, although Constantinople has the potential to allow a more detailed understanding. It is also possible that identity simply was not as categorised in a Byzantine world as it is within a globalised context, there were definite advantages to keeping things vague. The Byzantine taxation system and courts of law were not nearly so cut and dried on the liability of foreigners under Byzantine law as might be expected, Laiou effectively shows how accommodation of other customs becomes increasingly important in the more culturally fluid world of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Laiou 1998:181). Theologically, the lack of declarations stating that Islam was a heresy allowed diplomacy to develop, and even, to some extent, cooperation after the *détente* reached in the ninth century (Reinert 1998:149). Both of these ambiguities were entirely deliberate, and absolutely effective.

This is an area in which archaeology has real contributions to make to the history of Byzantium. Past archaeological approaches have consistently made efforts to discuss identity and regionalisation, however archaeological work on the Anatolian hinterland in the Medieval Byzantine period has been fairly limited. The Byzantine provinces, Anatolia 'in between', are viewed as a massive void by scholars of the Medieval Byzantine period (it was a central topic of conversation at the Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies held in Oxford in 2012). Because textual resources tend to focus on Constantinople and the Constantinopolitan diaspora located throughout the Empire, the heartland is

largely ignored. Even sources such as the letters of Michael Psellos, much vaunted as a source for everyday life, do not tell us that much about the provinces, but rather are based around the political maelstrom that is Constantinople. One of the aims of this thesis is to examine the published excavations of cemeteries for evidence of regionalisation and regional identity, and although it largely covers the graves of *Romaioi* following both the cultural and political borders of the Byzantine Empire as they shrink into the stronghold of the north-eastern themes, it is important to remain aware of the potential impact that contact with and integration of different ethnic groups may have had on mortuary practices. The broad scale political and social interactions that I have begun to sketch, and the practice based approach to ethnicity that I have advocated, following in the wake of Sian Jones, should be kept quite firmly in mind as we move from broad scale analysis to the archaeological data. The archaeological material does not tell us what 'should' be present in the mortuary practice of provincial Byzantines, particularly those in conflict zones, but rather, gives us a sample of what was happening.

2.2 Mortuary practice and 'social' identity

Section 2.2 of this thesis aims to address how previous approaches to mortuary practice have been used by archaeologists to discuss issues of identity. The current standard textbook on mortuary practice in archaeology, Mike Parker-Pearson's (2005 [1999]) *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* states that:

"The investigation of social complexity and degrees of status differentiation has been the principal concern of funerary archaeology in the last thirty years. The idea that burials provide an insight into the manifold aspects of an individual's social persona has been especially applied in the study of grave goods, though the complexity of their interpretations has to be recognized" (Parker-Pearson 2005 [1999]:94).

The investigation of social complexity was certainly the focus of the only other general study of Middle and Late Byzantine mortuary practice, Eric Ivison's 1993 PhD thesis entitled *Mortuary Practices in Byzantium (950 – 1453)*. Ivison's stated aim was to use Byzantine funerary archaeology to grant insight into Byzantine society and its uses of material culture and to contribute to the theoretical debate on funerary archaeology (Ivison 1993:1). Ivison created a model based on the funerary archaeology of Constantinople and used this model to explain isolated examples of mortuary practice elsewhere in the Empire in terms of rank, hierarchy and social persona. I will briefly summarize and discuss Ivison's study before providing a critique of previous approaches to mortuary practice, including Ivison's, which aim to access the 'social' through cemetery archaeology. Section 2.3 will then move on to presenting an alternative body of theory which I will endeavour to apply to the archaeological material producing a study of mortuary practice where social identity is no longer the sole purpose of archaeological investigations of mortuary practices.

2.2.1 Ivison's doctoral thesis: mortuary practices in Byzantium (950-1453)

Ivison's thesis revolves around the construction of a 'capital model'. The capital model is based on the statement that the archaeological and textual record from Constantinople "offers the only account of how a Byzantine population centre buried its dead" (Ivison 1993:25). Ivison argues that the requirements for burial for those in the capital cannot have been so very different from cemeteries in the peripheral zones, defining them as; "the allocation of land for burial, ensuring the burial of the dead in the interests of public health and mores, the role of the church in the performance of burial and the perceived needs of the soul thereafter" (Ivison 1993:26). Although Ivison does not project the nature of Constantinopolitan burial wholesale across the entire Empire, he begins his analysis from a position which ascribes the same values surrounding burial to inhabitants of Constantinople and urban centres within the wider Empire. This produces a framework which allows Ivison to consider the centre and periphery of the Empire as discrete units (*ibid.*). This model produces a valid means of comparison for Constantinople and other urban centres, but excludes non-urban field cemeteries, such as some of those included in this thesis at Ilipinar, Barcın and Çatalhöyük.

Ivison uses the textual sources which relate to burial in Constantinople to split burial places into nine categories;

"1. Imperial and aristocratic burial churches, 2. Monastic cemeteries and burial places, 3. Common Cemeteries, often termed πολυάνδρεια, which were for the use of the whole population, and particularly the urban poor, and 4. Emergency burial places in times of disaster, such as war or plague... 5. Places for the disposal of suicides and criminals. 6. Latin (Frankish) burial churches. 7. Jewish cemeteries, and possibly 8. Armenian and 9. Moslem cemeteries." (Ivison 1993:27).

These categories focus on the practicalities of burial in an urban, and relatively cosmopolitan environment. In the previous section of this chapter (2.1), I argued that discussions of Medieval Byzantine ideology based on textual material, privilege understandings of Constantinople and the Constantinopolitan diaspora. There are obvious connections between practice in Constantinople and in the rest of the Empire, which makes comparison between the capital and periphery a useful analytical tool, however if we start from a situation where isolated regional examples are analysed primarily in opposition to Constantinople, rather than potentially in relation to one another, it becomes difficult to assess regionalisation.

This discussion of categories and regionalisation returns to the issues of ethnicity and practice discussed in the last section of this chapter (e.g. Jones 1997). Although Constantinople was undoubtedly the centre of literary and political life, the existence of a powerful central place does not translate to non-Constantinopolitan sites being a cohesive unit. In applying the capital model to

mortuary practices Ivison drew on a standard approach to Byzantine archaeology comparing periphery to centre. This tradition is notably present in discussions of church architecture. Within my analysis I will take a different approach, grouping the sites not only by location but also by their character (e.g. the presence or absence of a church and morphological features of the graves). Section 3.1 aims to summarize the archaeological evidence on which this thesis is based examining the sites individually, and comparing them laterally against a typology of sites and chronological position which was created without first separating the sites into categories of Constantinopolitan and non-Constantinopolitan cemeteries.

The most common forms of graves throughout the period studied by Ivison were pit graves and cist graves; both forms of burial remained largely the same throughout the period (Ivison 1993:278). Ivison finds these to have been similarly common in the Late Antique period, and both forms continued to be used in Islamic burial. Arcosolia were common in mainland Anatolia prior to 1074, but only became common in Constantinople from the twelfth century onwards. Ivison suggests that this indicates a reversal of the standard pattern of influence, which is usually Constantinople to periphery, as the rural elites were displaced by the Seljuk invasion, and began to influence burial styles within the capital (Ivison 1993:137). This is an example of a situation where the polarisation of Constantinopolitan data and the evidence from peripheral zones of the Empire has highlighted a pattern which would not necessarily have been as visible in a study which compared regional sites laterally. In this case, Ivison's capital model enabled him to persuasively argue the inverse hypothesis of the generally accepted model in Byzantine studies which is that the centre influenced the periphery.

Within the capital model Ivison uses the spatial organisation of graves from within Constantinople and other urban centres, such as Antioch, to argue for urban graveyards throughout the Empire which were rigidly maintained and centrally planned, radiating out from the church (Ivison 1993:60). Ivison's discussion of the shift from universally extramural burial in the Late Roman period to the largely exclusive burial of individuals in or near churches by the Medieval Byzantine period is based on the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and its antecedents and the redaction of the ancient laws by Leo VI (886-912) (*Corpus Juris Civilis* Digest XLVII, 12, Leo VI Novels ed. Noailles and Dain 1944: 202-205 cited in Ivison 1993:26). Ivison reads this change as a natural progression. The extramural basilicas erected over the graves of the martyrs were attractive for burial *ad sanctus*, since their relics sanctified their locale, and so blessed and protected the deceased... when relics moved into cities it was natural that burial should follow" (Ivison 1993:26). I agree with Ivison's reading of the importance of the movement of relics in the creation of cemeteries within city walls, a discussion of the complicated

relationship between the bodies of saints and the bodies of the less exceptional dead is developed in section 4.2 on the practice of reopening graves for multiple burial.

In a discussion of extramural burial and the nature of burial outside Constantinople Ivison states that “in a rural context the size of the cemetery would be constrained by the desire to avoid wasting valuable agricultural land on the dead” (Ivison 1993:25). This functional argument is drawn from a contemporary common-sense understanding of Byzantine values rather than archaeological evidence as Ivison’s core data set is from urban contexts. Within my analysis of rural cemeteries in section 3.1 of this thesis it became clear that individual burial was more common in rural cemeteries than urban ones, this may be taken to suggest that while space was at a premium in urban contexts it was more readily available in rural ones.

Ivison’s wider interpretation of intra- or extramural burial highlights the fact that Constantinople is unique in that as the city grew, large cemeteries were located between the Constantinian and Theodosian walls, Cyril Mango has argued that this space was in any case not originally or conceptually intramural (Ivison 1993:56, Mango 1980:76). If we stick to Mango’s conception of the space it seems that in neither my own, nor Ivison’s dataset, were intramural cemeteries deliberately created, but that the prohibition against the burial of the dead inside the city walls was not so strong as to require the prohibition of the existence of 12th century burials at Kalenderhane and St. Polyeuktos at Saraçhane. This dovetails neatly with Ivison’s conclusion that prohibitions on intramural burial and burial within churches reduced as we move into the Medieval Byzantine period.

Closely entwined with this discussion of extra- and intramural burial is the issue of burial within churches. Ivison argues that formal cemeteries are always associated with churches “to protect the dead in hallowed ground, and to provide a setting for [memorial services]” (Ivison 1993:56). This is not the case at Ilipinar, Barcun or Çatalhöyük, unless the church buildings are present but have not been excavated, it is possible that the church buildings were located off the mounds.

A number of the elements of Ivison’s capital model are supported by the by the data set examined by this thesis, particularly the ubiquity of extramural burial in the Medieval Byzantine period, however the model does not seem to be universally applicable. At Barcun and Ilipinar, the graves are regularly spaced and rarely intercut, conforming to Ivison’s model, however they are not associated with a church. Additionally, at Çatalhöyük, the graves intercut and are not rigidly aligned, suggesting the absence of a formal plan and once again are not arranged around a church. Ivison’s conclusions

on the structure of urban cemeteries facilitate a discussion of hierarchy, which is summarized and critiqued below.

Hierarchy and social status

As previously stated, the central goal of Ivison's thesis was to discuss social hierarchy and status (Ivison 1993:1). Ivison uses the three terms of hierarchy, rank and status largely interchangeably. When discussing this aspect of his thesis, I have distinguished between hierarchy and status. Hierarchy and rank are largely synonymous concepts, which endow a restricted, socially-proscribed set of individuals with social capital and power to a greater extent than others, while status is more fluid, conveying a wider range of possible meanings. A transformation of status might be from living to dead, or from catechumen to initiate, while rank or hierarchy implies promotion or demotion along a scale of power.

A primary conclusion of Ivison's thesis is that the hierarchical structure represented in mortuary practices was bi-zonal. Rather than a single vertical ladder, political and ecclesiastical power were relatively separate, interacting, but without much direct influence on each other. This argument rests on a discussion of spatial hierarchy within churches which Ivison considers to have been fully developed by the twelfth century. The individuals who were elite enough to be interred within churches included both high ranking clergy and (separately) the political elite (Ivison 1993:70). Ivison emphasises the contribution of the textual record in recognising that differentiation and hierarchy were acknowledged verbally in funerals rather than necessarily through acts which created an archaeological record (Ivison 1993:284). Within my masters' thesis, I similarly argued that Byzantine society had two essentially parallel streams of hierarchy, political and ecclesiastical power (Moore 2009). In addition, I found that there was no archaeologically discernible distinction between monastic and 'secular' cemeteries although the textual record may be interpreted to suggest that they were separate (Gautier (ed) 1985, Gautier (ed) 1974, Petit (ed) 1908 cited in Ivison 1993:28). The statements that monastic cemeteries were conceptually separate from secular ones (Ivison 1993:28) but archaeologically indistinguishable from them (Moore 2009) relate to Ivison's argument that multiple burials reflect the monastic ideal of communal living (Ivison 1993:53). The lack of clear archaeological distinction between monastic and worldly⁴ cemeteries supports the hypothesis put forward independently by both Ivison and myself that while Medieval Byzantine society had a bi-zonal hierarchical structure, mortuary practices converged at the point of death. In terms of multiple

⁴ The term worldly, rather than secular is used here after II Corinthians 7:10, referring to the two types of grief, worldly as opposed to godly. The term secular is not necessarily applicable in a Byzantine context where it would have little meaning.

burial, while the practice is likely to stem from a 'monastic ideal' (Iverson 1993:53) it was aspired to in worldly circles as the 'ideal life' (Mango 1980: 218-231).

In his discussion of space and hierarchy, Iverson uses the locations of the tombs of the emperors and known members of the ecclesiastical elite to argue for a relatively strict model of hierarchical burial within churches, with burial taking place in the narthex from an early date, expanding to the naos and located as close to the bema as possible (Iverson 1993:70). Burials were ideally on the south side, possibly because the right hand side of Christ was being reserved for the saved in depictions of the resurrection. It is probable that hierarchy was established through burial in churches, and to some extent by the spatial arrangement of the burials (something I discuss further in section 4.2), however there is little hard archaeological evidence either way for the burial of elite groups in church contexts outside of the major urban centres which form the core of Iverson's data set.

One recently published data set which can contribute to the discussion of hierarchy comes from Elaioussa Sebaste (which is arguably within the same tradition as the church burials from the Medieval Byzantine period, despite occupation at the site probably ending in the seventh or eighth century), the population buried in the church cemetery show signs of hard physical labour and poor diet hardly commensurate with 'elite' status, although the entirely male profile of the narthex makes it possible that the burial population of the narthex were priests. If this is the case, the narthex at Elaioussa Sebaste is a rare example of the archaeological record preserving a trend we might expect to find from the texts, the separation of political and ecclesiastical elite.

Negotiation of hierarchical status was almost certainly one of the intentions and effects of burial in a privileged place, but this does not mean that mortuary practice was a straightforward expression of the status of the living. Mortuary practices generally act to rework the status of those participating, transforming both the living and the dead. Display of wealth and rank during mortuary practices was not necessarily more overt than at any other time, particularly in a Byzantine context where asceticism and the monastic ideal was valued (the significance of the general lack of grave goods in Medieval Byzantine graves is discussed further in section 4.7). Although it is possible to make statements about social hierarchy through burial, this is not the only possibility. My research aims to move laterally from discussions of rank to think about experience, part of which is informed by rank and hierarchical status.

Grave furnishings and chronology

The Late Byzantine, or Palaeologian period was witness to a number of changes in mortuary practice, largely ascribed by Iverson to the influence of the crusader presence (Iverson 1993:181). The

major conclusions within Ivison's thesis focus on the period between 1204 and 1453, at least partially because Ivison's dataset is weighted towards the later period. A further factor is that Ivison's thesis embraces a methodological perspective where *change*, and not continuity is emphasised. With the positive evidence for change located in the period after 1204, this inevitably emphasises the later period and largely takes more of the knowledge relating to earlier practice as read. These combined factors of source availability and methodological focus have meant that there is something of a lacuna to be filled for the practices common before 1204 (many of which continued largely unchanging into the later Medieval Byzantine period). The next section of my thesis discusses the trends which Ivison identifies as diagnostic of the Later Medieval Byzantine or Palaologian period, which in turn have allowed me to identify a number of burials within my data set as pre, or post 1204.

Crusader influence

Two trends which Ivison identifies as diagnostic of a post-twelfth century date, and attributes to Latin Catholic (crusader) influence are cephalic burial (where the cranium is surrounded by stones and propped up to face east), and bowl burials, where the individual is buried with a bowl, often of a yellow glazed ware (Ivison 1993: 282). Ivison finds all cephalic burials to be post-twelfth century, roughly aligning with the spread of bowl burials as a firmly later Byzantine trend (Ivison 1993:86-7). Ivison also concludes that the use of stones and body posture in examples of cephalic burial suggests that the body was not secured with bindings or chords (Ivison 1993:37). Examples of burials which could be described as cephalic within my data set include three at Çatalhöyük; CAT3801.1, CAT1450.1, CAT1451.1 and one at Kilise Tepe, KT005. The carbon date for KT005 was taken from a level 1 human rib from grave 09/01, and produced the result BP998+/-26 AD994-1115 (Jackson pers. comm.). The date of this burial suggests that Ivison's chronology is not entirely secure. However this does not discount an interpretation of crusader influence for any of the cephalic burials, only shifts the evidence for western influence earlier. It is plausible that any one of these burials may have been influenced by crusader burial customs, particularly the burial at Kilise Tepe, which dates from the tenth to the twelfth century and is located on a major access route to the south coast along which crusaders passed semi-regularly from the early eleventh century. Unfortunately, the level of recording and publication available for Elaiussa Sebaste, Kalenderhane, Saraçhane, Tyanna Kemmerhisar, Yumuktepe, Barcın, Ilipinar and Amorium is such that it is not possible to tell the position of the cranium.

Further elements of deposition practice which Ivison credits to western influences are bowl burials and shoes. Ivison refers to this influence as 'Frankish', Crusader and Latin or Catholic, attributing the

adoption of these customs in Byzantine contexts to 'peer group interaction' between local Byzantine elites and groups of Latin Christians, mostly from France, traveling in Anatolia between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries (Iverson 1993:249). The presence of bowl burials at Yumuktepe (Caneva and Köroğlu 2008:154, 2009:340), supports Iverson's hypothesis. The cemetery at Yumuktepe is dated to the eleventh and twelfth century by other items of material culture found on the site, details of which are listed in the catalogue entry for Yumuktepe in the appendix to this thesis (Caneva and Köroğlu 2007:678, Caneva and Köroğlu 2009:3420-343). Yumuktepe is in a likely position for crusader influenced burials in the eleventh and twelfth century as it is within the region disputed between the Arab caliphates and the Byzantine Empire, and was on one of the direct land routes from Europe to the Holy Land (see figures 4, 5 and 6 in section 2.1 of this thesis). Iverson traces the tradition of placing bowls within the graves to a similar practice which appears to develop contemporaneously in Western Europe, citing the position of every-day vessels in graves in Paris, Normandy, Liege and Provence as a parallel tradition (Young 1978:319-29, Young 1979:43-52, Perin 1977: 6-15, Bacs 1992 and Fixot and Vallavri 1990:28, all cited in Iverson 1993:247).

From Iverson's dataset, the presence of shoes as an indication of crusader influence seemed highly likely, as shoes were present in crusader contexts in Syria and Palestine, and in Late Medieval Byzantine graves at both the Bema church at Corinth and the Hephaisteion at Athens (Iverson 1993:181 and Johns 1932-3, cited in Iverson 1993). The additional evidence from recent excavations at Amorium and Çatalhöyük allows the opportunity to reassess this hypothesis. The shoes in graves AMR006, AMR007, AMR008 and AMR013 at Amorium could be taken as further evidence for crusader influence, dating as they do to the tenth or eleventh century and being located in an urban centre which is likely to have had contact with Franks. Although the assemblages from urban church cemeteries seem to cite western tradition in their slightly larger quantities of dress accessories, the presence of shoes at Amorium might not indicate crusader influence specifically as much as the changing field of reference in the tenth and eleventh centuries to a tradition of mortuary practice which increasingly gazes west to other Christian traditions, rather than east to the maintained absence of grave furnishing in Islamic tradition.

The evidence for shoes at Çatalhöyük in graves CAT1603 and CAT2161 is much less likely to explicitly cite a western tradition. Grave CAT1603 is likely to be Roman in date, and the only other items of material culture within the cemetery are solidly dated to the first and second century AD (Moore and Jackson in press). CAT2161 and CAT2155, although highly likely to date between the fourth and the tenth or eleventh century (when the territory was moving back and forth between Byzantine and Seljuk control, see section 2.2 on eleventh and twelfth century disputed territory), cannot be

convincingly dated to the period of crusader contact, and the site is not in an obvious location for crusader influence as it is not associated with an urban settlement of any size and is not located on an obvious route from Europe to the Holy Land.

Grille burials

Iverson establishes that grille burials are diagnostic of a twelfth century or later date. Following Theodore Macridy's work on the Palaiologan tombs at the Lips South Church, Iverson argues that tombs with a narrow internal ridge near the base of the sarcophagus were constructed to allow the suspension of a corpse within the sarcophagus on a grille of some sort – metal, wooden or masonry (Macridy 1964:269 cited in Iverson 1993: 125-129). Although no extant examples of metal grilles survive, Iverson builds on the work of Macridy by noting a number of masonry examples survive from the Topkapi Saray basilica which dates to approximately the twelfth century and from the Palaeologian tombs at St. Euphemia (Ogan 1940 and Belting 1966 cited in Iverson 1993:126). Other sites which contain tombs with the diagnostic internal ridge on sarcophagi include the arcosolium of St. Meletios in Boeotia (c 1100-1150), a single eleventh or twelfth century tomb at St. Achilleios in Greece and arcosolia at the Pammakaristos and Chora monasteries in Constantinople (Pazaras 1988:80, Mango and Hawkins 1964:328 and Ousterhout 1987:59 cited in Iverson 1993:126). Once again building on the work of Theodore Macridy, Iverson argues that the grilles (which so far appear to be present only in graves holding multiple individuals), were to aid in the decomposition process, which is speeded by the circulation of oxygen around the corpse. In an open context the fluids produced by the decaying body are channelled away from the body (Ranway 1989:15-37 cited in Iverson 1993:128). Taking forward the work of Iverson and Macridy on grille burials, I will return to the implications for the increased speed of decomposition in section 4.2 on the deposition and decay of corpses.

Grave objects

Iverson identified a number of relatively frequently occurring grave goods which act as diagnostic elements of burials occurring after 1204 and which show western influence. Pennanular buckles, similar to those common in the West began to appear after 1204 (Iverson 1993:176). Buckles and buttons similarly began to appear in burials in the thirteenth century suggesting not only that the dead by this point were sometimes dressed, but also that dress styles had changed to take into account western fashion (Iverson 1993:176 – 180).

On grave goods Iverson makes a number of general points, firstly that jewellery was found more frequently with women, and can therefore be used (albeit cautiously) to assign gender to graves and

that children of both sexes were also found with jewellery (Iverson 1993:186). This statement is problematic in a number of ways, firstly, just because we cannot distinguish the gender of children from skeletal remains does not mean that jewellery was evenly split between the genders, only that if there was a distinction, it is currently not visible to us. Secondly, his analysis at this level seems to have been based on a sample of 13 objects from a single site, Hattusass. Four objects were found with men and nine with women in addition to a knife, which I do not define as jewellery for the purposes of this thesis, but which was classified as jewellery by Iverson. The sample of jewellery used by Iverson is not large enough to discuss general behaviour unlike the sample he used from ceramic evidence and grave morphology, both of which significantly increased the chronological resolution of the dataset.

The recent publication of Barcin, Ilipinar, Kalenderhane, Tyana Kemerhisar and Yumuktepe, as well as access to the archives of excavation records for Alahan and Kilise Tepe has allowed me to focus on mortuary practice prior to 1204. The site-by-site analysis of the cemetery material which forms section 3.1 moves on from Iverson's analysis while still using material contained in his thesis from the wider Empire and dating to the period after 1204 as *comparanda* and to put my dataset in context. In addition to the sites that have been published after Iverson completed his thesis and the unpublished archives which have been made available to me, I will return to the site of Saraçhane in Istanbul, a site included in Iverson's thesis, in order to reappraise the Saraçhane material in context with the newly-available data. Where my interpretation of the primary data is divergent from Iverson's this is noted in section 3.1 and within the site catalogue which forms the appendix to this thesis.

Iverson's theoretical methodology

Iverson's thesis is based on an established theoretical tradition of using mortuary practices to approach the social persona of the deceased and the desired social projections of the living to produce a social history of urban populations through their cemeteries. Iverson is aware of a troubled relationship between archaeology and ethnography in his approach, particularly the limitations of direct analogy; "my study also shows that Byzantine burial cannot be understood through the distorting prism of modern practice, which clearly reacts to and is the product of a very different cultural, social and economic environment" (Iverson 1993:285). Nonetheless, modern practices form part of his analysis. For example when discussing the role of women in preparing bodies for burial Iverson (1993: 171) cites Alexiou's description of contemporary greek practice (1974:39-42). Earlier in the thesis Iverson states that "the actual and / or symbolic use of mortuary artefacts may be elucidated in the form of a living Orthodox tradition, the Byzantine burial liturgies and related texts"

(Iverson 1993:170). The conflation of modern Greek practice with the Byzantine Orthodox church is a common issue in the historiography of Byzantine mortuary practices, where the modern Greek Orthodox church is taken as a proxy for the Byzantine institution.

The use of direct analogy in this field, when it has been largely banished from mainstream archaeological discussions, is a situation encouraged by the tacit knowledge of the modern Orthodox church that their faith has remained the same. Within this thesis I have aimed to be somewhat more explicit, wherever possible, about the chain of reference which links our understanding to Byzantine mortuary practices, and where the source of information has not been made clear in wider reading, I have assumed that the conclusions were based on direct ethnographic parallels which were possibly, but by no means certainly, direct descendants of Byzantine practices and have therefore excluded them from analysis. This has in some ways limited the scope of this thesis to an assessment of the elements of mortuary practice which are directly evidenced by the archaeological material. Examples of 'what everybody knows' which have been excluded from this thesis are the role of women in preparing the body for burial and mourning and much of the detail of funerals and commemorative services. The acts attested in the archaeological record which surround the funeral and precede commemoration have been studied, but not the funeral or commemorative acts themselves. It will take further careful work, beyond the scope of this thesis, to unpick which textual accounts of Medieval Byzantine funerals and commemorative services rely on direct analogy, which on primary documentary evidence and which present a combination of the above.

Use of direct ethnographic analogy occurs elsewhere in Iverson's text. For example on page 198 of his thesis he suggests that as the only knife within the given data set belonged to a woman, it was possible that it was present for ritually significant reasons. The parallel given was one from modern Macedonia where a knife is used to sever the relationships of a bride with her family (Iverson 1993:198). Given that knives were not common grave goods in Byzantium, although they were in daily use for both men and women in western Medieval contexts (Gilchrist 2012:77) and particularly given that Iverson notes other instances of western dress and mortuary practice transmitting to Byzantine contexts post 1204, it is entirely possible that this knife was a daily object for the woman it belonged to. Even if it had greater meaning, it is unlikely to have the same significance as a knife in a grave from modern Macedonia.

A third instance of direct analogy is present in Iverson's approach to mortuary practice and his use of phenomenological theory, which assumes some extent of shared experience between the past and the present. This is particularly apparent in his application of a modern western concept of health and disease as natural, evident in the statement that; "the ethos behind cemeteries was the

segregation and protection of the dead from disturbance, but also the protection of the living from the miasma of death” (Iverson 1993:54). Although miasma, and the concept of bad smells transmitting disease (and being indicative of sin) is present in the Late Roman period and originates in classical discourse about bodies and putrefaction (Curtis 2007:662), this was arguably not the universal experience of death in Medieval Byzantium. For example, graves were frequently opened to deposit new bodies, suggesting that protecting both the dead from disturbance and the living community that opened the grave from disease transmitted by smell was not a priority (*contra* Iverson 1993:54). Concepts of health and disease are not something we can take for granted. Functional interpretations of behaviour which seem to match our own preconceptions of how the dead should be disposed of and treated as pollutants, run the risk of projecting our own modern western concepts and categories of pure and impure onto past societies, these things are demonstrably not universal (e.g. Douglas 1966). The theological context of Byzantine bodily purity and putrefaction is discussed in some detail in section 3.2, and applied to my analysis of moments of deposition in chapter 4, specifically section 4.2. Concepts of health, disease and purity were different in Byzantium, and by reducing mortuary behaviour to ‘practical’ responses we miss an opportunity to approach the world differently.

2.2.2 Wider theoretical approaches to mortuary practice

The most frequent approach to mortuary practice within archaeology draws on the social theory of Tainter (1978), Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971). These three theorists are united in their view that the most useful thing the study of mortuary practice can bring to archaeology is access to social structure, hierarchy and rank. Iverson largely agrees with this – his analysis is very much geared towards attempting to reconstruct social structure or rank through an analysis of the position of the graves of the elite, consistently discussing grave goods in terms of value, wealth and the financial circumstances of the people burying the dead (e.g. Iverson 1993:106,204). These ideas are based on a variation on the representational theme that the status of the dead person within society is a reflection of the status of the living person. Tainter stated that wealth during life is proportionally represented by the monetary value of the grave goods (Tainter 1978:125) and this attitude is reflected in Iverson’s analysis of material culture in the grave (e.g. Iverson 1993:216). Binford used variation in mortuary practice as a proxy for societal complexity; the more layers of hierarchy there are in society the more diverse he expected mortuary practices to be (Binford 1971:14). Arthur Saxe pioneered the use of sociologist Ward Goodenough’s ‘social persona’ in archaeology, aiming to identify the elements of social persona (which term refers to the adoption of identity at a specific point in time) which were ‘reflected’ in mortuary practice (Goodenough 1965 and Saxe 1970 cited in

Fowler in press). More recently, both Peter Ucko (1969) and Mike Parker-Pearson (1982) have argued that there might be deliberate manipulation of mortuary contexts to 'misrepresent' status during life at death.

The goal of seeking 'social status' above all else in studies of mortuary practice has recently been critiqued by individuals engaged in relational approaches to archaeology. Chris Fowler's approach to identity in mortuary practice emphasises the relational aspects of Goodenough's work, shifting the emphasis from the discovery of which aspects of social persona are reflected in mortuary practice to identifying how mortuary contexts transform social persona (Fowler in press). This moves us beyond a discussion of rank and status as a consistent (and potentially innate and stable) element of a person's identity to a discussion which is potentially more accurate. The relational approach of Fowler foregrounds the concept that identity is flexible, and constantly renegotiated within context. This repositioning suggests that although we cannot discuss the status of a person in a living society throughout their life course, we can use mortuary evidence to talk about the assemblage they are involved in at death. The relational concepts introduced here are discussed more thoroughly in section 2.3.

A general critique of structuralist approaches to death and society is at heart a critique of the theory of ritual and rites of passage put forward by van Gennep and discussed in more detail in 2.3. For van Gannep (and the vast majority of other archaeologists dealing with mortuary practice including to some extent, Chris Fowler) ritual is *always* used to move people from one state to another (van Gennep 1960[1909]:3, Fowler in press). The issue with the idea that ritual is used to move someone or something from one state to another is that for something to be moved from one state to another assumes that the states are pre-existing. If we blur the edges of van Gennep's taxonomy slightly then it becomes more relational, a distributed moment of transformation marked by ritual. In a relational understanding of ritual, rites of passage do not move people from one state to another, but rather they are part of the means of creating categories of understanding. Actions reposition the self whether or not this is the intention (this is discussed further in section 2.3 of this chapter).

A further fundamental critique of discussions of hierarchy and status is raised by the question what do we mean when we discuss the 'social'? This debate has been led by proponents of symmetrical archaeology notably Tim Webmoor and Christopher Witmore (2008). Webmoor and Witmore discuss how the term social reinvigorated post-processual archaeological dialogue. The discussion moved the debate from a position where society was conceived of as a functional response to environment, to a discussion of identity which took into account the way that the social and the

physical worlds interact. The 'social' goes along with the suffix -ity (seen in temporality, spatiality, materiality) to act as a shorthand for a block of theory which concentrates on understanding as a dialectic process, a reflexive forming and reforming of the physical world through understanding (e.g. Shanks and Tilley 1987). For two things to interact however, they need to be ontologically distinct, which means that implicit in this way of thinking is the concept that understanding, knowledge and the mind are somehow removed from the world. The crux of the matter for Webmoor and Witmore is that archaeological theory has continually swung between theoretical positions which prioritize the 'human' or the 'natural' whereas the relational perspectives of Heidegger, Alfred North Whitehead and Latour suggest that we cannot separate the two (Webmoor and Witmore 2008:57). Some of these approaches (particularly those of Bruno Latour) are discussed further in the next section of this chapter, 2.3, on theoretical approaches to reality.

By using the term 'social', archaeologists implicitly purify nature from culture, removing ourselves and our understandings from the world in our discussions of past and present. While this might be acceptable when discussing how modern people rationalize the world (although there is some debate over whether this is how we experience it (e.g. Latour 1993) it is unlikely that prior to the enlightenment existence was rationalized or experienced like this. Using the 'social' as a catch all term to refer to the way that people interact with (and are therefore somehow separate from) the world is an example of an inappropriate use of a modern rationalization to understand a past context.

Webmoor and Witmore's main point of contention with archaeologies of the 'social' is that the term adds nothing; it is "a mysterious force behind the scenes that accounts for all and for nothing. The social itself is not explained" (Webmoor and Witmore 2008:65). These types of analyses of social theory lend themselves to statements such as 'the social construction of...', but not inevitably to a greater understanding of the past. When they discussed 'social persona', archaeologists were trying to develop an understanding of how a specific individual interacted with other people, with the things and places around them acting as symbols, or measures of expended effort, which translated to status. Only part of this network (the relations that are person to person) is what we might refer to purely as the 'social'. Even those purest of person to person interactions, which do not involve things (sex for example, or a handshake) happen enmeshed within the world in that they involve the physical environment and the past knowledge and experiences of the people involved.

If the social covers everything, then it means nothing. The term has become obsolete, as 'social' science has come to realize that all academic studies are social, that in fact everything humans do is social. During the process of becoming obsolete, thinking critically about the social has led to more

interesting questions. By including things, places and experiences in archaeological analysis we can expand beyond the questions of rank, hierarchy and status to begin to inquire into issues such as how specific objects affected the emotional state of people associated with a death, how physical practices related to beliefs about the afterlife and the extended life course, and how these details varied regionally and diachronically (all themes I try to address in chapter 4). These relational approaches (set out more thoroughly in section 2.3) work towards what I see as one of the key questions within humanitarian disciplines, the stated goal of Tim Webmoor and Chris Witmore, working out “what is it to be human?” (Webmoor and Witmore 2008:53).

In addition to these critiques of the general goals of the study of mortuary practice and the terms we use to address them it is necessary to mention non-representational theory (Thrift 2008). Mortuary practices do not *reflect* identity, even transformed contextual or ‘social’ identity; they are not a magic mirror through which we can view the true past. In section 2.3 I will begin to set out how I think mortuary practices emerged out of and created a series of statuses and transformations of status. Mortuary practices did relate to the lived identities of people and tacit knowledge held by communities about the person who died but were not inevitably conscious expressions of these identities. A change in theoretical methodology means that when examining mortuary practices we are observing the physical remains of moments in time, the relations behind which we attempt to unpick to say something about the way the people were. Those networks also include experience, and specifically emotion. We should explore issues of identity, even rank and hierarchy, through mortuary practices, but rank is not the only element of a mortuary network that has an effect on how people were buried; other elements of the network are worth exploring. I develop the themes of how emotion and belief can usefully be addressed by archaeology further in section 2.3.2 of this chapter.

Issues outside of ‘social’ status are already being explored by a number of scholars within the field, specifically by a tradition which aims to discuss emotion and experience, notably Sarah Tarlow, Oliver Harris, Roberta Gilchrist, Elizabeth Hallam and Jennifer Hockey (Tarlow 1999, Harris and Sørensen 2010, Gilchrist 2008, Hallam and Hockey 2001). Chris Fowler specifically points out that mortuary practices are “the media of specific belief systems concerning the nature of life and death” (Fowler in press). Approaching mortuary practice from the perspective that they can inform us about belief systems surrounding life and death is very much in line with the approach taken by another scholar of medieval archaeology, Roberta Gilchrist. Gilchrist’s approach to mortuary practice has moved from a 2005 study with Barney Sloane on the medieval monastic burials from Britain to a broader study of the medieval life course, which takes mortuary practice not as a separate source of

evidence to be dealt with at a distance, but as part of a wider whole, one element in a field which encompasses how people lived, and died, and the moments before and after death (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005, Gilchrist 2012). Gilchrist's study of death encompasses emotions and experience, memory and senses, following (among others) Hallam and Hockey, in broadening out the scope of what can be examined through mortuary practices to include issues other than 'social' status (Gilchrist 2012, Hallam and Hockey 2001). These alternative methodologies have been fundamental in moving the scope of this thesis from seeing mortuary practice as representative of status to a more relational approach.

In trying to construct a relational approach to mortuary practice, I endeavour not only to discuss rank and status, but also to inform on the life course. Relational ontologies not only imply methodological breadth but also a shift in what we assume can be explored from mortuary evidence. The aim to talk about mortuary practice in more open ways, beyond hierarchy and the social, has in great part grown out of reading about relational approaches to ontology in other disciplines as well as reappraising the sorts of things mortuary practice has been used to discuss. The next section of this chapter (2.3) will move on from a discussion of Ivison to address relational terms and concepts before focusing on how they can be combined with more traditional approaches to mortuary practice used by structuralist anthropologists.

2.3 Theoretical approaches to reality

Archaeological theory is an attempt to articulate how we understand the world to work, and where humans fit within this. Within this section (2.3) I shall set out the key terms and concepts that have been influential to the production of this thesis from relational theory in sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 before returning to reappraising the usefulness of structuralist approaches to mortuary practice in 2.3.3. The relational approaches that I am engaging with within this chapter and throughout the remainder of this thesis are collectively referred to as the ontological turn in the social sciences, and as symmetrical within archaeology (Alberti, Fowles, Holbraad, Marshall and Witmore 2011:896). Although there are differences between them, relational approaches are cohesive in that they generally take a post-humanist position where humans and the material world are different, but have ontological parity. Essentially, these approaches move us away from the humanist perspective, first framed by Descartes, which defined humans as ontologically distinct from the world. Humanist approaches assume an a-priori distinction between object and subject, nature and culture. By contrast, the post-humanist tradition has been built up around a chain of philosophical thought which runs from the phenomenological work of Heidegger, North Whitehead and others through to the relational ontologies of Latour, Deleuze and Guattari, and has been developed for archaeology within the last decade through the work of a body of authors including Tim Webmoor, Christopher

Witmore, Bjørnar Olsen, Gavin Lucas, and many others (Heidegger 1962, Whitehead 1929, Latour 1993, 1999, Deleuze and Guattari 1987, Webmoore and Witmore 2008, Olsen 2010, Lucas 2012).

A post-humanist approach does not take humans out of the equation. They are still a valid area of study; as Gavin Lucas has argued, for a network to be interesting to archaeologists it must include humans (Lucas 2012:261). We cannot study a network without involving humans in it. What post-humanist approaches do differently is to level the playing field a little, and acknowledge that humans alone cannot act, because we cannot think ourselves outside of the world. 'Agency' or more properly the ability to act is instead produced by the relationships between things, rather than residing in any particular essence of material, humanness or divinity. The implications of this for archaeology and anthropology (some of which are discussed in section 2.3.2 and section 2.3.3 of this chapter) are massive, requiring that we attempt to understand other cultures not from a position of superior knowledge (e.g. 'I know that the world is split into nature and culture') but beginning from a point of symmetry – where humans, objects and thoughts (all 'things' in the sense of 'gatherings') all have the potential to contribute to the action of an assemblage, network or moment. In short, relational thinkers tend to suggest that there is no separation between mind and body, and this has led to a shift in how we think about the world and the relationships between humans and nonhumans.

2.3.1 Terms and concepts: network, assemblage, moment, thing, blackbox, present-to/ready-at-hand

There are a number of interrelated key terms and concepts deployed throughout this thesis which require explanation. The concepts of network, assemblage moment, thing and blackbox have similar meanings and relational connotations, but convey different emphases, and have been coined and used by authors with different agendas.

Network

Bruno Latour's concept of actor-network theory (ANT) is a highly developed relational scheme of understanding. The concept of actions emerging out of relations is illustrated in his example of the National Rifle Association (NRA) and gun-crime. Latour characterises the two sides of this debate as moralist and materialist. For the NRA, whose unofficial slogan is 'guns don't kill people: people kill people', the state of a person is either moral or a-moral, and the presence of the gun does nothing to change them. From this perspective, the natural state of a killer is to kill, whether or not she has a weapon. Contrasting with this position, Latour characterises the materialists (slogan: guns kill people), as holding the position that people are transformed by the materials in their possession. From this perspective an angry person in possession of a gun must be transformed into a killer.

Against these two polarized thought positions, Latour suggests that the action of shooting is created by neither the natural proclivities of a homicidal human being, nor by the monstrous object of technology, but by the network; the relations between the person and the gun. Guns don't kill people, people don't kill people, people-with-guns kill people (Latour 1999:176-177).

Latour's term network has acquired implications of static links between essences (even if that is not what he has meant by the term), largely because there is very little scope for continuity in a Latourian network where to change a single actant is to reconfigure the entire network. In chapter 4 I will discuss the effect produced by assemblages of mourning and burial in a relational, largely Latourian fashion, while still acknowledging the continuity of lived experience through using the terms assemblage and moment rather than network.

Assemblage

"An assemblage is, first, an ad hoc grouping, a collective whose origins are historical and circumstantial, though its contingent status says nothing about its efficacy, which can be quite strong. An assemblage is, second, a living, throbbing grouping whose coherence coexists with energies and countercultures that exceed and confound it. An assemblage is, third, a web with an uneven topography: some of the points at which the trajectories of actants cross each other are more heavily trafficked than others, and thus power is not equally distributed across the assemblage. An assemblage is, fourth, not governed by a central power: no one member has sufficient competence to fully determine the consequences of the activities of the assemblage. An assemblage, finally, is made up of many types of actants: humans and nonhumans; animals, vegetables, and minerals; nature, culture, and technology." (Bennett 2005:445).

Bennett's term, assemblage, has implications of vibrancy, and implies an understanding of matter which is relational through time. For Bennett, in opposition to Latour, the concept of diachronic change contributes to the relational nature of assemblages, in this sense Bennett's assemblages are similar to Ingold's meshwork (Ingold 2007:80, developed from Lefebvre 1991:117-18), although I will use assemblage over the term meshwork for its archaeological connotations.

The positions taken by Tim Ingold and Jane Bennett emphasise the motion inherent in their relational schemes, where assemblages are continuous but continually re-configured and varied. In contrast, Latour tends to discuss crystalized snapshots of a network within a moment emphasizing the difference between one moment and the next. Ingold and Bennett both emphasize the becoming nature of things, acknowledging that everything is constantly fluid and in motion, that

nothing is ever still. In my use of the term assemblage it is the sense of becoming and continual reconfiguring that I want to take forward to the discussion section of this thesis in chapter 4.

Moment

Later in this thesis, in chapter 4 when I discuss experienced moments of mortuary practice, I am choosing to emphasise the experienced nature of assemblages which involve people. By using the term moment as well as assemblage, I aim to bring to the fore the situated nature of practice; each time a mortuary ritual took place, it took place differently, and it is some of the varieties of this specificity that I am aiming to address. In many ways assemblage in its non-archaeological sense fulfils this brief, stressing as it does the becoming nature of things, however I feel that moment is a rather more explicit acknowledgement of the passage of time and the duration of processes.

Thing

The concept of assemblage has a lot in common with Latour's networks, but also with the concept of thing, a term which has become central to archaeological understandings of material culture. Things in this sense are not only objects, but are themselves assemblages. In *Building, Dwelling, Thinking*, Heidegger deconstructs the term thing and examines its etymology, which is that of a gathering (Heidegger 1977:294). I understand Heidegger's things as largely synonymous with Bennett's assemblages and the moments of mortuary practice discussed in chapter 4. Neither things (as a category which includes both humans and non-humans) nor assemblages are made up solely of the physical world, but are also always made up of understandings of the world.

This distinction between thing in the sense of a Heideggerian gathering, as opposed to a material object is not always upheld in relational approaches. In his most recent book *Entangled* Ian Hodder tries to draw out the differences between a thing and our understanding of a thing, and in doing so once again separates culture from nature (Hodder 2012: 18-23). Whether or not this was his intention (and on the whole I think it was not) the things that Hodder talks about are largely material, the concepts and humans described as ontologically distinct, for example in a section on the book on the relations between things, relations are discussed under subheadings which are actions undertaken by humans, particularly "Use... Consumption... Discard" (Hodder 2012:43). By contrast, things in this thesis, whether physical entities (including humans), or concepts, are always also blackboxed assemblages.

Blackboxes

The term blackboxing, or blackbox is one commonly used in the sociology of science, and is a concept that I have come to through Bruno Latour's work on actor-network-theory, particularly *Pandora's Hope* (Latour 1999:174-215). As in his discussion of networks, Latour holds that the world is relational at every scale, from social networks and economics, to the micro and even quantum levels. We are able to understand these assemblages (such as the assemblage which is a molecule, the assemblage which is a carpenter, the assemblage which is the internet, or the assemblage which is a thesis) as entities because we group or categorise assemblages, and define them, as things. This process of ignoring the interactions (and past actions) that make up a thing, and only paying attention to its output, what it does in the present, is blackboxing. The key point to keep in mind is that blackboxes can be opened and renegotiated, they are not fixed or essential, but eternally reconfiguring – if anything within the network which makes up the blackbox changes, the blackbox (as one area of the network) itself is different, as in Latour's example of the NRA (Latour 1999: 176-8).

Ready-to-hand, present-at-hand.

Related to the concepts of blackboxing, and opening up the boxes to look critically at what is inside, are the concepts of ready-to-hand and present-to-hand detailed by Heidegger in *Being and Time* (Heidegger cited in Mulhall 1996:40-46). Heidegger uses these terms to discuss consciousness and the nature of being. For Heidegger, when things are ready-to-hand we do not think about using them (in Latour's terms they are blackboxed, the relations are not brought to mind, we are simply existing as part of assemblages which function smoothly) whereas when things break, or we do not know how to use them they are brought into sharper focus, and become present-at-hand (in Latourian terms, we open the black box and realise that it was not a single entity anyway, but a network itself). I use ready-to-hand and present-at-hand in section 3.2 to discuss things which are thoughts, and the ways in which concepts can be ready-to, or present-at, hand.

2.3.2 Relational approaches to archaeology

During the last decade, archaeology has been heavily influenced by relational approaches to the past, in part because of a movement towards interdisciplinary or 'holistic' studies of other cultures which aim to take the truth of what others know about the world seriously (Alberti and Marshall 2009:344). The core tenets of the relational approach, that there is no ontological distinction between raw experience and thinking about raw experience (contra Hodder 2012:19), that experiences themselves are both naturally *and* culturally embedded and that in trying to understand the past we locate it in the present, require that we take past assemblages, including knowledge and experience seriously. This intellectually political agenda, implicit in ANT and symmetrical

archaeology, demands an integrated approach to past assemblages encompassing knowledge, meaning and experience. Taking the knowledge of people in the past seriously applies to spiritual knowledge and ritual acts as much as to knowledge of mathematics, language and other things I *know* are true, such as physics, what is fashionable, and global warming. For a Byzantine past this means it is essential to consider how belief, faith and God fit into the assemblages we study. The next section of this chapter, relational approaches to belief, will précis Latour's discussion of belief, iconoclasm and God. Part of thinking about knowledge is considering how meaning is constructed, which I will begin to do in the section titled 'relational approaches to meaning'. The final element of this section on relational approaches to archaeology will consider how a relational approach has affected the study of emotion in the past. If we are to take past knowledge seriously, it is necessary to attempt to approach the experience of past people as experience cannot be separated from knowledge.

Relational approaches to belief

For Latour, a Byzantine God, as all other things outside a modernist settlement, is a factich. What is meant by this, is that rather than being either 'real' (knowledge of a natural thing), or 'fabricated' (belief in a cultural thing), human understanding produces factiches which are real because they are fabricated (Latour 1999:272-275). This is illustrated in the two diagrams reproduced below:

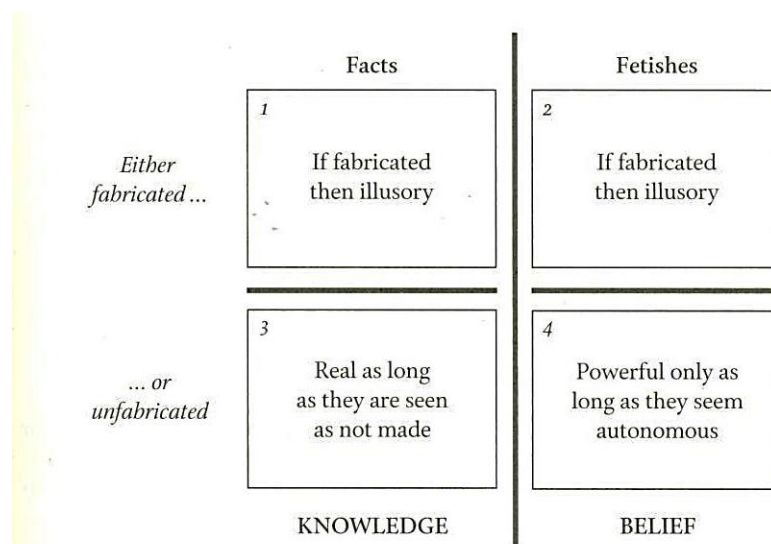


Figure 9.1 In the canonical division of fact and fetish, each of the two divided functions (knowledge and belief) can be exposed by the question: Is it fabricated or is it real? The question implies that fabrication and autonomy are contradictory.

Figure 8: The modernist settlement separating knowledge from belief. Reproduced from Latour (1999:273 figure 9.1)

	Facts	Fetishes
<i>Because they are fabricated...</i>	1 When facts are well fabricated...	2 When fetishes are well fabricated...
<i>...they allow reality to be autonomous</i>	3 ...facts are autonomous	4 ...they are what make us act rightly

FACTISHES

Figure 9.2 Once the fabrication is seen as the cause of autonomy *and* reality for both facts and fetishes, the vertical division between knowledge and belief of Figure 9.1 disappears; it is replaced by a new transversal question: What is it to fabricate *well* so as to make autonomy possible?

Figure 9: Factiches. Reproduced from Latour (1999:274 figure 9.2)

In a context without vocal atheists, whether or not people ‘believed’ in Byzantine varieties of God is no longer the question; relational enquiry instead enables us to ask how people’s knowledge of God and the other world affects their assemblages. For Latour, modernist beliefs and iconoclasts exist in a network which requires ideas to be autonomous (or natural) to be true, whereas a non-modernist (such as Latour himself) sees that nothing is autonomous, and that understanding grows out of the relationships between humans and nonhumans – factiches are real because they are fabricated. When Latour is discussing iconoclasm and belief he states that iconoclasts create belief by being intent on its destruction. Without people to object volubly to it, belief is not different to knowledge, there is little difference between the ways that people *know* that the sun will come up tomorrow, the way in which Byzantine people *knew* that there is an afterlife or the way that I *know* that an aeroplane I am entering will remain airborne. For Latour, it is the iconoclasts who create belief and therefore the possibility of disbelief, it is the iconoclasts who create fetishes because they separate them from facts.

The full detail of Latour’s position on belief is contained within *Pandora’s Hope* (Latour 1999:266-292), and I wish to draw only one small strand of it out and examine it. The way in which I read Latour makes me think that for him (as for me) ‘belief’ in a world which has secular elements is completely different to belief in a world which has varieties in theology, but in which God is accepted knowledge, as in Byzantium.

This, perhaps, is the difference between belief and faith, and in thinking about ‘belief’ in the past, we are and retrofitting our conception of the world to create a past in which people ‘believed’ in God (cf. Latour 1999:145-173). When we ask what people believed in the past we are doing them a

disservice, and should instead be asking what they knew, what they had faith in (*pace* Alberti and Marshal 2009:344). This may seem a semantic difference, but I think that this small shift acts to put back together the fact and fetish of the modernist settlement into factich, which is probably a more accurate description of the experienced past. There is however a glaring issue here, that of doubt and atheism. I am not insisting that medieval people all believed in God. I do however think that all members of Byzantine communities knew about God, and that knowledge shaped their decisions surrounding the end of life and mortuary practices. When I speak of faith and knowledge in the rest of this thesis I am talking about God as a Byzantine factich, as fabricated, and therefore real.

Relational approaches to meaning

Tied up with Byzantine ideas of God are relational understandings of the construction of meaning. Humans do not understand everything in a literal fashion. For this thesis the difference between allegorical and literal truth in the Byzantine world is important (particularly for my discussion of objects and meaning in section 4.7). The Oxford English Dictionary defines allegory as ‘a story, poem, or picture which can be interpreted to reveal a hidden meaning, typically a moral or political one’. Archaeologists have more commonly used metaphor, rather than allegory to discuss non-literal meaning (e.g. Tilley 1999). There is a huge body of work which deals with the concept of metaphor and the extent to which it is embedded in human rationality (beginning with Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Archaeologists have used metaphor to think about materials but this has tended to bring us back to a position where material things represent concepts. Representation is a problematic concept for relational thought where actions emerge from the relations between things; the physical things, as well as their perceived meaning are important.

Material metaphors embody relationships which are almost envisioned as one to one between sign and signified – the idol represents the God as in Latour’s discussion of Jagannath and the stone (Latour 1999: 268-269). My problem with a metaphorical understanding of stories (*pace* Latour *ibid.*) is that idols and icons do not represent anything. Objects associated with divine power are not metaphors for something else, they are only ever themselves, even though the nature of that self differs for us, for Latour, and for the people using or intent on destroying the icon.

Metaphorical understanding is key to human cognition, we understand things by referencing other things. However the use of metaphor in material culture studies separates nature from culture; objects end up representing concepts and are not understood in their own right. What I propose instead of understanding objects as metaphors for thoughts is that some Byzantine objects can be understood as being caught up in allegorical assemblages.

Allegory is a style of writing extremely common within Byzantine theology (discussed in section 3.2). In Medieval Byzantine texts, allegory is used when ambiguity is required, to sketch the essence of an idea without giving specific details. This is important for issues such as the nature of the afterlife or the time scheduled for the apocalypse, where the canonical texts say we cannot know the mind of God. I will engage with this concept more thoroughly in my discussion of objects in graves in section 4.7. Suffice to say at this point that objects are not in themselves, allegories, but may have acted to call to mind the allegorical meanings, the ambiguities present in mortuary assemblages.

Relational approaches to emotion

The final area of theory where relational ontologies have significantly impacted my approach is in considering emotion and experience. Emotions are a complex phenomenon, central to the experience of being human and therefore caught up in any assemblage which includes humanity. The study of emotion is generally split into biological approaches, which take the human body as essentially the same cross-culturally, where emotions are felt, not thought, and cultural approaches which emphasise the contextual nature of emotion (the division between these two paradigms, and their intellectual history, was ably set out by Proudfoot (1977)). In truth, very few anthropological studies occupy either of these extreme polarizations of emotion theory, most adopting a bio-cultural approach which acknowledges both the culturally specific and embodied aspects of emotion (e.g. Ahmed 2004, Lutz 1998, Tarlow 2000, Rosaldo 2004[1989]).

