



HELLENIC REPUBLIC

National and Kapodistrian

University of Athens

School of Philosophy

Department of History and Archaeology

**Intramural and Extramural Burial Practices during
the Ubaid Period: Social Implications and Beliefs.**

PhD Dissertation

Giota Barlagianni

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Preface and Acknowledgements

My first contact with the archaeology dated back to my childhood, when my brother, Thanasis Barlagiannis, as student in the Department of History and Archaeology, without knowing sparked my curiosity in discovering the distant past and ancient worlds, which looked to me actually quite new and interesting. His numerous books lying everywhere in the house provided to me with pictures of a colorful past. It is inevitable for me to study archaeology and discover more about the ancient Near East cultures, for which literally we learn nothing. The unfamiliar world of Mesopotamia captured my interest, when I was already undergraduate student. Since then and for almost a decade the main field of my research is the Ubaid Culture in Mesopotamia.

With the completion of the present research a long journey to the discovery and knowledge is over leaving behind many promises for new ones to begin. Hoping to continue working on this field, I cannot forget and leave behind all these people that stood by me during this journey. First of all, I am very grateful to Assoc. Prof. Konstantinos Kopanias for the valuable advice, the trust he shows to me and the opportunities he offers me for all these years, as well as for the constant guidance as supervisor of this four-years PhD research. My gratitude also goes to Prof. em. Georgia Kourtesi-Philippakis for her enthusiastic support and collaboration since I was undergraduate student until now, and Prof. em. Nikos Efstratiou, who assisted me to improve my present study each time it was needed. Furthermore, I would like to thank Dr. Yayoi Yamazaki, who helped me willingly to understand better the excavation of Tell al ‘Abr.

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Last but not least, I feel blessed to have such a supportive family. My special thanks to my parents, Christos and Maria Barlagiannis, who encourage me, especially, in hard times and make everything possible for me, so as I can focus on my research. My older brothers, Thanasis and Achilleas Barlagiannis, never stop to show their concern about me. Their advice, even the most irrelevant with the subject, make me see

some issues in a completely different perspective. My very patient husband, Thanasis Tziouvaras, is always available to help me each time a problem with my computer comes up, while he taught me to use the design and drafting application, Rhinoceros, which was necessary for this study. Their contribution was priceless, and I owe them so much.

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Date BC / Period		North Mesopotamia		South Mesopotamia
10500	PPNA (10500-9000)			
9000	PPNB (9000-8000)			
8000	PPNC (8000-7000)			
7000	POTTERY NEOLITHIC (7000-5500)	HASSUNA (7000-6000)	SAMARRA (6500-5700)	UBAID (6500-4000)
6500		HALAF (6000- 5300)		
6300				
6000				
5700				
5500	CHALCOLITHIC (5500-3100)	UBAID (5500-4000)		
5000			URUK (4000-3100)	URUK (4000-3100)
4000		GAWRA (3500-2900)		JEMDET NASR (3100-2900)
3500				
3100	EARLY BRONZE AGE (3100-2000)	NINEVEH 5 (2900-2500)		EARLY DYNASTIC I (2900-2750)
3000				EARLY DYNASTIC II (2750-2600)
2900				EARLY DYNASTIC IIIa (2600-2450)
2750				EARLY DYNASTIC IIIB (2600-2450)
2600				AKKADIAN PERIOD (2350-2150)
2500				UR III (2100-2000)
2450				
2350				
2150				
2000	MIDDLE BRONZE AGE (2000-1600)	OLD ASSYRIAN PERIOD (2000-1600)		OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD (2000-1600)

Chronological Sequence after Kopanias 2013.

Dates A.D./B.C.	Upper Mesopotamia ^b	Lower Mesopotamia ^c
2000		
1800		
1600	Late Islamic	Late Islamic
1400		
1200	Middle Islamic	Middle Islamic
1000		
800 A.D.	Early Islamic	Early Islamic
600	Sasanian/Early Islamic	Sasanian/Early Islamic
400	Sasanian	Sasanian
200		
0	Parthian	Parthian
200	Hellenistic-Parthian	Hellenistic-Parthian
400	Hellenistic/Seleucid	Hellenistic/Seleucid
600	Late Iron Age	Neo-Babylonian
800	Late Assyrian/Iron Age	
1000 B.C.	?	
1200	Late Bronze Age/Mid Assyrian	Middle Babylonian
1400	Late Bronze Age	Kassite
1600	Late MBA/Early LBA	
1800	Middle MBA	Old Babylonian
2000	Early MBA/Old Assyrian	Isin Larsa
2200	Late Early Bronze Age	Ur III
2400	Mid Early Bronze Age	Akkadian
2600		Early Dynastic II/III
2800	Early Early Bronze Age/	Early Dynastic I
3000	Ninevite 5	Jemdet Nasr
3200		
3400	Late Chalcolithic/Uruk	Late Uruk
3600		
3800	Late Chalcolithic	Early Uruk
4000		
4200	Late Northern Ubaid	Ubaid 4
4400		
4600		Ubaid 3
4800	Early Northern Ubaid	
5000		
5200	Late Halaf	Ubaid 2
5400	Middle Halaf	

Chronological Sequence after Wilkinson 2000, Table II.

5600	Early Halaf	Ubaid 1
5800	Ceramic Neolithic/ Hassuna	Ubaid 0
6000		
6200		
6400		
6600		
6800	Aceramic Neolithic	
7000		
7200		
7400		
7600		
7800		
8000		

Chronological Sequence after Wilkinson 2000, Table II (continue)

Abstract / Περίληψη

The main purpose of the present research is to investigate first how death was viewed and treated and then how this concept was developed in the ever-expanding society of the Ubaid Culture. The question is approached by a holistic examination of the burial assemblages. The main source of information throughout has been the publication from each site. The burials of Tepe Gawra are presented in a revised state here, since the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology gave me access to search the archives of the excavation.

The case studies to now have suggested that Ubaid burial rituals are diverse and thus hard to detect. To elucidate a single and specific interpretation that applies uniformly to all Ubaid burials is problematic, because of the extended geographical and chronological framework involved.¹

A thorough examination of the Ubaid burials reveals regional variations in the mortuary practice and external influences. To this end, a crucial aspect is recognizing differences that exist in the funerary procedures found on the one hand in cemeteries and on the other at on-site burials. It is possible to detect attitudes towards the afterlife. A second very important concern in this study revolves around the validity or the degree of validity of the proposed models of social organization.

The absolute shortage of non-pottery and exotic artifacts deposited, as displayed by both Ubaid intramural and extramural graves, hints at a gloomy netherworld. The absence of every previous possession enjoyed in life may imply their pointlessness in the afterlife. As the Ubaid funeral signifies equality in death, with everyone perhaps peers in afterlife, then ancestor worship may have been foreign to their belief-structure too. After the conclusion of the burial the dead faded into oblivion.

However, Ubaid ritual values are diverse throughout this vast area. Ubaid original ideologies are hard to detect in north Syria and southeast Anatolia. Distinction in mortuary practices surely supposes distinction in social lifestyle. The proposition of all Mesopotamia being under a common set of administrative, ideological and cultural principles would demand a long period of interregional interaction to be ongoing, which only began to experience during the Ubaid Period and achieved towards its end.

¹ Croucher 2010.

Η μελέτη του Πολιτισμού Ubaid ξεκίνησε την δεκαετία του '30, όταν πραγματοποιήθηκε η χρονολογική οριοθέτηση της περιόδου από το 6500 έως το 4000/3800 π.Χ. αντίστοιχα. Ο συγκεκριμένος πολιτισμός εκτείνεται στην Μεσοποταμία, την νότια Τουρκία, την βόρεια Συρία και το δυτικό Ιράν. Αν και ο Πολιτισμός Ubaid αποτέλεσε ένα σημαντικό τμήμα της προϊστορίας της Εγγύς Ανατολής, μόλις τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες μελετάται συστηματικά. Η συστηματική ανασκαφή «τυπικών» θέσεων Ubaid, που πραγματοποιείται τα τελευταία χρόνια, δίνει την δυνατότητα στην έρευνα να εστιάσει στον ίδιο τον υλικό πολιτισμό. Σε αυτήν την προσπάθεια συμβάλλει η παρούσα διδακτορική έρευνα, η οποία εξετάζει τα ταφικά έθιμα της συγκεκριμένης περιόδου.

Μέχρι σήμερα έχουν δημοσιευθεί αρκετές μελέτες που εστιάζουν στην συνολική θεώρηση συγκεκριμένων κατηγοριών των αρχαιολογικών καταλοίπων. Συγκεκριμένα, το φαινόμενο της κρανιακής μορφοποίησης μελετάται συστηματικά από την Lorentz.² Μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον έχει, επίσης, η έρευνα της Healey³ πάνω στα λίθινα εργαλεία, ενώ η αρχιτεκτονική απασχόλησε και απασχολεί αρκετά την αρχαιολογική έρευνα.⁴

Κατά την δεκαετία του '80 δημοσιεύθηκαν αρκετές μελέτες περιπτώσεων,⁵ σύμφωνα με τις οποίες τα ταφικά έθιμα του πολιτισμού Ubaid δεν ήταν παγιωμένα. Επίσης, φαίνεται ότι όλες οι ταφές ανεξαιρέτως είναι φτωχικές παρουσιάζοντας μία εικόνα ισότητας μεταξύ των κατοίκων, ενώ δεν εντοπίζεται κάποια ένδειξη της κοινωνικής τάξης ή της ταυτότητας του νεκρού. Οι μελέτες περιπτώσεων εστιάζουν σε συγκεκριμένες και αρκετά διαφορετικές μεταξύ τους θέσεις. Όλες χρονολογούνται σε διαφορετικές φάσεις του Πολιτισμού Ubaid. Μάλιστα σε κάποιες από αυτές βρέθηκαν μόνο υποδαπέδιες ταφές και σε άλλες βρέθηκαν νεκροταφεία. Χωρίς να λαμβάνονται υπόψιν οι παραπάνω παράγοντες, αλλά και το γεγονός ότι η Περίοδος Ubaid είχε διάρκεια μεγαλύτερη από δύο χιλιετίες, εξάγεται το συμπέρασμα ότι δεν υπήρξαν αποκρυσταλλωμένα έθιμα. Άλλωστε, τις τελευταίες δύο δεκαετίες έχει αυξηθεί ο αριθμός των ανεσκαμμένων θέσεων Ubaid και έχει έρθει στο φως ένας μεγάλος αριθμός ταφών που δεν έχουν μελετηθεί ακόμη.

² Lorentz 2010.

³ Healey 2010.

⁴ Roaf 1984; Forest 1983c; 1991; Kubba 1998. See also Pollock 2010.

⁵ Forest 1986; Wright and Pollock 1987; Hole 1989; Vértesalji 1989.

Η συγκεκριμένη διατριβή έρχεται να καλύψει το κενό που υπάρχει στην αρχαιολογική έρευνα σχετικά με τα ταφικά έθιμα που επικρατούσαν εκείνη την εποχή. Συγκεκριμένα, θα αναλυθούν όλα τα ταφικά context όλων των σύγχρονων θέσεων που έχουν δημοσιευθεί. Η συνολική θεώρησή τους θα αναδειξει επιμέρους ζητήματα και στάδια στην εξέλιξη των παραδόσεων σε κάθε περιοχή και σε κάθε υπο-περίοδο. Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση θα δοθεί στο Tere Gawra,⁶ καθώς θα επανεξετασθεί το ανασκαφικό αρχείο. Η συγκεκριμένη θέση αποτελεί μία σημαντική πηγή πληροφοριών, καθώς έχει σχεδόν πλήρως ανασκαφεί. Παρόλα αυτά, στην τελική δημοσίευση⁷ υπάρχουν ασάφειες που δεν οδηγούν σε τεκμηριωμένη χρονολογική κατανομή των οικιστικών στρωμάτων. Επίσης, ένας σημαντικός αριθμός ταφών παραλείπεται, ενώ όσες έχουν δημοσιευθεί αποδίδονται λανθασμένα σε πρωιμότερα στρώματα. Τέλος, σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις αναφέρεται μόνο ένα μέρος των κτερισμάτων. Επομένως, κρίνεται αναγκαία η επανεξέταση της συγκεκριμένης θέσης.

Τις επόμενες δεκαετίες η έρευνα εστίασε στην μελέτη των οικιών, προκειμένου να εντοπιστεί η κοινωνική διάρθρωση της περιόδου. Η απουσία εξωτικών αντικειμένων οδήγησε τόσο την Pollock⁸ όσο και την Frangipane⁹ να κάνουν λόγο για κατά βάση ισότιμες κοινωνίες, στις οποίες κάθε οικογένεια ήταν αυτάρκης. Ωστόσο μία εξ αυτών ήταν αντιπροσώπευε το σύνολο των κατοίκων σε πολιτικό και οικονομικό επίπεδο βασιζόμενη σεπροφορικές συμβάσεις. Μία άλλη θεωρία¹⁰ αναφέρει πως ήδη από την Πρώιμη Περίοδο Ubaid υπήρχε ένας θρησκευτικός αρχηγός, ο οποίος στήριζε την δύναμή του στην επίτευξη γεωργικού πλεονάσματος.

Παρ'όλα αυτά, θα πρέπει να ληφθεί υπόψιν το εκτεταμένο χρονολογικό και γεωγραφικό πλαίσιο του Ubaid αποφεύγοντας απλοποιημένες ερμηνείες.¹¹ Γι'αυτό το λόγο πρέπει να δίνεται έμφαση σε κάθε υπο-περίοδο Ubaid και κάθε περιοχή. Αυτό ακριβώς προσπαθεί να κάνει η παρούσα έρευνα. Για παράδειγμα, η ανάλυση των υποδαπέδιων ταφών έδειξε ότι τα ταφικά έθιμα Ubaid επηρεάζονται όλο και περισσότερο από τις τοπικές παραδόσεις όσο απομακρυνόμαστε από την νότια Μεσοποτομία. Γι'αυτό το λόγο είναι δύσκολο να αποσαφηνιστούν οι θρησκευτικές πεποιθήσεις βασιζόμενοι στην μελέτη θέσεων που βρίσκονται στο βόρειο Ιράκ και

⁶ Speiser 1935; Tobler 1950; Rothman 2001; 2004; 2009; Peasall and Rothman 1999; 2003.

⁷ Tobler 1950.

⁸ Pollock 1999.

⁹ Frangipane 2007.

¹⁰ Stein 1994.

¹¹ Croucher 2010.

Συρία, καθώς και στην νοτιοανατολική Ανατολία. Επομένως, ο Πολιτισμός Ubaid αν και παρήκμαζε σταδιακά κατά την 5^η χιλ. π.Χ. συνέχιζε να εξαπλώνεται προς το βορρά.

Όσον αφορά τις ταφές στα νεκροταφεία παρατηρείται συστηματικότερη εναπόθεση κτερισμάτων συγκριτικά με τις υποδαπέδιες, αλλά και πρωιμότερες ταφές. Το γεγονός αυτό υποδηλώνει πως η ανάγκη επίδειξης κύρους έχει τις ρίζες του στα οργανωμένα νεκροταφεία και ιδιαίτερα στα νεκροταφεία Ubaid.

Κατά την Περίοδο Ubaid επανεμφανίζονται οι εγχυτρισμοί βρεφών εντός της κατοικημένης περιοχής.¹² Πλέον όλοι ανεξαιρέτως οι ανήλικοι θάβονταν εντός κεραμικών αγγείων χωρίς κτερίσματα. Τα αγγεία που χρησιμοποιούνταν για την διαμόρφωση του τάφου είναι χαμηλής ποιότητας και σε δεύτερη χρήση. Στα νεκροταφεία θάβονταν, αντίθετα, οι ενήλικες, συνήθως σε απλούς λάκκους. Τα κτερίσματα που συνοδεύουν τον νεκρό αποτελούνται κυρίως από διακοσμημένα και καλής ποιότητας κεραμικά αγγεία. Επομένως, δεν υπάρχουν ενδείξεις της ταυτότητας του νεκρού ή της κοινωνικής του θέσης. Επίσης, ελάχιστες αποκλίσεις στο ταφικό τελετουργικό και στην φροντίδα του νεκρού έχουν παρατηρηθεί. Όλα τα παραπάνω υποδεικνύουν μία σχετικά ίση μεταχείριση των αποθανόντων, ανεξαρτήτως της κοινωνικής θέσης που κατείχαν κατά την διάρκεια της ζωής τους. Πολύ πιθανό, κατά την περίοδο Ubaid να θεωρούνταν πως κανένα κεκτημένο δεν είχε σημασία στην μεταθανάτια ζωή.

¹² Εγχυτρισμοί δεν έχουν εντοπιστεί κατά την πρωιμότερη Περίοδο Halaf.

Introduction

In any effort to understand prehistoric social structures of Mesopotamia, we cannot ignore the role of ritual practices in everyday life. It seems probable that they preceded the emergence of sedentary populations, since it provides societal cohesion to a society,¹³ lying at the root of law and social behaviour, institutions and values. Characteristic example in Near Eastern Archaeology is Göbekli Tepe in Anatolia, the discovery of which provides us with important evidence concerning the nomadic hunter-gatherers' beliefs.¹⁴ Under the scope of permanent agricultural settlements, the development of common beliefs and norms, the use of shared symbols¹⁵ and participation in rituals facilitate stronger bonds between the members of a society¹⁶ and a common cultural identity. The burial rites compose an integral part of this process according to Binford,¹⁷ who studied the social dimensions of the mortuary evidence from Neolithic and Chalcolithic settlements.¹⁸ He together with Brown¹⁹ and Saxe²⁰ introduced to the archaeological method of interpretation the sociological potential of burials. Now, mortuary practices are considered an important transition in people's lives and probably the only rite of passage that can be archaeologically identified.

This research focuses on the little studied funeral customs of the Ubaid Culture in Mesopotamia (6500-3800 BC). Their examination is fundamental to the detection of beliefs about the afterlife, as well as social organization. Ubaid Culture appeared in south Mesopotamia around the middle of the 7th millennium. During the 6th millennium this culture gradually spread²¹ from Syria to western Iran and from southern Anatolia to Saudi Arabia (**fig. 1**). Over this period different population groups coexisted in the regions, in some aspects locally differentiated and in others participant in seemingly common customs. Local differentiations have been observed especially in the sites situated far from the southern alluvium.²²

¹³ Kuijt 2002a, 139; Verhoeven 2002a, 9; 2002b, 245; Cauvin 2004.

¹⁴ Schmidt 2000; Peters and Schmidt 2004, 182. See, also, Cauvin 2004.

¹⁵ Cauvin 2002; 2004.

¹⁶ See generally Kuijt 2002a and Cauvin 2004.

¹⁷ Binford 1971.

¹⁸ Binford 1971.

¹⁹ Brown 1971.

²⁰ Saxe 1970..

²¹ at the Ubaid 3 Phase: Huot 2004; Carter and Philip 2010b, 2.

²² Kopanias 2013, 85; Ahmed 2012, 22; Özbek 2001, 243; Stein 1994, 36.

The Ubaid Culture's distinctive features are a) black-on-buff ceramic vessels (**fig. 2**), b) tripartite dwellings architecture (**fig. 3**), c) the appearance of buttressed and niched buildings (**fig. 14**),²³ referred to as "temples" in the literature,²⁴ d) monumental structures (**fig. 4**), which, usually, referred as communal granaries,²⁵ e) the so-called ophidian figurines²⁶ (**fig. 5**) and f) the clay nails of as yet unknown use. Other technological and cultural innovations also belong to the Ubaid period include the introduction of the slow wheel as a tool in pottery production, the initiation of what seem to be the first formal cemeteries, and cranial deformation. Some of these aspects indicate that Ubaid Culture is the trajectory to the manifestation of rank societies and the development of cityscape,²⁷ as described below.

After a brief outline of the Ubaid Culture (Chapter 1) and the burial rites from the 7th to 5th mil. in Mesopotamia (Chapter 2), the available graves dated to the Ubaid Period will be described following Binford's three main and widely applied explanation types: location of the graves, disposal and arrangement of the body,²⁸ as well as the grave facilities and the quantity and quality of graves goods (Chapter 3). This analysis will contribute to highlight the specific features of each settlement, as well as the local trends and elements of homogeneity or differentiation within the geographical zones. The comparative examination of the data in Chapter 4 contributes to the detection of the different types of burial rituals throughout Tigris and Euphrates during Ubaid Period. The final results, covered in Chapter 5, concerns the beliefs about afterlife and social complexity during the Ubaid Period and changes that each society underwent through the centuries.

²³ They were found in Eridu, Uruk, Tell Uqair and Tepe Gawra.

²⁴ See for more in Sievertsen 2010.

²⁵ Like those found in Tell Kurdu, Tepe Gawra and Tell el-Oueili.

²⁶ See more about clay figurines in Daems 2010.

²⁷ Henrickson and Thuesen 1989.

²⁸ Binford 1971, 12-3.

CHAPTER 1

Overview the Ubaid

The conceptualization of death is fundamental part of every organized community, since it helps people to deal with their mourning. Thus, burial rites could not be examined irrespective of their sociocultural context. The following chapter includes the basic aspects of the Ubaid material culture, as well as an outline of the interpretive data syntheses that have been conducted so far by scholars. This discussion is anticipated to facilitate the detection of the validity or the degree of validity of the proposed theories concerning the social organization of the Ubaid communities.

1.1. History of the Research and Terminology

The excavations at Tell al-Ubaid located in southern Mesopotamia began in 1919.²⁹ The new pottery types found during the excavations named after the site. According to the pottery evidence, during this time there was, probably, a necessity for mass production without much emphasis on the aesthetic effect.³⁰ The clay has a characteristic green color due to the low temperatures of firing³¹ and decoration is limited to simple geometric patterns in black or brown paint. The same pottery style was found along the Tigris and Euphrates rivers according to the excavations held in 1930s and since then the term "Ubaid" is widely employed in describing both the pottery type and the chronological period.³²

Until the early 1970's few excavations of the period had been carried out and these yielded mainly pottery evidence, like Ur,³³ Nuzi,³⁴ Nineveh,³⁵ Ras al-Amiyah,³⁶

²⁹ Hall and Woolley 1927.

³⁰ Ahmed 2012, 23.

³¹ Stein and Özbal 2007, 331.

³² Carter and Philip 2010b, 2. Until further excavations were held, the chronological period was defined according to the occupation in Tell al-Ubaid, which was dated to Ubaid 3 Phase.

³³ Woolley 1955.

³⁴ Starr 1937.

³⁵ Gavagnin *et al.* 2016.

³⁶ Stronach 1961.

Tell Arpachiyah,³⁷ Sacke Gözü³⁸ and Tell Aqad³⁹ (**fig. 1**). Typically, the Ubaid occupation lies beneath several other superimposed levels, leading to a dearth of knowledge on Ubaid material culture. However, the intensification of excavations in the middle of the 20th century brought more information on residential and occupational patterns to light.⁴⁰ Some common features in art and technology began to appear among the archaeological sites,⁴¹ resulting in the introduction of the term "Ubaid Culture", which can correspond to either the material cultural assemblage and/or the chronological period, in which it was in use. The Ubaid Period (or Culture) was recognized as an important stage in the development of Mesopotamian societies at the international conference, held in Denmark in 1988.⁴²

The Ubaid expansion was not homogeneous. Instead, sporadically placed sites produced more-or-less local variation in aspects of their material culture. Discoveries of Ubaid pottery at Caucasus and Saudi Arabia (see below in this chapter) have raised more questions about the real regional limits of this culture, with remote and border sites sometimes dressed as the Ubaid culture's periphery and southern Mesopotamian sites as its core or homeland.⁴³ However, there is no sign of colonization or a centrally controlled system of trade,⁴⁴ while the material cultural assemblage spread to the neighboring areas consisted of items used in everyday life, rather prestige goods.⁴⁵ For these reasons, throughout 1980's, some scholars preferred the term Ubaid-related (Period, Pottery or Material)⁴⁶ to describe contemporary settlements that they understood as not under the direct influence of the Ubaid. Stein and Özbal suggest the expressions "Ubaid Horizon Style", "Interaction Sphere" or "Oikumenai"⁴⁷ in attempt to include the entirety of the Ubaid expansion regardless of the different ways this phenomenon was expressed in each site over time. On the same phenomenon Kopanias proposed the more concrete term "Ubaid islands".⁴⁸

³⁷ Mallowan and Rose 1935.

³⁸ du plat Taylor *et al.* 1950.

³⁹ Davidson and Watkins 1981.

⁴⁰ See for example Tell el-Oueili, Tell Abada, Tell Madhhur, Yarim Tepe III, Tepe Gawra, Tell al 'Abr and Değirmentepe.

⁴¹ Especially in the Hamrin Basin (Huot 1987b).

⁴² See Henrickson and Thuesen 1989.

⁴³ Oates 2010, 46; Karsgaard 2010.

⁴⁴ Stein 2010b; Kopanias 2016.

⁴⁵ Stein 2010, 33.

⁴⁶ Oates 1983; Akkermans 1988; Henrickson 1989; Thuesen 1989. See, also, generally, Carter and Philip 2010a.

⁴⁷ Stein and Özbal 2007.

⁴⁸ Kopanias 2016.

To achieve a uniform term, it is necessary to first define the Ubaid itself in terms of identity, material culture and regional interconnection. This was the main subject of an international workshop carried out in England in 2006. The workshop included comparative studies examining particular material categories contributing to a better understanding of the Ubaid identity and how it was expressed in varying regions.⁴⁹ Since then, the terms "Ubaid Period" and "Ubaid Culture" have persisted as general terms of reference for the varied sites. In fact it has not yet been clarified which settlements should be considered typical Ubaid and which not, since the discovery of non-Ubaid pottery gives credence to the assumption that the Ubaid Culture coexisted throughout Tigris and Euphrates with one or more others, for which we literally know nothing, as the archaeological research focuses on the settlements yielded in their surface mainly Ubaid evidence.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, for the following research both terms are employed without differentiation, as well as the term "Ubaid Horizon".

Overall, the Ubaid Period has been the subject of intensive discussion over the last few decades. Recent systematic excavations of several prehistoric sites are expected to deepen our knowledge of Ubaid cultural identity, offering a more complete picture of the socio-economic structures characterizing Ubaid communities. The following research contributes to this effort by examining Ubaid burial practices.

1.2. Spatial and Chronological Distribution

Almost contemporarily with the emergence and spread of the Halaf Culture in north Mesopotamia, the region close to Persian Gulf became inhabited for the first time. Here a material culture and socio-political formation completely distinct from the Halaf formed, and we call this formation the Ubaid.⁵¹ During the 20th century many scholars have dealt with reasonable questions concerning the origins of these individuals who created permanent settlements in the south alluvium around 6500 BC. Based on the stylistic similarities between Ubaid and Elamite pottery, Campbell Thompson⁵² supports the theory of a migration and installation of a population from Elam region.⁵³ Hall and Woolley⁵⁴ noted that the same tribe was hidden behind those similarities with

⁴⁹ Carter and Philip 2010a. For this matter, see also Kopanias 2016.

⁵⁰ For more see Kopanias 2016.

⁵¹ Huot 2004, 57.

⁵² Campbell Thompson 1920, 109-10.

⁵³ About this assumption see also Frankfort 1932, 23-4.

⁵⁴ Hall and Woolley 1927, 10. See also Speiser 1930, 64.

many scholars suggesting that we are dealing with the first arrival of Sumerians, usually, called "*Pre-Sumerians*" or "*Proto-Sumerians*", whose way of life affected the rest Mesopotamian ethnic groups, as happened in 3rd mil BC.⁵⁵ This theory was widely accepted in the first half of 20th century on the basis of non-violent disruption of the cultural tradition in Mesopotamia,⁵⁶ one which took form as a gradual evolution in material culture representing the passage from primitive to more advanced societies. Nowadays, though, this assumption has little support. Kopanias⁵⁷ argues that south Mesopotamia was inhabited by people, who migrated from north Mesopotamia, probably from Samarra or Halaf settlements, and also he⁵⁸ points out that multiethnic population promoted the Ubaid Culture. Breniquet⁵⁹ supports contacts between Halaf and early Ubaid, while some similarities in the material culture between Samarra and Ubaid have been, also, attested in architecture and pottery.⁶⁰

By the 6th mil., Ubaid material culture seems to have gradually spread into northern parts including north Mesopotamia, south Anatolia and west and northeast Syria. The Ubaid Culture was expressed in different degrees even among neighboring sites within this broad geographical context. If the pottery evidence is considered alone, the Ubaid's geographical expansion is even greater as previously mentioned. Ubaid sherds have been found throughout regions of Iraq, Iran,⁶¹ Turkey, the eastern coast and islands of Saudi Arabia⁶² and Caucasus.⁶³ Because a concept of the "typical" Ubaid site is elusive, accurate selection of such sites for the needs of this research is difficult. In order to avoid the integration of numerous heterogeneous graves which could garble a counting analysis, west Iran, Caucasus and Saudi Arabia are excluded from this research. These regions are selected for exclusion because regional traditions predominate over Ubaid ones within them.

⁵⁵ Hall and Woolley 1927, 18-9; Oates 1960, 46; Merpert and Munchaev 1993, 225. For this problematic see Speiser 1930; 1951; Frankfort 1932.

⁵⁶ Lloyd 1960, 30; Oates 1960, 46. See, also, generally, Oates 2010.

⁵⁷ Kopanias 2013, 83.

⁵⁸ Kopanias 2013, 81; 2016, 28.

⁵⁹ Breniquet 1989, 335-6.

⁶⁰ For architectural similarities see Forest 1983b; 1983c; Margueron 1989. For pottery similarities between Samarra and Ubaid 0 Phase see McIntosh 2005, 58; Oates 2010, 48.

⁶¹ Henrickson 1989.

⁶² For more about these sites see Frifelt 1989. Also Ubaid pottery has been found even to Dalma island (see Beech and Elders 1999; Beech *et al.* 2000. For Arabian – Ubaid Interaction see Carter 2018.

⁶³ Chataigner *et al.* 2010.

The main reasons of such Ubaid cultural diffusion is less investigated and they are assumed by Campbell and Fletcher.⁶⁴ It is, usually, taken for granted that the need for exploring remoter trading routes was hidden behind this. As known, there is absence of obsidian, semi-precious stones, wood and copper throughout Mesopotamia. This problem intensifies as ones gets closer the Persian Gulf, since the sources of obsidian are in southern Turkey, Azerbaijan, Armenia, as well as in Yemeni.⁶⁵ Copper is found in southeastern Anatolia⁶⁶ and lapis lazuli was probably imported from Afghanistan.⁶⁷ South Mesopotamia had to keep in touch with these regions and, thus, the Ubaid Culture was likely spread through the growth of exchange networks.⁶⁸

However, Joan Oates⁶⁹ points out that the imported raw materials are not vital for the survival of south alluvium communities. Furthermore, there is inadequate evidence to disqualify the idea that an accumulation of exotic and prestige goods did actually occur, or that some social groups based their authority on these goods. Once more, the evidence shows that no colonization took place at that time.⁷⁰ In fact, the nature of contact among regions is difficult to restore. Nevertheless, it seems that southern settlements stood out as influential centers through the exportation of cultural elements.⁷¹ These sites presented progress in political and social organization as well as religious tradition.⁷²

A second theory⁷³ suggests that the Ubaid Culture spread through population movement. Sometimes the immigrants are identified with a particular ethnic group, since it was proposed that the appearance of a different pottery type signifies the arrival of a particular ethnic group in the area.⁷⁴ Stratigraphic evidence from some sites⁷⁵ are assumed to present an abrupt transition from Halaf to Ubaid Period providing with an additional argument to this view.⁷⁶ Whether there was or not one ethnic group, mobility

⁶⁴ Campbell and Fletcher 2010.