In their article *Rethinking Emotion and Material Culture* Oliver Harris and Tim Flohr Sørensen (2010) aimed to create a new vocabulary for talking about the emotionally generative qualities of the material world. They endeavoured to provide a toolkit for answering some of the questions that relational ontologies open up to us by placing emotion squarely within the world, rather than separate to it as a product of modern cognition. Harris and Sørensen define their four key terms as 'Emotion', 'Affective fields', 'Attunement' (the manner in which we experience being-in-the-world) and 'Atmosphere' (which I read as the element of experiencing the world which people can be attuned to). These are not distinct categories, but together constitute a means of discussing experienced emotion in the absence of textual specifics. For me, the two key points here are the manner in which emotion is defined and the concept of an affective field.

Harris and Sørensen apply a bio-cognitive approach to define emotion as the act of being moved. Emotions are assemblages which contain both feeling and action "we wish to collapse the discursive awareness of the mental and the bodily, of the felt and the expressed, thus unifying the feeling of being sad and the tears rolling down the cheek...the movement of being-moved-to-tears". (Harris

and Sørensen 2010:149). Affective fields are defined as “the relationship between agents, where something or somebody is stimulating an emotional response in a causal set of events”(Harris and Sørensen 2010:150). The assemblage of humans and non-humans generates an emotional response. It is not the object, person or the action which is affective, but the relationships within the assemblage. A number of the actants within an assemblage of mourning are conceptual, for example, common understandings of words used to describe emotions (emotion terms), or people’s memories of other funerals.

Sarah Tarlow has produced one of the most influential approaches to emotion in archaeology. In her book *Bereavement and Commemoration* (1999), Tarlow approaches subjective responses to death through looking at the common metaphors and stories which surrounded it for the early modern and modern communities she studies. Although Tarlow has been criticized for using empathy, and therefore a cross-cultural, biologically determinist view of emotion, she is not advocating the use of a phenomenological approach, but a contextual one, arguing that “if certain emotions correspond with the values of a society – grief at death, fear of ancestors, love of country for example – then they will be created and recreated through, amongst other things, material practice. As archaeologists it is material practice to which we have access” (Tarlow 1999:35). Tarlow’s essential premise, that humans use material culture to create understandings of death, is a useful concept.

Previous studies of Byzantine emotion have largely relied on a philological tradition of scholarship, where specific emotion terms are translated and discussed as connected to translated meanings. For example Martin Hinterberger’s recent work on emotion focuses on the translation of *penthos* as “[mourning] particularly for a human being” (2010:129), *penthos* is discussed in greater detail in section 4.5 of this thesis on shrouding. Although Hinterberger explicitly states that Byzantine emotions should not be considered equivalent to modern feelings (2010:121), he none the less uses ‘typical’ emotional episodes which assume that the Byzantine experience of death is analogous to a modern experience of grief (*ibid.*).

Anthropological studies suggest that although we translate terms from one language to another, the meanings of emotion terms are always culturally specific. For example, in Renato Rosaldo’s seminal study ‘Grief and a Headhunter’s Rage’ Rosaldo describes an extremely personal account of understanding grief in an Illonglot context (Rosaldo 2003[1989]). At the beginning of his time with the Illonglot, Rosaldo was informed that the rage caused by grief impelled them to headhunt. At this point he sought deeper meaning to their words, looking for exchange theories or symbolic meaning. Rosaldo essentially dismissed the Illonglot understanding of grief, looking for other motivations in headhunting, until his wife died in an accident, and suddenly, unexpectedly, he understood a part of

the Illonglot mind-set that he not before; that part of grief could be all consuming rage (Rosaldo 2003[1989]:168-172). For the Illonglot, the two emotions were not separate, the feeling of being moved to headhunt was one and the same with mourning the dead, whereas Rosaldo before his wife's death was trying to translate Illonglot emotions into experiences equivalent to his own. The two experiences of Rosaldo, before and after the death of his wife, drive home the experientially situated nature of emotion, in fact, they emphasise that emotion experiences are not only culturally specific, but individual. The question then becomes how we bridge the gap between the individual experiences of specific moments and the cultural baggage that influences how we experience emotion.

In discussing emotion, Harris and Sørensen's concept of affective field is essentially synonymous to the notion of network, assemblage or moment, but emphasises, just as each of those terms does, a different aspect of relationality. In focussing on emotion as essentially an emergent quality of the affective field/assemblage, Harris and Sørensen are focusing on the human outcome of an assemblage/moment.

Summary

The concepts of a useful distinction between belief and faith, and the presence of allegory in Byzantine mortuary assemblages are departures from existing relational approaches, which require further exploration through archaeological engagement. They will be used in chapter 4 to understand the material record set out in chapter 3.

2.3.3 Anthropological approaches to ritual – Structuralism

In section 2.2 of this thesis I introduced some of the ways in which archaeologists and anthropologists have previously examined mortuary ritual, including the structuralist approach of Arnold van Gennep. In section 2.3.3 I shall now discuss how we can use some of the elements of van Gennep's rites of passage and the anthropological approaches to ritual of Victor Turner and Cathrine Bell in context with relational ontologies to create a structure for thinking about the Byzantine life course.

Among the first, and certainly most influential, synthetic studies of ritual in anthropology was van Gennep's *Rites de passage* ([1909] 1960). Van Gennep's approach is tied up with the functional structuralism of Mauss and Hertz, breaking down society into functional components, the most important of which for van Gennep was ritual (e.g. Mauss [1904-5] 1979, Hertz [1909] 1960). Van Gennep's discussion acted as a starting point for processual approaches to mortuary practice which drew on the structuralism of anthropology to attempt to construct a common human framework.

For van Gennep, this is possible because of his implicit evolutionary understanding of ritual and societies; “As we move downward on the scale of civilisations... we cannot fail to note the ever increasing domination of the secular by the sacred” (van Gennep 1960:2). His analysis treats culture as extra-somatic adaptation which moves from less to more evolved states. For van Gennep, societies ‘progress’ from direct to animistic understandings of power, evolving from ‘semi-civilised’ to ‘modern’ with western secular modernity as the pinnacle of achievement, the highest form of evolution. This perspective is clear in the first few pages of the work, where societies are categorised as ‘simple’ (e.g. Aboriginal communities in Australia) or ‘complex’ (e.g. The Roman Catholic church and Ancient Greek city states) (van Gennep 1960:2). I disagree with this view of culture on a number of levels, not least of which is the racism implicit in considering other cultures ‘primitive’, secondly the use of a biological mechanism (gene transmission) as a metaphor for culture.

Although the function and transmission of genes is well understood, transmission and replication are not as simple as their common use as a metaphor in some influential studies within the social sciences of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries would suggest. As our understanding of genetics increases, it becomes increasingly clear that genes too, are relational, with phenotypes emerging from assemblages which are more complex than gene, stimulus and organism (for a more nuanced view of genetics in action see Wade 2007 on Co-evolutionary genetics). An evolutionary understanding of society based on a teleological principle of progress which is not part of biological evolution, reduces complex phenomena to a simple causal relationship, stimulus and reaction, and eventual survival of the fittest. There is little room for conscious choice or actants, and still less for unintended consequences emerging from relationships in an evolutionary model.

Van Gennep’s schema within *The Rites of Passage* is at its heart, taxonomic, dividing rituals into pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal phases. The goal of van Gennep’s categorisation, like any taxonomy, is to standardize vocabulary for the purpose of mutual understanding. The creation of broad categories at once enables and limits what we can gain from the analysis of any given dataset. When categories have been pre-defined the problem becomes not to judge *whether* they are appropriate, but to judge *which among them* is appropriate. This has the potential to result in shoehorning concepts into ill-fitting spaces, or the creation of categories so broad that they are not really useful for analytic discussions. The process of categorisation is in effect another means of describing a ritual, the data is normalized so it can be compared cross culturally. Van Gennep’s basic categories of rites which are sympathetic or contagious, animistic or dynamistic, direct or indirect, positive or negative, in any combination, produces a complex matrix within which individual rites can be placed, and thus compared. At this level of analysis, at once breaking down rituals into smaller and smaller

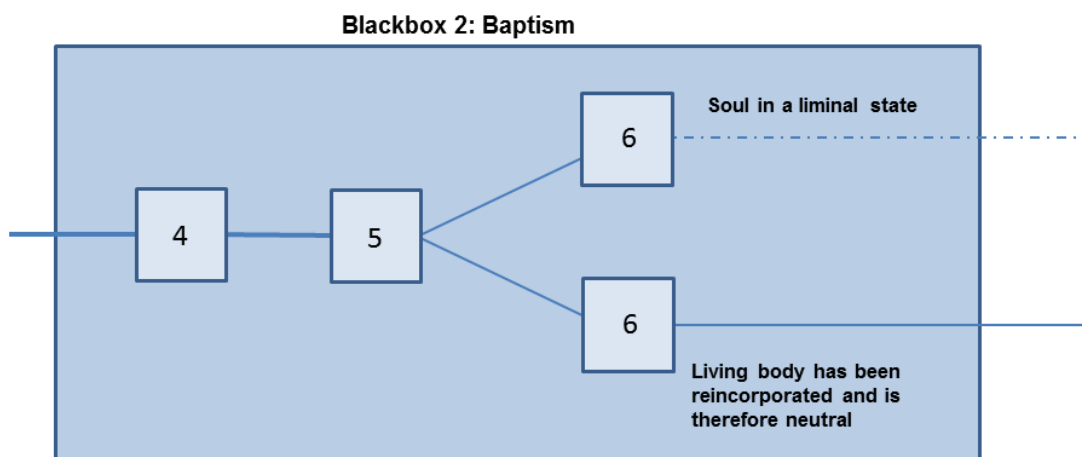
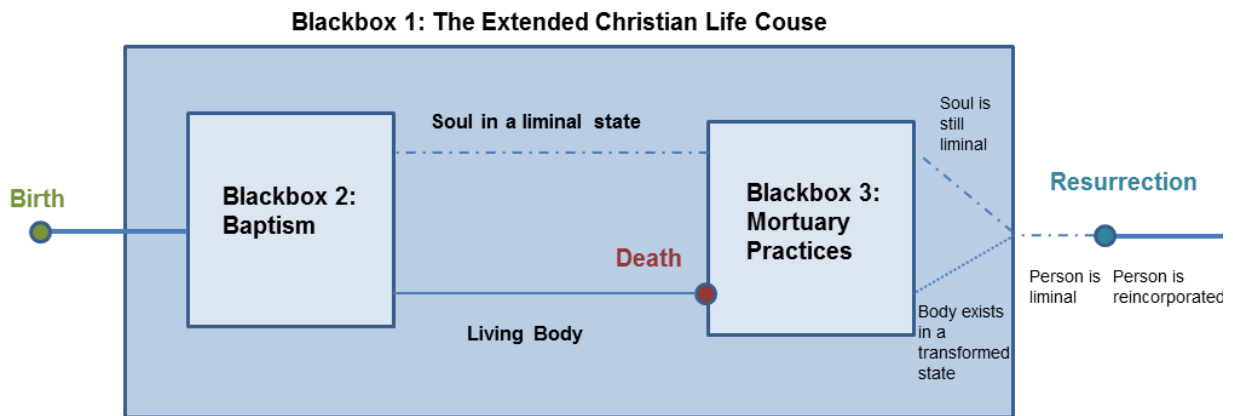
units, while homogenising the possibilities of rituals cross culturally, I do not find the taxonomic scheme useful. Not all taxonomies are unhelpful, arguably there is no language without categories, just as there is no understanding without metaphors or oppositions, however this does not mean that all categories, all metaphors, all oppositions within language are universally true. Van Gennep's scheme of pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal stages of transition, performed through ritual appears to hold together for a Byzantine context where there were codified states of personhood and established rituals to move people between them (discussed further in section 3.2). This is not to say that people necessarily felt themselves to belong to one state or another, only that the rituals in place provided them with that option. Socially assumed positions are always ambiguous, and rituals in the Byzantine world were a central part of how people declared for or self-identified as one role or another.

In the section of *The Rites of Passage* which deals with initiation, van Gennep describes Roman Catholic baptism in terms of the pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal phases of ritual. The rites of separation, or pre-liminal rites were necessary for an individual to become a catechumen, or initiate, and focused on exorcism; the liminal rites, or rite of transition, included further exorcism, instruction in faith, the initiate was anointed with oil, renounced Satan and swore allegiance to Christ (1960:94) this is illustrated in figure 10. The post-liminal phase of the baptism was the incorporation "Water was blessed, and the catechumen was sprinkled with it and hence became *regeneratus* [literally 'having been brought forth again', usually translated 'born again']" (van Gennep 1960:94).

This is an accurate description of the process of western Medieval baptism, but it is not the only means of applying the pattern of the rites of passage to Christian ritual. We can also describe the entire extended life course of Medieval Byzantine and western Medieval Christianity as belonging to these phases. The pre-liminal person only exists prior to baptism, which become rites of separation affecting the soul (for the extended medieval life course see Gilchrist 2012:19). The liminal phase of ritualized Christian life lasted between baptism and the resurrection (cf. van Gennep 1960:191-2) encompassing the majority of time between physical birth and physical death. The rites of incorporation would only occur for normal initiates after death, on the day of resurrection, when the faithful were incorporated into the body of Christ. This view of the extended life-course, the altered role of saints, and the implications for the purpose of mortuary practices is discussed more fully in my use of van Gennep's categories throughout chapters 3 and 4.

Both van Gennep and I have used his structural understanding of the rites of passage to discuss the Christian life course, and have come to subtly different conclusions. These differing scales of ritual are both 'true' in that they both make sense of Christian rituals. Van Gennep's model is thus

apparently applicable at a number of different levels. Although I am by no means certain that we do not limit ourselves by projecting such a rigid pattern universally onto the past, in this instance I have found the schema of pre-liminal, liminal and post liminal stages of ritual (and of life) a useful means of pulling apart Christian ritual. The understanding that 'ritual' can work simultaneously at a number of different scales is fundamentally a relational one in which ritual cycles can exist nested within one another. This concept is illustrated in figure 10 below, which uses a combination of van Gennepe's



Blackbox 4: Person is exorcized in the pre-liminal rite, separated from society and becomes a catechumen

Blackbox 5: Liminal phase, the initiate undergoes instruction, renounces Satan and is anointed with oil

Blackbox 6: Post-liminal, water is blessed and the catechumen sprinkled with it.

This transforms the soul to a liminal state and reincorporates the body into society.

tripartite ritual structure and Latour's blackboxes to trace the Byzantine extended life course.

The understanding developed here of rituals working at different scales and on different components of the person is a key shift from the understanding of van Gennepe in 1909. This is the

movement to an understanding that when we talk about ritual at any level we are essentially blackboxing a set of actions in to a category as a means of understanding them. If we cease to think of the categories of ritual that van Gennep uses as fixed and pre-existing, and rather frame them as an assemblage made up of the humans, concepts, actions, and things which are within it, then the categories become flexible, fluid and in motion again, and do not limit, but enable understanding. As long as this is understood, and continually kept in mind when discussing categories, then taxonomy can be used, not as a tool of modern purification but as a means of blackboxing which allows us space to think at different scales.

I have found some of van Gennep's categories, the stages of ritual; pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal, useful to my interpretation, but I differ in the way in which I use them. For van Gennep, the essential purpose of rituals is "to enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined" (van Gennep 1960:3). Although I agree that Byzantine people might have thought of the states attained before and after rituals as being well defined, and the states in between more fluid and liminal, my understanding of identity is predicated on the relational concept that each day we renegotiate our place in the world in conjunction with everything around us. The idea that people exist in well defined 'states' seems to me to be very much a product of what Latour would refer to as modernism. It is my feeling here that van Gennep is purifying out an understanding of self which potentially few people cling to in modernity (as Latour put it; *we have never been modern* (1993)) and potentially was not present prior to Descartes. A product of the rigid categorisation employed by van Gennep is that we lose the importance of ambiguity for the past; if we begin to understand the categories as relational, and rituals as a central component of the creation of identity rather than an expression of it, this problem fades.

The next approach to ritual and religion which I will review in some detail is that of Victor Turner, particularly in relation to the 1969 work *The Ritual Process*. Turner took elements of the structuralist approach of French anthropology (including van Gennep) and was in the vanguard of symbolic structuralists. Similarly to van Gennep, Turner's focus was ritual, but rather than discussing the structure of rituals as encompassing and univocal, Turner emphasised the liminal stage, coining 'communitas' as a means of discussing 'anti-structure' and emphasising the ambiguity experienced during ritual. This is a step towards a relational approach. While Turner still uses the binary oppositions beloved of classic structuralists to categorise the world, he recognises that the meanings of symbols change even within communities, sometimes within rituals (Turner 1969:42). For Turner, meaning is contextual:

“What is really needed, for the Ndembu and, indeed, for any other culture, is a typology of culturally recognized and stereotyped situations, in which the symbols utilized are classified according to the goal structure of the specific situation. There is no single hierarchy of classifications that may be regarded as pervading all types of situations. Rather, there are different planes of classification which transect one another, and of which the constituent binary pairs (or triadic rubrics) are only temporarily connected: e.g., in one situation the distinction red/white may be homologous with male/female, in another with female/male, and in yet another with meat/flour without sexual connotation.” (Turner 1969:41)

It appears that meaning for Turner is contextual, rather than relational, because for Turner, if you reduce the scope of enquiry to one particular situation, the symbols only have one meaning:

“In binary opposition on each plane each symbol becomes univocal” (Turner 1969:42).

This is a fundamental point of divergence between myself and Victor Turner. For Turner, meaning is constructed (in the non-Latourian sense), it is something that happens through human agency, a dialectic between the natural world and our understanding, which is how symbols can be understood to refer to one thing in one context (Turner 1969:42). By contrast I understand meaning to be relational *all the way down*. Items of material culture used in rituals do not stand for things, or represent things, rather they are used in certain ways, bring to mind ideas, contribute to affective fields and produce affects with humans in ways which are not static, this is drawn out further in section 4.7.2 on meaning in grave assemblages. In this way objects are ‘things’ in the Heideggerian sense of gatherings, they draw together differently moment to moment depending on everything else in the assemblage and can therefore never be said to have univocal meaning.

To illustrate this, let’s take an example from the present, the Christmas Tree that is in front of me, standing in my parents’ living room as I write this. A contextual account of the tree might try to access the relationship between my mind and an object which my parents and I covered in symbols when we had finished work last night. Layers of successive meaning were brought in to the room – an evergreen tree, which I understand to be some form of Pagan symbol, although I’m not entirely sure of what, or where it comes from. There are colourful lights, which we put up on the darkest day, there are stars and snowflakes and a large golden sun (among the disco balls, polar bears which gently change colour and Indian headdresses made of beads from the 1970s), there are decorations made by me and my brother when we were younger from polystyrene and pipe cleaners, there are Christian symbols too, an angel (who looks an awful lot like a fairy) sits on top of the tree lit by a pink light from beneath so that she blushes, other angels with instruments are dotted about the place. A

symbolically structuralist account of this collection of objects could include perhaps what each item stood for, how the light and glitter are juxtaposed to the green and wild of the tree, an analysis of the 'meaning' of the object. By contrast, a relational approach to the room in which I am sitting does not separate the tree from what I think about it – the two are not ontologically distinct from one another so an analysis does not have to try to unpick the dialectic between thought and object, but instead can take on experience. We are a thing drawn together, the tree and I, with its lights and ornaments and my thoughts about it, as I sit looking at it on a rainy Saturday afternoon. This 'thing' is specific in time and place, and constructed partially of time and place, of which my experience is a part.

The symbolic understandings of the tree are not the only important thing in a relational approach, instead, the affective field is constructed of tree, human, and understanding (part of which is built of Daniel Miller's work on the material culture of Christmas (2008: 18- 31)). Part of the affect of the tree and I together is to make me happy, and a little concerned that I haven't started wrapping anything, or even finished making everything I need to by Tuesday. The meaning of this particular tree, and this particular time and place is so specific to myself that anyone else coming into the room would change the affective field of which I am a part, the network that they enter into with the tree is quite (although not entirely) different to mine.

For Turner, like van Gennep, societies become more complex, evolving from unsophisticated to advanced, something I fundamentally disagree with (contra Turner 1969:95). In his use of structure and antistructue to discuss ritual however, Turner takes a significant step away from the rigid structuralism of van Gennep, towards a more relational approach by emphasising the importance of ambiguity in understanding human nature. A related, and in many ways, more concrete movement away from rigidly structural thought was made by Catherine Bell in her seminal work *Ritual Theory, Ritual Practice* (1992). Bell falls on the side of a theoretical debate within anthropology which sees little need to distinguish between ritual and secular spheres, but sees them as enmeshed.

"Ritualization is probably an effective way of acting only under certain cultural circumstances. But what counts as ritual can rarely be pinned down in general since ritualized practices constantly play off the field of action in which they emerge, whether that field involves other ritualized activities, ordinary action deemed by the contrast to be spontaneous and practical, or both at the same time." (Bell 2009 [1992]: 141)

Bell's movement away from a taxonomy of ritual which distinguishes sacred from profane *a priori*, instead emphasizing the practice elements of ritual, chimes nicely with the current relational school in archaeology. Bell reworks previous models into a framework which rejects the separation between nature and culture, while appreciating the usefulness of the category of 'ritual' (Bell 1992:

140). The essential point is that while van Gennep and Turner propose models whereby naturally occurring events in a lifecourse are transformed into culturally understandable moments through ritual, Bell proposes that there is nothing purely either natural or cultural in rituals, and that the rituals create nature-cultural transformations.

I have drawn a number of concepts from the functional structuralism of Arnold van Gennep the symbolic structuralism of Victor Turner and the ritual framework of Catherine Bell. From van Gennep I take the categories of pre-liminal, liminal and post-liminal as a means of defining transitions, with the caveats that the categories themselves are relational and did not remain static. From Victor Turner I take the point that ambiguity within communities plays as much of a part as the rules: society-assemblages are not just made of structure, and those who abide by it, but also those who redefine society by choosing to live on the margins (for Byzantium this category includes hermits, saints, spiritual leaders, heretics and to some extent monks). From Bell I take an understanding that the separation of ritual from practical acts is futile, and essentially the same process undertaken by Latour's iconoclasts in their removal of fact from fetish.

I have aimed to outline a few elements of twentieth-century anthropological and archaeological thought which are compatible with relational approaches to the past. I see the process of building understanding that I have gone through (and am currently continuing as I try to articulate what I think and why it is important) as bricolage, to some extent in agreement with Bjørnar Olsen in *In Defence of Things* when he states:

"Without denying sympathies – or antipathies – I have tried to let myself be guided by the declared bricoleur attitude, searching around for usable bits and pieces that may be reassembled with other appropriate spare parts... Bricolage as an actual work process, however, is not only to gather bits and pieces but also to creatively reassemble them – using those parts to construct something useful". (Olsen 2010:151-2).

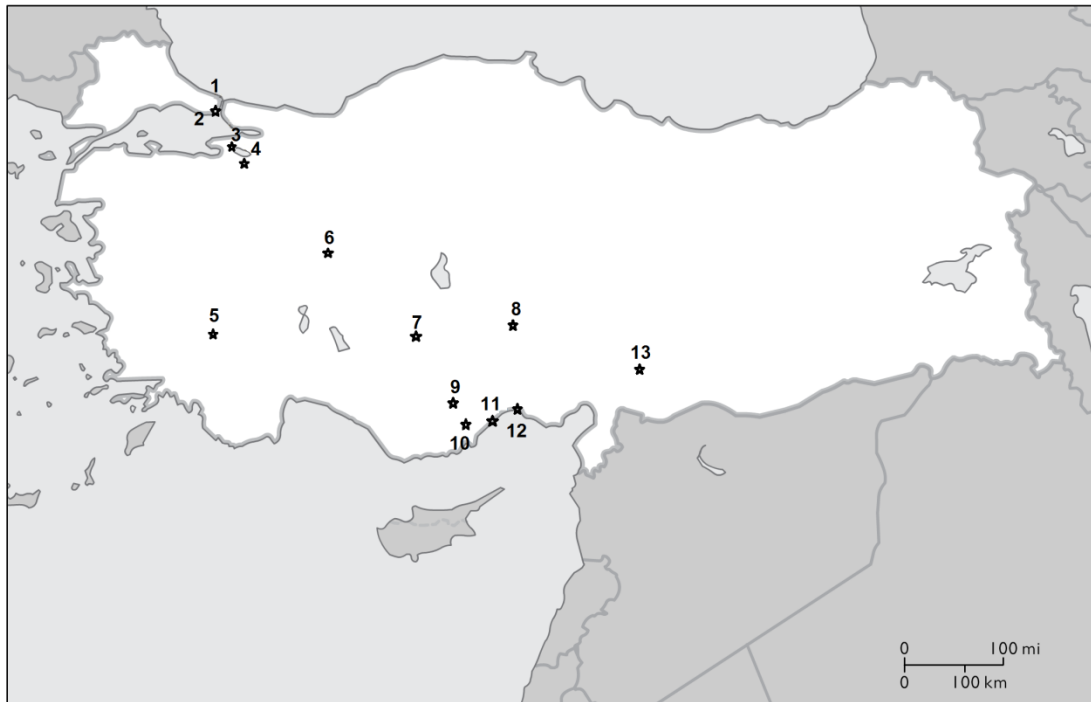
Section 2.3 of this thesis has aimed to set out the philosophical positions of others, and how they have acted as theoretical foundations for my own work, particularly in terms of the false separation between nature and culture and how I reconcile the use of terminology from different (but connected!) relational theorists. In developing the theoretical position outlined in 2.3 I have taken elements of relational and structuralist approaches to rationalizing the world, and will move forward as a bricoleur into the following chapters of this thesis on data and discussion, which will hopefully provide 'something useful' to the study of Byzantium.

2.3.4 Conclusions for chapter 2

This chapter has formed the critical literature review for this thesis, addressing a number of the major objectives set out in the introduction. Section 2.1, on political and religious context addressed

objective 1, to define (as far as possible) what is known about political and religious borders during the Medieval Byzantine period. This was extended to include a discussion of identity, and to consider how this thesis might fruitfully contribute to a discussion of border regions and identity through the study of mortuary practice. Section 2.2 was a critical examination of how mortuary practice (and specifically Byzantine mortuary practice) had previously been dealt with, examining the single previous archaeological and synthetic study of Medieval Byzantine mortuary practice in detail (Iverson 1993), before moving on to assessing other means of addressing mortuary practice and the 'social' in the past. Section 2.3 moved on from a reassessment of previous work to begin the work of theoretical bricolage for *this* thesis, outlining the key terms and concepts which have proved central to the process of writing. Central to this discussion was the tension between taxonomic and relational approaches, particularly those of Arnold van Gennep and Bruno Latour respectively. It is with these concepts, and this tension, in mind that we can move forward into chapter 3 to deal with two bodies of evidence, archaeology and text in such a fashion that chapter 4 will be able to attempt to address experience at Byzantine gravesides.

Chapter 3 Building a Corpus: Building a Chronology



TURKEY

Figure 11: Map showing the locations of case study sites

Map courtesy National Geographic Education. National Geographic does not review or endorse content added to this background by others.

1 Kalenderhane	8 Tyana Kemerhisar
2 Saraçhane	9 Alahan
3 Ilipinar	10 Kilise Tepe
4 Barcın	11 Elaiussa Sebaste
5 Hierapolis	12 Yumuktepe
6 Amorium	13 Domuztepe
7 Çatalhöyük	

This chapter addresses one of my primary aims: to build a typology of grave types which allows for both change through time and diversity between regions in order to facilitate the identity of Medieval Byzantine cemeteries and individual burials. In the first half of the chapter (section 3.1) I will build a typology of Medieval Byzantine burials and cemeteries, placing them within the context of the wider Byzantine Empire from the fourth to the fourteenth century, AD 324 to 1453. The grave types thus defined will be applied to sites for which we have no secure chronological evidence, or used to reappraise sites for which the chronological evidence is not strong. In this way a corpus of

primary source material for the archaeology of Medieval Byzantine burial will be constructed. The second half of this chapter, section 3.2, will address the textual evidence we have for mortuary practice and eschatology for Medieval Byzantium between the ninth and the twelfth centuries. This will include evidence for the role of hagiography in eschatology and a discussion of changing conceptions of body-soul relations.

3.1 Defining Medieval Byzantine burials

3.1.1 Sampling and research strategy

The 13 archaeological sites which form the core of my thesis have a number of features in common. Primarily they all contain burials which date from between 800 and 1200, with the exception of Elaiussa Sebaste, chosen as a pre-ninth century case study for the excellent standard of its publication, the location of the site in Cilicia close to a number of the other case study sites, and the nature of the cemetery which has much more in common with a Medieval Byzantine tradition than a Late Antique one. The sites on which this chapter is based are at least partially published and where possible I have chosen to examine sites which are fully published with the exception of two unpublished archives, Alahan and Çatalhöyük, the cataloguing and analysis of which represents an original contribution to the field. All of the case study sites are located in Anatolia, clustering in a belt which runs from Constantinople in the north to Mersin and Yumuktepe in the south east (figure 11). The sites, although quite focused in terms of chronological and geographical range, centring as they do on Constantinopolitan, South and Central cemeteries between the ninth and twelfth centuries, run the full spectrum of scales of cemetery. Elaiussa Sebaste, Amorium, Tyanna Kemerhisar and the primary phases of burial at Yumuktepe and Kalenderhane contain relatively small cemeteries within churches, Kilise Tepe and Alahan are even smaller groups of burials clustered around very small medieval chapels. The second phase of burial at Kalenderhane, and the burials at Saraçhane are densely packed Constantinopolitan burial grounds focused around churches, while the field cemeteries of Barcın, Ilipinar, Domuztepe and Çatalhöyük have no identified associated settlement and were largely excavated as a by-product of research into the prehistoric tell sites they rest above. The field cemetery outside the city of Hierapolis is unique among this data set not only because it is a large field cemetery associated with a city, but also because there is a program of research other than this one taking place which is focused specifically on the burials – I eagerly await the results of the Thanatos project, which is currently underway (Thanatos project website). My two case studies, Alahan and Çatalhöyük were selected not only because I was offered access to the archives, but because they add significantly to the corpus of material available to be studied. The burials at Alahan point towards continuity in the region from the tradition of church burial witnessed at earlier sites such as Elaiussa Sebaste and Korykos as well

as emphasising the extended life of the site past the primary phase of construction, a phase that has barely been mentioned in print at all, although it is extremely clear from the archive (Gough 1985, Gough Archive). The cemetery at Çatalhöyük contains well over 200 inhumations— this thesis only deals with the burials from one trench, the 4040 area, which contributes 24% of the grave records which were sufficiently detailed to be entered into my database. Although the Çatalhöyük cemetery is multi-period, and the chronology is not well defined, I think the evidence is persuasive that a significant number of the burials are Byzantine.

A number of selection criteria were employed for the 12 published case study sites. The key factor for selection was whether or not the burials were securely dated from the ninth to the twelfth century, and if not, whether there was enough information published on the burials to make an informed suggestion of a date range. Secondly, the burials must ideally have had sufficient detail that they could be usefully entered into my database to answer my research questions. Once it became clear that very few site reports contained this standard of recording, I widened my approach to include sites which gave summaries of the style of burial along with chronological suggestions, incorporating them into the catalogue which forms the appendix to this thesis. This approach to data-gathering has some limitations, ideally a study such as this should be comprehensive, including all of the available burials for the identified period and region. One of the most effective recent examples of the application of this approach is *Requiem*, a study of medieval monastic burials in Britain by Gilchrist and Sloane (2005) however such a goal is beyond the reach of this thesis. With this firmly in mind I have attempted to limit my sample in a logical way, firstly to a definite chronological period, the ninth to the twelfth centuries and secondly to two main regions; Constantinople and the Sea of Marmara; and South Central Anatolia. Finally where material has been published in languages in which I am not fluent I have attempted to appraise how much information is present, how well published the burial contexts are and how important the site is in terms of understanding both my case studies and the rest of the data set prior to dedicating significant quantities of time and effort to translating site reports. For example although I engaged with the material at Elaiussa Sebaste, despite publication in Italian and Turkish, because it is a fully published classic example of fifth to seventh century church burial, I have only looked at Porsuktepe briefly because although the publication is beautifully put together not all of the information for every grave is present, which makes it less useful, and the burials are described as ‘Late Antique’ which I take to mean seventh century or before (Blaizot 1999). Inevitably this thesis is not comprehensive. However I am confident that the sites I have chosen to focus on provide a clearer picture of ninth to twelfth century burial in South Central Anatolia than has previously been presented as a coherent data set.

A number of sites are used within this thesis beyond the boundaries of Anatolia. These sites are chosen for their excellent standard of publication or osteological work (such as Eleutherna, Bourbou 2004), their striking character (such as the cave tombs in northern Palestine and their associated lamp hoard Sellers *et al* 1953), or their phenomenal preservation (such as profusion of shrouds from Coptic Egypt, for examples see Dimand 1930). I went through a similar process when selecting these sites as when choosing which Anatolian sites to focus on; how relevant is the material, how closely comparable is it and how accessible are the publications. The choice of each site is dependent on their specific context, requiring independent assessment before their inclusion. This comparative material has not been included within the catalogue.

3.1.2 Published material

In this section I will summarise and evaluate the evidence which allows chronological periods to be assigned to the previously published cemeteries within my catalogue. Where no date has been suggested by the excavators I will attempt to assign a period of use and where I disagree with the date assigned I will attempt to reappraise the evidence. Further information on all of the sites is given in the appendix.

Amorium, tenth and eleventh century burials

Amorium is a large urban settlement, consisting of upper and lower cities, located in central Anatolia. Although the Roman and Byzantine occupation of the site ran from at least the first century BC until the eleventh century AD or after, the published Medieval Byzantine burials date from the tenth and eleventh centuries. There is evidence for abandonment of the lower city at Amorium, referred to by the excavators as “a destruction layer of burning, collapse and abandonment” (Iverson 2012:60). This destruction level is present across all of the excavated areas within the enclosure, separating the latest early medieval layer from the late medieval (tenth and eleventh century) layers. The early medieval layers in the enclosure area are sealed by the destruction, and hold no material culture which can be securely dated to the tenth century or later. The latest coins present within the early medieval layers date to Michael II and Theophilus, 820-842 (*ibid.*). The destruction appears to have been violent, two unburied individuals are present within the destruction layers, one of whom is next to an axe, which has a close parallel in the Balkans independently dated to the ninth to eleventh centuries (Iverson 2012:63). The combination of these factors leads the excavators to link the destruction levels within the enclosure area at Amorium to the Arab sack of Amorium on August 12th 838 (Iverson 2012:63). Although as yet there are no stratigraphic links between the enclosure area and the lower city church to confirm it, there does

seem to have been two distinct periods of use at the church site which may correspond to before and after the destruction.

The lower city church was first constructed as an aisled basilica during the late fifth or early sixth century and which continued in use until it was destroyed by fire in the ninth century, at the same time, it is assumed, as the destruction of the enclosure area (Lightfoot 2009:139). No burials have been excavated that are thought to correspond to this first phase of use of the church. The church was reconstructed as a domed basilica, during the late tenth century, probably going out of use again in the eleventh century with the end of Byzantine control of Amorium, at which point the city was largely abandoned (Iverson 2005:249-250, Lightfoot 2012:2). The second phase of use at the church has over 130 associated tombs, largely excavated between 2002 and 2009 (Lightfoot 2011:37). Of the 130+ tombs excavated, nine are fully published (Iverson 2005:251-253, Brayne and Roberts 2003:169). A further 11 tombs are mentioned with reference to their identification number in preliminary reports or featured in images on the website (Lightfoot *et al* 2008). The nine fully published burials are from the narthex of the lower city church, burials are also located south of the church, in the atrium and adjacent to the baptistery, north of the main church building but within the church enclosure (Lightfoot 2011:37). The cemetery north of the church and east of the baptistery seems to have been reserved for the burial of infants and children (Lightfoot 2007:27, Lightfoot 2011:37).

Barcin and Ilipinar, sixth to eleventh century burials

25 of 65 excavated burials have been published from Barcin, a prehistoric tell on the south coast of the Sea of Marmara (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009). The eleventh-century date of the cemetery suggested by the director of the project, Professor Jacob Roodenberg is based on the presence of a bronze reliquary cross in the grave of a young adult of indeterminate sex (Roodenberg 2009a:158, Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:170, Pitarkis 2006, BAR007.1). A number of the graves within the cemetery intercut, which Roodenberg takes to indicate use over a long period (Roodenberg 2009a:157). Additionally, the grave morphology (single inhumations laid out facing east and nearly all adult burials covered with specially made tiles arranged to lean against each other over the body forming a tent like structure), is exactly the same as that of the 200 graves excavated at the relatively close mound of Ilipinar (Roodenberg 2009a:154). The cemetery at Ilipinar has a suggested date of the end of the sixth century or the beginning of the seventh based on the presence of three belt-buckle types, Bologna, Corinthe and Cruciform (Roodenberg 2009a:155, belt buckle typologies are based on Werner 1955:37ff and Russell 1982:142ff). The suggested dates of both cemeteries are based on a small number of grave goods for the 265 burials within the small portion of the cemetery

which has been excavated listed in section 4.7.1 on object assemblages in graves. The strikingly similar nature of the graves on both mounds and the proximate nature of the cemeteries suggest to me that this is a cohesive burial tradition which began at some point before the late sixth century at Ilipinar and continued until the eleventh century or later potentially across both cemetery sites.

Domuztepe, ninth and tenth century burials

The cemetery at Domuztepe, located on top of a prehistoric tell in southeast Anatolia, is currently being written up for publication, so little information on the specifics of either chronology or the burials themselves is available. The settlement remains however, suggest a large and prosperous settlement located on the tell which may have been standing during the use of the north west area of Operation [trench] 1 as a ninth and tenth century cemetery (Campbell and Carter 2007). As no specifics are given as to the dating of the burial ground and the report is in press, I take the excavators at their word.

Elaiussa Sebaste, fifth to seventh century burials

Approximately 300 graves have been excavated at Elaiussa Sebaste with an MNI from the Byzantine levels of 196 skeletons interred within the area of the Roman Agora (Paine and Vargiu 2010). Seven fully published subterranean vaults beneath the floor of a Christian basilica held a MNI (minimum number of individuals) of 116 assuming an MNI of one for the two graves which were thoroughly looted and contained no human remains, US 13, US 27 (Vargiu 2003:738-740). These burials are likely to be contemporary with the first phase of use of the basilica in the fifth to the seventh centuries.

The excavation team argue that the main use life for the basilica was between the fifth and seventh century. This chronology was assigned based largely on architectural and stylistic elements. The stylistic features which are treated as diagnostic include the *opus sectile* floor, which has local late fifth to late sixth parallels at the extra mural Querschiffbasilika, Grabeskirche and Klosterkirche of Korykos, the floor at St Thekla Meryemlik and at the temple basilica at Olba (Baratta 1999:245). Analogous *opus sectile* mosaics are also present in the East at the cathedral of Apamea on the Orontes (constructed during the first third of the sixth century), and the eastern octagonal basilica church at Qual'at Sim'an (Baratta 1999:248).

The only instance of vertical stratigraphy relating to the graves is that grave ESB049 was deliberately plastered over to the level of the basilica floor (Ferrazzoli 1999:254). The re-plastering of the floor surface after deposition of the bodies suggests that the grave was cut into the floor and plastered over during the use life of the basilica, an act that was potentially repeated several times in order to

add new inhumations to the tomb. This is the only tomb within the basilica where a stratigraphic relationship to the floor surface of the basilica has been preserved; the limestone capstones of tombs ESB028 and ESB29 were visible prior to excavation but are set slightly below the plaster floor of the nave – it is not clear whether they were cut through the floor and never plastered over because the depositions were made after the primary phase of use of the basilica, left deliberately exposed during the use life of the basilica or plastered over and the plaster degraded more readily over the hard surface of limestone rather than the Roman levelling deposit. Tomb ESB027 is too disturbed to be of any stratigraphic use. Because all four of the graves within the nave (ESB027, ESB028, ESB029 and ESB049) as well as tomb ESB013 in the apse, are of exactly the same construction I suggest that they all date, as tomb ESB041 does, to the period in which the basilica was in use, prior to the destruction of the building, and I therefore agree with the excavators that the burials date between the fifth and seventh centuries.

Hierapolis, first to the fourteenth century

Hierapolis is a large urban settlement in central Anatolia settled from the third century BC until the thirteenth or fourteenth century AD (Thanatos project website). It is surrounded by an extensive multi-period necropolis which includes the Phillippeion (a martyrion of the deacon Philip) which became a focal point for Byzantine pilgrimage and burial (Thanatos project, 2010). Only one Byzantine tomb, HIR156 (noted in site report as 156a) has been published in full, the remainder are currently being studied for publication as part of the Thanatos project.

The area marked as 156b (and, I assume, containing 156a as it is associated with the discussion of 156a) covers six graves, and it is not clear which is 156, however there are symbols I assume to be masonry structures aligned north-south (empty rectangles, matching the drawing conventions of the buildings to the south) and three shaded ovals aligned east-west which I assume indicate pit graves. It is clear enough from the plans and the photographic evidence that 156a contains a west-east oriented supine extended individual, whose arms were crossed over her chest (Anderson 2007: figures 1, 2, 3).

No date (other than that implied by the interpretation of the coin as a charon's obol and therefore an element of classical mortuary practice (Anderson 2007:475)) is suggested for the individual within tomb HIR156, however the strict west-east alignment of the grave suggests a Christian or Islamic identity. The tile morphology of the grave is most reminiscent of Ilipinar and Barcın, which date from the sixth to the eleventh century, although the presence of the mixing tablet and stylus has parallels in the Late Antique period graves at Çatalhöyük. I suggest a date range of the fourth to the twelfth

century for this grave based on its stylistic features and content, although it could also conceivably date to the late Byzantine period.

Kalenderhane, sixth to thirteenth century burials

Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul was in use continually from its first phase as a Roman bath through three main phases of church architecture until its eventual conversion to a mosque in the Ottoman period. The three Byzantine phases of the site are the north church, which was constructed in the late sixth century and destroyed between the tenth and the twelfth, although it had fallen out of use by the late seventh century after the construction of the bema church. The bema church underwent significant modifications in around 1200 to create the main church on the same site (Striker and Kuban 1997:23). The cemetery is located in the area of the north church, and the graves are deemed by the excavators to mostly belong to a single phase, after the destruction of the north church (Angel and Bisel 2007:374). However, a number of the graves seem to relate to the architecture of the north church, aligning with it or abutting its walls, which suggests that they might be contemporary with the use phase of the church, or at least cut into the floor of the church while it was still standing. I have therefore split the graves into two groups, one which dates from the late sixth century with the construction of the north church until its destruction between the tenth and twelfth centuries, and a second which dates from the destruction of the north church during the tenth to the twelfth centuries and the end of the thirteenth century.

The matrix provided in the Kalenderhane site report is by no means complete. The excavations took place under extremely rushed conditions, because of to the rescue nature of the excavation, and were supervised by undergraduate students with little or no prior experience with stratigraphic methods of excavation (Striker and Groves 2007:6). This has resulted in a matrix the chronology of which is largely structured on the deposits which were well recorded and the phasing of the site by its architectural remains. This is largely very effective as the phases of the buildings can be clearly distinguished from one another and tied to the well-stratified material that is present to create general phases of use rather than specific events.

This method works well, and was probably the best possible solution to writing up the material; however, as previously mentioned, the cemetery is largely identified as a single phase, with twelfth and thirteenth century graves occupying the area of the north church after its destruction. The dates offered in figure 39 in Striker and Kuban (2007) for individual graves match this interpretation; however it is not at all clear where these dates come from. There has been no radiocarbon analysis done on these skeletons; it is clear that in some cases where coins are present (as in grave KAL002)

that the dates of these have been taken into account, however elsewhere coins of the eighth century are present and the grave assigned a fourteenth century date (grave KAL055). It is possible that the dates given are a *terminus post quem* based on the ceramics, it is also possible that the graves are assigned dates on the architectural phase they are present within and are therefore not entirely secure.

Kalenderhane - Primary phase burials within the north church, suggested date of seventh to the twelfth century

I suggest that 19 graves are contemporary with the use of the north church, or at least contemporary with the standing structure, as they align with that building, rather than the main church. This is clearest when looking at two un-numbered graves immediately east of the apse of the north church, on the same alignment with it, as well as a third un-numbered grave at the southern limit of the apse. A cranium is also interred just east of the division between the nave and the apse of the north church (grave KAL035), however it is stratigraphically above the marble floor and beneath the canal, with a suggested date of the twelfth to the sixteenth century, and as such has not been included within this group of primary phase burials within the north church. To this group I would add the double burial labelled KAL011/KAL012, placed centrally within the nave of the north church, as well as a cluster of twelve further graves within the nave of the church, a cist which abuts the north wall of the narthex and has two numbers (KAL021, KAL034), and a single grave outside the west end of the church (KAL035). This group of graves is shown in figure 12. Associating this group of graves with the north church rather than the phase of the cemetery associated with the main church, gives them a *terminus ante quem* of the construction of the north church, dated to the last third of the sixth century, and a *terminus post quem* of the destruction of the north church, which took place between the tenth and the twelfth century.

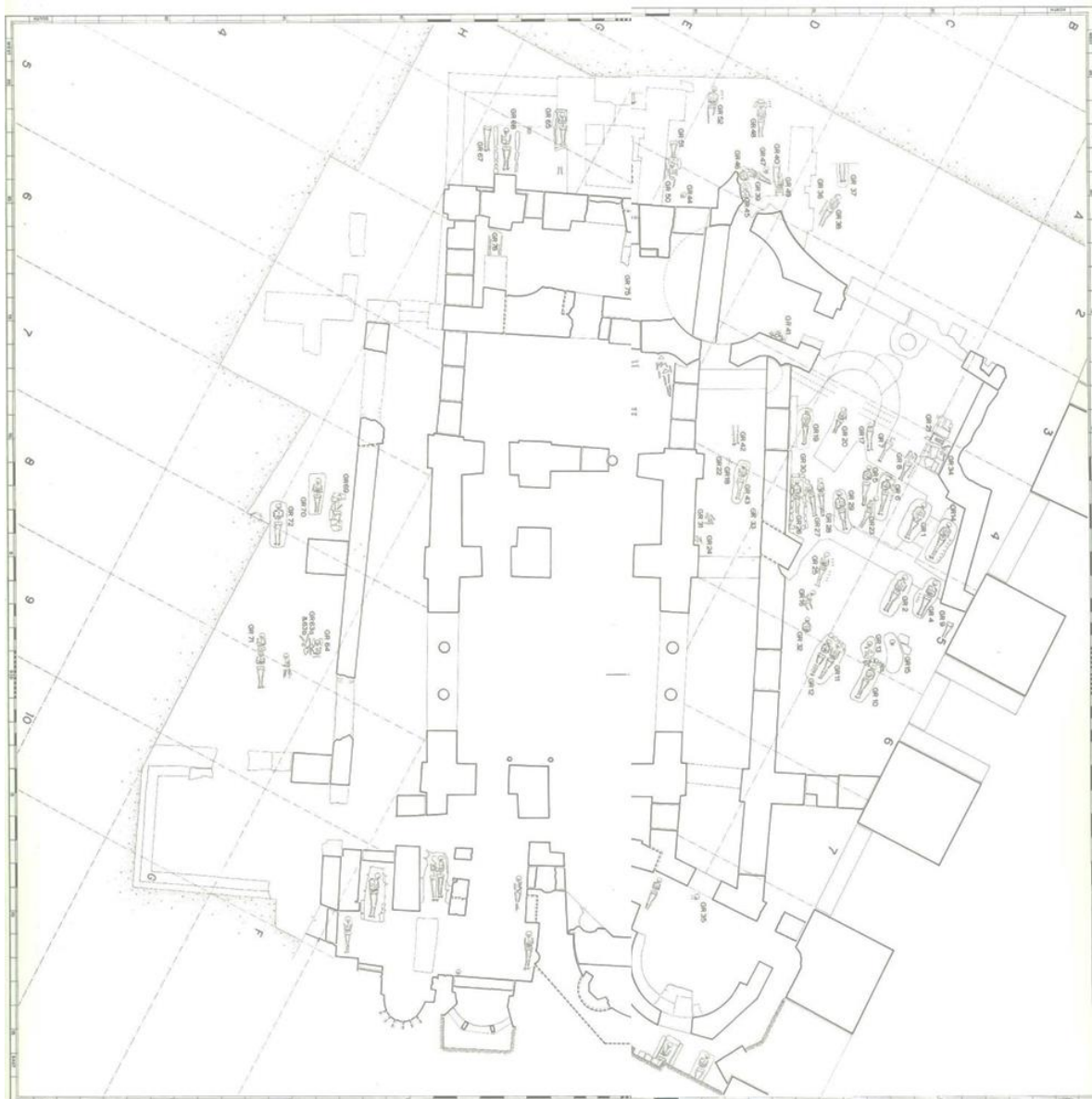


Figure 12: Plan of graves at Kalenderhane after Striker and Kuban (2007: figures 37 and 38)

Of the graves in this group, the majority are assigned twelfth-century dates by the excavators, presumably on the strength of their stratigraphic relationships to the architectural phases, although this is by no means clear in the publication, as well as the *terminus post quem* provided by ceramic within the graves. A twelfth-century date is not incompatible with the idea that these burials were created while the north church was still standing, rather it suggests that the church was pulled down at the later end of the bracket already suggested by the excavators. Grave KAL002, however, contains a sixth-century coin, supporting the hypothesis that the grave might be part of an earlier phase. On the other hand, grave KAL006 has been assigned a possible eighteenth-century date, and grave KAL023 a possible date of the thirteenth century.

Individual graves are notoriously difficult to date accurately without radiocarbon analysis, particularly in situations such as this where the contexts are heavily disturbed and excavation and recording rather rushed. Discussing the Kalenderhane skeletal material, Angel and Bisel summarize this problem aptly: “it is clear that the graves and skeletons centre lopsidedly on the twelfth century. The eight-hundred-year time span from the fifth to thirteenth centuries is, unfortunately, quite normal for excavated skeletal samples” (Angel and Bisel 2007:374). It is possible that the sixth century coin in grave KAL002 was an heirloom at the time of deposition, or that it was present in the fill of the grave without being intentionally deposited at the same time as the individual, however it is equally possible that the ceramic sherd I assume has been used to provide the eighteenth and thirteenth century dates of graves KAL006 and KAL023 was intrusive, and that the first phase of deposition ends with the destruction of the north church. The reasoning behind the stratigraphic relationships provided in the excavation report is not clear enough to establish the truth behind either hypothesis, however from this point I shall assume that there was an active cemetery within the north church prior to its destruction, and that it is most likely to have been active after the abandonment of the building and before its destruction, during the period of use of the bema church, between the seventh century and approximately the twelfth century, based on the suggested dates for individual burials and the numismatic evidence.

Kalenderhane - Burials from the twelfth and thirteenth century cemetery associated with the main church

The majority of the burials at Kalenderhane are contemporary with the main church, dating to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The burials are focused immediately outside and north the main church, in the area of the now destroyed north church, west of the porch, and south of the south aisle (see figure 12). Some few burials break this rule and are located within the aisles of the main church itself, graves KAL076, KAL074, KAL075, KAL073 are located within the porch, there are three unlabelled graves within the exonarthex and graves KAL042,43,33,18,22,31 and 24 are within the western half of the north aisle.

Kilise Tepe, tenth to the thirteenth century burials

Kilise Tepe is a small tell site in south central Anatolia where the excavation has focused on both the Byzantine rural settlement as well as the Iron Age and Early Bronze Age levels. There are two phases of Byzantine church at Kilise Tepe, with a cemetery surrounding the small secondary phase, which could be a funerary chapel, and built for purpose. The small cemetery surrounding the second phase chapel at Kilise Tepe has had two of the six known burials radiocarbon dated. KT004 was dated to

the twelfth or thirteenth century (Jackson 2007:196, Bronk Ramsey *et al* 2000:474). KT005 was dated to the tenth to twelfth century (Jackson pers. comm. 2011).

Saraçhane, twelfth century burials

The main cemetery on the site dates to the twelfth century and overlays the western part of the site, the area occupied by St. Polyuktos in Istanbul. It is postulated that the burials are later than the main phase of use of the church, although prior to the destruction of the church between 1190 and 1204. The foundations of the church included a large square crypt beneath the sanctuary and a large substructure north of the atrium which was probably a baptistery, converted to a cistern in the twelfth century. There is literary evidence that the church could be visited in the tenth century, and archaeological evidence of eleventh century squatter occupation, the stratigraphy of which supports the interpretation that the area was only used as a cemetery after the abandonment of the church but before its destruction, placing the main use of the cemetery in the twelfth century. St.

Polyuktos was well within the boundaries of Medieval Byzantine Constantinople, standing between the promontory and the Theodosian walls, south of the Aqueduct of Valens and roughly 400 meters from Kalenderhane (De caer. and the scholiast to Anth. Pal. I, 10 cited in Harrison 1986:3-33).

Tyana Kemerhisar, ninth and tenth century burials

The burials at Tyana are associated with the remains of a baptistery dating to the fifth century and an adjacent atrium containing nine burials, probably dating from the eighth to the tenth century (Rosada 2003, 2008, Rosada *et al* 2009). Rosada's slightly tentative association of the burials with the latter half of the use of the baptistery is probably accurate (Rosada *et al* 2009:282). The graves are well constructed, sometimes in full cists, and they are the earliest excavated feature on the site and are cut by rubbish pits, ovens, drainage channels and furrows. The formal character of the burials juxtaposed against the more casual use of the site in the Seljuk and Ottoman periods as an open space adjacent to houses make it much more likely that the graves are Christian and associated with the Baptistery. As the burial location in the atrium is reminiscent of the arrangement at Saraçhane it seems then unlikely that the burials pre-date the baptistery. Although it is possible they date back to the earliest use of the baptistery in the fifth century it is much more likely that they are Medieval Byzantine as the grave location and morphology so closely matches that of other Medieval Byzantine sites that I judge it likely that the cemetery at Tyana is of a similar date.

Yumuktepe, eleventh to the fourteenth century burials

The cemetery at Yumuktepe has not yet been written up for publication. However the preliminary reports discuss a church and a parakklesion (identified by the excavators as a burial chapel)

excavated during 2002, 2007 and 2008 (Caneva and Köroğlu 2008 and 2009). The burial chapel is south of the church, sharing its south wall. The church and parakklesion are dated to the eleventh and twelfth century, after which they fell in to disuse and were dismantled, however the area of the parakklesion was continually used for burials until the fourteenth century (Caneva and Köroğlu 2008:154).

3.1.3 Previously unpublished material

Alahan, eleventh to the thirteenth century burials

The primary phase of all of the buildings at Alahan appears to be to some extent abandoned after the seventh century, which seems plausible given the political climate of the region. There is however, some evidence for a secondary phase, with a date suggested by Michael Gough as Medieval, although he suggests nothing more specific (1964:188). The presence of the secondary phase of the Church of the Evangelists, is the clearest secondary phase context, these buildings were excavated in the seasons of 1961 and 62 (Gough 1962, Gough 1963). This church retained the apse, diaconicon and prothesis of the primary phase, however what had originated as the nave of the fifth or sixth century Church of the Evangelists, delimited by a row of columns on the north and south sides, became the full extent of the chapel, with masonry blocks built up around the columns to create a narrow, fully enclosed chamber which must have been very dark and narrow in comparison to the earlier phase (Gough 1962: Fig. 1).