⁶⁵ Renfrew and Cann 1966; Healey 2010.

⁶⁶ de Jesus 1978.

⁶⁷ Herrmann 1968, 22. See, also, Majidzadeh 1982.

⁶⁸ Stein (2002; 2010; Stein and Özbal 2007) deals with this theory more. See also Frangipane 2007, 414.

⁶⁹ Oates 1993, 408.

⁷⁰ Stein and Özbal 2007, 334; Kopanias 2016, 33.

⁷¹ Stein και Özbal 2007, 334.

⁷² Stein και Özbal 2007, 334.

⁷³ Mellaart 1965, 125-6; Mallowan and Linford 1969; Ahmed 2012, 22; Frangipane 2015; Mühl and Nieuwenhuys 2016, 29.

⁷⁴ Kopanias 2013; Mühl and Nieuwenhuys 2016, 29.

⁷⁵ Like Tepe Gawra. However, the stratigraphic sequence of the site is still debatable issue (see here chapters 3.1.3.1.4. and 4.3).

⁷⁶ Mühl and Nieuwenhuys 2016, 29.

is proposed to be the key behind this cultural expansion. While the societies to the north Mesopotamia are characterized by social and economic stagnation at the end of the Halaf Period, the south settlements achieved a further development in the irrigation system and trade activities resulting the population growth.⁷⁷ The problem of soil salinization, which it is known from later sources, afflicted these societies, pushed some groups to migrate in neighboring areas bringing together their own customs. The Halaf Culture, which developed earlier in northern part of the region, was consequently assimilated in the influx. The archaeological remains of this shift is evident in several settlements, which is traditionally labeled as Halaf-Ubaid Transition (HUT).⁷⁸ The prevalence of the Ubaid Culture therein is dated around 4900 BC or maybe little earlier.⁷⁹ However, the second half of 6th mil is unsatisfactory contextualized and marked with dates,⁸⁰ since either it seems to be absent in some sites, like Tell Arpachiyah, or the radiocarbon samples from many contexts are remarkably sparse.⁸¹ Consequently, the way that the HUT is expressed in each site is difficult to be defined.⁸²

Nevertheless, the non-violent transition to Ubaid Period⁸³ in sites reflects its peaceful spread to every direction,⁸⁴ which took place few centuries after its appearance in the south Mesopotamia and, eventually, came to last for several centuries. The stratigraphic sequence of the associated sites covers more than two millennia. In the second half of the 20th century, Joan Oates⁸⁵ distinguished four phases of the Ubaid Period in Eridu and compared it with other contemporary settlements such as Ur based on the pottery evidence. She organized the stratigraphic sequence thusly:

Eridu Levels	Ware Style / Phase
XIX – XV	Eridu
XIV – XII	Hajji Muhammand
XII – VIII	Ubaid
VII – VI	Late Ubaid

⁷⁷ Mellaart 1965, 125-6; Mallowan and Linford 1969; Ahmed 2012, 22.

⁷⁸ Davidson 1977; Campbell 2007; Campbell and Fletcher 2010.

⁷⁹ Campbell 2007, 131.

⁸⁰ For the problematic see Campbell 2007; Campbell and Fletcher 2010.

⁸¹ As Campbell (2007) points out only the beginnings of Halaf and Ubaid Period are more proper dated.

⁸² For more about the HUT definition see Campbell 2007; Campbell and Fletcher 2010.

⁸³ In the Hamrin Period its precedent was the Samarra, while even northern the Halaf Culture.

⁸⁴ Ahmed 2012; Stein and Özbal 2007, 334; Campbell and Fletcher 2010, 70.

⁸⁵ Oates 1960.

She also identified each pottery type with a distinct Ubaid Phase. However, the new data from the excavation of Tell el-Oueili in 1970's and 1980's indicates an expansion of the chronological frameworks⁸⁶ and today the complete sequence is divided into six phases:⁸⁷

Eridu Levels	Ware Style (Earlier defined Phase)	Phase
–	Oueili	Ubaid 0
XIX – XVIII	Eridu	Ubaid 1
XVII – XVI	Hajji Muhammand	Ubaid 2
VIII	Ubaid	Ubaid 3
VII – VI	Previous known as Late Ubaid	Ubaid 4
-	Terminal Ubaid	Ubaid 5

The Ubaid 0 to Ubaid 2 Phases are found in southern sites, with the culture spreading to more remote regions around the Ubaid 3 Phase.⁸⁸ Absolute dating indicates that Ubaid phases lasted until about 3800 BC in areas near the Persian Gulf. Further north, where the Terminal Ubaid (Ubaid 5 Phase) does not occur, the Ubaid Period was very short, dating between 5300 to 4300 BC (Ubaid 3 and 4 Phases only).⁸⁹ According to Forest⁹⁰ the northern Ubaid Culture initiated in 5100 BC, while the expansion to the neighboring central Mesopotamia should began earlier at Ubaid 2 Phase⁹¹ according to the evidence from Ras al-Amiya, Tell Uqair and Hamrin Basin.⁹² However, central Mesopotamia, besides Hamrin Basin, is barely documented and, consequently, no relative chronology is available.

⁸⁶ Huot 1991; 1992; 1996; Thommeret 1983.

⁸⁷ After Charvát 2002; Carter and Philip 2010b; Sievertsen 2010.

⁸⁸ Huot 2004; See generally Carter and Philip 2010a.

⁸⁹ Hole 2001; Carter and Philip 2010b, 2.

⁹⁰ Forest 1996, 55.

⁹¹ McIntosh 2005, 58; Kopanias 2013, 78.

⁹² McIntosh 2005, 58. Forest (1983b, 19) dates some structures found at Hamrin at the end of the Ubaid 2 Phase. Furthermore, Ubaid 2 pottery types have been attested on the earliest assemblage of Tell Abada, Tell Rashid and Tell es-Sa'adiyah according to the Jasim (1985).

More recent, some contexts from Syrian and south-Anatolian settlements indicate a turn in mass production of local pottery,⁹³ instead of the Ubaid painted ceramic vessels, around the second half of the 5th mil.⁹⁴ Even less evidence is available from south Mesopotamian excavations⁹⁵ about this occupational debris, which intervenes between Ubaid and Uruk levels and presents characteristics of both periods. For these reasons is, usually, interpreted as a transitional phase, labeled Post-Ubaid Period.⁹⁶ So far, it does not seem that we are dealing with a *"coherent assemblages of interrelated elements changing together at the same time and defining clear temporal units easily recognisable by the archaeologists"*⁹⁷ and, therefore, it is not clear whether this material culture reflects either a continuity or discontinuity to the evolution of the social dynamics and urbanization,⁹⁸ as well as its chronological lengthen.⁹⁹

1.3. Aspects of Cultural Material

1.3.1. Architecture and Spatial Distribution within Settlements

The Ubaid villages covering an area of less than 1 ha to 2 ha¹⁰⁰ consisted of between a single to dozen dwellings, albeit larger settlements of 10 or over 20 ha¹⁰¹ with further monumental structure have been discovered, as well. Some small and medium sized settlements display distinct areas for craft manufacture, with the largest buildings bearing a dual domestic and administrative function and located at the center of community.¹⁰² In the cases that cemeteries have been discovered, these compose a distinct third area outside the spatial limits of the community. Besides the above-mentioned areas, communal building units are attested at the larger sites, having the forms of either temples or granarys. In fact, architecture is an aspect of Ubaid material culture, which widely diverse. Some settlements produced only in a particular degree the Ubaid architecture, while in others it was completely absent. However, spatial

⁹³ Akkermans 1988; van Loon 1988a; Nishiaki 1998; Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001; Yamazaki 2012; Oates 2010; Balossi Restelli 2012. See generally Marro 2012a.

⁹⁴ Hole 1997, 43-44; Marro 2012b; Frangipane 2012.

⁹⁵ See Finkbeiner 2001.

⁹⁶ For more see Marro 2012a.

⁹⁷ Frangipane 2012, 50.

⁹⁸ Marro 2012b, 17; Frangipane 2012, 50-1.

⁹⁹ It is usually identified as LC1-2 Period.

¹⁰⁰ Ur 2014; Liverani 1998, 25.

¹⁰¹ Ur 2014; Liverani 1998, 25.

¹⁰² Peasnell 2002, 373-4; Siervetsen 2010, 216.

organization and architecture features remain undocumented in many cases due to the deep and extensive nature of Ubaid deposits.

1.3.1.1. Tripartite Dwellings

A typical Ubaid house has a tripartite layout with several rectangular rooms positioned on either of the long sides of a large central room in a T-shaped plan. (**fig. 3**).¹⁰³ These dwellings were, generally, free-standing, separated by narrow alleys.¹⁰⁴ Although the tripartite architectural style seems to have its origins in Samarra tradition,¹⁰⁵ they evolved within the Ubaid period towards multiroomed houses of a larger size, averaging about 140 square meters.¹⁰⁶ The new arrangement allowed for the increase of indoor activities, probably a result of progressive social change resulting in a distinction between public and private life.¹⁰⁷ Findings from their interior indicate domestic activities, such as cooking and food preparation and consumption.¹⁰⁸ The spacious T-shaped rooms may have offered locales for more formal meals and cult activities, which would have left no evidence behind if special equipment was not required.¹⁰⁹ Other domestic activities include textile production and occasional lithic tool manufacture.¹¹⁰ Pollock and Balossi Restelli examined the evidence from several sites, concluding that the distribution of activities in rooms indicates that some were intended for food processing, others for cooking, and others for storage.¹¹¹

The tripartite plan was not unanimously adopted among Ubaid sites, although even in the cases in which it was not present houses were still sizable multiroom constructions, suggesting numerous occupants. Most scholars assume that a passage from nuclear family to extended family units occurred at this time¹¹² as a result of the remarkable success in subsistence farming which was first achieved by southern communities and spread to the whole of Mesopotamia by the end of the Ubaid 2 Phase.¹¹³ Obviously, the extended household is the prominent social unit of the time,

¹⁰³ Aurenche 1981; Forest 1983b; 1987; Margueron 1987; Roaf 1984b

¹⁰⁴ Pollock 2010, 96-7.

¹⁰⁵ Forest 1983b; Margueron 1989.

¹⁰⁶ Forest 1983b, 3; Liverani 1998, 28.

¹⁰⁷ Forest 1996, 59.

¹⁰⁸ For more see Roaf 1989; Pollock 2010.

¹⁰⁹ Ur 2014, 260-1; Roaf 1989, 135-7.

¹¹⁰ See Tell Madhhur, Hammam et-Turkaman, Tell Tell Zeidan and Kenan Tepe.

¹¹¹ Pollock 2010, 98, 104-5; Balossi Restelli 2010, 194-6. See also Frangipane 2007, 165.

¹¹² Liverani 1998, 28; Frangipane 2007; Balossi Restelli 2010; Gurdil 2010; Ur 2014, 260-1.

¹¹³ Liverani 1998, 28. For more see Balossi Restelli 2010.

since the more intensive irrigation and livestock work becomes, the more organized labor is required.¹¹⁴ There is no credible evidence to indicate that members of the same household lived together as immediate family, and perhaps there is no way to absolutely determine the myriad relationships between house inhabitants. Ur refers to the household units as *oikoi*,¹¹⁵ although household member relations were not so hierarchically arranged or complex as is attested in the later *oikoi*.

1.3.1.2. Temples and Granaries

Unlikely to earlier times, monumental architecture was first attested at Ubaid Period at Eridu,¹¹⁶ Uruk, Tell Uqair and Tepe Gawra¹¹⁷ (**fig. 14**) and possibly Tell Zeidan.¹¹⁸ These are sizable structures with elaborate decoration comprised of a series of buttresses and recesses on their facades, while they also occasionally sport wall paintings and altars in their interiors preserved in fragmented condition.¹¹⁹ Their specific architectural design suggests they are religious centers, a characterization that emerges from several points of data. These include: the successive Ubaid buildings beneath the ziggurat at Eridu (**fig. 33**) which reveals the evolution of the architectural style adopted at more northern sites towards the end of the period;¹²⁰ the Sumerian texts, which present Eridu as the most ancient and sacred city;¹²¹ the continuity of some of the Ubaid architectural features to the Uruk and 3rd mil temples;¹²² their three-part layout, which is reminiscent of the tripartite Ubaid houses and indicates these structures were understood as houses of the gods;¹²³ and, finally, their dominant position within the settlement. For example, at Tepe Gawra XIII level the construction of an entire building complex consisted of two additional monumental buildings resembles a real citadel (**fig. 13**).¹²⁴

On the other hand, findings from the interior of these temples have not yet been examined at Eridu or elsewhere. Therefore, absolute assumptions should be made with

¹¹⁴ Flannery 2002, 424.

¹¹⁵ Ur 2014. See also Erarslan 2008

¹¹⁶ Safar *et al.* 1981.

¹¹⁷ Tobler 1950.

¹¹⁸ Stein 2011.

¹¹⁹ Roaf 1984b; Forest 1987; Kubba 1990; Pollock 1999, 50; Sievertsen 2010

¹²⁰ See for example level XIII a Tepe Gawa.

¹²¹ See chapter 3.2.3.

¹²² Sievertsen 2010.

¹²³ Roaf 1984b, 88; Stein καὶ Özbal 2007, 336; Soudipour 2007.

¹²⁴ See Tobler 1950 for more.

great caution. Such monumental structures could serve multiple purposes. Based on the seals that have been found in the interiors, this includes administrative functions.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, given that cult beliefs pre-existed the permanent settlements, the presence of specific places with some unidentifiable yet communal and ritual functions is an indicator that a crystallized and unified religion likely emerged during the Ubaid Period.

Collective storage facilities have been identified in several Halaf sites.¹²⁶ This necessity was further evolved in south Mesopotamia, since a building complex with monumental dimensions labeled as communal granary has been excavated in Tell el-Oueilli.¹²⁷ The lower part of this structure consisted of narrow spaces in the shape of a grill. The lack of functionality in this spatial design suggests the main building was erected upon it to protect the stored cereals from humidity.¹²⁸ The building shares typological affiliation with the buildings in Tepe Gawra,¹²⁹ Tell Kurdu (**fig. 4**),¹³⁰ Tell al 'Abr,¹³¹ and, potentially Abu Dhahir.¹³² In fact, items excavated at the granary at Tell Kurdu include baling and administrative tools such as seals.¹³³

In general, southern Mesopotamian sites have an obvious religious character¹³⁴ with the religious architecture found systematically throughout the south alluvium, while further north the archaeological data reveals that the settlements were more involved in trading activities, and thus the most common monumental architecture of these sites is a communal granary. This fact affects the process to complex societies. Besides, local variations are frequent when we are dealing with an extended area with different environmental conditions and populated by various ethnic groups.¹³⁵

1.3.2. *Technological Achievement*

The archaeological findings leave no room for doubt that during the Ubaid Period, technological domain, which received the greatest attention, was the new productive methods and more intensive processing of less common raw materials, like

¹²⁵ See Tepe Gawra and Eridu.

¹²⁶ Akkermans and Verhoeven 1995; Huot 2004, 58.

¹²⁷ Huot 1989; 1992; 2004.

¹²⁸ Forest 1991, 95-6.

¹²⁹ Levels XV, XVA, XVI. See Tobler 1950.

¹³⁰ Özbal 2010a, 46-7.

¹³¹ Hammad and Yamazaki 2006.

¹³² Ball 2007, 31-33 and 38-40.

¹³³ Özbal 2010a, 46-7. For more see, also, here at pages 118-9.

¹³⁴ Stein 2010b.

¹³⁵ Liverani 2005, 8.

copper. Excavations at Tell Kurdu,¹³⁶ Tell al ‘Abr,¹³⁷ Tell Nader,¹³⁸ Tell Helawa,¹³⁹ Tell Ziyadeh and Tell Abada¹⁴⁰ Kosak Shamali¹⁴¹ Tell Hasan¹⁴² and, perhaps, Eridu and Tell al-Ubaid¹⁴³ reveal open areas usually clay floored, where some kiln facilities or pyrotechnic installation are constructed. At first glance, they show no typological affiliation from site to site and, therefore, each one’s function is not yet identified.¹⁴⁴ The outdoor activities, though, that need to take place in those purposely adjusted places, outside dwellings, relate to specialized craft industry¹⁴⁵ including pottery, copper, and small artifact manufacture. However, the architectural features of these installations do not correspond to a wide range of raw material processing and likely serve multiple purposes, since each material had its own properties and, therefore, needed unique treatment. Consequently, it is likely that craft specialization was expressed differently within each society. For example, metal work is hardly attested in south Mesopotamia and only at the end of the Ubaid Period,¹⁴⁶ while the inhabitants of sites nearer copper ores deposits had been experimenting with this material since as early as the Hassuna Period.¹⁴⁷

The existence of secluded workshops indicates that some aspects of production were no longer under the responsibility of each household in the Ubaid Period. This included pottery, which saw great change with the introduction and expansive use of the slow wheel. This technological achievement contributed to the greater standardization of pottery types and, as Özbal¹⁴⁸ describes, "*a step in simplifying the production process*". Consequently, Ubaid pottery presents the greatest stylistic homogeneity among the several categories of this material culture. Although it was locally produced¹⁴⁹ throughout this vast area – we should not forget that the most of the data we have on the Ubaid expansion corresponds to pottery evidence. It is likely that

¹³⁶ Özbal 2010a and b.

¹³⁷ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006.

¹³⁸ Kopanias 2018.

¹³⁹ Peyronel *et al.* 2019, 36-9; Vacca *et al.* 2020, 113 and 119.

¹⁴⁰ Jasim 1985.

¹⁴¹ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001.

¹⁴² Fiorina 1984b, 285-6.

¹⁴³ Moore 2002.

¹⁴⁴ For example, Tell Kurdu construction was interpreted as pottery kiln, while Tell Nader one is interpreted as metal and small ceramic objects workshop.

¹⁴⁵ Erarslan 2008.

¹⁴⁶ Stein 2010b, 28.

¹⁴⁷ These are Hassuna, Samarra and Halaf Cultures. For more see Kopanias 2013, 67.

¹⁴⁸ Özbal 2010a, 47.

¹⁴⁹ Berman 1994, 24; Stein 2010b, 33.

the such long duration of the Ubaid Period contributed these communities undergo a smooth, and, thus, progressive evolution to mass and specialized production and social stratification.

Finally, according to Carter's extended research, maritime trade and sailing technology should be appeared during the Ubaid Period in Persian Gulf and Saudi Arabia.¹⁵⁰ This could explain the discovery of boat models in several Ubaid sites, such as Eridu, Tell Husaini and As-Sabiyah.

1.3.3. Art

Art, an obvious field for perceptions, ideas and beliefs to be expressed, offers a window into the lives of past generations. Thus, it is crucially important to archaeological research. By focusing upon it, archaeologists gain a more comprehensive picture of prehistoric society. Iconographic evidence is not abundant in the Ubaid Culture; restricted to vessels, seal surfaces and figurines. Patterns in pottery and seals are geometric or linear and occasionally, empty spaces of surfaces were covered with simple symbols. It remains inconclusive as to whether these symbols have a decorative character or contain more hidden meanings. Depictions of humans and animals are also found on pottery, seals and in the form of figurines. Human figurines receive great attention in the research as a field for the examination of self-conceptions within social contexts during the 6th and 5th millennium BC.

1.3.3.1. Stamp Seals

Generally, stamp seals originate in Syria and north Iran,¹⁵¹ with this region yielding evidence of a long tradition in their production. Antecedents are attested in the wider regions of Syria around the PPNA and PPNB.¹⁵² These are pebbles with engraved geometric patterns on their surface. Occasional traces of color suggest they were employed in the decoration of fabrics and leather.¹⁵³ They also bear a perforations making them suitable to hang from the neck as pendants.¹⁵⁴ Some sealings from Tell Bouqras and Tell al-Kowm are the earliest credible evidence of actual stamp seals' use,

¹⁵⁰ Carter 2002; 2006; 2018.

¹⁵¹ Buchanan 1967b, 529.

¹⁵² Duistermaat 2010, 175-8.

¹⁵³ Duistermaat 2010, 175-8.

¹⁵⁴ Duistermaat 2010, 175-8.

and it dated back to PN Period.¹⁵⁵ The fact that these impressions are on plaster¹⁵⁶ may suggest that they came from doorways which were sealed when the occupants of the house were absent. Unfortunately, very few seals have themselves been found. According to recent data, the earliest stamp seal has been found at Tell Hassuna and is assigned to the early 6th mil B,C.¹⁵⁷

Based on the abundance of evidence, sealing processes became important during the Halaf and Ubaid Periods. This is especially true towards the end of the Ubaid period, when these items spread into west Iran.¹⁵⁸ Stamp seals were usually made of stone or more rarely of clay or bone. To my knowledge, the only relevant evidence from south and central Mesopotamia are two seals from a later Eridu Temple and an unbaked clay seal found under the Ubaid 3 level at Tell el-Oueilli.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, there is not much evidence to testify to any systematic production or use of seals in this region. At the same time, the Oeilli finding is the earliest among the Ubaid seals,¹⁶⁰ but corresponds to the typical iconographic repertoire of the Ubaid. This raises questions on the course of seal technology evolution: are these seals the product of a north Mesopotamian influence, or were the Ubaid seals developed independently? There is little evidence available with which to definitively identify origins. Nevertheless, the Halaf seal tradition was eventually replaced by Ubaid seal technology.

More numerous are the impressions, usually, made on clay with some examples produced by a single seal. Sealings were also usually found concentrated in specific rooms or buildings,¹⁶¹ some of which are interpreted as storage buildings, as at Sabi Abyad,¹⁶² or as temples, as at Tepe Gawra.¹⁶³ Their extensive use is connected with administrative demands which naturally increase during the course of subsistence agriculture's emergence.¹⁶⁴ Thus, in the gradually developing system of organizing agricultural activities and products,¹⁶⁵ seals were used to secure storage vessels, mobile

¹⁵⁵ Duistermaat 1996, 342.

¹⁵⁶ Duistermaat 1996, 342.

¹⁵⁷ Kopanias 2013, 47.

¹⁵⁸ Buchanan 1967a, 267; 1967b, 529.

¹⁵⁹ The human depiction was fashioned in the common style of the time. See Huot 1987a, pl. II (6).

¹⁶⁰ The fact that south Mesopotamia produced no seals means that there is no evidence for such technology at the Early Ubaid Phases.

¹⁶¹ Like Tell Arpachiyah, Sabi Abyad, Tell i-Baun, Tell Kosak Shamali, Tell Kurdu and Tepe Gawra.

¹⁶² Duistermaat and Akkermans 1996, 19.

¹⁶³ Tobler 1950.

¹⁶⁴ Atakuman 2013.

¹⁶⁵ Stein 2010b, 28; Duistermaat 2012, 175; Kopanias 2013, 76-7.

commodity containers,¹⁶⁶ and the doors of storage rooms and buildings.¹⁶⁷ The fact that the sealings were not discarded after their removal from vessels but instead kept in specific zones may imply a primitive record-keeping system.¹⁶⁸

Given that there is no clue as to the social stratification present at these sites, we are unaware of who might be the owner of the seals, and thereby the social figure involved in administrative activities. Based on the repetitive decorative patterns on a number of Halaf seals creating specific iconographic groups, Frangipane suggests each pattern corresponds to a unique clan or household.¹⁶⁹ Indeed, a single seal cannot express one's personal property, since the similar images among them could create confusion regarding the person's identity.¹⁷⁰ Regardless, the earlier seals were not prestige items. The final step in seal glyptic technology began in the Middle Ubaid Period, with the standardization in types and iconographic repertoire suggesting a common control system spread among the Mesopotamian settlements.

1.3.3.1.1. Iconographic Patterns and the Representation of Human

The images carried on the surface of the seals became more important during the Ubaid Period,¹⁷¹ being characterized by several conventions throughout the cultural sphere. Still, our knowledge on this subject is very limited and the Ubaid stamp seals uncovered so far have not yet been collected or examined as a whole. The best-known examples came from Tepe Gawra, where among the 34 seals found, 19 bear linear designs consisting mainly of crisscross motifs.¹⁷² The remaining 15 depict animals and anthropoids (**fig. 25**), which is a significant numerical increase from the earlier periods.¹⁷³ The repertoire includes mainly horned animals, a tradition originating in Halaf Culture, as well as dogs and snakes. Similar findings have been found in many other sites from Iran, north Iraq, Syria and Turkey. These include Tell Kosal Shamali,¹⁷⁴ Tell esh-Sheikh,¹⁷⁵ Tepe Giyad¹⁷⁶ (**fig. 26**) and Susa.¹⁷⁷

¹⁶⁶ See generally Charvát 1994; Atakuman 2013.

¹⁶⁷ Rothman 2004, 84.

¹⁶⁸ Duistermaat and Akkermans 1996, 26 – 7; Kopanias 2013, 77.

¹⁶⁹ Frangipane 2007, 159.

¹⁷⁰ Atakuman 2013, 250.

¹⁷¹ Charvát 1994, 14.

¹⁷² Schmandt-Besseral 2006, 184.

¹⁷³ Schmandt-Besseral 2006, 184.

¹⁷⁴ For more see Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003.

¹⁷⁵ For more see Aruz 1992.

¹⁷⁶ Buchanan 1967a, 274.

¹⁷⁷ Hole 1983; 2010.

In general, humans or humanoids and animals seem to be randomly arranged in the iconographic evidence, with many depicted upside down. The empty space among them is sometimes covered with geometric shapes such as stars. The Ubaid repertoire also includes banquet scenes and possible ritual dances (**fig. 25**), though these are very rare. Such banquet scenes become popular later on Bronze Age cylinder seals.¹⁷⁸ According to glyptic evidence such activities were in fact originated in earlier societies, although the earliest indication comes from Halaf decorated pottery.¹⁷⁹ As far as the dance scene theme is concerned, it may represent an ecstatic dance or, according to Hole, some other kind of performance in the context of magical-religious beliefs.¹⁸⁰ By stylistic point of view, similar examples have been found in the Ubaid pottery evidence¹⁸¹ (**fig. 6 and fig. 24**) and are also associated with religion,¹⁸² as many figures have tails, snouts, horns or other zoomorphic features, similar to the humanoids figurines on seals. In both cases, however, these figures are principally distinguished by their long silhouettes, triangular torso and the strange head shape. The elongated head characterizes all contemporary human representations should therefore be correlated with cranial deformation practices¹⁸³ attested from the remains of several individuals of the period.

The zoomorphic features may also have real-world references, albeit still religious ones. These may refer to deities or masks worn by priests during ceremonies. Priests are known from later iconography and Bronze Age texts and are referred to by various names – they are commonly divided into exorcists, chanters, healers, and masters of animals.¹⁸⁴ In the latter group I include snake-charmers, who practised healing by snake, dog or other animal bites,¹⁸⁵ the diviner, who was responsible for the animal sacrifices and divinations based on their anatomical features,¹⁸⁶ as well as the less common animal experts lion-man and leopard-man.¹⁸⁷ Besides their practical role

¹⁷⁸ For more see generally Collon 2005.

¹⁷⁹ Hole 2010, 234.

¹⁸⁰ Hole 2010, 234.

¹⁸¹ To my knowledge few such examples on pottery have been recorded from Tell Abada and Tepe Gawra.

¹⁸² Tobler 1950, 135.

¹⁸³ Croucher 2010, 116.

¹⁸⁴ For more about the Mesopotamian priests, their duties and their names see Geller 2010 and Scurlock 1999.

¹⁸⁵ Geller 2010, 46.

¹⁸⁶ Scurlock and Andersen 2005, 9.

¹⁸⁷ Geller 2010, 46-7.

in sustaining the community, animals clearly played a significant role in Mesopotamian belief and ritual.

The shift towards human depiction in the Halaf and mainly Ubaid seals should be understood in light of religious practices, since the concept of anthropocentrism cannot exist yet in these early societies. It is more likely that people of this period could not imagine their destinies independent of divine intervention. Consequently, the images carried on seal surfaces would have a religious character. Under a universal ideology that begins in the Ubaid period and establishes itself more fully in later periods, human nature was gradually coming to the forefront of artistic interest, and integrated into both secular and religious scenes.

1.3.3.2. Figurines

Ubaid figurines (**fig. 5**) were made of clay. As mentioned, they were fashioned in the same human forms as existed on seals and pottery, with particular geometric body shapes and the complete absence of steatopygia. Because of their elongated head and face, as well as coffee-bean-like eyes resembling those of snake, they are called ophidian figurines.¹⁸⁸ They are, usually, female and sometimes bear an infant in their arms (**fig. 5a**). According to Daems,¹⁸⁹ male figurines are extremely rare (around 4% of the records), while there are examples with no indication of gender (17%).

The reasons behind their elongated head shape are not yet clarified. Most scholars argue that they are representations of the contemporary people, who had their skulls artificially deformed during infancy.¹⁹⁰ Less common theories suggest the shape represented a ritual mask, headdress or hairtail.¹⁹¹

Another distinct feature of the Ubaid figurines is their decoration, which can be painted or impressed. Pigment, when preserved, was used to create simple decorative motifs without any particular meaning or to depict clothing.¹⁹² Woolley¹⁹³ observed that some Ur figurines bear traces of black color at the shoulders and pointed out that this decoration could be attributable to the practice of tattooing. Croucher¹⁹⁴ seems to agree

¹⁸⁸ Daems 2010, 152.

¹⁸⁹ Daems 2010, 150.

¹⁹⁰ Molleson and Campbell 1995, 52; Croucher 2010, 116; Daems 2010, 157; Özbal 2010a, 299, 50; Kopanias 2013, 95. See, also, Croucher 2006a.

¹⁹¹ Daems 2010, 157-8.

¹⁹² Croucher 2010, 114.

¹⁹³ Woolley 1955, 12.

¹⁹⁴ Croucher 2010.

with it. She argues that figurines were likely to be fashioned according to the trends of the time and include depictions of periodic or permanent body decoration, or even scarification. She believes¹⁹⁵ that these practices were important within society to communicate status, passage from the childhood to adulthood or even roles in different social occasions justifying the inclusion of such imagery in figurines. Looking to the Aegean, we meet the same interpretation for the Cycladic figurines dated to Early Bronze Age. In these cases, it is believed that the color found upon them represents different kinds of body and face decoration for social differentiation purposes.¹⁹⁶ Finally, the impressed pellet or dots on the Ubaid figurines' necks and chests are assumed to depict jewelry or clothing.¹⁹⁷

Nevertheless, their secular or religious character is still inconclusive, since they have been found in domestic and burial context, as well as in temples, debris or loose in soil.¹⁹⁸ A rare male figurine from Eridu is interpreted as a depiction of a chief or a person with status, because it holds a peculiar object, which is considered as scepter or mace-head (**fig. 5b**).¹⁹⁹ Aside from individuals with status, these figurines could also represent priests, similarly to the human forms on seals. Later sources reveal that the snake is a sacred symbol in Mesopotamian myth and is associated with several deities.²⁰⁰ Therefore the ophidian head shape of the Ubaid figurines could perhaps refer to zoomorphic deities. A clay snake figurine found in Temple IX at Eridu indicates that this animal has a symbolic role in some rituals.²⁰¹ Woolley reports that ophidian figurines were, usually, found together with animal figurines at Ur.²⁰² The latter are, usually, understood to be toys,²⁰³ an interpretation that may be applied to the human figurines, as well.²⁰⁴

1.3.4. Cranial Deformation

The practice of headshaping constitutes one of the distinct characteristics of the Ubaid Period with its application was widespread throughout the geographical region

¹⁹⁵ Croucher 2010.

¹⁹⁶ Broodbank 2009, 403.

¹⁹⁷ Kopanias 2013, 95; Croucher 2010, 114; Stein 1994, 39.

¹⁹⁸ Daems 2010, 153-4.

¹⁹⁹ Stein 1994, 39; Daems 2010, 154.

²⁰⁰ Kopanias 2013, 95.

²⁰¹ Charvát 2002, 55.

²⁰² Woolley 1955, 12.

²⁰³ Kopanias *et al.* 2014, 167; Tobler 1950, 165.

²⁰⁴ Croucher 2010, 114.

of the Ubaid according to the recent studies by Lorentz.²⁰⁵ However, the reasons behind the cranial deformation is not fully understood and so it, still, remains a field demanding further analysis. The main difficulty in this endeavour is the inconclusivity of findings from older excavations held mostly in southern Mesopotamia.²⁰⁶ At this time it was not known that Ubaid individuals practiced cranial deformation, and therefore remains were not assessed for this feature. In some cases anthropologists supposed that the elongated shapes of skulls were the consequence of post-burial events, whereas according to an older suggestion it came natural by the physical appearance.²⁰⁷

By then, it is true that extremely few examples were showing traces of a potentially artificial modification in Arpachiyah and Eridu. Even in the next centuries the data is fragmentary and information about the presence or absence of cranial deformation is not available in most cases, despite the fact that many excavations were held in central and north Mesopotamia.

The findings of the last two decades are expected to shed some light on this matter and offer relations between cranial modifications and burial arrangement, age and sex. Nonetheless, these excavations²⁰⁸ are still in progress and the percentage of the deformed skulls occurred at the sites is unknown.

The artificial headshaping takes place during infancy,²⁰⁹ when the skull is not yet solid. Pressure is applied to the skull via bandages or wooden cradleboards consistently until the age of two, when the bones have stabilized.²¹⁰ The procedure is irreversible and, as infants, those that receive it have no choice in the matter. These processes also have no effect on the brain.²¹¹

The study of the skulls recorded from Değirmentepe showed that the bandage exercised equally pressure from the frontal bone to the upper part of the occipital one.²¹² Further studies held by Fox²¹³ confirm it, since it is more convenient the pressure occurred around the vault, rather that the mandible was swathed in bandages preventing

²⁰⁵ Lorentz 2009; 2010.

²⁰⁶ South Mesopotamia: Tell el-Ubaid, Eridu, Ur, Tell el-Oueilli and Uruk; Central: Tell Uqair; North: Tepe Gawra and Tell Arpachiyah.

²⁰⁷ The inhabitants sometimes were characterized as dolichocephalic. See below Arpachiyah and Eridu for more details.

²⁰⁸ Tell Kurdu, Tell Zeidan, Tell Nader and Helawa

²⁰⁹ Kopanias 2013, 81; Lorentz 2010, 125.

²¹⁰ Lorentz 2010, 125-6.

²¹¹ Tommaseo and Drusini 1984, 332; Lorentz 2009, 78; Kopanias and Fox 2016.

²¹² Özbek 2001, 242.cy

²¹³ Kopanias and Fox 2016, 157.

this way feeding (**fig. 28**). The final shape was thus an oval. Rarely, a second bandage was added (**fig. 28**) resulting to a not perfectly symmetrical shape.²¹⁴ After Lorentz, the single and double band head shapes, both of which occurred at Ubaid sites, are understood to compose two sub-categories of the circumferential type.²¹⁵

Headshaping was practiced by prehistoric societies of the eastern Aegean Sea, such as Greece (Evia)²¹⁶ and Cyprus (Enkomi and Khirokitia),²¹⁷ and expressed in three distinct ways depending on the particular bones that were pressured and the final form of the vault.²¹⁸ In the anterior-posterior type, known from Tharrounia (Evia), Cyprus, Aceramic Jericho and potentially Shanidar (Neandertal), parts of the forehead and occipital bones are flattened. In the post-bregmatic type, mostly known from Cyprus, the upper part of the head is flattened. Circumferential, the type described above, evolved in Ubaid Mesopotamia but there are also some examples from Cyprus, Iran and Syria.²¹⁹

In general, cranial deformation has been observed sporadically from Bronze Age to Byzantine Empire, as well as within different cultures of Europe and the Americas from early historical periods to present. The adoption of this practice from contemporary neighboring regions cannot be thoroughly evidenced in all these cases, and it is more likely that the practice developed independently in the majority of the them. Lorentz²²⁰ has developed a very interesting theory on the origin of vault modification. According to her, the widespread use of the cradleboards was likely the primary reason for its application in most areas and at different times. Cradleboards appeared about 1,800,000 years ago. The hard material from which it used to be made seems to have affected the soft head of infants, albeit to a minor degree. This effect was noticed by the contemporary people, who started to purposefully deform the skulls of their newborn children.

As far as the Ubaid Period is concerned, it is uncertain under which conditions the phenomenon of cranial modification arose, albeit an as-of-yet undetermined type of

²¹⁴ Özbek 2001, 240-2.

²¹⁵ Lorentz 2010.

²¹⁶ Lorentz 2009.

²¹⁷ Dikaios 1953; Le Brun 1984; Lorentz 2009.

²¹⁸ Lorentz 2009; 2010.

²¹⁹ Özbek 2001, 238; Lorentz 2009; 2010; 2017; Meiklejohn *et al.* 1992; Croucher 2006a; 2012, 98; Daems and Croucher 2007.

²²⁰ A characteristic example is the members of the Indian tribe Osage, who has deformed skull because of the cradleboard they used (see Logan *et al* 2003).

cranial modification also seems to have emerged in the Halaf Period.²²¹ As mentioned, it is difficult to determine the geographical range at which this practice was applied, both because of poorly preserved or absent skulls, or due to improper examination. Based on the available data, it seems that in a typical Ubaid settlement a large percentage of people had their heads deformed through either the single band or double band sub-type.

According to Croucher and Daems,²²² headshaping evidences that there were, indeed, non-verbal conventions²²³ for the visualization of "otherness" among those who do or do not bear its mark. The special treat of the wearers' head communicates a clear message on their gender, social status, social groups, cultural tradition, aesthetic ideals or belief in the divine image.²²⁴

The social implications of the Ubaid cranial modification are almost exclusively interpreted by either ethnic or elitist criteria. According to the first theory, the Ubaid society was hierarchically organized and headshaping was the manifestation of an elite or a group with more elevated social position in the community.²²⁵ What supposed to be communal buildings, the evidence for long-distance exchange trading and the interpretation of Eridu male figurine²²⁶ (**fig. 5b**) seem to correspond to this line. On the other hand, this practice is, sometimes, associated with an ethnic identity or affiliations between tribes. As an integral feature of the Ubaid Culture, cranial deformation may have been practiced by particular population group(-s) with common origins or cultural background in order to keep their cohesion and avoid intermarriages.²²⁷ For some reasons, though, their lifestyle was adopted by neighboring populations.

Whatever the identity of the wearers was, when artificial headshaping appeared in the south sites, its spread together with the rest of the material cultural assemblage indicates an ongoing interaction that affects its initial purpose and, thus, its application eventually became more complicated.²²⁸

²²¹ See skull C in Arpachiyah (Molleson and Campbell 1995) and Kurban Höyük (Alpagut 1986; Lorentz 2009).

²²² Croucher 2006a; 2008; 2010; Daems and Croucher 2007.

²²³ Compare with Pollock 1999, 85-7 and Frangipane 2007, 164-9 and the theory about discrimination based on verbal traditions.

²²⁴ For more about the different ways that the body was treated and their social implications see Lorentz 2010; Croucher 2006a; 2008; 2010; Daems and Croucher 2007.

²²⁵ Grossman and Hinman 2013, 203; Molleson and Campbell 1995, 50-2.

²²⁶ See chapter under "Figurines."

²²⁷ Kopanias 2013, 81.

²²⁸ Lorentz 2010.

1.4. Life in Ubaid Society

1.4.1. Farming and Animal Domestication

The Ubaid Period has been labeled the "Second Neolithic Revolution"²²⁹ since, generally speaking, the exploitation of domesticated animals and crops took dominance over hunting,²³⁰ while, as described in the next chapter, dairy production introduced in many sites. Despite the inhospitable environmental conditions, the first settlers were able to produce everything they consumed themselves. Evidence from Tell el-Oueili²³¹ shows a great variety in cultivated species beyond the ordinary barley and wheat. These include date-palm, poplar, tamarisk and flax. This also included domesticated animals, most commonly cattle and pigs and more rarely goats and sheep.²³² With the expansion of Ubaid Culture into neighboring regions, the majority of the settlements throughout Mesopotamia saw the intensification of irrigation agriculture. Archaeobotanical studies from Tell Zeidan indicate the possible increase of the population also made agricultural surplus more necessary.²³³ In keeping with this assumption, animal husbandry became more significant. For example at Tell Zeidan the wild species represent only 10% of the faunal remains during Ubaid Period against its 52% during the Halaf Period.²³⁴ This fact influenced the social organization of Tell Zeidan, which was presented different from the organization occurred at Halaf Period.²³⁵ Animal husbandry is also associated with greater time investments necessary for the processing of dairy products, but not wool.²³⁶ More and more settlements present similar picture, since it is estimated that their population could exceed 1000 inhabitants.²³⁷

1.4.2. Trade

Imported raw materials and, sometimes, semi-precious stones have been found in the most Ubaid settlements, especially by the middle of that time. Unfortunately, in many cases, their context is not available in publications making difficult their interpretation and correlation with other similar findings from the contemporary sites.

²²⁹ Charvát 2002, 67,

²³⁰ Huot 1992, 188.

²³¹ Huot 1989, 22-8.

²³² Huot 1989, 22-8.

²³³ Grossman and Hinman 2013, 210 and 214.

²³⁴ Stein 2011, 138; Grossman and Hinman 2013, 210.

²³⁵ Stein 2011, 138.

²³⁶ Arbuckle and Hammer 2019.

²³⁷ Kopanias 2013, 83.

Also no extensive research has been done for the origin of raw materials and as a result trade routes and trade activities remain unknown on their large part.²³⁸

1.4.2.1.Imported raw materials and associated artifacts

The most ubiquitously imported raw material throughout the Ubaid Horizon, and perhaps slightly beyond, is obsidian. Analysis from several sites indicate that the region in southeast Turkey, particularly Lake Van, had prominent roles in the trade of obsidian. The specific type of obsidian native to this region has been found systematically throughout Mesopotamia, as well as in a few settlements situated as far as Saudi Arabia.²³⁹ and east Iran.²⁴⁰ Recent studies from the Chalcolithic sites of Surezha, Hamoukar, Tell Arpachiyah, Khirbet Derek and Tell Helawa conclude that the main sources of obsidian was Nemrut Dağ, while smaller proportion of it came from Meydan Dağ, Bongöl or other northern areas.²⁴¹ The complete absence of obsidian cores and debris leads to the conclusion that it was introduced to the settlements as finished tools, mostly blades.²⁴² Their percentages increased as we move to north Mesopotamia, where the associated sources are located. Some imports have been attested even at some small villages of 1 ha or smaller, like Tell Nader.²⁴³ In contrast to other non-local stones imported by the Middle and mainly Late Ubaid Period, obsidian was traded already from the Halaf Period onwards.²⁴⁴

Flint is a local material, albeit evidence from Kosak Shamali, Değirmentepe, Tell al ‘Abr, Tell Kurdu and As Sabbiyah, indicate small-scale trade of flint blades, sometimes of bad quality.²⁴⁵ Steatite and hematite are among the most traded raw materials after obsidian, found at most medium and large sites, such as Ur²⁴⁶ and Tell Arpachiyah.²⁴⁷ At Tell esh Sheikh almost half of the seals discovered were made of steatite²⁴⁸ and similar examples have been found at Tepe Gawra²⁴⁹ and Tepe Giyan.²⁵⁰

²³⁸ For more about the distribution of obsidian and its sources see Renfrew and Cann 1966; Khalidi *et al.* 2016.

²³⁹ Healey 2010; Khalidi *et al.* 2016.

²⁴⁰ Blackman 1984.

²⁴¹ Khalidi *et al.* 2016; Peyronel and Vacca 2020a, 323. See also Frahm *et al.* 2016.

²⁴² Healey 2010, 186 -8.

²⁴³ Kopanias *et al.* 2013, 32.

²⁴⁴ Healey 2007.

²⁴⁵ Healey 2010, 186.

²⁴⁶ Woolley 1955.

²⁴⁷ Mallowan and Rose 1935.

²⁴⁸ Aruz 1992, 22-7.

²⁴⁹ Tobler 1950, 175.

²⁵⁰ Buchanan 1967a, 274.

In addition to the manufacture of seals, steatite was employed in the production of beads, mace-heads, and even pottery at Tell Zeidan.²⁵¹ Hematite was sometimes used in the production of red pigment for the decoration of the objects. Hematite seals are also recorded from Tepe Gawra,²⁵² and a hematite mace-head was unearthed at Tell Zeidan.²⁵³ Other non-local stones are quartz,²⁵⁴ lapis lazuli²⁵⁵ chlorite, diorite, sardine, amethyst, turquoise, amazonite and marble. Overall, however, knowledge on the complete raw material assemblages is lacking since their publication is usually restricted to general references.

The archaeological data available so far does not confirm the existence of prestige goods or status symbols. Only a few items, such as mace-heads made from exotic stones may belong to this category,²⁵⁶ but their context are usually unknown. Stein includes palettes as another such object.²⁵⁷ However, their excavation context is more complicated, since they were found in burials, in houses and even in monumental buildings suggesting that they are common tools used by many groups. As part of the assemblage from the interior of the houses, we can see that palettes were, usually, found near ovens or kilns together with mortars, grinding stones, pottery production tools and sometimes debitage. A house at Tell Arpachiyah, which is dated to the Halaf Period, contained stone vases, jewelry, figurines, amulets, as well as many flint and obsidian tools, cores and chips suggesting a craftsman or potter's house.²⁵⁸ Excavators also discovered palettes lying together with ceramic vessels, as well as a lump of red ochre on the floor.²⁵⁹ This line of thinking is stronger in the Ubaid Period, as palettes have been found in buildings interpreted as industrial structures. Indicative examples are Kosak Shamali and Tell Gabristan. In the first side, a building complex with an open area and an oven produced several different kinds of tools, including palettes.²⁶⁰ Three potter's workshops have been unearthed in level IX of Tell Gabristan. Both a palette and a mortar with traces of pigment have been found in the kiln chamber of one of the workshops.²⁶¹ Moreover, palettes bear traces of red and ochre paints or deep depressions, which confirms the longevity of their use. Consequently, they cannot be markers of a pre-eminent social position.

²⁵¹ Stein 2011, 128.

²⁵² Tobler 1950, 175.

²⁵³ Stein 2011, 128.

²⁵⁴ See Stronach 1961, 105-6; Inizan and Tixier 1981, 137; Carter and Crawford 2001, 16; 2002, 10-1; 2003, 85-7.

²⁵⁵ Herrmann 1968, 22. See, also, Majidzadeh 1982.

²⁵⁶ Stein 2014.

²⁵⁷ Stein 2010b, 28-29; Stein 2014.

²⁵⁸ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 16-17.

²⁵⁹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 16-17.

²⁶⁰ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 58-59.

²⁶¹ Hansen Streily 2000, 78.

1.4.2.2. Trade activity

It seems that the trade constituted a well-organized network, but in which form(-s) the trade process was exactly unfolded that time, and how much the farmers of the settlements affected it is, yet, under discussion. The sites located in north Iraq, Syria, south-east Turkey and west Iran had easier access to specific sources of raw materials. As mentioned, these areas are characterized by the intensive use of seals concentrated in storages, as well as by the circulation of nomadic groups.²⁶² Both these features are connected with trade. As accounting tools, seals became integrated into a wider system of control on the validity of exchange between settlements.²⁶³ The large-scale of circulation of some goods such as obsidian implies complex trade networks and their control by an elite, though the existence of this social strata is archaeologically invisible.

It has also been suggested that populations that continued to live the nomadic lifestyles during the Ubaid Period played a crucial role in the mobility of goods.²⁶⁴ However terms such "nomadic", "semi-nomadic" and "pastoralist" are confused in the literature and based on particular ethnographic examples.²⁶⁵ The archaeological reconstruction of the socio-political realities of these groups is near impossible from the remains of their camps. For Khazanov²⁶⁶ these broadly used terms beg for further clarifications under specific and uniformly applied criteria. Nevertheless, since any level of mobility would contribute to the circulation of goods and ideas, this research includes all the itinerant populations classified as "nomadic" or "pastoral nomadic" as a contrast to sedentary populations. Surely those who chose the latter lifestyle possessed an abundance of cultivated products,²⁶⁷ as well as other utensils, like ceramic vessels produced in quantities that the kiln facilities could supply. The opposite would be true of itinerant people, who raised large flocks and exploited resources located along their seasonal routes. Fundamentally, a dependency relationship emerged among different social groups based on exchange of products.

²⁶² Liverani 2005, 8; Arbuckle and Hammer 2019.

²⁶³ Rothman 2004, 84.

²⁶⁴ Duistermaat and Akkermans 1996; Fraser 2008; Khazanov 2009; Alizadeh 2009; Cartel and Philip 2010, 9; Kopanias 2016, 32; Carter 2018.

²⁶⁵ See generally Szuchman 2009; Hammer and Arbuckle 2017; Arbuckle and Hammer 2019.

²⁶⁶ Khazanov 2009, 119-23.

²⁶⁷ Kopanias 2016, 32-3.

The main question here is whether there is a single person or a group or family that traded with the pastoral nomads and controlled the imports and exports of products. Under a linear evolution of social organization, a particular group is likely to own the seals and consequently, possess some administrative responsibilities, which would eventually lead to social inequality. This issue is described in the next chapter.

1.4.3. *The Ubaid World System*

According to Huot²⁶⁸ Ubaid society was egalitarian, since no finding can be directly linked to any elite and evidence from graves and houses show that everyone had more or less the same access to farming and animal products. On the other hand, Pollock²⁶⁹ and Frangipane²⁷⁰ argues that social discrimination within each settlement was understood through verbal conventions and symbolic roles among families. A household was in charge to take decisions on behalf of the rest inhabitants for the political and administrative issues and due to their high responsibilities in the community and the respect that they received, it was likely to have great access in the most qualitative agricultural products and goods. This does not mean, however, that the rest of the inhabitants worked and were in the service of this family. For Hole²⁷¹ this privileged group derived its status through religion. The duties of the members would be performed periodically and when it was demanding, as they, primary, engaged with agricultural activities.

Mesopotamia was organized within chiefdoms,²⁷² though, no signs of competitive relations have been observed among them, since according to the archaeological evidence no signs of conflicts has been attested in the architectural remains of the sites and no relevant scenes have been found in the seals impressions.²⁷³ According to Stein,²⁷⁴ the extended employ of a continuous material assemblage in this area suggests a stable circulation of goods under an established authority, namely a chiefly elite. Based on this argument, Stein²⁷⁵ proposes two different models: the staple finance model and the wealth distribution model.

²⁶⁸ Huot 1992, 188.

²⁶⁹ Pollock 1999, 85-7.

²⁷⁰ Frangipane 2007, 164-9.

²⁷¹ Hole 1983.

²⁷² Hole 1983; Stein 1994.

²⁷³ Scenes of warfare and hostages were appeared in the Uruk Period.

²⁷⁴ Stein 1994.

²⁷⁵ Stein 1994.

The first one is a "*model of ritual mobilization of surplus cereals in an economy based on canal irrigation*".²⁷⁶ In this system an extended kin-group produced and manipulated the largest amounts of agricultural surplus within community. This pre-eminent household would eventually expand its control over the entire community, embracing and assimilating the religious activities for the validation of their resource control. Control was not based on accumulation of exotic goods, but rather on the increase of agricultural activity through labor co-ordination. This would include tasks in the construction of proper irrigation networks and architectural structures, which would serve the protection, storage and processing of resources. In addition, the chief would be in charge of exchanging surplus resources for raw material imports according to the needs of the society, and not necessarily his own prestige item demands.²⁷⁷

The wealth distribution model²⁷⁸ required the existence of a centralized authority which would possess no direct control of production. In this model control stems from the accumulation and concentration of exotic objects within groups of elites. As a result, the primary aim of elites would be the expansion of the exchange networks and control of neighboring regions. This would lead to warfare among elites.

Ubaid society corresponds better to the staple finance model than the wealth distribution model. Most likely, this society witnessed a gradual transition from the former economic system to the latter. During this evolution, Ubaid societies were organized according to the basic principles of the staple finance, and by the end of the period a strong elite had formed. The formation of this elite leads to the understanding that the Ubaid Period was an important period in the transition to more complex societies. Indeed, many archaeologists concur that it is during this period that the first subtle evidence of stratified societies emerges.²⁷⁹

²⁷⁶ Stein 1994, 42.

²⁷⁷ See, also, Stein 2010b.

²⁷⁸ Stein 1994.

²⁷⁹ Stein 2010b; Huot 2004, 66.

CHAPTER 2

Approaches to the Mortuary Practices of Mesopotamia from 7th mil. to 5th mil. BC, and Problems of Definition

The principal objective of this section is to give an outline of the burial practices recorded from Mesopotamia during the 7th to 5th mil BC. This evidence is expected to draw some conclusions about the changing relations between the Ubaid and its preceding cultures on the basis of mortuary customs.

Before presenting a brief overview of the cultures and their mortuary customs, it is of all imperative to broach firstly some definition issues that came up during this research. The distinction between a primary and secondary burial context is well-known and both terms were broadly used²⁸⁰ in prehistoric archaeology literature to describe the method of disposing human corpses. In the case of primary burial, it is obvious that the body was exclusively and only interred underground after death, while the secondary burial means a compound disposal of at least two methods such as cremation, burial, reburial and exposure. My hesitations in the widely use of these terms is draws on the fact that only the final disposal of the dead is visible in the excavation process at least in some cases. With the exception of cremations, where the traces of fire are identifiable in the interred remains, in the rest cases it is almost impossible to acknowledge all the stages of disposal prior interment.

Usually, the discovery of a fraction of the skeleton is interpreted as evidence of secondary burial with a further treatment of the body, like exposure²⁸¹ or reburial,²⁸² having completed before it eventually ended up within the grave. Furthermore, in some

²⁸⁰ Indicative: Hijara 1978; Hole 1989; Akkermans 1989; 2008; Verhoeven 2002a; Kuijt 2002a and b; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003; Campbell 2008; Croucher 2010.

²⁸¹ First described by Mellaart 1965, 86-88.

²⁸² See for example the Tell Arpachiyah burials in Mallowan and Rose 1935.

instances the skeletal remains were commingled or disarranged, with some or all bones lying in unaccepted places, as if deliberately disarticulating prior the burial.²⁸³ However, this evidence is not sufficient to identify a grave as primary or secondary context. For example, a corpse could previously undergo the method of exposure without actually ending up disarticulated or in disorder within the grave, but rather the bones were collected and placed quite carefully by the living. Moreover, the misplacing and fragmentation were sometimes caused by the contemporary people, who might reopen the grave to collect some bones. For example, the treatment of the skull as cult symbol was attested during PPN Period, since many plastered and decorated skulls have been found.²⁸⁴ The postmortem skull detachment²⁸⁵ results in a partial corpse, yet the removal of the skull took place after the conclusion of the burial and the grave should be reopened for this reason.²⁸⁶ The action of collecting ancestors' bones for purpose of ritual ceremonies²⁸⁷ does not signify secondary burial context, since those graves continue to be the original place of interment.

According to the above cases, there is a near impossibility in identifying what potential stage in the process a burial represents. Thus, the characterization of a burial as primary or secondary could be sometimes hard and these definitions need to be revised. In the present research, instead of these terms, the articulation of the bones will be described according to the condition they were discovered, which is distinguished into complete, incomplete (fractional/partial) and disarticulated (in disorder/disarranged).

The articulation of the Ubaid skeletal remains will be thoroughly examined together with the number of the bodies found inside a grave under the general category "burial type". For example, a grave could contain single-complete burial or a single-fractional burial; multiple-complete burials or multiple-fractional burials. It should be clarified here that "burial type" and "grave type" are two distinct categories. The second case includes the grave facilities, like any embellishment that could (or not) be formed after the digging of the pit in the soil. Another category that refers to the skeletal

²⁸³ In a ceremonial defleshing, cremation or exposure.

²⁸⁴ For more see generally Parker Pearson 1999, 159; Kuijt 2002c; Croucher 2012.

²⁸⁵ Goring- Morris 2002; Kuijt 2002a.

²⁸⁶ Cauvin 2004, 132.

²⁸⁷ The removal of various skeletal remains from their original places for purposes of religious commemoration is an issue quite discussed by Kuijt (2002a).

remains and will be, also, examined here is the deposition of the body within the grave, being that the way that it was positioned (flexed or extended) and oriented.²⁸⁸

The study of skeletal remains is a quite extended field that includes the determination of individuals' biological profile, like gender and age of death, which are the two main biological categories. According to McMahon and Stone,²⁸⁹ infants are determined individuals between 0 to 2 years old, children were regarded those until the age of ten, puberty lasts until the age of 17, and, finally, adulthood starts at 18 years old. However, there is not yet a uniform terminology resulting mainly to the confusion in the use of "infant" and "child". Some scholars use more neutral characterizations, like juveniles and sub-adults,²⁹⁰ since in many cases and especially in older excavations the age was determined only approximately by the archaeologists during the actual digging, who were based on general observations of the skeleton. This problem needs systematical anthropological analysis of the remains in order for one to be aware of all the necessary information about the sample before further discussion on the terminology. Similar problem exists when one deals with the individuals' sex. The evidence was always inaccurate and biased, while it is sometimes considered that some particular kinds of offerings are related with male or female individuals.²⁹¹ Unfortunately, in the great absence of any firm evidence, the distinction of burial assemblages between men and women is impossible in the present research. As far as the age is concerned, I grouped individuals as adults, adolescents (youth)²⁹² and infants/children (juveniles, sub-adults or underaged individuals).

2.1. Cultural Background

As pre-Ubaid Period is understood here the 7th and 6th mil BC. More or less prior the Ubaid appearance in the southern Mesopotamia and its expansion, three distinct material cultures developed in north Iraq and Syria and southeast Anatolia. These cultures are the well-known Hassuna, Samarra and Halaf.

²⁸⁸ It should, also, not confused with the Burial Type.

²⁸⁹ McMahon and Stone 2013, 87.

²⁹⁰ For more about this issue see McMahon and Stone 2013.

²⁹¹ Like the case of Eridu, where beads are always associated with female individual.

²⁹² The scanty sample of adolescents does not permit any concluding remark.

2.1.1. *Hassuna and Samarra Period*

During the 7th mil. BC the first food-producing societies established in the rain-fed zone at north Mesopotamia and Syria with Hassuna and Samarra being more well-known. Hassuna appeared some centuries before Samarra and by the middle of the 7th millenium both cultures co-coexisted. They characterized by a mixed economy involving herding and farming.²⁹³ Studies of both female and male skeletal remains from Abu Hureyra show that women suffered more intensive labour during their life time regarding the cultivation, being engaged with duties like plowing, sowing and harvesting.²⁹⁴ Men contributed to growing crops in periods of particular intense work, but their primary goal is to supply with idequate quantity of meat-products coming either from hunting or from animal breeding.²⁹⁵ Despite the fact that both cultures were assigned to the Neolithic Period, a small number of artifacts made of copper, usually jewelry, have been attested.²⁹⁶

During the Hassuna Period settlements were as large as 1 or 2 ha²⁹⁷ and they had a characteristic layout, since all the construction of hardly three or four rooms are clustered around open yards probably for defense reasons.²⁹⁸ The buildings were made of tauf or pisé²⁹⁹ and their use is often impossible to be identified.³⁰⁰ It is likely though that the majority of the activities took place on the roof of them.³⁰¹ Nevertheless, it seems that the Hassuna sites were occupied seasonally.³⁰²

Based on the pottery evidence it is proposed that Samarra is a variation of the Hassuna Culture.³⁰³ However, the architecture presents some differences, since the multi-room structures of Samarra Culture were made of sun-dried mudbricks.³⁰⁴ Whether or not they housed an extended family is hard to say.³⁰⁵ It is true that few sites happened to be investigated, while in many others the Samarra and Hassuna deposit lies too deep to be widely excavated. It seems though that at least few Samarra sites,

²⁹³ For more see Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 74.

²⁹⁴ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 77.

²⁹⁵ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 77.

²⁹⁶ Charvát 2002, 35.

²⁹⁷ Kopanias 2013, 57.

²⁹⁸ Brereton 2011, 94; Kopanias 2013, 57-8.

²⁹⁹ Brereton 2011, 96.

³⁰⁰ Brereton 2011, 94.

³⁰¹ Kopanias 2013, 57

³⁰² Brereton 2011, 92; Kopanias 2013, 58.

³⁰³ Cruells 2008, 673; Brereton 2011, 91.

³⁰⁴ Brereton 2011, 96.

³⁰⁵ Charvát 2002.

like Choga Mami and Tell es-Sawwan, had developed an extended irrigation system, since they were founded on central Mesopotamia, which is the periphery of the rain-fed zone.³⁰⁶

2.1.2. Halaf Period

To the shift to 6th mil BC north Syria and Iraq underwent cultural changes. A very distinct material assemblage, named Halaf, spread homogeneously to the area.³⁰⁷ Their chronological and geographical boundaries are still debatable issue.³⁰⁸ Nevertheless, during the first half of the 6th mil BC more and more sites in the semi-arid steppe produced particular types of high quality and technologically advanced pottery, although handmade. Also, these Halaf wares usually bore elaborate decoration and it is likely to be used in specific social events of food consuming.³⁰⁹ They were appeared in southeast Syria and eventually they spread to the north Mesopotamia.