This medieval church is similar in its reduced scale and stratigraphic position with relation to the early Byzantine phase to the secondary phase chapel above the basilica at Kilise Tepe. The parallels with the Kilise Tepe building, which can be dated broadly to the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries on the strength of the associated burials, would perhaps be enough on their own to build an argument for a medieval date for the second phase of the west basilica at Alahan. Further material dating to the medieval period is however, present at in this area of the site in the form green glazed ware dated to the thirteenth century and associated with a courtyard west of the west basilica (Gough 1962:177). There is the perennial problem here of arguing for the continued occupation of a site with little numismatic evidence or ceramic evidence for occupation after the seventh century, however the presence of the a chapel in the same style as other medieval chapels of the region, as well as the green glazed ware and the single coin of the eleventh century (Coulston and Gough 1985:68), suggests to me that there was a medieval phase at Alahan, that is datable at the broadest level to between the seventh and fourteenth centuries, but is much more likely to have been constructed and used between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries.

The third strand of evidence which I associate with the medieval phase at Alahan is the burial evidence. The early necropolis, the funerary area which is focused on by Mary Gough in the 1985 publication of the site, is associated with the early phase of the site, and can be dated to between the fifth and seventh centuries (Gough 1985). South of the south wall of the early phase of the church of the Evangelists however, five cist graves were excavated in 1962 which arguably date to the medieval phase of the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries. These graves are mentioned in the preliminary report on the 1962 season as “five graves, lined and capped with stone blocks... these burials...belong presumably to the secondary period of the church since, so far as is known, primary burials were normally made in stone sarcophagi hewn from the rock at the northern side of the monastery terrace” (Gough 1963:108). Furthermore from the 1962 excavation notebooks it is clear that the third burial from the east, burial γ was capped by Early Christian spolia, which I take to come presumably from the remodelling of the Church of the Evangelists (Gough Archive Document 45, 1962 Locus notebook for areas b and d, page 12).

If we accept the suggested date range for these burials as the eleventh to the thirteenth century then five tombs, three with an MNI of one, one with an MNI of two and one empty tomb, can be added to the corpus of mortuary material which is dated to the Medieval Byzantine period. It is clear from the Gough archive that these burials were the familiar west-east extended supine adults, with hands crossed over their pelvic region or torsos (image references, Gough Archive 45: MREG 1962 pg20). Although there is an early suggestion in the archive that the burials are Moslem, perhaps because of their stratigraphic relationship to the early church (Gough archive 45 locus b: 14), Gough identifies the burials as Christian within the 1962 season stating: “There appears to have been a Christian (?) cemetery all along the wall of the church. Heads face westwards in all cases. If Islamic, would probably have faced S” (Gough Archive Document 45: MREG 1962 page 20).

Çatalhöyük first to the fourteenth century burials

The discussion of the date, the type series and the catalogue entry for the cemetery at Çatalhöyük is currently in press (Moore and Jackson in press). The suggested chronology and catalogue of graves was worked out in discussion with my supervisor, Mark Jackson. However the type series was my own work and is presented here as such.

The cemetery at Çatalhöyük covers the entire area currently under excavation. However this thesis chapter, and the book chapter it is based on are limited to the 4040 area, a defined area of the area under excavation beneath the North Shelter. The burials (referred to by the Çatalhöyük team as ‘late’ or ‘post-chalcolithic’) belong to a long period from the early first millennium AD through to the

first half of the second millennium AD. This chronology was first proposed by Monika Kwiatkowska based on analysis of evidence from The Team Poznań (TP) area, which is also on the east mound, and the 4040 area (2009: 133). The late graves within the TP area have been published in a number of reports (Kwiatkowska 2009; Czerniak *et al* 2001, Czerniak *et al* 2002, Czerniak and Marciniak 2003, Czerniak and Marciniak 2004, Czerniak and Marciniak 2005) and a monograph summarizing the TP work on the late cemetery is currently in preparation (Marciniak pers. comm.). The analysis by Team Poznań included a program of radiocarbon dates, which returned results indicating use of the cemetery in the TP area from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century (Kwiatkowska 2009: 133). Three of the burials from the 4040 area were included within the TP radiocarbon dating programme as a comparative sample, results for two of which have been published. Feature 1407 (skeletal unit 10019) returned the result: "Poz-23826 – 1685±30BP, calib. 330AD-410AD (95.4% probability)". Feature 1553 (skeletal unit 100225) returned the result: "Poz-23827 - 1885±30BP, calib. 60AD-220AD (95.4% probability)" (Kwiatkowska 2009: 133).

The 4040 area contained 80 burials which are described as 'late', or 'post-chalcolithic' in the Çatalhöyük archive. The majority of these burials held no grave goods, and with two exceptions, were aligned west-east (with their crania at the west end of the grave facing east). In order to attempt to discern groups within the cemetery I examined the grave cuts, the position of the body, specific alignment of individual graves, as well as any material culture that was present. The following type series and discussion are taken directly from the forthcoming publication (Moore and Jackson in press).

Types of grave cut:

- a. Pit graves. This category encompasses thirty of the grave cuts. The grave cuts are mostly sub-rectangular with rounded corners, particularly at the west end by the cranium. The cuts are generally only a little bigger than the individual interred within them which may be taken to suggest that the graves were dug for the burial of specific individuals. No grave cuts with niches to the south were recorded in the 4040 area such as those recorded by Kwiatkowska in her study of the late burials in the TP area at Çatalhöyük (2009: 132).
- b. Tile-lined graves. Five of the burials are tile lined or capped. The grave cuts are rather more sharply defined rectangles than the pit graves. The tile-lined graves fall into two groups: Pit graves which include fragments of tile or reused tile, and rectangular grave cuts which are fully lined with tiles, which are themselves of two different types. Those from feature 1553 are large roof tiles with a substantial ridge running around the edge which is sub-rectangular in section. The tiles from 1450

are smaller, square and flat, without a raised rim and with rough diagonal crosses marked in the clay by the marker's fingers before firing.

c. Mudbrick-lined graves. Similar to the tiles and wood-lined grave cuts, mudbrick lined grave cuts are more sharply defined than the simple pit-cut graves or the coffin burials. The mudbricks form the base of the graves as well as the sides.

d. Wood-lined or coffin burials. 31 burials had evidence of wood structures within them, containing either nails, organic staining or preserved wood. Where nails are present in the grave they are of the correct form for wooden construction unless the presence of hobnails is noted in the catalogue. Type d grave cuts fall into two categories:

1. Rectilinear cuts, with sharp corners which are often aligned directly east-west.
2. Grave cuts with more rounded corners, aligned slightly more southeast-northwest.

In addition to the above descriptive typology of grave cuts the burials have been grouped into three further categories in an attempt to establish relative chronology.

Groups of burials and possible chronology

I. Group I are inhumations in well-defined rectilinear grave cuts which are variously lined with wood, mudbrick or tiles. The individuals are arranged in a supine extended position, generally with their arms extended alongside their torsos. The graves are in the vast majority aligned east to west with the crania at the west end of the grave. A number of the wood-lined graves contained artefact assemblages including ceramic and glass unguentaria, shoes and cosmetic artefacts.

II. Group II are extended supine burials with no grave goods or personal affects. The individuals are aligned with their crania to the west of the grave cut in grave cuts which are oriented roughly east-west. This group of burials includes individuals who have been interred in coffins and individuals who seem to have been shrouded, although not as tightly as the Group III burials. The grave cuts are sub-rectangular, appearing rather more anthropomorphic than Group I and not aligned as precisely east-west.

III. Group III are inhumations in pit graves characterised by narrow grave cuts containing individuals placed on their right sides with their crania at the west end of the grave. The individuals are thus positioned so that they are facing south. These graves are clustered in the south west of the 4040 excavations around building 41. The grave cuts are only marginally larger than the individuals,

and this, along with the generally fully extended position of the bodies, suggests that the individuals were tightly shrouded before burial.

IV. Group IV burials are features which do not fit neatly into the other burial groups. These are largely outliers or extremely poorly preserved skeletons for which orientation cannot be determined.

Discussion and Chronology

Group I contains 28 burials that have sharply defined straight-sided grave cuts lined with wood or tiles containing supine extended individuals. These graves are clustered in the north of the 4040 area. 14 group I burials contained artefact assemblages.

The Group I burials represent the earliest phase of use of the 4040 area as a post-Chalcolithic cemetery although there may be earlier burials elsewhere on the site. This type of burial seems to date from the first and second centuries AD. This date range is suggested by the assemblages of artefacts within 14 of the graves including a coin in feature 1400 as well as the independent date provided by C14 analysis of burial 1553 skeletal unit 10225: "Poz-23827 - 1885±30BP, calib. 60AD-220AD (95.4% probability)" (Kwiatkowska 2009: 133). Because the date range of these graves is beyond the scope of this thesis, discussion relating to the Group I graves has been excluded from the following text.

When nails, preserved wood, or staining were present within Group I burials, the defined corners of the grave cuts have been taken to indicate that the graves were wood lined. The Group I grave cuts are generally a different shape to the grave cuts within Group II which contained evidence of wooden construction. The Group II grave cuts seem more likely to have had coffins placed within them. The clearest example of the wood-lined pit grave is feature CAT1551 where the posts on the inside of the planks are used as supports. It is possible, given the artefact assemblages present with Group I burials, that the coffins of Group II are Byzantine rather than Roman. This change in practice may reflect a shift in the manner of viewing the dead and the changing nature of processional mortuary practices.

One of the tile-lined graves belonging to Group I is feature CAT1553. This grave was part of the program of C¹⁴ dating which was carried out by Kwiatkowska; it returned a first to early third century AD date (Kwiatkowska 2009: 133). This date is independent confirmation that graves without grave goods can belong to Group I lending credence to the grouping of the graves based on their morphology rather than the presence or absence of artefacts. Two graves containing tiles, CAT1450

and CAT2801, are on the margins of the central cluster of Group I burials and are similar enough in structure to 1553 that they have been placed within the Group I category.

Group II contains 33 burials which have very few positively diagnostic features other than they are aligned east-west with the crania at the west end of the graves. The interments have no grave goods and are, in general, pit graves with a few indications of shrouding. This group of graves also contains three features which include tiles. This lack of other positively diagnostic features might reflect Early Christian practice. This group is likely to date between Late Antiquity and the Late Byzantine period.

Individuals in this group may have been wrapped in shrouds which would be consistent with the Byzantine practice of laying out and wrapping the body. Shrouds are not generally preserved, although white phytoliths were present beneath the skeleton in feature CAT1452 which may indicate the presence of wrapping, or the placement of the body on a reed mat. The lack of dress accessories, other than two possible instances of shoes within the graves, also suggests wrapping or shrouding. The prepared bodies were placed either directly into pit graves, or into coffins which were then placed into graves. The two Group II burials with evidence for shoes are CAT2155 and CAT2161. Feature CAT2155 contained nails which could be either hobnails or tacks within unit 11941. Feature CAT2161 was unusually aligned east-west in addition to the presence of an area of darker soil surrounding the feet. The organic quality and colour of the soil suggests the presence of leather shoes. The unusual alignment of burial CAT2161 along with the presence of the shoes indicating some level of dress perhaps suggest a deliberate rejection of the dominant mortuary practices in the Group II cemetery.

In addition to shrouded and coffin burials, three of the features use tiles. CAT2170 is mud-brick as well as tile-lined and is significantly removed from the central cluster of Group I burials; it is also at a slight northwest-southeast alignment, which is more consistent with Group II than Group I burial practice. CAT1476 is stone rather than tile-lined and is sub-rectangular with rounded ends. The tiles that are employed as capping are fragmented and certainly re-used. Feature CAT1403 is an empty grave with one tile at the west end which may have been a grave marker. As it is by no means unusual for Byzantine graves to make use of tiles, even re-used Roman ones, burials CAT2170, CAT1476 and CAT1403 have been placed within Group II. These burials might therefore be of Byzantine date.

The lack of features with which to positively identify Byzantine burials is a contributing factor to their relatively understudied nature. Group II contains individuals which were buried in rectilinear grave cuts. Unlike Group I burials, they do not have grave goods; neither are they placed on their right

sides facing south as those in Group III. Group II burials seem to be clustered together in the south east of the 4040 area. Additionally these burials are in general closer together and more unevenly spaced than the Group I burials to their north. The grave cuts are also generally more irregular and with a higher prevalence of pit graves. Finally one of the Group II burials from the 4040 area, feature CAT1407 (skeletal unit 10019), has been radiocarbon dated within the program run by TP to the fourth or fifth century AD “Poz-23826 – 1685±30BP, calib. 330AD-410AD (95.4% probability)” (Kwiatkowska 2009: 133). Unfortunately the only conclusive proof of a Late Antique or Byzantine date for the Group II cemetery would be an extensive program of independent dating however it is likely that this phase of the cemetery ceased at some point in the eleventh century given the location of Çatalhöyük in a border region, the presence of Islamic graves on the site and its proximity to Pinarbaşı, a site with graves which are likely to be Seljuk (Pinarbaşı archive).

There are several instances of vertical stratigraphy relating to Group II graves. Firstly the Group III grave 2188 cuts a Group II grave CAT2189. Feature CAT2189 contains an individual interred in a supine extended position and it is the body position, along with the location of the grave, which places it in Group II. As the burials have been attributed to different groups the relationship between these two graves suggests that the Group III burials are later than the Group II burials. Secondly a Group III burial CAT2169 cuts an empty grave cut CAT2187. The location of the grave and shape of the grave cut suggests that CAT2187 is part of Group II. Thirdly feature CAT1421 cuts CAT1422 which was an empty grave. Both graves have been attributed to Group II. As both of these graves may be attributed to the same group and probably belonged to the same phase, the intercutting nature of the graves suggests that CAT1422 was not clearly marked, possibly because it never held an inhumation.

A number of burials identified as Group II lie stratigraphically beneath the foundations of building 41. Feature CAT1236 is a grave cut that is not truncated by the south wall of the annexe of building 41 but rather is physically beneath and undisturbed by it. The foundation cut for building 41 postdates the Group II features CAT1226, CAT1474, CAT1476, CAT2753 and CAT1598 which Mark Jackson and I suggest are Late Roman or Byzantine and which therefore provide a *terminus post quem* for the building (Moore and Jackson in press).

Group III contains ten burials. The burials are all single inhumations in narrow grave cuts, either pit graves or mudbrick-lined graves. The group is identified largely on body position, individuals are inhumed with their heads to the west end of the graves lying extended on their right sides to face south. There are no grave goods in their primary contexts within this group. In the two instances where material culture is present, glass in CAT1269 and a nail in CAT2188, both features cut earlier

graves which have been robbed out or severely truncated. It is therefore likely that in these instances, fragments of glass and a single coffin nail do not indicate the presence of grave goods or a coffin, but rather that the objects are intrusive. There is one burial within this group, feature CAT2245, which is a stone-capped pit grave.

The position of the bodies within the graves, facing south; the lack artefacts within the grave; the likelihood of shrouding and the narrowness of the grave cuts are all features which conform to Islamic practice of burying shrouded individuals without grave goods facing south towards mecca (Insoll 2001: 129). Although the stone capping of CAT2245 is unusual for this group this element of the grave does not disqualify it from being likely to be Islamic. Although Islam prohibits grave markers other than those at the head of the grave practices vary (Insoll 2001:130).

Although there is not a great deal of vertical stratigraphy in the 4040 area, stratigraphically the Group III graves are likely to be the latest on the site. This supports the interpretation that the Group III burials represent a separate phase of use at the cemetery and that they are Islamic. Evidence for this conclusion comes from two pairs of intercutting graves; the Group III graves CAT2188 and CAT2169 cut Group II graves CAT2189 and CAT2187 which are likely to be Christian or Roman.

There is a further stratigraphic relationship between CAT1475 and building 41. Although the excavator states in field notes that CAT1475 is cut by the foundation cut for building 41, the skeleton itself is not cut and there is no clear evidence of truncation of the grave cut as it was not lined. The contextual information seems to imply that CAT1475 respects the foundations of building 41 and is cut into the fill of the foundation trench for that building. If this is the case then this in turn suggests that the Group III cemetery was in use when building 41 was partially standing or the location of the foundations was known. It would be highly unusual for an Islamic cemetery to cut graves into the floor of a standing building. Funerary architecture is controversial in Islam and altogether absent before the ninth century (Leisten 1990). Use as an Islamic cemetery is therefore likely to have been a secondary phase of use for building 41 and the area immediately to its south. It is unclear how much of building 41 remained above ground during the use of the area as a Group III cemetery. The number of burials in Group III as opposed to the other groups in the 4040 area suggests that unlike the TP area the majority of burials did not belong to a Muslim population (Kwiatkowska 2009: 129).

3.1.4 Defining characteristics of ninth to twelfth century cemeteries

Within the sample of sites consulted in detail within this thesis, there are two major types of burial ground present in ninth to twelfth century Byzantine Anatolia: burials associated and within churches and field cemeteries.

Church burials

Within the category of burials associated with churches, I have further split the sample into three categories: burials within churches associated with the primary phase of use of the space, these will be referred to as interior church burials; burials which occur outside churches, or after the primary phase of use of a church while the buildings were in some state of disrepair, these will be referred to as exterior church burials; burials associated with the medieval proliferation of tiny chapels, which may well have been private funerary monuments, these will be referred to as chapel burials.

The sites covered within this thesis that contain examples of interior church burials are Amorium, Elaiussa Sebaste, and the primary phase of burials at Kalenderhane and Yumuktepe. Other examples of church cemeteries within the Empire include the Antioch cemeteries, which have a suggested date of the tenth century or later (Lassus 1972), the Pfeilerbasilika Cemetery (the second phase of the Marienkirche at Ephesus) which dates from 1000-1200, after the abandonment of the church (Reisch *et al* 1932), the burials at Sardis PN and the Actop cemeteries (Hanfmann *et al* 1983) and the Monastic church at Korykos (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930). In truth, it is unlikely that any church constructed between the fifth and the fourteenth centuries does not have burials within or surrounding it. My case studies are chosen on the quality of their publication or the preservation of the material.

Burial within churches seems to have been desirable from the point of construction of the earliest basilica churches. Intramural (within the city, rather than within the church) burial was prohibited within the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the prohibition carried through into further bodies of law (Iverson 1993:26). This was finally officially rescinded by Leo VI during the ninth century, although burial had been taking place within cities for some time prior to this date. The prohibition against burial within cities resulted in the construction of specific funerary basilicas outside the city walls (examples of this include the Grabekirche and the Klosterkirche at Korykos (Herzfeld and Guyer 1930:91), and the basilica in the atrium area at Elaiussa Sebaste, which is on the other side of the causeway to the main settlement (Equini Schneider 1999). The prohibition for intramural burial never held true for the imperial family (and possibly by extension, other elites), witnessed by their recorded interment at the church of the Holy Apostles, which was within the city walls (Grierson *et al* 1962). By the twelfth century the prohibition had been dropped entirely, witnessed by the large cemeteries at Kalenderhane and Saraçhane, both intramural churches.

Interior church burials – characterisation

This group of cemeteries is defined by burial taking place during the period of use of the church. They are set beneath the floors of churches, often with fill above them, and occasionally plaster (as grave ESB049 at Elaiussa Sebaste) to raise the level of the grave to the original floor level. Many of the graves were fully lined with stone or tile (the only graves within this category which may be simple pit cut graves with no lining are those within the first phases of Kalenderhane where the publication does not explicitly state whether or not the graves are lined in all cases). Several graves at Elaiussa Sebaste have a stone lining which projects above the floor surface, indicating where the graves lie (e.g. ESB191, ESB192). Although the floor surfaces are not well preserved enough to be able to tell whether or not the graves were demarked in all situations, the locations of the graves were probably known as the vast majority of the graves in this category were re-opened after some time to deposit further individuals (a process which will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2), and none of the graves of this phase intercut.

A factor which serves to distinguish interior church burials from other forms of church cemetery and field cemeteries is that of the alignment of the graves. While elsewhere Medieval Byzantine graves are rigidly aligned west-east, with the crania placed at the west end of the grave facing east, within churches alignment seems to matter less, and it is rather a case of proximity to the altar, or alignment to the church its self which becomes of paramount importance. Most Medieval Byzantine burials within churches are aligned west-east, but this rule seems to have been rather less rigid if the deceased could be fitted in to a tomb within an important church. Only 19 graves of the 332 graves for which individual information was available have an alignment other than directly west-east and of those graves 84% are from basilica contexts.

There is no statistically provable difference in the type or number of items of material culture interred with individuals from interior church burials and other types of burial although the burials at Amorium are strikingly rich in material culture. Similarly this group is not distinguished by body position, the primary burials are placed in an extended supine position with their arms often crossed over the torso or pelvis and the cranium sometimes propped up to face east. Older burials are pushed to one side, making it difficult to assess whether elements were regularly removed or not (the process of disarticulation and possible removal of skeletal elements is discussed further in section 4.2 and the differentiation in terms of material culture in section 4.7).

A distinguishing factor of these burials is the practice of interring more than one individual in a single grave cut. Although the practice of multiple burial is common in other forms of church cemetery, it is at its most exaggerated within interior church burials. The osteological information from Kalenderhane (including minimum numbers of individuals, or MNIs) is unfortunately impossible to

unite with the contextual information, which means that graves from Kalenderhane cannot be included within this element of the discussion. Both Amorium and Elaiussa Sebaste however show significant evidence of multiple burial (these are the two interior church burial sites for which both osteological and contextual data is published on a grave by grave basis). The nine fully published tombs from the narthex at Amorium which had not been looted held a minimum of 34 burials, the five tombs which have not been looted from the basilica church at Elaiussa Sebaste held a minimum of 116. No tombs at Amorium held only a single individual, and only one grave from Elaiussa Sebaste (ESB029) held only a single inhumation. In nearly all cases the disarticulation of the earlier burials suggests significant time lapse between the deposition events, while the presence of holes in the bases of some coffins (Amorium) or even burials placed on iron grilles (such as those suggested by Macridy at the Lips South Church (Macridy *et al* 1964:269)) might help to speed decay, and decrease the requisite amount of time required between burials, these features of burial are discussed more fully in section 4.2.

Interior church burials and high social status

Lightfoot (*et al* 2005) in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* suggest that “the narthex was transformed into a privileged burial site for wealthy families who, like their counterparts elsewhere, may have endowed the church in their lifetimes”.

The burial of people within churches was prohibited by a law of 381 (Cod. Theod. IX 17.6), although this seems to have been disregarded at some sites. No less than 116 people were buried within the basilica at Elaiussa Sebaste apparently between the fifth and the seventh centuries. This begs the questions of if the law was widely known, who are the people for whom the exceptions were made? The commonly given explanation is that they were elite members of the community. The discussion of the ‘elite’ status of burials and the palaeopathology of individuals at Elaiussa Sebaste is caught up in the published discussion of the dating of the church and the duration of use of the cemetery. As one of the only Anatolian sites at which osteological analysis has been undertaken and fully published with relation to the contextual material, Elaiussa Sebaste is one of the only sites against which the hypothesis that ‘elite’ populations were the subset of society interred within churches can be tested. The burials within the basilica at Elaiussa Sebaste are interpreted as ‘high status’ by the excavators, although not identified as priests or martyrs (Paine and Vargiu *et al* 2007:174, Paine and Vargiu 2010, Vargiu 2003). The interpretation of elite status rests largely on the placement of the graves beneath the floor of the basilica during its use life. Although Paine and Vargiu do not interpret the individuals within the apse of the basilica as either priests or martyrs, the burials are all male. This is the only area of the church complex where there are single burials. Given later texts

referring to the appropriate burial of individuals within the apse and nave of basilica churches (Symeon of Thessaloniki: 677:364:1.31) it seems highly likely that these individuals were members of the clergy. The mortuary population of the remaining tombs is strikingly more mixed, the tombs in auxiliary chambers all hold multiple burials, some containing sub-adult as well as adult burials with no patterning in terms of age or sex.

Taken out of its basilica context, the palaeopathological data from the osteological analysis of the graves at Elaiussa Sebaste would not necessarily suggest an elite population: "In general, the frequency of skeletal pathologies among the Byzantine Christians from the harbour town of Elaiussa Sebaste indicates that they lived with a considerable amount of chronic and acute health problems" (Paine *et al* 2007). A number of the palaeopathologies discussed for the population relate to physical labour (for example degenerative joint disease) and dietary deficiencies (porotic hyperostosis and cribra orbitalia, which can indicate anaemia, and deficiencies in Vitamin C and Niacin, as well as parasitic infections). Although Elaiussa Sebaste has marginally fewer examples of specific pathologies than similarly analysed sites (such as the difference in prevalence of cribra orbitalia at Saraçhane and the Elaiussa Sebaste agora sample) overall the health of the ancient population is broadly comparable, if not a little worse, than the three populations it is compared with (Paine *et al* 2007: table 6) and to quote the osteological team: "unexpected for high status members of the community" Paine *et al* 2007:182.

Perhaps then, the community buried in the agora area was not 'elite' in these terms. The excavators and osteologists at Elaiussa Sebaste attribute the poor health of the 'elite' population at a thriving and important fifth to seventh century port to increasing demands caused by defence against the Arab invasion of 643. The burials however, cannot be dated more closely than to state that they were either interred during the period in which the basilica was used for worship, or in the period between abandonment and collapse (the burials which correspond with the use life of the basilica are the only graves which are consulted within this thesis). The earliest datable evidence for the burials is the palaeography, loosely dated to the sixth century (ESB192), and the latest, an inscription dating to the seventh (ESB046) and a lamp (ESB041) which, although dated to the seventh century by the excavators (Ferrazzoli 1999:260), has an alternative suggested date of the seventh or early eighth century (Magness 1993:255-258). It is entirely possible that the basilica was in use for burial from the date of first construction, which the excavators deem to be some point in the fifth century. The deposition of the individuals seems to have occurred over no small time, with some individuals fully decayed and disarticulated before the deposition of the next – this is not a single catastrophic event, or even a series of catastrophic events over 50 years, but a steady accumulation of members

of the Byzantine community in collective tombs. With so little positive evidence of the date of decline and collapse, the seventh century end point of occupation and the collapse of the basilica is conjecture. In this situation then, it seems folly to build the interpretation of the agora burials around the de facto interpretation of the population as 'elite' by pinning their poor skeletal health on the Arab invasion. A mortuary population of the sort conjectured by the excavation and osteological team at Elaiussa Sebaste would surely show more trauma, and be interred in the mid-seventh century (as we know at least one of the individuals was not), much more likely is that either the cemetery does not contain only the 'elite' or that the 'elite' had a considerably worse standard of living in Cilicia in the fifth to the seventh century than the lay population interred at Saraçhane in the eleventh and twelfth century.

It is however, possible that the tombs from within the church are a different social subset of some sort than those outside it. The graves from the apse and nave are probably different again, and as they contain only males and are more generally single inhumations compared to the tombs holding multiple burials in the auxiliary chambers, it seems plausible that the apse conform to the norm later explicitly stated by Symeon of Thessaloniki that the clergy are the only members of society allowed to be buried within the nave proper (Migne 1866: Co. 677, Heading 364, 1.31 to Col. 680, 1.2). It is unfortunate that the skeletal population of the nave was not analysed separately to the main population by the osteological team, however this is presumably because with only four individuals available for analysis and in any sort of well-preserved shape, any conclusions could not have been statistically validated.

Transition from Late Antique practice

Late Antiquity and Early Byzantium are periods which overlap chronologically in the sixth and seventh centuries but are conceptually distinct in academic discussion, as Late Antiquity implies continuity from the Roman world while Early Byzantium implies the beginning of medieval practice (Cameron 2011). The main change in deposition between these two paradigms is the shift from monumental family tombs to burial within and around churches. Late Antique family (or house) tombs held multiple generations of a family group with inhumations occurring over a period of centuries. The tombs at Anemurium on the south coast of Turkey are the strongest evidence for continuity of the use of these tombs into Late Antiquity, housing new inhumations until the seventh century (Russell 1980). The tombs at Hierapolis, although not yet fully published, will provide a unique resource for studying the gradual shift that occurred at some point during the long Late Antiquity on the site between the family tombs such as 163d and the single inhumations such as HIR156 (Anderson 2007). By contrast, burial practice in Early Byzantine basilica churches at Elaiussa

Sebaste and Korykos, although the sites were in use during the same period as the house tombs at Anemurium, have much more in common with the interior church burials of the tenth and eleventh century at Amorium (Iverson 2005a:251-252 and catalogue entry for Amorium in the appendix) and the primary phase burials in the North Church at Kalenderhane for which I argue a date between the seventh and twelfth century (see above discussion on chronology and phasing of the site).

The nine published Medieval Byzantine burials at Amorium are located within the narthex of the lower city church. Further burials are present within the nave, aisles, and various pastophoria including the baptistery and the area between the baptistery and the north wall of the church (Lightfoot 2011:37, Lightfoot 2009a:144, Lightfoot 2009b:233,, Lightfoot 2009c:24, Lightfoot and Iverson 2008:26, Lightfoot *et al* 2008:443-466, for infant and juvenile burial adjacent to the baptistery see Lightfoot 2007:25). The burials at Amorium which are contemporary with the interior church burials at Elaiussa Sebaste do not fall within either category of church cemetery or field cemetery themselves, but are rather family tombs and arcosolia within the necropolis outside the city walls (Lightfoot 2007:26, Brayne and Roberts 2003:161). Amorium then, moves to a tradition of church cemeteries (which I take as a culturally early medieval practice which shifts and extends into the Medieval Byzantine period) significantly later than the communities at Elaiussa Sebaste and Korykos.

The different time scale of transition to the early medieval style of burial within, or surrounding, churches at Elaiussa Sebaste and Korykos rather than at Amorium (and potentially Hierapolis), may indicate a number of differences in the societies burying their dead. Amorium was an important city, the capital of the theme Anatolikon and a centre of military and civil organisation as well as an ecclesiastical centre (Lightfoot 2009:139, Lightfoot 2012). It was also much larger than either the city at Korykos or the port town of Elaiussa Sebaste. It is possible that the wealthy individuals occupying the fifth to seventh century house tombs at Amorium derived some of their influence from their established family connections, whereas the more desirable connection in the provincial town of Elaiussa Sebaste may have been with the family of the church. This changing sense of the meaning and importance of 'family' might have influenced the extended use of the family tombs at Amorium, while encouraging early adoption of early medieval practice at Elaiussa Sebaste.

A second factor in the early adoption of medieval practice at Elaiussa Sebaste and Korykos may have been the location of the settlements on major pilgrimage routes, both locally, focusing on shrines such as St. Thekla's, and also as one of the major routes to Jerusalem from the west. Frequent contact with pilgrims (who potentially had quite different ideas about burial) may have influenced rites at Elaiussa Sebaste rather more significantly than the population of Amorium, who would perhaps have had less contact with pilgrims per citizen. A significant factor here may have been the

burial of the pilgrims themselves, who although they were removed from their earthly family, could be interred honourably within the family of Christ.

Although the reasons behind the apparent earlier adoption of church burial on the South Coast of Anatolia as opposed to the Anatolian heartland are not entirely clear, what is clear is that church cemeteries represent a distinct break in traditions of elite burial from the Late Antique of deposition in family tombs and can be viewed as the beginning of medieval practice.

Exterior church burial - Characterisation

The two examples of Medieval Byzantine church cemeteries which include exterior church burials studied in depth for this thesis are both from urban contexts. The cemeteries at Saraçhane (the church of St. Polyeuktos) and Kalenderhane are both situated within the Theodosian walls of Constantinople roughly 400 meters apart. The close proximity of the two latest cemeteries (and the presence of only two well published late cemeteries associated with large churches) limits the potential for distinguishing regional practice from chronological change, however a characterisation of practice based on two sites, in this case Saraçhane and Kalenderhane, is better than no characterisation at all.

A distinguishing factor of the second phase of burial at Kalenderhane (tenth to twelfth century) and the twelfth century cemetery at Saraçhane is the increased, and preferential, use of the atrium areas for burial. This contrasts with the practice of burial within the main body of the churches as is common in earlier interior church burials such as the first phase of Kalenderhane, dating from the seventh to twelfth centuries, the fifth to seventh or eighth century burials in the agora area at Elaiussa Sebaste, as well as the tenth eleventh century cemetery at Amorium. The trend for burial in abandoned atria of churches was noted by Ivison who recorded this phenomenon at the Topkapi Saray basilica, the Marienkirche at Ephesus and St. Mamas in Constantinople as well as at Saraçhane (Ivison 1993:58). The increased use of the atrium for burial in Constantinopolitan contexts might reflect the scarcity of space for burial, however if this were the only factor then it would be reasonable to expect densely packed burials within the body of the church, such as those at Amorium and Elaiussa Sebaste. It is perhaps more likely that the atrium burials at Kalenderhane and Saraçhane indicate a shift away from burial within churches, perhaps linked to a trend of more frequent burial of non-elite citizens in what had previously been burial contexts reserved for an ecclesiastical or political elite. The trend may also indicate a renewed prohibition of the interment of people within the church itself.

A further distinguishable trend in later period burials associated with large churches is the use of church sites for burial after the abandonment of the church. This is clearest at Kalenderhane, where the area of the north church continued to be used as a cemetery after the destruction of the north church at some point between the tenth and twelfth century (Striker and Kuban 1997:8). It is also clearly present at Yumuktepe (which might be classed as a funerary chapel rather than a strictly urban church), where the area of the parakklesion was continually used for burials until the fourteenth century after falling into disuse during the twelfth century (Caneva and Köroğlu 2008:154) and potentially at Saraçhane, where it is postulated by the excavators that the cemetery is later than the main phase of use of the church, although prior to its destruction between 1190 and 1204 (Harrison 1986:3-33).

General trends in urban church burials

The clearest trend in burials from urban church contexts is the prevalence of multiple burials; more than one individual is deposited in a single grave. The depositions are rarely contemporary (exceptions within my sample include the joint burial at Kalenderhane, KAL011/KAL012) but rather previous interments are pushed to one side or otherwise disturbed in order to make room for the new occupant. As in the interior church burials, the disarticulation of the earlier burials suggests significant time lapse between the deposition events. More than 87% of the individuals interred at Saraçhane were placed in graves which contained other individuals (this figure was reached by first calculating the MNI for each grave context at Saraçhane from the lists of cranial and post-cranial remains before calculating the MNI of individuals interred in graves with others as a percentage of the MNI of the site as a whole). The prevalence of multiple burial in interior church burials and Medieval Byzantine urban contexts contrasts significantly to the pattern of single burials which occurs in the chapel burials of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries and within the field cemeteries, the implications of this for narratives of bodily integrity are discussed further in sections 3.2 and 4.2 on theological narratives of the body and tomb selection, respectively.

A second trend of church cemeteries in the ninth to the twelfth centuries appears to be higher use of baptistery areas for the interment of infants and juveniles. This is clearest at Amorium, where the area between the baptistery and the north wall of the church appears to have been entirely reserved for the burial of infants and juveniles while the ratio of children to adults throughout the rest of the site is much lower than expected (Lightfoot 2007:25, Ivison 2005a:252). The burials associated with the baptistery at Alahan (which are likely to be significantly earlier than the burials associated with the eleventh to the thirteenth century 'late phase' represented in my catalogue, perhaps dating from after the construction of the baptistery but prior to the renovations of the

eleventh century) also suggest some patterning of juvenile burial associated with baptisteries as the only infant skeleton excavated on site is immediately west of the baptistery (Gough archive).

The use of pastophoria for burial is prevalent among the earlier sites in my dataset, being particularly notable at Elaiussa Sebaste and in the primary phase in the north church at Kalenderhane. It was however, a common practice, beginning with the placement of sarcophagi in to rooms termed martyria or funerary chapels (such as the imperial tombs at the church of the Holy Apostles (Grierson 1962), and the southwest pastophory at Elaiussa Sebaste (Equini Schneider: 1999)) and extending into the Medieval Byzantine period. While frequent and perhaps less limited in the early period, by the Medieval Byzantine period burial in side chambers appears to be reserved for the higher tiers of the political elite and the remains of those who are proven saints as the mass burials of common people are shifted to abandoned atria, such as those at Kalenderhane and Saraçhane.

The burials in the church cemeteries of the second phase at Kalenderhane and the cemetery at Saraçhane are universally aligned east-west. The majority of the burials are simple pit graves, although the presence of nails in some burials at Kalenderhane suggests that a number of the graves were either wood-lined or contained coffins. The body position of the individuals interred within exterior church burials is similarly uniform, with individuals laid out west-east in the grave in an extended supine position with their hands crossed over their torso or pelvis. There is no significant variation between the small quantity or type of small finds from the graves in this category than any other, the graves are comparably bare of dress accessories or other material culture.

The proliferation of medieval chapels

I have characterised two of the cemetery sites in this thesis as chapel burials, Kilise Tepe and Alahan. In a recent reappraisal of tenth and eleventh-century rock cut architecture in Göreme, Robert Ousterhout makes a number of excellent points. He pointed out that Byzantine architecture, like everything else, is regionally specific: how ever hard we try, seeking explanations of provincial architecture (or liturgy) from Constantinopolitan textual sources and architecture is a fundamentally flawed methodology, the material we have for the provinces must dealt with in its own right, and acknowledged to contain a mixture of what Ousterhout terms the “universal and the local” Ousterhout (2010:87). Although we differ in semantics we agree in principle: what Ousterhout terms regionally specific versus universal characters I view as different scales of blackbox in a relational understanding of the past. When universal characteristics of a society are discussed they are amplified to the level of an accepted truth within a broad brush discussion of the past. This

approach has merit- conversation is constructed of generalisations and comparisons, they are key academic tools. However problems in analysis occur when the accepted universal characteristics of a society are projected on to provinces which have little in common with the core. This is not to state that Cappadocia is not 'Byzantine', but in studying Cappadocia we are working at a different scale to studies of Byzantium, and so we must expect the view to be different.

Ousterhout's recent engagement at the regional level with Cappadocian rock cut architecture of the tenth and eleventh centuries aimed "to reconstruct regional funerary practices". The article persuasively argues that the rock cut refectories which are so common throughout the Göreme area are places of commemoration for the dead who are interred, within the proliferation of small, isolated and inaccessible chapels cut into the soft volcanic tuff of the region (Ousterhout 2010). Ousterhout suggests that the chapels themselves, which have no direct parallel outside the area, were intended from the outset to be funerary chapels, and that unlike the private family chapels at Çanlı Kilise which are part of the same trend towards the privatisation of faith and elite culture, this was their primary purpose. Ousterhout ties the proliferation of funerary chapels to the increasing power of landowners and increased significance of the family (Kaplan 1981:125-158 cited in Ousterhout 2010:92). This is also tied up with the development of monasteries, which served a clear commemorative role for their donors (Ševčenko 2000, Thomas 1987, both cited in Ousterhout 2010:93).

I interpret the development of these family funerary chapels as, in many ways, a return to the monumental family tombs of Late Antiquity. Funerary spaces are once again limited by their tiny floor space to a relatively small number of people from each generation. This makes them prestigious places to plan for your own burial or have relatives interred. Once again commemoration seems to involve food, as at pagan grave-side feasts (Toynbee 1971). Ousterhout clearly sees burial within these spaces as a status symbol, reserved for the powerful landowning classes, backed up by the commemorative acts of monks and related laity housed in both chapels and refectories.

If we pull back from the close regional scale of Ousterhout's analysis, a similar process appears to be present across Southern Anatolia. Second phase basilicas, often taking up only the nave and apse of the original (often three aisled structures), proliferate during the eleventh to the twelfth centuries. Within this study, Kilise Tepe and Alahan are examples of this type of church, and both are associated with a small number of carefully placed single burials. I suggest that the masonry architecture is part of the same tradition funerary practice as the rock cut architecture in Cappadocia, a collection of relatively inaccessible extramural chapels, often very small indeed, associated with a relatively small number of single inhumations.

These burials are universally aligned west-east, they are largely simple pit graves although some of the tombs at Alahan may have been stone lined. The individuals are laid out within the graves in an extended supine position with their arms frequently crossed over their torsos or pelvic regions, occasionally (as grave KT07 at Kilise Tepe) the crania are propped up in order to face more directly east). These graves tend to only hold a single individual although grave ALA003 at Alahan is a possible exception to this, without a full osteological study it is difficult to be certain. It is possible that there are slightly fewer small finds associated with graves within this type of cemetery, although with such a small number of graves within the sample this difference cannot be considered statistically significant.

Field Cemeteries on top of prehistoric mounds

The final category of site within my sample are field cemeteries, these include cemeteries at Çatalhöyük, Domuztepe, Hierapolis, Barcın and Ilipinar. With the exception of Hierapolis, where the field cemetery surrounds a city and there are also burials associated with various churches, the cemeteries are situated above the prehistoric levels of tell sites, and have been excavated because of archaeological interest in the prehistory that they cut into. This has resulted in a massive quantity of grey literature. Of the five sites within this study which rest above prehistoric material, none have been comprehensively published. This situation will hopefully change in the next few years; Asa Eger and Liz Mullane are working on the material from Domuztepe, the cemeteries at Barcın and Ilipinar have been partially written up already with the final report currently in preparation (Roodenberg 2009, Roodenberg pers. com.), and having been given access to the archives of Çatalhöyük Mark Jackson and I have prepared a portion of them for publication (Moore and Jackson in press). This is, however, the tip of an iceberg aptly summarised by Jacob Roodenberg in an article written immediately before his retirement in 2009:

“Amongst archaeologists engaged in the investigation of multi-period settlement mounds in the Near East the Middle Ages are not a subject of particular interest. The reason is that ancient settlements are quite often covered with Medieval occupation layers which are seen as an obstacle to those in search for older civilisations. They lack the knowledge if not the interest in remnants from a period that is all too frequently considered as a mere shadow of Antiquity.” Roodenberg 2009b:17

Roodenberg goes on to list a number of ‘Byzantine encounters’ he had throughout his career which resulted in the side-lining, poor recording or wanton destruction of ‘late’ burials (Roodenberg 2009b:17). This attitude, that the Byzantine material is ‘post-interesting’ was clearly present among a number of the excavators at Çatalhöyük, where the description of grave CAT1557 was limited to “Byzantine Grave. Typical”. The attitude is endemic, and it should be questioned. Knowledge is precious, archaeology is destruction, and the excavation of human bones without thought to

analysis or the indignity of human remains languishing in boxes in an archive for indefinite amounts of time prior to analysis and possible re-interment could be considered unethical (cf. NAGPRA).

Although they are incompletely published or recorded, the five sites I have been able to analyse are paragons of good practice, employing specialists to write up and publish material which was not the focus of the excavation, there are any number of sites where this has not happened.

Most of the Byzantine field cemeteries within my sample are large and multi-period, with probable occupation during the Medieval Byzantine period of the ninth to the twelfth century. The graves which are most likely to be Medieval Byzantine are aligned west-east (with the head at the west end of the grave facing east) and are either simple pit cut graves, somehow lined (whether a full stone cist, with tiles, a reused sarcophagus or wooden planks), or contained evidence of a coffin (see catalogue entries in the appendix for the specific details of graves from Çatalhöyük and Barcın, and summaries of variations in practice from Domuztepe and Ilipinar). The graves at Ilipinar and Barcın have a particular morphology, with single inhumations covered with a row of tiles stacked against each other to form a ridge. The few grave goods that were present in field cemetery graves were limited to glass bracelets, bells (Barcın graves #4, 40, 41 (Korsvoll 2008)), reliquary crosses (Barcın grave #35), pectoral crosses (Barcın graves #23 and #24 (Korsvoll 2008)), belt buckles (Ilipinar Roodenberg 2009:155), shoes (CAT2161) and coins (sometimes placed on the mouth, which may indicate continuity of the practice of placing an obol for Charon, as at Hierapolis HIR156). Only 11 of 104 catalogued graves within field cemeteries contained a small find, only seven of which were dress accessories (if we exclude crosses and bells as they are potentially ritual deposits). This suggests that the bodies of the dead were not interred in their ordinary clothing, but otherwise garbed, this is discussed more thoroughly in sections 4.5 on shrouding and 4.7 on deposition.

3.1.5 Results: Limitations

Sample selection

To my knowledge, no one, except the team at Hierapolis whose report is yet to be published, has set out with the explicit aim of excavating and studying a Byzantine cemetery. This has resulted in a dataset of highly variable quality only some of which has been made available. It has also had the effect that the Medieval Byzantine burials which are available to study are available because they are on sites which are otherwise of interest to archaeologists; within or around churches, or above prehistoric material on tell sites. It is entirely possible that Byzantine field cemeteries do not cluster on prehistoric mounds, but rather because tells are rather more rarely ploughed than the fields around them, and because archaeologists dig them up rather more often, these are the field cemeteries that have been excavated. This is an unavoidable problem with the corpus of material as

it currently is, and not an issue that can be easily resolved. It remains only to acknowledge the bias in the sample, and to proceed to analysis with what information we do have.

A further bias in addition to the excavation sample is present within the data set. No one single burial is dated to the eighth century, and although a number of cemeteries appear to be continuously used throughout the eighth century, positive evidence from chronology comes from either before or after the dark age. As it is clear that people died in the eighth century, and deeply unlikely that we have never excavated anyone from that period, or that mortuary practice changed dramatically at 700 and then changed dramatically back again on the stroke of 800, this is more likely to be related to the perennial issues of dark ages, where the lack of material which is confirmed as eighth century means that further eighth-century material cannot be easily chronologically placed.

3.2 The picture from the texts: what can Byzantine history tell us about Medieval Byzantine mortuary practices?

The second half of this chapter will address the contribution of forms of evidence other than archaeological reports to the study of mortuary practice and eschatology between the ninth and twelfth centuries AD. The two halves of chapter 3 present the two different forms of evidence I am working with most closely within this thesis. I hope that the juxtaposition of the archaeological data presented in section 3.1 and the review of recent work which deals with mortuary practice and eschatology from the textual, artistic and architectural sources which forms section 3.2 will highlight both potential tensions and coherence between the two records of practice. The two halves of this chapter together form the core of the thesis, the information for which chapter 2 provides context and on which the discussion in chapter 4 draws. In examining both primary archaeological sources and secondary or tertiary sources which deal with textual records of mortuary practice I am searching for information on which particular practices, and the ideas behind them were ready-to-hand and which were present-at-hand. This is an attempt to extend an element of Heidegger's phenomenology which dwells on the material world. If thoughts can be things too, I am trying to discern which common Byzantine truths and materials went unquestioned (were ready-to-hand), and which required critical analysis: which practices were widely accepted and which might be considered subversive. To that end, section 3.2 will present an overview of Byzantine eschatology, and why it is an important element of studying mortuary practice, followed by a discussion of the relationship between Orthodoxy, heterodoxy and heresy, and how all three dealt with death. From these discussions of specific textually recorded positions on the end of days and the death of the person, I will move on to generalised accounts of widely held beliefs and widely practiced rituals. These common elements form the ready-to-hand components of mortuary practice and include

apocalypticism (a continuous atmosphere of eschatological tension), standardised Medieval Byzantine funeral liturgies, deposition and the practicalities of paying for funeral services. From generalised accounts of typical funerals I will move to another fundamental and generally practiced aspect of eschatology, salvation through baptism and the links between baptism and death. As a counterpoint to the above generalised summaries of mortuary practices and beliefs, I will finally provide a discussion of exceptional practices. This section will cover the eschatological concepts behind the cult of the saints and how the mortuary practices associated with saintly bodies can shed some light on both ready-to-hand and present-to-hand concepts of death and resurrection.

3.2.1 Byzantine eschatology

Eschatology, or the study of last things is central to discussions of what it meant to live within the theologically charged Byzantine world. For Nicholas Conostas, a modern theologian concerned with Byzantine eschatology, “living and dying were paradoxically inseparable, and the contemplation of death was recommended as a way of orienting oneself to life, by locating the self, with greater intensity and purpose, within the mystery of experience” (Conostas 2001:91). Themes of death, repentance, salvation and immortality run throughout the devotional literature of the Byzantine Empire, and were no less present in the ninth to the twelfth centuries (e.g. Baun 2007).

The eschatological themes evident in monastic and devotional literature were also present in the wider Medieval Byzantine population, particularly apocrypha such as the apocalypses of Anastasia and the Theotokos recently studied in depth by Jane Baun. Baun’s discussion of these texts has been used as a key source in the writing of this chapter. Both the apocalypse of Anastasia and that of the Theotokos have a suggested date of the eleventh century (Baun 2007). Other popular medieval texts which deal with salvation, intercession and miracles include the *Apocalypse of St John attributed to John Chrysostom* (cited in Baun 2007:27) and a number of hagiographies including the *Life of Saint Nikon*, *St John the Almsgiver* and *St Daniel the Stylite*. In this context the term ‘apocalypse’ refers to a form of visionary literature which narrates a tour of the other world.

Despite being so central to the definition and experience of Orthodox Christianity (or perhaps because it is so central), there were no doctrinal statements on the specifics of eschatology (Conostas 2001:109). Ideas such as bodily versus spiritual resurrection; consciousness and memory after death; the difference between saintly and sinful (or ‘good’ and ‘bad’ deaths); and even reincarnation, slid in and out of fashion, and indeed in and out of Orthodoxy. When using the term Orthodox, as any other belief system, we are in fact referring to a large (and essentially heterodox) body of material. Even within highly proscriptive religious systems, no two people have the same beliefs or the same experiences. Orthodoxy was not constructed top down, imposed by theologians on a passive society,

but rather was inevitably constructed from the ground up, growing out of a heterodox melting pot of concepts which were declared heresy, anathema or truth in retrospect. Having said this, there were most certainly shared concepts within Byzantine Orthodoxy, core truths around which heterodox ideas blossomed, these are the things which I consider to have been ready-to-hand. This tacit knowledge is perhaps what the modern theologian Alexiakis refers to when he states that “Byzantine – that is, Orthodox Christian – eschatology was clear on the subject of life after death, leaving virtually no ground for misunderstanding” (Alexiakis 2001:155).

3.2.2 Orthodoxy, heterodoxy and heresy

There were two consistent, central principles of Byzantine eschatology.

1. The resurrection of the dead, stated explicitly in the Nicean-Constantinopolitan Creed of 381 AD “we look for the resurrection of the dead and the life of ages to come”.
2. The resurrection of the dead happens on Judgement Day.

These two ideas are based around the model of Christ, who was raised from the dead, and the Second Coming, which will happen when the Day of Judgement is at hand. These are broad brush statements and deliberately so, when we turn to detailed analysis of these concepts there are myriad variations on the basic eschatology within the ninth to twelfth centuries. Within this heterodoxy, a number of the variations were declared Orthodox, and the vast majority declared heresy. In the next three sections, ‘the resurrection of the dead’, ‘physical versus spiritual resurrection’ and ‘visions of the other world and resurrection’, I will attempt to summarise the positions of both Orthodoxy and the major heterodox positions surrounding the resurrection of the dead.

The resurrection of the dead

As previously stated, the resurrection of the body on the Day of Judgement is central to both Orthodox and most ‘heretical’ Christian understandings of the world. Orthodoxy generally sticks to a Christocentric, Pauline view of resurrection, where by the dead are ‘raised incorruptible’. By the Medieval Byzantine period, for the majority of Christians Orthodox or otherwise, death had become an impermanent state (Utheman 1991:178, Podskalsky and Culter 1991:1182). This was based on the example of Christ; human eschatology followed the path laid by the death and resurrection of Jesus. There was one important difference between human death and the death and resurrection of Christ. For Orthodox Christians, Christ lived his life on earth without sinning, while this could never be true for ordinary mortals. This serves to explain the ascension of Christ while human souls must wait for the Day of Judgement before full bodily resurrection (see Constan 2001:103-106 for a full

discussion of the Christocentric model of death). Other theological positions view resurrection as a less bodily engaged process. These positions viewed resurrection as a full and unreserved union with God, often depicted as light in which memory of the living body and self fade. An example of this imagery permeating the lay sphere is Michael Psellos' (1018-81) "dawn beyond light" (Constas 2001:102)..

3.2.3 Physical versus spiritual resurrection

Memory and consciousness, both before and after resurrection, were hotly debated topics in Medieval Byzantium, or at least in mid-Byzantine Constantinople and the Constantinopolitan diaspora from whom our sources originate. To simplify the matter, the debate is split along the lines of a dominant psychological eschatology which argues for the awareness of the soul after death and a more materialist position where the soul was not conscious between death and the Day of Judgement because it was closely linked to the state of the body. The psychological position on eschatology developed from a neoplatonic paradigm and argued for a psychological and mnemonic afterlife, where the body and soul are separate, but only to the extent that although the body is dead, the soul remembers the imprint of the living body after death and when resurrection comes, it includes a spiritual body. Medieval Byzantine authors who were proponents of this model include Niketas Stethatos (ca1005-90), Michael Glykas (fl. 1150), and John the Deacon (eleventh century), although the position was developed from its Hellenic antecedents much earlier, notably by the Church Fathers Clement of Alexandria and Origen (Constas 2001:110).

The alternate position is more materialist and describes a position whereby the body and soul are so closely entwined that the death of the body causes the death or dormition of the soul, is viewed by the modern theologian Jean Gouillard as the survival of patristic thnetopsychism (this was the eschatological position of Gregory of Nyssa) (Gouillard 1981 cited in Constas 2001:110). The materialist position is more closely linked to the Old Testament and Jewish apocalyptic literature, and causes significant theological problems for the cult of the saints. The issue is one of consciousness; if the souls of the saints were not conscious after death, they could not intercede on behalf of the faithful. This debate has been fully summarised by Nicholas Constas and further detailed analysis of elite theology is beyond the scope of this thesis. However, an awareness that there was never an official doctrinal pronouncement on the state of the soul after death, and that there is variation even on the theme of the resurrection of the body, is paramount to a nuanced understanding of the archaeological material. Orthodoxy was not entirely the proscriptive, unified front that is occasionally projected on to the past. **Visions of the other world and resurrection**

The majority of textual sources on theology which remain to us relate to the urban milieu. Beyond the sphere of Constantinopolitan and highly educated heterodox theology are the popular texts, hagiographies and apocalypses. These texts were for a significantly different audience to the discussions of the Constantinopolitan diaspora and are arguably closer to popular religion for the interred individuals discussed in this thesis. In Jane Baun's recent study of two medieval apocalypses, she applied a relational approach to the apocalypse of Anastasia and the apocalypse of the Theotokos, both of which can be securely dated to the Medieval Byzantine period, and both of which are probably eleventh century texts (Baun 2007: chapter 2).

Apocalyptic literature (and in many cases, hagiographical literature) relies on a nuanced understanding of allegory. Attempts to access the reality of individual eschatological beliefs through these texts are misguided: allegory and parable were both common medieval literary tropes and allow an understanding which is not literal, but is no less rich for that. The goal must be rather to use the texts to build a current understanding of an affective field, out of which we can tease out entanglements, emergent properties, focal points, which seemingly occur in both the textual and the archaeological record.

An alternative view of truth than the literal and one that is more relevant to at least Early Byzantium than our current paradigm is that of John Cassian (d.435) for whom meaning can be split into literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical (or eschatological) meaning. For example, Cassian understands Jerusalem at these four levels as the city of the Jews, the church of Christ, the human soul (this is the moral meaning of Jerusalem for Cassian) and as the heavenly city of God (John Cassian cited in Baun 2007:138). Allegory was a pervasive technique in both literary and theological spheres throughout the medieval period, used as an interpretive tool and as a means of conveying a reality larger than comprehension. Medieval examples of allegorical readings of texts include the eleventh century commentary on the *Hexameron* by pseudo-Anastasios of Sinai which revisits Genesis as allegory intended to reveal Christ and the church, and the twelfth century reading of Homer by Tzetzes which pulls apart three separate forms of allegory within the text, physical, psychological and historic (Uthermann 1991:68). Dealing with text where allegorical meaning is acknowledged does not diminish the 'truth' of visions and texts, it only warns us not to deal simplistically with imagery as visionary literature was not always intended to be taken at face value (Baun 2007:137).

Baun states that:

"the narrators of the visions wanted the hearer to believe that the vision itself did take place and was worthy of attention as a message from the divine, but did not expect hearers to receive every detail as literal fact. Medieval narrators and hearers partook of a common allegorical culture of

interpretation, which understood that visions, like dreams, are revelations, which come couched in signs symbols and parables". (Baun 2007:137).

If we take the physical realities of these texts as allegorical, the ideas which come through as ready-to-hand, are largely united with the psychological position on eschatology outlined above: in the apocalypse of Anastasia, souls which bear the imprint of the physical bodies they once inhabited (they remember and are atoning for their sins and appear as human bodies) are waiting for the Day of Judgement on which they will be physically resurrected. Intercession is possible as the souls are conscious and remember. Depending on salvation during life, the souls wait in different levels of punishment or comfort. Even if the texts are not intended to describe a physical reality (although it is likely that some people will have read them that way) allegory is used to describe a spiritual reality which aligns with the core principles of psychologically active eschatology. In other words, the dominant eschatological narrative of Constantinople is played out in the allegorical texts of the Anatolian heartland.

Within this section of my thesis I have not aimed to categorise specific eschatological 'heresies' relating to resurrection and assign them to a specific archaeological signature, that task is both beyond the scope of this thesis, and probably not a particularly useful thing to do. Rather I have aimed to examine shared anxieties on a broad scale. With that in mind, I will move on to discussing what the texts and artistic sources *can* tell us about Medieval Byzantine mortuary practice and eschatological belief, dividing the next section of the text into beliefs I see as ready-to-hand conceptual elements of eschatology and the metaphors by which they were understood, followed by more physical ready-to-hand practices, funerals, deposition and burial clubs.

3.2.4 What do we know? Ready-to-hand belief

Baptism and death

Within Pauline theology, and the majority of Orthodox positions, baptism is a symbolic death. This too is eschatology, separating the life an individual is born to from the life gained in Christ (for example see Rom 6:4, 8:1-17). Pauline baptismal imagery implies that the life to which humans are born ends at baptism when the initiates are saved. The emphasis in the letters of Paul on the end of biological life focuses not on death, but on transformation: 'death' from fallen human personhood has already occurred at baptism (Romans 6:4). The imagery of transformation in conjunction with ethnographic analogy has been used by Petersen to argue for baptism as a rite of transition into the body of Christ, and although his use of direct analogy is questionable, his conclusions are interesting (Petersen 1986). Direct analogy to Jewish tradition and structuralist understandings of rites of passage were used by Petersen to frame a Pauline understanding of baptism in terms of primary

burial (Petersen's theoretical touchstones were essentially Hertz 1909 and van Gennep 1909). The basis of this part of Petersen's argument rests on secondary burial (the interment of the body at death) as a universally symbolic treatment of the dead. Secondary burial is stated to act solely to effect a transition between the world of the living and the afterlife in every context in which it occurs: "the various idioms display a remarkable consistency in treating the fate of the person in terms of a transformation of social status" (Petersen 1986: 222). Petersen assumes that for the Orthodox Christian community, of the two types of death, baptismal and bodily death, the second transition is more important. It is, however, entirely possible that baptism was of equal (if not greater) importance in terms of the eschatological fate of a person.

The textual evidence for the Pauline view of the baptismal rite as symbolic death is compelling:

*"Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death?
We were buried therefore with him by baptism into death, so that as Christ was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father, we too might walk in newness of life.
For if we have been united with him in a death like his, we shall certainly be united with him in a resurrection like his."* Romans 6:3-5

In Byzantine theology baptism was the worldly reflection of a spiritual transformation, beginning the eschatological process which for the life-course of a normal initiate proceeded through baptism, death, decay, bodily resurrection, transformation and full incorporation into the Kingdom of God and the Body of Christ (Taft 1991:251). The first rite of passage of this process, baptism, which usually took place during childhood in medieval Byzantium, was the point at which people became brothers and sisters under God the father. Paul refers to this as adoption (*niothesia*, Rom 8:14-17, 29-30; Gal 3:26-4:7). Adoption did not have the same specific meaning in late antiquity as it currently does; it could refer to a platonic union between two people, establishing their relationship as siblings, the political adoption of a protégé by a mentor, or, by some point before the fifth century, incorporation into a monastic or secular confraternity (Rapp 1997, Nesbit and Wiita 1975:360). By the seventh century ritual brotherhood, of which confraternity is one form, was well established (Horden 1986:41), and the practice seems to have continued in the Greek speaking world through to the fifteenth century (Macrides 1990:110). The presence of the word *niothesia* in Pauline texts should not then be taken to refer solely to the incorporation of an orphaned child into a pre-existing family; it is a general term which indicates the incorporation of an individual of any age or sex into a community. It is this 'adoption' that Paul emphasises, indicating that an individual once baptised, lives within the body of Christ, or more literally, within the community of the church.

The association between baptism and death in textual sources is not limited to Pauline theology, it was a concept taken up and further developed by the Early Church Fathers and carried into the medieval period (Cramer 1993:155). Among others, Basil of Caesarea questions and develops Paul, drawing out the meaning behind the biblical text for his audience of fourth century protégées:

*“How then are we made in the likeness of his death?
In that we were buried with Him by baptism.
What is the manner of the burial? And what
is the advantage resulting from imitation? First
of all, it is necessary that the continuity of the old
life be cut. And this is impossible unless a man be
born again, according to the Lord’s word; for the
regeneration, ... is a beginning of a second life.
So before beginning the second... it seemed necessary
for death to come as mediator between the two...
How then do we achieve the descent into hell?
by imitating through baptism the burial of Christ.
For the bodies of the baptized are, as it were...
buried in water... For there the death on behalf of
the word is one, and one the resurrection of the dead,
whereof baptism is a type”.*

Basil *peri tou adiou pneumatatos*, (cap. XV.35 P.G. XXII, col 129. Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers VIII Oxford and New York 1895 quoted in Krautheimer 1942:136).

The concept of Baptism as burial is also explored at the beginning of the middle Byzantine period by the seventh and eighth century saint John of Damascus in his treatise on faith (*Expositio Fidei* 2.181-86, 231.23-25).

The links between baptism and death in the early Christian conception of resurrection are by no means limited to the occasional reference in texts authored by a highly educated ecclesiastical elite. These links were present in the material culture, architecture and art surrounding baptism and death. The symbolism implicit in the architectural forms used for baptisteries, mausolea and martyria were convincingly tied together within a wider group of Late Antique buildings by Krautheimer (1942). This category of building takes the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem among other similar structures as archetypes. Krautheimer established an architectural iconography used in the design and construction of baptisteries, mausolea and martyria (op cit 131-135). A significant number of all three classes of building took variations on the form of octagonal structures with four niches in the corners, sometimes enclosed in a square, this form is present throughout the Orthodox East and North Africa as well as in the West, for example at Carthage (Stephens 2000), and possibly at Kalenderhane (see discussion in the catalogue entry for Kalenderhane in the appendix). The octagonal structure was however by no means the only form taken by baptisteries, mausolea

and martyria. Cruciform, hexagonal, quatrefoil and triconch buildings were also common forms of baptistery constructed prior to the seventh century (Ćurčić 2010:898). Laterally planned baptisteries survived in Anatolia, the Near East and North Africa until the seventh century, (for example at Alahan).



Figure 13: Cruciform piscina at Alahan, image by the author

It is clear from sites studied within this thesis that medieval baptisteries were not uniform. The baptistery at Alahan is not centrally-planned, although it contains the familiar cruciform piscine (figure 13), as does the square baptistery in the lower city basilica church at Amorium (www.amoriumexcavations.org; photograph 2; 2005) and the basilica formed baptistery at Tyana Kemerhisar (Rossada 2010). This ambiguity over the ‘proper’ form of a baptistery in Early Christian Asia Minor is at least in part due to the recent trend in scholarship of architectural history to focus on the west: “Current handbooks on Byzantine architecture begin with Rome” (Ousterhout and

Jackson 20078:xxviii). This trend has limited the number of positively identified baptisteries available for study.

The lack of positively identified baptisteries is however by no means conclusive evidence against architectural links between baptisteries and mausolea; a parekklesion at Binbirkilise on the Karadağ the south side chamber at church 21 can only be identified as a cruciform chapel, it is likely to either have been a baptistery or a martyria, but deciding which from the floor plan without identifying inscriptions or a font is impossible (Ramsay and Bell 1909:115-126). Similarly the north parekklesion of the main church at Kalenderhane could well have functioned as a baptistery; it is close to the entrance of the church and has a roughly octagonal shape. The lack of a font here precludes absolute identification, but the hypothesis is supported by the presence of an infant burial, which seem to cluster around baptisteries where they are present (as at Amorium and Alahan). The very ambiguity of the buildings, and the fact that without a positive indication either way (a font, reliquary or inscription) the two types of building cannot be clearly distinguished suggests that the two forms of buildings are significantly linked.

The association between baptism and death is perhaps most clear in the symbolic motifs present in the art surrounding these rites of passage. There was a shift in the emphasis of funerary art from Late Antiquity when the focus was death, to images which place the emphasis on immortality (Walter 1976:115). Figurative art in Medieval Byzantine mortuary contexts was rare, but going into the Medieval Byzantine period the connections between baptism and death are clearly evident; the fifth century mosaics at S. Giovanni in Fonte at Naples and in the baptistery of the orthodox at Ravenna both display eschatological themes (Krautheimer 1942:137). By the Medieval Byzantine period in both baptismal and funerary art, resurrection was the uniting theme in eschatological art. Likewise, decoration in mausolia and cemetery contexts from elsewhere in the Empire often alludes to baptism and eternal life; for example a scene of baptism in the catacombs of St. Calixtus, Rome (Figure 14).



Figure 14: Baptismal iconography in the catacombs of St. Calixtus, Rome. Reproduced from Grabar (1968: figure 18)

References to baptism are also present within the funeral liturgy by the tenth century. The tenth century *schematologion* which presents the Cathedral-Stational Celebration, details the anointing of the body of the deceased after death accompanied by the same blessing as the pre-baptismal anointing (Velkouska 2001:35, Chupungco 1997-8:347). The two acts are directly parallel to each other, requiring the same preparation for transformation, both in physical terms (washing and anointing the dead body with wine, oil or water; anointing, or submerging the baptismal body) and in spiritual ones, requiring the same blessing over the act of anointing the body.

For first millennium Christian communities, baptism was the first ritual in the eschatological process which passed through death and resurrection to full incorporation into the body of Christ. Evidence of this connection is present in every layer of society; the literate elite read about it in patristic tomes, while the masses daubed representations of eternal life through baptism on the walls of their burial chambers. Every person who attended a funeral liturgy or baptismal ceremony was reminded that these united rites of passage were only stations on the road to salvation.

Personal versus general eschatologies

Personal and general eschatologies are closely linked in Byzantine theology. The relationship between physical death, redemption and the end of days was ever present, highlighted for Byzantines during periods of eschatological tension, periods when it was thought that the end of the world would happen very soon indeed. Studies of Byzantine eschatology have traditionally separated the two categories focusing either on personal redemption or the end of days (for instance, Richard Landes' study of eschatology focuses entirely on the end of days in the year 1000,

Landes: 2000). This has begun to change, with integrated studies such as the collection of essays edited by Bynum and Freedman arguing that personal death and resurrection and the last judgement are inseparable. The combination of the two is, however, not yet a ubiquitous position (Bynum and Freedman 2000). The two categories are, however inextricably linked. Personal death was generally, although not universally the point at which a Medieval Byzantine person was thought to be either redeemed or not, notwithstanding intercession and the prayers of the living, but actual resurrection could not happen before the Day of Judgement, the end of days.

Predicting the day of the Lord

There were myriad signs and portents which acted as forerunners of the Apocalypse (used here in the more common sense to mean the end of the world). These signs include falling stars, a failing sun, wars, pestilence, earthquakes, the coming of the new Jerusalem (Baun 2007:31, Magdalino 2003:260-63). A vast eschatological tradition grew up around predicting when the Apocalypse might happen, with the only thing everyone could agree on being that it was probably quite soon. This produced a continuous atmosphere of apocalypticism, which grew greater as specific dates approached, and diminished as they past. Paul Magdalino has argued that the focus on personal redemption grew as eschatological deadlines approached, and then faded a little as the dates passed. Additionally, he has argued that the tenth century was a moment of particularly intense eschatological tension (Magdalino 1993).

Magdalino's chapter in his edited volume *The Year 1000 in Byzantium* asks as its central question whether or not it was normal to expect the end of the world as an imminent event in Medieval Byzantium. A summary of work on the topic he makes a number of key points; first Magdalino argues that it is easy to assume millenarianism (the end of days at the turn of the millennium) whereas the Byzantine Empire was locked in an atmosphere of almost constant apocalypticism, which ebbed and flowed as significant dates came and passed (Magdalino 2003:234 *contra* Landes 2000). Second, that the medieval view of the future was "rooted in a culture where belief in divinely produced prophecy and signs was ideologically correct" (Magdalino 2003:238); there was significant faith in signs and portents. And finally that although there was faith in the idea of the Last Judgement, and faith that it would happen soon, the end of days was not seen as inevitable. In Medieval Byzantine eschatology as read by Magdalino, God could intervene in the schedule of the Day of Judgement at any time he chose (Magdalino 2003). It is this final point which perhaps grants us the most insight into everyday lives and the cult of saints. The end of days could be postponed by good acts, asceticism and above all intercession, lending a certain urgency to the acts of the faithful immediately before any of the innumerable prophesised dates.

A picture of a rolling program of apocalyptic dates appears sensible from our historical vantage point of the future. However it must be considered how the approach and passage of years during which the world was supposed to end was experienced. Magdalino argues that in Byzantine theological circles, no date predicting the end of days was allowed to pass without being superseded by a date placed sometime in the future which was a more likely candidate for the end of days. It could be that these specific dates passed for specific individuals with building tension and contemplation of personal death followed by relief, while for others it was the imminent nature of the end which mattered more than any specific date. Perhaps the key phrase for understanding how Byzantine individuals could put faith time and time again in prophecies is Matthew 24:36, which states that we cannot know the day or the hour of the second coming. If we combine this with a concrete belief in prophesy, the ebb and flow of eschatological tension argued for by Paul Magdalino seems eminently likely (Magdalino 1993, Magdalino 1999, Magdalino 2003).

Common Medieval Byzantine eschatological imagery and metaphor

In a discussion of allegory, metaphor and Byzantine eschatology it is important to keep in mind that the Book of Revelation was not a widely circulated text in mid-Byzantine Orthodoxy (Magdalino 2003:249). It is not therefore terribly surprising that the horsemen of the apocalypse did not act as the sole metaphor for discussions of general eschatology. Much more common allegories depicted a state between death and resurrection (the state which Nicholas Conostas among others refers to as the 'middle state of souls', and which comes to be known as limbo in the Catholic tradition). The settings for these middle state visions included courtrooms, imperial palaces, elements of imperial bureaucracy, even prisons (Baun 2007:235-241). Other common metaphors include tax collectors, heavenly ladders such as that of John Climacus or other forms of journey. These recurrent images seem to have been the concepts which were ready-to-hand for understanding what happened after death and are discussed further in terms of the archaeological evidence in section 4.7.

The above metaphors rely on a conscious, or at least dreaming, middle state of souls. This was the psychological model of death, the Neo-Platonist legacy mentioned above and described in detail by Conostas (2001:111). The literature which describes such visionary eschatological experiences is largely on the psychological model, the materialist position on consciousness and memory after death precludes experience without a body. Presumably from a materialist position, eschatological experience would consist of physical death followed immediately (although infinite time may have passed) by the Day of Judgement and being reunited with a spiritual body. The concept of heavenly or spiritual time comes into play here. Baun argues that the trope of a journey in apocalyptic literature does not contradict a state of sleep because "Much of the apparent temporal confusion in

the visions results from an attempt to experience time as does God, in whose mind past, present and future are all simultaneously present. In the eternal present, both the present commission of a sin and its future consequence exist simultaneously, and are visible synchronously.” (Baun 2007:145).

Understandings of Byzantine eschatological imagery should aim to be as complex now as they were in Medieval Byzantium, and what really emerges from the wealth of literature on this topic is the profusion of apparently self-contradictory positions on what happens after death. The lack of any concrete doctrinal guidance exacerbates this, but the quantity of debate and literature on the subject shows an abiding concern with the topic, particularly focusing on the topics of redemption, resurrection, immortality and the end of days.

3.2.5 What do we know? Ready-to-hand practice Evidence for a standardised funeral liturgy

3.2.4 will move on from ready-to-hand concepts to address ready-to-hand practice, the actions which seemed to be unquestioningly appropriate mortuary practices. In her 2001 article on *Funeral Rites According to the Byzantine Liturgical Sources*, Elena Velkovska summarises the evidence for standardized funeral prayers in the Medieval Byzantine Empire. Velkovska argues that the core prayers of the funeral service were in place by the eighth century, witnessed by the seven funeral prayers contained within the Barberini euchology (gr. 336 cited in Velkovska 2001). The earliest extant example of a full funeral service does not occur until the fourteenth century, and appears heavily influenced by the monastic orthos, or matins service of the hours (Velkovska 2001:22, 30). From the available evidence, Velkovska concludes that the eighth-century funeral rite probably took the form of “a litany followed by two prayers, the final one a prayer of inclination” and that “this structure represents beyond doubt the original nucleus of the Byzantine funeral rite” (Velkovska 2001:22-3).

The seven funeral prayers within the Barberini euchology (numbered 264-270 in the modern edition cited here) are split into two groups by Velkovska, prayers for the dead, specifically separate prayers for a layperson, a bishop and a monk, three prayers for the generic dead, and a prayer of inclination addressed to the living congregation who mourn. Velkovska observes that because the form of the prayers is so close to other liturgies, including Armenian and Coptic traditions (particularly the first oration of the series “God of the spirits and of all flesh”) the form of the prayers is in all probability significantly older than the first extant examples. Similar prayers, dedicated to other categories of the dead are present within a number of manuscripts from the wider Empire dated from the tenth to the twelfth centuries (Velkovska 2001:23-4).

A tenth century manuscript, the Grottaferrata Γ .β. IV, survives, confirming that the funeral structure which Velkovska postulates for the eighth century was intact in the tenth century. The structure consisted of “litany-presidential prayer or collect-inclination prayer” (Velkovska 2001:24). This structure is once again echoed in the Slavonic Euchology of Sinai, Sinai glag. 37, and the Middle Eastern euchologies Sinai gr. 959 and Sinai gr. 961, all of which Velkovska places in the eleventh century (Velkovska 2001:25).

Within these sources there are some constants noted by Velkovska; two specific prayers, one addressing the litany to God (“God of the spirits and of all flesh”) and the prayer of inclination beseeching comfort (“Lord O Lord, consolation of the suffering and comfort of the mortal”). On top of these prayers are a huge variety of prayers for specific categories of the dead, priests, monks, laity, children, bishops (Velkovska 2001:26). The separate prayers for different types of people could perhaps be equated to different categories of personhood within the Byzantine liturgical tradition, this is a theme I will return to in chapter 4.

Velkovska goes on to compare the euchologies and recorded liturgies from the wider Empire, summarised above, to the earliest extant Constantinopolitan euchology, dated to 1027, the manuscript euchology Paris Coislin 213. The structure of the collection of prayers is no different to those summarised above, including the two standard prayers, ‘God of the spirits and of the flesh’ and the inclination prayer followed by prayers for specific categories of the dead. The only innovation is the inclusion of a prayer for censuring the dead, that is, a prayer to be accompanied by incense (Velkovska 2001:27).

A number of suggestions have been made for the location of the funeral prayers within standardized funeral rites prior to standardization of the rite, perhaps most notably, the suggestion of Miguel Arranz of a vigil (Arranz 1975 cited in Velkovska 2001:30). The earliest recorded funeral ritual however, is contained within the Grottaferrata Γ .β. X dating to the tenth or eleventh century (Velkovska 2001:30). The ritual set out within the Grottaferrata Γ .β. X explicitly states, as noted by Velkovska that there was only one funeral ritual, with minor changes (such as the substitution of one of the more specific funeral prayers) depending on the nature of the deceased person (Velkovska 2001:31).

The variation in specific prayers used for categories of the dead between the Byzantine periphery and Constantinople, Velkovska attributes to the periphery conserving in Greek the prayer of the oriental patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem as a reaction against the process of liturgical Byzantinization (Velkovska 2001:29). In any case, what we can take from this study is the

following; although we know of no formal funeral service prior to the monastic rite of tenth or eleventh-century Constantinople, the general structure of the funeral prayers was fairly rigid. It is likely that the service comprised the litany, followed by at least three specific funeral prayers, the two which are standard throughout the known euchologies, addressing God of the spirits and the inclination prayer, followed by a prayer which was appropriate to both the social standing of the deceased and the regional tradition from which they came.

Experientially, what we can draw from the high degree of standardization of funeral prayers, followed by the incorporation of the funeral prayers into a single standardized funeral liturgy in the Medieval Byzantine period, is that the funeral rites, whether simply prayers or a full service, were a known quantity. The Grottaferrata manuscripts show funeral prayers within a highly repetitive liturgy familiar to the mourners. Although the rites are likely to have varied regionally, the recorded rites seem to have been extremely stable, barely changing from the eighth to the twelfth centuries, with the possible exception of the addition of a prayer for incense in eleventh century Constantinople (although it is highly likely that incense was present at funerary rites prior to the official inclusion of a prayer). Velkovska states that the themes within the prayers are also largely standardized, focusing on light, peace, rest, refreshment and repose in the bosom of Abraham (Velkovska 2001:29). There is security in this repetition of a known set of phrases and often a sense of rightness in ritual, the highly prescriptive liturgy of Byzantine mortuary practice accesses this.

One of the aims of the specific funeral prayers is comfort for the living. This is clearest within the inclination prayer, “Lord O Lord, consolation of the suffering and comfort of the mournful” translated in Velkovska (2001:29). This is a little at odds with the theological position that the state of death is impermanent, and that resurrection will happen on the Day of Judgement. Salvation implies that mourning is unnecessary, a human foible irrelevant to the eternal truth of resurrection. It is not at all however, at odds with the depictions of mourning and grief discussed in detail by Maguire (1977) in his article *Depictions of Sorrow in Middle Byzantine Art*, as although the majority of the images of grief reference grief on theological grounds, a number depict a mourning family at the bedside (Maguire 1977). The funeral prayers acknowledge the grief of a mourning community rather than rejecting the emotion, and simply ask God to be compassionate in consolation of the mournful. The next section will examine textual evidence for the common mode of deposition.

Deposition

The Medieval Christian dead body was not a polluting substance. This was a significant ideological shift from the attitudes of Late Antiquity (both Pagan and Jewish) where the bodies of the dead

were removed from the sphere of the living swiftly and interred outside the city (Davies 1999:198, Hanfmann 1983:204). Evidence for the non-polluting nature of the Christian deceased is visible in various categories of evidence; cemeteries become intramural, saintly bodies smell sweet, and textual sources as early as the third century such as the *Didascalia Apostolorum* exhort the population not to avoid the dead:

“do not observe these things, nor think that it is uncleanness; and do not restrain yourselves because of them, and do not seek sprinklings, or baptisms, or purifications for these things. Indeed, in the second legislation, if one touches a dead man or a tomb, he must be bathed. You, however, according to the Gospel and according to the power of the Holy Spirit, shall be assembled even in the cemeteries, and read the holy Scriptures, and without observance complete your services, and your intercessions to God, and offer an acceptable eucharist, the likeness of the body of the Kingdom of Christ, in your congregations and in your cemeteries and on the departures of those who sleep among you, pure bread that is prepared in fire and sanctified through an invocation. Indeed, those who have believed in God, as it is written in the Gospel, even though they should sleep, they are not dead, and our Lord said to the Sadducees: ‘About the resurrection of the dead, have you not read that which is written: I am the God of Abraham and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob? And he is not the God of the dead but of the living’. ... On this account you are to approach without restraint those who rest and you shall not declare them unclean” (*Didascalia Apostolorum* 245-6 cited in Davies 1999:198).

By the medieval Byzantine period the non-polluting nature of the body is perhaps such a ready-to-hand concept that the parading of the dead through the street, and frequency of accessing dead bodies part way through decay to allow for multiple burial is unremarkable, and therefore goes unmentioned in the textual sources. The reasons for the non-polluting state of the dead are similar to the reasons that excessive grief was theologically inappropriate; the dead are not truly dead, they live in God, they are undergoing transformation, rather than decay. As Davies puts it “their deaths and funerals were occasions for displays of hope, not resignation or fear” 1999:199). The non-polluting state of the Christian Byzantine dead, and their acknowledged salvation and the implication of these things on Byzantine emotion are themes that will be picked up and discussed in detail within sections 4.2 and 4.5.

With the concept of the dead as either asleep or as intercessors firmly in mind, the practicalities of deposition take on a deeper meaning. The essentials of laying out and deposition for a non-violent death are as follows; the person was visited at the bedside by mourners, both before and after death, these events are witnessed by the mortuary art of the period in which both the ‘last illness’ and ‘lying in state’ are common images (Walter 1976:116-123). The body was washed, anointed, sometimes embalmed and either dressed in funerary clothes or shrouded (Davies 1999:199).

Although there is no absolute proof prior to the eleventh century that vigils were common, it is likely that they were held and the rite was formalised by the eleventh century (Arranz 1975 cited in Velkovska 2001:30). By the Medieval Byzantine period, lying in state and holding the vigil went on

for three to four days (the extension of this period from Late Antique practice can be read as another instance of the non-polluting state of the body). The lying in state was followed by a processional liturgy lead by priest or bishop to the cemetery, where the individual would be interred face upwards or facing towards Jerusalem, feet to the east, in an extended supine position to greet Christ on the Day of Judgement (Davies 1999:199).

Variations on this practice existed. Grave goods were occasionally present, as well as dress accessories, particularly shoes, such as those in grave CAT2161 at Çatalhöyük, and in graves AMR004, AMR006, AMR007, AMR008 and AMR103 at Amorium which indicate that people were occasionally dressed in clothes rather than shrouded for burial (see catalogue entries for further detail). The general absence of dress accessories in graves can perhaps be taken as positive evidence for shrouding in preservation conditions in which fabric is unlikely to survive. This is discussed more fully in chapter 4. There was a tradition of interring priests with the eucharist which, although banned by the sixth ecumenical council in 680/81 continued until at least the twelfth century, when it was declared an 'old' practice by Zonaras (Iverson 2000:168).

Burial clubs

Having established events prior to and during a standard funeral and deposition, the next section of this thesis will aim to establish who caused the events to occur; who organised and paid for them. Burial clubs were an established element of Roman society from the earliest inhumations. Horden argues (on the basis of Evliya Çelebi's seventeenth century account of the guilds and confraternities of Constantinople, and its ties to pre-Latin tradition) that the medieval guilds and confraternities continued to provide burial for their members, whether or not the confraternal groups were focused around religious or secular activity (Horden 1986:34). Indeed the distinction of medieval confraternities (groups of 'brothers' in the Byzantine sense of adopted family) into secular and sacred is a largely defunct one as some functioned more as guilds while others were essentially monastic in outlook (Rapp 1997). An extant twelfth century *typicon*, which is reputed to be a copy of an eleventh century document, describes the rule of a confraternity dedicated to the cult of *Theotokos Naupaktetissa* and comprising roughly equal numbers of monks and laypeople. The *typicon* explicitly states that among other functions, the confraternity acts as a burial club for its members, ensuring proper burial and presumably, bearing the cost (Horden 1986:38). Although function as burial clubs is not assured as early as the seventh century, the presence of lay confraternities (contemporarily known as *philoponoi*, labour-lovers, or *spoudaioi*, zealots) is attested, and it is likely that proper burial, both of the members of the group, and of the poor, was one of the prescribed activities. The other duties of confraternities included prayer, liturgical

chanting, the keeping of vigils, participation in festivals, ceremonies and processions (Horden 1986:40-41), all activities in keeping with what we know of the Medieval Byzantine funeral rite.

The presence and involvement of confraternities by no means implies that the whole cost and organisation of funerals was borne by groups outside the family. Indeed, the Late Roman family tombs of Anemurium, possibly private medieval Byzantine funerary chapels of Kilise Tepe and Alahan and the proliferation of family chapels in Cappadocia argue against domination by guilds or non-kin groups. It does seem to be the case however, that in cities at least, funeral organisation and cost was a community matter. Confraternities, like adoption and other forms of ritual 'brotherhood' (although siblinghood might be more accurate a translation) were part of the fabric of Medieval Byzantium, and burial was one of the places in which these lateral ties, so lauded by Peregrine Horden and Evelyne Patlagean come into play (Horden 1986:32, Patlagean 1977).

3.2.6 Exceptional practice; present-at-hand belief

Creating saints

There were two basic textual tropes for the death of a saint, excluding the martyrs of early Christianity. The most common trope occurred if the saint was known to be a saint, or at least a very holy person, prior to their death. In these cases the end was seen coming, the saint often saw it, named its hour, and the death scene became the eye of a holy storm, such as that of *Nikon O Metanoeite*, a preacher in the Peloponnese who died at the turn of the second millennium (Smith 2008:592). In the case of Nikon, crowds of the laity gathered close to the holy man to rip his clothes to shreds as he lay dying in order to gain some relic of the event (*life of St Nikon*, cited in Kazhdan *et al* 1991). An additional example of this form of death is the fifth century death of the Anatolian saint Daniel the Stylite (*Daniel the Stylite*: 95-102).

The second common hagiographical trope for recording the death of a holy man was that the death (and life) was written in retrospect because the person was found to be a saint after death. This was the case for the tenth century pious housewife, and later saint, Mary the Younger. It is in these descriptions of death and mortuary practices that the ready-to-hand fabric of mourning was made explicit, only later taken over by exceptional happenings. Mary died, and was interred. When the grave was re-opened her body was found to be uncorrupted at which point her saintliness was established and miracles were reported. Her relics were later moved and the miracles proliferated. This is the reflexive cycle of the transition of a pious person to a culted saint (*The life, career, and partial narration of the miracles of the blessed and renowned Mary the Younger*: 11-29) This is the reflexive cycle of the transition of a holy man to a culted saint.

Not all holy men and women became saints, and not all saints were acknowledged as holy within their lifetime. The ambiguity of the gap between these two things suggests that people were monitoring for saintly activity. Post-mortem behaviour which suggests someone might be a saint took the form of exuding sweet smelling odours (e.g. *St. John the Almsgiver*: 46), failure to decompose (*Mary the Younger*: 12), signs, portents, miracles and visitations which occurred around the dead body of the potential saint; the deceased saintly body became a hotspot of holy activity. This is discussed more completely in section 4.2.

This does not work if the theology ascribed to comes from a tradition of thetropsychism, and is materialist; a position which holds that there is no connection between living and dead and the dead and the souls of saints do not remember the other world. The cult of the saints was widespread, particularly in popular literature, reliquaries, pilgrim tokens, chapels dedicated to saints, and icons prolific in the Medieval Byzantine period. This suggests that the majority of the population ascribed to a more psychologically active conception of body and soul in which the one was incomplete without the other, and conscious of its loss.

The veneration of saints was practiced from the earliest Christian period with veneration of martyrs. The singular 'cult' is perhaps inappropriate here, as there was never a single cult in the same manner as there has never been a single orthodoxy. By the seventh century the cults of the saints were well established.

Cults of the saints

The veneration of saints, their relics and their icons lead to miraculous healings or other instances of divine power channelled through saintly physicality. The nature of the veneration of saints changed significantly with the iconoclastic controversy which began in the eighth century, and then again with the eventual triumph of Orthodoxy (the end of Iconoclasm) in 843. The iconoclastic controversy focused around the iconoclasts objecting to perceived worship of icons rather than God while the iconophiles held that there was a distinction between the icon and the prototype and that icons were used to channel prayer through the icons of the saints (Mansi XIII cited in Brubaker 1989: 33). This controversy redefined what it meant for a human to be sacred and what formed allowable expressions of power. Although iconoclasm never challenged the power of the saints directly, it was tied up in anxieties surrounding the worship of the one God, and the power that was his and his alone. This goes some way to explaining why the incidence of miracles lessened in a post-iconoclastic world (Smith 2008:588).

The saints in both Early and Medieval Christianity were exceptional examples of humanity, but they were still human. The relationship between the saintly body and soul was an idealised model for human body-soul relationships. What this means is that in the exceptional reactions to saintly bodies (the present-at-hand moments) which were more fully recorded than everyday ready-to-hand bodies, we see echoes of the ready-to-hand ideas of a normal human's body-soul relationship. Primarily, the fact, and general acceptance of intercession encourages me to believe that the majority of the population ascribed to a theology where the body and soul remained connected even after death. As outlined above, in the psychologically active eschatological model the soul retains a sort of imprint of the physical body and appears in that form in visions of the afterlife even if at the moment of death homunculi appear as swaddled infants (Walter 1976:119). The soul as an infant appears an apt depiction if we take into account the close ties between birth, baptism, death and transformation and the frequency of infant baptism during the Medieval Byzantine period. The connection between the saintly body and soul, and the conscious state of the soul after death are implicit in the nature and practice of intercession. This makes it clear that a significant group of people (those who practiced intercessory prayer) expected to be conscious after death.

The Medieval Byzantine concept of intercession relies on an understanding of heaven as a metaphorical court (or rather on the imperial court as a model of the heavenly one). Saints then fall into the Medieval Byzantine role of patrons, who push their subjects' interests and argue on their behalf to higher powers. Intercession was achieved by prayers to the deceased saint, who heard them in heaven and acted on behalf of the person who prayed, sometimes appearing to them. The efficacy of these prayers was greatly increased if the prayers are channelled through a conduit to the saint, this was the post-iconoclastic function of icons, with the eyes acting as a window to the saintly soul. Relics, which were generally body parts, exuviae or materials which had close physical proximity to the saints, acted in the same manner as the icons, enabling the prayer to reach the saint more easily – arguably because of the closelink between body and soul. This is one of the ways in which the practices surrounding saints give us insight into how members of cults of saints viewed both saintly and their own bodies.

In summary, the ready-to-hand things which the death of saints can tell us about the way Byzantines thought about death are as follows:

1. The souls of the dead remained conscious, remembering the physical world, even as they inhabited a spiritual one where the very special dead had privileged access to the divine.
2. The bodies of the dead were important, retaining links with the souls of the dead.

There are further implications here; the deliberate disturbance of the saintly dead suggests that for them at least, remaining intact was not important. Similarly the graves in churches, which contain many more than a single individual suggest that there too, bodily wholeness was not an issue for resurrection. Some of the more rural cemeteries however, where there is generally more space, seem to be strictly one occupant per grave, and even where there are two, the individuals were interred together and the bones not disturbed after the primary burial event. This distinction is explored in section 4.2. This suggests a separation between the way particularly holy and ordinary people were buried, and perhaps also a distinction in their personhood. Perhaps saints, being more holy and in some ways already partially ascended in their access to the divine in their role as intercessors, were higher up in the hierarchy and could take the chance that God will remember their physical body at the Day of Judgement.

3.2.7 Conclusions for chapter 3: drawing together bodies of evidence

This chapter has addressed a number of my stated aims and objectives. Primarily, section 3.1 presented a synthesis of a selection of the available archaeological data concerning cemetery sites dating to between the ninth and twelfth centuries in Byzantine Anatolia. This highlighted features of consistent or contrasting practice. Four types of cemetery were identified and characterised; Interior church burials, exterior church burials, chapel burials and field cemeteries. Some features of burials were found to be consistent across all four groups; individuals were aligned west-east in an extended supine position and grave goods were scarce across the board (although possibly more frequent in earlier basilica burials than in later chapel burials – both contexts where the burials were contemporary with the primary phase of use of the site).

Other features differed significantly between the sites, the burials in the field cemeteries of Çatalhöyük, Barcın and Ilipinar held a single individual apiece, elsewhere, in urban contexts such as the Church cemeteries at Saraçhane and Kalenderhane, and at the basilica burials at Amorium and Elaiussa Sebaste, it was common to re-use a grave multiple times, pushing the earlier occupants of the grave aside to make room for the next inhumation. Interestingly, none of the case study sites provided evidence of an ossuary although they were common elsewhere in the Empire. The perceived difference in the use life of a grave between the single inhumations of field cemeteries and the multiple inhumations elsewhere could be put down to the value of space; a number of church cemetery contexts within this data set are urban, so space may have been at a premium, while the extramural field cemeteries could easily be expanded, however this cannot be the only factor. It is equally likely that ideas surrounding bodily wholeness and the role of the earthly body in resurrection played a part in when and if burials could be disturbed. This is a theme, informed by the discussion of the nature of Orthodox eschatology contained in section 3.2 of this chapter that will be

developed further in section 4.2, which will deal with the implications for resurrection on archaeological practices dealing with tomb building, choice and occupation.

The second section of this chapter began by dealing with a summary of Byzantine eschatological positions from textual, art historical and architectural sources. This included a brief discussion of divergent positions on resurrection and consciousness after death, boiling things down to a basic division between theologians for whom the body and soul are separate, and incomplete without each other, the soul retaining a sort of imprint of the physical body after death, and the theologians in the tradition of thetropsychism and materialist conceptions of body and soul for whom, in essence, the physical body ceases to have much meaning after death as there is no connection between the soul in the afterlife and the physical remains of the person on earth.

This discussion of theology was followed by a summary of 'what we know' about Byzantine mortuary practices from sources other than archaeology. The key points here were that by the eighth century the funeral liturgy was likely to have been firmly established, it was a known quantity as was the process of deposition, which involved preparing the body for the grave, shrouding (confirmed as much by the absence of dress accessories in the majority of Byzantine graves as well as the occasional positive evidence pointing to grave cloths), a vigil, procession, deposition and commemoration. The articulation between the two sets of data relating to deposition, the textual record and the archaeological evidence will be further explored in chapter 4. These elements of the textual record I referred to as 'ready-to-hand', exploring the concept that deposition and liturgy were largely based around tacit knowledge, practices that felt right and did not require questioning or sanctions.

One of the central conclusions to this chapter, based on both my understanding of Byzantine theology and the archaeological material, is that a significant element of the rural population ascribed to some form of implicit theology whereby the body and soul remained linked after death. I have argued that the cults of the saints preclude a materialist world view, and as the cults were so widespread in post-iconoclastic Byzantine Anatolia, a psychological position on eschatology is more likely to have been dominant among the general population. The increased frequency of multiple burials in basilical contexts (where arguably it was more likely for someone to be discovered a saint, as the burials were opened and monitored in a way in which single inhumations were not) supports a psychological eschatology as do the attested graveside commemorative acts.

This is not to argue for a monocultural Anatolian heartland, there were clearly variations in practice (and certainly variations in belief, although arguing for nuanced differences with data of this

resolution is perhaps not practical). The possibility of an anxiety over bodily wholeness after death as an influencing factor in the single inhumations of field cemeteries is one such variation, as are the regional frequencies of dress accessories or other items of material culture within graves, for example the prevalence of shoes at Amorium, both of which will be discussed in further detail in section 4.7.

Moving forward to the discussion of chapter 4, the themes I wish to emphasise include the creation and monitoring of saints as present-at-hand elements of mortuary practice, the exceptions which required people to define what they believed happened after 'ordinary' deaths, throwing into relief the ready-to-hand practices which were so relatively formulaic. I intend to further explore the presence or absence of an anxiety of bodily wholeness for the overall dataset and then by regionally separating out urban and rural contexts. These analyses will pay particular attention to multiple burial and attitudes to decay. Primarily, in moving on from a chapter which essentially summarises debates in order to get to the 'facts' of Byzantine mortuary practice, chapter 4 will aim for a greater understanding of how what we know happened was experienced.

Chapter 4 Tracing Experienced Mortuary Practices

4.1 Introduction to experienced moments of mortuary practice

In this chapter I will scrutinise the information collated in chapter 3 in combination with the theoretical position outlined in section 2.3 in an attempt to address, at levels of personal and communal experience, moments of practice within the Medieval Byzantine mortuary program.

After the death of an individual, the body was laid out on a funeral couch, or bier, for a variable length of time (Jon Davies suggests three to four days as the norm in the Early Christian period) (Davies 1999:199, citing the *Didascalia*, a third century text edited by Smith and Cheetham 1875:251-4). At some point during this period of time, the body was prepared for burial. The preparations included stripping the body of the clothes the person died in, washing the body and anointing it with oil, wine or water and finally clothing the body in garments appropriate for burial, shrouding it, or both (*ibid.*). The body was then processed to the grave side where a funeral liturgy accompanied the burial of the individual (Brown 1981:21-2). As I outlined in section 3.2, the funerary rite within the Medieval Byzantine period took the form of a litany, either at the graveside or within a funerary chapel or church, followed by two prayers, a prayer for the dead and a prayer of inclination seeking comfort for the living (Velkovska 2001:22-3). The words of funeral prayers and structure of the funerals seem to have been largely stable between the eighth century through to the eleventh century AD (*ibid.*). This descriptive account of the funerary process of the laity for burial is accepted knowledge within Byzantine studies, while the monastic rite differed. From a twelfth century *schematologion* we know the monk was laid out in his cell and the body washed and dressed while seeing the naked body of the deceased was prohibited (Messina gr. 172 fol.92v cited in Velkovska 2001:38). The monastic funeral sequence is recorded in more detail and, from the eleventh century at least, the funeral celebration took place at the cell of the monk during the washing and dressing of the body, in the church at a dedicated funeral service and in the cemetery at the deposition of the body (Grottaferrata Γ.β. XLIII (fols. 108 ff) cited in Velkovska 2001:37). The textual sources suggest a high degree of continuity of funeral rites and mortuary practices throughout the Byzantine period (set out in section 3.2). In essentials, the account presented above of the period of time between death and the procession to the grave side is adequate if we wish to consider what happened. This account does not however address issues of the effect of moments of mortuary practice on the community who engage in them and it is this element of experience that I shall draw out in the rest of this chapter.

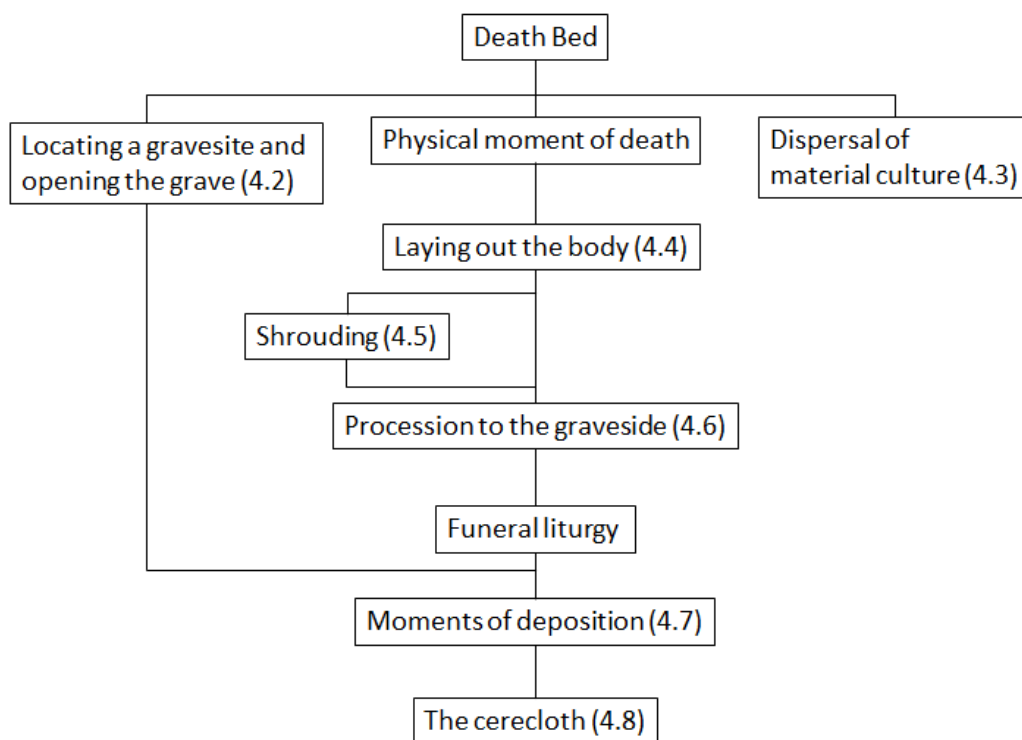


Figure 15: A flow chart showing the known sequence of mortuary practices. Numbers refer to the sections of chapter 4 in which each moment is discussed.

Chapter 4 is structured around the mortuary practices and funeral rites described above and set out in figure 15. Because of the nature of evidence, and the nature of moments, each assemblage references both memories and knowledge of the past as well as expectations for the future, the interaction of these things means that it has been necessary to move backwards and forwards throughout the rite as choosing a grave site of necessity impacts the experience of deposition of the body etc. The flow chart in figure 15 sets out what we know about the order of events which may not have been sequential – for instance the selection of a grave site and opening of the grave must have happened at some point before the procession to the grave-side, but it is by no means clear when. Similarly the dispersal of material culture may have begun before a death but not have been completed until after the burial.

Although I discuss seven distinct moments of mortuary practice (choosing a grave site (4.2); dispersal of material culture (4.3); laying out the body (4.4); shrouding (4.5); procession to the grave side (4.6); the moment of deposition (4.7); placing the cerecloth (4.8)), I have focused on the moments for which there is the greatest archaeological evidence. The specific moments of the mortuary program on which this chapter centres have been chosen because of their visibility in the archaeological

record and their potential for discussing the experience of mortuary practice. I shall first address the Byzantine choices involved in locating, constructing and re-opening graves, and the ways in which I think these choices, evident in the archaeology, might have interacted with narratives of death, dying and salvation. This section foreshadows the deposition of the body in the same way as the discussion of the dispersal of material culture cannot be placed firmly within the ritual sequence, but can be discussed in terms of the affective field of the whole mortuary process. Next I shall address the processes of laying out the body and shrouding, and their separate but linked affective fields. After the body has been prepared for burial, I will discuss the effect of the procession to the graveside as an acknowledgement of the transition from living to dead, followed by a discussion of the deposition of the body in the grave, which includes the objects placed with the dead and the concept of allegorical meaning. Before progressing to this moment by moment analysis of mortuary practice, I will consider a number of instances where sample bias within the data set has constrained my analysis, particularly in terms of discussions of chronology, and discuss how we might usefully combine the structuralist, taxonomic approach of van Gennep with relational understandings of the Byzantine world to reimagine Byzantine ritual.

Sample Bias and limitations of the dataset

The chronological resolution of the archaeological data presented in section 3.1 is not ideal, a situation which is as often the case with medieval burials as it is with other excavated skeletal samples, something previously noted by Angel and Bisel (2007:374). The dataset presented in this thesis is not sufficiently well dated to generalise for chronological trends with any certainty. Although there are many more grave goods present from tenth, eleventh and twelfth century sites (specifically Amorium, Barcın and Saraçhane) than from sites dating to the ninth century and before, this could be largely due to the sample bias inherent in the data set. Within my sample the tenth, eleventh and twelfth century graves have the finest chronological resolution, providing more complete contextualisation for the items of material culture within the assemblages, therefore positively reinforcing the precise dating of grave assemblages dating to the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries. It is possible that this division is representative of a true transition occurring at the end of the ninth century from mortuary practice which privileged plain burial to a medieval tradition which included greater quantities of objects in burials. The location of this split however, between the ninth century as the end of the 'dark age' of Byzantium and the beginning of the Medieval period in the tenth century, rings some alarm bells. Issues of representation in the 'dark age' of the seventh, eighth and ninth centuries and the lack of securely datable material culture, may well have led to the miss-assignment of objects to the period before the seventh century or after the ninth.

With more detailed recording and more large scale comparative work on the 'dark age' such as that currently being undertaken by ceramicists (e.g. Vionis *et al* 2009, Gabrieli *et al* 2007), this problem will be increasingly solvable, but only if we are aware of the problem and its potential, and aim to resolve it through complete publication, and independent dating of seemingly chronologically flat assemblages such as the cemetery at Çatalhöyük (Moore and Jackson in press). The methodology used by Mark Jackson and myself at Çatalhöyük aimed to address this issue of distinguishing between phases of graves with very few stratigraphic relationships by categorising graves as types and using the few available stratigraphic relationships and carbon dates to establish a type sequence. I used a similar methodology to suggest two phases of graves at Kalenderhane in section 3.1.

A similar issue affects the data at a different scale of analysis; the sample size of inhumations from exterior church burial contexts for which there is adequate osteological recording and publication is small. Only Saraçhane had sufficient osteological and archaeological data to determine whether graves were multiple or single burials. There is a slight conflict between my calculated figures for Saraçhane and those included in Ivison's 1993 thesis. Ivison calculates that 82.5% of the graves at Saraçhane were single, primary burials (Ivison 1993:159). From my reading of the site report (the information from which is reproduced in the catalogue which forms the appendix to this thesis) I calculate that 73 of the 109 graves were single primary inhumations, forming 66.9% of the graves (distinct from the number of individuals, this distinction is clarified in table 1 below). It is probable that Ivison included graves where I did not judge the data to be of sufficient quality to argue for a single, rather than a multiple inhumation, such as where only fragmentary remains were present, or incidences where the grave cut was empty (such as SCH028). It is likely that the discrepancy in our grave counts is due to the use of different criteria for inclusion in our respective samples. However without access to Ivison's database it is not possible to establish the criteria used for inclusion in his sample, or to evaluate them against my own.

A further limitation of the discussion of differences between single and multiple burial results from the fact that the excavations of cemeteries within my dataset are in general not published in sufficient detail to distinguish absolutely between the re-use of graves and contemporary burials. Current approaches in archaeoethanatology mean that it should be possible with more specialised training of excavators and modern excavation practice to distinguish between contemporary and successive burials, as well as between individuals interred in filled contexts or voids, which would give us insight into the practice of repeatedly opening graves (Duday 2009:72-76, 32-40). These practices however have not commonly been employed as yet in cemetery excavation in Turkey (with

the exception of the on-going and unpublished excavations at Hierapolis (Thanatos Project). Among the category of multiple burials this is a significant limitation of the dataset as there must have been a significant difference in the experience of interring two people in a newly dug grave in comparison to reopening a previously excavated grave to add an additional corpse. In cases such as the graves at Saraçhane where partially or fully decayed individuals have been pushed to one side in order to make space for new inhumations it is clear that the graves were re-opened and individuals interred above the decaying remains of previous occupants of the grave. In other cases (such as graves AMR004 and KAL011/12) the individuals are more likely to have been contemporary inhumations, a dual burial with two individuals either interred at the same time, or with very little time lapse between them. At AMR004, this is because the individuals both appear to be still fully articulated in the grave and are laid side by side in a grave cut wider than usual. The deliberate excavation of a wider than usual cut suggests that it was excavated to purpose for a dual burial. Graves KAL11/12 and KAL27/28 are both wider than the standard single inhumations on the site and I therefore similarly interpret the graves as deliberately cut to hold two individuals interred as contemporary inhumations. AMR004, KAL011/12 and KAL27/28 are the only graves in my data set for which it is possible to suggest with some confidence that the deposition of two individuals occurred as a single event. Without the osteological information from excavation, it is difficult to argue for the contemporary inhumation of two or more individuals from other contexts within the dataset. Graves containing more than two individuals have therefore been assumed to have accumulated successive deposits over time rather than a single act of deposition where there is insufficient data to state otherwise.

It is a limitation of the published data included within this discussion that the recording and publication from only one site of the exterior church burial category (Saraçhane) is of sufficient quality to be used to discuss burial trends. A second limitation is the sample size for chapel burials, only eight graves in total could be included in this category across two sites. The sample of church cemetery sites and the sample of chapel burial graves are too small to statistically establish significant differences between the proportions of individuals interred in single rather than multiple contexts. This limitation does not, however, preclude our ability to examine such evidence as we do have for trends in burial particularly as the qualitative data available from other sites of the same category exhibits the same general trends. In terms of material culture within this thesis, other than commenting that within this dataset there is an upswing in the presence of material culture in graves in the tenth, eleventh and twelfth century sites, addressing the object assemblage purely in terms of diachronic change is not a practicable option. Instead I have focused on the ability of the

assemblages present at different sites to inform discussions on forms of practice which were semantically linked, but not identical, in other words, aiming to address regional variation.

Dating aside, the single major delimiting factor of the scope of a study of mortuary practice is the quality and consistency of the osteological analysis of the material. As yet there are only a handful of populations for which this work has been undertaken. In the Byzantine Empire as a whole, the osteological analyses conducted at Eleutherna, Elaiussa Sebaste and Saraçhane are the exception rather than the rule. There is potential here for further work, indeed work is already underway at Çatalhöyük by Dr Michelle Gamble to begin to address this lacuna. Ideally, an osteological study of the graves which took place outside of the basilica context would serve our purposes well in unpicking the relative wealth and diets of a population split into burials within the church and burials outside of it. Unfortunately, as yet we do not have the data necessary to draw conclusions on the health and diet of Byzantine skeletal populations, and still less the quantity of data which would be required to use those categories as proxies for status. Given this gap in our knowledge an alternative approach to the analysis of burial is required. Rather than addressing the status of the burials, I would like to draw conclusions from the archaeological data set out below to discuss how the different attitudes to burial can inform us about different attitudes to the body, beginning with basilica contexts and the phenomenon of reopening tombs for multiple burial.

Van Gennep

In section 2.3 I argued that if we take the ritual categories and structure of van Gennep (pre-liminal, liminal, post-liminal), and acknowledge that they are relational, they become useful categories for discussing ritual. I illustrated this with a discussion of how baptism and the Christian life course can both be viewed as ritual at different scales, with little acts of separation and incorporation framed within an overall structure. In section 3.1 I proposed that within the Christian life course, the soul of a person was in a liminal state from baptism until resurrection. From a structuralist perspective, this raises the question of how rituals within the life course, such as funerals and mortuary practices, function within the overarching narrative of Christian life. One answer to this is that they act at different scales, rituals can act on a specific part of a person. I would argue that while baptism acts on the soul of a person – it is this that is saved, and remains liminal until resurrection and the final re-incorporation with God, funerary rituals may have had more to do with the bodily component of the person. As I set out in section 3.2, Byzantine people followed a psychologically active eschatology in which people were composed of both body and soul which were ambiguously linked. It is possible that the rituals of physical death were to do with the body, the corruptible element of the person, whose continued incorruptible existence was ensured by the promise of the Day of

Judgement. The ideas briefly set out here are discussed in more detail at each stage of the mortuary ritual detailed below.

The affective field created by laying out the body is the first stage in a process which I will argue used the techniques of shrouding to create a transition from one state of personhood to the next. In van Gennep's terms this is a rite of passage – moving someone from one state of being to another, although rather than presupposing fixed states of being human (implying movement between one blackbox and another, as van Gennep does), I adopt a relational approach whereby ritual moments create new states of personhood for the individuals involved in ritual acts, as I set out in section 2.3.

4.2 Locating a grave site and opening the grave

After the death of a person, and before progression to the grave side (but not necessarily prior to dispersal of material culture, laying out, or shrouding the dead), the location of the grave had to be decided, and the grave opened. A standard narrative of grave location, such as that employed by Ivison to argue for a bi-zonal hierarchical structure of society, set out in section 2.2, equates grave location with power, influence and wealth. Elements of this type of analysis hold true; the location of a place of burial was influenced by wealth and an understanding of what was 'appropriate' both for the individual to be interred and for the group of people instrumental in organising the burial as well as by location and availability of burial ground, but this is not the only reading of the difference between grave sites which are field cemeteries, graves outside churches and graves within churches, all three types of cemetery occurring in my dataset. I will begin section 4.2.1 by exploring differences in traditions of burial within the two categories of cemetery which I separated out during the data collection phase of this thesis. The primary distinction I made during the construction of the catalogue of burials was between church and field cemeteries before moving on to a discussion of some of wider significance of grave location for a Byzantine community in light of the growing Medieval Byzantine importance of the cult of the saints.