The associate settlements were about 0.5 to 3 ha large, rarely more,³¹⁰ inhabited by less than 100 people approximately and for couple generations.³¹¹ According to Nieuwenhuyse,³¹² some people "*were constantly on the move, abandoning villages and starting new ones,*" while "*larger villages were inhabited for many generations.*" It is likely that some small settlements focused on hunting and pasture and others on growing livestock and crops.³¹³ However, there was a low population density in the region.³¹⁴ The basic characteristic of the time is the population movement, which secure the survival of the community. As Akkermans and Schwartz³¹⁵ noted, this fact resulted in groups' split and, thus, in the eventual avoidance of conflicts among them.

Settlements were consisted of both rectangular buildings and single-room buildings of circular layout.³¹⁶ The former have been named "*tholoi*" after the later Aegean circular construction.³¹⁷ However, it is unlikely any architectural affiliation between the buildings of the Halaf Culture and Aegean region. The tholoi of Halaf

³⁰⁶ Brereton 2011, 92; Kopanias 2013, 65.

³⁰⁷ Akkermans 1993; Cruells and Nieuwenhuyse 2004; Cruells 2008, 672.

³⁰⁸ Nieuwenhuyse 2017, 841.

³⁰⁹ Brereton 2011, 99.

³¹⁰ Like Domuztepe.

³¹¹ Akkermans 1993. Kopanias 2013, 73.

³¹² Nieuwenhuyse 2017, 844.

³¹³ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 150.

³¹⁴ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 120.

³¹⁵ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 152-3.

³¹⁶ Akkermans 1993, 228; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 106.

³¹⁷ Kopanias 2013, 74.

Period could be granaries and communal storage structures or dwellings and domestic structures. Another characteristic of this culture is the intensive use of stamp seals for controlling trading networks.³¹⁸ However, only an extended trade of obsidian have been attested.³¹⁹

Compared to the previous cultures, there is an increase in the production of cereals based only on the rain-fed agriculture,³²⁰ although extended canals, like those from the Samarra Period, have not been found here.³²¹ Wild resources, like nuts and fruits, are very important during Halaf Period. Also domestic sheep and goats, cattle and pigs supplement the diet.³²²

2.2. Archeological Research on Mortuary Practices in the pre-Ubaid Period

Unfortunately, the few burials found in Hassuna, Samarra and Halaf deposits³²³ varied remarkably in their arrangement and, thus, the sample is very biased for quantitative data synthesis, especially, on Hassuna and Samarra Cultures. Like the case of Ubaid records, we have to rely on the small number of case studies³²⁴ and preliminary reports of the excavations, except for the overview study held by Croucher.³²⁵

2.2.1. *Disposing the Dead: Burial Type and Deposition*

During Pre-Ubaid Period single inhumations predominated over the multiple or partial burials. Adults were usually placed directly on the bottom of the graves without absolute regularity in their orientation. They were, usually, positioned on their side with the legs flexed, hardly on its back fully extended or with the legs flexed.³²⁶ Fragmentary or disarticulated skeletal remains continued to exist withing graves from Pre-Prottery Neolithic Period with most popular the skull sepultures. An interesting example of skull deposit has been found in Tell Arpachiyah, where it was placed inside a ceramic vessel,³²⁷ while several graves holding a headless individual each have been unearthed

³¹⁸ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 139-40.

³¹⁹ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 119; Healey 2007.

³²⁰ McCorriston 1992; Kopanias 2013, 73 and 75. See also Akkermans 1993 for more.

³²¹ Kopanias 2013, 75.

³²² Akkermans 2013, 24-5; Cruells 2008, 271. See also Akkermans 1993 for more.

³²³ Some settlements lack burial evidence, in part because the excavations were restricted to fraction of the entire prehistoric occupational area.

³²⁴ See Akkermans 1989; Hole 1989; Brereton 2011.

³²⁵ Croucher 2012.

³²⁶ For examples in extended position see Yarim Tepe I, Kerküşti Höyük, Tell el-Kerkh and Sabi Abyad. However, it is not a position widely adopted from PPN to Halaf Period.

³²⁷ Hijara 1978, 125.

at Tell Azzo³²⁸ and Tell Hassuna,³²⁹ even in PPN and PN Anatolia and Syropalestine.³³⁰ Further cases of partial burials or of a skeleton placed in disorder have been unearthed from several sites such as Tell Hassuna,³³¹ Yarim Tepe I³³² Tell Songor A,³³³ Tell Songor B³³⁴ Matarrah,³³⁵ Mersin³³⁶ and Cavi Tarlasi.³³⁷ It is interesting that during the Halaf Period we have the combination of different kinds of disposing the dead. Besides burial, cremation was introduced that time evident by the sites of Yarim Tepe II³³⁸ and Tell Kurdu,³³⁹ as well as other contemporary sites, which yielded cremated skeletal remains of juveniles (see below here).

Multiple adult burials with complete skeletal remains have been found in small percentage, usually, consisted of adult(-s) and juvenile(-s)³⁴⁰ or solely juveniles (see next paragraph). In two cases, the number of the individuals within the pit were large enough to consider them mass graves, both dated to the Halaf Period. The first grave is a well from Tepe Gawra in secondary use, since about twenty-four individuals have been found stowed to its interior in peculiar position, like thrown.³⁴¹ This burial makes researchers wondering the possibility their death had been caused by a severe illness or a violent battle.³⁴²

The second burial is the so-called Death Pit unearthed in Domuztepe. It contained the bones of approximately forty individuals died between 15 and 40 years old³⁴³ and several thousand bones of animals including cattle, pigs and sheep/goats, which were related with a burial feasting practice.³⁴⁴ All the bones were found in fragmentary conditions and mixed together. The human corpses were found decapitated with their skulls lying further away,³⁴⁵ while many individuals had suffered by a blunt

³²⁸ See Killick and Roaf 1983, 206.

³²⁹ Lloyd *et al.* 1945, 267.

³³⁰ Croucher 2012.

³³¹ Lloyd *et al.* 1945, 267.

³³² Yoffee and Clark 1993

³³³ Fujii 1981; Kamada and Ohtsu 1991; Kamada and Ohtsu 1993.

³³⁴ Matsumoto and Yokouama 1989.

³³⁵ Braidwood *et al.* 1952, 24.

³³⁶ Garstang 1953, 110-2; Akkermans 1989, 81.

³³⁷ Wickede 1984; Wickede and Herbordt 1988.

³³⁸ Merpert and Munchaev 1987, 27; Yoffee and Clark 1993, 212-5.

³³⁹ Özbal *et al.* 2004, 70-1.

³⁴⁰ For example in Yarim Tepe II, Matarrah and Çavi Tarlasi.

³⁴¹ Tobler 1950, 49.

³⁴² Tobler 1950, 50; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 148.

³⁴³ Carter 2012.

³⁴⁴ According to the reporters cut marks both on human and animal remains may indicate a consumption (cannibalism in the case of humans). For more see Kansa *et al.* 2009; Carter 2012; Campbell *et al.* 2014; Fletcher and Campbell 2015.

³⁴⁵ Campbell *et al.* 2014, 31.

force trauma prior to their death.³⁴⁶ Besides the animal remains, different kinds of goods have been found in Death Pit, mostly a quantity of fragments of pottery supporting the Carter's assumption³⁴⁷ about ritual sacrifice involving human flesh consumption. In analogy with Death Pit, graves holding more than one incomplete skeleton have been attested in Matarrah³⁴⁸ and Yarim Tepe I.³⁴⁹ Furthermore, a collective burial holding four skulls in pots has been excavated in Tell Arpachiyah.³⁵⁰ Collective fractional burials are known from PPNB Syropalestine and southeast Anatolia, while in this region cremation appeared during PN Period.³⁵¹

Infants and children were, usually, placed in simple pits. The first urn burials appeared during Hassuna and Samarra Cultures in selected sites, like Tell es-Sawwan,³⁵² Tell Hassuna³⁵³ and Tell Halula.³⁵⁴ Individuals were placed, sometimes, with grave offerings inside a large ceramic vessel, while in the examples from Tell es-Sawwan the bodies were laid to rest in alabaster vessel, which were, usually, lidded with a second one.³⁵⁵ It seems that infant urn burial is not a widespread custom in Neolithic sphere, while it did not continue into Halaf Period.³⁵⁶ For example, all the underaged individuals found in the Halaf occupation of Ras Shamra had been placed in simple pits,³⁵⁷ which contradicts the later Ubaid infant/child urn burials therein.³⁵⁸ Generally, the corpses were laid in flexed position³⁵⁹ regardless the grave type (simple pit or urn burial), while orientation was widely diverse.³⁶⁰ The majority of the graves hold single and complete corpse, albeit few cases of multiple – usually double – infants/child burials have been also attested with indicative example Yarim Tepe I,

³⁴⁶ Carter *et al.* 2003.

³⁴⁷ Details about this issue see Carter 2012.

³⁴⁸ Braidwood *et al.* 1952, 23-4.

³⁴⁹ Merpert and Munchaev 1987, 9.

³⁵⁰ Hijara 1978, 125. It is reminded that a single skull buried in a pot has, also, been found in the same site (Hijara 1978, 125). It is interesting the fact that multiple skull sepultures were not attested so far in Hassuna/Samarra region, but in some PPNB cases, though, without being placed in vessels.

³⁵¹ Verhoeven 2002a, 7.

³⁵² al-Soof 1968; Campbell 1995.

³⁵³ Lloyd *et al.* 1945, 267-8; el-Wailly and es-Soof 1965; Wahida 1967; Brereton 2011, 550-3.

³⁵⁴ Brereton 2011, 648.

³⁵⁵ el-Wailly and es-Soof 1965, 24.

³⁵⁶ However, adult skulls in pottery vessels have been unearthed for the Halaf levels of Tell Arpachiyah (for more see Hijara 1978). Compare with the Neolithic simple skull sepultures.

³⁵⁷ Akkermans 1989, 81.

³⁵⁸ de Contenson 1992.

³⁵⁹ To my knowledge the only exceptions in extended supine position are few isolated cases from Tell Sabi Abyad and a single at Girikihaciyah. For more see Plug *et al.* 2014 and Watson and LeBlanc 1990 respectively.

³⁶⁰ Akkermans 1989; Hole 1989.

where three double burials have been found.³⁶¹ There are, also, either single or multiple interments of juveniles that the skeletal remains were disarticulated or partial.³⁶²

Generally, there is a variety in burial type, despite the rarity of multiple and/or incomplete bodies, already since Pre-Pottery Neolithic Period.³⁶³ The situation became more complex during the Halaf Period, since isolated compound disposals of infants and children including cremation and interment have been found in Yarim Tepe II,³⁶⁴ Chagar Bazar,³⁶⁵ and Mersin.³⁶⁶

2.2.2. *Grave Facilities and Offerings*

Individuals were, usually, wrapped in matting and placed in simple pits, which were, occasionally, lined with mud plaster or limestone, like those found in Tell Sabi Abyad³⁶⁷ and Çavi Tarlasi.³⁶⁸ Cist graves and built shafts were only isolated cases found in Tepe Gawra³⁶⁹ and Kerküşti Höyük.³⁷⁰ Another grave type was the urn, which, as mentioned, was in use in selected Hassuna/Samarra sites (see previous paragraph). Generally, the embellishing of the grave was not the priority during that time.

On the other hand, graves displayed a great variety in offerings, although poor, as they were deposited in direct association with the body.³⁷¹ According to Akkermans and Schwartz³⁷² the absence of social identity statement is a mechanism produced to avoid the escalation of social contradictions. Based on Hole's study³⁷³ of burial practices throughout the Neolithic, Ubaid and Uruk Periods, Neolithic individuals were usually interred with some personal adornments under their house floors. This treatment endured into the Halaf Period, with the caveat that the number of the deceased was scanty, because "*many of these structures were occupied only seasonally... [and] there*

³⁶¹ For the earlier double burial see Merpert *et al.* 1979, 31; for the second one see Merpert and Munchaev 1971, 16; the later is included in Yoffee and Clark 1993, 84. For further examples of multiple interments see also Yarim Tepe II, Tell Hassuna and Matarrah.

³⁶² Such infant/child burials have been found in Tell Sotto, Tell Arpachiyah, Matarrah, Yarim Tepe I and Yarim Tepe II.

³⁶³ For the burial practices from PPNA to PN see generally Akkermans and Schwartz 2003; Gopher and Orrelle 1995.

³⁶⁴ Merpert and Munchaev 1987, 27.

³⁶⁵ Mallowan 1936, 44.

³⁶⁶ Garstang 1953, 111; Akkermans 1989, 81.

³⁶⁷ Akkermans 2008.

³⁶⁸ Wickede 1984; Wickede and Herbordt 1988.

³⁶⁹ Tobler 1950.

³⁷⁰ Sarialtum 2013, 509.

³⁷¹ Usually, next to the skull, next to the legs and towards the vertebrate.

³⁷² Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 153.

³⁷³ Hole 1989.

may also have been a lack of familial continuity within the houses, perhaps analogous to pastoral people today who return to the same camp site but occupy different parts of it in successive visits and who may not return to the same site for many years".³⁷⁴

Actually, pottery is not included in the standard burial equipment especially in the Hassuna/Samarra Period.³⁷⁵ During this time the overwhelming majority of the burial assemblage consisted of a wide range in non-pottery objects³⁷⁶ including stone vessels, beads, animal bones, lithic implements, pendants, seals and sealings, bone tools, spindle whorls, pins, and figurines. The deposition of only ornaments or utilitarian objects, instead of receptacles seemed to be among the acceptable burial practices. The stone vessels sometimes appeared to replace the ceramic ones, together with which made up approximately the 50% of the total of the unearthed burial offerings, according to Brereton.³⁷⁷ Comparing the burial assemblages the numbers of both kinds of containers varied remarkably from none to 8. For example, at Tell as-Sawwan the adults and adolescents were occasionally accompanied by more than four vessels.³⁷⁸

Only to the shift in Halaf Period pottery vessels would start to become more common grave good, although its deposit did not overpass the 4 items per burial assemblage.³⁷⁹ The non-pottery offerings – quite restricted into specific species – continued generally to exist more or less with the same analogy, being that 1 for every 2 clay vessels.³⁸⁰ In this respect, the identification of a basic pattern or minimum set of furnishing as a demand of the burial ritual of each time does not seem to be feasible. At least in the case of grave offerings Pre-Ubaid burial evidence was much divergent.

2.2.3. *Patterns of Differences between Individuals' Ages*

As far as the spatial distribution of the graves is concerns, it is suggesting that during PPN the main burial place was located outside the habitation area due to the low number of individuals found under the architectural remains.³⁸¹ The shift to PN Period

³⁷⁴ Hole 1989, 173. According to Akkermans and Schwartz (Akkermans and Schwartz 2003) there was some populations that shifted locations in a regular base.

³⁷⁵ See generally Brereton 2011.

³⁷⁶ Brereton 2011, 128 and Chart 3,10.

³⁷⁷ Brereton 2011, 128.

³⁷⁸ Campbell 1995.

³⁷⁹ Based on the evidence from Chagar Bazar, Yarim Tepe I, Yarim Tepe II, Tell Arpachiyah, Tell Sabi Abyad, Umm Dabaghiya, Um Qseir, Kerküşti Höyük, Girikihaciyah, Cavi Tarlasi and Ras Shamra and Tell Kurdu.

³⁸⁰ Brereton 2011, 122-9.

³⁸¹ Goring-Morris 2002,116.

sees the emergence of juveniles endowed with a separate disposal, within the limits of the residential area. This is a very distinct pattern mainly at the Hassuna and Samarra sites, like Telul el-Thalathat, Tell Sotto,³⁸² Tell Hassuna,³⁸³ Yarim Tepe I.³⁸⁴ Therein, adults are rarely attested. Binford³⁸⁵ distinguished two patterns occurred in prehistoric societies, according to which people either buried their adults on the confines of their settlement and the children and infants under the houses or they interred the adults under the houses and juveniles in the outskirts of the settlements.

At Tell Sabi Abyad, no adult burial has been uncovered until 2005, when Akkermans discovered a concentration of several adult burials sunk in the earlier Neolithic debris.³⁸⁶ They seemed to be contemporary with the structures and with the underground child burials in Operation I dated back to the Pre-Halaf Period and therefore he concluded that it is a part of an extended cemetery.³⁸⁷ After further excavations and laboratory analysis Akkermans recognized 7 successive phases of the cemetery assigned to Pre-Halaf and Halaf Periods.³⁸⁸ However, for several sub-phases contemporary buildings remains have been dug nearby or above the graves³⁸⁹ making dubious any correlation of the area with a secluded and organized burial locale, rather than with a multiple functions area.³⁹⁰ According to this example, it is most probable that at Tell Sabi Abyad there were some specific customs in each sub-phase that allowed either adults or sub-adults to be excluded for the realm of living by lying away from the contemporary dwellings, within unexploited or abandoned areas by the Late Neolithic Period and onwards confirming Binford's suggestion. Similar case is the Halaf site of Yarim Tepe II, since a number of contemporary graves have been found in the neighboring site of Yarim Tepe I, which had been occupied in the previous Hassuna Period.³⁹¹ Again, it seems that the inhabitants of Yarim Tepe II had chosen the already abandoned settlement of Yarim Tepe I as burial place under certain, but undetermined circumstances.

³⁸² Merpert *et al.* 1978.

³⁸³ Lloyd *et al.* 1945.

³⁸⁴ All burial contexts could be found in Brereton 2011.

³⁸⁵ Binford 1971, 22.

³⁸⁶ Akkermans 2008, 625-6.

³⁸⁷ Akkermans 2008, 625-6.

³⁸⁸ For more about the graves and their chronological distribution see Plug *et al.* 2014.

³⁸⁹ For more see Plug *et al.* 2014.

³⁹⁰ The construction of buildings in areas previously functioned as burial locale or the use of abandoned parts of the settlements as burial place is a practice that noted to several instances since PPN. For more see Goring-Morris 2002, 120.

³⁹¹ Yoffee and Clark 1993, 4.

Individuals of all ages were sometimes accompanied by grave goods. Even in the cases of infant/child pot burials, the funeral objects, consisted mainly by vessels or beads, were placed inside the urn. However, as mentioned, the numbers of urn burials were annihilated during the Halaf Period. During that time, juveniles were interred in simple pits, just like adults. A second difference refers to the quantity of burials through the time, since there is a significant increase in the numbers of adult graves towards the Pre-Halaf and Halaf Period. For example, from the Hassuna occupation in Yarim Tepe the 81% of the specified individuals belong to children and infants, the 16% to adults and 3% to adolescents, in contrast to 64% children and infants, 34% adults and 2% adolescents of Halaf Period. Here, we can see that by the end of the Late Neolithic Period adult burials doubled and at the same time the interred juveniles present a slight drop in their numbers. Further research from this perspective would give us a more comprehend picture and would, probably, contribute to the distinction into different aspects of the mortuary traditions occurred in each period and how they evolved through the time. Unfortunately, except for Yarim Tepe and Tell Songor,³⁹² which actually consist of several mounds dated to different cultures, no other known site yields successive occupation from Hassuna/Samarra to Halaf Period. To my knowledge, the excavated multicultural sites maintain cultural debris, which belong either to Hassuna/Samarra followed by Ubaid³⁹³ or Halaf followed by Ubaid Period.³⁹⁴ Furthermore, it is proposed that there is an interruption in the occupation between Hassuna-Samarra and Halaf Cultures according to several sites that yield associated debris.³⁹⁵ Nevertheless, trajectories are an issue that should be re-evaluated, since the periodizations regarding these prehistoric cultures cover a notably long period of time.³⁹⁶

2.3. Archaeological Research on Mortuary Practices during the Ubaid Period

At first glance, burial arrangements are varied during the Ubaid Period, just like in the previous ones. There was no particular preference in the orientation and position of the dead, and simple inhumations, multiple burials, and incomplete skeletal remains

³⁹² Tell Songor earlier burials are very low in their numbers for general remarks.

³⁹³ With indicative examples Tell Abada, Abu Dhahir and Telul el-Thalathat.

³⁹⁴ With indicative examples Tepe Gawra, Tell Arpachiyah and Kosak Shamali.

³⁹⁵ Cambell 1998, 40; There is also evidence that a gradual transition took place. For this matter see also Cruells 2008.

³⁹⁶ Mühl and Nieuwenhuyse 2016, 27.

have all been recovered within the space of single sites. Evidence from the offerings provide no clues as to the social rank or identity of the deceased,³⁹⁷ but rather an unstratified or egalitarian society according to Forest, who draws upon the associated evidence from Tepe Gawra and Eridu.³⁹⁸ According to him only at the end of this period social differentiation became visible in the mortuary practices.³⁹⁹ Wright and Pollock,⁴⁰⁰ though, point out that the manifestation of social position or identity of the deceased was not traded at that time. The absence of differentiation among the burial assemblage, may, also, suggest that the wealth or the elevated position was irrelevant and lost, when a person died and his/her reminiscence by living relatives was not a matter of priority.⁴⁰¹ A very significant change that the above mentioned studies put emphasis on is the wide use of cemeteries from the middle of the Ubaid Period. This fact should have modulated other mortuary beliefs and practices and, as Croucher⁴⁰² points out, the once symbiotic role between the dead and the living motivated by the strong need for remembering the dead was diminished during the Ubaid Period.

Nevertheless, it seems this was a time of transition in mortuary practices⁴⁰³ – while earlier customs are maintained, new ones are, also, introduced. Intramural burials continued to occur in small number throughout Ubaid Horizon, but lack personal adornments and other non-pottery objects.⁴⁰⁴ Furthermore, the imbalances in the age of the interred is now very obvious, since infants and children were usually buried under or near houses, usually in urns.⁴⁰⁵ Adults are presumed to have been buried outside the limits of residential area, following the discovery of five cemeteries in Tell Arpachiyah, Eridu, Ur, Tell Songor and Abu Dhahir.

Hole⁴⁰⁶ proposed that the few adults buried intramurally during the Ubaid Period correspond to an itinerant group who intentionally chose to bury their dead within no longer occupied settlements, and not necessarily groups associated with these settlements during their periods of activity. Infants are excluded from this assumption,

³⁹⁷ Kopanias 2013, 95-6; Huot 2004, 64.

³⁹⁸ Forest 1983b. See also Charvát 2002, 98-100; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.

³⁹⁹ Forest 1983b.

⁴⁰⁰ Wright and Pollock 1987, 328. See also Pollock 1999, 203.

⁴⁰¹ Kopanias and Barlagianni 2019.

⁴⁰² Croucher 2010, 118; 2012, 145. According to Campbell (Campbell 2008), the dead were present in everyday life during earlier periods. The re-opening of the graves to collect some bones (see partial burials) express the necessity for a continuous communication between the realm of the dead and living.

⁴⁰³ Forest 1986; Wright and Pollock 1987; Hole 1989; Vértessalji 1989; Croucher 2010.

⁴⁰⁴ Brereton 2011, 217.

⁴⁰⁵ Brereton 2011, 222.

⁴⁰⁶ Hole 1989.

since according to him, they were consistently buried under the floors of their parental houses. Finally, he concluded that the formation of cemeteries signified the stabilization of mortuary practices by the middle of the 5th mil. At this time, individuals were buried extramurally in a common manner, and accompanied by grave offerings: usually, a bowl, jar and cup.

2.4. Research Questions and Methodology

It is true that the above-mentioned case studies do not cover the entire geographical and chronological frame of the Ubaid Culture, though in most cases there is an *a priori* agreement that cemeteries did not exist in earlier periods. Despite the small-scale of examination, it is generally accepted that stabilized mortuary practices arose only at the very end of the Ubaid period, mainly, during transition into the subsequent Uruk Period (4000-3100 BC), when a particular group of people gained an elevated social position. It is difficult to establish the evolution of burial practices in the Ubaid Period, partly due to dating issues. Ubaid pottery, regularly found in graves, was in use throughout the 5th mil without notable changes in its forms. In the case of intramural burials, they are usually dated to the level of the building's inhabitancy, but we cannot be sure that a burial did in fact place during the house's use or after its abandonment. Some settlements do lack any evidence of intramural adult' burials, sporting only a few infant graves. At the same time, no cemetery has been located in surrounding region of the sites – indicative examples being Tepe Gawra and Tell Abada, where despite the investigation no cemetery has been found. Consequently, it is still questionable as to whether the contemporary people buried their dead, and under which circumstances individuals were buried intramurally or extramurally, as well as the social implications of these extramural burial locale.

The fluidity of funerary customs evident throughout much of the Ubaid Period attests to a gap in the research over any legitimate lack of consistent funerary culture. To determine whether this is the case, a thorough examination of all the Ubaid burials in light of new excavation data is necessary. One of the main questions is the reasons behind the distinction between intramural and extramural burials. What differences are there regarding the embellishment of the grave, the position and orientation of the dead, as well as the quantity and quality of grave goods between cemeteries and on-site burials? Is there a difference in the burial ritual between these two types? A second issue, which will be examined in detail, is the percentage of fragmentary and multiple

burials in each settlement. Which burial practices prevail in each settlement and Phase? Is there any evolution of this during the Ubaid Period? What do the fragmentary burials indicate? In the case of multiple burials, were these interred simultaneously, or the was the grave re-opened to receive a new interment? In which cases is cranial deformation present?

As Croucher⁴⁰⁷ points out, a specific interpretation applied uniformly to all burial contexts is problematic, especially when it comes to such an extended geographical and chronological period as the Ubaid. However, such an application is not the main purpose of this research. A detailed analysis would highlight particular issues and stages in the evolution of burial customs in each sub-region and each Ubaid Phase, as well as identify foreign influences and local variations.

Through this process, it will be possible to detect the validity (or the degree of validity) of the theory concerning the proposed models of social organization (see chapter 1.4.3.) and identify which one best corresponds to each region. The detailed study of mortuary customs may also provide some clues as to which of these customs were practiced only by members of the family and which demanded the presence of the whole community. By extension, this analysis may determine the conditions under which the demonstration of social status on such occasions emerged and the degree to which these impacted the burial rite.

By recording burial contexts in a dataset, which includes details of type and construction of each grave, the skeletal remains therein, the orientation of the dead, their life-stage, and the quality and quantity of associated offerings, an intra-site analysis of the mortuary practices becomes possible. The results will be discussed in an inter-site analysis, elucidating specific patterns concerning each geographical area and time phase. This comparative study of burial contexts is expected to produce additional data about the ritual traditions that the Ubaid individuals followed through time.

⁴⁰⁷ Croucher 2010.

CHAPTER 3

The Burial Data in the Ubaid "Horizon"

For the needs of the following analysis, over 80 prehistoric sites located in the large area across Tigris and Euphrates have been inspected and 51 of these were found yielding Ubaid cultural debris. However, graves have been discovered in or published from only 35 sites. It should be noted here that the examination process on Telul eth-Thalathat, Tell Mashnaqah, Tell Kashkaskashok, Tell Ziyadeh and Değirmentepe failed to proceed satisfactory, since for over a year before the completion of this dissertation the institutional libraries have been kept closed due to the pandemic Covid-19. Consequently, the available sample consists of about 796 graves from 30 Ubaid settlements, dicrebed thourouhply in the next chpaters.

It was initially observed that some graves were discovered under of near the Ubaid buildings and workshops, while others far away from them. Thus, the available graves have been grouped and examined here as intramural and extramural.

3.1. Intramural Burials

In the present research intramural burials are defined as those found within the limits of the occupational area. As mentioned in the introduction, it is inconclusive as to whether most intramural burials are directly associated with the upper building levels or were dug after the area was abandoned. The thorough discussion of the burial data is expected to shed light to this problem, although it does not cover the entire region under consideration, since south and central Mesopotamia do not yield such findings. Thus, the present chapter includes mainly sites, which are located to north Iraq, Syria and south-east Anatolia. After the description of the burial contexts found in settlements, there will be a comparative look by each region.

3.1.1. South Mesopotamia

By environmental point of view, the inhabitants of south Mesopotamia have to cope with several issues before achieving agricultural subsistence with the major one the limited access to water supplies.⁴⁰⁸ The annual rainfalls were inadequate for the corps, while Tigris and Euphrates notably low water level during the sowing makes demanding the construction of extensive canal networks.⁴⁰⁹ Hole⁴¹⁰ argues that before 6000 BC the temperature had a difference of 2 to 4°C, since summers were warmer and winters cooler, while from the late Ubaid to the end of Uruk Period he sees a cultural and population decline (or migration) most probably due to a climatic change in its current form.⁴¹¹

Studying the present morphology and depressions of the surrounding terrain suggests that the main streams of the Euphrates – the main water source – flowed through this area, creating islands.⁴¹² Populations settled on the banks of the river or on those islands. This was an effort to produce efficiently irrigated farmland, since the desert climate of the region does not encourage the establishment of farming and livestock-breeding communities in any other way. However, the irrigated agriculture had its own problems. Besides the constant care and conservation of the canals, the concentrated water inside them harshly evaporated due to the high temperature. This fact has as a result the salinization of the arable lands especially during summers.⁴¹³ Consequently, the crops here consisted mainly of salt-tolerant and winter cultivated species,⁴¹⁴ while large areas of arable lands were exploited in order to be left in fallow by turns.⁴¹⁵

Despite the limited excavation of the Ubaid residential area due to the later deposit, many of the south settlements seemed to be quite large. Burial practices of the region are best known through cemeteries, which sometimes are as sizable as natural necropolis like this at Eridu (see chapter 3.2. for more).

⁴⁰⁸ Rost 2017, 3.

⁴⁰⁹ Adams 1981; Rost 2017.

⁴¹⁰ Hole 1994, 123-9; 1997.

⁴¹¹ Hole 1994, 129-31.

⁴¹² Hall and Woolley 1927, 7.

⁴¹³ Adams 1981, 5.

⁴¹⁴ Adams 1981, 5; Rost 2017, 3.

⁴¹⁵ Hole 1994, 123-4.

3.1.2. *Central Mesopotamia*

Central Mesopotamia is a large area including the Hamrin Basin, which is discussed in this subchapter. Outside of the Hamrin Basin, the only known Ubaid sites in Central Mesopotamia are Tell Uqair⁴¹⁶ and Ras al-Amiyah.⁴¹⁷ Both are very little investigated and not much is published on the excavated material. Ubaid burials, if found, are not included in preliminary reports. Consequently, we are completely unaware of Ubaid burial practices in the wider part of the region.