4.2.1 Divergent traditions of burial

Ivison has previously made the case that social status can be measured by the proximity of the individual interred to the altar (1993:66). I agree to the extent that burial within a church may have acted as a political statement on the identity of the deceased and the associated power/ identities of the dead person's family, but I do not think that there was a proportional relationship between status and proximity to the east end of the nave. Certainly burial within, as opposed to outside churches was a practice available to individuals whose families held some level of power. However the act of burial within churches was prohibited within the Theodosian Code with the exception of elite clergy, meaning priests and those ranking above them, the hierarchs of the church (Cod. Theod.

IX 17.6). The imperial family were also interred within churches (Grierson, Mango and Ševčenko 1962), a political statement which cites the relationship between the Empire and Heaven, the political ladder and the heavenly one. These two examples of 'elites' who were interred within churches cannot lead to the direct inference that populations interred within churches were 'elite', a term I use to refer to a section of the population who were wealthier, better fed, had higher rates of literacy and whose families had greater potential to act: those who had more power, either spiritual or political. The example of the community interred in the basilica context at Elaiussa Sebaste set out in section 3.1 makes it clear that categories of 'elite' are not always obvious.

The general patterns of deposition and reasons for assigning specific cemeteries to more general groups have already been discussed in section 3.1. Section 4.2 shall now discuss the differences between groups; the most observable of which between the two broadest categories of burial, field and church cemeteries, are the divergent practices of single burial in field cemeteries and multiple burial in church cemeteries. It should be noted that both categories of cemetery contained largely primary burials where individuals were interred once and remained in the grave rather than secondary burial where individuals would have been disinterred and reinterred in an ossuary of some kind. The data used for the quantitative discussion of this separation in practice is set out in table 1 below. This data is drawn from the catalogue which forms the appendix to this thesis and is divided into the same categories as were outlined in section 3.1, separating church cemeteries from field cemeteries. The category of church cemetery can then be sub-divided into three further categories; interior church burials, which includes burials within churches which took place during the primary use phase of the basilicas; exterior church burials, which include burials in the atria of churches or immediately outside the church walls contemporary with the primary use phase of the church as well as burials within churches which took place after the church had gone out of use; finally chapel burials, which include the burials which took place in small, Medieval Byzantine chapels which I have interpreted as funerary chapels, an interpretation which is discussed in detail within section 3.1. Where the published or archived osteological data is of sufficient quality to discuss trends in single and multiple burial in terms of concrete numbers, the data is reproduced in table 1 below.

Name of Cemetery	Amorium	Elaiussa Sebaste	Primary Phase Kalenderhane	Primary phase Yumuktepe	Sarac'hane	Kalenderhane	Tyanna Kemerhisar	Kilise Tepe	Alahan	Çatalhöyük	Domuztepe	Hierapolis	Barcın	İlipinar
Type of Cemetery	Interior church burials	Interior church burials	Interior church burials	Interior church burials	Exterior church burials	Exterior church burials	Exterior church burials	Chapel burials	Chapel burials	Field Cemetery	Field Cemetery	Field Cemetery	Field Cemetery	Field Cemetery
Total number of graves available for analysis	8	7	76	0	109	57	0	4	4	31	0	0	23	0
MNI from graves	52	107	163 (over two phases)	?	321	163 (over two phases)	?	4	5	31	?	?	27	?
number of graves containing single burials	0	1	?	?	73	?	?	4	4	31	?	?	20	?
Number of graves containing multiple burials	8	6	?	?	36	?	?	0	1	0	?	?	3	?

Table 1: Showing the known values of single and multiple burial

Trends in single and multiple burial

Church cemetery contexts display a much higher incidence of individuals being interred in multiple burial contexts than field cemeteries. Although only 38% of graves in church burial contexts contained multiple burials, these graves accounted for more than 83% of the recorded individuals interred in church burial contexts. By contrast only 10% of the sample of individuals interred in field cemeteries was laid to rest in graves which had other occupants.

Breaking down the data within table 1 further, multiple burial was more common in some forms of church cemetery than others. From the data available, the trend seems to be that single inhumations were more frequent in the context of chapel burials. The single and multiple burial of individuals as a percentage of the total MNI for each category of site is shown in figure 16, below. Both interior and exterior church burials featured multiple inhumations, and while exterior church burials include some evidence of individual burial, interior church burials were largely multiple inhumations with the single exception of ESB029, interred in the nave of the basilica at Elaiussa Sebaste which may indicate that the individual interred in ESB029 was of significant importance to

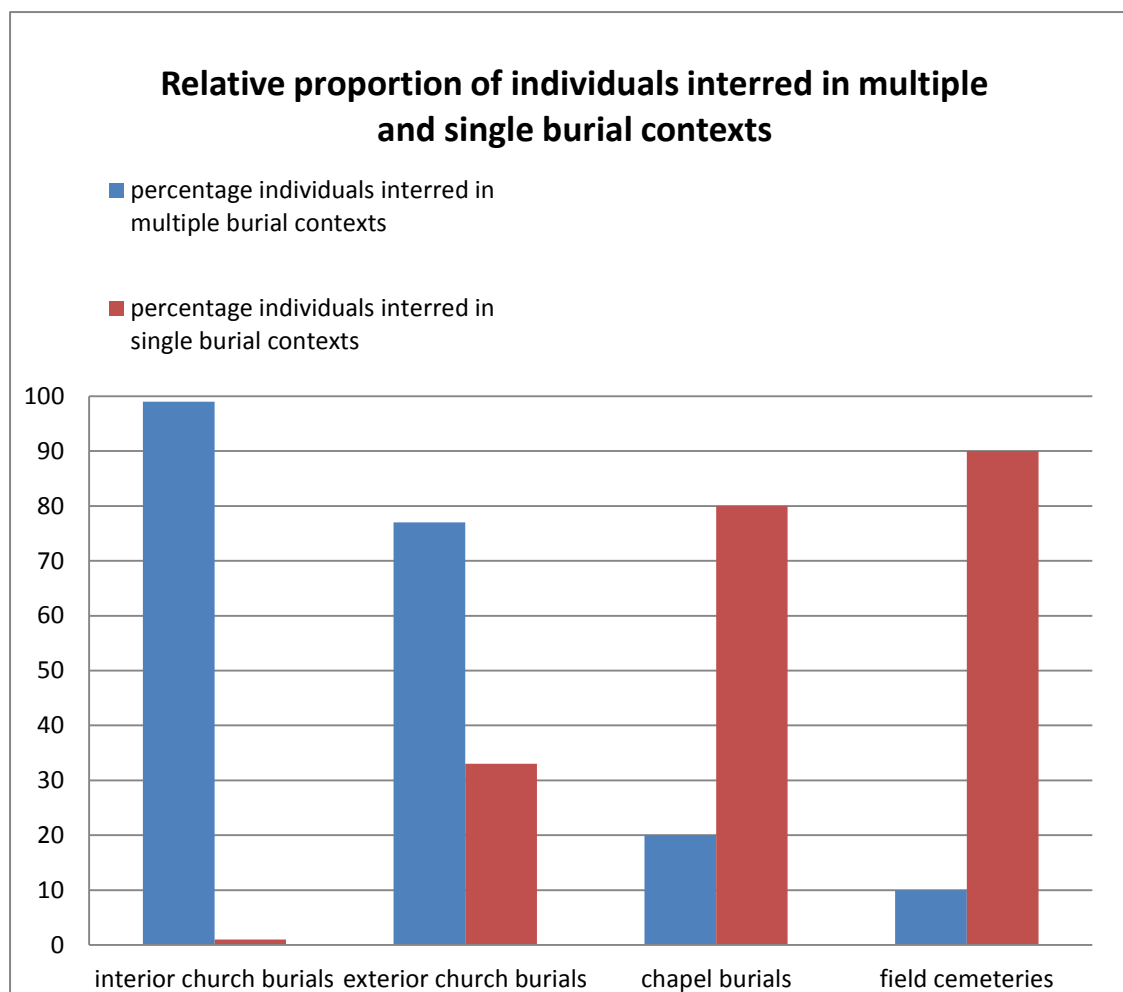


Figure 16: A graph showing the individuals interred in multiple burial contexts as a percentage of the total MNI for each category of site

his community (this individual placement could be read in support Ivison’s hierarchical model of grave placement discussed in section 2.2).

Figure 16 shows that the overwhelmingly positive signal for multiple burial in church burial contexts is due to the first two categories of church cemetery; interior church burial and exterior church burial, while single burial was much more common in chapel contexts. This graph shows the trend in multiple burials decreasing from a high incidence of individuals interred in multiple burial contexts in basilica burials to a low proportion of multiple graves in chapel burials, and very few indeed from field cemetery contexts.

Chronological resolution and regionalisation

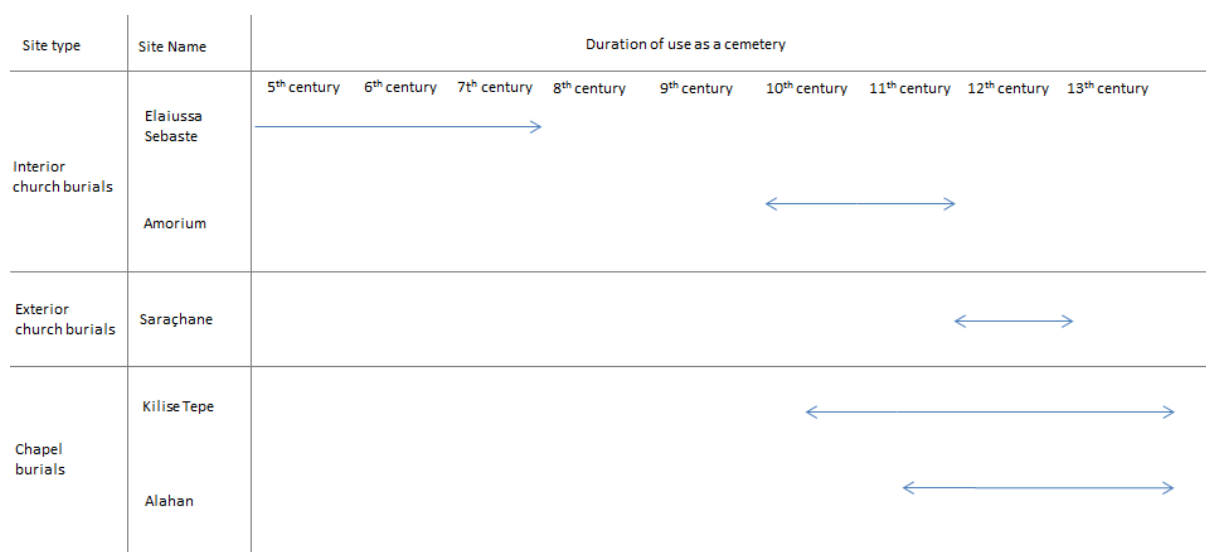


Figure 17: A diagram showing the duration and relative chronology of church cemetery sites for which the data is of sufficient quality to be included in quantitative analysis

The three sites I have categorised as interior church burials at which the data is of sufficient quality to contribute to this discussion, Amorium, Elaiussa Sebaste and the primary phase of Kalenderhane, have a TAQ of the end of the twelfth century. At two of the sites this form of burial ceases at the point where it is suggested that control of the sites was taken by Arab forces, for Amorium in the ninth century, for Elaiussa Sebaste in the seventh, while at Kalenderhane burial appears to move to an exterior church burial pattern at some point during the twelfth century. The data for distinguishing between multiple and single burial within the two phases of the cemetery at Kalenderhane is not complete as contextual information for the skeletal assemblage was lost in the gap between fieldwork and writing up the project (Angel and Bisel 2007:374, Striker and Kuban 1997:23, figure 39). It is clear from the combination of osteology and the site reports that at least

some of the graves from both phases at Kalenderhane, must have held multiple inhumations as 76 recorded graves held a minimum number of individuals of 163. The published osteological information is not sufficient to analyse MNI on a grave by grave basis, but some graves must have held more than one individual. It is likely, given the many similarities between Kalenderhane and Saraçhane (both are intramural Constantinopolitan cemeteries in use until the twelfth, and possibly thirteenth centuries, both are church cemeteries with examples of exterior and interior church burial, with the vast majority of graves either outside the church buildings, or above abandoned church spaces), that the split between single and multiple inhumations was similar; that is roughly 70% of graves were single burials, with the 30% of the graves which were multiple inhumations holding 80% of the interred individuals. If all of the graves at Kalenderhane held multiple burials then each would hold 2.1 individuals, however given the similarities between Saraçhane and Kalenderhane I consider it significantly more likely that the burials were not evenly distributed, with the majority of graves holding single individuals, but the majority of individuals interred in graves with other people. It is not possible to distinguish the osteological data relating to primary phase burials from the secondary phase burials at Kalenderhane, or to establish osteological data including basic MNIs from the site report as the osteological information is not linked to the stratigraphic information. Because this data cannot be broken down further into its phases, or the actual numbers of individuals per grave established, the data for Kalenderhane has not been included in the quantitative element of this discussion, however the clear presence and prevalence of multiple burial at Kalenderhane qualitatively supports the arguments made for the prevalence of multiple burial contexts in church cemeteries.

The second type of burial within the church cemetery category is represented by the single burials from chapel burial contexts. As I discussed in chapter 3.1 in a section on the proliferation of medieval chapels, I associate the proliferation of medieval chapels in Medieval Byzantium with the rock cut tradition of funerary chapels in Cappadocia.

Chapel burials begin to occur in the same two centuries as burial surrounding larger churches moves into external space, or into spaces previously occupied by churches (the tenth and eleventh centuries, see figure 17). The populations preserved in chapel burials, contemporary burials in field cemeteries and those in exterior church burials are outcomes of distinct contemporary traditions of practice. It is plausible that the increased use of church yards for burial and the separation of small groups of people for burial in chapel contexts bear witness to an increased division between urban communities and a political and ecclesiastical elite, where prior to the eleventh century it is possible that church space, both outside and within *parekklesia* was used for common cemeteries.

While it is true that wealth will have been a limiting factor on this style of burial (you cannot build a family chapel if you do not have available capital) I am concerned instead with the effect of the space and individual nature of the burial may have had on the experience of the funeral.

Ousterhout's argument that the Cappadocian chapels are small family tombs (Ousterhout 2010:92) is convincing; and it is worth adding that they are reminiscent of the Late Antique tradition of family tombs, examples of which are present at Hierapolis and Anemurium (Russell 1980, Anderson 2007; e.g. Tomb 163d). It is plausible that the examples within my data set at Kilise Tepe and Alahan serve the same function, either for a worldly family or for a monastic one. Both the rock cut spaces common in Cappadocia and the narrow, enclosed and increasingly dark spaces of the medieval masonry chapels would have produced an enclosed, private affective field. These spaces limit the number of people who could have been present at a burial, potentially to close relations and the preceding priest. This chimes nicely with the suggestion made by Michel Kaplan that middle and late Byzantium became increasingly family-oriented, moving away from the slightly broader communities of the seventh to ninth centuries (Kaplan 1981:125).

I have established the links between death and baptism in Byzantine thought within section 3.2. In western medieval contexts, unbaptized children were not permitted burial on sanctified ground (Shahar 1990:51-2 and Orme 2001:124, both cited in Gilchrist and Sloane 2005:72). Unbaptized children seem to have occasionally been surreptitiously buried in close proximity to the church, such as the informal infant burials excavated at Hereford Cathedral (Shoesmith 1980:51, cited in Gilchrist and Sloane 2005:72). There is some suggestion within the dataset that this kind of unsanctioned pre-baptismal burial also occurred in medieval contexts in the East; the pit grave of an infant at Kilise Tepe (KT002) may have taken place in this manner, similarly young children were present in pits at Saraçhane (SCH114), and a small pit was present in a parekklesion at Kalenderhane which I interpret as a possible location of a baptistery (see discussion in section 3.1 and the catalogue entry for Kalenderhane). Baptisteries seem to be associated with the formal burial of children as well as the informal, the area to the north of the church (in immediate proximity to the baptistery) at Amorium seems to be reserved for children and infants (Lightfoot 2007:27, Lightfoot 2011:37). Burial around baptisteries is not limited to children however, the graves associated with the baptistery at Tyanna Kemerhisar are universally occupied by adults with the exception of a single infant (Rosada *et al* 2009:282, Rosada 2008:8).

Conclusions on variation in the practices of cutting graves and constructing tombs

The prevalence of multiple burial in church contexts (both interior and exterior) compared to the prevalence of single burial in field cemeteries suggests that the space surrounding churches was highly valued as burial space by the communities who used the churches (*pace* Ivison 1993:66). This high value is possibly also evident in the construction of specific funerary chapels (such as those discussed by Ousterhout in Cappadocia (2010), and arguably at Alahan and Kilise Tepe, see 3.1 for the full discussion of this). Ideological value and resultant competition for space however, is not the simple single answer to the question of multiple burials. In the next section of this chapter I will argue that the ideas of decay, bodily preservation and intactness after death differed for the demographic interred within places functioning as churches between the fifth and the twelfth century, and the demographic interred in field cemeteries or in the chapel burials of the early Palaeologian period (twelfth and thirteenth century). This distinction is visible in the difference in emphasis placed on bodily intactness after death.

The shift between the varying practices of interior church burial, to a pattern of the contemporary trends of exterior church burial and elite burial in funerary chapels, which were much more private and used single interment contexts, seems to some extent to be a rare example of diachronic change. Interior church burial appears to cease at the end of the twelfth century, replaced gradually by exterior church burial and chapel burials from the beginning of the tenth century (the trend is displayed graphically in figure 17). This shift may correlate to a change in the structure of urban society, including a transition to a mode of power rooted in family identity, as well as a strengthening of taboo surrounding the interment of individuals in communal sacred space and the firming up of the sanctified status of the ground surrounding churches.

Section 4.2.1 set out to address the choices involved in locating, constructing and re-opening graves, and the ways in which I think these choices, evidenced in the archaeology, might have interacted with narratives of death, dying and salvation. I generalised the categories as between church cemetery or field cemetery contexts and as between single and multiple burial contexts. These choices represented both regional differences and diachronic change. The church cemeteries from Constantinople, Elaiussa Sebaste, and Amorium suggest that urban burial throughout the whole of the Medieval Byzantine period encouraged multiple burial, while rural field cemeteries largely practiced single inhumations. The single persuasive evidence of diachronic change is the rise of chapel burials from the eleventh century, with the associated implications of an increasing division between the burial practices of the urban poor and landowners and the increasing importance of family to status. The next section of this chapter (4.2.2) will move on to discuss the choice of tomb,

and particularly single or multiple burial, in terms of affective field, attempting to use the archaeological evidence to develop understanding of a Byzantine narrative of the afterlife.

4.2.2 A relational analysis of tomb selection and construction

Re-opening tombs

As I set out in section 4.2.1 above, the vast majority of graves in church cemeteries which are basilica burials held more than one individual. If they were not contemporary burials (that is, two or more individuals interred at the same time), and on the whole they appear not to have been, this practice requires graves to have been re-opened for newer burials to be placed on top of the old. In modern Greek Orthodox practice graves are opened routinely after a space of three years has elapsed, the bones are judged as 'good' or not (depending on how white they are) the individual exhumed and interred in an ossuary (Alexiou 1974:47-49). This practice does not appear to have taken place regularly in Medieval Byzantine mortuary practice. Instead, primary inhumations were moved to one side to make room for the newest cadaver (as is clear from the excavation records of burials such as ESB192) or the new inhumations simply laid on top of the previous inhabitants (as was the case in grave ESB049).

The practice of reopening graves has implications for the monitoring of saintly activity of the bodies of the dead. As I discussed in some detail in section 3.2, a moderately large proportion of saints were only found to be so at the moment of death or sometime after. Saints' bodies were identified by a lack of decay, by the emission of sweet smells, by the production of sacred fluid, all actions which could only be observed by the opening of graves. Byzantine people *knew*, from the popular literature, from discussion, allegories, and other complex ways in which people know things, that this was one of the ways in which saints could be identified. In regularly opening the graves of the dead within churches, the members of the community observing the practice, and those exhuming the bodies of the dead would have actively monitored for sainthood.

This manner of thinking about the practices involved in the deposition of the Byzantine dead is a product of the theoretical positions outlined in section 2.3. The discussion here focuses on the interaction between the knowledge of a Byzantine population on the subject of death, for which I am using both popular literature in the form of the apocalypses of Anastasia and the Theotokos, and one of the practices observable through the archaeological record, multiple burial, as sources. I argue that the common Byzantine knowledge that saints smelt sweet in the grave would have impacted on the affective field both at the moment of opening a grave and at the moment of the

deposition of the body. This draws on my understanding of flat ontologies and holistic approaches because it is relational – I am not retrofitting my understanding of dead bodies and microbes onto the past (cf. Latour 1999: 145-173), but instead trying to articulate an understanding of actants which would have had an effect on the atmosphere at the graveside, including the occupants of the grave already in situ, the newly deceased individual to be interred, narratives surrounding the death and miraculous preservation of saints and the individual beliefs of the people involved in the burial.

With this understanding of a Byzantine view of the saintly dead in mind, along with the separation between the appropriateness of single burials in field cemeteries and the appropriateness of multiple burials in church contexts demonstrated above, it is plausible that an element of the status invoked by burial in a church context was that the moment of opening graves containing multiple burials contexts was one of the ways in which saints were identified. Saints might be identified more readily in church contexts precisely because some of the graves were frequently opened to add new inhumations. Burial within a multiple context could therefore not only have held the promise of proximity to any relics held by the church, but also the possibility that an individual may have been interred in the same space as a person with intercessory power, or might be discovered as saintly themselves.

In support of this analysis, a number of the practices present in multiple burial contexts encourage modes of taphonomy which could have enhanced the saintly nature of burials. Chief among these are sarcophagi designed to drain body fluid from the decaying corpse. Examples at Amorium include graves AMR002, AMR003 and AMR007 where the graves were set into the ground on a slight incline rising to the west end of the grave (probably to protect the cranium), in addition grave AMR006 had a hole drilled at the bottom of the sarcophagus to allow fluid to drain away. This would have had the effect of desiccating the body, which in the most extreme conditions would have resulted in a shrivelled, intact corpse. It is possible that it is these conditions that have allowed elements of the funerary clothes and shoes at Amorium to be preserved (as exceptionally present in AMR006) where they are absent elsewhere in the archaeological record. The draining of the fluid from graves would certainly have had the practical effect of reducing the time period in which the smell of decay of a body was particularly pungent, perhaps resulting in a 'sweet' scent when the grave was next opened. It is possible that 'sweet' in this context could refer to an absence of odour, rather than the presence of a positively experienced scent, much as water which is not saline or brackish can be described as 'sweet' today, alternatively it could reference the experience of a certain type of decaying smell as sweet.

Other graves which might speed up the smelly element of decay include the grille burials argued for by Macridy at the Lips south church (Macridy *et al* 1964:269), and by Ivison in graves from Hosios Meletios, Boeotia, Chalkis, Hagios Achilleios and the Topkapi Sarayi basilica (Ivison 1993:126) would have had a similar affect, encouraging the desiccation of the corpse, although with the increased air flow it is possible that the corpses would disintegrate over time rather than shrivel.

Neither grille burials nor sarcophagi with holes in them are present in burial contexts where single burials are prevalent. There may have also been more 'practical' benefits to this than the increased possibility of uncovering the remains of a saint, repeatedly opening fairly recently occupied graves may not have been experienced as pleasant, or not-polluting as the texts suggest it should (cf. discussion of the Didascalia Apostolorum in section 3.2). Speeding up the rate of decay may have been desirable given that we know from the preservation of skeletal elements in partial articulation that it was not always the case that the lower skeletons were fully decayed and disarticulated before new individuals were added (skeletal elements in graves ESB192 and ESB191 were still in partial articulation when excavated, suggesting that they were still partially fleshed when disturbed). The draining of fluid would have decreased the odour of decaying flesh when the graves were opened. However I think it would be a mistake to ignore narratives of the sweet smelling corpses of saints to take a purely 'functional' look at the phenomenon.

The set of Byzantine narratives which is brought to mind by the disarticulated, comingled and potentially high status remains of the basilica burials is tied up with the cult of the saints and particularly the creation and circulation of relics. These contexts seem to bear witness to the attitude stated in texts (and discussed in section 3.2) that the dead Christian body was not a polluting substance.

The presence and use of relics seems to have increased in the Medieval Byzantine period, there was significant trade in and theft of items associated with saintly bodies and the bones of saints (Klein 2004). These items were circulated within the Byzantine Empire, on its periphery and into Western Europe. It seems likely that the source of these relics was the individuals interred within frequently disturbed multiple grave contexts. Saintly relics worked in much the same way as intercessory prayer with icons. Where prayer with icons allowed access to God through the eyes of saints, prayer with relics relied on the connection between body and spirit after death, making the handling of the bones of a spiritually elite dead not only necessary for the interment of the dead in crowded urban environments, but an exciting experience with the potential to bring the handlers closer to God.

Single burial contexts and narratives of bodily intactness

There is a distinct separation between the care taken over ensuring the bodily intactness of individuals interred in single contexts and the disarticulation common in multiple contexts. Single burials in field cemeteries seem to only have been rarely disturbed for secondary burial, evidenced by the current lack of excavated ossuaries in Anatolia and the common presence of intact graves. Ossuaries became common in Medieval Byzantine Greece and while the size of the sample of excavated Byzantine cemetery sites in Anatolia means that the absence of ossuaries is not definitive proof of their non-existence, there is no evidence for ossuary use in an Anatolian context. By contrast, multiple burial contexts were frequently reopened, the bodies of the dead moved, and occasionally, skeletal elements removed. As I previously addressed in section 3.2, there were a number of different theological positions on the preservation of the body and its link to the preservation of the soul. It is possible that the practices common in field cemeteries which serve to emphasise bodily intactness were an expression of a variation of the theology present in cities.

The single graves present at Barcın and Ilipinar in particular show a preoccupation with bodily intactness. The individuals in these graves were encased within tiles designed for purpose, which cover and protect the body in the grave (described in detail in section 3.1). A second trend in single burial is the construction of cranial cists, structures of stones placed over the cranium. The preferential care shown to crania in these few contexts could be read as related to the connections between crania and the souls of the dead. Even in multiple burial contexts where the bodies of the dead were fully disarticulated, the skulls and full crania of previous occupants often seem to have been placed in significant locations in relation to the new individuals, rather than being shunted to the side. This is particularly apparent in grave AA13 at Ilipinar where a juvenile cranium has been placed between the legs of the final primary burial (it is also possible that the disarticulated cranium is a rare example of secondary burial, and had been deliberately disinterred from its own primary burial context to be included within the grave AA13 assemblage). The focus on the crania in both single and multiple burial contexts could relate to ideas about the location of the soul and the connection between the mind, soul and body after death. I do not expect that these ideas correspond exactly to the theological narratives which remain to us, however the emphasis on the preservation of crania above the rest of the body in the single burials present in field cemeteries such as in AA13 at Ilipinar, as well as the cranial cists at KT004, KT005, AMR005, KAL006, 10, 48, 50 and KAL64, the suggestion of privilege of the crania in grave ESB192 where they are stacked separately to the rest of the disarticulated remains, and at Amorium where the grave bases of AMR002,3,6 and AMR007 were tilted to allow fluid to drain away from the cranium, could informally tie in to the narrative of the connection of the spirit to the body after death and the location of the sentient portion of the person in the head. Similarly the effort put into keeping individuals intact at

Ilipinar and Barcın, may well have spoken to popular narratives about the body in the afterlife and the maintenance of the connection between body and soul awaiting the Day of Judgement.

In addition to the tiled structures at Ilipinar and Barcın, coffins were an occasional feature of Medieval Byzantine mortuary practice and can also be understood as a means of ensuring bodily intactness. Establishing the presence or absence of coffins at burial in the conditions of burial prevalent in central Anatolia however, is not trivial. There are no intact coffins within this dataset, and only a number of cases where coffin burials can be postulated. In the majority of the cases where the presence of a coffin seems plausible their presence is indicated by nails within the grave matrix rather than the presence of wood. There are examples from both church cemeteries (Saraçhane SCH026, SCH039, SCH083, and Kalenderhane KAL004, KAL008, KAL014, KAL025 etc.) and field cemeteries (Çatalhöyük, CAT1205, CAT1228, CAT1232). In both categories of site it is possible that the nails in the graves are the result of the decay of wooden biers, as postulated for AMR001 and AMR009, rather than coffins. It is also possible that the graves were lined with wood rather than individuals placed in the ground in coffins.

It is only possible in particular circumstances to distinguish coffin burials from wood lined graves or biers, for example I suggest that KAL048 was a wood-lined grave rather than a coffin or bier as the three nails in the grave were along the grave cut, north of the outside of a cranial cist, suggesting that the individual was placed in a wood-lined grave and the cranial cist built around the head and shoulders of the individual. By contrast, KAL039 is more likely to have contained a coffin than a wood lining as the grave cut was irregular rather than preserving the straight edged cut of a wood-lined grave. Wood-lining, or the presence of biers (which may have acted similarly to burial grilles or drainage holes in sarcophagi to raise the cadaver up in order to allow fluid to drain away), was probably more common in multiple burial contexts, while coffins may have only been practical in situations where single inhumations were the norm. Without further data it is not possible to support this hypothesis further, and the presence or absence of coffins cannot be incorporated in to a discussion of the experience of deposition further than arguing for the occasional presence of these features.

Conclusions for 4.2.2 on a relational understanding of single and multiple burial contexts

Within 4.2.2 the different categories of burial were explored in terms of different experiences of burial between multiple and single burials. Neither of the two observed trends in practice

(disarticulation or preoccupation with bodily intactness after death) preclude the psychologically active view of the body and soul which I argue for in section 3.2, they may however be connected to different understandings of how the connection between body and soul implicit in a psychologically active understanding of the afterlife might work. In church contexts the presence of saintly relics brought the concept of disarticulated remains maintaining a connection with the spirit of their previous occupant firmly into the ready-to-hand category of ideas about death. In these contexts where disarticulation was common the dead were likely not to have been viewed as pollutants, and proximity to sacred zones within the church may well have become increasingly important as traditions of deposition moved towards the Late Byzantine and High Medieval Orthodox use of ossuaries. By contrast the intact, undisturbed bodies of field cemeteries appear to privilege bodily wholeness, potentially as a result of a more literal understanding of the resurrection of the dead.

Section 4.2 started as an analysis of the moment of choice of a grave site and digressed to a discussion of the deposition of the body in the grave. In this case, the first moment (that of choice) forms part of the second moment (that of deposition), and both assemblages draw on understandings of bodily intactness, the relationship between soul, body and flesh, the location of the soul and the potential of bodies to be exceptional and holy. The choice of the grave site is not an action explicitly within the funeral, but it is an element of mortuary practice. The next section, 4.3, on the dispersal of material culture, is similarly dispersed through the process of mortuary practice, but has significant impact on the ritual structure of the rite.

4.3 Dispersal of material culture

There is no direct archaeological evidence for the dispersal of material culture as an element of Medieval Byzantine mortuary practice. However it is an action that we can suppose took place as the majority of individuals are buried without dress accessories and there is significant evidence that Byzantine wills were comprehensive, accounting for the bequethal of the entirety of the property of the dead, down to bed linen and furniture (Oikonomedes 1990). It is by no means clear that the dispersal of the material culture of a person happened either directly after their death before the funeral, or entirely after the funeral service. In all probability, specific elements of material culture may have been distributed on the death bed, as well as during the preparation of the body for burial, while the majority may have been dispersed after the funeral.

In his discussion of the material culture of death in South London, Daniel Miller generalises that through dispersing the material culture of the dead, the 'social person' is dispersed (Miller 2009). There are anthropological studies of communities for whom this certainly seems to be the case (Fowler 2004). Miller sees this process as the dispersal of the person, while in a Byzantine context I

see it as the acknowledgement that the dead have no need for the paraphernalia of life, echoed in the general overwhelming lack of objects in graves. Either way it serves roughly the same purpose, to disassemble some of the assemblage of the living person, and re-configure them, and it, into society. Although it is unlikely that the concept of dispersal of the social person would ring true for a Byzantine community, as personhood was instead caught up in the uneasy duality of body and spirit, prior to stripping the body the person was in their living context (pre-liminal) and the process of dispersing their material culture, stripping their body and shrouding created a new context. There is tension in this process between the Byzantine narrative of a relational person who continues after death and the practice of dispersing the things that created their context in life. We can follow van Genneep in interpreting the removal of the material culture of a person from their context as an act of separation, and the distribution of their material culture into a wider community as a little act of reincorporation, but the central point here is that the variety of experienced practices may be too complex for an unambiguous theological position to have been expressed.

The dispersal of the physical attributes of a person may have been intended, as I argue the majority of Byzantine mortuary rites were, to address the issues of a dead body. If we accept that the majority of the Byzantine population held a psychologically active view of the body and soul, meaning that they were linked to a greater or lesser extent, this dispersal also to some extent affects the soul. In this reading of the mortuary rites, the final dispersal of material culture is an act of incorporation, closing the ritual, but only for the body. The soul, resident in the middle state of souls somewhere between death and the afterlife, was still liminal.

4.4 Laying out the body

In the known sequence of mortuary practices set out in figure 15, laying out the body was the first stage in the process of preparing a body for burial in a Byzantine context. The body was placed on display, and people visited to view it (Davies 1999:199).

Laying out the person can be described as the pre-liminal stage of the ritual. The body of the dead person at this point is displayed very much as it was at the end life. In depictions of the death bed scene collated by Maguire in his analysis of expressions of grief in the Byzantine world, the dead appear to be laid out surrounded by their community, in clothes appropriate to the moment of death, and probably on the bed they died in (Maguire 1977). Those invited to view the body are witnessing a facsimile of the living person intact for the last time. The affective field at the pre-liminal point of the mortuary ritual, prior to shrouding and during laying out, included the material culture of the dead, the context they lived in (including their clothes and families) and may well have marked the beginning of the ritual which helped to forge the new relations of the dead person and

re-work their previous connections to the material world rather than to move them between already pre-defined states.

4.5 Shrouding the body

Shrouding was not a ubiquitous practice, as set out below, however it is a moment of Medieval Byzantine mortuary practice for which we have enough evidence to discuss its likely prevalence in the data set, (4.5.1) and is a moment of time which can benefit greatly from an analysis which considers experience and emotion (4.5.2).

4.5.1 Archaeological, textual and artistic evidence for the prevalence of shrouding

From the archaeological dataset presented within this thesis there is very little positive evidence for shrouding, however this does not equate to the practice of shrouding being infrequent.⁵

Archaeological evidence from shrouding the dead in medieval British contexts is equally sparse, yet based on similar sources to those used here, Gilchrist and Sloane argue that it was the most common means of clothing the dead (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005:106). From the catalogue, the only definite positive evidence for shrouding is from Amorium, where graves AMR004 and AMR006 contain surviving fabric. The AMR004 assemblage includes the outline of a long robe, a cerecloth (the cloth draped over the face of the corpse, separate to the shroud) and decayed textiles including threads of cloth of gold on the chest of the individual (Iverson 2005:245-6). The burial clothes within AMR006 were preserved on the uppermost individual, the shroud was tightly wrapped and parcelled with a length of plaited cord (Usman 2003:443-466, Iverson 2005:248). In Egypt, where preservation conditions for fabric are much more favourable, large quantities of Coptic shrouds contemporary to the Byzantine Empire are preserved (Dimand 1930). The only other evidence of clothing from any of the sites were four pairs of shoes from Amorium and Çatalhöyük and various dress accessories from a variety of sites including jewellery and belt buckles. The significance of the occasional presence of belt buckles and other dress accessories is dealt with more thoroughly in section 4.7 on deposition, suffice to say that I take the general lack of dress accessories in the majority of graves to indicate that the bodies of the dead were largely divested of their material culture before burial and the presence of dress accessories to indicate that individuals were interred clothed. Given the shame associated with naked burial attested in liturgy (de Meester 1929:83 cited in Iverson 1993:174) it is highly likely that the vast majority of individuals were interred either dressed, or shrouded, or both.

With the increased accuracy of recording and publication of cemetery assemblages we will soon be able to say more about the ubiquity of shrouding within the Medieval Byzantine period. Cramped

⁵ The research presented here forms the bulk of a forthcoming chapter in an edited volume on Experiencing Byzantium (Moore forthcoming) and was first presented at the 44th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies held at Newcastle University in 2011.

body posture, very cohesive skeletons and verticalization of the clavicles are all signifiers that the body of an individual was tightly wrapped before burial which can be easily noted during the excavation process (Duday 2009:45). The recovery of this level of detail however requires extremely accurate recording on site, and extremely thorough publication. In general the recording and publication of the cemeteries discussed in this thesis was not conducted to a standard which would allow us to look for the osteological signs of shrouding noted above. Even where the graves have been excavated to the highest standards and published well, the Medieval Byzantine graves are often so close to the surface that the remains are highly disturbed.

The absence of positive evidence for shrouding is not evidence for the absence of the practice. The preservation of the skeletons is such that we might well not expect fabric to survive and it is only in exceptional circumstances that fabric survives at all within this dataset (for instance the fabric wrapping a bottle which may have been preferentially preserved due to the chemical properties of iridescence of the glass, from a Roman period grave CAT1603 at Çatalhöyük, and the well-drained sarcophagus contexts of AMR004 and AMR006). Of the graves which contain leather shoes (discussed in further detail in section 4.7), the shoes at Çatalhöyük are all fully decayed leaving only imprints (as in CAT2161) or hobnails (CAT1603, CAT2155) to signify their presence. As the leather has decayed, it is not surprising that if cloth was commonly present in the graves, either as robes or as shrouds, it has decayed completely.

Beyond the archaeological material there is significant evidence for the widespread practice of shrouding between (and beyond) the sixth century and the beginning of the thirteenth century. Art historical evidence from the Late Antique and Medieval Byzantine period includes sixth-century images of Jacob which show the process of the body being laid out in clothes and entombed wrapped in an indistinct shroud leaving the face exposed (Maguire 1977:fig. 40). The vast majority of the surviving Medieval Byzantine images of people in tombs show shrouding, either of a lattice type, where thin strips of cloth are wound around the body in a herring bone pattern, binding the arms and legs tightly in position, or by a process of parcelling, where the body is wrapped in a winding sheet and then secured by string (as at AMR006). A twelfth century illumination within the Vatican Octateuch provides an example of the lattice type shroud, showing Jacob being placed into a sarcophagus wrapped in thin strips of cloth woven around his body in a lattice which left his face uncovered (Maguire 1977: figure 6, reproduced in figure 18). Further examples are common in the literature (e.g. Maguire 1977 figures 35 and 40).



Figure 18: The Burial of Jacob. Reproduced from Maguire (1977: figure 6) Bibl. Vat., gr. 747, fol. 71v.

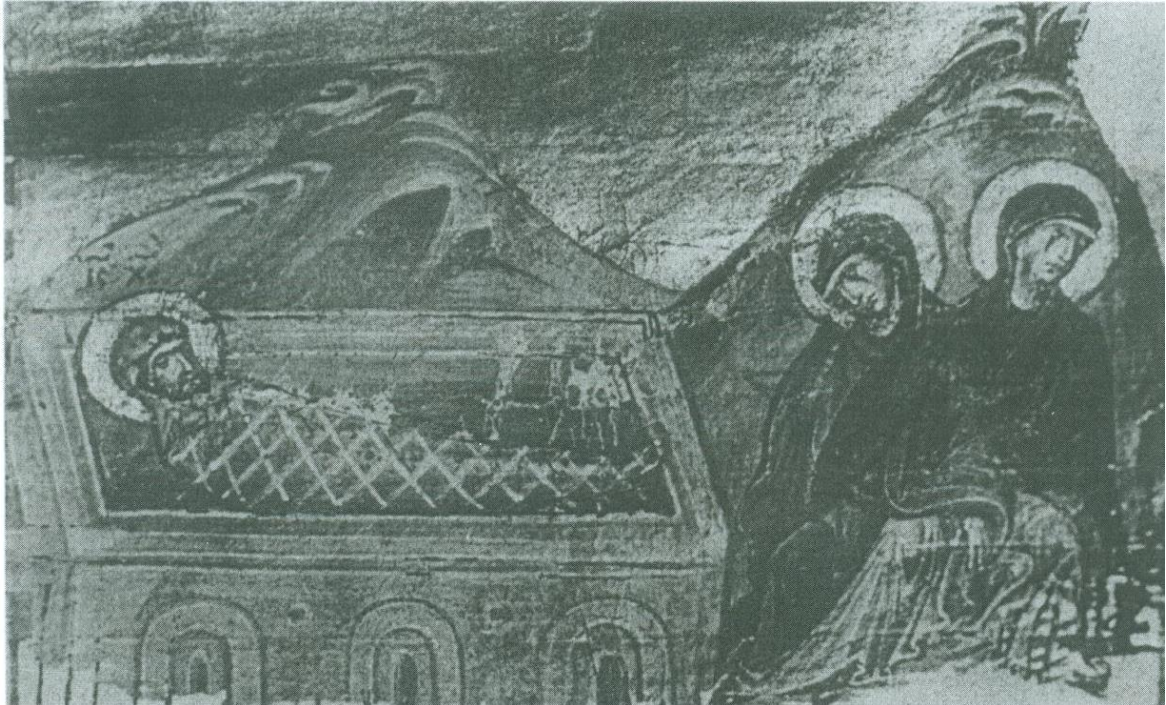


Figure 19: The Marys at the tomb. Reproduced from Maguire (1977: figure 19) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, gr. Qu. 66, fol. 96r

The second type of shrouding, parcelling, where individuals are wrapped in a winding sheet and bound with cloth, is clearly shown in a thirteenth century image of the Marys at the Tomb (Maguire 1977: figure 19). This image (reproduced in figure 19, above) shows the figure of Jesus shrouded in dark cloth, wound about with white lines crossing in smooth, regular planes, depicting a winding sheet bound to the dead body of Christ by a lattice of thin white tapes. A western depiction of the tradition is present in a ninth or tenth century image of the Metz school showing Christ shrouded in a large piece of cloth secured by thin bands spiralled around the body (Maguire 1977:79). Parcelling the corpse in this way was common practice in the contemporary Medieval West (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005:106). A third form of shrouding for which there is only archaeological evidence from western medieval contexts is where a single strip of fabric is spiralled round the corpse and stitched closed (*ibid.*). The shroud depicted in the image of the Entombment from the Theodore Psalter of 1066 seems to be of this variety, a swathing band wound round the corpse and secured (Maguire 1977: 40).

There are a number of problems with using Art Historical evidence in this way, primarily that the images may be reproducing a 'type' image of the dead. The majority of the images of burial also show individuals being placed into Sarcophagi, which although still re-used into the Medieval Byzantine period, were not nearly as common as pit graves suggesting that either only burials of a certain type which did require interment in sarcophagi were illustrated or that there is an element of artistic conservatism at play. In a previous discussion of Byzantine shrouding, Kyriakakis proposed that shrouds were commonly used, and were of the type shown in depictions of the raising of Lazarus, where the corpse appears to be swaddled in thin strips of cloth (Kyriakakis 1974:48-9). Ivison responds to this in his 1993 thesis by arguing that the depiction of this type of shrouding might well be artistic conservatism and that depictions of the Anastasis where the dead rise clothed in the garments of the living are "more in line with archaeological reality" (Ivison 1993:174). Although it is possible that the depictions of shrouds were a trope, rather than an accurate account of how wide spread the practice was, I do not think that the relative lack of archaeological evidence for shrouding indicates a lack of shrouding; the general lack of dress accessories in the archaeological evidence suggests that the clothes of the living were removed.

The archaeological evidence of stitched shrouds from western contexts and the common depiction of latticing or parcelling the shrouds to secure them suggests that the absence of shroud pins does not support the absence of shrouds, however the slight increase in the presence of dress accessories in some of the types of site towards the end of the eleventh and throughout the twelfth centuries

suggests that shrouds were not ubiquitous for the entire period (this distinction will be discussed more thoroughly in section 4.7 on deposition).

The evidence presented above is not comprehensive, however it shows that shrouds were commonly depicted in ninth through to twelfth century artistic contexts and details the limited archaeological evidence for their use (although the aphorism that absence of evidence is not evidence of absence is particularly apposite here, given the preservation conditions of the majority of Byzantine graves). Shrouds are referred to explicitly by biblical sources such as the raising of Lazarus (John 11:44), and were likely used continuously through to later medieval contexts in both the West and the Islamic East (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005:106, Insoll 2001:123-47, 129). Shrouding, probably in linen, was in all likelihood widely practiced and a key element of mortuary practice for the majority of the population throughout the Medieval Byzantine period.

4.5.2 A relational analysis of the affective field of shrouding

The body of the dead person had been laid out and viewed, completing the pre-liminal stage of ritual, in the next process, shrouding or otherwise preparing the body for burial, the active changes began and the body became liminal. To the best of our knowledge in factual (for which read unemotional) terms, the body was stripped of the clothes they were laid out in, washed and anointed, in many ways echoing baptism (cf. section 3.2) before being robed or shrouded. It is likely that this process was a private one. For the rural populations and urban poor which make up the majority of the sample covered in this thesis, it is possible that shrouding was an act which took place in the home, in a private sphere although it is possible, particularly in urban zones, that this task was conducted by professional undertakers. The following discussion focusses on rural environs where the deceased is more likely to have been prepared for burial by relatives.

The affective field in this moment for those conducting the rite must have included the inescapable intimacy of stripping and washing the naked body of someone they probably knew well. The act of shrouding its self must have taken time, particularly the spiral or lattice wound and stitched examples of shrouds such as the remarkably well preserved fifteenth century western example from Worcester cathedral (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005:106). As well as the time spent in the presence of the dead body, the affective field surrounding the action of winding the body in cloth and stitching it must have been limited to a small number of people. Unless a practiced act, I judge that to keep the tension even throughout a single band of cloth while whip stitching it in place would be extremely difficult with more than two people, certainly the act cannot have incorporated more people than could fit around the body. This must have created a distinction between those who undertook the shrouding and those who were not present for the action. It is plausible that the privacy and

intimacy of the act of slowly concealing the body was a means of gaining control of the emotions experienced by the people enacting the shrouding.

In discussing emotion here, I do not mean a simple understanding of grief. The emotional affective field must have been more complex than that. Emotions surrounding death can be extreme and unexpected (whether they are experienced violently, or notable by their absence). They also tend to be extremely codified, with a concrete, but changeable sense of what is 'appropriate' for the death of a particular individual. For Byzantine contexts this will have included the knowledge that the dead person was saved, and would be resurrected on Judgement Day. That knowledge, however firmly it was believed, would not have negated all of the emotions experienced on the death of somebody you loved. The moment of death in Byzantium might not have been a separation which would last forever, but it was the beginning of a separation which would last a lifetime. Some of the emotions experienced in this context might not have fitted with an ideal of grief which held echoes of the theological notion of *penthos* (discussed in detail below), that through mourning for Christ came redemption, and the implied concept that we need not mourn for those whose bodies were dead, but whose souls awaited resurrection.

The emotional assemblage which confronted Byzantine individuals included the emotions they experienced, as well as the emotions they felt they should be experiencing, including some of the nuance of *penthos*, and a deep seated Late Antique notion of *apatheia* – a passionless state which was still something to be striven for in the Medieval Byzantine period (Hinterberger 2010:128). It is plausible that the private space afforded by the intimate and steady act of shrouding, created some of the space needed to square what was being felt (whatever that was) with what was expected to be felt. In this way shrouding may have acted as a technology of mourning, the embodied practice of the act changing the people who undertook it.

In her recent book on *penthos*, Hannah Hunt provides us with some of the context behind the Medieval Byzantine use of the term. In a theological context, *penthos* does not refer to the act of mourning for an individual human being, but rather can be translated as 'joy-bearing grief'. The theological basis for this understanding of *penthos* is tied up with compassion for Christ (in the sense of suffering-with) (Hunt 2004:8). Redemption in this paradigm is accessed through shedding tears for the death of Christ, and mourning his loss. Hunt's definition of *penthos* is to all intents and purposes a relational one, she does not separate out the theological meaning from the 'secular' meaning but discusses a number of specific examples of the use of the word in context, weighting the meaning of the term differently each time. For example in the sixth century poem of Corippus describing Justinian's campaign in Africa (Flavius Cresconius Corippus cited in Hunt 2004:4) Hunt interprets that

the term *penthos* is citing the classical meaning of the term as ‘mourning for an individual human’ rather more than it cites the theological sense of the term caught up in discussions of emotion, the passion and redemption through shedding tears for Christ.

In re-assembling some of the relations that the emotion term ‘*penthos*’ has, Hunt gives us access to some of the actants in the assemblage of emotion surrounding mourning; that tears were tied up with salvation, and that even if the term *penthos* was used in its plainest meaning, the term probably carried its theological echoes with it, even among the largely illiterate population of central Anatolia (for a discussion of literacy rates see Browning 1978). In using the conflicting accounts of *penthos* provided by Hunt we have progressed a little further in understanding the experienced moment of shrouding in that we have addressed some of the wider semantic connections of a specific emotion term. These complex emotions which aimed to reconcile the experience of separation caused by death and the knowledge that on the Day of Judgement we will be reunited with the dead, are among the emotions which might have been striven for during the process of shrouding.

4.6 Procession to the graveside

Although there is no archaeological evidence to contribute to a discussion of procession to the graveside the practice is well attested in text.

The procession of the dead and shrouded person from the place they were laid out (most likely their home) to the grave was accompanied by mourners, the priest intoning litany and likely by the twelfth century, if not earlier, by the sweet smelling incense that betokens (and enacts) salvation (Velkovska 2001:27). This moment has a quite separate affective field to the process of shrouding, it is still a liminal stage of the rite of passage, with the person now clearly removed from their prior context and the stuff of their life, but it is also a more public one, the death acknowledged to a wider community as the body is paraded through the street and might be read as a little act of incorporation, with the newly reconfigured body of the dead person reincorporated, changed, into society. This is one of the moments of public display for which the shrouding was emotional preparation; it is here, in front of the largest segment of community involved in any part of the mortuary practice that the appropriate emotions should be on display. In section 4.8 I shall argue that the face of the dead person is visible at this point, not concealed by the cerecloth until the final moment of deposition and this too reinforces an affective field which can be interpreted as a deliberate reconfiguration of the status of the dead person and mourners. During procession to the graveside the previous identity of the corpse was declared by the visibility of their face, their dead state was announced by their shrouded or robed form, and the status of the mourners was created, at least partially through their ability to adopt the appropriate expressions of emotion.

4.7 Moments of deposition

Similarly to the discussion of the choice of a grave site and act of opening a grave in 4.2, the discussion of the moment of deposition has wider implications than the single moment in time it took to place a body in the grave. The moment was made up of understanding and memory as well. Moments of deposition contained a number of assemblages, some of which were objects for which we have evidence. Section 4.7.1 will set out the evidence for the things found in graves and consider the significance of the general absence of things while 4.7.2 will discuss how some of those things may have functioned as assemblages which had both allegorical and literal meaning.

4.7.1 Material culture in graves

The vast majority of individuals in my dataset were not buried with objects. Extrapolated from the graves contained within my sample, the standard Medieval Byzantine burial in Anatolia was laid out to face east, either shrouded or dressed in clothing with no fastenings which survive in the archaeological record. The graves KT004, KT005 and KT006 are all examples of this form of burial, securely dated from the tenth to thirteenth century. Medieval Byzantines were generally buried with no jewellery or dress accessories, no coins or pots, lamps, reliquaries or bells. The absence of material other than human remains is a contributing factor to the paucity of archaeological work on medieval graves in the region. The lack of positive evidence for differences in ideology from the archaeological record has discouraged work on the information that is available to us. A lack of material evidence however, does not imply a lack of thought in mortuary ritual. The significance of the plainness of the majority of Medieval Byzantine burials is a key element in this analysis, which will be explored further towards the end of section 4.7.2, on resurrection. There are, however, some few burials within my dataset which contain items other than bodies, and it is primarily among these that I have tried to distinguish variation in depositional practice.

In contexts where the excavated sample has been published or is included in my dataset in its entirety, including Alahan, Çatalhöyük, Kalenderhane, Kilise Tepe, and Saraçhane, the incidence of the dead being interred with material culture is extremely low. Approximately 10% of all of the graves from these sites contained any items of material culture, the majority of which were coins from burials at the exterior church cemeteries of Saraçhane and Kalenderhane. It is possible that the low percentage of graves containing material culture at sites where the entire excavated sample has been published indicates a sample bias from the sites with a higher percentage of graves containing objects. The richest site in terms of material culture within my dataset is Amorium, a site on which 58% of the burials included material culture of some sort (see the catalogue entry for Amorium in the appendix for details). It is possible that the image of extremely rich graves apparent from the published material is related to targeted selection for publication. Nine of the graves excavated at

Amorium have been fully published, and the additional graves mentioned in preliminary reports and depicted on the Amorium website may have been positively selected for publication because of their examples of material culture.

The possibility of sample bias in terms of the positive selection of graves which contained material culture is likely to have affected the data set presented in this thesis not only for Amorium, but from other sites where the assemblage has not yet been published in its entirety, as at Barcın, Ilipinar, Domuztepe, Hierapolis, Tyana Kemerhisar and Yumuktepe. Having acknowledged the likely biases, it is not inevitable that they should distort the conclusions that can be drawn. The observable difference between the type of grave goods at the sites with more material culture where grave goods were predominantly dress accessories and jewellery (e.g. Amorium and Barcın), in comparison to the sites where material culture is rare and where the material culture is in the most part limited to coins (as at Kalenderhane and Saraçhane) can be considered. The difference in the contents of the assemblages suggests that although sample bias is likely within the dataset, the increased presence of material culture at Amorium, Barcın and Ilipinar compared to Saraçhane, Kalenderhane, Çatalhöyük, Kilise Tepe and Alahan is also a result of different practices at different types of site. A comprehensive list of items of material culture which can be assigned to specific grave contexts from the archaeological sample discussed in this thesis is shown in table 2, below.