3.1.2.1. Hamrin Basin

Central-east Mesopotamia is covered by numerous basins and several series of hills, which constitute the western end of the Zagros mountain range.⁴¹⁸ The Hamrin Basin is a part of Middle Diyala Basin and delimited by two low ridges, Jebel Hamrin at the northwest and Jebel Jubbah at the southeast.⁴¹⁹ Diyala river – a tributary of the Tigris originating in the Zagros mountains – flows through the Hamrin Basin, separating it into two parts.⁴²⁰

As Postgate points out, the Hamrin Basin has *"an identity on its own and considerable agricultural potential"*.⁴²¹ Cereals are indigenous to this dry-steppe zone and based on the limited paleo-botanical analysis, both wild and cultivated species are grown in winter.⁴²² The winter rainfalls are sufficient enough to create many lakes and brooks, which together with Diyala river and its tributaries provide essential conditions for agriculture.⁴²³ Thus, both dry and irrigated farming are feasible during the winter season.⁴²⁴ Animal husbandry and hunting was also an important part of life in Hamrin communities, as well as the highlands more generally.⁴²⁵ According to Jasim the hills were inhabited by nomadic herdsman, who probably moved to Zagros higher mountains during summer season.⁴²⁶ According to evidence from the Iranian Deh Luran, these

⁴¹⁶ Lloyd et al. 1943.

⁴¹⁷ Stronach 1961.

⁴¹⁸ Adams 1965, 3.

⁴¹⁹ Jasim 1985, 1-2; 2001, 1-2. For more about Diyala river see, also, Adams 1965, 3-12.

⁴²⁰ Jasim 1985, 2.

⁴²¹ Postgate 1984, 149. See, also, Adams 1965, 18-20.

⁴²² See generally Jasim 1985 and 2001.

⁴²³ Jasim 1985, 185-6.

⁴²⁴ Jasim 1985, 188-91.

⁴²⁵ Jasim 1985; Pollock 1999.

⁴²⁶ Jasim 1985, 191.

ecological zones offer excellent winter grazing.⁴²⁷ In an environmental point of view, agricultural domains could be developed on the hills, but the geomorphology would restrict the crop areas to small plateaus. Therefore, permanent agricultural settlements could not be established there. Despite the surrounding hills, the Hamrin Basin is not isolated. Very important routes that connect north and south Mesopotamia and the Iranian Plateau with Mesopotamia have passed through this region from antiquity until today.⁴²⁸ This explains why the region was never at the margin of socio-cultural changes that Mesopotamia underwent over time.

In the late 1970s the State Organization for Antiquities and Heritage of Iraq held perhaps the most extensive archaeological venture ever attempted in Iraq. It is known as the Hamrin Dam Salvage Project, in which many foreign archaeological teams participated in an effort to rescue the numerous archaeological sites located in the Hamrin Basin,⁴²⁹ which was to be flooded by the construction of a dam across the Diyala river. In this chapter we deal only with those sites that preserve remains of the Ubaid material assemblage.

This impressive project covering the Hamrin region allowed many Ubaid sites to be discovered and explored, although the rescue aims restricted excavations to few pits at each site. These fail to provide a comprehensive picture of the settlements or their burial customs. The single exception is Tell Abada, which has been almost fully investigated.⁴³⁰

3.1.2.1.1. Tell Abada

The site

In 1977 Jasim was encouraged to investigate the Hamrin region by the discovery of the Samarra-Ubaid Transitional Period at the nearby site of Choga Mami.⁴³¹ Under the aegis of the State of Antiquities in Iraq, Jasim focused his excavations on Tell Abada. Here, surface pottery intensified suspicions on the influence of the south in central Mesopotamia.⁴³²

⁴²⁷ Hole *et al.* 1969.

⁴²⁸ For more see Postgate 1984; Jasim 1985, 2-3.

⁴²⁹ Seventy-five. For more about the Hamrin Dam Salvage Project see, generally, the volume 40 of the journal *Sumer*.

⁴³⁰ According to excavator (Jasim 1985), the 80% of the mound is excavated.

⁴³¹ Jasim 1985; Oates 1987.

⁴³² Jasim 1985.

Tell Abada is a roughly round mound with a length of 190 m and width of 150 m.⁴³³ It rises 3.5 m above the present surrounding area.⁴³⁴ Part of the deposit, however, reaches below the plain, with the total stratigraphic sequence 6 m thick.⁴³⁵ Jasim recognized three main occupational levels with several successive phase-floors each. The earliest is Level III and the later Levels II and I. Within the 9 month excavation,⁴³⁶ the upper two levels were almost entirely exposed. Excavation of Level III was restricted to its western and central areas.

The excavation data is included in volume 267 of the BAR international Series,⁴³⁷ in several articles⁴³⁸ and in the recent published final report.⁴³⁹ According to these publications the Ubaid Culture was established gradually at the site. The earliest material assemblage at the site, assigned to the Level III, is of a transitional phase, since the associated pottery is an mixture of Samarra ceramic types and Ubaid 1 and 2 Phases.⁴⁴⁰ In addition to pottery, the architecture of Level III appears to follow different traditions: the three large buildings excavated have completely different plans, with Building A constructed in the common tripartite architectural type, the almost rectangular Building B consisting of many narrow rooms and Building C, which seems to be irregular in shape, having few rooms.⁴⁴¹

Levels II and I correspond to late Ubaid 2 and early Ubaid 3 Phases.⁴⁴² They share similar architectural plans⁴⁴³ with the best-preserved buildings found in Level II: most of the 10 freestanding structures seem to be fashioned in the tripartite plan common to this time (**fig. 7**).⁴⁴⁴ They consist of ranges between 8 and 14 rooms, organized on either side of a T-shaped hall.⁴⁴⁵ Some of these show a more complex plan, with the creation of more rooms in the shape of a central hall. Some buildings bare buttresses for reinforcement outside of the external walls. The roofs are made of

⁴³³ About 2 ha large.

⁴³⁴ Jasim 1985, 16; 2021, 9.

⁴³⁵ Jasim 1985, 16-7.

⁴³⁶ From December of 1977 to July of 1978.

⁴³⁷ See Jasim 1985.

⁴³⁸ Jasim 1981; 1983a; 1984; Oates and Jasim 1986.

⁴³⁹ Jasim 2021.

⁴⁴⁰ Jasim 1983a, 168. For the analysis of pottery types see Jasim 2021, 51-56.

⁴⁴¹ For more see Jasim 1985; 2021.

⁴⁴² Jasim 1983a, 168.

⁴⁴³ Although a well-preserved water channel network had been unearthed from Level I (for more see Jasim 2021, 18).

⁴⁴⁴ Jasim 1985, 18-27; 2021, 10-5.

⁴⁴⁵ Pollock 2010, 96.

wood, reeds and mud and the floors have beaten clay on their surfaces.⁴⁴⁶ There are also indications of wooden doors, and the walls are lined with clay or sometimes gypsum.⁴⁴⁷ Narrow alleys existed between the houses.⁴⁴⁸

What may be called public architecture is not absent in Tell Abada. However, all these buildings seem to have a more or less domestic architectural influence, and do not follow the plan of the temples or granaries known from other sites such as Eridu, Oueilli and Tepe Gawra. The excavator put emphasis on two successive buildings labelled Building A of Level II and Building A of Level I. They are sizable constructions positioned centrally within the settlement. Their plan is also more complex than a common Ubaid house with three T-shaped rooms, one in the center and two in the long sites.⁴⁴⁹ Among the renovations that the Building A of Level II underwent, it is the annexation of a rectangular large enclosed area attached to the exterior of the north wall, which according to Jasim was made for purposes of terracing.⁴⁵⁰ According to findings from the interior of the building, we can conclude that mostly domestic activities took place here. However, there is a great concentration of urn burials under the floors,⁴⁵¹ and all the tokens unearthed at the site have emerged from this building alone.⁴⁵² Furthermore, a clay tablet with linear symbols on one side was found in Room 7,⁴⁵³ which is one of the most unique finds of the Ubaid Culture. Jasim concluded based on this evidence that Building A had an administrative function.⁴⁵⁴

Other structural units that exceed 200 m² are Building B and Building J, which together with Buildings A make up a group of buildings architecturally distinct from the rest of the constructions in Tell Abada. Alongside their size, findings from their interiors, mostly stone vessels and mace-heads⁴⁵⁵ which have not been found in any other context at the site, indicate to Jasim that inhabitants of these structures held a different socio-economic status than the rest of the site's occupants.⁴⁵⁶

⁴⁴⁶ Jasim 1983a, 173.

⁴⁴⁷ Jasim 1983a, 173.

⁴⁴⁸ Jasim 1983a, 173; Jasim 1985, 19.

⁴⁴⁹ Jasim 1985, 19-20 and 27-8.

⁴⁵⁰ Jasim 1985, 19-20; 2021, 11.

⁴⁵¹ Over the half of burials are associated with Building A.

⁴⁵² For the tokens see Jasim and Oates 1986.

⁴⁵³ Jasim refer to it as proto-tablet (see Jasim 1985, 73).

⁴⁵⁴ Jasim 1985, 173.

⁴⁵⁵ For more see Jasim 1985, 202.

⁴⁵⁶ Jasim 1985, 202-3; Huot (2004, 64-5) suggests that Building B was the chief's residence.

Some smaller structures are also of interest, particularly Building G and Building I. In Building G, unbaked clay vessels and a kiln outside the structure indicate that a systematic pottery manufacture may have taken place here.⁴⁵⁷ Building I is interpreted by the excavator as a storage building,⁴⁵⁸ or possibly a locale where sheep were kept.⁴⁵⁹

The main question of the site is if these differences in domestic context reflect a stratified society. Jasim mentions that the *"evidence does not in any way establish participation in long distance trading networks"*.⁴⁶⁰ Importing is presented to its most basic form that could exist that time and this means that only a very small quantity of obsidian originating from Anatolia has been found at the site.⁴⁶¹ Consequently, there is no good ground to support the idea that some families or groups achieved elevated social positions through wealth accumulation. Cereals thrive in the area of Tell Abada, and it is easy to imagine the site's inhabitants making their living on agricultural activity. Studies of plants remains from the site show a great variety in winter cultivated species: three types of barley, two or possibly three types of wheat and even domesticated flowers.⁴⁶² Wild barley and wheat are, also, attested to have supplemented the diet of inhabitants at Tell Abada.⁴⁶³ There is strong evidence of intensive animal domestication including the rearing of cattle, sheep and goats, whose food and water requirements were met by locally available fields lying in fallow, hills, and natural water sources.⁴⁶⁴ Parts of an extended water pipes channel, probably leading to the nearest tributary of Diyala river, Kurderreh, have also been unearthed at the site.⁴⁶⁵

At first glance, Abada is a village of farmers. However, a developed system of firing structures also indicates pottery manufacture.⁴⁶⁶ Apart from this specialization, each household seems to have produced and consumed what it needed, though some households also seem to have obtained further responsibilities within the community. For example, the occupants of Building A seem to have dealt with administrative issues. Frangipane and Pollock's theory, that some families were charged with organizing and

⁴⁵⁷ Jasim 1985.

⁴⁵⁸ Jasim 2021, 14.

⁴⁵⁹ Jasim 1985.

⁴⁶⁰ Jasim 1985, 211.

⁴⁶¹ Jasim 2021, 126.

⁴⁶² Jasim 1985, 193; 2021; 111.

⁴⁶³ Jasim 1985.

⁴⁶⁴ Jasim 1985, 191-3; 2021, 112.

⁴⁶⁵ Jasim 1985, 32-3.

⁴⁶⁶ Jasim 1985, 53-4; Jasim 2021, 29-30 and 121.

managing particular aspects of life on behalf of the community,⁴⁶⁷ is in accordance with this evidence.

The burials

The burial data is reported by Jasim⁴⁶⁸ with details regarding distribution in the settlement, orientation, position, age of the dead and offerings. No single adult burial has been identified – all the 125 interments unearthed are of infants and children between the ages of few months and 2 years.⁴⁶⁹ Of these, 58 are assigned to Levels I (G1-G60) and 67 to Level II (G61-G127). They were found under the floors (103 cases) or outside the buildings (22 cases). 53 instances were dug within Building A (**fig. 8**) and the rest were mainly found in the area around it, including the neighboring Buildings B, F, E, C and free space between them. There is also a small concentration of burials to the northwest of the site and Building J in Level II.

Five interments⁴⁷⁰ were buried directly in the soil and covered with a bowl or plate, 38⁴⁷¹ were placed in urns without a lid and one (G72) can be considered a double urn, as the pot which contained the body was laid inside a larger pot. The rest of the graves bore remains placed in jars or bowls, usually painted, which were then lidded with sherds or plates. Urns were sometimes plastered with clay or gypsum. Chiocchetti's study⁴⁷² on the combinations of urn-lid pottery types, as well as the no-lidded examples in Hamrin region, suggest that at least 16 different burial types existed at Tell Abada. This fact suggests that there was no firm preference in pottery shapes, though a preference for painted vessels does seem present: 64 contexts hold painted ceramic vessels, either with or without plain pottery, but only 8 contexts hold exclusively plain pottery. The relevant information is not available for the remaining cases. The quality of vessels also does not seem to be of major importance. Repaired vessels were found in two cases,⁴⁷³ roughly made vessels were found in nine cases⁴⁷⁴

⁴⁶⁷ See the chapter 1 here for more details.

⁴⁶⁸ Jasim 1985; 2021.

⁴⁶⁹ According to a sample of 26 individuals.

⁴⁷⁰ G33, G54, G56, G76 and G80.

⁴⁷¹ G1, G3, G4, G6, G10, G11, G12, G13 G16, G17, G18, G22, G29, G32, G34, G37, G38, G39, G41, G45, G46, G47, G51, G53, G59, G65, G86, G87, G88, G92, G94, G103, G106, G108, G113, G116, G117 and G124.

⁴⁷² Chiocchetti 2007.

⁴⁷³ G3 and G122.

⁴⁷⁴ G1, G8, G43, G48, G57, G78, G98, G121 and G125.

and examples of unbaked clay was found in five cases.⁴⁷⁵ Furthermore, numerous fragmentary urns and lids (sometimes both in the same burial)⁴⁷⁶ have been found, and may not necessarily have been broken after the conclusion of the burial. In the cases of jars, these would have had to be broken in half in order for the dead body to be placed inside. For example, the urn of G5 is a jar placed upside down with its base broken.⁴⁷⁷ Consequently, broken vessels seem interwoven with urn burials in order to fit the dead body. Taking the above into account regarding each level, it is assumed that there is a decadence in burial practice at the end of Ubaid 2-3 Phase at Tell Abada for two main reasons. Firstly, all the unbaked vessels have been found in Level I and secondly the number of no-lid examples increased: 25 out of the 58 had no lid, in contrast to Level II with 13 out of 67 having no lid. It seems that the settlement's economy was in decline by this time.

All the interments were placed in flexed position, except for 36 cases lying in confuse⁴⁷⁸ and G80, which was laid extended.⁴⁷⁹ The unique position of the child in G80 is hard to interpret, as evidence of an elevated social status for the family, since it is a humble burial dug in the soil without an urn. Interred individuals are aligned in either northerly or southerly orientations. Specific orientations vary between NE⁴⁸⁰ N⁴⁸¹ S⁴⁸² SW⁴⁸³ SE,⁴⁸⁴ listed here in order of popularity.

Grave offerings are extremely rare. Beads have been found in two cases,⁴⁸⁵ probably associated with the body.⁴⁸⁶ A clay human figurine was found near the body in G68.⁴⁸⁷ Finally, G5 holds a cup as an offering.⁴⁸⁸

⁴⁷⁵ G7, G16, G41, G42 and G47.

⁴⁷⁶ In 21 burial contexts.

⁴⁷⁷ Jasim 1985, 37.

⁴⁷⁸ G32, G38, G39, G42, G44, G46, G47, G48, G50, G57, G67, G71, G74, G75, G77, G78, G79, G81, G94, G98, G99, G100, G103, G104, G105, G108, G111, G113, G115, G117, G118, G120, G123, G125, G126 and G127.

⁴⁷⁹ Jasim 1985, 44.

⁴⁸⁰ G10, G12, G19, G19, G24, G41, G53, G55, G56, G59, G60, G62, G63, G64, G66, G70, G76, G82, G83, G84, G86, G88, G90, G91, G92, G93, G107, G109, G110, G114, G119 and G121.

⁴⁸¹ G3, G4, G9, G11, G13, G14, G15, G16, G21, G22, G23, G29, G30, G33, G37, G58, G61, G65, G58, G69, G73, G80, G85, G87, G95, G97, G102, G106, G112, G116 and G122.

⁴⁸² G8, G43, G54, G72 and G96,

⁴⁸³ G45, G49, G51, G52 and G124.

⁴⁸⁴ G1, G17 and G101.

⁴⁸⁵ G34 and G67.

⁴⁸⁶ Jasim 1985, 36.

⁴⁸⁷ Jasim 1985, 36.

⁴⁸⁸ Jasim 1985, 36.

3.1.2.1.2. Tell Songor

The site

A large Japanese team consisting of many archaeologists, anthropologists, architects and geologists⁴⁸⁹ worked from 1977 to 1980 at Tell Songor. The site is actually a group of three mounds, named Tell Songor A, Tell Songor B and Tell Songor C from SE to NE. Each one lies at a distance of roughly 100 m from the next.⁴⁹⁰ The visible parts of the mounds are not as high as their name implies (Tell Songor literally means "the mound that birds can reach") with Tell Songor A rising 3 m above the surrounding area, Tell Songor B rising 2 m, and Tell Songor C rising 1 m.⁴⁹¹

Even if the final report is not yet available, Tell Songor is a well-published archaeological site and Ubaid material assemblages are present in all three mounds. Tell Songor A is 190 x 140 m,⁴⁹² formed mostly by the remains of the Samarra settlement⁴⁹³ and graves dated between the Samarra to Parthian/Sassanian Periods.⁴⁹⁴ The Ubaid Period is only represented by a few graves found to the north and south sounding together with some Isin-Larsa ones.⁴⁹⁵ The central sounding yields Halaf pottery. The western sounding is composed of an uppermost layer of ED constructions and a lower layer of Halaf pottery.⁴⁹⁶

Tell Songor B was more extensively investigated. This mound is smaller than Tell Songor A, measuring 60 x 50 m.⁴⁹⁷ Excavators note "*the virgin soil is occupied by the potsherds of the Halaf Period.*"⁴⁹⁸ This statement raises many questions on the nature of the lowest excavated level, called Level Virgin Soil. This level holds a few small round and oval pits.⁴⁹⁹ These are dubious findings: they seem to be simply cut into the soil, rather than formed by visible construction materials. Above it, four successive occupational levels – Levels IV to I from the bottom to top – have been

⁴⁸⁹ See more for the members in Fujii 1981, 131-3.

⁴⁹⁰ Fujii 1981.

⁴⁹¹ Fujii 1981.

⁴⁹² About 2.50 ha.

⁴⁹³ For about this Period see Fuji 1981; Matsumoto 1987; Kamada and Ohtsu 1995; Kamada and Ohtsu 1995.

⁴⁹⁴ They are Halaf, Ubaid, Isin-Larsa, Islamic and Parthian-Sassanian Periods. For more about these graves and periods in Tell Songor A see Fujii 1981; Kamada and Ohtsu 1988; Kamada and Ohtsu 1991; Kamada and Ohtsu 1993.

⁴⁹⁵ Fujii 1981, 165-6.

⁴⁹⁶ Fujii 1981, 166; Kamada and Ohtsu 1993.

⁴⁹⁷ Less than 0.3 ha.

⁴⁹⁸ Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995, 36.

⁴⁹⁹ Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995, 34-6.

identified. Above this is a superimposed surface level consisting of later graves.⁵⁰⁰ Earlier Levels IV and III are dated to the Halaf Period. Level II is composed of both Halaf and Ubaid 3 pottery, and Level I is assigned to the Ubaid Period.⁵⁰¹ However, there are several inaccuracies regarding the architectural remains in Levels III and particularly II, since successive buildings are included in the same Level and the same buildings are presented with different labels in the reports. In the present research, labels set by Matsumoto and Yokoyama will be used.

The Halaf Level IV is quite different from the upper layers, consisting of two buildings and two touching circular constructions, which are either kilns or ovens.⁵⁰² Level III is mainly represented by a rectangular building unit: the main structure B-7 and its annex B-8.⁵⁰³ Other mud brick buildings are the smaller B-9, B-10, B-11 and B-12. To the north of the excavated area a road paved with pebbles was found.⁵⁰⁴ Level II (**fig. 9**) seem to preserve some characteristics of the preceding plan. Buildings B-1, B-2, B-3, B-4, B-5W, B-5E and B-6 are assigned to this level. The building unit consisting of B-1 and B-4 follows the plan of the B-7 and B-8, though with some rooms added at the southwest side. The floor of B-1 is formed by gypsum, like its predecessor B-7.⁵⁰⁵ Rooms Rm2 and Rm6 of B-4 offer no findings, and seem to be an annex of B-1 serving as water supply facilities since a channel, labelled W-2, leads to them.⁵⁰⁶ Further R-1, the paved road at the north of B-1, may be a part of an open yard.⁵⁰⁷ Moving northwest, there is a second building unit consisting of B-2 and its later addition B-3. B-5E and B-5W were actually found under B-2.⁵⁰⁸ Based on some similarities in their architectural types, we can assume that a series of renovations were held throughout the years leading to the final structure of B-2. However, it is not clear if B-9, B-7 and B-8 continue to exist at the same elevation of B-5E, B-5W and B-6, so as we can conclude that two floor phases compose Level II. As we will see below, in many sites it is difficult to determine distinct occupational levels, because renovated and long-term use buildings could have co-existed as a result of the uninterrupted nature of

⁵⁰⁰ Jamdat Nasr, ED, Isin-Larsa, Old Babylonian Kassite Periods. For more see Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1989; Yokoyama and Matsumoto 1990.

⁵⁰¹ Fujii 1981, 185; Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995.

⁵⁰² Fujii 1981, 185; Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995, 34.

⁵⁰³ Fujii 1981; Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995.

⁵⁰⁴ Fujii 1981; Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995.

⁵⁰⁵ Fujii 1981, 183; Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995, 23-6.

⁵⁰⁶ Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995, 23-6.

⁵⁰⁷ Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995, 23-6.

⁵⁰⁸ See generally Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995.

occupation during this time. Level II definitely reflects such a situation. Finally, as sherds and stone tools turned up from the south part of the mound, it is dated to Level I with the Ubaid kilns.⁵⁰⁹

Tell Songor C covers an almost round area, 40 m long and 30 m wide.⁵¹⁰ Here, Levels I and II have yielded a 1.6 m thick deposit covering the Ubaid Period, 1 m of which is from the visible mound.⁵¹¹ Unfortunately, we have only a brief mention of the habitation in a 1981⁵¹² essay on which to base our understanding. The earliest level, Level II, is laid directly above the virgin soil and is represented by two successive floors and ashy soil.⁵¹³ Only square IV6 and V5 have been dug down to this level, so we know nothing of the earliest settlement. Level I is also formed of two floor levels which share the same plan. An extended area is occupied by 18 rooms, probably composing a large building unit (**fig. 10**).⁵¹⁴ According to findings on R3 and R4, there are doors between the rooms from R4–R3, as well as one near the oven of R7.⁵¹⁵ There is also a potsherds-paved drain running through R11, contemporary with Level floor a of Level I. Beneath it, in Level floor b, two hearths were found.⁵¹⁶

In conclusion, the inhabitants of Tell Songor B moved to Tell Songor C at some point between the Halaf and Ubaid Period. Consequently, it seems likely they exploited all three mounds during the Ubaid 3 Phase, with their dwellings at Songor C, the workshop area at Songor B and their burials at Songor A.

The burials

Eight burials of the Ubaid Period have been revealed at Tell Songor A, which are analyzed in the next chapter with descriptions of extramural burials, since they are not associated with contemporary architectural remains. As mentioned, Ubaid structures were laid in Tell Songor C, under which an infant urn burial turned up,⁵¹⁷ suggesting that there was an age discrimination regarding the burial place of individuals, infants being buried within the limits of the settlements. As we will see below, no infant has been identified at Tell Songor A.

⁵⁰⁹ Fujii 1981, 182-3; Matsumoto 1984; Matsumoto and Yokoyama 1995.

⁵¹⁰ Hardly 0.09 ha large.

⁵¹¹ Fujii 1981, 188.

⁵¹² Fujii 1981.

⁵¹³ Fujii 1981, 188.

⁵¹⁴ Fujii 1981, 188.

⁵¹⁵ Fujii 1981, 188.

⁵¹⁶ Fujii 1981, 188.

⁵¹⁷ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 226.

3.1.2.1.3. Tell Madhhur

The site

The British Archaeological Expedition in Iraq undertook a rescue excavation of Tell Madhhur, which was completed in roughly 2 years⁵¹⁸ under the direction of J.N. Postage, T.C. Young, R. Killick and M. Roaf. The large team of archaeologists and specialists was also joined by H. Crawford, E. Henrickson, B. Henrickson J. Moon and S. Roaf.⁵¹⁹

Since antiquity, the surrounding plain has risen by 4 m, covering an extensive mass of the mound. The visible mound is 2.5 m in height.⁵²⁰ The dimensions of the mound are 100 m x 80 m.⁵²¹ It is difficult to locate the ancient water supplies exploited by inhabitants of Tell Madhhur,⁵²² but it is certain that the settlement was founded close to natural sources, which together with the annual rainfall provided the region with an adequate quantity of water for irrigation, animal husbandry and domestic activities. Unfortunately, the final report of the excavation remains unpublished, and available information is restricted to general observations within the existing excavation reports.⁵²³

A large area on the summit was exposed. Here the upper deposit is associated with scanty findings of the Islamic Period, 2nd mil⁵²⁴ and 3rd mil. BC.⁵²⁵ Tell Madhhur is a genuine Ubaid settlement, with the associated material assemblage spread throughout a deposit many meters in depth.⁵²⁶ The pottery and artifacts are largely homogenous across time, and the building levels seem to be gradually distributed. These problems contribute to an unclear stratigraphic sequence.⁵²⁷ Consequently, the four occupational levels of the Ubaid Period have been conventionally defined, pending more detailed studies of the materials by specialists in the final publication, which will give more clues about this matter.

⁵¹⁸ Four excavations seasons were held between November 1977 and January 1980.

⁵¹⁹ Roaf 1984c, 109.

⁵²⁰ Roaf 1984c, 110.

⁵²¹ About 0.6 ha.

⁵²² Roaf 1984c, 110.

⁵²³ Killick and Roaf 1979; Roaf 1984a; 1984c. See, also, Roaf 1982; 1989.

⁵²⁴ Roaf 1984c.

⁵²⁵ Roaf 1984c.

⁵²⁶ Roaf. 1984c, 110.

⁵²⁷ Roaf 1984c.

Based on the data so far, Tell Madhhur and Tell Abada seem to have many aspects in common. The few unearthed buildings are independent, separated by narrow streets. Tripartite architecture and buildings of unusual types seem to co-exist.⁵²⁸ Roaf examined the findings from the interior of the Level 2 house and found only meager evidence of the activities that took place, with the more archaeologically useful utensils removed upon the structure's abandonment following an accidental fire.⁵²⁹ What has been recovered indicates storage, textile manufacture, cooking and food preparation.⁵³⁰ Few agricultural tools have been found, though a majority may have been removed. Since no oven was found, Roaf also suggests cooking was likely an outdoor activity, in contrast to Levels 3 and 4, where ovens were found within houses.⁵³¹ There is no evidence of pottery or lithic production, nor of livestock kept within the house.⁵³² Finally, objects that might be related with religion are absent, although according to Roaf,⁵³³ exercising religious duties could not demand special facilities and equipment.⁵³⁴ The only evidence of difference between rooms reflect stages of food production from storage to consumption.⁵³⁵ Consequently, the complete social function of the Ubaid house layout is not well understood.⁵³⁶

The burials

All we know from the summary excavation report of 1989⁵³⁷ – the only source of information on the subject – is that the skeletal remains from the Ubaid Levels in Tell Madhhur are of children and infants.⁵³⁸ In this report, Downs⁵³⁹ presents his analysis concerning the age of four urn burials. However, other aspects of the interments, such as the position and the orientation of the dead, are not available. Two of the interments⁵⁴⁰ are of new-born infants. These were found under the floors of different levels of buildings. A 2- or 3-year-old child has been found in a pot, and had

⁵²⁸ Roaf 1984c; 1987.

⁵²⁹ Roaf 1989.

⁵³⁰ Roaf 1989.

⁵³¹ Roaf 1984a; 1989.

⁵³² Roaf 1989.

⁵³³ Roaf 1989, 136.

⁵³⁴ Compared with Değirmentepe, where there is subtle evidence of ritual practices that took place in domestic architecture.

⁵³⁵ For distribution of activities see Roaf 1989 and Pollock 2010.

⁵³⁶ Roaf 1989, 139.

⁵³⁷ Roaf 1984c.

⁵³⁸ Roaf 1984c, 127.

⁵³⁹ In Roaf 1984c.

⁵⁴⁰ 5F:320 and 6E:194.

its head artificially deformed.⁵⁴¹ The fourth burial (5E:263) was within the north wall of the burnt house, and belonged to an 8 year-old child covered with sherds.⁵⁴²

We are completely unaware of the total number of burials⁵⁴³ found during the excavation seasons, as well as the burial arrangements in reported cases. Based on the data we have, it is likely that adults were buried outside the limits of the settlement, just as at Tell Abada. Jasim proposed that the inhabitants of Tell Madhhur buried their adults at the nearby site of Tell Bustan,⁵⁴⁴ which was also investigated within the Hamrin Salvage Dam Project. However, Tell Bustan is the most unknown of these prehistoric settlements, as excavation reports remain unpublished. Of the site, we know that it consists of two mounds lying in proximity. Remains of a Halaf settlement were found at the first of these mounds, and Ubaid burials have been excavated at the second.⁵⁴⁵ Nevertheless, it is difficult to draw strong conclusions in light of this highly fragmentary data.

3.1.2.2. Further Salvage Excavations in Hamrin Base⁵⁴⁶

Tell Madhhur and Tell Songor are unfortunately not the only sites of the Hamrin Basin of which burial data is limited. Indeed, for the following excavations, data is even less available to gain a comprehensive picture of the mortuary practices. The data presented mostly derives from a single, brief preliminary report and it is considered more convenient to include all these sites in the present subchapter.

3.1.2.2.1. Tell Rashid

Tell Rashid, about 12 km south of Tell Abada, was another salvage excavation held by Jasim.⁵⁴⁷ It is a small mound 2.5 m in height, which covers an area estimated at 54 m in length and 30 m in width.⁵⁴⁸ Work at the site was restricted to a trench on the

⁵⁴¹ Burial 6D:68.

⁵⁴² Roaf 19854c, 127.

⁵⁴³ There are at least two more urn burials. See chapter "Ubaid Pottery from Tell Madhhur" in Roaf 19854c. Among the detailed descriptions of ceramic vessels there are mentions that some of them were used for urn burials.