Type of material culture	Grave reference, object details	Suggested date
Bell	Barcın, Locus 40, bronze bell pendant (Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	10 th - 11 th century
Clothes	Çatalhöyük, CAT1603, shoes, indicated by hobnails lifted en-bloc in the shape of a sole (Moore and Jackson in press)	4 th – 11 th century
Clothes	Çatalhöyük, CAT2155, shoes, indicated by the same type of nail as those present in CAT1603 (Moore and Jackson in press)	4 th – 11 th century
Clothes	Çatalhöyük, CAT2161, shoes, indicated by darker soil matrix surrounding the feet of the individual (Moore and Jackson in press)	4 th – 11 th century

Clothes	Amorium, AMR004, robe, shoes and cerecloth, decayed cloth of gold (Iverson 2005:245-6)	10 th – 11 th century
Clothes	Amorium, AMR006, shoes, robe and shroud, it is unclear whether the robed individual was also shrouded (Usman 2003:443-466)	10 th – 11 th century
Clothes	Amorium, AMR007, shoes (Iverson 2005:248)	10 th - 11 th century
Clothes	Elaiussa Sebaste, ESB046-89, Circular Gold Mount (Ferrazzoli 1999:263)	5 th – 7 th century
Clothes	Elaiussa Sebaste, ESB192, Clothes and belt buckles (Oral 2003:202)	5 th – 7 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Amorium, AMR018 gold earrings, two glass rings and three glass bracelets (context also had a bronze cross) (Lightfoot <i>et al</i> 2008:446)	11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Amorium, unattributed to a specific grave, bronze earrings and two glass bracelets found with a child's burial (Lightfoot <i>et al</i> 2008:447)	10 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcin, BAR002.1 two glass bracelets found with a child (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:170)	6 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcin BAR007.1 bronze bracelet found with a young adult (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:170)	6 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcin locus 22 adult with bone bead (Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	6 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcin locus 25 adult with bead	6 th – 11 th century

	(Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcın locus 27 adult with bronze ring (Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	6 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcın locus 28 adult with half a bronze ring (Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	6 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcın locus 33, two bronze rings with adult and infant (Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	6 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Barcın locus 48, stone bead (Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	6 th – 11 th century
Jewellery (not cruciform)	Kalenderhane KAL069 fragments of necklace (Striker and Groves 2007:47)	Unknown
Cross	Alahan ALA005, small turquoise cross (Gough archive document 45, Locus b+d, pg 11)	Unknown
Cross	Amorium, AMR018, bronze cross (Lightfoot <i>et al</i> 2008:446)	11 th century
Cross	Amorium, AMR098, Cu alloy pendant cross, small find 8503 (Amorium website image 10:2009)	10 th – 11 th century
Cross	Barcın BAR007 metal cross (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:170)	10 th -11 th century
Cross	Barcın, unattributed, lead reliquary cross (Roodenberg 2009:158, Pitarkis 2006)	11 th century
Cross	Barcın, locus 23, metal cross found with a child (Korsvoll 2008:7-8-)	10 th – 11 th century
Cross	Barcın, locus 35, lead cross pendant with infant (Korsvoll 2008:7-8)	10 th – 11 th century

Coin	Amorium AMR004 two late roman bronze coins under the surface of the earth floor of the tomb (Iverson 2005:245-6)	Late Roman
Coin	Amorium AMR005, coins of Nikephoros II Phokas (Iverson 2005:247)	AD 963- 970
Coin	Catalhoyuk CAT1400, bronze coin, small find number 8825.X1. A badly corroded Roman provincial bronze dated to the mid to late 2 nd century AD (Philippa Walton pers. comm. 2011)	Mid to late 2 nd century
Coin	Hierapolis HIR156a bronze coin in close proximity to the mandible (Anderson 2007:475)	Unknown
Coin	Kalenderhane KAL002, coin catalogue number 232 (Hendy 2007:212, Striker and Groves 2007:47)	Coin dated to 579-82, present in a 12 th century context
Coin	Kalenderhane KAL007, no coin catalogue number listed (Striker and Groves 2007:47).	AD 1092-1118
Coin	Kalenderhane KAL021, four coins present, catalogue numbers 69/115, 579, 635, 130 (Hendy 2007:198, 203, 253, 261, Striker and Groves 2007:47)	Coins assigned date rangers between 1118-43 and 1195-1203.
Coin	Kalenderhane KAL055, coin catalogue number 485 (Hendy 2007:240, Striker and Groves 2007:47)	AD 751-69
Coin	Kalenderhane KAL067, coin catalogue number 662 (Hendy	AD 1204-1261

	2007:266, Striker and Groves 2007:47)	
Coin	Kalenderhane KAL069, no coin catalogue number listed (Striker and Groves 2007:47)	Unknown
Coin	Saraçhane, SCH002, coin catalogue number 41 (Hendy 1986:285, Harrison 1986:35-111)	Coin dated to 498-512, context includes 11 th century pottery
Coin	Saraçhane, SCH003, coin catalogue number 205 (Hendy 1986:299 Harrison 1986:35-111)	Coin dated to 565-578, context includes 10 th – 11 th century pottery
Coin	Saraçhane, SCH012, coin catalogue number 851 (Hendy 1986:358, Harrison 1986:35-111)	AD1118-43
Coin	Saraçhane, SCH014, coin catalogue number 832 (Hendy 1986:355, Harrison 1986:35-111)	AD1060-1065
Coin	Saraçhane, SCH047, coin hoard including coin catalogue numbers 854, 868-875, 877) (Hendy 1986:358,361-2, Harrison 1986:35-111)	AD1118-1195
Coin	Saraçhane, SCH099, unattributed coin present	Unknown
Lamp	Elaiussa Sebaste, ESB041, ceramic lamp (Ferrazzoli 1999:260)	Dated to the 7 th century by comparable material from Mersin and Calymrna, the necropolis of Pothia (Day 1942:65-79, Baily, 1988:pl71, Q2617). There is some indication that it could date to the 8 th century or later (Magness 1993:255-258)
Lamp	Yumuktepe, unattributed (Caneva	11 th – 14 th century

	and Köroğlu 2008:154)	
Mustard-glazed bowl	Yumuktepe, unattributed (Caneva and Köroğlu 2008:154)	11 th – 14 th century
Mustard-glazed bowl	Yumuktepe, unattributed (Caneva and Köroğlu 2009:340)	11 th – 14 th century
Hen's egg	Amorium AMR004, Hen's egg placed in the North West corner of the grave cut (Iverson 2005:245-6)	10 th – 11 th century

Table 2: Listing all of the evidence for material culture in graves from the dataset presented within this thesis

Primary phase church burial

The sites with the highest percentage of graves which include material culture are Amorium (where 58% of graves contained objects in addition to human remains), Elaiussa Sebaste, and Yumuktepe (both sites at which 40% of the graves included objects). These figures do not correspond to individuals interred with objects, as they are the same sites at which multiple burial was common. As the objects are often not closely associated with individuals, but rather dispersed within the grave fill, presumably as a result of the mixing of skeletal material which occurred when the graves were re-opened to allow for further primary depositions (cf. section 4.2), it is not possible to discuss the number of individuals interred with objects, only the number of graves which contained material culture. The cemeteries at these sites are all church burials likely to be associated with the primary use phase of the church, the type of burials which seem to convey the greatest status within Byzantine society. The high prevalence of grave goods at these sites is a distinct tradition and supports the idea that these graves are different, and probably in some way would have been considered elite.

The relatively high prevalence of grave goods at Amorium was without doubt related to the wealth of the population. Actions are always a compromise between what is deemed appropriate and what is possible, but disposable income alone cannot justify the relatively frequent diversion from standard practice of stripping the body of its material culture at Amorium and Yumuktepe. The interior church burials at Amorium and Yumuktepe may have been populated by a community who had more in common with the traditions of burial present at Elaiussa Sebaste or from Greece rather than the contemporary field cemeteries or external church cemeteries in Anatolia. Greek grave assemblages from the Medieval Byzantine period seem to contain more objects, for example the graves from Messene and Elutherna, where half of the graves included grave goods consisting of pottery, glassware, lamps and copper alloy jewellery (Bourbou 2004:28). Despite dating from the

fifth to seventh century (or possibly eighth, Magness 1993:255-258), Elaiussa Sebaste is arguably a similar context to Amorium in terms of material culture within the graves, in addition to both containing interior church burials contemporary with the use phase of the church within urban centres. Similar types of material culture frequently present within the cemetery assemblages at both Elaiussa Sebaste and Amorium include jewellery, dress accessories and evidence for items of cloth of gold that are likely to have been included with the bodies in addition to shrouds (rather than remaining on the bodies attached to clothes as is likely at Barcın and İlipinar). By contrast, the nature of the dress accessories at Barcın and İlipinar as early as the sixth and seventh centuries, including belt buckles, along with the lack of positive evidence for shrouding and the different morphology of the graves suggest that individuals in these graves were not always (and were perhaps never) shrouded and may have been buried in the clothes they lived in. The increasing use of material culture in graves which developed at the field cemeteries of Barcın and İlipinar from the sixth to the eleventh century may have been a parallel but distinct practice from the consistent occasional use of dress accessories in addition to specific burial clothes at Amorium and Elaiussa Sebaste.

It is notable that the increase in dress accessories is present in both urban centres (Amorium) and the field cemeteries of İlipinar and Barcın, but not in the contemporary cemeteries at Kalenderhane or Saraçhane, located in Constantinople, or in the chapel burials or field cemeteries located further east. It is tempting on the basis of the importance of Amorium as a regional capital as late as the eleventh century (Lightfoot 2012:2), and the relatively western locations of İlipinar and Barcın within Anatolia, to suggest that the trend for burial in clothing rather than in shrouds or including items of jewellery with burials was a feature of the Constantinopolitan diaspora and the west coast of Anatolia, however the absence of jewellery and dress accessories at the Constantinopolitan sites of Kalenderhane and Saraçhane suggests that it is not that simple. Instead it seems more likely that the occasional and increasing presence of dress accessories in the field cemeteries of Barcın and İlipinar and the urban interior church burials at Amorium and Elaiussa Sebaste are reactions to different stimuli.

The tradition of including dress accessories within graves at the interior church cemeteries at Amorium, Elaiussa Sebaste and Yumuktepe is likely to have had quite separate connotations to the presence of similar types of objects at the field cemeteries at Barcın and İlipinar. The dress accessories at Barcın and İlipinar (which, lacking any positive evidence for shrouding I take as indicators of individuals being dressed at burial, although they may have been both clothed and shrouded) potentially cite traditions other than the core Anatolian Byzantine rite of plain, unfurnished graves, or more richly furnished graves within working churches. Within cemetery sites

from the wider Empire (excluding Byzantine and Coptic Egypt), two trends are notable, first, that in general a greater proportion of western Byzantine sites contain dress accessories earlier than eastern sites, and second that dress accessories increase in prevalence from Anatolian sites in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Ivison attributes this second diachronic change to contact with the crusading armies of the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Ivison 1993:181). The crusades certainly increased contact between western and eastern Christianity from the eleventh century, and grave goods are more common in western Christian graves of this period than they are for Anatolia, however I would suggest that rather than being taken as direct evidence of crusader contact, or evidence of a crusader presence at a site, the increased presence of dress accessories in grave assemblages which seems to echo western practice might be part of the same phenomenon as the changing attitudes to foreignness present in the Constantinopolitan textual record of the eleventh and twelfth centuries discussed in section 2.2.

It is possible that as the Early Medieval grave assemblages of Western Europe (particularly in Merovingian and Carolingian period France, and in proto-historic Scandinavia) cite the East and Byzantine material culture in their use of coinage, elaborate embroidery, cloisonné jewellery and beaded necklaces (e.g. Muller-Wille 1982, Gaimster 2001, Hedeger 1999, Hedeager 1978:218, Schulze 1976, Vierck 1978), the tradition of interring individuals fully clothed in Medieval Byzantine practice seems to explicitly cite western influence from both the western provinces of the Empire and further afield. Medieval Byzantine graves from Greece seem on balance to contain significantly larger numbers of dress accessories in comparison to contemporary Anatolian sites, for example at Mesene and Elutherna where 50% of the graves contained objects (Bourbou 2004:28). The westward looking nature of Medieval Byzantine burials in Anatolia may have acted as a point of difference between Byzantine Christians and Arab and Seljuk invaders, who continued the tradition of stripping the body and shrouding before burial, evidenced at both Çatalhöyük (e.g. CAT2245) and, outside the Christian cultural sphere, at Pinarbaşı (Pinarbaşı archive). The dating of these objects, and the traditions of mortuary practice to which they belong is neither secure, nor detailed enough to build a convincing argument for regional variation and external influence. As the corpus of published material grows however, this will become an increasingly important line of enquiry.

In section 2.2 I presented and critiqued Ivison's argument that some elements of grave assemblages, bowls and shoes, were indicative of crusader presence. To draw out one element of this analysis a little further, the occasional presence of shoes may have been influenced by crusader presence and an increasing trend to cite western traditions, associating the Byzantine world with the rest of Christendom, rather than the East and Islam, however that is not the only explanation behind their

presence in graves. Using material culture as a means of discussing identity is not the only desired end of this analysis. The next section of this thesis, 4.7.2 will discuss specific object-assemblages, including shoes, in relation to beliefs about death, attempting to tease out the relationships between the dead body and specific items of material culture in Byzantine tradition.

4.7.2 Relational objects in grave assemblages

The exceptional preservation of shoes and textiles at Amorium provides detailed evidence for the way in which dress accessories and shrouds were included in grave contexts not available from other sites. Individuals from graves AMR004 and AMR006 were wearing both shoes and robes while individual 1 in tomb AMR006 was shrouded, wrapped tightly and parcelled in addition to shoes and robes (Usman 2003:443-446, Ivison 2005:245-6, 248). A child's leather shoes are pictured from grave AMR103 (Amorium website: 2009 image 4), the shoes appear to have fragments of bone within them. However it is not clear from the image whether or not the child was interred wearing the shoes or whether the bone fragments ended up in the shoes through the mixing that occurs with the reopening of graves for the deposition of further individuals. Grave AMR007 contained a further leather shoe in situ on the disarticulated foot of individual 2 in addition to iron nails found at the eastern end of the tomb. Ivison postulates that the nails in AMR007 were "probably from a wooden bier similar to that found in tomb 5." (Ivison 2005:248). Depending on the size of the nails and the nature of the shoe preserved on the foot of individual 2, and given the location of the nails only at the east end of the grave, rather than throughout as might be expected with a bier, it is possible that these indicate hobnails, and therefore the presence of further shoes, similar to those within Çatalhöyük graves CAT2155 and CAT1603.

The positive evidence for shoes from Çatalhöyük is rather more ephemeral, consisting as it does of shadows in the soil around the feet suggesting the presence of leather (CAT2161), hobnails preserved in the shape of a shoe and lifted en-bloc (CAT1603) and a similar collection of hobnails from a third grave where the pattern of deposition was not recorded (CAT2155). In a site where very little fabric is preserved these traces of footwear possibly indicate a trend which was much more widely spread, but is to all intents and purposes archaeologically invisible.

A funeral rubric cited by Ivison states that the feet of dead bodies were covered, and Christopher of Mytilene (c1000-50) states that the dead wore shrouds, stoles (which were perhaps cerecloths) and sandals/shoes (De Meester 1929:94-5 cited in Ivison 1993:175, Christophoros Mityleanaios ed. Kurtz 1903:52-3 no.82, 1.7 cited in Ivison 1993:174). In light of this, and from the scant archaeological evidence for textiles and leather that does survive, we can state that shoes were present in graves at both urban centres and in field cemeteries. These two groups of assemblages which contain shoes

are from two traditions of burial that are as separate from one another as they could possibly be, the first Amorium, is the richest site in the data set, the second, Çatalhöyük, the site with the least evidence of placing material culture with the dead. Given the opposed nature of the sites and the ephemeral nature of the evidence I consider it likely that many more Byzantine individuals were interred with shoes than we currently have evidence for.

Death as a journey

The variety of practice of clothing in graves encompasses individuals who were definitely shrouded (AMR006), individuals who may have been both clothed and shrouded (for example any of the individuals for whom we have evidence for dress accessories and no evidence for cloth, such as BAR028), individuals who were wearing shoes, and may, or may not have been shrouded (CAT1603), and individuals who were probably both clothed and wearing shoes, but probably not shrouded (AMR004). These disparate practices may have related differently to stories of the other world, some of which were allegorical.

Discussing allegory, Jane Baun uses the term to describe a type of mystical narrative which encompasses a “reality bigger than expected”⁶ (Williams cited in Baun 2007:133). As a means of discussing meaning in both language and material culture, allegory differs from metaphor in that it is not representational; where metaphors are intended to reflect reality and to give it depth of understanding by creating an assemblage in which two or more items are held up as synonymous, representing one another, allegory is used in Christian contexts to extend our understanding to the edges of that which we cannot know. Baun discusses the tropes used in medieval allegorical texts which deliberately mix up time and space to produce the effect of a reality beyond human comprehension, a description of a place beyond as a deliberate effect of the language used to describe the other world:

“the “paradoxes and strained language” of a vision like Anastasia may sow doubt as to its authenticity in the minds of modern scholars, but would not have troubled the pious devotional reader, used to the inadequacy of human faculties when faced with divine mystery.” (Baun 2007:134).

Throughout Christian eschatology the theme of a journey undertaken by the soul is present, both in more modern texts, the most famous example of which must be *Pilgrim’s Progress* (Bunyan 1678), and within the Byzantine canon. For example, the apocalypse of the Holy Theotokos, although not explicitly a journey, describes a landscape of pain and punishment outside the gates of heaven

⁶ This apt description is a direct quotation from the 2006 Easter homily of Rowan Williams, given at Canterbury Cathedral

(James 1893 reproduced in Baun 2007:391-400). The implication of a landscape is that individuals must traverse it, even if the narrative figure of the Theotokos does so in an unusual fashion, escorted non-linearly by the archangel Michel, and returned to life. The apocalypse of Anastasia is a more explicit journey, describing the journey of Anastasia, a Nun who falls ill and dies before being taken on a tour of the other world by the Archangel Michael and being returned to life in order to warn the living of punishment in the world beyond (ed. Homburg 1903 reproduced in Baun 2007:401-414). Although neither of these texts describe 'normal' deaths, the tropes of landscape, hardship and travel in order to reach paradise are clearly in place, just as they are in the saintly ladder of St. John Climacus, often reproduced in images which are themselves, allegorical, showing not what is literally expected to happen, but an allegorical understanding of salvation.



Figure 20: Icon of the Heavenly Ladder of St John Klimakos. Reproduced from Cormack and Vassilaki (2008:375)

Death was not always described as a straightforward journey. A description of the immediate aftermath of the death of an individual who was imperfect, and (unlike both the Theotokos and Anastasia in the apocalypses cited above) not intended for immediate resurrection, is present in the description of the spiritual journey of Theodora included within the tenth-century life of Basil the Younger (cited in Constanas 2001:108), describing “the ordeal of a certain Theodora, a pious though not perfect woman, whose soul passes through a series of twenty-two tollgates arranged in three

groups of seven, with a final examination for general “inhumanity and hardness of heart.” (Basil, *Hom.*22 (on ps.114) cited in Conostas 2001:108).

The Byzantine allegories referenced above are not reproduced visually by any of the grave assemblages in my dataset, or shown in iconographic programs associated with any of the mortuary contexts I have studied. I do, however, consider it likely that knowledge of these allegorical journeys, or others like them, formed part of the object-assemblages I am attempting to discuss; they were part of the knowledge of mourners concerning what happened after death. There are a number of objects within grave assemblages which seem to me to cite the same tradition of a journey of the soul, specifically shoes (particularly in graves with no other dress accessories, and indications of shrouding, where the shoes must have been deliberately included after the body had been otherwise stripped), and coins, which may indicate a continuity of the concept of a toll to be paid on the road to heaven.

The specific inclusion of shoes in graves may therefore cite the allegorical tradition of the liminal stage of death as a journey. This is particularly likely to have been the case for assemblages where no other dress accessories were present, and where the dead may have been robed in garments appropriate for death and shrouded, as is the case of Amorium, or stripped entirely and shrouded, as the practices cited in textual sources suggest and which may have been the case for the majority of burials in the dataset presented here (see 4.5).

Claiming that the presence of shoes in graves cited the understanding of death as a journey is not equivalent to suggesting that the mourning community expected the shoes to be of physical use to the dead, or even that the mourning community were consciously aware of the connotations of the objects they were placing with the dead. Shoes are more likely, to my mind, to have felt appropriate for some grave contexts because they were objects which conveyed the allegorical expectations of the living community that between death and resurrection, the soul undertook a journey of some kind, and are therefore objects that convey an understanding of transition which was appropriate to Medieval Byzantine mortuary contexts.

Coins

Depositing coins with the dead to ‘pay the ferryman’ was an explicit pagan practice (for example Lucian, Fowler and Fowler, transl. 1905:214, cited in Davies 1999:134). Coins in this context from Byzantine graves are often referred to as Charon’s obols (eg. Anderson 2007:475). They are the most common grave furnishing from the sample presented in this thesis. It is unlikely (although by no means impossible) that the continued sporadic tradition of leaving coins with the dead directly

referenced the pagan tradition of Charon's obols, and perhaps much more likely that the coins, which are most frequently present in the external church cemeteries at Kalenderhane and Saraçhane within Constantinople, cited the expectation that the dead must pass through spiritual tollbooths on their journey to the other world. Similarly to the presence of shoes, I do not think that the presence of a physical coin can be read as a literal understanding that a physical coin would be needed, but rather that it was a way for the living to acknowledge that the soul of the deceased was embarking on a journey. These actions are slightly separate to the rest of the mortuary practices, which I view as ritual creating a rite of passage for the living body of the person, as the allegorical objects relate to the journey of the soul. In this sense objects associated with allegories of journeying acknowledge the continued liminality of the soul, and the continued existence of the person as they transition from living to dead, divested of their living body.

The traditions of placing shoes or coins with the dead are relatively uncommon within the dataset. Both trends, however, are dispersed throughout it, with shoes from both a high status site, at Amorium, and a field cemetery with no urban association at Çatalhöyük, and coins from graves at almost every site. Although these objects were by no means common, even if we factor in that it is highly likely that more shoes were placed in graves than have survived in the archaeological record, their dispersal throughout the dataset implies that the tradition they cite, which I interpret as the trope of death as a journey, was widely held beyond the community who read and understood the textual allegories which suggest it. The wider range of objects in Byzantine graves could be interpreted in the same way, the importance of understanding these objects as holding allegorical meaning rather than as metaphors is that to interpret them as allegory does not over-simplify Byzantine belief into literal actions and physical truths. If we interpret crosses as metaphorical, 'standing' for Christ, we take away their ability to act, and to some extent fall foul of the Latourian critique of the iconoclasts (in this case atheist academics), naïvely projecting belief onto others (as was discussed in detail in section 2.3). I propose that using allegory to discuss tropes in Byzantine grave assemblages is effective because it does not move us away from a flat ontology. Shoes and coins cite traditions, they do not represent them, but contribute to the assemblage which is constructed by, and constructs, the mourners. When Byzantine people placed objects in graves, they did not do so to deliberately create metaphors, state identity, or declare belief, rather the occasional placement of objects in graves, and the standard absence of things, were actants in grave assemblages, one of the emergent properties of which was the experience of the mourners.

Other object-assemblages

Other items in graves could have been considered appropriate for the middle state of souls (between death and resurrection) which would not have been considered to be of physical use after resurrection. Lamps are one of these categories, referencing light, as well as crosses and items of jewellery used as apotropaic talismans and objects of faith.

In Byzantine contexts, light was a physical manifestation of redemption. This trope is frequently present in both textual and artistic sources, the halo of light present around all redeemed figures in frescos, mosaics, illuminations is the most obvious visual manifestation of the concept, but textual sources also confirm it. For example: “These are those [lamps] of the righteous: and just as each practiced mercy these remain; and those that dazzle beautifully are those of the righteous, but the dark ones are those of the sinners.”(The Apocalypse of Anastaisa ed. Homburg 1903:§39).

The knowledge of light as redemptive is part of the assemblage which contains mortuary contexts which include lamps. Although lamps are rare within the dataset covered by this thesis, two lamps are present, a ceramic lamp from Elaiussa Sebaste ESB049, dating to the seventh, or possibly eighth century (cf. Elaiussa Sebaste discussion in section 3.1) and secondly a glass lamp from Yumuktepe from a context which included one of the mustard glazed bowls which is likely to be post 1200, particularly if it is indicative of crusader influence (Iverson: 1993:242-250). Lamps are a more common item in graves from the wider Empire, (Iverson 1993:232) including significant lamp hoards from grave chambers in the holy land (Sellers *et al* 1953). It is probable that these items to some extent served the same function as crosses within graves, acting to signal the salvation of the person in the grave to the mourners as well as possibly acting as apotropaic talismans for the time between death and resurrection.

Not all knowledge cited in grave assemblages was explicitly allegorical. Much of the imagery associated with mortuary contexts throughout the Christian world focuses on the theme of resurrection, and is intended to be taken literally. These images include peacocks, vines, and symbols and stories appropriated from pagan imagery for Christian purposes (Murray 1981). Examples of this imagery survive within the catacombs at Rome (Elsner 1998:157) and on sarcophagi throughout the Empire (e.g. Elsner 1998:147). Although the graves within this thesis are not richly decorated, objects within graves frequently focus on resurrection, drawing attention to salvation rather than focusing on the loss of the mortal body. The hen’s egg in grave AMR004 at Amorium is likely to carry connotations of the renewal of life, rather than the loss of it.

A dominant narrative of resurrection, rather than death, can also perhaps be seen in the general absence of material culture in graves. It is possible that the general absence of material in Byzantine

graves is, at least in part, a product of dominant theological narrative of physical resurrection on Judgement Day which did not require the flesh of the body discussed in section 3.2. If the physical bodies of the dead were not required for resurrection, then perhaps it follows that the possessions of the living, even if placed with the dead, would be of no use to them. Although the conception of body and soul which seems to have been dominant in the Medieval Byzantine period (set out in section 3.2) holds that the body and soul maintained a connection after death, and that neither was complete without the other, the physicality of the body does not seem to have been the point, perhaps particularly for the cemeteries in urban contexts where multiple burial is more common. Bodies were frequently disarticulated, mixed up with the remains of others and even removed as relics (set out in section 4.2). Graves which did include material culture may not have been constructed by individuals who expected the resurrection of the physical bodies of the dead on Judgement Day, but it is possible that the traditions which contained greater proportions of objects held an eschatological position in which the souls were more aware of their state. In section 3.2 I concluded that the treatment of the bodies and deaths of saints implied that the souls of the Byzantine dead remained to some extent conscious, remembering the physical world, even as they inhabited a spiritual one where the very special dead had privileged access to the divine.

4.8 The cerecloth

The final element of funerary practice, either just prior to deposition or just after, may well have been the placement of a cerecloth, decorative or otherwise, to conceal the face of the dead person, an action which may have served to finally sever the body from their living community.

The funeral clothes and shrouds depicted in the images examined for this chapter are largely without decoration, with the exception of a twelfth century image of Lazarus which shows a decorative mantle draped over the head and shoulders of the risen corpse (Maguire 1977:figure 35 reproduced in figure 21 below). The depiction of this decorative cerecloth in this image is unusual. It is possible that the depiction of Lazarus' cerecloth was specific to the narrative, in direct response to John 11:44 where Lazarus is noted as having his hands and feet 'bound with swathing bands' where his face is 'bound about with a cloth'.⁷ It is also possible that cerecloths were not usually shown as an artistic convention in order that the shrouded figure could be identified, or because they were not usually used. An alternative interpretation is that they were not shown in the standard scenes of laying out or procession because they were not put in place until the corpse was actually in the ground, while they are shown in images of Lazarus because he is often depicted risen from the grave.

⁷ John 11:44 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ τεθνηκώς δεδεμένος τοὺς πόδας καὶ τὰς χεῖρας κειρίαις, καὶ ἡ ὄψις αὐτοῦ σουδαρίῳ περιδέδετο.



Figure 21: The Raising of Lazarus. Reproduced from Maguire (1977: figure 35). Asinou, Chuch of our Lady. Fresco.

We have some archaeological evidence for the use of cerecloths. Extant examples from Amorium (AMR004), in tenth and eleventh century graves at Aphrodisias-in-Caria (Iverson 1993:175) and the possibility that the decayed cloth of gold in the Elaiussa Sebaste grave ESB192 (Oral 2003:202) was a decorative gold embroidered cerecloth, like those at Aphrodisias-in-Caria, suggest that they were in use from at least the sixth century to the twelfth, although as with shrouds, robes and shoes, we have little evidence for their prevalence. As cerecloths are not shown in images of the dead other than Lazarus, who is mostly depicted risen from the grave, after deposition, it is plausible that where they were used, cerecloths were the last item to be placed in the grave before it was sealed. Cerecloths were common in western Medieval practice where Gilchrist and Sloane read their presence as “a deliberate attempt to depersonalize the features of the deceased, perhaps in an act of humility” (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005:107). This depersonalisation seems a likely effect of the action of placing a cerecloth to cover the face of the dead, and perhaps, closes the ritual which is centred on the body.

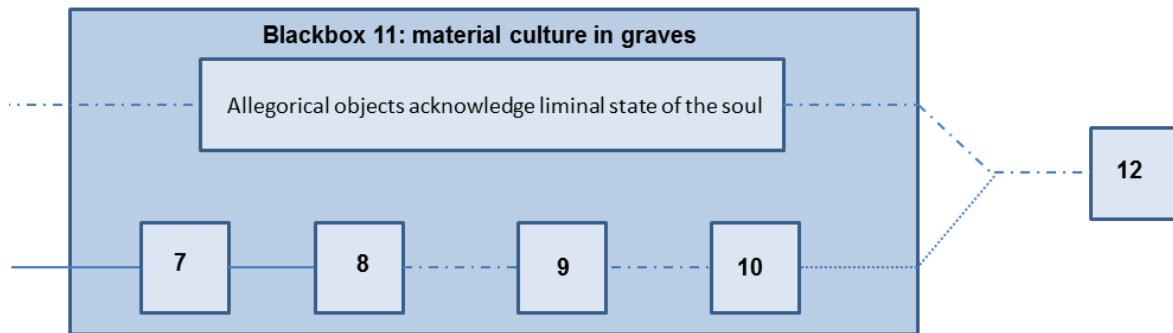
4.9 Conclusions for chapter 4

The conclusions I have reached in this section relate to both the experience of Byzantine mortuary practices, and to the applicability of a relational method to archaeological enquiry. Primarily, I have determined that a relational approach to archaeology does not preclude the study of emotion. The progression from abstract assemblages to a consideration of the human experience of actions is a

means of legitimately approaching mortuary practice while still acknowledging the emotionally volatile nature of the end of a life.

In terms of shrouding, and the moments immediately preceding and succeeding that process, I have postulated that the sequence of events act to reconfigure the relationships surrounding the dead person. In structuralist terms, laying out was pre-liminal, a facsimile of the living person just before death was displayed to be acknowledged, in context with the place they spent their life, in clothes used while living and surrounded by the people who knew them alive. The private act of stripping and shrouding the body then removed the person from the living sphere in an act of separation. The shrouding of the body was a liminal phase of the rite of passage. In being shrouded the person was in the process of being reconfigured into something else while the act of shrouding might also allow the shrouders to reconfigure their experienced emotions into socially laudable forms of emotion. This does not presuppose that the experienced emotions were always intensely felt grief, sorrow, relief, guilt, or any other combination of emotions commonly experienced in modern mortuary contexts. Rather it acknowledges that there is likely to have been tension between what was felt by individuals close to the dead person, and what was 'appropriate' for Byzantine individuals to feel. The liminal phase for the body was brought to a close with the procession of the body reincorporated into society. The display of both the dead person in their newly shrouded form, and the changed state of the mourners close to the dead individual was viewed and understood by a wider community of their peers before the funeral rite could begin.

Blackbox 3: Mortuary practices



Blackbox 7: Body is laid out

Blackbox 8: Body is shrouded, and becomes liminal

Blackbox 9: body is paraded through the streets in a liminal state

Blackbox 10: Body is interred, a cerecloth conceals the face and material possessions are dispersed, closing the rite and transforming the body to wait for judgement day

Blackbox 12: resurrection, brings together both transformed body and soul, and reincorporates them into the body of Christ

Figure 22: Blackboxes within mortuary practice

Figure 22 is a visual representation of a relational approach to mortuary practice. It is the third blackbox in the sequence that began with figure 10 of this thesis, showing how moments of mortuary practice come nested within one another and are visible at different scales. The blackbox of mortuary practices shown in figure 3 shows two different processes; the soul, which is already in a liminal state, is largely unaffected by the practices surrounding death, while the body goes through a series of transformations (blackboxes 7-10) whereby it is moved from the living sphere to eventually be reincorporated with both the soul and the body of Christ in blackbox 12. The application of a relational approach to the archaeological and textual evidence has not manifestly changed what we know about Byzantine mortuary rites, but it has significantly altered what it is possible to say about them. Discussing emotion not in cross cultural terms where 'grief' or mourning is a universal human experience, but rather thinking about emotion more generally in terms of affective fields, or technologies of emotion, and also more specifically, using the emotion terms unpicked in the theological and historical literature, allows a more composite, perhaps more complete understanding of the moments of emotional practice discussed in this section of my thesis.

Led by the work of Byzantine historians but taking the archaeological evidence as its own discrete data set, I have tried to problematize our understanding of Byzantine meaning. I hope that in doing so I am not the historian with a Latourian 'belief in the naïve belief of others' but rather that I have

begun to develop an understanding of how objects we might previously have discussed as 'symbolic' can be used in non-literal ways in eschatological contexts, such as the use of shoes in mortuary assemblages to acknowledge and cite other elements of the assemblage, and the understanding that the souls of the dead are a) still linked in some way to the living (see section 3.2 for my argument concerning the possible dominance of ambiguously psychologically linked ways of thinking) and b) still in transition until the Day of Judgement. To return to van Gennep, the presence of shoes and coins in these assemblages reinforces my trust in the hypothesis that Byzantine souls are in the liminal state of ritual from the moment of baptism until the moment of resurrection, death was just another marker along the way).

In section 4.2 I discussed different forms of deposition in terms of types of cemetery (church cemeteries, either primary phase or secondary phase, and inside or outside of the church building, or field cemetery) and in terms of single or multiple burial. Beyond seeking trends in different styles of burial at different types of site, the central conclusion of this section was that the different deposition practices affected the experience of burial. The small, private chapel burials of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries enabled a quite different range of affective fields to open field cemeteries. Digging a new grave for a deceased individual was a considerably different experience to opening a previously cut, and already occupied grave, pushing aside partially disarticulated remains and using the space for further primary depositions. The frequency of the second situation, where individuals are interred in contexts which contained other bodies, allowed some conclusions to be drawn on the nature of the Byzantine body. First, that the bodies of the dead were not viewed as particularly polluting in situations where they needed to be moved, and second that the contexts which favoured single burial (such as the field cemeteries of Çatalhöyük, Ilipinar and Barcın), may have been created by communities who held a more literal view of the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, as more effort was put in to ensuring the body remained intact.

The second set of conclusions reached within 4.2 focused on considering what exceptional circumstances, such as the creation and circulation of relics, could tell us about the bodies of the dead and the experience of opening graves. My primary conclusion here was that in grave contexts which were frequently opened, the knowledge of relics, saints and the other world brought to the assemblage by the people digging the grave would have contributed to the affective field. In other words, knowledge of saints was fundamental to the assemblage of depositing individuals in graves, and may have resulted in people monitoring for saintly activity among the bodies of the dead.

In section 4.3 I discussed the process of distributing the material culture of the dead as an act of incorporation, and suggested that if the process concluded after the funeral, this act, along with the

placement of the cerecloth and concealing of the face, closed the liminal phase of the ritual associated with the dead body.

In section 4.4 I discussed how laying out the body acted as a pre-liminal phase of ritual, and how the affective field surrounding the body of the dead person encompassed the community who gathered to witness the death of the person who was still embedded in a close approximation of their living context.

In section 4.5 I argued that shrouding was a common practice, and discussed the nature of Byzantine grief and how shrouding was used as a technology of mourning to produce an acceptable public display of emotion. The archaeological evidence for shrouding was set out, with the suggestion that the bodies of the dead at the field cemeteries of Barcun and Ilipinar, where dress accessories were quite frequently present and there is no archaeological evidence for shrouding, may not have been shrouded, while at sites where there is significant textile evidence for shrouding, as at Amorium and Elaiussa Sebaste, it is likely that even where there is no positive archaeological evidence for shrouding, the bodies may well have been wrapped. Textual and visual evidence was used to argue that shrouding was in general a common practice, even for sites where there is no definitive evidence either way, such as at Çatalhöyük, and in the chapel burial assemblages.

The second part of the analysis conducted in section 4.5 explored how shrouds and the process of shrouding, where present, may have been used to create a private space in which to mourn. This process would have served two immediate functions, to separate the mourners closest to the dead from the general population while they conducted the act, and to provide a space in which emotions could be made 'appropriate' for the more public situation of the funeral.

Section 4.6 discussed procession to the grave side as a reincorporation of sorts, allowing the dead and shrouded person to be acknowledged as such by a wider community, and encouraging the mourners to display appropriate emotion experiences, such as *penthos*.

In section 4.7 I argued that the general absence of grave goods in Medieval Byzantine graves was a contributing factor to the under-studied nature of the dataset, and that with better publication of full assemblages, the data could contribute to a detailed discussion of regionalisation and identity in the provinces. I suggested a differentiation between interior church burials at Amorium and Elaiussa Sebaste, the field cemeteries at Barcun and Ilipinar and the secondary phase burials at Kalenderhane and Saraçhane, with the increasing trend of the Medieval period of burying the dead with dress accessories as an indication of burial practices increasingly citing western medieval customs as part of the increased engagement with foreigners discussed in 2.2.

In addition to discussing identity I argued that the general absence of grave goods is tied ideologically to an understanding of death where the physical body is not important for resurrection. Although the dominant understanding of the body-soul relation in the period relied on a psychological connection, the consciousness of individuals was not tied to the physical remains of the individual, but was understood to be largely elsewhere after death. Finally I argued that objects in Byzantine graves cannot be understood as material metaphors, but should be taken seriously in roles which cite other traditions, specifically allegorical understandings of the other world such as those explored by Jane Baun in her readings of the apocalypses of Anastasia and the Theotokos.

Section 4.8 argued that shrouding the face of the dead person by putting the cerecloth in place concluded the ritual, continuing the concealment of the person which had begun with the removal of the body from its living sphere, shrouding the body and dispersing the material culture.

This chapter as a whole has aimed to develop the relational method set out my introduction, drawing on the historical context of the sites, my understanding of both the archaeology and eschatology of the time period and theoretical approaches to experience to ask the question ‘what was Byzantine mortuary practice and how was it experienced?’. It is clear that I have only begun to answer that question, tracing specific elements of the assemblage through objects, practices and Byzantine ways of knowing. There are many areas of study related to the topic of this thesis that would bear greater investigation using the methods and theoretical position applied above. A comparison with contemporary Seljuk burials, such as those likely present at Pınarbaşı would be a means of distinguishing separate, contemporary communities on the border during the eleventh century, and, with greater work on the osteological sample, a close comparison of the Constantinopolitan church burials with contemporary chapel burials might lead to a fruitful conversation on class differentiation and political stratification. In this thesis however, I have chosen to discuss experience. Before presenting my final conclusions I will speculate on how a particular grave assemblage might have been experienced.

4.10 Possible experiences at the graveside of AMR004

The two individuals in grave AMR004 may have died at the same time as one another, or in immediate succession, the stratigraphic relationship between the two individuals is such that it is clear that individual 1, a man, was placed in the grave after individual 2, a woman, with his legs placed over hers (Iverson 2005:245-6). Both individuals died at roughly the same age, the man between 34-44 and the woman between 35-45 (Roberts 2005:255). It is likely, as the grave is (unusually) wide enough to hold two burials side by side, that it was constructed for these two people specifically, and therefore likely that they died, and were interred at the same time. No

trauma is recorded on their skeletons, which, along with their ages, makes it likely they died of acute disease.

In terms of experience, two people died, whose lives were probably tied together closely enough to make the construction of a grave specifically for them an appropriate act, rather than having one of the graves already occupied on the site opened for them. This moment of death may not have been as important to their standing in the community as their baptisms, or, if they were married, their wedding, as the Christian community in which they lived knew that they would be resurrected on the Judgement Day, but it will have marked a point of separation (discussed in section 3.2). The pre-liminal phase of the ritual, moving away from the sphere of the living was marked with laying out the bodies to be viewed in as close a facsimile of their living contexts as was achievable (section 4.4). The liminal phase of the ritual took place in a more private sphere, stripping the bodies and robing them in appropriate clothes for burial, for the man, this took the form of a robe and shoes, the chest of the robe embroidered with cloth of gold (Iverson 2005:245-6). Although the funerary clothes for the woman do not survive, from other comparable graves at the site she is likely to have either worn a robe, been shrouded, or both. The act of shrouding this pair may have given the people working on the bodies time to adjust, and deliberately mould their emotions into expressions of grief appropriate to the next stage of the rite of passage (section 4.5).

The liminal phase of the ritual was concluded by a procession, moving the shrouded bodies from the private sphere in which they are likely to have been laid out and shrouded through a public sphere to the church, and the deposition and burial of the bodies. The procession of the body to the grave side (section 4.6) was likely to have included incense by the tenth or eleventh century, which is the probable date range for these burials, adding a further sensory layer to the experience of burial (discussed in section 3.2). The incense will not only have concealed the scent of the corpses, but conferred spiritual benefit on the deceased of “the same sort as that achieved by the prayers and works of charity offered in their memory” (Velkovska 2001:27). The sweet scent of the incense was likely to have been linked allegorically to the understanding of the bodies of saints smelling sweet, a means of citing redemption, just as the hen’s egg placed in the grave at some point in the funeral service cited resurrection (discussed in section 4.7). The funeral itself was formulaic, and therefore expected by the living, the repetition of known phrases perhaps lending some assurance of ‘rightness’ to proceedings which may have been comforting, particularly the final prayer of inclination which asked specifically to ease the suffering of the living (discussed in section 3.2). At the end of the process, the faces of the man (and probably also of the woman although no evidence

survives) were covered by pieces of cloth. Cerecloths (section 4.8), these acted to obscure the faces of the dead, removing them further from the sphere of the living.

This is only one reading of a single grave context, but it aims to address some of the overlapping assemblages which may have been present at the death and burial of these two specific individuals in their tenth or eleventh century urban context. While different mourners will have had distinctly different experiences of every single burial present in the catalogue presented here, by thinking about moments as assemblages which contain material objects, knowledge, people, memories, sights, smells, and emotions I have tried to treat fairly with the Byzantine reaction to death as a human one, reactions which are not separate from the world which produced them

Chapter 5 Conclusions

In essence this thesis has endeavoured to pull together the evidence for experienced moments of mortuary practice, synthesizing archaeological, historical and philosophical methods and data in to an analysis of three research questions:

1. How did Medieval Byzantine people in Anatolia treat their dead?
2. How can archaeologies of mortuary practice contribute to wider debates on regionalisation?
3. Using a combination of relational approaches to the past, is it possible to approach the mortuary practice of historic periods at the level of individual experience?

My first research question; 'how did Medieval Byzantine people treat their dead?' was addressed using both the archaeological data sources and through drawing on wider scholarship in Byzantine Studies and Philosophy. Medieval Byzantine mortuary practices have the same basic rubric, with some elements of regional and temporal variation set out in chapter 4. The dead person was laid out, robed in garments appropriate for the grave and/ or wrapped in a shroud. The corpse was processed to the grave where a funeral service was held, deposited in the grave, very occasionally with items of material culture including dress accessories, shoes, coins, lamps and a single hen's egg and finally the face of the dead person covered with a cerecloth and the grave sealed.

In section 3.2 I aimed to address some of the theological reasoning behind elements of mortuary practice. The major conclusion of this section was that the Medieval Byzantine concept of the relationship between body and soul was psychologically present after death, although never explicitly set out in theology which allowed room for significant variation within orthodoxy. The implications of this conception of the person were that the body and soul remained in some ways connected after death. In the exceptional cases of the saints, their bodily relics could be used to contact their souls, who in turn, could contact God on behalf of the intercessor in a system that was mirrored by the Byzantine court structure.

The nature of the body-soul divide played out in two different ways within the mortuary assemblages discussed in this thesis; in rural contexts where the single inhumations show preoccupation with the bodily integrity of the corpse, such as at Barcin and Ilipinar where individuals were interred singly, and protected by a tent-like structure of tiles, the care taken over preservation

of the corpse perhaps implies a more literal reading of the Pauline narratives of bodily resurrection of the dead than that shown by multiple burial contexts. In urban contexts the bodies of the dead were often placed in graves which already contained people causing disarticulation of bodies and mixing as earlier corpses were pushed to one side to create room for new primary inhumations. In terms of experience, this may have created a situation where people were monitoring for saintly activity, sweet smelling corpses or visions of the saintly dead. Bodily integrity after death seems to have been less important in multiple grave contexts, but proximity of the corpse to the altar and location within a church were important, perhaps because of an implied analogous proximity of the soul to God.

My second research question, on regionalisation, was approached primarily through the archaeological data. My major conclusion on the contribution of archaeological data to a discussion of regionalisation and regional identities in the Byzantine world was that as an archaeological community we need to continue drawing together disparate excavation records from the historic levels above excavations of prehistoric sites, as well as continuing to work on solving the 'dark age' problem of poor chronological resolution in order to draw out the potential nuances of regionalisation that are only glimpsed in this thesis. The Medieval Byzantine hinterland is in many ways a proto-historic time and place which makes archaeological data invaluable to discussions of Byzantine identity and regionalisation. To be able to look for distinction within a type however, we must first have a firm idea of what the general type looks like, and although this thesis, and Ivison's before it have made inroads into that project the categorisation and typology of sites and graves is by no means firmly established. Some trends which might conceivably be regional became visible throughout the process of this analysis; the tile graves at Ilipinar and Barcın are distinct, as is the larger proportion of dress accessories in graves from the sites however without further broad scale analysis (such as that conducted within the *Requiem* project (Gilchrist and Sloane 2005)), it is difficult to tell whether we are witnessing regional practice, or a practice which was sporadically present throughout the Medieval Byzantine Empire. With continued focus on Medieval cemetery sites, the archaeology could conceivably yield considerable insight in terms of regional identity.

The categorisation of sites into types, rather than by regions yielded more successful results. Four traditions of site were identified, three types of church cemetery and field cemeteries. The three church cemetery types were interior church burial, where individuals were interred within churches, usually during the use phase of the church, exterior church burials where individuals were interred outside the church, or above a disused church building, and chapel burials where individuals were interred in small chapel contexts, which were arguably built for that purpose as at Alahan and Kilise

Tepe, and in the cave churches of Cappadocia (Ousterhout 2010). The field cemeteries were seemingly quite separate from this tradition, as they are not visibly associated with an urban context and do not have churches on site (although this may be an issue of excavation sampling, it is possible, perhaps even likely, that there were churches associated with these sites that we do not know about).

The categorization of the Çatalhöyük burials into phases and publication of the cemetery in the forthcoming site report which was a product of this thesis and the collation of a catalogue of sites and graves from both published and unpublished sources into a coherent dataset was the basic work required to discuss Medieval Byzantine mortuary practices from the archaeological sources and independently constitutes an original contribution of this thesis.

A number of trends were identified as differing between types of site. As I have already mentioned, multiple burial contexts were common in both interior and exterior church cemeteries, but not in chapel contexts or field cemeteries, where single primary inhumations were the norm. Unlike in Greek contexts, there is no current archaeological evidence for ossuary use from Anatolia. There was some visible diversity in the type and quantity of small finds from grave contexts. Dress accessories were more common at all sites after the end of the eleventh century, which is possibly related to socio-political change and the tendency for the Empire to begin to look west in this period and differentiate itself from the unfurnished graves of Islam. Two sites go against this diachronic trend; small finds were present at Barcın and Ilipinar from the first phase of use of the sites as cemeteries in the sixth century. The very early presence of significant quantities of small finds at Barcın and Ilipinar suggest a potentially slightly different regional identity in the area. A distinct trend from the Constantinopolitan cemeteries of Saraçhane and Kalenderhane is the number of coins found in grave contexts, while it is by no means unheard of in the rest of the Empire, the prevalence of the practice in the capital is notable.

There is only sparse evidence for two further trends within mortuary assemblages, shrouding and the inclusion of shoes in grave assemblages, but because of the nature and providence of the evidence I suggest that both practices occurred much more frequently than their presence in the archaeological record suggests. Shrouds are described in text and common in art but are unsurprisingly poorly preserved in grave contexts. Although there is even less supporting evidence for the presence of shoes outside of the archaeological record than there is for shrouds, the evidence for shoes that we do have is present is located at both field cemeteries and in church contexts. I have taken the broad scatter of incidences of shoes and the textual and artistic evidence

for shrouds, along with the ephemeral and easily destroyed nature of the archaeological evidence as indications that both practices may well have been common.

The culmination of my thesis has been my third research question: ‘using a combination of relational approaches to the past, is it possible to approach the mortuary practice of historic periods at the level of individual experience?’ to which the answer is essentially, and perhaps inevitably, no. We can never access the experience of individuals, but the experiences of individuals are not the same as individual experiences. What I found in the application of relational approaches to the past however, was that I could extend the extent to which we can think about how past experiences, moments, might have worked. This was discussed in terms of the distinction between belief and faith or knowledge for a Byzantine world in section 2.3, and in more concrete terms dealing with moments of mortuary practice in chapter 4. The original conclusions which emerged out of this approach are applicable to both the future study of Byzantium and to approaches to the past more generally.

I concluded that the assemblages which were moments of mortuary practice enabled and constrained emotional responses in the mourners. This is perhaps particularly true of the act of shrouding as a technology of mourning, in that through a small group of people taking time in the presence of the corpse, emotional responses could potentially have been moderated and stabilized prior to the very public procession to the graveside.

The other major conclusion which I reached through the application of a relational approach was a reappraisal of the usefulness of metaphor for thinking about objects and the concept that in Byzantium at least, objects may have cited allegorical meaning. By discussing allegory, and the allegorical tradition of narrative within Orthodox theology it is possible to take the ontology of people in the past seriously (Alberti *et al* 2011) while acknowledging the importance of non-literal truth to understanding (cf. Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

The relational approaches applied here allowed me the space to think through assemblages as moments in time, and to consider the actions evidenced by the archaeology as lived experiences. Although this work has grown out of a post-humanist tradition, it is humans and the human past which students of archaeology and related disciplines are interested in. There is no contradiction here, post-humanism and relational ontologies simply emphasise that we are not separate from the world, and nor were the people we study. In the relational approach I have developed, dealing with the enmeshed nature of the world has thrown the experienced qualities of assemblages, particularly mortuary assemblages into high relief. I hope that this thesis has gone some way towards

developing a more nuanced approach to experience, emotion and action and has therefore provided something useful to the study of Byzantium.

Appendix: Catalogue of Sites and Graves

Alahan, eleventh to thirteenth century burials

The site of Alahan is a collection of buildings including two masonry churches, a rock cut chapel and a baptistery located half way up a mountain in Cilicia overlooking the Goksu valley. Excavations under the direction of Michael Gough at Alahan took place during the 1960s and 70s. Although Gough died before the final publication of the site, his notes were compiled and edited for publication by his wife, Mary Gough resulting in a detailed record of the east church (also known as Koja Kilise), The east church (or Church of the Evangelists) and the Baptistery, which is referred to in early notes as the two aisled chapel (Gough 1985). The excavation and write up of the site, and the majority of the discussion to date has focused on the primary phases of each building, with suggested chronology ranging from the construction of the Church of the Evangelists at some point from the fourth to the seventh century to the construction within a generation of the east church (The first chronology was suggested by Gough in 1962 and although other date ranges have been suggested for occupation at the site there is no suggestion of the construction phase of the site continuing after the seventh century (Harrison 1985:22, Gough 1962).

ALA001 – identified in the archive as α , or colloquially in the excavators notebook as Anne Boyleyn. MNI 1. Extended supine burial facing east (head at the west end of the grave). Stone lined tomb with three large capstones. No small finds present (Gough archive 45: MREG 1962: 19, locus b and d 1962:14).

ALA002 – identified in the archive as β , or colloquially in the excavators notebook as Piltdown man. MNI1. Extended supine burial facing east (head at the west end of the grave). Stone lined tomb containing poorly preserved individual. No small finds present (Gough archive 45: MREG 1962:20).

ALA003 – identified in the archive as γ , or colloquially in the excavators notebook as Richard. MNI 2. One individual is heavily disturbed with the remains of a second interment extended supine above. It is clear the second individual was extended supine facing east (head at the west end of the grave). Stone lined tomb capped with spolia including a cornice with a carved cross facing the inside of the grave (Gough archive 45: locus b and d:12).

ALA004 – identified in the archive as δ , or colloquially in the excavators notebook as Old Ninan. The MNI of this grave is 1. No further information is present in the archive, although Gough's comment that all of the burials face east can be taken to indicate that the individual was laid out in an extended supine position with their head at the west end.

ALA005 – identified in the archive as ‘the fifth tomb’ or colloquially in the excavators notebook as Bluebeard. This grave was empty apart from a small turquoise cross, this cross appears not to be included in the finds report for the excavation (Coulston and Gough 1985:62-74).

Amorium, tenth and eleventh century burials

The Roman and Byzantine city at Amorium encompasses about 75 hectares in total, comprising an upper city located on a tell site, and the lower city, located on the plain to the south and east of the tell (Lightfoot 2009:139). Excavation was started in 1987 by Martin Harrison, who retired in 1992, at which point the excavations were taken over by Christopher Lightfoot and Eric Ivison. Within the lower city there have been two main areas of excavation, the enclosure area and the lower city church, which was excavated between 1990 and 2009. The burials contained in the catalogue below are likely to correspond to the post-destruction phase of the church and therefore date to the tenth and eleventh centuries (Lightfoot 2011:37).

Amorium Grave Catalogue

The tombs listed below are given the same catalogue number here as their internal number from Amorium with the addition of a prefix indicating that they come from Amorium: AMR. Tombs AMR001-AMR009 run consecutively south to north in the narthex of the lower city church. Detailed information on these nine tombs has been published by Ivison (2005). These tombs were excavated in 2002, with the exception of AMR005 which was excavated in 1998. Tombs AMR001-AMR009 were published by Ivison (2005), Tombs AMR0018, 19 and 20 were written up by Lightfoot, Koçyiğit and Yaman (2008), the remaining minimum of 110 tombs are not yet fully published and although access to the grey literature was requested for the completion of this thesis it was denied (Lightfoot pers. com. 2012). Images are provided of Tombs AMR043, AMR057, AMR062, AMR063, AMR096, AMR098, AMR103 and AMR122 on the Amorium website (<http://www.amoriumexcavations.org/>). The data contained in the descriptive catalogue below, collated from the above sources, has also been entered (where possible) into the access database, in order to facilitate quantitative assessment of the data.

AMR001

“Tomb structure (context 82): Rectangular compartment, tapering from west to east, walls built of 1-2 courses of large limestone blocks capped by narrower courses of stone and tile fragments. Floor of beaten earth, rising toward the western end. Lid (Context 81) composed of four large, roughly hewn slabs of limestone, interstices sealed with fragments of stone and tile.

Burials (context 83): Minimum of four individuals. The uppermost individual was aligned with head to west. Scattered skeletal material from earlier burials found at east and west ends of tomb. A minimum of twenty fragments of iron nails and small iron strips, many of which preserve traces of oxidised wood, indicated the existence of a bier or coffin.” (Ivison 2005:244)

The osteological report on the narthex burials by Julie Roberts confirms the excavators' MNI of 4 individuals. Roberts determines the age and sex of the individuals as follows: individual 1 was male, aged between 40 and 50; individual 2 was female, aged between 40 and 50; individual 3 was a probable male aged between 30 and 40; individual four was female aged between 40 and 60 (Roberts 2005:254).

AMR002

"Tomb structure (context 85): Rectangular compartment, tapering from west to east. Walls built of two courses of reused limestone blocks. Floor paved with square tiles laid on earth, inclined upward to form a pillow at the western, head end of the tomb. Lid (context 84) composed of three large, rough-hewn limestone slabs, interstices sealed with fragments of stone and tile.

Burial (context 86): Minimum of 6 individuals. Two articulated skeletons, supine with heads to west, arms crossed on pelvis. Scattered skeletal material of at least four more individuals at east and west ends of tomb." (Iverson 2005:244).

The osteological report on this tomb finds an MNI of 6 individuals. Individual 1 is male, aged 35-45. Individual 2 is male, aged 40 to 60. Individual 3 is male, of unknown age. Individual 4 is a possible male, and a generic adult. Individual 5 is a probable male aged 35 to 45. Individual six is of indeterminate sex, aged between 17 and 23 (Roberts 2005:255).

AMR003

"Tomb structure (context 64): Rectangular compartment, tapering from west to east. Walls built of two courses of reused limestone blocks, with a fragment of closure slab lining the western end. The courses were heavily rendered with lime mortar. Floor paved with square tiles and tile fragments on earth, inclined upward to form pillow at western end of tomb. Lid (context 61) composed of three large, reused limestone slabs, with interstices sealed with fragments of stone and tile" (Iverson 2005:245).

Burials (context 65): MNI of 5. Three articulated individuals. Individual 1 is male, 50+, laid partially over individual 2, a male aged between 22 and 26. The cranium of individual 2 was supported by a tile pillow. Individual 3 is male between 25 to 35. The disarticulated burials consisted of two left and right fibulae and several tarsal bones which Roberts takes to imply that the disarticulated remains were earlier burials which were cleared for the three articulated burials. Individual 4 was an adult male, individual 5 was a probable adult male. (Iverson 2005:245, Roberts 2005:255).

AMR004

“Tomb structure (context 71): Trapezoidal, coffin-shaped in plan, with walls constructed of spolia. The south wall made up of two Ionic impost capitals of breccia marble and a tempon post fragment, with smaller stone fragments in the interstices. The capitals stood on their sides, with their imposts facing inward. The north wall was built with a single course of limestone blocks, capped with a broken marble railing from the middle Byzantine ambo. The west and east walls were lined with reused marble slabs. The floor was of beaten earth. Lid (context 70) composed of three spolia closure slabs and a post, laid face down, with interstices sealed with fragments of stone and tile. The slabs come from the middle Byzantine ambo.

Burials (context 72): Two fully articulated burials present. Both supine extended with their heads to the west. Individuals side by side rather than on top of each other the legs of individual 1 do overlap those of individual 2. Individual 1 was male aged 34-44, individual 2 was female, aged 35 to 45 (Iverson 2005:245-6, Roberts 2005:255).

The burial clothes associated with individual 1 were well preserved in the outline of a long robe, the face covered with a square piece of cloth [a cerecloth]. The mass of decayed textiles included fragments of gold thread on the chest. This individual also wore leather shoes. Other grave goods include a hen’s egg in the north western corner and two late roman bronze coins under the surface of the earth floor of the tomb (Iverson 2005:245-6).

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: Image 8 pre 2005 photographs “Tomb 4 at the centre of the narthex with stone screen fragments (2002)”.

AMR005

The tomb consisted of a brick arched vault over the cranial area, the eastern end of the tomb was capped with fragments of brick and tile (Lightfoot *et al* 2005: fig 16, fig17).

Tomb 5 contained five individuals, of whom two are poorly preserved but articulated, two fully disarticulated adults and one young child of 3-5. Individual 1 is possibly male 40+, individual 2 is possibly male 29+, the ages and sex of individuals 3 and 4 are unknown (Brayne and Roberts 2003:169).

Although the tomb and its contents was originally dated by the excavators to between 963 and 970 by coins associated with the burials of Nikephoros II Phokas, three further individuals were discovered during the assemblage during post excavation, considerably widening the proposed period within which the tombs was in use (Iverson 2005:247).

AMR006

“Tomb structure (context 50): Monolithic limestone sarcophagus, rectangular in plan, with a flat floor and vertical walls rising to a raised inner rim. Trough plainly dressed and apparently undecorated on the exterior a sink hole in the centre of the floor was designed to drain off body fluids.... The trough is tipped slightly toward the east.

Lid (context 49): Two separate but joining cover stones of limestone. Roughly dressed on the exterior, with slight bevelling on lower lip. Underside hollowed out, with lip stepped to slot onto raised rim of trough beneath. The lid was partially exposed in 1998, but its identity was the undetermined. Apart from the occasional tile fragment, the edges and interstices of the lid were completely sealed by a thick coating of white plaster mixed with chopped hay or chaff” (Iverson 2005:248).

AMR006 (context 51) had an MNI of 4 individuals, all articulated. The individuals were laid one on top of the other in a supine extended position oriented west-east. The arms of the individuals were crossed on the abdomen or pelvis. Despite being fully articulated the skeletons were poorly preserved. Individual 1 was male, aged between 30 and 40. Individual 2 was probably male, aged between 30 and 45, individual 3 was an adult of indeterminate sex. Individual 4 was female aged between 18 and 25 (Roberts 2005:255, Iverson 2005:248).

“Burial clothes: The uppermost individual no. 1 preserved fragments of textiles from garments and a shroud (see Usman 2003:443-466). Textile disks were also observed placed at intervals down the front of individual no. 1. The shroud had been tightly wrapped around the body to produce a mummiform-shaped corpse. The body was then secured with a single length of plaited cord, stretched around the back and over the stomach, then passed behind the thighs and tied in a knot above the knees... A rectangular bundle of grasses, utilized as a pillow, was found beneath the skull of individual 1.

Further textile fragments found between individuals nos. 1 and 2 have been tentatively identified as fragments of silk, but it remains uncertain to which body these pertained. Leather shoes were found in situ on both feet of individual no. 1 one example was preserved on a foot of individual no. 2.” (Iverson 2005:248).

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: Image 6 pre 2005 photographs “Tomb 6 in the narthex of the lower city church during the removal of delicate organic material (2002)”.

AMR007

“Tomb structure (context 78): Roughly rectangular compartment cut through late antique mortar beds in to the fill beneath. Walls constructed of spolia stones, roughly mortared over on interior, and capped by tiles and marble slab fragments. Floor of beaten earth, slightly raised at the western end to form a pillow. Lid (context 77): Composed of at least seven stones, all spolia. Western end covered by large threshold and block fragments. Centre covered by three smaller slabs, simply braced together; these stones probably served as the removable entrance for later burials. East end covered with ad hoc mix of limestone and marble slab fragments.” (Iverson 2005:248).

The burials within AMR007 (context 79) have an MNI of 2 with no spare elements. The skeletons were poorly preserved. Individual 1 was fully articulated, extended, supine, oriented west-east, with his arms crossed over his pelvis. Individual 1 was male aged 17 -23. Individual 2 was disarticulated, although wearing leather shoes, the left of which was still preserved. Individual 2 was female aged 50+ (Roberts 2005:255). Iron nails were found at the eastern end of the tomb, Iverson postulates that these were “probably from a wooden pier similar to that found in tomb 5.” (Iverson 2005:248). Depending on the size of the nails and the nature of the shoe preserved on the foot of individual 2, and given the location of the nails only at the east end of the grave, rather than throughout as might be expected with a bier, it is possible that these indicate hobnails, similar to those within Çatalhöyük graves CAT2161, CAT2155, CAT1603 suggesting that the burials were aligned west-east.

AMR008

“Tomb structure (context 91): trapezoidal, coffin-shaped compartment. Walls of two courses of reused blocks, laid in mud and occasional mortar, topped with three courses of tiles and one of stones. The grave was paved with irregular limestone slabs laid on tiles and earth. Tile fragments leaned against the western wall of the tomb served as a pillow. The lid (context 90) consists of three large, roughly hewn slabs of limestone and a reused fragment of marble closure slab (5th -6th C.), with interstices sealed with mortar and fragments of stone and tile.

The burials within tomb 8 (context 92) have an MNI of six individuals. The uppermost burial, individual 1, was male, aged between 30 and 39. Individual 1 was fully articulated, an extended supine burial aligned west-east. Beneath individual 1 were the intermingled remains of five further burials, these remains so mixed that age and sex estimation had to be conducted on skeletal elements independently of the whole individual. Similarly a full analysis of pathology could not take place. Individual two was male aged between 40 and 50. Individual three was male, aged between 40 and 50. Individual four was male, aged between 25 and 30. Individual five was female, aged 45+. Individual six was of unknown sex, aged between 35 to 45 (Roberts 2005:255). This grave included

fragments of textile in the centre of the tomb and leather shoes against the eastern end.” (Iverson 2005:249).

AMR009

“Tomb structure (context 041): Rectangular compartment, tapering in plan from west to east; built in corner of Walls 7 and 24 and cut through late antique mortar beds. South and west walls built of 3-4 courses of tiles laid in mud. Earth floor paved partially with tile fragments and stones. Lid is missing.

Burials and fill (context 40): Burials disturbed and looted; principal burial originally supine with head to west. Only left pelvis and right femur found in situ, with disarticulated bones at west and east ends. A nearby Seljuk refuse pit (context 36) contained disarticulated human bones and a large fragment of a decorated glass bracelet, perhaps looted from tomb 9. Thirty-two iron nails, some with traces of oxidized wood from either a bier or coffin, were found in situ along sides of tomb and disturbed in fill. Glass vessel fragments were also recovered from fill.” (Iverson 2005:249).

AMR018

This large brick vaulted tomb is located under the floor of the north portico in the atrium of the lower city church. The tomb has a base lining of tiles, marked diagonally with finger scoring. The tomb was closed and intact holding both intact and disarticulated burials (no MNI suggested). Grave goods included a pair of gold earrings, a bronze cross, two glass rings and three glass bracelets. The assemblage has been dated stylistically by the grave goods to the eleventh century (Lightfoot *et al* 2008:446). This tomb has not been fully published, but is mentioned in a preliminary report within KST. This tomb is similar to tomb 5.

AMR019

Tomb 19 is located under the floor of the north portico in the atrium of the lower city church. The tomb had a reused inscription within it, placed at the head of the grave. The inscription included a cruciform surface relief and a fifth or sixth century funeral inscription from an early Byzantine tomb stone, recording the city name. The tomb was constructed of reused bricks and slabs, well pointed together. The cover stones of 19 were lifted intact.

Two articulated individuals were present, with a pile of disarticulated remains at the eastern end of the grave. Although no formal MNI has been calculated, the grave contains approximately 16 individuals (Lightfoot *et al* 2008:445). This tomb has not been fully published, but is mentioned in a preliminary report (Lightfoot *et al* 2008). Tomb 19 is unusually long, with the uppermost articulated

individual (henceforth individual 1) buried in an extended supine position with the cranium at the level of the pelvis of the lower articulated individual (individual 2). Because of this I think it is arguable that the grave of individual 1 cuts the grave of individual 2 below it. These graves are entered into my site database as the excavators have recorded them rather than as I have reinterpreted them. See figure 5 in Lightfoot *et al* 2008).

AMR020

The tomb is located under the floor of the north portico in the atrium of the lower city church.

The tomb structure is of reused bricks, pointed in a rather roughshod manner. No further information available (Lightfoot *et al* 2008:445).

AMR043

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 11 from the 2007 season showing adult burials to the north of the church.

AMR057

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 1 from the 2008 season. The image shows tomb 57, 62 and 63 to the south of the church.

AMR062

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 1 from the 2008 season. The image shows tomb 57, 62 and 63 to the south of the church.

AMR063

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 1 from the 2008 season. The image shows tomb 57, 62 and 63 to the south of the church.

AMR096

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 14 from the 2009 season. The image shows AMR096 in area A19.

AMR098

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 10 from the 2009 season. The image shows a Cu alloy pendant cross (SF8503) from tomb 98 in area A27.

AMR103

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 4 from the 2009 season showing the detail of a child's leather shoes.

AMR112

There is an image of this burial on the Amorium website: image no. 6 from the 2009 season.

Unattributed burials

Trench 20 north of the church, adjacent to the baptistery is a collection of reburied bones probably from disturbed Seljuk tombs. Beneath that layer is the tomb of four small children. A further grave held the bones of a small child along with bronze earrings and two glass bracelets (Lightfoot *et al* 2008:447).

Barcın, sixth to the eleventh century burials

As of the end of the 2009 season, 65 inhumation graves have been excavated at Barcın Höyük by a team associated with the Netherlands institute in Turkey lead first by Professor Jacob Roodenberg, then after his retirement, by Dr Fokke Gerritsen (Gerritsen 2009). The focus of the project is the Neolithic levels of the tell site however the mound is covered by a Medieval Byzantine cemetery.

Although the excavation at Barcın has been driven by research questions focused on the prehistoric levels, an unusual level of care has been taken to excavate and analyse the “medieval vestiges” identified as necessary elements of the excavation process by the process of applying for research permits (Roodenberg, 2009b:21). Despite this, osteological data from Barcın has only been published for 17 graves of the 24 excavated prior to the 2009 season. Of the remaining eight graves three are noted as empty and five are not mentioned at all in print. In addition to these 24 graves, a pit containing the skulls of a minimum of 51 individuals as well as postcranial remains relating to at least two individuals, this has not been included in this catalogue as the date of the feature is not clear (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:171).

The contextual data is not provided for every grave, rather they are described generally as oriented “from West (head) to East (feet) and they were nearly all covered with tiles” (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:169). This information has been entered into my site database taking the orientation of every burial as west-east and not including any contextual data concerning the type of grave lining or capping as this information cannot be related directly to specific grave contexts. It should be noted however that in discussion I will assume that any burial from Barcın was capped with tiles as most were.

Grave goods among the 24 published burials were sparse. A 2 year old (BAR002.1/ UA (L13)) was interred with two glass bracelets and a young adult of indeterminate sex (BAR007.1/ UA (L11)) was interred with a metal cross and a bronze bracelet (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:170). A lead reliquary cross was listed in general discussion as interred with a young man it is unclear as to whether the lead reliquary cross is the metal cross interred with a young adult of indeterminate gender. Where this information appears to contradict the osteologist’s report (as with these instances at other sites elsewhere) I have included the osteologist’s interpretation in my database (Alpaslan Roodenberg 2009:170 contra Roodenberg 2009:158). The eleventh century date of this cemetery is based on the stylistic features of the lead reliquary cross and parallels published by Pitarakis (2006). Other grave goods excavated at the site prior to 2008 include five bronze rings, three beads, two bells and a bronze earring (Korsvoll 2008:2). These burials form the topic of an unpublished honours thesis written in 2008 by Nils Korsvoll at the university of Utrecht. The data present in the dissertation of

Mr Korsvoll is not linked to the burial numbers assigned to the graves in the published material, so it is impossible to integrate the information present into my database, however I have reproduced it in tabular form. Access to the archives for Ilipinar and Bacin was requested but denied as the burials are being written up by an unidentified third party (Roodenberg pers. com. 2009).

Locus	Age	Burial gifts	Orientation
22	Adult	Bone bead	NW-SE
23	Child	Metal cross	W-E
24	Adult	None	W-E
25	Adult	Bead	W-E
26	Child	None	W-E
27	Adult	Bronze ring	W-E
28	Adult	Half a Bronze ring	W-E
29	Adult	None	W-E
30	Adult+ infant	None	W-E
31	Adult	None	W-E
32	Adult	None	W-E
33	Adult + infant	2 Bronze Rings	W-E
34	Adult	None	W-E
35	Baby	Lead Cross Pendant	W-E
37	Adult	None	W-E
38	Adult	None	W-E
39	Adult	None	W-E
40	Child	Bronze Bell pendant + ear ring	W-E
41	Adult	Bronze Bell	W-E
42	2 Adults	None	W-E
44	Adult	None	W-E
47	Baby	None	W-E
48	Adult	Bronze Ring, stone bead	W-E
49	Adult	None	W-E

Table reproduced from Korsvoll 2008:7-8

Çatalhöyük first to fourteenth century burials

The catalogue presented below is taken directly from an article in press by myself and my supervisor, Dr. Mark Jackson (Moore and Jackson in press). The numbers assigned to the graves in the catalogue below are the feature number of the grave from the Çatalhöyük archive with the prefix CAT to indicate that the grave is from Çatalhöyük.

Feature number (grave group and grave cut type) Skeleton: unit number, fill: unit number, cut: unit number. A short description of the human remains. Grave goods and their unit numbers.

CAT1200 (IVa) Skeleton: 7518, fill: 7519, cut: 7520. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. The skeleton is poorly preserved with only parts of the jaw, ribs, scapulae and vertebrae remaining. No grave goods present.

CAT1203 (Id) Skeleton: 8711, fill: 7534, cut: 7533. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso however the preservation of the skeleton is too poor to determine the placement of the cranium. The skeleton is quite incomplete and all the remaining elements are extremely fragmented. Ceramic unguentarium ET1009, Iron Nail 8711.

CAT1205 (Id) Skeleton: 7528, fill: 7515, cut: 7532. Very poor preservation. The orientation and position of the skeleton are impossible to determine. Glass 7515, Stone 7515.

CAT1207 (IVa) Skeleton: 7517, fill: 7588, cut: 7598. NW-SE oriented infant burial. The skeleton is too fragmented to determine the position of the skeleton. It is not clear whether or not the individual was articulated at the time of burial. Worked bone 7588, Stone 7517.

CAT1209 (IIa) Skeleton: 8712, fill: 8713, cut: 8714. W-E oriented extended supine juvenile burial. The skeleton is missing its cranium but is otherwise largely complete and was interred in articulation. No grave goods present.

CAT1210 (IIa) Skeleton: 8702, fill: 8707, cut: 8708. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Only the legs and the shadows of the torso and cranium remain making it impossible to state arm position or which direction the cranium faces. The remaining skeletal elements are extremely poorly preserved. Shell bead 8707, Shell bead 8707.

CAT1225 (IIa) Skeleton: 8725, fill: 8726, cut: 8728. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The hands of this individual are resting on its lower abdomen: the arms are slightly flexed and abducted, bringing the distal ends of the ulna and radius of both arms towards the medial line of the skeleton. No grave goods present.

CAT1226 (IIa) Skeleton: 8742, fill: 8741, cut: 8743. W-E oriented adult burial. The skeleton is probably extended and supine however the grave is cut by building 41 which truncates the skeleton making the body position unclear. This grave has been categorised as type IIa because although the position of the body is not clear the grave cut is too broad to be type III. No grave goods present.

CAT1227 (IIa) Skeleton: 8738, fill: 8737, cut: 8748. W-E aligned extended supine adult burial. The legs of this skeleton were positioned in the grave flexed and splayed with the distal ends of both femora pointing away from each other and the feet together. Worked bone 8738, Stone 8738.

CAT1228 (IIId) Skeleton; 8753, fill: 8752, cut: 8754. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The left arm of this skeleton is tightly flexed and placed across the chest with the left hand resting on the right shoulder. The position of the lower right arm is unclear. Stone 8757, Stone 8753.

CAT1232 (IIId) Skeleton: 8733, fill: 18123, cut: 18124. NW-SE oriented extended supine adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the body. The cranium is positioned in line with the skeleton so that it faces west. The skeleton is missing the lower legs but is otherwise complete and in anatomical order. The preservation of individual elements is moderately good. No grave goods present.

CAT1233 (IVa) Skeleton: 8703, fill: 8756, cut: 8756. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The skeleton is badly eroded with only some ribs, vertebrae and the left humerus remaining. No grave goods present.

CAT1236 (IIc) Skeleton: 8764, fill: 8763, fill: 8790, fill: 8792, cut: 8765. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. Both legs are slightly flexed with the knees pointing south. The left arm of the skeleton is flexed and positioned across the lower abdomen, the right arm is extended to the side of the skeleton. The cranium is turned to the left to face north. This is a well preserved and largely complete skeleton. Stone bead 8763, Stone bead 8763.K2, Stone bead 8763.K1.

CAT1237 (IVa) Skeleton: 8766, fill: 8767, cut: 8772. W-E aligned tightly flexed adult burial. This individual may have been bound at burial and may be Neolithic. The individual was placed on its left side facing north. The skeleton is largely complete although poorly preserved. Stone bead 8767.

CAT1238 (IV) Skeleton: 8781, fill: 8782, cut: 8783. NW-SE oriented adult burial. The skeleton is relatively incomplete and poorly preserved however the plans and photographs suggest that it was a tightly flexed burial facing north. Although there are iron nails associated with this burial the grave cut and suggested flexed position suggest that it is not 'late'. Stone bead 8781, Stone bead 8781, Iron nail 8782. Shell bead 8781.

CAT1240 (Id) Skeleton: 8797, fill: 8798, cut: 8799. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The arms of the skeleton are extended alongside the torso. The skeleton is about 50% complete with fairly poor preservation, the cranium is smashed. Stone bead 8798, Stone bead 8798, Stone bead 10132.X1, Iron 8797, Iron nail 8797.

CAT1243 (IIa) Skeleton: 8810, fill: 8811, cut: 8812. Roughly W-E oriented infant burial. The skeleton is fairly incomplete and poorly preserved. Stone 8810.

CAT1251 (Id) Skeleton: 7907, fill: 7906, cut: 7909. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The left arm is extended by the side of the torso, the rest arm is slightly flexed with the hand resting on the lower abdomen. The cranium was positioned to face south and west. The skeleton is largely complete and relatively well preserved. Ceramic unguentarium 7906.X7, Ceramic unguentarium 7906.X8, Conical unguent bottle (Price and Cottam 1998: 172-174) 7906.X2, Stone bead 7906.X1, Stone bead 7906.X9, Stone bead 7906.X10, Stone bead 7906.X11, Stone 7906, Gold earring 7906.X6, Iron nail 7906, Faience bead 7906.X3.

CAT1400 (Ia) Skeleton: 8825, fill: 8826, cut: 8827. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The arms of the skeleton are very slightly flexed with hands positioned on hips. The cranium is positioned to face north. The skeleton is largely complete although surface preservation of the individual elements is poor. Stone bead 8825.X2, Coin 8825.X1.

CAT1401 (IIId) Skeleton: 8829, fill: 8830, cut: 8831. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial in a very square grave cut which seems to have been truncated, removing the legs of the skeleton. The skeleton is poorly preserved however the right arm is tightly flexed and placed across the chest of the individual. The cranium is smashed. Bone bead 8829, Stone 8830, Stone bead K18829, Stone bead K2 8829, Iron nail 8830.

CAT1403 (IIb) Skeleton: 10003, fill: 10002, cut: 10004. Empty grave. Stone 10002, Tile ('headstone') 10002.

CAT1404 (IIId) Skeleton: 10006, fill: 10005, cut: 10007. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The arms of the skeleton are extended alongside the body with the right arm slightly flexed and the right hand placed on the right hip. The cranium is positioned so the skeleton faces slightly north. The skeleton is largely complete and fairly well preserved. Stone bead 10005.X1, Iron 10005.X2, Iron 10005.X3, Iron 10005.X4, Iron 10005.X5, Iron 10005.X6, Iron 10005.X7, Iron 10005.X8, Iron 10005.X9, Iron 10005.X10, Iron 10005.X12, Iron 10005.X13, Iron 10005.X14.

CAT1405 (IIa) Skeleton: 10009, fill: 10008, cut: 10010. Heavily disturbed juvenile burial. Stone 10008, Stone 10009.

CAT1407 (IIa) Skeleton: 10019, fill: 10018, cut: 10020. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The arms are extended alongside the torso of the individual and the cranium is tilted slightly to the right so the skeleton is facing south. The skeleton is largely complete with relatively good preservation everywhere other than the facial bones. Stone 10018.

CAT1421 (IIa) Skeleton: 10068, fill: 10067, cut: 10069. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The arms of the skeleton are extended alongside the torso. Very poor preservation, the cranium is smashed. Stone 10067.

CAT1422 (IIa) Skeleton: 10075, fill: 10074, cut: 10076. W-E oriented extended adult burial. Only the lower legs were preserved. No grave goods present.

CAT1450 (Ib) Skeleton: 8852, fill: 8850, fill: 8860, cut: 8851. W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. Both arms are flexed and placed laterally across the lower abdomen of the skeleton. The cranium is positioned so the skeleton is facing east. The skeleton is largely complete with the exception of the distal two thirds of the right tibia and fibula and the distal half of the left tibia and fibula. The skeleton was fairly poorly preserved. Tile type 2 (flat, square) 8860, Tile 8860, Tile 8852, Cu alloy needle 8852.X1.

CAT1451 (IIa) Skeleton: 8857, fill: 8855, cut: 8856 W-E oriented extended supine adult burial. The arms of the skeleton are slightly flexed so that the hands of the skeleton rest on its pelvis. The cranium is propped up facing east. The skeleton is relatively well preserved and largely complete above the pelvis however the grave was truncated removing the legs. No grave goods present.

CAT1452 (IIc, d) Skeleton: 8879, fill: 8865, fill: 8866, fill: 8878, cut: 8867. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. The right arm is extended alongside the torso of the skeleton, the left arm is slightly flexed with the hand placed on the pelvis. The cranium was positioned so that the skeleton was facing east. The skeleton is largely complete and relatively well preserved. Stone 8865, Iron 8865.

CAT1455 (IIId) Skeleton: 8885, fill: 8871, fill: 8872, fill: 8884, cut: 8873. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso and the cranium is propped up so that the skeleton is facing east. The skeleton is complete and the preservation of the bones is very good. Stone 8872, Iron 8872, Iron 8884.X11.

CAT1456 (IIa) Skeleton: 8890, fill: 8888, cut: 8891. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso of the skeleton and the cranium is propped up so that the individual is facing east. The bones are well preserved and the skeleton is complete. Stone bead 8888, Stone bead K1 8888, Stone 8888.

CAT1467 (IIIc) Skeleton: 12398, fill: 12397, fill: 12616, cut: 12396. W-E oriented extended adult burial. The individual was placed on their right side and the cranium positioned to face south with arms and legs very slightly flexed. The preservation and completeness of this skeleton are both very poor. Stone 12397.

CAT1474 (IIa) Skeleton: 12645, fill: 12644, cut: 12643. W-E oriented adult burial. The skeleton is probably extended and supine however the grave is cut by the building truncating the skeleton and making the body position unclear. This grave has been categorised as type IIa because although the position of the body is not clear the grave cut is too broad to be type III. No grave goods present.

CAT1475 (IIIa) Skeleton: 12651, fill: 12650, cut: 12649. W-E aligned extended adult burial lying on its right side with the cranium positioned to face south. The legs of this skeleton are fully extended and the arms partially flexed in front of the body with hands flexed with the palmar surface towards the torso. The arm position suggests that this burial was not tightly shrouded. The skeleton is largely complete and well preserved. No grave goods present.

CAT1476 (IIb) Skeleton: 12664, fill: 12655, fill: 12657, fill: 12658, fill: 12661, fill: 12674, cut: 12656. W-E oriented supine extended infant burial. The arms of the skeleton are flexed and crossed across the chest with hands resting on opposite shoulders. The skeleton is well preserved and complete with the exception of the cranium which was removed when the grave was truncated by building 41. No grave goods present.

CAT1550 (IIId) Skeleton: 10207, fill: 10204, cut: 10211. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. The arms of the skeleton are extended alongside its torso and the cranium is propped up so that the individual faces east. The skeleton is complete and well preserved. Iron 10204.

CAT1551 (Id) Skeleton: 10217, fill: 10216, cluster: 10218, cut: 10219. W-E extended supine adult burial. The arms are extended alongside the torso and the cranium is tilted to the right so that the skeleton is facing south. The burial was disturbed by rodent activity but is still largely complete with variable preservation. Worked bone 10216.F2, Worked bone 10216.F1, Glass bead 10216.X1, Iron 10216, Inscribed ring 10217.

CAT1552 (Id) Skeleton: 10230, fill: 10222, cluster: 10224, cut: 10223. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. The arms are extended alongside the torso and the cranium is in line with the skeleton so that the individual faces up. Ceramic unguentarium 10230.X2), Bone tool with loop (similar to 16442) 10230.X3, Glass vessel, white, vertical indentations on shoulder 10230.X1, White glass body sherds 10222.

CAT1553 (Ib) Skeleton: 10225, fill: 10214, fill: 10221, cut: 10226, construction/ make-up/ packing: 10227. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms of the skeleton are extended alongside the torso and the right leg is slightly flexed with the distal end of the right femur pointing away from the medial line. The cranium is turned onto its right side so the individual faces slightly south. The skeleton is complete and relatively well preserved. Tiles, type 1 (roof tiles) 10227.

CAT1557 (Id) Skeleton: 10255, fill: 10254, cut: 10256. W-E extended supine juvenile burial. The left arm of the skeleton is tightly flexed and placed across the chest with the hand placed on the right shoulder. The right arm is not present. The cranium has been crushed. The skeleton is poorly preserved and incomplete due to animal disturbance. Ceramic cup, single handle, plain vertical rim, disk base 10254, Stone 10254, Iron lock plate 10254.X1, CU alloy ring 10255.X1.

CAT1571 (Id) Skeleton: 10314, fill: 10313, fill: 10320, cut: 10315. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Arms are extended alongside the torso. The cranium is smashed but the individual is facing north. This skeleton is heavily disturbed with poor preservation. Iron 13020.X1, Iron 13020.X2, Iron 13020.X3, Iron 13020.X4, Iron 10314.

CAT1598 (Id) Skeleton: 10339, fill: 10338, cut: 10340. W-E supine extended adult burial. The left arm was extended by the torso of the individual. The burial is truncated, removing the upper torso, the left humerus, the cranium and entire right arm. Glass 10338, Stone 11987, Iron 10338

CAT1600 (IVa) Skeleton: 10705, fill: 10701, cut: 10702. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. Preservation and completeness are both poor however from what remains the arms seem to have been extended alongside the torso. The cranium is fragmented and almost entirely absent. No grave goods present.

CAT1601 (Id) Skeleton: 10708, fill: 10709, cut: 10710. W-E aligned supine extended adult burial. Both arms of the skeleton are extended alongside the torso with the left hand underneath the pelvis. The cranium is tilted to the right to face south. The preservation of the bones is relatively good and the skeleton is largely complete, only missing the right tibia and fibula as well as both feet. Stone bead 10709.

CAT1603 (Id) Skeleton: 10715, fill: 10716, cut: 10717. W-E supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso. The cranium is in line with the skeleton and is slightly propped up to face east. A large group of hobnails was lifted en bloc from the distal end of the right leg. These indicate the presence of a shoe. Conical unguent bottle (Price and Cottam 1998: 172-174) 10716.X2, Stone mixing palette 10716.X3, Iron hobnail 10716.X4, Iron 10716.X11, Gold pendant 10715.X1, Cu alloy mirror 10716.X1.

CAT1610 (Id) Skeleton: 10741, fill: 10740, cut: 10742. W-E oriented supine adult burial. The torso and arms of the skeleton are extended with both legs flexed to the right. The unusual position of the legs can possibly be attributed to trauma to the left hip. The cranium is propped up to face east. Globular glass flask 10740.X10, Stone 10740, Iron 10740.X5, Iron 10740.X9, Iron 10740.X7, Iron 10740.X8, Iron 10740.X11, Iron 10740.X2, Iron 10740.X1, Iron 10740, Iron 10741.

CAT1650 (Id) Skeleton: 7919, fill: 7918, cut: 7917. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. The skeleton is poorly preserved and incomplete however the arms appear to be extended alongside the torso and the cranium is propped up to face east. Bone lid 7918.X4, Conical unguent bottle with concave base 7918.X1, Glass 7918.X2, Glass 7918.X3, Glass 7918, Stone 7918, Stone 7918, Stone bead 7918.K2, Stone bead 7918.H1, Iron 7919, Iron 7918.

CAT1750 (Id) Skeleton: 11004, fill: 11001, cluster: 11002, cut: 11003. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso of the skeleton and the cranium is tilted to the left to look north. The skeleton was largely complete with better preservation of the upper body than the lower body. Bone spoon 11001, Stone 11001, Marble mixing palette 11004.X1, Stone 11004, Stone bead 11001.K1, Iron 11001, CU alloy bead 11001.

CAT2042 (IIa) Skeleton: 12123, fill: 12121, cut: 12122. W-E oriented extended juvenile burial. Individual was placed on its right side facing south with both legs slightly flexed. The burial was heavily disturbed and incomplete although the skeletal elements that were present were well preserved. No grave goods present.

CAT2112 (IIIa) Skeleton: 12133, fill: 12118, cut: 12119. W-E oriented extended adult burial. Individual was placed on its right side facing south with the right leg slightly flexed. No grave goods present.

CAT2120 (Id) Skeleton: 12336, fill: 12335, cut: 12337. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso. The individual is truncated just below the pelvis but is

otherwise skeletally complete and relatively well preserved. Conical unguent bottle with slightly concave base 12335.X1, Iron 12335.X2.

CAT2155 (IIa) Skeleton: 11951, fill: 11941, cut: 11977. NW– SE oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso of the skeleton. The cranium is smashed, however it was positioned in line with the skeleton facing the sky. The skeleton is largely complete and preservation is fair with damage from exposure. Stone 11941.K1, Stone 11941.K2, Stone 11941, Iron 11941, Iron 11941.X1, Iron 11931.X2, Iron hobnails/ tacks 11941.

CAT2157 (IIa) Skeleton: 11986, fill: 11987, cut: 12363. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. The burial was heavily disturbed by animal activity and is missing both arms and the cranium. The skeletal elements that are present are well preserved. Stone 11987.

CAT2161 (II?a) Skeleton: 12366, fill: 12367, cut: 12379. E-W oriented extended adult burial. This skeleton is extremely poorly preserved and incomplete to the extent that it is not clear whether or not the individual is supine, prone or on its side. The feet are in a much better state of preservation than the rest of the skeleton and are in a different matrix – loose brown soil rather than light grey powder, perhaps indicating the presence of shoes. Glass bead.X1.

CAT2162 (IIc) Skeleton: 12384, fill: 12373, fill: 12392, cut: 12393. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso. The cranium is slightly propped up to face west. The skeleton is complete although no longer in articulation due to animal activity. The preservation of the bones is good. No grave goods present.

CAT2169 (IIIa) Skeleton: 12381, fill: 12380, cut: 12382. W-E oriented extended burial. Individual was placed on its right side facing south with both arms extended alongside the torso. The skeleton is complete and in a good state of preservation. Glass 12380.

CAT2170 (IIb,c) Skeleton: 12386, fill: 12383, fill: 12387, cut: 12388. W-E oriented extended adult burial. The individual was placed slightly on its right side facing north with a flexed left arm placed across the torso and slightly flexed legs. The skeleton is largely complete although a little disturbed by animal action and the bones are relatively well preserved. No grave goods present.

CAT2188 (IIIa) Skeleton: 12141, fill:12143. W-E oriented extended adult burial. This individual was positioned on its right side looking south. The arms are extended alongside the torso. The skeleton is complete and surface preservation is good. Iron 12143.

CAT2189 (IIa) Skeleton: 12142, fill: 12145, cut: 12144, cut: 12146. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. This grave is truncated by 2188, a south facing internment. The truncation of the

grave has removed the upper body superior to the pelvis. The general orientation of the body however is clear from the position of the legs. No grave goods present.

CAT2244 (IIa) Skeleton: 13179, fill: 13178, cut: 13180. Neonatal burial. Possibly a 'late' burial as the surviving elements are oriented E-W. The skeleton is however very disturbed, incomplete and poorly preserved. Stone 13171, Shell bead 13171.X2.

CAT2245 (IIIa) Skeleton: 13184, fill: 13182, fill: 13176, cluster: 13152, cut: 13198. W-E oriented extended adult burial. The individual was placed on its right side facing south and was probably tightly shrouded. Both arms are alongside the torso of the skeleton and the grave cut is very narrow. The skeleton is complete and in a good state of preservation with only a little animal disturbance. Stone 13182, Stone bead 13182.K1, Stone bead 13182.K2, Stone bead 13182.K3, Stone 13182.

CAT2246 (IIIc) Skeleton: 13186, fill: 13185, fill: 13190, cut: 13187. W-E oriented extended juvenile burial. The individual was placed slightly on its right side facing south with both arms alongside the torso. The skeleton is largely complete although the cranium is fragmented and mostly absent. The left side of the skeleton is better preserved than the right. Stone bead 13185, Stone 13185.

CAT2247 (IIIc) Skeleton: 13192, fill: 13191, fill: 13197, cut: 13193. W-E oriented extended adult burial. The grave has been heavily disturbed and is poorly preserved, especially from the waist up. It seems however that the individual was placed on its right side looking south. Stone 13191, Stone bead 13191.K1, Stone bead 13191.K2, Stone bead 13191.K3.

CAT2550 (IIIc) Skeleton: 14114, fill: 14112, fill: 14113, fill: 14115, cut: 14116. W-E oriented extended adult burial. The individual was placed on its right side facing south with both arms extended alongside the torso and the lower legs crossing at the shin. The grave has been disturbed and is poorly preserved. No grave goods present.

CAT2551 (IIIa) Skeleton: 14118, fill: 14117, cut: 14178. W-E oriented extended juvenile burial. The individual was placed on its right side facing south. The right arm is extended alongside the torso, the left arm is not present. The preservation of the skeleton is fragmentary and the skeleton is incomplete. Stone 14117.

CAT2753 (IIa) Skeleton: 14919, fill: 14918, cut: 14920. W-E oriented infant burial. The upper body has been truncated by the foundation trench of building 41. The legs were crossed rather than extended and the preservation of the skeletal elements present in the ground was good. Stone 14918.

CAT2801 (Ib) Skeleton; 15021, fill: 15019, fill: 15020, fill: 15022, construction/ make-up/ packing: 15018, fill: 15023, cut: 15024. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso and the cranium is aligned with the skeleton facing the sky. No grave goods present.

CAT2802 (Id) Skeleton: 15028, fill: 15011, cut: 15012, fill: 15014, fill: 15027. W-E oriented supine extended burial. The legs are slightly flexed with the knees together pointing north. The unusual position of the skeleton may be because the left leg shows signs of atrophication and the spinal column is drastically curved. The burial is largely complete and relatively well preserved. Stone 15011, Cu alloy tool 15028.X1, Cu alloy earring 15028.X2, Cu alloy earring 15028.X3, Cu alloy tool 15028.X4, Cu alloy spoon 15028.X5, Cu alloy pin 15028.

CAT2803 (Id) Skeleton: 15031, fill: 15030, cut: 15032. W-E oriented supine extended juvenile burial. The left arm is extended alongside the torso, the right arm is missing. The cranium is not well enough preserved to determine its position. The skeleton is very incomplete and has poor surface preservation. No grave goods present.

CAT2804 (Id) Skeleton: 15034, fill: 15033, cut: 15035. W-E oriented extended supine juvenile burial. Only upper arms remain however they are both extended alongside the torso. The cranium is missing its facial bones and is tilted to the right to look south. Stone bead 15030.K1, Iron nail 15030.

CAT2826 (Id) Skeleton: 15417, fill: 15416, cut: 15418. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. The left arm is slightly flexed with the hand resting on the left hip, the right arm is missing. The grave has been disturbed by animal action so that the cranium is no longer in situ. The preservation of the skeletal elements which remain is good. Stone 15417, Iron nail 15417, Iron nail 15417.X1, Iron nail 15417.X2.

CAT2844 (Id) Skeleton: 15607, fill: 15412, cluster: 15421, cut: 15421. W-E supine extended adult burial. The cranium is tilted to the right to look south. The skeleton is very incomplete, disturbed and poorly preserved however from what remains it is likely that the arms were both fully extended alongside the torso. Stone 15412.

CAT2845 (Id) Skeleton: 15608, fill: 15605, cluster: 15652, cut: 15436. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are fully extended alongside the torso. The cranium is tilted to the right to look south. The skeleton is complete and well preserved. Small ceramic dish 15605.X2, Glass flask with carinated body and concave base 15605.X3, Stone 15605, Iron nail 15605.

CAT3006 (Id) Skeleton: 16060, fill: 16057, cluster: 16088, cut: 16056. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso. The cranium is tilted over the right shoulder to face south. The burial is only slightly disturbed and is largely complete and well preserved. Bone hair pin or toilet accessory 16057.X1, Stone 16057, Iron nail 16057.

CAT3007 (Id) Skeleton: 16074, fill: 16072, cluster: 16071, cut: 16073. S-N extended supine extended juvenile burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso. The cranium is in line with the skeleton facing the sky although the cranial vault is fragmented. The skeleton was disturbed by animal action, the legs are missing from the knees down. The preservation of the skeletal elements which remain is good. Glass 16072, Stone bead 16072.K1, Stone bead 16072.K2.

CAT3081 (Id) Skeleton: 16427, fill: 16426, fill: 16429, cut: 16428. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. Both arms are extended alongside the torso and the cranium is in line with the skeleton facing upwards. The skeleton has been slightly disturbed by animal activity but is largely complete although the bones are fragmentary and the surface preservation is poor. Stone 16427, Iron nail 16426.

CAT3084 (Id) Skeleton: 16442, fill: 16441, cut: 16443. W-E oriented supine extended adult burial. The arms are extended alongside the torso of the individual and the cranium is in line with the skeleton facing the sky. The skeleton is incomplete and the preservation of individual skeletal elements is fragmentary. Ceramic unguentarium 16442.X1, Bone toilet accessory 16442.X2, Worked bone 16442, Glass 16331, Stone 16441, CU alloy pin 1642.X3.

CAT3085 (Id) Skeleton: 16445, fill: 16444, cut: 16446. W-E aligned supine extended juvenile burial. Both arms were fully extended alongside the skeleton and the cranium was in line with the skeleton facing the sky. The skeleton is slightly disturbed and largely complete although the preservation of individual skeletal elements is fragmentary. Worked bone 16445.X2, Worked bone 16445, Glass vessel 16445.X1, Stone 16444, Iron nail 16444.

Domuztepe, ninth and tenth century burials

Domuztepe is a prehistoric tell site in south central Anatolia which covers 20 hectares. Excavations took place over two five year periods under the direction of Dr Stuart Campbell at Manchester and Elizabeth Carter at the University of California. The project's focus was the prehistoric levels, however the Roman and Post-Roman remains are being studied by Asa Eger (of the Oriental Institute in Chicago) and Liz Mullane (of UCLA). The settlement as currently reported, includes a number of buildings excavated in Operation VII as well as carving from a church and 300 late Constantinian coins from a single room (Campbell 2005). The settlement remains suggest a fairly large and prosperous settlement, which may have been still standing during the use of the southern area of the mound as a ninth and tenth century cemetery. The work of Eger and Mullane on the Roman and Islamic town associated with Domuztepe has not yet been published; similarly the site report for the mound itself is in press as of April 2012 (Campbell and Carter in press). There is however, some information available from preliminary reports on the ninth and tenth century cemetery located in the northwest section of operation 1 on the mound itself (see map in Campbell and Carter 2007 for the location of trenches).

Details of individual burials are not available, and can therefore not be included in the database. Access to the grey literature from Domuztepe was requested but denied, presumably because they are being written up for publication by Eger and Mullane (Campbell pers. com. 2012). The burials are characterised as extended supine with arms folded across the body, "The head is usually aligned slightly south of east" (Campbell and Carter 2007:275). At the close of the second campaign of excavation in 2005, 50 burials had been excavated. The excavation of a sounding 50m west of the excavation area contained a burial, suggesting that the cemetery covers a large area. If the density of burial remains consistent, it may total several hundred graves (Campbell and Carter 2007:275).

Campbell and Carter suggest that the organisation of the burials suggests a formal cemetery with well-marked graves although no speculations are made as to the nature of grave marking as the grave cuts are simple pit cut graves without even stone lining (Campbell and Carter 2007:275).

Elaiussa Sebaste, fifth to seventh century burials

The monumental quarter of the Roman city at Elaiussa Sebaste was located on the mainland side of a small causeway. The 'island' or promontory site on the other side of the causeway lead to the main settlement. This monumental quarter, referred to as the Agora area by the excavators was converted to a religious complex during the fifth and sixth centuries (Equini Schneider 2008:17). During this time the agora area was deliberately levelled, concealing the foundations of the Roman *tholos* and a number of very fine polychrome mosaics. A dual apsed basilica was constructed in the same location (Equini Schneider 2003:193-224, Equini Schneider 1999:241-268).

Approximately 300 graves have been excavated at Elaiussa Sebaste with an MNI from the Byzantine levels of 196 skeletons interred within the area of the Roman Agora (Paine and Vargiu 2010). The osteological report records seven subterranean vaults beneath the floor of a Christian Basilica holding a MNI of 116 (Vargiu 2003:738-740). From the excavation report only 107 burials can be identified as belonging to the 7 vaults which contained burials (excluding the looted graves ESB013 and ESB027), so this is the figure I have used in my analysis of multiple and single interments in section 4.1. The burials from within the church are likely to be contemporary with the first phase of use of the Basilica in the fifth to the seventh centuries.

The grave numbers in the catalogue below correspond directly to the tomb numbers given in the Elaiussa Sebaste site report, however instead of the prefix US, they have been assigned the prefix ESB to indicate that they are burials from the dual apsed basilica at Elaiussa Sebaste.

Elaiussa Sebaste Grave Catalogue

ESB013 is a grave pit cut into the limestone floor of the apse and lined with limestone blocks. This tomb held no skeleton but a layer of homogenous fill as well as fragments of masonry and *opus sectile* floor (Baratta 1999:249). It is possible either that this grave was cut into the floor of the apse during the use life of the basilica as a place of worship or after the abandonment: as the grave has been robbed, the fragments of *Opus secile* tiles could be intrusive from this event rather than from the original cutting of the grave pit through the apse floor. The *opus sectile* floor that has been hypothesized for the apse is no longer present, but is suggested because of the level of the limestone blocks and a slight curb on the tomb, which are set above the *opus sectile* floor level in the nave (Baratta 1999:250).

ESB027 is located centrally within the nave, inserted through the basilica floor into the roman destruction and levelling deposits below. Tomb US 27 has the standard construction for tombs at

this site within the basilica area, lined with limestone slabs. The tomb has been looted, neither skeletal material of any evidence of grave goods remain (Baratta 1999:251).

ESB028 is located in the nave of the basilica. ESB028 has the standard construction for tombs at this site within the basilica area, a rectilinear grave pit lined with limestone slabs. This tomb also had an intact cover, three slabs of limestone which form the cover of the grave. Some skeletal remains were present, although in such a poor condition that they were not included within the osteological sample (Baratta 1999:251, Paine and Vargiu 2010:267).

ESB029 is located in the nave of the basilica. ESB029 has the standard construction for tombs at this site within the basilica area, a rectilinear grave pit lined with limestone slabs. It was however covered with lime mortar rather than the slabs of limestone present above Tomb US 48. Additionally the stone slab set at the west end of the grave is set on a slope to form a cushion of sorts (Baratta 1999:251). The single occupant of the grave was present within the grave, an adult male who died between 45 and 55. There was no evidence of grave goods (Vargiu 2003:738).

ESB041 is a rectilinear grave pit in the south east pastophory. The grave was lined with limestone slabs, nails and fragments of wood were also present, suggesting the presence of a coffin or secondary lining of the tomb. A marble slab bearing a Greek inscription was found in the grave fill in the western part of the tomb. The tomb had an MNI of 13, with 7 extended supine individuals identified by the excavators as on two distinct levels (Ferrazzoli 1999: 260, Vargiu 2003:738). This suggests at least two separate periods of deposition. The only item of material culture within the grave was a lamp dated by comparable objects to the seventh century (from Mersin: Day 1942, pp. 65-79 pl. XII,I, and from Calymrna, necropolis of Pothia: 119 Bailey, III, BM 1988, pl. 71, Q2617, both cited in Ferrazzoli 1999:260).

ESB046-89 is a rectilinear grave pit in the south east pastophory, lined and capped with limestone slabs set into the *opus sectile* floor. One of the capstones had an inscription dated to the seventh century. The grave contained four individuals extended supine oriented west east on the first level and at the remains of at least ten individuals identified during excavation (Ferrazzoli 1999: 260). The osteological report indicates an MNI of 43 individuals with no indication of whether or not all the burials are likely to be primary (Vargiu 2003:739). Only one object was recovered from the grave context, a thin circular plate of gold which has four opposed holes to allow it to be mounted on fabric or leather (Ferrazzoli 1999: 263).

ESB049 (referred to in the osteological report as US 57) is located in the nave of the basilica. ESB049 has the standard construction for tombs at this site within the basilica area, a rectilinear grave pit

lined with limestone. The tomb is covered by four slabs of limestone, which were then plastered over so that they would not have been visible at the floor level of the basilica. The excavator reports that the tomb contained three individuals who are likely to have been male, and that the skeletons overlap in such a way that it is probable that they were deposited in succession as opposed to a single deposition event for all three men, and that there were no grave goods (Ferrazzoli 1999:254). There are no references to tomb ESB049 in either the section of Elaiussa II that deals with the burials within the agora area (Vargiu 2003:738-741) or the osteological report in Elaiussa Sebaste III (Paine and Vargiu 2010:259-285). The sections in the osteological publications that reference the description of tomb ESB049 in the excavation report refer to tomb US 57. I therefore conclude that tomb ESB049 is the same as tomb US 57.

ESB149. A sarcophagus once stood in a barrel vaulted side chamber (the southwest pastophory) indicated by the presence of the lime mortar footing which remains. The excavators identify this room as a mortuary chapel and suggest that it is dedicated to an eminent family or member of the community (Baratta 2003:203). ESB149 is a limestone stone lined shaft grave to the north of the lime mortar footing, which contained the disarticulated remains of 26 individuals. As the osteological publication does not report on whether or not the small hand and foot bones are present it is not possible to state whether these interments are primary or secondary. It is however, quite possible that individuals were interred primarily in the sarcophagus and then transferred to the shaft grave as a type of ossuary, yet equally likely that the sarcophagus was the foundation burial of the mortuary chapel and that less important members of the family were then interred in the shaft grave. It is also possible that the shaft grave burials came first and were later capped with a sarcophagus burial, although this seems the least likely of the three scenarios.

Tombs **ESB191** and **ESB192** are located within the northwest pastophory. These tombs were capped with four marble slabs were set within a limestone curb so that they appear from the surface to be one feature. The north western slab of the four (covering tomb 192) was inscribed with two elegiac couplets commemorating a woman who died in childbirth, the palaeography has been roughly dated to the sixth century (Borgia 2003:538-540). The epigram reads “whosoever’s footprint rests beside my tomb, there you see me, shortlived Anatolia. Birthing a son, I gave birth and was put to death at the end, I am laid down having just given birth leaving behind the wailing of my husband.” The inscribed slab covered a limestone slab set with two iron rings which allowed repeated access to tomb ESB192 below.

ESB192 contained 18 individuals: 1 intact skeleton, 12 partially disarticulated skeletons which were stacked one on top of the other with their heads to the west and at least 5 totally disarticulated

individuals in a pile at the east end of the grave (Vargiu 2003:741, Equini-Schneider 2000:240). The intact skeleton is listed as male by the osteologist Vargiu (2003:740 “tutto il material scheletrico è mescolato, ad eccezione dell’Individuo 1” Table 6 lists Individui 1 as Sesso M) while the individual is referred to in the excavator’s published text as female (Oral 2003:202 “Un solo scheletro, pertinente ad un individuo di sesso femminile, risultava ancora composto”). Oral also states that there were some clothes belonging to the deceased associated with this individual and they allowed the burial to be dated to the sixth to seventh century, however no further details of the clothes are given and it is possible that Oral is referring only to the gold threads listed among the grave goods. If this is the case it is unclear how a date of the sixth to seventh century has been reached. The listed grave goods from Tomb ESB192 included two belt buckles (listed in Equini Schneider 2000:240 as fibulae, there is an image of these present in Oral 2003:202 fig 138), a bronze bracelet and a large number of gold threads in the chest area of the intact burial (Oral 2003:202). It is likely that the intact burial was the last interment, and if the burial is female, as suggested in the excavators published text that this is the individual referred to by the funerary epigram. There is evidence for a neonate or prenatal child within the tomb suggesting that whether or not the woman mentioned in the epigram was the final interment in the tomb, she was buried with her infant (Vargiu 2003:740). The combined evidence of Tomb ESB192 suggests that the grave may have been active between the fifth and seventh centuries, dates coincide with the primary phase of use of the basilica for worship.

ESB191, to the south of Tomb US 192 and contained within the same square limestone curb, contained 4 individuals and some gold thread. These individuals were partially disrupted as in Tomb US 192, and also aligned with their skulls to the west (Vargiu 2003:740, Oral 2003:202).

Hierapolis, first to fourteenth century burials

Hierapolis is a large (approximately 65 hectares) urban settlement which was founded in the third century BC and was occupied continuously until the thirteenth or fourteenth century, although settlement decreased after a severe earthquake in the seventh century. The settlement is surrounded by well-preserved necropoleis to the north, east and south. The Thanatos project, which focuses on funerary material from the Hellenistic-Roman-Byzantine town Hierapolis in Phrygia, Turkey, began in 2010, and will run until 2013. For this reason the majority of the data on Byzantine material from Hierapolis is not available. However Tomb 156a has been published in full within the 2007 excavation report on the 2000-2003 seasons.

HIR156 at Hierapolis (Tomb 156a) contained a poorly preserved skeleton female, found with three objects, a bronze coin in close proximity to the mandible. This is interpreted by Anderson as a Charon's Obol, "a well-known finding in the classical world", Anderson 2007:475, although I think this burial is likely to be Byzantine rather than Classical Roman. Also present within the grave were a small rectangular flat tile tablet and a long thin bronze spatula-like object (blunt end, for mixing cosmetics) in the region of the upper left leg (Anderson 2007: 473-475).

İlipınar, sixth to eleventh century burials

The mortuary population at İlipınar includes approximately 200 Byzantine skeletons, the majority within single inhumation graves covered by tiles and interred in an extended supine position, heads slightly propped up and hands folded across the pelvis. The vast majority of individuals were interred west-east (Roodenberg 2009a: 154-5).

Although no osteological work has been conducted it is clear from excavators' notes that all age ranges are present within the mortuary population and it seems highly likely that both men and women were present as at Barcın. The juvenile graves were generally interred in simple earth filled graves rather than covered with tiles (Roodenberg 2009a:155). This profile, both at the level of the demographics of the overall cemetery and the character of the graves, is extremely similar to the cemetery observed at Barcın, an eleventh century cemetery to the southeast of İlipınar in the same region.

Neither the contextual information nor the osteological data is published for this cemetery on a grave by grave basis. However some exceptions to the norm are detailed in print. Grave AA13 contained a severed head of a child placed between the legs of the adult deceased (Roodenberg 2009a:155). I think it likely that the infant cranium is evidence of secondary burial while the adult is a primary interment. It is possible that the adult is the mother of the individual and wished to be interred with the child who went before her.

Grave goods were sparse at İlipınar, and consisted only of 'dressing attributes' or personal items. These included belt buckles and personal ornaments, bronze and silver earrings, glass paste bracelets, a few finger rings (including a seal ring with a representation of two rearing ibexes). The site is dated to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century by the presence of Bologna, Corinthe and cruciform belt buckle types (Roodenberg 2009a:155, comparanda present in Werner 1955:37ff; Russell 1982: 142ff).

Kalenderhane, sixth to the thirteenth century burials

The excavations at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul started in 1966, running until 1978 under the direction of Cecil Striker. The site was occupied continuously from its original use as a Roman Bath, through three main phases of church buildings, the last of which was converted to a mosque in the Ottoman period. The three phases of church constructed during the Byzantine period are the north church (or early church) constructed in the last third of the sixth century, the Bema Church, constructed at some point in the seventh century, and the Main Church, which was part of the major reorganisation of the site around 1200 (Striker and Kuban 1997a:23).

The north church was not destroyed to construct the Bema church, only altered, and for several centuries after the construction of the Bema Church to the south in the seventh century the churches essentially stood side by side. Between the tenth and the twelfth centuries however, the north church was demolished and the area of the nave and esonarthex used as a cemetery (Striker and Kuban 1997b:8). The cemetery thus lay to the north of a functioning church during its period of use.