⁵⁴⁴ Jasim 1985, 163.

⁵⁴⁵ Jasim 1985, 163. See also Roaf and Postgate 1981.

⁵⁴⁶ See Roaf and Postgate 1981.

⁵⁴⁷ Conducted in the Spring of 1978. See Jasim 1983b, 99; 1985, 143; 2021.

⁵⁴⁸ About 0.16 ha.

summit.⁵⁴⁹ Over roughly one month of intensive work, virgin soil was found at a depth of 5 m from the top of the mound, and four Ubaid Levels were distinguished. The earliest of these is Level IV, and the latest is Level I.⁵⁵⁰ The pottery is parallel with the Hajji Mohammand types, dating all levels to the Ubaid 2 and 3 Phases.⁵⁵¹ The few architectural remains identified are associated with Level III, and resemble the tripartite houses known from other sites in Hamrin region.⁵⁵² They are made of mud bricks and lined with clay. Other architectural deposits include only walls and partial constructions.⁵⁵³ Little material associated with the structures has been found, though obsidian is present⁵⁵⁴ even in this small Ubaid village. So far, two urn burials have been unearthed under the Level III.⁵⁵⁵ Jasim⁵⁵⁶ does not provide any details on these burials except that they are children and buried under the floor of a room.

3.1.2.2.2. Tell es-Sa'adiyah

In 1979, the Polish Center of Mediterranean Archaeology participated in the Hamrin Salvage Dam Project.⁵⁵⁷ The site that was chosen to be explored was Tell es-Sa'adiyah, founded on the banks of the Diyala river. This mound is measured 85 m in length, 75 m in width⁵⁵⁸ and 2.5 m in height.⁵⁵⁹ The total depth of the cultural deposit is unknown, since none of the four trenches⁵⁶⁰ is more than 1.90 m deep reaching virgin soil. Among the surface findings, some Sassanian and Islamic tombs were discovered. In the two lower levels, Ubaid pottery, clay nails, animal figurines and parts of mud brick buildings with beaten mud floors were uncovered,⁵⁶¹ with Level 3 dated to the Ubaid 4 Phase and Level 4 to the Ubaid 2-3.⁵⁶² Six infant or child burial were found under the floors.⁵⁶³ The bodies were placed flexed inside jars or bowls.⁵⁶⁴ Half of the

⁵⁴⁹ Jasim 1983b, 99; 1985, 143.

⁵⁵⁰ Jasim 1983b, 99; 1985, 143; 2021, 87-88.

⁵⁵¹ Jasim 1983b, 99 and 101-3; 2021, 88-91.

⁵⁵² Jasim 1983b, 99-101; 1985, 144.

⁵⁵³ Jasim 1983b, 99-101; 1985, 144.

⁵⁵⁴ Jasim 1983b, 99, 101; 1985, 145.

⁵⁵⁵ Jasim 2021, 87.

⁵⁵⁶ Jasim 1985, 144.

⁵⁵⁷ Kozłowski and Bielinski 1984.

⁵⁵⁸ 0.5 ha.

⁵⁵⁹ Kozłowski and Bielinski 1984, 104.

⁵⁶⁰ On the top of the mound, on its northern part and on its southern part.

⁵⁶¹ Kozłowski and Bielinski 1984.

⁵⁶² Chiocchetti 2007, 132.

⁵⁶³ Kozłowski and Bielinski 1984, 104.

⁵⁶⁴ Kozłowski and Bielinski 1984, 104.

urns bear traces of decoration.⁵⁶⁵ All Level 4 burials⁵⁶⁶ are covered with a bowl, but the Level 3 ones⁵⁶⁷ abstain from this custom, with No.14 lidded with a large sherd and No.13 having no lid.

3.1.2.2.3. Tell Hassan

The Archaeological Research and Excavation Center in Turin⁵⁶⁸ was invited by the State Organization for Antiquities and Heritage in Iraq to participate in the Hamrin Basin rescue venture. This Italian mission focused on the later site Tell Yelkhi and its surroundings, where a series of sites have been explored including Tell Hassan and Tell Abu Husaini, which are of main interest for the present research.

The round mound of Tell Hassan, which is measured 70 x 70 m⁵⁶⁹ and rises hardly 2 m above the surrounding plain, was excavated between 1978 and 1980.⁵⁷⁰ Its deposit is 4 m deep, and preserves several remains of the Halaf and the Ubaid settlement, as well as some scanty evidence of the Uruk, Early Dynastic I, Isin-Larsa, Parthian and Sasanian Periods.⁵⁷¹ In many trenches Ubaid materials come to light, including portions of poorly preserved house walls⁵⁷² and Ubaid 4 pottery.⁵⁷³ Most interesting is the discovery of a pottery workshop in the center of the mound, where three kilns were found, one with several fire chambers.⁵⁷⁴

Two inhumations of male adults have been revealed. They were probably placed in a flexed position, with offerings lying near the feet, as judged from a single photograph provided in the excavation report. The first of the burials had his head oriented to the NE and was accompanied by two unpainted U-shaped bowls. The second was placed with his head oriented to the SE and was accompanied by four bowls, one of them painted and one of the U-shaped type.⁵⁷⁵ Both inhumations are likely to have been located away from the residential area, since no architectural remains were found around them. According to the reports, it seems there was a distinct spatial organization

⁵⁶⁵ Kozłowski and Bielinski 1984, 104.

⁵⁶⁶ No.8, No.9 and No.10.

⁵⁶⁷ No.12, No.13 and No. 14.

⁵⁶⁸ Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino (CRASST)

⁵⁶⁹ Almost 0.4 ha.

⁵⁷⁰ Fiorina 1984a and b; 1987.

⁵⁷¹ Fiorina 1984b, 277-8; Fiorina 1987.

⁵⁷² Fiorina 1984b, 227-8.

⁵⁷³ Chiocchetti 2014.

⁵⁷⁴ Fiorina 1984b, 285.

⁵⁷⁵ Fiorina 1984b, 285-6.

to the settlement, with the dwelling probably lying on the eastern part of the mound, the workshop in the middle, and the burials in the periphery of the settlement.⁵⁷⁶

3.1.2.2.4. Tell Abu Husaini

Between 1978-9 the site of Tell Abu Husaini was also excavated by the Archaeological Research and Excavation Center in Turin.⁵⁷⁷ The settlement was founded on the hilly flanks of a natural elevation. The 3 upper meters of the mound were formed by the remains of human activity.⁵⁷⁸ The excavation covered approximately 962 m² of the 1.5 ha the settlement was.⁵⁷⁹ Reaching virgin soil revealed successive occupational levels, all dated to the Ubaid 4 Phase.⁵⁸⁰ Since this period the mound was not inhabited again, but served as burial locale during the 2nd mil. BC.⁵⁸¹

The excavators separated the Ubaid occupation of Tell Abu Husaini into 3 Phases. Phase I is the earliest, represented by a firm layer of greenish floor extended throughout the excavated area, as well as some fire-places and scanty remains of walls and round rooms.⁵⁸² Phase II is the best preserved occupational level, with many multi-roomed buildings of a probably tripartite plan either partially or entirely excavated.⁵⁸³ According to the evidence of the Phase III, a clay structure which served as water drainage dated to Phase II was eventually connected with a well.⁵⁸⁴ Of Phase III, only this well and two badly preserved kilns remain, along with some damaged mud bricks constructions.⁵⁸⁵

Tell Abu Husaini provides an abundance of typical Ubaid small findings, including clay tokens, animal figurines, clay nails, boat models and clay disks.⁵⁸⁶ Most impressive are the amount of imported raw materials revealed by the narrow soundings. Beads are made of obsidian, diorite, marble and dentalium shell originating from the Persian Gulf. Marble was also employed in the production of stone vessels and obsidian

⁵⁷⁶ Fiorina 1984b, 285-6; Fiorina 1987, 249.

⁵⁷⁷ Centro Ricerche Archeologiche e Scavi di Torino (CRAST)

⁵⁷⁸ Tusa 1980, 262; 1984, 225.

⁵⁷⁹ Tusa 1984, 262; Chiocchetti 2007, 117.

⁵⁸⁰ Tusa 1980b, 225.

⁵⁸¹ Tusa (1980b, 225) use the term Late Ubaid.

⁵⁸² Tusa 1984a, 50.

⁵⁸³ Tusa 1984b.

⁵⁸⁴ Tusa 1984b.

⁵⁸⁵ Tusa 1984b.

⁵⁸⁶ Tusa 1984b.

in the lithic tools industry.⁵⁸⁷ However, according to the evidence, the economy of the Ubaid settlement in Abu Husaini was based exclusively on farming activities.⁵⁸⁸

Twenty-three burials of infants and children have been found under the floors in different areas of the excavation.⁵⁸⁹ Except for the simple inhumation of G14 which was covered with a jar, all the other burials are contained in urns which usually consisted of a beaker as container and a jar or sherds as a lid, according to Chiocchetti.⁵⁹⁰ Only three of such cases are lidless.⁵⁹¹ On the other hand, painted vessels are not so numerous as they are in Tell Abada with only G18, G26 and G35 holding a painted urn (the lid are unpainted). Tusa proposed that the uppermost part of some burials was left uncovered as a marker.⁵⁹² However, this assumption is not tenable unless the burial was to be re-opened, causing its disruption. Evidence of such disruption is not provided by the reports of any of the sites in the Hamrin Basin.

3.1.2.2.5. Tell Haizalum

Amid the excavation of Tell Rubeideh in 1979,⁵⁹³ Killick undertook a short investigation of Tell Haizalum, lying to its south and on the banks of Narim river.⁵⁹⁴ This is quite a large mound, rising 6 m above the plain and covering an oval area of 100 m in length and 80 m in width.⁵⁹⁵ The deposit is 9 m deep.⁵⁹⁶ Under time pressure, there was no adequate supervision of the excavation process. The recovered material assemblage, consisting mainly of pottery, is not stratified. No architectural remains have been unearthed from the deposit.⁵⁹⁷ All ceramic types found there have been assigned to Ubaid 4, suggesting that the occupation in Tell Haizalum was slightly earlier than that of Tell Madhhur.⁵⁹⁸ One lidded urn burial has been found.

⁵⁸⁷ Tusa 1984b.

⁵⁸⁸ Tusa 1980, 227; Tusa 1984b.

⁵⁸⁹ Tusa 1984b, 269-70.

⁵⁹⁰ Chiocchetti 2007.

⁵⁹¹ G12, G13 and G14.

⁵⁹² Tusa 1984, 270.

⁵⁹³ For the later site of Tell Rubeideh see Killick 1988.

⁵⁹⁴ Killick 1988, 147.

⁵⁹⁵ Around the 0.6 ha.

⁵⁹⁶ Killick 1988, 147.

⁵⁹⁷ Roaf 1982, 47.

⁵⁹⁸ Killick 1988, 147.

3.1.2.3. Discussion

Studying the intramural burials as a whole, it seems that a very specific custom existed in the Hamrin Basin during Ubaid 2-3 to Ubaid 4 Phase. According to this custom, children and infants were buried within the limits of the settlement and adults outside the settlement. Adult burials are under-represented in our sample, with a total of two out of 164 burials. The mortuary practices prevailing at Tell Songor could give us more clues on this matter. The single infant urn burial found at Tell Songor is associated with the Ubaid settlement, while a concentration of at least eight individuals of older ages has been identified some 200 m away from the settlement. These burials are described in the next chapter, since they are clearly located outside the limits of the Ubaid residential area.

The age range that determined where an individual should be buried is not clear. Evidence comes from two sites. According to the anthropological data from Tell Abada, individuals under 2 years old should not be buried together with the rest of the members of the community,⁵⁹⁹ though in the absence of extensive anthropological studies these numbers should be treated with caution. At Tell Maddhur, the ages of interred remains ranges from newborn to 8 years old.⁶⁰⁰ Nevertheless, all the infants and children were treated the same way, and no obvious differentiation can be observed in their burial contexts. Rather, a homogeneity is present, with 67,6% being lidded urn burials. As mentioned, bowls or half (broken) jars were used as urns or lids, although in 40 examples the lid was formed with sherds. No information is available on whether these sherds originated from one or multiple containers. Nevertheless, given that the jars were necessarily broken to insert the dead body or be fitted as a lid, and that many of the bowls have also been found in fragments, it is considered that further classification of burials lidded with sherds makes no difference in the **Table 1**. Characteristic examples are Tell Abada burials, with the 58 out of the 125 interments bearing one or both vessels broken, and about 38 using sherds as a lid.⁶⁰¹ Again from Tell Abada we have evidence that low quality vessels, which were found in pit grave. It seems likely to me that the inhabitants of these sites chose to deposit ceramic vessels which were damaged, no longer useful, or generally required discard after long-term use. This could explain the

⁵⁹⁹ Jasim 1985.

⁶⁰⁰ Roaf *et al.* 1984.

⁶⁰¹ As mentioned, it is unspecified whether these originate from one or more vessels.

large number of fragmentary vessels in juvenile burials, especially of fragmentary jars, which may have already been useless and available to be discarded.

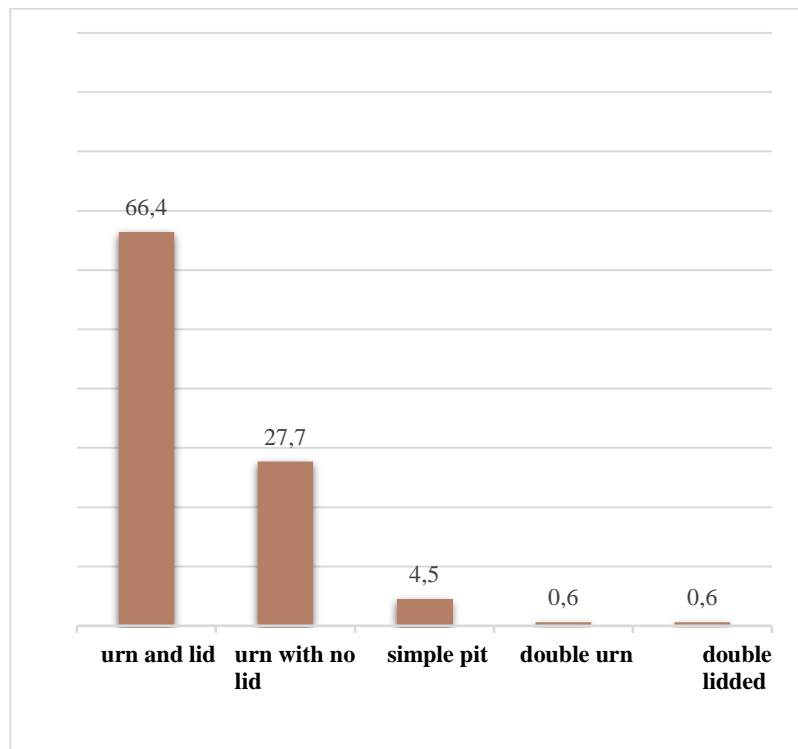


Table 1. Grave Type of juveniles in Hamrin Basin.⁶⁰²

Burials with no urn or lid represent a smaller but significant percentage: 32,2% of all burials. Evidence from Tell es-Sa'adiyah and Tell Abada show that the later burials of the settlement reflect increased decadence in mortuary practice, where cases with no lid increase. Furthermore, we may take into account the possibility that at this later time some containers were made of perishable materials.⁶⁰³

The skeletons were laid with their legs flexed, which seems to be the most preferred position. Evidence for their orientation comes only from Tell Abada, where the north and south directions seem to play an important role in their alignment. In addition to infants and children, the two adult burials share the same characteristics, as they were placed flexed with the head to the NW and NE respectively. Both of these were found at Tell Hassan – the only site in Hamrin that yields adult burials and no infants. As mentioned, the occupation of Tell Hassan is organized in three different

⁶⁰² Based on 155 burials (from 164 burials). For the rests, the associated data are not available.

⁶⁰³ Like baskets observed in Kenan Tepe (see below).

areas,⁶⁰⁴ with the burials lying away from the settlement. This fact may indicate that this part of the mound was specifically intended for use as a secluded burial locale for adult burial. On the other hand, they may have been intentionally treated similarly either to children due to their social status or to an earlier Halaf custom, since some sites discussed below, which yield successively both Halaf and Ubaid cultural debris, are likely to continuously present some earlier influences. Nevertheless, we know little about this excavation and it is difficult to extract any firm conclusions. These examples though, reveal that the inhumation was the method of disposing of adult corpses during the Ubaid Period at Hamrin Basin. Tell Songor A also confirms that adults were buried in secluded places. Unfortunately, such cemeteries are difficult to locate, and Tell Songor is the only example we have from the Hamrin Basin.

3.1.3. *North Mesopotamia*

3.1.3.1. North Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan

Alternating plains and plateaus compose the area of north Mesopotamia.⁶⁰⁵ It is assumed that the piedmont zone has not undergone drastic climatic changes since the PN Period,⁶⁰⁶ and that cool winters here were followed by hot and dry summers, as occurs today. Wild barley and wheat were found everywhere within north Mesopotamia, since the semi-aridity of the region is characterized by high annual rainfall⁶⁰⁷ contributing to the cultivation of cereals without necessarily the contribution of artificial means and canal system.⁶⁰⁸ In fact, according to Wilkinson⁶⁰⁹ settlements did not have to be founded near natural spring water to survive. Mallowan however did make comment that animal grazing may have been a precarious pursuit in dry seasons.⁶¹⁰

⁶⁰⁴ The buildings, the workshop and the burials.

⁶⁰⁵ Wilkinson *et al.* 1996, 17

⁶⁰⁶ Rothman 2002, 8.

⁶⁰⁷ 300-500 mm. For more see Wilkinson 1990a; 1998; Wilkinson *et al.* 1996, 17.

⁶⁰⁸ Starr 1937, xxx.

⁶⁰⁹ Wilkinson 1990a, 53.

⁶¹⁰ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 3-6.

3.1.3.1.1. Nuzi

During the late 19th and early 20th century, some tablets of unknown origin bearing an untranslated cuneiform writing stored in European museums started surfacing in publications.⁶¹¹ With the establishment of the Iraqi Kingdom in 1921, similar tablets came to light from test pits and surface investigations at the city of Kirkuk. Thus, the Director of Antiquities in Iraq, Gertrude Bell, enlisted Chiera for a large-scale excavation at the city.⁶¹² Given that the modern city of Kirkuk is superimposed on the unknown civilization here, such an operation was impossible. Therefore, a survey of the surrounding region was conducted, resulting in the excavation of the nearby Yorgan Tepe.⁶¹³ This excavation lasted from 1926 to 1931, directed by Chiera, then by Pfeiffer and finally by Starr.⁶¹⁴ This resulted in the discovery of ancient Nuzi, the great Hurrian center.⁶¹⁵

Yorgan Tepe is a large mound, 200 m in diameter.⁶¹⁶ The visible portion of this mound rises 5 m above the plain, with its occupational debris exceeding 11 m in thickness.⁶¹⁷ Due to the great 2nd mil. BC. deposit, the prehistoric occupation of the site was hardly reached. Here, the earliest levels, XII to X, are attributed to the Ubaid Period.⁶¹⁸ The briefly described remains include typical Ubaid pottery⁶¹⁹ building walls, clay nails, animal figurines and lithic tools.⁶²⁰ Due to the restricted excavation and the lack of further analysis of the material, it is hard to reconstruct many aspects of the community, including agricultural production and trade activities.

Two urn burials have been found associated with the debris. In both cases a large fragment of a jar was used as the urn.⁶²¹ In one case the body was placed in flexed position with the head to the North.⁶²² The fact that it was found at the base of a wall is interpreted by the excavator as a sacrifice bringing good luck to the house.⁶²³

⁶¹¹ Gelb *et al.* 1943, 1.

⁶¹² Starr 1937, xxix; Gelb *et al.* 1943, 1.

⁶¹³ Found thirteen km away from Kirkuk.

⁶¹⁴ See Starr 1937.

⁶¹⁵ See Starr 1937. Recent publications for further reading about Nuzi and cuneiform tables see, also, Maidman, M. P. 2010; Wilhelm (ed.) 2009; Owen and Wilhelm (ed.) 2005.

⁶¹⁶ More than 3 ha.

⁶¹⁷ Starr 1937.

⁶¹⁸ Perkins 1949, 55.

⁶¹⁹ Perkins 1949, 55.

⁶²⁰ Starr 1937, 11-17.

⁶²¹ Starr 1937, 14 and 17.

⁶²² Starr 1937, 17.

⁶²³ Starr 1937, 17.

3.1.3.1.2. Kudish Şaghîr

During the course of excavation in Nuzi, tests pits were dug at Kudish Şaghîr (Small Kudish) situated 2.5 km to the south. This mound is 90 m in diameter⁶²⁴ and according to the surface findings, was formed by Ubaid occupational activity rising more than 7 m above the present plain.⁶²⁵ The occupational debris is similar to that of the Nuzi, except for a wall in the common buttressed and niched type known from Tepe Gawra and Uruk.⁶²⁶ Unfortunately, all the material found at Kudish is not stratified, and the excavator put emphasis on the pottery alone. Two urn burials have been found under the floor. The much decayed skeletal remains were laid in plain and roughly made pots without lids.⁶²⁷

3.1.3.1.3. Yarim Tepe III

The site

The investigation at Sinjar Valley in northwestern Iraq began in 1969, undertaken by the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Twelve excavations seasons were held, lasting until 1980. Yarim Tepe was one of the four sites explored under the direction of Munchaev and Merpert.⁶²⁸ Joan and David Oates, well-experienced in the archaeology of the region, advised the project.⁶²⁹ Yoffee and Clark edited a volume, which includes several excavation reports originally published in the Journals *Sumer* and *Iraq*,⁶³⁰ as well as articles originally published in Russian which were translated into English.⁶³¹ In such, all the data of the excavation of these sites is widely accessible.

The name Yarim Tepe, which means "half mound" in Turkish, came after the erosion caused by the present river resulted in a split of the site into two mounds.⁶³² Eventually, this name was given to a series of 6 adjacent mounds (Yarim Tepe I – Yarim Tepe VI) including the two which were once joined (Yarim Tepe II and Yarim Tepe III). However, not all of them have been excavated. Yarim Tepe I, II and III are dated

⁶²⁴ 0.6 ha.

⁶²⁵ Starr 1937, 1.

⁶²⁶ Starr 1937, 7.

⁶²⁷ Starr 1937, 9.

⁶²⁸ The other three sites are Tell Maghzaliyah, Tell Sotto and Kültepe. Their stratigraphy belongs to earlier periods and, therefore, they are not included to the analysis.

⁶²⁹ Yoffee and Clark 1993, 4.

⁶³⁰ Merpert and Munchaev 1973; Bader et al. 1981; Merpert and Munchaev 1984; Munchaev *et al.* 1976; 1977; 1978; 1979; 1981; 1984; Merpert and Munchaev 1987.

⁶³¹ See Yoffee and Clark 1993.

⁶³² Merpert and Munchaev 1969, 125-6; Yoffee and Clark 1993, 3.

to different occupational periods of the settlement: Yarim Tepe I belongs to Hassuna Culture, Yarim Tepe II is formed by the remains of Halaf culture, and Yarim Tepe III includes both Halaf and Ubaid material assemblages.⁶³³

Yarim Tepe III is the largest mound of the group, with a diameter of roughly 225 m.⁶³⁴ The deposit reaches 10 m in height over the surrounding plain and extends a couple of meters beneath it. Several test pits were excavated in a restricted area on top of the mound. According to the findings here, only the upper 4 m are of the Ubaid Period.⁶³⁵ A total of 8 multi-roomed building units were uncovered here, which reflect 4 successive phases of renovation and construction, according to the excavators.⁶³⁶ The walls were made of mud bricks and plastered with mud both inside and outside. The floors were made of beaten soil which were then plastered with mud.⁶³⁷ None of the constructions had a tripartite plan, neither had the figurines found there been fashioned in the common ophidian style. This suggests that only some aspects of the Ubaid Culture was adopted at this site. Indeed, according to radiocarbon dates, the levels under consideration were assigned to the late 5th or most possibly early 4th mil. B.C., when the Uruk material assemblage appeared in some sites of south Mesopotamia and the Ubaid Culture was no longer as influential in the whole area. Nevertheless, Yarim Tepe III does not seem to differ in the foundations of its socio-economic organization from other neighboring settlements such as Tell Abada.

The burials

The data discussed below is extracted mostly from an excavation essay published in 1981⁶³⁸ as well as a brief description included in the Yoffee and Clark's edited volume.⁶³⁹ The burial arrangement presented in these texts are quite detailed, although anthropological studies were not held.

Six burials were unearthed in total, four of which were found beneath the floors of rooms and two in yards (**Appendix A**). The majority of these burials (five in number) hold a single corpse, usually of an infant. These were not placed in urns and only occasionally accompanied by offerings, such as in the cases of grave No 9, which

⁶³³ Yoffee and Clark 1993.

⁶³⁴ About 4 ha large

⁶³⁵ Yoffee and Clark 1993, 163.

⁶³⁶ Yoffee and Clark 1993, 227-33.

⁶³⁷ Yoffee and Clark 1993, 233.

⁶³⁸ Munchaev *et al.* 1981.

⁶³⁹ Yoffee and Clark 1993.

contained three ceramic vessels, and No 25, in which three shell beads were found near the hand and eight stone beads near the leg.⁶⁴⁰ A third infant turned up at the unfurnished grave No 23. The last infant interment is a double burial, with the infant laid on the breast of a second corpse described as an adult.⁶⁴¹ Another adult was found in grave No 21 (a single burial) accompanied by pottery sherds, and one youth was found in grave No 7, lacking any offerings.⁶⁴²

All skeletons were placed in flexed positions on their sides, except for No 25, which was laid in a contracted position on their back.⁶⁴³ Traces of matting had been observed under one corpse, though which grave this came from is not specified.⁶⁴⁴ There is no homogeneity in orientation, with the heads of No 7, No 22 and No 25 oriented to the N, the heads of No 9 and No 21 to the SE and head of No 23 to the E.⁶⁴⁵

The burial practices at Yarim Tepe do not seem to strictly follow common Ubaid patterns. Generally, it seems that Halaf customs continued to affect more or less some aspects of the Ubaid society of Yarim Tepe III, at least as expressed in the way the dead was treated. This can be discerned from several features. First, no infant urn burial has been found. Following earlier traditions, the deceased infants were buried in simple pits sometimes accompanied by offerings, just like adults. Furthermore, the double burial No 22 is a very rare example of a multiple burial inside the limits of the settlement. No similar case has been discovered so far at any other Ubaid site, but rather Halaf ones.

3.1.3.1.4. Tepe Gawra

The site

The annual Professor of American School of Oriental Research (ASOR) in Baghdad,⁶⁴⁶ Ephraim Avigdor Speiser, ran the project "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurbanipal and Today".⁶⁴⁷ This survey focused on the then - lesser studied Neolithic and Chalcolithic Periods⁶⁴⁸ of the northeastern area of the Tigris river.⁶⁴⁹ Results of these excavations shed some light on the presence of prehistoric material

⁶⁴⁰ Munchaev *et al.* 1981, 127.

⁶⁴¹ No 22.

⁶⁴² Munchaev *et al.* 1981, 127.

⁶⁴³ Munchaev *et al.* 1981, 127.

⁶⁴⁴ Yoffee and Clark 1993, 235.

⁶⁴⁵ Munchaev *et al.* 1981, 127.

⁶⁴⁶ Between 1926-7.

⁶⁴⁷ Greenberg 1968, 1.

⁶⁴⁸ Speiser used the term "Aeneolithic Period" to refer to both Neolithic and Chalcolithic Period.

⁶⁴⁹ Speiser 1927-28.

cultural assemblages – first observed in southern Mesopotamia – in this area.⁶⁵⁰ During this project many archaeological sites bearing traces of early occupation were recorded, including Tepe Gawra (Kurdish for "Great Mound"/Arabic name: Tell Ali Beg), found 24 km northeast of Mosul.⁶⁵¹ This particular mound rises sharply, reaching 21 m⁶⁵² in height above the surrounding plain, the tallest mound in the area.

The discoveries at Tepe Gawra drew the interest of Speiser for many reasons. First of all, all the evidence collected from both upper and lower parts of the mound showed that this notably tall mound belonged almost entirely to the early phases of the Prehistoric Period,⁶⁵³ in contrast to other sites in north Mesopotamia. The fact that several of the other mounds have traces of occupation that continue from the Neolithic Period to the Iron Age led to more fragmentary investigation of the archaeological remains preserved in the lowest strata. Speiser, understanding that the unexplored site of Tepe Gawra could easily provide archaeological researchers with a more complete picture of the first settlements in the region, proceeded with a test pit in the fall of 1927.⁶⁵⁴

Another aspect that makes Tepe Gawra promising is its location. Situated on the eastern hilly flanks of the Zagros mountains, Tepe Gawra sat favorably within the Fertile Crescent. According to Rothman and Peasnell,⁶⁵⁵ *"founded by a natural spring at the intersection of a number of ecological zones – the steppes, the piedmont, and the hills – the site is in a very good position to exploit rainfall agriculture, hunting, and pastoralism."* Indeed, the nearby brook, the bed of which is about 2.60 m,⁶⁵⁶ is the main reason for the establishment of both the ancient settlement and the neighboring modern village of Fadhiliyeh.⁶⁵⁷ It flows from the foot of the Zagros Mountains to a tributary of the Tigris, the Khosr River,⁶⁵⁸ which lies approximately 6 km west of the site. Tepe Gawra is surrounded by hills and a brook from the northwest to the northeast sides, facing a fertile lowland of Mosul region to the south. Thus, the environmental conditions allowed dry farming as well as winter grazing and hunting activities to be

⁶⁵⁰ Speiser 1927-28.

⁶⁵¹ Speiser 1935b, 2; Tobler 1936, 1.

⁶⁵² Speiser 1927-28, 23.

⁶⁵³ Speiser 1927-28, 23; 1935b, 2-3; Rothman 2002, 20.

⁶⁵⁴ Speiser 1927-28, 27; Tobler 1950, 1.

⁶⁵⁵ Rothman and Peasnell 1999, 105.

⁶⁵⁶ Speiser 1927-28, 27.

⁶⁵⁷ Speiser 1935a, 2.

⁶⁵⁸ Speiser 1927-28, 2; Rothman 2002, 11.

developed enough *"to support a small population consistently and reliably over a very long period of time without external help."*⁶⁵⁹

In addition, the inhabitants of Tepe Gawra could exploit a wide range of raw materials employed in the production of their implements, textiles, even of building constructions. Firstly, wild species of flax are indigenous to this area.⁶⁶⁰ Furthermore, different stone types including basalt, flint, and the renowned Mosul marble can be found in proximity to the site.⁶⁶¹ Many tools from the site bear traces of bitumen, deposits of which are located in different places from Mosul through Kirkuk in the south.⁶⁶² Surprisingly, both low and high quality flint at Tepe Gawra was imported from remote, unidentified sources.⁶⁶³ Flint was used at Tepe Gawra for the manufacture of retouched tools, though not as much as obsidian. It is possible that the obsidian found at Tepe Gawra – in most of the cases as finished tools⁶⁶⁴ – originates in southeast Anatolia. It would not be hard for the locals to acquire this raw material, since the site sits close to several other sites which yielded such findings. The same applies to the copper, which gradually became employed from the Late Ubaid Period onward at Gawra. Copper ore deposits also occur in southeast Turkey.⁶⁶⁵

Regardless of Tepe Gawra's inclusion in local trade networks, the site is not completely isolated from the north, and would have participated in trade routes along the Tigris River, allowing contact between north and south Mesopotamia.⁶⁶⁶ Of greater interest is the fact that Khosr River leads to Jebel Maqlud, which would have provided Tepe Gawra with a link to Iran through the Zagros highlands.⁶⁶⁷ This passage would have been a very important factor for trade at settlement, since through it the site could be supplied with semiprecious stones originating in the Iranian Highlands.⁶⁶⁸ Indeed, Tepe Gawra seems to have been an early adopter of the import of several stones in restricted varieties, including carnelian, serpentine, and steatite. By the Late Ubaid Period, lapis lazuli, agate, diorite and hematite, turquoise, amethyst, and quartz were

⁶⁵⁹ Rothman and Peasnell 1999, 105-6.

⁶⁶⁰ Rothman and Peasnell 1999, 106.

⁶⁶¹ Tobler 1950, 200.

⁶⁶² Tobler 1950, 200.

⁶⁶³ Tobler 1950, 200-2.

⁶⁶⁴ Charvát 2002, 59-60.

⁶⁶⁵ Peasnell 2002, 375.

⁶⁶⁶ Rothman and Peasnell 1999, 106.

⁶⁶⁷ Rothman and Peasnell 1999, 106; Rothman 2002, 11.

⁶⁶⁸ Tobler 1950, 200; Stein 2010, 29.

also imported and involved in the manufacture of artifacts.⁶⁶⁹ We cannot exclude the idea that the inhabitants of Tepe Gawra were mediators in the trade of semiprecious stones throughout the region.⁶⁷⁰ According to the above notes, there were surely some fixed routes for these stones into the region passed through Gawra district, which certain nomadic groups seem to have followed on an annual basis. Pasture lands available in the area during summer, when the temperature is higher in the lowlands of Mesopotamia and Iran, would have made the region welcoming to such travelers.

All these findings move beyond Speiser's expectations, who, based on the examination of the surface potsherds, felt that Tepe Gawra had a stratigraphy with close parallels in southern sites such as Susa.⁶⁷¹ In 1930, he began to systematically excavate the mound assisted by a large crew,⁶⁷² including Dr. A. Saarisalo from the University of Helsinki and Dr. Cyrus Gordon and Charles Bache from the University of Pennsylvania. Bache joined the team in its second campaign, and eventually became a long-term partner of Speiser. He served as the field director for the most of the following five seasons of excavation at Tepe Gawra. His excavation experience contributed to the development of a system in which data could be recorded in high detail.⁶⁷³

During the seven campaigns which took place from 1930 to 1938, 26 levels⁶⁷⁴ were uncovered either partially or completely, with virgin soil identified at 27.32 m from the top of the mound.⁶⁷⁵ Thus, a complete stratigraphic evidence for the occupation of Tepe Gawra was revealed, and the excavation came to an end. No cemetery was located, despite investigations in the last two campaigns.⁶⁷⁶ According to the excavations, the Uruk Period was established at Tepe Gawra in levels VIIIb – XII (**fig. 11**), whereas levels VIIIc and VII correspond to the Jemdet Nasr Period.⁶⁷⁷ The so-called acropolis of Level XIII⁶⁷⁸ (**fig. 13**) was assigned to the Ubaid Culture and is

⁶⁶⁹ Tobler 1950.

⁶⁷⁰ Rothman and Peasnell 1999, 106.

⁶⁷¹ Speiser 1927-28.

⁶⁷² See Speiser 1935a; Tobler 1950.

⁶⁷³ Rothman 2002, 21-3.

⁶⁷⁴ These are levels: I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIIIa, VIIIb, VIIIc, IX, X, X-A, XI, XI-A, XII, XII-A, XIII, XIV, XV, XV-A, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX and XX.

⁶⁷⁵ See general Speiser 1935; 1936; 1937; 1938; Bache 1935a; b; 1936; Tobler 1938; 1950; Rothman 2002, 20-25.

⁶⁷⁶ Tobler 1950, 3.

⁶⁷⁷ Speiser 1935a, 5; 1936a.

⁶⁷⁸ Speiser 1937b; d.

the end of this period at Tepe Gawra,⁶⁷⁹ despite Halaf pottery also having been discovered.⁶⁸⁰ Even more confusing is the existence of both Samara and Halaf pottery in the lower parts of the site. This fact made it difficult for Speiser to determine a definite stratigraphic sequence. In 1937, he finally concluded that the Ubaid Period is represented by levels XII and XIII, while levels XIV, XV and XVI are parallel with the Samara Culture, and the rest to the Halaf (**fig. 12**).⁶⁸¹ On the other hand, Tobler, who worked at Gawra for three seasons mostly as a general photographer, argued that levels XVII - XIX should be placed within the early Ubaid Period, with the possibility of a transitional phase from Ubaid to Halaf Culture in the last level.⁶⁸²

Today the chronological problems of the Ubaid and Halaf Periods at Tepe Gawra remain under debate, especially given that the second volume of the final publication⁶⁸³ is unreliable. Tobler, who is presented as the writer, did not take information from the field recordings into consideration, whereas the contribution of Bache to this volume could not be perceived due to the series of changes finally done by the writers.⁶⁸⁴ The results are confusing for someone trying to follow the stratigraphic continuity. Since then, many archaeologists have focused examination on the material to establish an advisable stratigraphic assessment (**fig. 15**). The first effort to do so was made in 1949 by Ann Louise Perkins, who found that Halaf pottery occurs in small proportion through the levels XVII - XIX, and Ubaid pottery is in considerably higher attestation until level XII. A sudden intrusion of a quite distinct material assemblage in level XIA constitutes an inconclusive issue. For Perkins, it was not necessary to offer identification with a familiar culture developed in Mesopotamia at that time, since this is a vast area where homogeneity is difficult to achieve. Therefore, she introduced the characterization "Gawra Period".⁶⁸⁵ Porada,⁶⁸⁶ based on analysis of seals, placed the "Gawra Period" between levels XII - VIIA.⁶⁸⁷ These two proposed chronological frames seem to be more or less acceptable for the researchers, who

⁶⁷⁹ Speiser 1935.

⁶⁸⁰ Speiser 1937a.

⁶⁸¹ Speiser 1937b; c; d.

⁶⁸² Tobler 1938, 22.

⁶⁸³ Tobler 1950. For the first volume see Speiser 1935a.

⁶⁸⁴ Rothman 2002, 23, 26.

⁶⁸⁵ Perkins 1949.

⁶⁸⁶ Porada 1965.

⁶⁸⁷ For the iconographic theme of the seals see Schmandt-Besserat 2006.

subsequently launched similar studies.⁶⁸⁸ Forest⁶⁸⁹ studied the mortuary practices in Gawra assigned levels XX to XII to the Ubaid Period in accordance with Lawn examination in laboratory (**fig. 15**).⁶⁹⁰

Most of the data which these studies emphasize are derived from Tobler's publication. As Roaf⁶⁹¹ first noticed, the main problem of this data concerns the inaccuracies in the presentation of the architectural remains in relation to occupational levels. Because of this discrepancy, many artifacts are presented in the wrong elevation. In the 1980s Rothman⁶⁹² of Widener University began the re-examination of excavation archives of the site, stored at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. After a detailed analysis mostly of the Urul levels,⁶⁹³ Rothman identified the constructions which were stratigraphically misplaced, and proposed a corrected stratigraphic sequence. He pointed out that the previously identified level XIA is composed of architectural remains from two phases, and separated this level into levels XIA and XIB.⁶⁹⁴ Exactly the opposite occurred in level XA, the buildings of which Rothman identified as later additions within Level XI.⁶⁹⁵ His reconstruction referred not only to the architectural remains – he also assigned artefactual findings to their appropriate levels and produced catalogues of these findings.⁶⁹⁶ From here, he conclusively dated each level by its seals and pottery evidence. More specifically, he dated levels XX - XVII to the Halaf Period, levels XVI - XIIA to the Ubaid Period and level XII to an Ubaid to Uruk Transitional Phase. He also argued that the Uruk Period is characterized at Gawra by the absence of its late phase and by extension levels XI - VIII should be considered part of the Early to Early - Middle Uruk Period. Subsequent levels, he concludes, are of the Early and Middle Bronze Age.⁶⁹⁷

Nevertheless, it seems that the introduction of new cultural forms was quite gradual at the site, the occupation of which is uninterrupted until at least the Uruk Period. This study includes graves from the levels XVI – XII, where Ubaid pottery have

⁶⁸⁸ For more suggestions on this issue see also Lawn 1973; Davidson 1977; Roaf 1984; Butterlin 2002. Rothman 2002.

⁶⁸⁹ Forest 1983b, 32.

⁶⁹⁰ Lawn 1973

⁶⁹¹ Roaf 1984b, 82.

⁶⁹² Rothman 1989; 2002; 2004; 2009; Rothman and Peasall 1999; 2003.

⁶⁹³ Rothman 2002.

⁶⁹⁴ Rothman 2002, 34-7

⁶⁹⁵ Rothman 2002, 34-7.

⁶⁹⁶ Rothman 2002, 236-64.

⁶⁹⁷ Rothman and Peasall 2003; For more analysis, see also Rothman 2002.

been found, since from the level XIA Ubaid cultural material was vanished. At that time, the general picture is of a few large houses of over 6 m (sometimes over 10 m) in length and 5 to 10 m in width, near or under which are the burials. Level XVI consists of 6 dwellings, the majority of which were laid in the northeast zone. Of these structures, a house in square 6E with traces of lozenge designs on one of its walls is worth mentioning, as is the isolated west house of square 4Q-O, which was erected near kilns and storage structures and remained in use during the following XVA Phase.⁶⁹⁸ The last was characterized by a restricted degree of habitation.⁶⁹⁹ The majority of the buildings bore similar architectural features with the known communal granaries of the Ubaid Period and very few others could have been used as private houses. The Ubaid Period was fully established within the upper XV level. Here it is clear that the northeast zone of the settlement was a residential area, with the four houses found there following the typical architectural form of the tripartite Ubaid house. The kilns and storage rooms were situated at the southwest side of the settlement. The single building situated in level XIV measures 16 m in length and over the 12 m in width and has a stone foundation.⁷⁰⁰ This fact indicates that some social change took place at that time in Tepe Gawra. Moving to Level XIII, we find an acropolis erected, which consisted of an open court, with three buildings referred to as Temples on three of this court's sides.⁷⁰¹ These Temples bore decorated buttresses and niches outside of their walls. The end of the Ubaid Period at Tepe Gawra occurred in the XIIA level. Only a few humble constructions have been survived by the later intrusions,⁷⁰² which served multiple functions.⁷⁰³

The burials

The presentation of burials follows the inaccuracies characterized the final publication.⁷⁰⁴ The available data are too fragmentary with a large number of inhumations being omitted. For example, Tobler estimated the graves from level XII to 120,⁷⁰⁵ while he included only 32 of them,⁷⁰⁶ the majority of which actually happens to

⁶⁹⁸ Tobler 1950, 40-1.

⁶⁹⁹ Tobler 1950, 39.

⁷⁰⁰ Tobler 1950, 36.

⁷⁰¹ Tobler 1950, 30-6. See also Margueron 2006.

⁷⁰² Tobler 1935, 29.

⁷⁰³ Baltali Tirpan 2017.

⁷⁰⁴ See Tobler 1950, 117-21.

⁷⁰⁵ Tobler 1950, 103.

⁷⁰⁶ Tobler 1950, 118-9.

be furnished.⁷⁰⁷ Thus, a misleading picture concerning the graves' furnishing is extracted. Furthermore, the burial assemblages are not properly described and some of the grave goods are not available (see Appendix Cb). Indicative examples are grave 7-67, where the total number of the pottery vessels is 4 and not 1 and grave 7-45, where, besides the open pot, a jar, a cup, a stone vessel and some beads have been found, too.⁷⁰⁸ Another very important problem that come up is the level each grave originates from. According to Tobler, a single level seems to yield graves interfered to several underlying levels resulting to an unreasonably wide variety in their depths.⁷⁰⁹ For example, the graves assigned to level XII have a depth ranging over the 1.30 m (from extremely shallow to quite deep pits).⁷¹⁰ Moreover, in some cases, Tobler allocated graves arbitrarily, as no elevation or other relative evidence could, indeed, witness the level of origin.

For these reasons, a reevaluation of the excavation archives is important for the needs of the present research. Particularly, the reconstruction of the burial contexts of levels XIX to XII at Tepe Gawra will be primary based on the field notes and excavation sheets, which include information omitted from the final publications (see Appendix Ca). The information has been registered in a dataset (see Appendix C), just like the rest burials studied here. However, the field recording system is not uniform with the graves found in the firsts seasons being briefly described in a notebook without following a standard form of keeping records and, thus, the elevation of the pits, the orientation of the body and sometimes its position were not included. After Bache's detailed registration system there is a more comprehending picture about the burial assemblages in Tepe Gawra. The standard form of the information sheets includes the elevation, type of burial,⁷¹¹ body's exact position and orientation, approximate age of the individuals and descriptions of offerings. In many cases there was a sketch, while graves were spotted within their excavation square. The fixed points of measurements were always two corners of this square creating, thus, a triangle, on the 3rd corner of which the grave was laid. Since the lengths of all the three sides are given and the two corners of the triangle osculate with those of the excavation square, the identification of the exact location of the interment is easy to be done with the use of a design and

⁷⁰⁷ Tobler systemically disregarded the graves with no grave offerings at all.

⁷⁰⁸ Compare Appendix C with Tobler 1950.

⁷⁰⁹ Forest 1983b, 21.

⁷¹⁰ Tobler 1950, 103.

⁷¹¹ It is actual the type of grave, which could be either loose (simple pit) or urn burial.

drafting application (**figs 16-23**). Here, the Rhinoceros is used to achieve the distribution of the graves, when their spots could be identified according to the available data. The distribution is not depicted on the level that they were found, but in the estimated level of origin, since an effort to recognize it is, also, included in this chapter (when the records allow it). To accomplish this effort, I compare the available elevation of the grave with this of the excavation square they were found (or the nearest spot) at least in the two upper occupational levels. Usually, any difference between them under the 0.80 m or over the 1.60 m are rejected as too shallow or deep pits respectively, since according to the evidence from other sites an average Ubaid grave is likely to be dug down to 1-1.50 m.

As natural, the graves recorded at the level they interfered in. However, different labelling system had been used during the excavation. Graves labelled with a single number were found at 3rd, 4th and 5th campaign (*e.g.* 237). In the 6th campaign, the new numerical series started with the "G36" (*e.g.* G36-162), which was replaced in the next season by "7" (*e.g.* 7-21).⁷¹² Finally, the interments from the only mass grave found in Tepe Gawra are assigned in the capital letters A to D⁷¹³ (see below).

After the excavation was completed, no further studies had been held. Thus, our knowledge remains fragmentary and there is no clue as to the age, gender or cranial modification. Tepe Gawra prehistoric graves are included to the Foster's case study.⁷¹⁴ As mentioned, Forest considered that all the graves from levels XX - XIIA reflect the Ubaid mortuary practices.⁷¹⁵ However, he has briefly examined them, as he put emphasis on the later ones from level XI to VIIIIC. Thus, only general counting analysis is available for the Ubaid Period without any description or reference to the burial assemblages themselves.⁷¹⁶ In fact, it is not known on which graves he based his assumptions or by what criteria he concluded to their assignment in levels, but only the total number of them. Thus, it is difficult to evaluate the degree of validity of the publication.

A total of 274 graves have been unearthed and recorded from levels XX to XII (**see Appendix C**). From these, only 74 are achieved to be assigned to the levels under consideration, being that XX to XII. Their distribution in occupational phases is

⁷¹² Tobler 1950, 53 (note 3).

⁷¹³ Tobler 1950, 49. Not to be mistaken with the later Tombs A, B, C, D, E.

⁷¹⁴ Foster 1983.

⁷¹⁵ Forest 1983b.

⁷¹⁶ Forest 1983b.

presented in the following subchapters. Moreover, 55 are dated to the later XIA phase and in some 120 cases their phase failed to be recognized. Therefore, these graves are not described in detail, but only mentioned in Appendix C. Among the XIA graves, three are libn tombs, which⁷¹⁷ together with additional 25 ones make up a distinct grave group. Not even one could be dated to the period under consideration, despite the fragmentary nature of the data and the lack of any measurements concerning the spot and elevation of these 26 libn tombs. In some cases, the non-pottery objects do not seem to be fashion according to Pre-Uruk styles, the seal from G36-110, the seal form G36-134 and the copper pendant from G36-135. Furthermore, the clay vessels are barely found in these assemblages, in contrast to the systematic discovery of pottery in the Ubaid libn tombs from Eridu. Thus, it is concluded that those of Tepe Gawra are later. Tobler and Foster dated them either to level XI or XIA.⁷¹⁸

XX and XIX Levels

The architecture of the most ancient level at Tepe Gawra includes a typical tholos of the Halaf Period.⁷¹⁹ The ceramic evidence and small finds indicate also an influence from the north Mesopotamian material culture, which tend to be in decline in the upper levels.⁷²⁰ Besides the circular construction the exposed part of the settlement consisted of scatter walls.⁷²¹ On the other hand, few building complex consisted mainly of rectangular rooms have been excavated in level XIX.⁷²² According to Tober the south building complex was a temple without though giving any explanation about such characterization.⁷²³ It seems that inside the central room there was a podium according to the published plan.⁷²⁴ Similar findings has been found to the superimposed buildings, as well. The north buildings are private house based on the writer. Unfortunately, the archaeological context of the findings is not including to the final publication, volume II, and thus it is difficult to recognize the use of the different structures. Nevertheless,

⁷¹⁷ Libn Tombs are built shafts first introduced in Eridu, For more see subchapter under "Extramural Burials".

⁷¹⁸ Tobler 1950, 96-7; Foster 1983, 48.

⁷¹⁹ Tobler 1950, 47.

⁷²⁰ Tobler 1950, 41-2.

⁷²¹ Tobler 1950, 47-8.

⁷²² Tobler 1950, 45-6.

⁷²³ Tobler 1950, 45.

⁷²⁴ Tobler 1950, pl. XIX.

the overall picture presents that there is a significant change in the level XIX cultural style.⁷²⁵

Despite the large multi-roomed constructions, especially of the level XIX, no graves have been unearthed from these earliest levels, except for 7-73 (**Appendix Ca**), which is likely to belong to XIX (**fig. 16**). It is a broken jar contained the remains of a juvenile, which had its head to the SE. As no infant urn burial have been dated to the Halaf Period, it is very likely that Ubaid influence is attested already from the earliest occupation in the site. Even earlier is assigned the skeletal remains of 24 individuals that have been found thrown inside an abandoned well. The well have been excavated in Area A and under the XX – the last level yields systematically cultural debris.⁷²⁶ As natural, corpses occupied a large part of the narrow well resulting their deep deposit, over the 1.50 m with the two uppermost interments being assigned as Burial A, the lower 12 ones as Burial B, the following 9 as Burial C and the deepest one as Burial D.⁷²⁷ Whether the neglected individuals suffered an illness or a violent battle is hard to say.⁷²⁸ As mentioned in the introduction, mass graves have not been found throughout Ubaid Horizon and the only similar example come from the Halaf site Domuztepe.⁷²⁹

XVIII

Level XVIII is the earliest level excavated extensively. The general layout preserves some architectural elements from the previous level XIX. The building in square 5-J was labelled as temple, since a podium have been uncovered inside its central and large room, as in the earlier level XIX.⁷³⁰ North of this structures there is a multi-roomed building complex and several scatter rooms. It is very interesting that the ovens were concentrated to the square 5-J.⁷³¹

7 graves (**Appendix C**) are assigned under or near these remains⁷³² (**fig. 17**), which hold a single – complete burial, usually, accompanied by no goods. Three of them are urn burials, two with no lid and one lidded with a potsherd. The rests are simple pits contained the remains either of an adult or a juvenile. In one case (7-83) the

⁷²⁵ Tobler 1950, 42.

⁷²⁶ Tobler 1950,

⁷²⁷ Tobler 1950, 50.

⁷²⁸ Tobler 1950, 50; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 148.

⁷²⁹ See for more about Domuztepe Kansa *et al.* 2009; Carter 2012; Campbell *et al.* 2014; Fletcher and Campbell 2015.

⁷³⁰ For more see Tobler 1950, 44. Also the underlying building was labelled as temple.

⁷³¹ Tobler 1950, 44.

⁷³² 7-75, 7-74, 7-79, 7-80, 7-81, 7-82 and 7-83.

grave was lined with clay and in other one (7-80) there were offerings including a painted jar, four stone bowls, one palette, various beads and a pendant. The dead were placed in flexed position without any regularity in the orientation of the body.

XVII

There was a reappearance of the tholoi in level XVII. Each of the two circular constructions were built in close proximity to irregular multi-roomed structures creating two distinct groups.⁷³³ Several walls and rooms have been excavated in the free space around these groups. It is interesting that a large building unit have been uncovered in the square 4O and 5O.⁷³⁴ This building consisted of several rooms stood quite separate from the other architectural remains, since it was laid isolated and far away from the rest architectural remains.⁷³⁵ Furthermore, no burial has been found under it or in the surrounding area.⁷³⁶

Thus, a total of 25 graves holding 26 burials, which is likely to belong to level XVII⁷³⁷ (**Appendix Ca**), are concentrated mainly on the squares 4J and 3J (**fig. 18**). They displayed mainly simple pits, as only one lidded urn burial (7-78) has been found. Graves 7-39 and 7-45 have the same measurements regarding the elevation and spot, however they differ in grave goods.⁷³⁸ Individuals of different ages were placed in simple pits. The overwhelming majority of the pits contained a single and complete burial. Two exceptions have been observed: 7-58 may contain a fractional burial and 7-66 hold two underaged individuals (double burial). According to the approximate determination of the age by the excavators, ten adults and ten juveniles have been attested sharing the same percentages, while youth/adolescents occupy the 23% of the interments (**Table 2**). As no anthropological studies have been held these numbers should always be treated with caution. However, we can, generally, assume that there is a gradual increase of the graves with offerings as the older the individual is (**Table 2**).

⁷³³ For more see Tobler 1950, 42-3.

⁷³⁴ Tobler 1950, 42.

⁷³⁵ Among the south architectural units and north building there is a depression (Tobler 1950, 42).

⁷³⁶ It was not possible to identified a burial assemblage near to this building unit based on the records from the field notes.

⁷³⁷ 7-39, 7-40, 7-45, 7-46, 7-48, 7-52, 7-54, 7-55, 7-56, 7-57, 7-58, 7-59, 7-61, 7-63, 7-64, 7-65, 7-66, 7-67, 7-68, 7-70, 7-71, 7-72, 7-76, 7-77 and 7-78.

⁷³⁸ Also they were excavated during different days.

The most common grave offering found in adult graves are clay vessels. They consist of both open and closed types with the minimum deposition being of a jar and a bowl. The maximum number of them is 4 containers in a single burial assemblage, while at least one or all of them are painted in each case. In grave 7-68, two stone vessels, some beads and an animal tooth have been found together the pottery. On the other hand, non-pottery objects, like stone vessels and mainly beads are more common offerings to infants and children, as well as youths. Beads have been found in 6 cases (see 7-45, 7-52, 7-61, 7-66, 7-57 and 7-77) and stone objects in 3 cases (see 7-66, 7-54 and 7-45). Finally, in some examples we can see objects of Ubaid style being present in the burial assemblages, like the Ubaid seal in grave 7-66.⁷³⁹ Regardless the individuals' age, they were laid in contracted position, while the orientation is widely varied not only here, but in all the occupational phases.

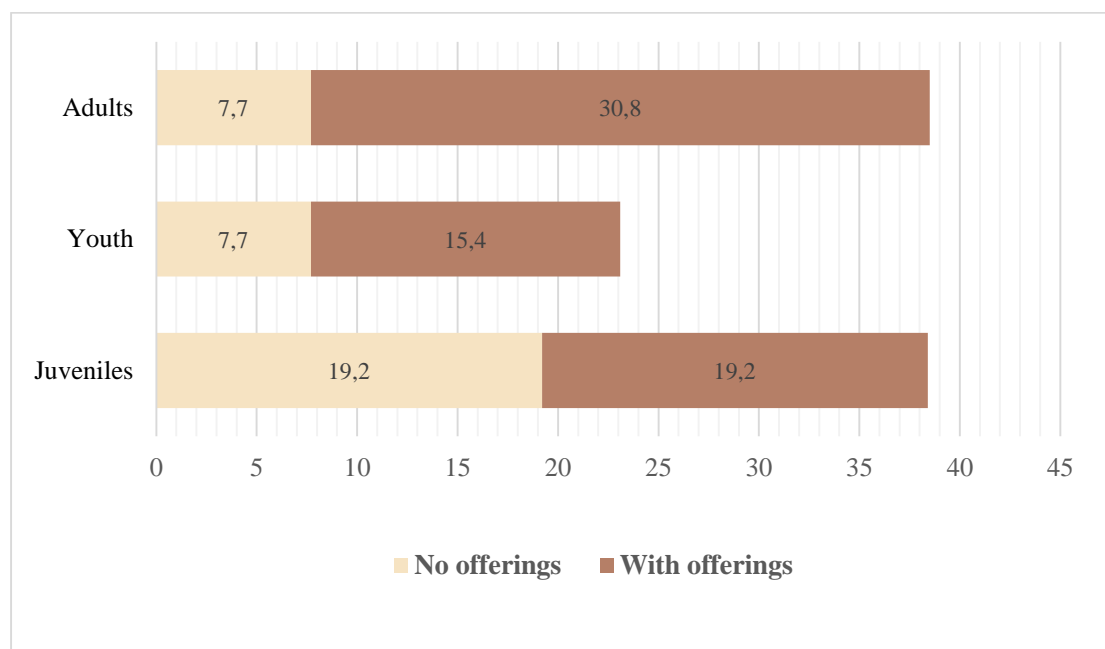


Table 2. Unfurnished and furnished graves according to the age of the individuals from level XVII.⁷⁴⁰

XVI

The division of the mound in two separate areas, the north and south part, is more obvious in the level XVI. Besides the spatial distribution of the architectural remains, there is no clear distinction in their use. The north part consisted of a series of storage rooms, the layout of which resemble to the granary at Tell Kurdu (see chapter under "Southeast Anatolia"). In addition to these narrow constructions, several kilns

⁷³⁹ Also, pottery of Ubaid style seems to be found maybe already from the earlier phase XVIII.

⁷⁴⁰ The urns are not included in the percentage of furnished graves.

and the largest building of the level XVI have been found in north part of the settlement.⁷⁴¹ Again no grave have been found there and the 11 from 12 graves that were successfully identified with level XVI (**Appendix Ca**)⁷⁴² were laid under the southern buildings, some of which bore traces of wall paintings, as mentioned.⁷⁴³ The twelfth grave, 7-47, is not spotted in **fig. 19**, since no measurements have been recorded and, thus, we do not know its location.

Generally, urn burials continue to be in very low numbers – just one have been found – and simple pits without any embellishment is the main grave type. They contained a single body in flexed position, except for 7-35 and 7-47, where the individuals are placed supine on its back. No fragmentary or multiple burials have been unearthed from this level.

A significance decrease of adult and youth burials has been observed (**Table 3**), although these graves present greater regularity in offerings than graves hold infant/children. Of great interest is graves 7-35 and 7-37. In the first one, besides the uncommon extended position of the adult, the non-pottery objects include a stone amulet and an obsidian buffer. The juvenile from 7-37 was not accompanied by clay vessels, but a peculiar object, which resembles a rattle, and an animal figurine.

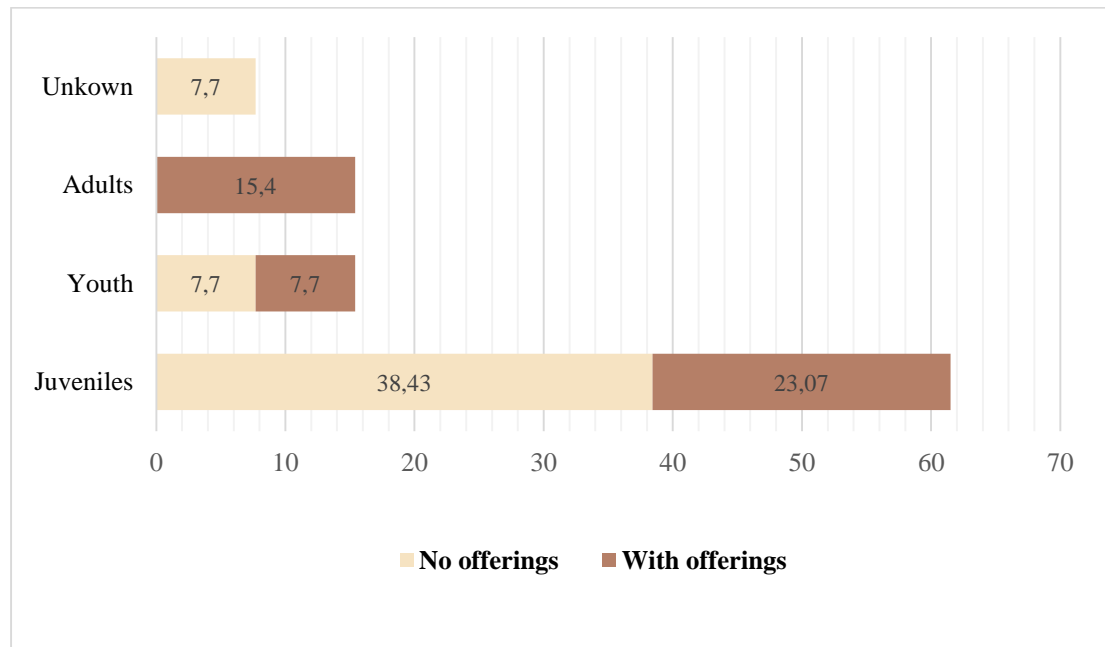


Table 3. Unfurnished and furnished graves according to the age of the individuals from level XVI.⁷⁴⁴

⁷⁴¹ Tobler 1950, 42.

⁷⁴² 7-37, 7-38, 7-41, 7-42, 7-43, 7-44, 7-47, 7-49, 7-50, 7-53, 7-62 and 7-69.

⁷⁴³ Tobler 1950, 40.