Although the 72 graves detailed below are reported as containing one individual per grave (as listed in the excavation report), the osteological report lists 163 individuals from 76 identified graves (Striker and Groves 2007:figure 39, Angel and Bisel 2007). Angel and Bisel divide the material into three groups for analysis, one sample dated from the fifth to the eighth century, a twelfth century sample and an undated and unlabelled sample (Angel and Bisel 2007:374). The osteological study reports four graves with coins dating to the fifth and eighth centuries, containing 10 individuals although only two are reported in the table of graves (Angel and Bisel 2007 contra Striker and Groves 2007:figure 37). Some of this disconnect between the two separate reports on the material must be due to the fragmentary nature of the archive, numerous burials were unlabelled, the labels lost, or damaged during 9 years of storage (Angel and Bisel 2007:374). It is clear that a primary study of these graves by their context rather than skeleton by skeleton is desirable, as Angel and Bisel state it is (2007:374). As the osteological study does not list what identifying numbers it does have, however, or even discuss the material on a skeleton by skeleton basis, it is impossible to collate the information from the two reports within my catalogue. Indeed it is unlikely that it would be possible to construct a bio-cultural study even with access to the primary archive.

The information in the following descriptive catalogue of graves is taken from the 2007 excavation report edited by Striker and Kuban. Information on the position and orientation of the graves has been taken from figures 38 and 39, a plan and table of the graves, and, where necessary, cross referenced with the stratigraphic matrix contained on pages 13-37 (Striker and Groves 2007). These

catalogue entries describe the primary individual illustrated within figure 39 and described in the excavators report on the burials, however it should be noted that the osteological study suggests that more often than not, the graves contained between 2 and 5 individuals, with the secondary interments happening sometime after the primary, as re-use of the grave rather than contemporary burial (Angel and Biesel 2007:374).

The grave numbers in the catalogue below correspond directly to the grave numbers assigned by the excavators with the addition of the prefix KAL to identify them as graves from Kalenderhane.

KAL001 – Grid square A4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the pelvis. The grave is within the nave of the north church, aligned on the north wall of the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast in a simple pit cut grave, unlined and considerably wider than the individual, with rounded corners. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century phase by the excavator on the strength of its stratigraphic relationships. There were no small finds.

KAL002 – Grid square A5. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is within the nave of the north church, aligned on the north wall of the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast in a simple pit cut grave, unlined and considerably wider than the individual, with rounded corners. The phase is given a sixth or twelfth century date as a sixth century coin was present (coin catalogue number 232, date 579-82), however it is part of a group of graves others of which are dated stratigraphically to the twelfth century.

KAL003 – Void field.

KAL004 - Grid square A5. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is within the nave of the north church, aligned on the north wall of the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast in a pit cut grave unlined, and considerably wider than the individual, with rounded corners. Iron nails were present along the south side of the grave suggesting a coffin. I consider the possibility of a coffin is more likely than a wood lined grave due to the irregular grave cut. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century phase by the excavator on the strength of its stratigraphic relationships.

KAL005 – Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is within the nave of the north church, aligned on the north wall of the main church. The body was laid out west-east with its feet resting on a marble slab. No

grave cut was found. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century phase by the excavator on the strength of its stratigraphic relationships.

KAL006 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the chest. The grave is in the nave of the north church, aligned on the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast in a pit cut grave, considerably wider than the individual. The grave was lined with vertical stones at the northwest end, perhaps to support a cranial cist. No small finds were present. The grave is tentatively assigned to the eighteenth century by the excavator on the strength of its stratigraphic relationships.

KAL007 – Grid square B4. The upper torso of this individual is beneath the steps of the main church, leaving only the lower torso, pelvis and legs available for study. Enough remains to state that the individual was laid out in an extended supine position. The grave is in the nave of the north church, aligned on the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast. No grave cut was found. The presence of one iron nail suggests the presence of a coffin or wooden lining to the grave. A coin was present, no catalogue number is available, the coin has been dated to between 1092 – 1118. On the strength of the numismatic evidence this burial has been assigned to the twelfth century phase by the excavator.

KAL008 – Grid square B4. The cranium of this individual is beneath the steps of the main church. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position. The grave is in the nave of the north church, aligned on the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast. No grave cut was found. 6 iron nails were present in a straight line on the north side of the body, indicating the presence of a coffin or wooden lining of the grave. The burial has been assigned to the twelfth century by the excavator on the strength of its stratigraphic relationships.

KAL009 - Grid square A5. This individual has been truncated, leaving only the pelvis and legs for study. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position. The grave is in the nave of the north church, aligned on the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast. No grave cut was found. No small finds were present. The burial has no assigned date.

KAL010 – Grid square A5. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with the arms folded, right over the chest, left across the abdomen. The grave is in the nave of the north church, aligned on the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast. The grave is lined at the west end with a double row of vertical marble and tiles, perhaps to support a cranial cist. The grave cut has slightly curved corners, but is otherwise rectilinear. A metal bead was present in the ribcage of the individual. The burial has no assigned date.

KAL011 - Grid square A5. This grave is a double burial assigned two numbers rather than one. It is the same as Grave 12. Both individuals are laid out in an extended supine position. The individual in Grave 11 has both arms folded over their abdomen. The individual in Grave 12 has both arms crossed over their chest. The grave is in the nave of the north church, and is aligned on the north church. The grave is one large pit grave containing two individuals side by side aligned northwest, southeast. Fragments of glazed pottery were packed between the individuals. The west end of the grave is lined with stone. No small finds were present, no date was assigned. The burials are registered under KAL burial 011 in the database.

KAL012 - Grid square A5. This grave is a double burial assigned two numbers rather than one. It is the same as Grave 11. Both individuals are laid out in an extended supine position. The individual in Grave 11 has both arms folded over their abdomen. The individual in Grave 12 has both arms crossed over their chest. The grave is in the nave of the north church, and is aligned on the north church. The grave is one large pit grave containing two individuals side by side aligned northwest, southeast. Fragments of glazed pottery were packed between the individuals. The west end of the grave is lined with stone. No small finds were present, no date was assigned.

KAL013 - Grid square A5. This individual has been truncated at the waist, grave 13 was cut by Grave 10. The upper torso and cranium of the individual suggest that they were laid out in an extended supine position. The grave is in the nave of the north church, and is a simple pit cut grave aligned on the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast. No small finds were present. No date has been assigned by the excavator.

KAL014 - Grid square A4. This individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is within the nave of the north church, on the same alignment as the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast in a simple pit cut grave with rounded corners. Seven iron nails in a straight line on the northern limit of the grave suggest the presence of a coffin. Fragments of glass were present. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century by the excavator.

KAL015 – Grid square A5. Only the cranium of this individual remains, at the west end of a grave cut which is irregularly shaped (probably due to the same disturbance as removed the rest of the skeleton). 7 iron nails were present within the grave fill although their locations are not recorded. No date was assigned by the excavator.

KAL016 – Grid square B5. Child burial. Individual's torso is twisted to the right to face south, aligned northwest-southeast following the alignment of the north church, and the pelvis and legs are

extended on a more directly west-east alignment. The grave is within the nave of the north church. No grave cut was found. No date was assigned by the excavators.

KAL017 - Grid square B4. The cranium and upper torso of this individual are beneath the staircase associated with the Main Church. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with the left arm across the abdomen. The right arm is not preserved. The grave is within the nave of the north church, and is aligned with the main church. The body was laid out west-east . No grave cut was found. No grave goods were present. No date has been assigned in the excavation report.

KAL018 – Void field

KAL019 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the pelvis. The body was laid out west-east in a simple pit cut grave, unlined and with rounded corners. The head is tilted slightly to the right to face south. The grave is within the nave of the north church and is positioned along the north wall of the Main church, in alignment with the Main Church. No small finds were present. No date has been assigned in the excavation report.

KAL020 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is within the nave of the north church, on the same alignment as the north Church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast. No grave cut was found. No small finds were present. No date has been assigned in the excavation report.

KAL021 – Grid square A4. Slab built marble cist with no indication of skeletal contents given in excavation report. The grave is in the narthex of the north church, positioned along the north wall and aligned with it. Four coins were present 69/115, 579, 635, 130 assigned date ranges of 1118-43 and 1195-1203. The grave has been assigned to the twelfth century phase.

KAL022 – Void field

KAL023 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with the right arm across the abdomen, left arm not preserved. The grave is within the nave of the north church, on the same alignment as the north church. The body was laid out northwest-southeast. No grave cut was preserved. The grave has been assigned to the thirteenth century although no indication is given as to why, as no small finds were present.

KAL024 – Grid square C5. This is a collection of disarticulated remains.

KAL025 - Grid square B4. This individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed left over the abdomen and right over the chest. The head is tilted slightly to the right to face

the south. The grave is in the nave of the north church on the same alignment as the north church. No grave cut is preserved however seven iron nails on the north side of the grave suggest a wooden coffin or grave lining. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century in the excavation report.

KAL026 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is in the nave of the north church, against the north wall of the main church and aligned with it. The body was laid out west-east in a grave cut fully lined with stones although no cap stones are recorded. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century in the excavation report and no small finds were present.

KAL027 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen and the head tilted to the left so that it faces south. The grave is within the nave of the north church, on the same alignment as the main church. The body was laid out west- east. No grave cut was preserved. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned a twelfth century date in the excavation report. It is possible that this grave is one half of a double burial with Grave 028 as they are face to face, with crania and feet level, and neither grave had a recorded cut.

KAL028 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen and the head tilted to the right so that it faces south. The grave is within the nave of the north church, on the same alignment as the main church. The body was laid out west- east. No grave cut was preserved. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned a twelfth century date in the excavation report. It is possible that this grave is one half of a double burial with Grave 28 as they are face to face, with crania and feet level, and neither grave had a recorded cut.

KAL029 - Grid square B4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is in the nave of the north church, and is aligned with the main church. The body was laid out west-east in a simple unlined grave cut. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century in the excavation report and no small finds were present.

KAL030 – Grid square B4. This grave is an ossuary of upright stones topped with 2 tile layers then 4 slabs. Contains two mixed burials. No small finds were present. Grave assigned an eleventh century date in the excavation report.

KAL032 – Grid square B5. This individual has been truncated at the waist. The remaining upper body and cranium was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is within the nave of the north church, aligned with the main church. The body was laid out west-east. No grave cut was found. No small finds were present. No date has been assigned to this grave in the excavation report.

KAL033 – Void field

KAL034 – Grid square A4. Disturbed skeletal material

KAL035 – Grid square B7. Only the cranium of this individual remains, aligned west-east in the apse of the north church, on the same alignment as the north church. No grave cut was present. Two iron nails to the south of the skull suggest the presence of a coffin or wooden grave lining. The grave is tentatively assigned to either the twelfth or the sixteenth century phases in the excavation report.

KAL036 – Grid square C2. No date assigned, no plan available.

KAL037 – Grid square C2. Only the legs of this individual were visible, the rest of the body remained in the baulk of a trench. The individual was laid out in a supine extended position, aligned west-east with the main church. The grave is situated to the northwest of the main church, outside the enclosed areas. The grave was an unlined pit grave. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned to the twelfth century in the excavation report.

KAL038 – Grid square C2. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The cranium is tilted to the left so it faces south. The body is aligned NW-SE on the same alignment as the north church, and is situated outside the west end of both Churches. No grave cut was preserved however the presence of seven iron nails on the south side of the body suggests the presence of a coffin or wooden grave lining. No other small finds were present. The grave is assigned a twelfth century date in the excavation report.

KAL039 - Grid square D2. Juvenile burial (suggested age 7 years). The individual is laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The cranium is tilted to the left so it faces west. The body is aligned SSW-NNE and the grave is situated directly outside the northwest entrance to the main church. No grave cut was preserved, however the grave cuts both Grave 47 and Grave 46. No small finds were present. No date was assigned to the burial in the excavation report.

KAL040 – Grid square D2. Only the legs of this individual were visible, the rest of the body was truncated. The body is aligned almost exactly W-E on the same alignment as the main church and the grave is situated northwest of the main church. No grave cut was preserved, however the grave cuts grave 49. A fragment of stamped brick was present and the grave is identified as Islamic by the excavators although no time period is given.

KAL041 – Grid square C3. Infant burial resting on a small pile of stones, covered with broken tiles. The grave is the only burial within the northwest ante-chamber of the main church [baptistry?]. The

grave appears to be aligned roughly north-south, although there is no indication of the orientation of the infant. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned a sixteenth century date in the excavation report.

KAL042 – Grid square C4. Burial truncated above the hip by the insertion of a lime pit. The body was laid out in an extended supine position aligned west-east on the same alignment as the main church. The grave is located in the northern isle of the main church. No grave cut was preserved. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned an eleventh century date in the excavation report.

KAL043 – Grid square C4/C5. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen. The grave is within the north aisle of the main church and the body is aligned west-east on the same alignment as the main church. The grave is a simple unlined grave cut with a flat brick or tile pillow. Small fragments of mosaic were present within the grave fill. The grave is identified as Christian in the excavation report.

KAL044 – Grid square D3. Only the cranium remains, facing east. No grave cut is preserved. The grave is situated west of the main church. Two worked marble slabs were present next to the skull. No date is assigned in the excavation report.

KAL045 – Grid Square D2. The burial is truncated at the waist by the twelfth century tower to the northwest of the main church, only cranium and upper body remain. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position. The grave is immediately northwest of the main church. The grave is a simple unlined pit grave which cuts Grave 46. No small finds were present. The grave is identified as Christian in the excavation report.

KAL046 – Grid Square D2. The burial is truncated at the waist by grave 45 and is also cut by grave 39. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms folded over the abdomen. The cranium was resting on a tile. The body is oriented west-east, aligned with the main church, and is situated directly west of the main church prior to the twelfth century. No small finds present. The burial is identified as Christian in the site report.

KAL047 – Grid Square D2. Only skull and a few vertebrae remain, facing east. Grave is cut by Grave 39 and is situated directly outside the main church. No grave cut was preserved, no small finds were present. Grave is identified as Christian in the excavation report.

KAL048 – Grid square D2. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with arms crossed over the abdomen, oriented west-east. Three large stones surround the cranium, these were capped with two large tiles to form a cranial cist. Three iron nails to the north of the northern

cist stone suggest that the grave was also wood lined. The grave is situated northwest of the main church. No small finds were present, the grave is not assigned a date in the excavation report.

KAL049 – Grid square D2. The burial is truncated at the waist by the twelfth century tower to the northwest of the main church, cranium, torso and the legs to mid-thigh remain. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position oriented west-east. The grave is immediately northwest of the main church and is also cut by Grave 40. The presence of two iron nails suggest the presence of a coffin or wooden lining to the grave. No further small finds were present. No date is assigned in the excavation report.

KAL050 – Grid square D3. The burial is poorly preserved below the waist. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position. Arms are poorly preserved. The body is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church directly west of the main church. Four stones are arranged around the upper body and cranium, capped with marble slabs. This is either a cranial cist, which would have protected the upper body while the lower body was disturbed, or a full cist burial, the lower half of which was disturbed. The cranium is resting on a curved tile, potentially an imbrex or fragment of pithos. No further small finds were present. The grave is assigned a twelfth century date in the excavation report.

KAL051 – Grid square E2. Body is preserved from the pelvis down. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church. The burial is situated directly west of the main church. No grave cut was preserved, no small finds were present. The burial not assigned a date within the excavation report.

KAL052 – Grid square D2. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms folded over the abdomen. The body is aligned west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is situated outside the west end of the main church. The presence of 4 iron nails suggests the presence of a coffin or that the grave was lined with wood, but no grave cut was preserved. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned a twelfth century date in the excavation report.

KAL053 – Grid square E2. Legs below knees exposed, the rest of the burial is within the west baulk. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church. The burial is situated outside west of the exonarthex of the main church. No grave cut was preserved and no small finds were present. The grave is assigned a twelfth century date in the excavation report.

KAL054 – Grid square E3. Void field

KAL055 – Grid square E3. No plan of skeleton available. Possibly two coins present. Coin catalogue number 485, dated to 751-69.

KAL056 – Grid square E3. Individual was laid out in an extended supine position, with arms crossed over the abdomen. The body is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is west of the exonarthex of the main church. The individual is fully entombed in a full stone cist (not shown on plan). No small finds were present and no date is assigned in the excavation report.

KAL057 – Grid square E3. Individual was laid out in an extended supine position, with arms crossed over the abdomen. The body is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is west of the exonarthex of the main church. The individual was covered by tiles. Dated to the twelfth to the fourteenth century in site report although the pottery in the grave fill is sixth century. No small finds present.

Grave KAL058/61 – Grid square F3. Individual in grave 58 was laid out in an extended position on their left side, facing south. The body is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is directly southwest of the main entrance to the main church. The grave is a simple unlined grave cut, which also contains the disarticulated remains of another individual, labelled as Grave 61, pushed to the east end of the grave cut. Iron nails are present within the grave, not in situ, perhaps suggesting that the individual labelled Grave 61 was interred within a coffin or a wood-lined grave, which was then disturbed by the reopening of the grave for the deposition of the individual within Grave 58. No further small finds were present. The grave is assigned a fourteenth century date in the excavation report.

Grave KAL059 – Grid square F3. The left side of this grave is cut by Grave 60. The Individual is laid out in a supine extended position oriented west-east along the same alignment as the main church. The grave is situated southwest of the main entrance to the main church. The feet and the skull of this individual are missing, either due to deliberate grave robbing or disturbance during the cutting of grave 60. No grave cut is preserved, no small finds are present. The grave is assigned a fourteenth century date in the excavation report.

KAL060 – Grid square F3. This grave cuts grave 59. The individual is laid out in an extended supine position, with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The individual is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church. Some iron nails are preserved in situ suggesting that the body was placed in a coffin or in a wood lined grave. A brick was placed over the chest, protecting it. No small finds were present. The grave was assigned a fourteenth century date in the excavation report.

KAL058/61 – Grid square F3. Individual in grave 58 was laid out in an extended position on their left side, facing south. The body is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is directly southwest of the main entrance to the main church. The grave is a simple unlined grave cut, which also contains the disarticulated remains of another individual, labelled as Grave 61, pushed to the east end of the grave cut. Iron Nails are present within the grave, not in situ, perhaps suggesting that the individual labelled Grave 61 was interred within a coffin or a wood-lined grave, which was then disturbed by the reopening of the grave for the deposition of the individual within Grave 58. No further small finds were present. The grave is assigned a fourteenth century date in the excavation report.

KAL062 – Grid square F8. A cache of long bones within the masonry of the south aisle wall. Assigned an eighteenth century date in the excavation report.

KAL063 – Grid square G8. Two mixed skeletons. No grave cut preserved. Presence of an iron nail suggests the presence of either a coffin or wood lining to the grave. Grave is located south of the south aisle. Grave is assigned no date in the excavation report.

KAL064 – Grid square G8. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with the left arm placed over the abdomen, the right arm is not preserved. The body is truncated at the waist by the west fire chamber wall. The individual was oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is situated to the south of the south aisle. No grave cut is preserved, but two large stones were placed vertically either side of the cranium, perhaps supports for a cranial cist. No small finds were present. The burial is not assigned a date in the excavation report.

KAL065 – Grid square G3/4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The individual was oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church. The burial is situated against the exterior of the south wall of the porch of the main church. The body was enclosed by upright tiles, and covered with tiles and marble slabs. The burial contained two stamped bricks. No date was assigned in the excavation report.

KAL066 – Grid square G4. No plan available. The legs of the skeleton are covered by tiles, the burial ends in a group of tiles against the exonarthex wall. No small finds present. Assigned a date of the thirteenth century in the excavation report.

KAL067 – Grid square G4. Preserved from the hips down. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position. The body is aligned west-east on the same alignment as the main church and the grave is situated south of the porch. No grave cut was preserved. A coin was present in the grave fill,

catalogue number 662, dated to between 1204 and 1261. The grave is assigned a date of the twelfth to the thirteenth century in the excavation report.

KAL068 – Grid square G4. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The body is aligned west-east on the same alignment as the main church and the grave is situated south of the porch. The body was entirely enclosed within a cist of brick and reused marble. No small finds were present. The grave is assigned a date of the twelfth or thirteenth century in the excavation report.

KAL069 – Grid square G7. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with the right arm folded over the chest. Left arm not preserved. The burial is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is situated immediately south of the south aisle. The body was entirely encased by upright tiles lining the grave and was covered by marble slabs. Fragments of a necklace and a coin were present in the grave, no catalogue numbers are available. No date is assigned in the excavation report.

KAL070 – Grid square G7. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The burial is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is situated immediately south of the south aisle. The grave was covered by irregular marble slabs. No small finds were present. No date is assigned in the excavation report.

KAL071 – Grid square G8/G9. This burial is cut by an un-numbered grave. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The burial is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is situated immediately south of the south aisle. No grave cut was preserved. No small finds were present. No date was assigned in the excavation report.

KAL072 – Grid square H7/G8. The individual was laid out in an extended supine position with both arms crossed over the abdomen. The burial is oriented west-east on the same alignment as the main church and is situated immediately south of the south aisle. The burial was entirely enclosed in a cist of marble slabs. No small finds were present. The burial is assigned a seventh century date in the excavation report.

Kilise Tepe, tenth to thirteenth century burials

There have been two phases of excavation at Kilise Tepe, one from 1994 to 1998 under the direction of Nicholas Postgate and a second from 2007 to 2011 co-directed by Nicholas Postgate and Mark Jackson. The site is a prehistoric tell with remains of two phases of a Byzantine church and some potentially secular buildings above the prehistoric material. The first church has been stylistically dated to the fourth or fifth century. It was destroyed at some point in the second half of the first millennium AD. A second, single roomed chapel was built over the remains of the first church after its destruction. The second chapel was probably constructed in the twelfth century (Jackson 2007:195).

There is evidence for eight Byzantine burials at Kilise Tepe in a cemetery surrounding the later church. During the first campaign of excavation four burials were identified one of which, a pit grave situated to the east of the church (KT004, burial 5626), was fully excavated and dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century (OxA-9844 human bone, $\delta^{13}\text{C} = -18\text{‰} \ 857 \pm 35$) (Jackson 2007:196, Ramsey *et al* 2000:474). One unexcavated cist burial was situated to the north of the church (Grave KT001) as well as ephemeral remains of a juvenile deposited in a pit cut into the foundations of the apse (KT002). A further cist burial to the east of the church was not excavated (KT003).

In the more recent campaign of excavation, two Byzantine burials were identified and excavated. Burials 07/01 (unit 75010, KT006) and 09/01 (unit 95403, KT005) were both to the south of the church (Kilise Tepe Archive, Newcastle University). KT005 was dated to the tenth to the twelfth century, BP998+/- 26 AD994-1115 (Jackson pers. comm. 2011).

The cemetery surrounding the single roomed chapel at Kilise Tepe is present on at least three sides of the chapel. The area is not fully excavated, so further burials might be present. Five of the six burials were adults, all of whom were laid out in an extended supine position with their heads at the west end of the grave, facing east. The only indication of the juvenile burial was disarticulated teeth, meaning no body position could be determined (Jackson pers. comm.). Two of the burials (KT001 and KT003) appear to be full cist graves from their cap stones, KT005 was stone lined at the head of the grave and contained a stone which may well have been a cranial cist however it had been dislodged by ploughing. No grave goods were present.

KT001 – Unexcavated cist burial north of the church.

KT002 – Juvenile deposited in a pit cut into the foundations of the apse.

KT003 – Unexcavated cist burial east of the church.

KT004 - Grave unit number 5626 – Extended supine burial aligned west–east. Pit cut grave with two large rectangular stones on the north and south margins of the grave cut at shoulder height. Skeleton was poorly preserved to the extent that no age or sex estimation was possible (Jackson 2007:196, Pearson 2007:613). The skeleton has been radiocarbon dated to the twelfth or thirteenth century (Ramsey *et al* 2000:474)

KT005 – Grave unit number 95403 - Extended supine burial aligned west-east with the cranium propped up. The grave was located to the south of the later church, cut into the foundations of an antechamber of the Early Basilica. The grave pit was a shallow, simple grave cut. There was evidence for a cranial cist, upright stones surrounding the cranium and a cap stone dislodged to rest over the right os coxa. A small amount of plaster was found beneath the cist stone suggesting that the interior of the cist may have been plastered. No osteological analysis has been conducted as yet. (Excavators notes, Kilise Tepe Archive). The skeleton has been radiocarbon dated to the tenth to the twelfth century (Jackson, pers. com.)

KT006 - Grave unit number 75010 – Extended supine burial aligned west-east. The grave was located to the south of the later church. The grave pit was a shallow grave cut lined with a single course of stones. No osteological analysis has been conducted as yet. (Excavators notes, Kilise Tepe Archive).

Saraçhane, twelfth century burials

The excavations at Saraçhane took place over six seasons between 1964 and 1969. The first three seasons took place under rescue conditions as the result of the construction of a major underpass but nonetheless are comprehensively published. The excavations were carried out under the joint direction of Dr Martin Harrison and Dr Nezih Firatlı. Although the excavations were focused primarily on the church of St. Polyeuktos, the preserved Ottoman levels are published in as much detail.

The main cemetery on the site dates to the twelfth century and overlays the western part of the site, the area occupied by St. Polyeuktos. In addition to the twelfth century cemetery, a number of isolated graves were found. Graves were present in Sounding A, in the areas of the apse, north aisle, narthex and crypt.

The context numbers listed for each grave are referred to as 'levels' in the site report and are more general than standard contexts, for instance more than one grave, including the fill, cut, lining and skeletal material contained in each, are listed with the same level number. The context numbers are included here for completeness and for the relevant notes on chronology. The information contained in the catalogue below is drawn from the list of grave contexts given by Martin Harrison on the structures (Harrison 1986: 27, 29 and 30) as well as Figures H and B. Additional information on the levels which were associated with the graves was drawn from Harrison's chapter on the stratigraphy of the site (Harrison 1986:34-110). The minimum number of individuals (MNI) of each grave was calculated from information contained in the chapter by Don Brothwell in Harrison's site report (Brothwell 1986:374-398). Both the check list of cranial material and the check list of post-cranial material were consulted, and the highest possible MNI taken. Because no siding, or specific age or sex information was published by element, the MNI was calculated by taking the most frequently repeated element and dividing it by two (thus if 27 femora were reported, an MNI of 14 was calculated, as that is the smallest number of people required to have that many legs).

SCH001: Context 6 (Sounding A). Sounding A is located roughly 100 metres northeast of the church. The grave is oriented north-south, and is enclosed by a Byzantine wall. Context six includes eleventh century pottery and coin 41, dated to between 498 and 512. Unmarked on plan. The MNI of the grave is four, at least on adult and one child of about 3.

SCH002: Context 6 (Sounding A). Sounding A is located roughly 100 metres northeast of the church. The grave is oriented north-south, and is enclosed by a Byzantine wall. Unmarked on plan. The MNI of the grave is six, including children.

SCH003: Context 55 (K/14-15b). The grave is located in the eastern sector of the excavation, in the vicinity of the apse. The grave is aligned north-south, contained in a cist with the cranium resting on a brick pillow. The grave contains a coin (205) and two nails. Context 55 contains tenth and eleventh century pottery and coin 205, dated to between 565 to 578. Unmarked on a plan. The MNI of the grave is one, a male aged 25 plus or minus 4.

SCH004: is an ottoman burial dating to the eighteenth century.

SCH005: Context 92 (L/14). The grave is located in the eastern sector, in the in the vicinity of the apse. The grave is beneath the marble pavement in the crypt sounding. Neither the crypt nor the grave are marked on a plan and no indication of orientation is given. The MNI of this grave is one, a child under 3.

SCH006: Context 92 (L/14). Child burial. The grave is located in the eastern sector, in the in the vicinity of the apse. The grave is located in the crypt sounding. Neither the crypt nor the grave are marked on a plan and no indication of orientation is given. MNI of 1.

SCH007: Context 92 (L/14). The grave is located in the eastern sector, in the in the vicinity of the apse. The grave is covered by marble slabs in the crypt sounding. Neither the crypt nor the grave are marked on a plan and no indication of orientation is given. MNI of 1.

SCH008: Cist burial in LM/15 baulk. The MNI of this grave is 2, both adult female.

SCH009: Context 515 (S/12). Only the skull is preserved. The grave is located north of the nave, either within the northern aisle of the church, a small northern auxiliary chamber, or immediately outside the church to the north. The context contained pottery dating to the second half of the twelfth century with some intrusive Turkish material. The grave is not marked on a plan and no indication of orientation is given. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

SCH010: Context 515 (S/12). Grave 10 is the grave of a child within a ridged tile structure. The grave is located north of the nave, either within the northern aisle of the church, a small northern auxiliary chamber, or immediately outside the church to the north. The context contained pottery dating to the second half of the twelfth century with some intrusive Turkish material. The grave is not marked on a plan and no indication of orientation is given. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 2.

SCH011: Context 693 (U/13). The grave contains a skull and several long bones. It is noted that no cist is present. The grave is located in the narthex, immediately west of the western entrance to the northern aisle. The context contains Byzantine pottery (post seventh century) with intrusive

sixteenth century material. Marked on figure H, the grave is oriented roughly north-south. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

SCH012: Context 833 (V/14). Only the skull is preserved. The small, circular grave cut is located above the foundation of the western wall of the northwest auxiliary structure (which was a baptistery then a cistern. The context (identified as cistern fill) contains mid-twelfth century pottery. The grave contains a coin (851) dated to 1118-43. The grave is marked on figure H. The MNI of this grave is one, a middle aged female.

SCH013: Context 833 (V/14). Only the skull is preserved. The small, circular grave cut is located above the foundation of the western wall of the northwest auxiliary structure (which was a baptistery then a cistern. The context (identified as cistern fill) contains mid-twelfth century pottery. The grave is marked on figure H. The MNI of this grave is one, a middle aged female.

SCH014: Context 871 (V/15). Context contains mixed bones. The grave cut is oriented east-west and is within the atrium cemetery, immediately west of the northern entrance to the narthex, the grave is marked on figure H. The context is mixed fill and contains twelfth and thirteenth century pottery, as well as a coin (832) which dates to between 1060 and 1065. The MNI of this grave is one.

SCH015: Context 861 (V/17). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery, the grave is marked on figure H. The cranium is resting on a brick pillow and is surrounded by a cist constructed of stone slabs. The context is a dark layer containing tenth, twelfth and thirteenth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, a female of 26, plus or minus three years.

SCH016: Context 861 (V/17). The grave is a child burial, oriented west-east and is within the atrium cemetery, the grave is marked on figure H. The context is a dark layer containing tenth, twelfth and thirteenth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 8.

SCH017: Context 861 (V/17). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The cranium is resting on a brick pillow. The context is a dark layer containing tenth, twelfth and thirteenth century pottery. MNI of 1.

SCH018: Context 863 (V/17). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery, the grave is marked on figure H. The context is mixed light and brown fill which contains pottery dating to the tenth and twelfth century.

SCH019: Context 910 (W/16). The grave contains broken and incomplete bones, it is a west-east oriented burial overlying the southern foundation wall of the northwest auxiliary chamber, the grave

is marked on figure H. The context is dark fill and contains pottery dating to the first half of the thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 5.

SCH020: Context 869 (W/16). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery, the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark earth containing pottery dating to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult of about 30.

SCH021: Context 925 (W/16). Only the cranium and shoulders are preserved within a cist. The grave is a west-east oriented burial overlying the southern foundation wall of the northwest auxiliary chamber, the grave is marked on figure H. The context description is unrecorded, but contains late eleventh and early twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, a male aged about 23.

SCH022: Context 871 (W/16). One burial is cut into and disturbing two others. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is mixed fill containing pottery dated to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is 3 including females of about 21 and 33, and a male of about 35.

SCH023: Context 922 (W/16). The grave is cut by a Turkish pit. The grave is a west-east oriented burial overlying the southern foundation wall of the northwest auxiliary chamber, the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

SCH024: Context 922 (W/16). Only the cranium and shoulders are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is one, a child.

SCH025: Context 922 (W/16). Only the pelvis and legs are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. MNI of one.

SCH026: Context 922 (W/16). The grave contains coffin nails and a stone cist. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 9.

SCH027: Context 922 (W/16). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is one, a female aged about 21.

SCH028: Context 922 (W/16). The grave is within the atrium cemetery; the grave underlies Grave 27 and is therefore not marked on the plan. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

SCH029: Context 922 (W/16). Only the skull is preserved, overlying graves 30-32. The grave is not marked on a plan. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 2.

SCH030: Context 922 (W/16). This context includes leg bones underlying grave 27. The grave is not marked on a plan. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is 2 including a child of about 15.

SCH031: Context 922 (W/16). This context includes leg bones underlying grave 27. The grave is not marked on a plan. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

SCH032: Context 922 (W/16). This context includes leg bones underlying grave 30. The grave is not marked on a plan. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. MNI of 1.

SCH033: Context 922 (W/17). Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark brown earth containing pottery dating to the eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 3.

SCH034: Context 1016 (W/17). Grave contains a collection of skulls. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is black earth containing pottery dating to the tenth, eleventh and middle twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is two including a male of about 22 and a child of about 8.

SCH035: Context 1016 (W/17). Only cranium and shoulder preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is black earth containing pottery dating to the tenth, eleventh and middle twelfth centuries. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 5.

SCH036: Context 936 (W/17). Cist burial. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth containing late tenth, early eleventh and mid-twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is two, a female of about 30 and another adult of about 40.

SCH037: Context 936 (W/17). Cist burial. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth containing late tenth, early eleventh and mid-twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, a female of about 19.

SCH038: Context 942 (W/17). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context description is unrecorded but contains pottery dating to the late eleventh century.

SCH039: Context 869 (W/17). The grave contains coffin nails but no cist. A tile was placed over the cranium. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is dark earth dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

SCH040: Context 929 (W/17). The skeletal remains are fragmentary. The grave cut is not present on a plan, however it is within the atrium cemetery. The context is pit fill containing pottery dating to the first half of the thirteenth century. MNI of 1.

SCH041: Context 955 (W/18). Only the legs and pelvis are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth and rubble containing pottery dating to the late tenth, early eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century. MNI of 1

SCH042: Context 955 (W/18). The grave is described in the excavation report as “Tomba a cappuccino”. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth and rubble containing pottery dating to the late tenth, early eleventh and the first half of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is two, an adult female and child.

SCH043: Context 948 (W/18). The grave context is disturbed. The grave is not marked on the plan, however it is within the atrium cemetery. The context is light brown earth and contains pottery dating to the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. As this context is disturbed, the pottery may be intrusive.

SCH044: Context 948 (W/18). The grave context is disturbed. The grave is not marked on the plan, however it is within the atrium cemetery. The context is light brown earth and contains pottery dating to the late seventeenth and first half of the eighteenth century. As this context is disturbed, the pottery may be intrusive.

SCH045: Context 955 (W/18). Only the legs and pelvis are intact, placed in a niche hacked into the foundations of the steps leading from the atrium to the narthex. The grave is a west-east oriented

burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth and rubble, and contains pottery dating to the late tenth, early eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. MNI of one.

SCH046: Context 960 (W/18). Only the legs and pelvis are intact, the grave is into the foundations of the steps leading from the atrium to the narthex. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context description and pottery are unrecorded. MNI of 1.

SCH047: Context 955 (W/18). The grave is cut into grave 48. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth and rubble, and contains pottery dating to the late tenth, early eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. The grave contains a coin hoard (854, 868-875, 877) with a date range of 1118 – 1195. The MNI of this grave is one, a male aged about 30.

SCH048: Context 955 (W/18). The grave is cut by grave 47. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth and rubble, and contains pottery dating to the late tenth, early eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is two, including a male and female, one of whom is about 24.

SCH049: Context 955 (W/18). Only the legs and pelvis are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is light earth and rubble, and contains pottery dating to the late tenth, early eleventh and first half of the twelfth century. MNI of 1

SCH050: Context 962 (W/18). Only the legs and pelvis are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is described as containing burials, it also included pottery dating to the eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH051: Context 962 (W/18). This grave contained a child burial. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is described as containing burials, it also included pottery dating to the eleventh century. The MNI of this grave is one, a child aged about 4.

SCH052: Context 962 (W/18). The legs of this burial were missing. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The context is described as containing burials, it also included pottery dating to the eleventh century. The MNI of this grave is one, a male of about 35.

SCH053: Context 977 (X/12-14). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises mixed bones from a large area, not shown on a plan. The level is described as mixed earth and mortar containing pottery dating to the twelfth century.

SCH054: Context 1380a (X/14). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises a large conglomeration of skulls and other bones on the floor of the apse of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). The area is shown on figure H. The level is described as yellow rubble beneath 1300 and contained pottery dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is 24, both adults and children.

SCH055: Context 1380b (X/14). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises a heap of bones beneath the marble paving slabs immediately southwest of the apse of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). The area is shown on figure H. The level is described as yellow rubble beneath 1300 and contained pottery dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is 20, including adults and children.

SCH056: Context 1015 (X/16). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises a large conglomeration of bones collected in the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). The area is shown on figure H. The level is described as mortary rubble and contains pottery dating to the second half of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is 12, both adults and children.

SCH057: Context 1048 (X/16). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises disarticulated bones from a large area, not shown on a plan. The level is described as mortar and earth containing pottery from the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth.

SCH058: Context 934 (X/16). This context includes three (possibly four) cist graves. These are west-east oriented burials within the atrium cemetery; the graves are marked on figure H. The level description is unrecorded, however it contained pottery from the second half of the twelfth century.

SCH059: Context 1041 (X/16). Only the pelvis and legs are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH060: Context 1041 (X/17). The skeleton was incomplete. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact

yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. The MNI of this grave is two, an adult male and a child aged about 13.

SCH061: Context 1041 (X/17). The skull was missing from this grave. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH062: Context 1016 (X/17). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as black earth and contained pottery dating to the tenth, eleventh and mid-twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult female.

SCH063: Context 1016 (X/17). Only a skull is preserved. The grave is not marked on a plan and no indication of orientation is given. The level is described as black earth and contained pottery dating to the tenth, eleventh and mid-twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult aged 28.

SCH064: Context 1016 (X/17). Only the feet are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as black earth and contained pottery dating to the tenth, eleventh and mid-twelfth century. MNI of 1.

SCH065: Context 1041 (X/17). This grave contained a child burial, where only the upper body was preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH066: Context 1041 (X/17). The individual within this grave was missing the cranium and neck. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. The MNI of this grave is one, a child aged about 10.

SCH067: Context 1041 (X/17). This was a cist burial which included nails and whole pots. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century.

SCH068: Context 1053 (X/17). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises a group of mixed bones located within the atrium cemetery shown on figure H. The level is described as dark earth and contained pottery dating to the middle of the twelfth century.

SCH069: Context 1043 (X/17). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises a group of disarticulated skeletons containing at least seven skulls. The group is located within the

atrium cemetery however it is not shown on a plan. The level is described as black earth with charcoal and contained pottery dating to the second half of the eleventh century. The MNI of this grave is six including one individual of about 17 and one of about 10.

SCH070: Context 1041 (X/17). This grave contained a child burial. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH071: Context 1041 (X/17). This burial was incomplete. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century.

SCH072: Context 1041 (X/17). This grave contained a child burial. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. The MNI of this grave is one, a child aged about 8.

SCH073: Context 1041 (X/17). This grave contained a child burial, only the skull and shoulders of which were preserved. The grave is within the atrium cemetery however it is not marked on figure H and no indication of orientation is given. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH074: Context 1041 (X/17). Only the skull was preserved. The grave is within the atrium cemetery however it is not marked on figure H and no indication of orientation is given. The level is described as compact yellow sand and contained pottery dating to the eleventh century. The MNI of this grave is one, an adolescent.

SCH075: Context 1053 (X/17). Only ankles and feet were preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as dark earth and contained pottery dating to the middle of the twelfth century. MNI of 1.

SCH076: Context 869 (X/17). This grave contained mixed bones from two individuals. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as dark earth containing pottery dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is 2, an adult male and an adult female.

SCH077: Context 869 (X/17). This grave contained a child burial within a cist. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as

dark earth containing pottery dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is one, a child aged 9.

SCH078: Context 962 (X/18). Only the cranium and shoulders were preserved. The grave is located within the atrium cemetery, however it is not marked on a plan and no indication of orientation is given. The level is described as containing burials as well as pottery dating to the eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH079: Context 1056 (X/18). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as dark earth containing mid and late twelfth century pottery as well as some intrusive nineteenth century material. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult female.

SCH080: Context 1056 (X/18). This context includes three graves found with two complete vases. The two graves shown on figure H are oriented west-east within the atrium cemetery. The level is described as dark earth containing mid and late twelfth century pottery as well as some intrusive nineteenth century material.

SCH081: Context 962 (X/18). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises a single disarticulated skull. The location of burial is shown on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH082: Context 962 (X/18). This context is not defined by a clear grave cut, rather it comprises a single disarticulated skull. The location of burial is shown on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH083: Context 962 (X/18). A cist grave including coffin nails. The primary individual was lacking feet. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult female.

SCH084: Context 962 (X/18). Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH085: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH086: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH087: Void field – conflated with Grave 86.

SCH088: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH089: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH090: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is within the atrium cemetery although it is not marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH091: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is within the atrium cemetery although it is not marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH092: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is within the atrium cemetery although it is not marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH093: Context 962 (X/18). The grave is within the atrium cemetery although it is not marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery.

SCH094: Context 962 (X/19). This grave contains a child burial. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery, immediately west of a circular feature; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery. MNI of 1.

SCH095: Context 962 (X/19). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery, the legs overlay a circular feature; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as containing burials as well as eleventh century pottery. MNI of one.

SCH096: Context 972 (X/19). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery, immediately south of a circular feature; the grave is marked on figure H. The grave contains a bronze cross (637). The level is described as clean mortary fill containing tenth and eleventh century pottery, with some intrusive twelfth century material.

SCH097: Context 1357 (Y/13). Rough burials unmarked on a plan, located in the vicinity of the northwest auxiliary structure (baptistry). The level is described as material from Y/13 and contains eleventh to twelfth century pottery (with some seventeenth century intrusive material). The MNI of this grave is 41 including both adults and children.

SCH098: Context 1059 (Y/16). The grave includes the broken and incomplete remains of at least three children and one adult. The grave is a west-east oriented burials located in the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary structure (baptistry). The level is described as light rubbly earth, and contains pottery dating to the second half of the twelfth century with some intrusive eighteenth and nineteenth century material. The MNI of this grave is 4, including an adult male and three children, one of about 8.

SCH099: Context 1060 (Y/17). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. the grave contains a small jug and a coin on the edge of the grave. The level is described as black earth and contains material dating to the second half of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

SCH100: Context 1046 (Y/17). Incomplete skeleton. The grave is within the atrium cemetery, however it is not marked on a plan. The level is described as sand and contains twelfth century pottery. MNI of 1.

SCH101: Context 1069 (Y/17). Incomplete skeleton. The grave is within the atrium cemetery, however it is not marked on a plan. The level is described as grave 101 and did not contain pottery. MNI of 1.

SCH102: Context 1041 (Y/17). A cist burial. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as light brown earth containing mid-twelfth century pottery.

SCH103: Context 1041 (Y/17). The grave contained a child burial and is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as light brown earth containing mid-twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 1.

SCH104: Context 1070 (Y/17). A west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as dark brown soil containing pottery dating to the first half of the sixth century and the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

SCH105: Context 1081 (Y/18). The primary skeleton was complete but broken. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is

described as light mortar containing pottery dating to the twelfth century as well as some Turkish material. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult female.

SCH106: Context 1081 (Y/18). A cist burial containing parts of three skeletons as well as a small jug and a lead cross (623). The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as a light brown level containing mid-eleventh century, with some intrusive material dating to the second half of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is four, three children and an adult male.

SCH107: Context 1081 (Y/19). Only the pelvis and legs were preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as a light brown level containing mid-eleventh century, with some intrusive material dating to the second half of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

SCH108: Context 1081 (Y/19). Only the pelvis and legs were preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as a light brown level containing mid-eleventh century, with some intrusive material dating to the second half of the twelfth century. MNI of 1.

SCH109: Context 1294 (Z/13). Poorly preserved. The grave is in the area of the north aisle of the northwest auxiliary structure (baptistry), although the cut is not marked on a plan. The level is described as rubble along north and contained pottery dating to the second half of the twelfth century as well as some intrusive early Turkish material). The MNI of this grave is nine adults.

SCH110: Context 1294 (Z/13). This context is from the same area as 109 and is comprised of disarticulated material. The grave is in the area of the north aisle of the northwest auxiliary structure (baptistry), although the cut is not marked on a plan. The level is described as rubble along north and contained pottery dating to the second half of the twelfth century as well as some intrusive early Turkish material). The MNI of this grave is four, two adults, and two children.

SCH111: Context 1336 (Z/13). This context is not marked on a plan, however it comprises a heap of bones against the wall of the cistern in the northwest auxiliary chamber. The level is described as rubble in the north ambulatory corridor, containing pottery dating to the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is fourteen, both adults and children.

SCH112: Context 1151 (Z/16). Mixed remains interred in a pit in the area of the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber. The level is described as light rubble containing sixth and late twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is fifteen, including adults and children.

SCH113: Context 1094 (Z16-17). Mixed remains, no grave cut shown on a plan however the remains were located in area of the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber. The level is described as a continuation of 1091 and 1092 (which are light mortar fill), and contained late twelfth and early thirteenth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is seven, including both adults and children.

SCH114: Context 1088 (Z/16). The context contained the remains of a child interred in a pit in the area of the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber. The level is described as tile-fill and contained no pottery. MNI of 1.

SCH115: Context 1176 (Z/17). The grave contained the remains of a child west –east in the area of the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber shown on figure H. The level is described as dark earth including burials 115-6 and contained twelfth century pottery with some intrusive Turkish material. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 6.

SCH116: Context 1176 (Z/17). The grave contained the remains of a child west –east in the area of the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber shown on figure H. The level is described as dark earth including burials 115-6 and contained twelfth century pottery with some intrusive Turkish material. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 9 months.

SCH117: Context 1181 (Z/17). Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as dark earth containing middle and late twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

SCH118: Context 1181 (Z/17). Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as dark earth containing middle and late twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult female.

SCH119: Context 1177 (Z/17). A child burial. Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is describe as brown earth containing pottery dated to the first half of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 4.

SCH120: Context 1178 (Z/17). A child burial. Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as light rubbly earth containing pottery dated to the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is one, a child of about 5.

SCH121: Context 1180 (Z/17). Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described medium brown earth containing pottery dating to the early and mid-twelfth century.

SCH122: Context 1162 (Z/18). Only the skull is preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as fine brown earth containing late twelfth and early thirteenth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

SCH123: Context 1298 (aa/14). A rough multiple burial, no grave cut is shown on a plan however the remains were located in the narthex of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry) marked on figure H. The level is described as mortary rubble containing pottery dated to the twelfth century as well as some intrusive Turkish material. The MNI of this grave is five, all adults.

SCH124: Context 1298 (aa/14). A rough multiple burial, no grave cut is shown on a plan however the remains were located in the narthex of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry) marked on figure H. The level is described as mortary rubble containing pottery dated to the twelfth century as well as some intrusive Turkish material. The MNI of this grave is fourteen including adults and children.

SCH125: Context 1298 (aa/14). A heap of bones unmarked on a plan, located in the narthex of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). The level is described as mortary rubble containing pottery dated to the twelfth century as well as some intrusive Turkish material. The MNI of this grave is five, three adults, a child of about 6 and an elderly male.

SCH126: Context 1368 (aa/15). Mixed bones unmarked on a plan, located in the narthex of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). The level is described as light sand, and contains pottery dating to the eighteenth century.

SCH127: Context 1112 (aa/15). The context comprises a large number of fragmentary bones from a relatively large area in the narthex of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). No grave cut is marked on a plan. The level is described as light fill containing pottery dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is two, female adults.

SCH128: Context 1112 (aa/15). The context comprises a large number of fragmentary bones from a relatively large area in the narthex of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). No grave cut is marked on a plan. The level is described as light fill containing pottery dating to the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. The MNI of this grave is 14 including both adults and children.

SCH129: Context 1160 (aa/17). Only ankles and feet are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial located in the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary structure (baptistery); the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as burials, containing pottery dating to the tenth and early eleventh century. MNI of 1.

SCH130: Context 1167 (aa/18). Only the cranium and shoulder are preserved. The grave is a west-east oriented burial within the atrium cemetery; the grave is marked on figure H. The level is described as dark brown earth and contained no pottery. MNI of 1.

SCH131: Context 1410 (aa/23). Only the skull is present. The grave is located within the atrium cemetery however it is not marked on a plan. The level is described as light brown earth containing pottery dated to the middle of the sixteenth century.

SCH132: Context 168 (M/14). The grave is unmarked on a plan, however it is either located in the eastern terminus of the nave, or in the western portion of the apse. The level is described as fill above grave and contains fifth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is two, both adults.

SCH133: Context 384 (R/9-11). The grave is unmarked on a plan and is considerably north of the church complex. The level is described as dark fill containing pottery dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

SCH134: Context 384 (T/17-18). The grave is unmarked on a plan and is located in the narthex of the church. The level is described as dark fill containing pottery dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is two, an adult female and a child.

SCH135: Context 384 (U/18-19). The grave is unmarked on a plan, it is however located within the atrium cemetery. The level is described as dark fill containing pottery dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is two, both adult.

SCH136: Context 384 (VW/14-15). The grave is unmarked on a plan, it is however located within the eastern ambulatory of the northwest auxiliary structure. The level is described as dark fill containing pottery dated to the third quarter of the twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is two, an adult and a child of about 8.

SCH137: Context 1005 (X/15). The grave is unmarked on a plan, it is however located towards the eastern end of the northwest auxiliary structure. The level is described as light mortar containing late twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is three, including at least one adult and one child.

SCH138: Context 1047 (XY/ 16-17). The grave is unmarked on a plan, it is however located within the atrium cemetery or within the southern aisle of the northwest auxiliary structure (baptistry). The level is described as a mortary rubble layer containing pottery dated to the early twelfth century. The MNI of this grave is three, all children.

SCH139: Context 1048 (XY/16-17). The grave is unmarked on a plan, it is however located within the atrium cemetery or within the southern aisle of the northwest auxiliary structure (baptistry). The level is described as mortar and earth, containing pottery dated to the second half of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth. The MNI of this grave is four, all children.

SCH140: Context 1091 (Z/16-17). The grave is unmarked on a plan, it is however located either within the atrium cemetery or within the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). The level is described as black earth containing twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is one, an adolescent male.

SCH141: Context 1091 (Z/16-17). The grave is unmarked on a plan, it is however located either within the atrium cemetery or within the south aisle of the northwest auxiliary chamber (baptistry). The level is described as black earth containing twelfth century pottery. The MNI of this grave is two, all adults.

SCH142: Context 1343 (y-bb/13-15). Disarticulated remains from a large area. Unstratified. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult female.

SCH143: Disarticulated remains from a large area. Unstratified. The MNI of this grave is one, an adult male.

Tyana Kemerhisar, ninth and tenth century burials

Archaeological investigation of the Roman city of Tyana, located at the southern limit of Cappadocia, at the junction of the Anatolian plateau and the Taurus mountains, just north of the Cilician gates, began in 2001 with a survey followed by a series of field seasons which began in 2002. The site has been settled almost continuously since the Hittite settlement there. However the project begun by the Padova University team under the direction of Guido Rosada, in 2001 was focused originally on the third century AD Roman remains of the bath house, the aqueduct and the cistern. During excavation it became clear that one of the excavation areas (trench B) contained the remains of baptistery dating to the fifth century (the earliest example of formal church architecture in Cappadocia), and an adjacent atrium containing 9 burials, probably dating to from the eighth to the tenth century (Rosada 2003, 2008, 2010).

At least nine graves were present in the area immediately south of the baptistery, which was presumably the atrium leading to the main church, although no sign of the main church is preserved due to intensive later activity. The graves which are preserved are described as being aligned perfectly west-east, with the crania at the west end. Where the skeletal material is still in situ, the skeletons are laid out in an extended supine position with their arms crossed over the pelvic region. Four of the graves contained grave goods, consisting of fragments and whole examples of dark blue or moulded light green glass, a fragment of iron bracelet and some further fragments of glass which are interpreted by Rosada as belonging to a necklace (Rosada 2010:282). At least one of the burials is that of an infant, aged between 12 and 18 months at death (Rosada 2008:8).

Although it is unstratified, it is worth noting that a Eucharistic Bread stamp was found at the site. This is engraved with a the Greek invocation, *eboethe ton doulon*, ([Lord] save/help your servant) as well as a lattice of lozenges which Rosada suggests served to break the bread into small portions. The presence of this bread stamp is suggested by Rosada to suggest a relationship with the liturgy of the eastern churches, particularly the patriarchate of Antioch (Rosada 2010:283). As the burial contexts are so disturbed, it is possible that the bread stamp was from one of these, particularly as Eucharistic symbols are occasionally present with burials, particularly those of priests.

Yumuktepe, eleventh to fourteenth century burials

The most recent program of excavations at Yumuktepe, a tell located within the city borders of Mersin, began in 2002 and is still in progress under the joint direction of Professors Isabella Caneva and Gülgün Köroğlu. The excavations have therefore only been written up within preliminary reports thus far.

A church was excavated in 2002 and in 2007 and 2008 a parekkelison (burial chapel) with associated burials was excavated (Caneva *et al* 2008 and 2009). The burials mentioned within the preliminary reports are aligned west-east, supine extended and have their arms crossed over their abdomen or chests. They appear to be placed within cist burials without exception and a number contain more than one individual. Two graves are listed in detail, the first, excavated in 2007 and published in 2008 contained two adults, one above the other, the first interment had a glass lamp near the cranium, the second a mustard glaze bowl east of the left leg (Caneva and Köroğlu 2008:154). The second detailed description of a burial lists an adult with the bones of an infant between the upper leg bones. This burial also contained an ochre glazed yellow bowl (Caneva and Köroğlu 2009:340).

A large number of small finds are reported from the area surrounding the church, some of which are presumably from burial contexts although without detailed excavation reports or access the archive, the proportion of small finds from grave contexts is difficult to judge. The small finds however include a flask of St Menas of a type usually dated to the fifth to the seventh century from an eleventh century context (Caneva and Köroğlu 2009:343 figure 9), numerous lamps, a eucharistic bread stamp (not shown), significant quantities of coins, a large quantity of green glazed and scrafito pottery and a number of pendants. The pendants included a bronze pendant cross with concentric circles at its centre from a eleventh to thirteenth century context surrounding the church and cemetery (Caneva *et al* 2006:678, figure 14), a bronze cross showing Christ surrounded by four rondels (possibly depicting the evangelists) and an openwork bronze medallion with an openwork tree of life, both from a context immediately beneath a twelfth and thirteenth century layer. Although the medallion has no published parallels known to the excavators, the cross is similar to other twelfth century examples so I judge the context likely to be twelfth century (Caneva and Köroğlu:2009:342 and Fig:5-6).

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Archives

The Çatalhöyük archive is stored on line at www.catalhoyuk.com. The physical archive is located at Çatalhöyük, Cumra, Turkey and in the Konya Archaeological Museum.

The Gough Archive is currently in the possession of Dr Mark Jackson and located at Newcastle University.

The Pınarbaşı archive is currently in the possession of Professor Douglas Baird and located at Liverpool university.

Web resources

Amorium: <http://www.amoriumexcavations.org/>

Thanatos Project: <http://www.hf.uio.no/iakh/english/research/projects/hierapolis/thanatos/>

NAGPRA: <http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/>

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