⁷⁴⁴ The urns are not included in the percentage of furnished graves.

XVA, XV and XIV

The superimposed levels XVA and XV present a gradual preference to the tripartite layout, though it did not prevail. Moreover, the buildings consisted of narrow rooms (granaries?) continued to exist together with ovens and kilns.⁷⁴⁵ The excavated part of the mound still seems to be separate in two areas, since among the north and south building units there is no architectural remains or other construction, such as kiln or other, to make the settlement look unified. The structures of level XV have been characterized private houses,⁷⁴⁶ however the findings from their interior have not been studied yet. On the other hand, level XIV presents a completely different picture with its single building being founded with rubble.⁷⁴⁷ Its plan is quite simple, since on the long sites of a large central room various in size smaller rectangular rooms were developed.⁷⁴⁸

As far as the burial rites are concerned, the graves having been found in the south part of the settlement – as always – are very few in their number. Level XVA yields only 6 graves⁷⁴⁹ (**fig. 20**). Interestingly, though, only non-pottery objects have been found in these burial assemblages (**Appendix Ca**). Unfortunately, no grave has been identified with level XV, while only one seems to originate from level XIV (**fig. 21**) – it is the unfurnished simple pit 7-4 (**see Appendix Ca**).

XIII

The layout of the level XIII was completely different. The features of the architectural remains do not indicate that the occupation here had domestic character. In fact, all the three excavated buildings were monumental constructions and developed around an open large yard.⁷⁵⁰ Also they bore elaborate facades⁷⁵¹ in the form of buttress and niched type found firstly in south Mesopotamia (see chapter 3.2.3). Indeed, the north building, usually called North Temple,⁷⁵² shared similar tripartite layout with the Eridu later Temples. The yard was quite large, 18 x15 m and seems to be enclosed from

⁷⁴⁵ For more see Tobler 1950, 36-40.

⁷⁴⁶ Tobler 1950, 37.

⁷⁴⁷ Tobler 1950, 36.

⁷⁴⁸ For more see Tobler 1950, 36.

⁷⁴⁹ 7-22, 7-24, 7-25, 7-27, 7-32 and 7-33.

⁷⁵⁰ For more see Tobler 1950, 31-6.

⁷⁵¹ Tobler 1950, 32,

⁷⁵² For more about the North Temple see also Margueron 2006; Baltali Tirpan 2017.

the south side, as well.⁷⁵³ The rooms and walls that were exposed seem to contained beyond the excavated area, that is to the south part of the mound. Thus, we do not know actually the size of this building complex and wheather or not there were more humble contrusctions with primary domestic character. It is sure though that these findings had some special use beyond housing the everyday life of families. An examination of the cultural material assemblages from their interior could shed some light on their use. Nevertheless, the entire unearthed complex occupied most of the excavated squares of the mound and thus it seems that it was a part of a genuine acropolis.⁷⁵⁴

Only 6 graves⁷⁵⁵ could be successfully assigned to level XIII with the 3 of them being spotted (**fig. 22**). Despite their small number, it is quite clear that urn burials replaced simple pits (see Appendix c), since they account for 4 out of 6.⁷⁵⁶ Half of them (7-3 and 289) consisted only by the lid, which covered the entire or part of the skeleton and the rests (the two labeled 7-2) consisted by the urn, which is a bowl, inside which the body was laid. No further embellishment of the grave or deposit of objects have been observed.

As far as the simple pits are concern, 7-6 may hold a fractional body in contracted position accompanied by a painted bowl and a sherd and G36-148 is actually a cenotaph, as despite the preparation of the grave facilities – the grave was lined with gypsum – and the deposit of a painted jar, no skeletal remains have been attested. G36-148 is an interesting case, but not the only one as we will see in the next subchapter under "Extramural Burials". Tobler assigned graves G36-152, G36-153, G36-161, G36-162,⁷⁵⁷ G36-157 and G36-165.⁷⁵⁸ It is true that they show many common characteristics with the above mentioned cases, since the overwhelming majority (with the exception of built shaft G36-162) are infant urn burials contained a complete body and no additional objects. However, in lack of further data concerning their discovery within the excavation field, it is hard to say for sure.

⁷⁵³ Tobler 1950, 30.

⁷⁵⁴ Tobler 1950, 30.

⁷⁵⁵ 7-2 (two separate graves), 7-3, 7-6, G36-148 and 289.

⁷⁵⁶ The two graves labeled 7-2, 7-3 and 289.

⁷⁵⁷ For these graves see Tobler 1950, 104.

⁷⁵⁸ For these graves see Tobler 1950, 119.

XIIA and XII

The use of the levels XIIA and XII turn into primary domestic, as was before the Level XIII. The habitation of level XIIA seemed to be much restricted with few and scatter unearthed walls or rooms.⁷⁵⁹ This picture changed drastically in the next level, XII. Here, there is an extended and dense structural network.⁷⁶⁰ The buildings are smaller than those in previous levels, although they had more or less equal in the size. When there was not road between two or more buildings, these usually shared their walls.⁷⁶¹ It is interesting that there is no distinction into north and south architectural remains and for first time the settlement presented a more unified picture. According to fire evidence found inside the so called White Room⁷⁶² and several adjacent rooms,⁷⁶³ should be a violent interruption of the level XII. Items from the interior of the building lying *in situ* ready to be used⁷⁶⁴ also present a picture of a sudden abandonment of the settlement,⁷⁶⁵ which though would last long, and Tepe Gawra was immediately reoccupied in level XIA.

The determination of the graves originated from levels XIIA and XII proved very hard, since the majority of these graves are not spotted and no elevation has been recorded. Therefore, the plan with the distribution of the graves includes only few of them (**fig. 23**). Unfortunately, only one jar burial with no lid (311) has been assigned to level XIIA, which contained a juvenile and a small bowl as grave good (**Appendix Ca**).

Some 14 graves seem to be dug from level XII.⁷⁶⁶ These burial assemblages confirm the drastic and quite homogeneous shift in the mortuary practices (**Appendix Ca**) that took place from the previous level XIII. Here, no adult burial has been unearthed within the limits of the occupational zone, but only underaged individuals. They occupy a percentage of 92.8% with only one youth being attested. Another very significant change refers to the grave type, since no longer simple pits are widely used. Children, infants and youths were now placed in urns. The urn was, usually, a jar, sometimes broken or painted, and rarely a bowl. When a lid existed, it was a sherd or a bowl. No further objects have been found inside or near the urns. The single simple pit

⁷⁵⁹ Tobler 1950, 29; Rothman 2002, 27.

⁷⁶⁰ According to Tobler (Tobler 1950, 25) There is no religious building. See also Rothman 2002.

⁷⁶¹ For more see Tobler 1950, 25-29. There is also a reexamination of the level XII (Rothman 2002).

⁷⁶² White plaster had been found applied in the walls of this room. For more see Tobler 1950.

⁷⁶³ There was a large deposit of ash.

⁷⁶⁴ Tobler 1950, 26.

⁷⁶⁵ Tobler 1950, 26.

⁷⁶⁶ G36-11, 309, 7-8, 297, 292, 299, 300, 319, 328, 294, 310, 317, 307, 301.

309 contained may a ceramic vessel, which preservation conditions did not allow the identification of its type.

According to Tobler, 29 graves should originate from this level.⁷⁶⁷ As seen previously in level XIII, the data are too fragmentary for any assumption, despite the similarities in burial assemblages between them and the graves already described in the present subchapter.

3.1.3.1.5. Tell Aprachiyah

The site

Mallowan participated in many Mesopotamian excavations. These include the excavations at Ur as a student of Woolley, and at Nineveh as supervisor of a sounding under the direction of R. Campbell Thompson.⁷⁶⁸ Few Halaf pottery, present at only a few other settlements at that time,⁷⁶⁹ was found during the last excavation at Nineveh. A few years earlier, Thompson discovered a mound 6.5 km eastward of Nineveh, on the surface of which lay a large amount of Halaf pottery sherds.⁷⁷⁰ Thus, in 1933 Mallowan proceeded with excavations of this mound, which lasted six weeks.⁷⁷¹ His primary expectation was to uncover evidence that could allow a more thorough picture of Halaf Culture, so far unattested due to their deep alluvium deposits.

This mound was named Tell Arpachiyah after the nearby modern village, with the archaeological site itself coming to be called Tell Rashwa.⁷⁷² Like Tepe Gawra, 10 km southeast (see previous subchapter), this site benefitted agriculturally and pastorally from the local environmental conditions. The site also benefitted from a wide range of local raw material including limestone, gypsum and marble.⁷⁷³

Mallowan's team consisted of his wife Agatha Christie who served as general photographer, architect J. Cruikshank Rose and 180 workmen.⁷⁷⁴ The mound was 10.5 m high, but the excavation was not completed until virgin soil was found. In this excavation the upper 10 levels of the mound were uncovered (TT1-TT10),

⁷⁶⁷ G36-51, G36-59, G36-61, G36-63, G36-65, G36-66, G36-69, G36-70, G36-71, G36-94, G36-99, G36-106, G36-107, G36-119, G36-124, G36-126, G36-131, G36-141, G36-154, G36-156, G36-23, G36-25, G36-29, 291, 287, 321, 307, 308 and 301 (Tobler 1950, 118-9).

⁷⁶⁸ Curtis 1982; Kolinski 2007.

⁷⁶⁹ Mallowan and Rose 1935; Curtis 1982.

⁷⁷⁰ Mallowan and Rose 1935; Curtis 1982.

⁷⁷¹ Curtis 1982.

⁷⁷² Curtis 1982.

⁷⁷³ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 4.

⁷⁷⁴ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 1-2.

corresponding to the Ubaid and Halaf Period.⁷⁷⁵ More specifically, the Ubaid Period at Tell Arpachiyah is represented by the scanty building levels TT1 to TT4⁷⁷⁶ (**fig.**), which were dug down to 2.5 m deep from the surface. These poorly preserved constructions on the summit of the mound were made mostly of mud bricks. As the excavator wrote, *"the most that we may infer is that these can only have been dwellings of very humble peasants: houses were closely huddled together, there were a few miserable alleys between them, rooms were sometimes no more than 2 m in width, and the whole bore a suspicious resemblance to a slum. These miserable dwellings could hardly have been in existence for any great length of time, and we may reasonably guess that TT 1-4 can easily be fitted into the span of one hundred years, and may not have endured for more than half that time."*⁷⁷⁷ Indeed, the limited shape of Ubaid pottery present at the site,⁷⁷⁸ may indicate that not all of the aspects of everyday life evolved here. On the contrary, the excavation of the cemetery west of the houses shows a fully organized small community. Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine the use of the buildings, since the findings from their interior and exterior remains unknown, and all the objects were examined by category and not by level. It is certain, however, that some seal impressions, animal and also perhaps female figurines, as well as celts and beads made of stone or copper were found in Ubaid context.⁷⁷⁹

The picture changes in the TT5 level, which reaches 3 m below the surface. The buildings were now more stable and multiroomed.⁷⁸⁰ Both Ubaid and Halaf pottery have been found, indicating that this is a transitional phase in the pottery record.⁷⁸¹ Tell Arpachiyah seems to be a typical Halaf site, as the rest of the levels show. Southern Mesopotamian culture would have been adopted at the very end of the known timeframe of the site, and therefore was not well established.

Many scholars have studied the material from Tell Arpachiyah.⁷⁸² Most notably, Ismail H. Hijara proceeded with a second season of excavation in the 1970's.⁷⁸³ The

⁷⁷⁵ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 10-23.

⁷⁷⁶ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 12-3.

⁷⁷⁷ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 12.

⁷⁷⁸ Mallowan and Rose, 1935, 20-1; Davidson and McKerrell 1980, 156.

⁷⁷⁹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 79-104.

⁷⁸⁰ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 13; Curtis 1982, 30.

⁷⁸¹ Mallowan and Rose 1935.

⁷⁸² Davidson and McKerrell, 1980; Molleson and Campbell 1995. See, also, Ippolitoni-Strika, F. 1990; Campbell, S. 2000.

⁷⁸³ Hijara 1978; 1980; 1997.

majority of these studies aimed to shed some light on habitation during Halaf Period, of which there is more evidence here.

The burials

The main source of information on the Ubaid mortuary practices at Tell Arpachiyah is its final excavation report,⁷⁸⁴ in which the burial data is presented by grave. Only two graves (G49 and G50) have been found under or near the Ubaid architectural remains, since over 40 graves dug on the west slope of the mound and therefore, they will be examined in the next subchapter, which includes the extramural burials. According to the excavation plans, G49 and G50 were found within the limits of the residential area, and interfered in much earlier buildings of the levels TT7 and TT8.⁷⁸⁵ It was supposed this intrusion was a result of intention to install these graves under or near the houses. The depth of these levels and by extension that of G49 and G50 were omitted from mention, but it is already known that the last presence of Ubaid material laid at 3 m below the surface, and the first Halaf level (TT6) laid at 4 m.⁷⁸⁶ Thus, the graves were dug to a minimum of 1.5 m deep, but still it not certain, since all the measurements were estimates from the top of the mound.

Both graves are simple pits, each holding a single body of unknown age and sex. Also unknown was their position, while the orientation of the body is available only for the G50, where the head was in E.⁷⁸⁷ A jar and a bowl, both painted, accompanied the dead of G49 and one painted vessel accompanied the dead of G50.

3.1.3.1.6. Nineveh

The huge mound of Nineveh yielded a deep sequence, covered from the Hassuna to Sassanian Period. After the time of the Neo-Assyrian king Sennacherib Nineveh became a great palace center. The first excavations at the site were carried out in the 19th century,⁷⁸⁸ and continued into the 20th and 21st centuries.⁷⁸⁹ Naturally, only a small fraction of the prehistoric occupation has been exposed. Ninevite 3 pottery types were studied by Perkins, who dates these findings to the Post-Ubaid Period.⁷⁹⁰ Four urn

⁷⁸⁴ Mallowan and Rose 1935.

⁷⁸⁵ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 42.

⁷⁸⁶ Mallowan and Rose, 16.

⁷⁸⁷ Mallowan and Rose, 42.

⁷⁸⁸ See Layard 1849; Smith 1875.

⁷⁸⁹ See Campbell and Mallowan 1933; Gavagnin *et al.* 2016.

⁷⁹⁰ Perkins 1945, 56-7.

burials have been found, with their pottery types being the same as the bowl used in the infant urn burial of G22 from Tell Arpachiyah (see the next subchapter).⁷⁹¹

3.1.3.1.7. Kanijdal East

Kanijdal East was discovered in 1987 and investigated one year later, in 1988, during the course of the North Jazira Survey.⁷⁹² The mound covers an area of 1 ha, rising 1 m above the present surrounding surface.⁷⁹³ Excavation lasted five weeks and revealed a settlement dated to the Ubaid 4 Phase which is divided into 3 successive levels.⁷⁹⁴

Level 1 was founded on virgin soil, which is said to reflect a pre-occupational level dug in antiquity to extract clay for the production of mud bricks.⁷⁹⁵ Level 2 comprises a round building with a diameter of 4.5 m, a couple of rectangular constructions and several remains of walls and other scanty structures.⁷⁹⁶ Level 3 consists of a wall, a kiln and three infant urn burials.⁷⁹⁷ The corpses were placed in unbaked and unlidged containers, while the burials bear no offerings.⁷⁹⁸

No imported raw materials have been observed, except for obsidian. The population of Kanijdal East (estimated at 100-200)⁷⁹⁹ seem to have enjoyed a great degree of self-sufficiency,⁸⁰⁰ engaging in domestication of animals and farming. According to the faunal remains, pigs, cattle, sheep and goat were sufficiently identified in almost equal percentage,⁸⁰¹ which contradicts with the evidence of the later neighboring settlement of Tell Hilwa. Tell Hilwa, dated to the subsequent Uruk Period, produced a large percentage of domesticated sheep and goats, suggesting productive specialization and involvement in a system of interdependence between small- and large-scale settlements.⁸⁰² Kanijdal East, however, is an excellent example that even the small-scale settlements were economically independent during Ubaid Period.

⁷⁹¹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39; Perkins 1945, 56.

⁷⁹² See generally for the project and specially for this excavation in Wilkinson and Tucker 1995.

⁷⁹³ Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 41.

⁷⁹⁴ Wilkinson *et al.* 1996.

⁷⁹⁵ Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 41.

⁷⁹⁶ Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 41; Wilkinson *et al.* 1996.

⁷⁹⁷ Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 42; Wilkinson *et al.* 1996, 26.

⁷⁹⁸ Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 42; Wilkinson *et al.* 1996, 26.

⁷⁹⁹ Wilkinson *et al.* 1996, 21.

⁸⁰⁰ Wilkinson *et al.* 1996, 44-5.

⁸⁰¹ Wilkinson *et al.* 1996, 26, 41.

⁸⁰² Wilkinson and Tucker 1995.

3.1.3.1.8. Tell Nader

Tell Nader is under excavation by the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens directed by K. Kopanias, beginning in 2011.⁸⁰³ The site lies on the outskirts of the town of Erbil, and was discovered by Nader Muhammad, in honor of whom the site is named. The mound covers an area of about 1 ha and the occupational sequence is 5 m in depth.⁸⁰⁴ Pottery evidence shows that the main bulk of activity here dates to the Northern Ubaid Period.⁸⁰⁵ So far, the north part of the mound has been dug, revealing two successive outdoor workshops and an intermediate level yielding various cultural debris, all of which is dated to the Ubaid Period.⁸⁰⁶ The main characteristic of the open craft area are some pyrotechnic constructions.⁸⁰⁷ The excavator argues that these features should not be associated with the firing of ceramic vessels, since the chambers are so narrow that only small clay and perhaps copper artifacts could be produced.⁸⁰⁸ This workshop also yields many lithic implements, the majority of which are made of flint.⁸⁰⁹ However, the small sample of obsidian blades at the site suggests Tell Nader was involved in long distance trade with regions such as Lake Van, and even as far as Cappadocia.⁸¹⁰ Finally, studies of faunal remains indicate that pigs were a significant meat source here, though still not as common as sheep and goats, which would have also been necessary for dairy products.⁸¹¹

Four Ubaid burials have been found within the workshop area, three of them were not yet examined, but they refer to as infants or children urn burials. The fourth belongs to a woman between 25 and 39 years of age, positioned without any particular care above a disused kiln.⁸¹² She was placed in a prone position (**fig. 27**),⁸¹³ with a few teeth belonging to different dogs found close to her head.⁸¹⁴ Her head was artificially deformed in Lorentz's double band type and bares a healed trauma, which it is believed

⁸⁰³ Due to the present situation in the region three excavation seasons were held between 2011 and 2013.

⁸⁰⁴ Kopanias *et al.* 2014, 166.

⁸⁰⁵ Kopanias *et al.* 2013; Kopanias *et al.* 2014; Beuger 2016; Beuger and Kopanias 2018.

⁸⁰⁶ Kopanias 2018.

⁸⁰⁷ For more see Kopanias 2018. Compare with Tell Kurdu, Tell Zeidan, Tell Hassan, Tell al 'Abr and maybe Tell Abada.

⁸⁰⁸ Kopanias 2018, 71.

⁸⁰⁹ Kopanias *et al.* 2013, 32-5.

⁸¹⁰ Kopanias *et al.* 2013, 34-5

⁸¹¹ Hadjikoumis 2016.

⁸¹² Fox 2012; Kopanias and Fox 2016.

⁸¹³ Kopanias *et al.* 2014, 171; Kopanias and Fox 2016, 157.

⁸¹⁴ Kopanias and Fox 2016, 157.

by the anthropologist Sherry Fox⁸¹⁵ to have eventually affected her health⁸¹⁶ or even intellectual abilities,⁸¹⁷ condemning her to a life on the social margin. Moreover, she suffered a physical disorder during childhood, as the examination of mandibular canine revealed.⁸¹⁸ The prone position of her body is interpreted as evidence of such marginalization, triggered by fear of her or her spirit.⁸¹⁹ Only one parallel to this position has been observed from this period, coming from the cemetery at Tell Songor A (**fig. 35**). However, Tell Songor A example (G1) was placed with other members of the community in a distinct burial area, and the skeleton is characterized by remarkable symmetry — as if treated with great care. In addition, it is the wealthiest burial found at Songor A. This example helps to indicate that in the case of the woman from Tell Nader, a prone position is not a sign of fear of her spirit. In fact, no particular effort was made to compose the body in a careful way. Indeed, the corpse does not seem to have been placed gently in the pit, which was dug in an already abandoned area. Even the pit itself seems to be rather carelessly formed, as it was too small for the corpse to fit in. In this case, the dogs' teeth should not be interpreted as grave offerings, but the necklace she wore before her death. The fact that these findings were not found near the chest or the neck, but closer to the head, may suggest that her body was in fact thrown into its final resting place.

In 2013 three urn burials came to light within the limits of the open craft area, but, as mentioned, no further examination was possible to be held in the following years due to the volatile situation in the area. The best-preserved burial (U1208) more likely belong to an infant in contracted position with the head lying to the north. It was placed inside an open bowl with diameter 34 cm, above which there was a second bowl, upside down. Both vessels have been found broken, while it is likely to be unpainted. The second skeleton (U1209) was, also, laid in flexed position with the head to the northeast. It is interesting that the corpse was not placed in urn, but it was covered with an open pot, which have been found in broken condition. A reddish stone (bead?) has been found by the chest. The last skeleton (U1224) seemed to be disarticulated, as no clear position could be identified. The remains were laid in part above fragments of a ceramic

⁸¹⁵ Fox 2012; Kopanias and Fox 2016, 157.

⁸¹⁶ For example, it could cause regularly headaches.

⁸¹⁷ For example, seizure, stress, behavioral disorders, the inability to recognize her body.

⁸¹⁸ Fox2012; Kopanias and Fox 2016, 157.

⁸¹⁹ Kopanias and Fox 2016, 157.

vessel (not complete urn). All the skeletons have been carefully removed together with the soil for future analysis in laboratory.

3.1.3.2. Discussion

The total number of burials examined here is 122 burials. Infants and children account for 52.1%, since surprisingly enough a large number of adults (33.9%) were buried within the residential zone (Table 4).⁸²⁰ The rests consist of youth, unknown and a cenotaph (14%). Generally, juveniles and youths were buried in simple pits or urns accompanied by pottery and/or non-pottery objects and adults were buried in simple pits, as well, but they were accompanied mainly by pottery vessels.

As mentioned, there is a simplicity in the infant and child pot burial arrangement toward the end of the Ubaid Period in Hamrin Basin with the bodies buried inside an urn without a lid. Judging by the similar arrangements at Nuzi, Kudish Şaghīr, Kanijdal East, Tepe Gawra, Tell Nader and possibly Nineveh, these burials in the Hamrin Basin occurred around the time that the material culture of the region spread to the north. Similar cases, thus, occurred in the rest of the sites of North Iraq and Iraqi Kurdistan as showed in the Table 5, though in combination with another simple burial form – urn burials with only their lid or cover found at Tepe Gawra and Tell Nader. According to the less available evidence of urn burials, these seem to continue to display some fragmentary vessels or vessels of bad quality. Consequently lidded type is sporadically observed.

⁸²⁰ Adult from Tell Nader is not included in the statistics as no proper burial.

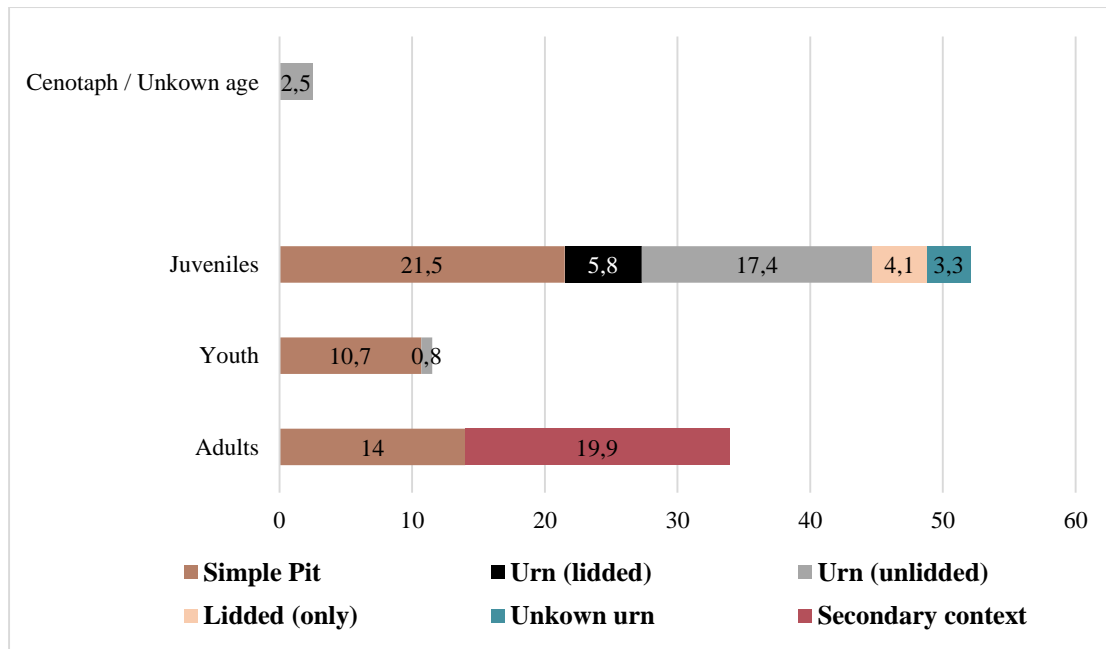


Table 4. Percentages of adults and juveniles in conjunction with the grave type in north Iraq.

All the above suggest that by the transition from Ubaid 3 to 4 Phase and particularly during the Ubaid 4 the role of the sub-adults was demoted and/or, more likely, the socio-economic system of the Ubaid Period was gradually declining. This fact allowed older traditions to be still endured in the region, as evident from the widely use of simple pit burials found at Tepe Gawra and Telul eth-Thalathat for instance.⁸²¹ Burying juveniles in simple pits is a common aspect of the Halaf and Hassuna custom preserved by some inhabitants and it is, naturally, observed only in those sites that had been already occupied from earlier periods, like Yarim Tepe, Tepe Gawra and Telul eth-Thalathat (Table 5). Another Halaf customs noticed at Tepe Gawra and Yarim Tepe are the adult burials within the limits of the settlement,⁸²² as well as the multiple burials. Also in Tepe Gawra at least one fractional burial has been found. However, during the Ubaid occupation in the sites their numbers are significant low, and they were, usually, placed without grave goods.

On the other hand, sites like Kanijdal East and Tell Nader which seem to have been founded during the Ubaid Period (or at least during a period in which the Halaf influence was less present) show more punctuality to the Ubaid customs, albeit degenerate. The lidded burial from Tell Nader might be an extension of the Ubaid

⁸²¹ The burials of Telul eth-Thalathat are not thoroughly studied due to the present situation caused by the covid-19. Information was derived from Breton 2011.

⁸²² Tell Nader adult burial is out of the question, since reflects an abnormal situation.

Culture from the southern region. Perhaps, immigrants from the south Mesopotamia founded these sites. Consequently, the obvious Ubaid stronger presence was the result of no intense interaction with a previous local population group contradicting the example of Tepe Gawra and Yarim Tepe.

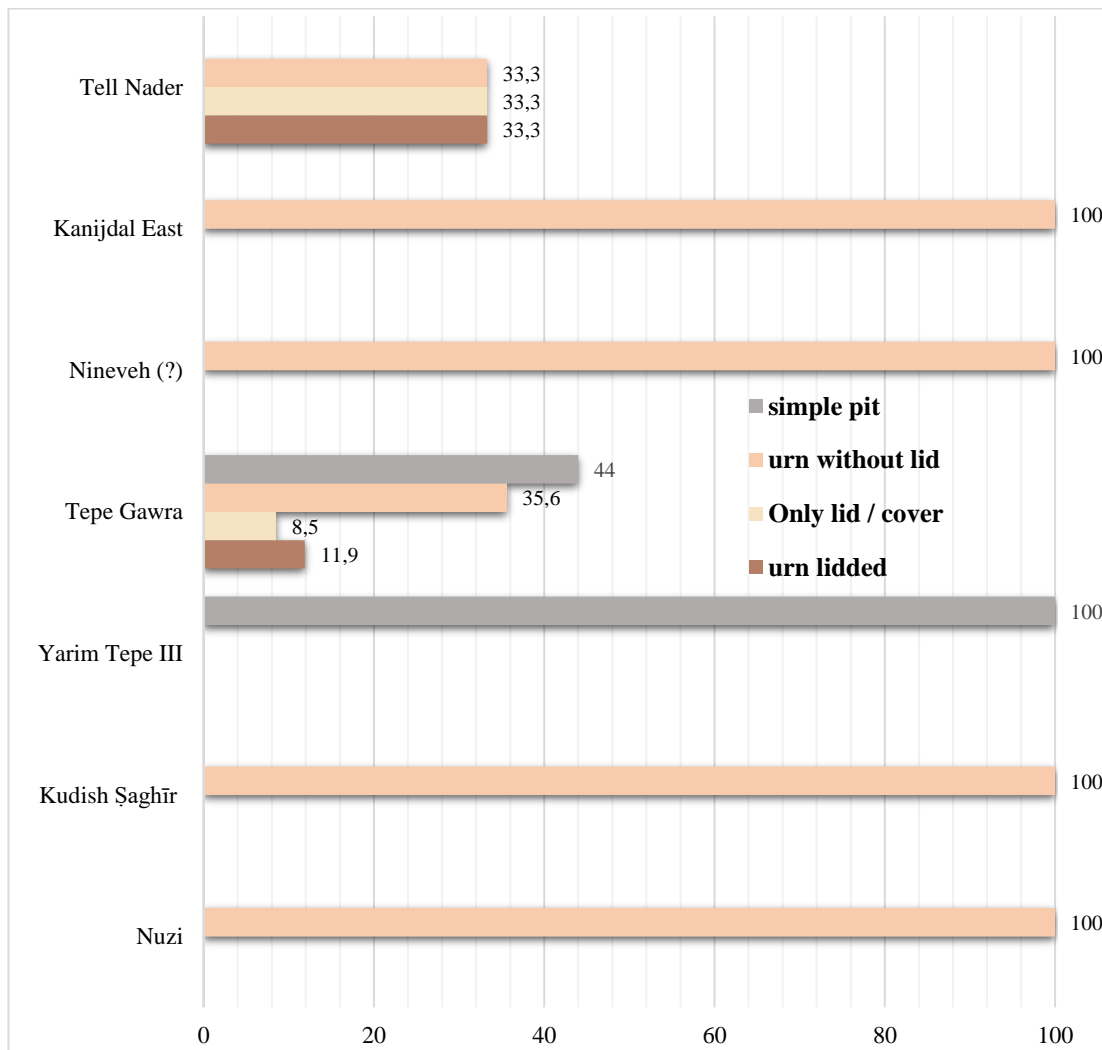
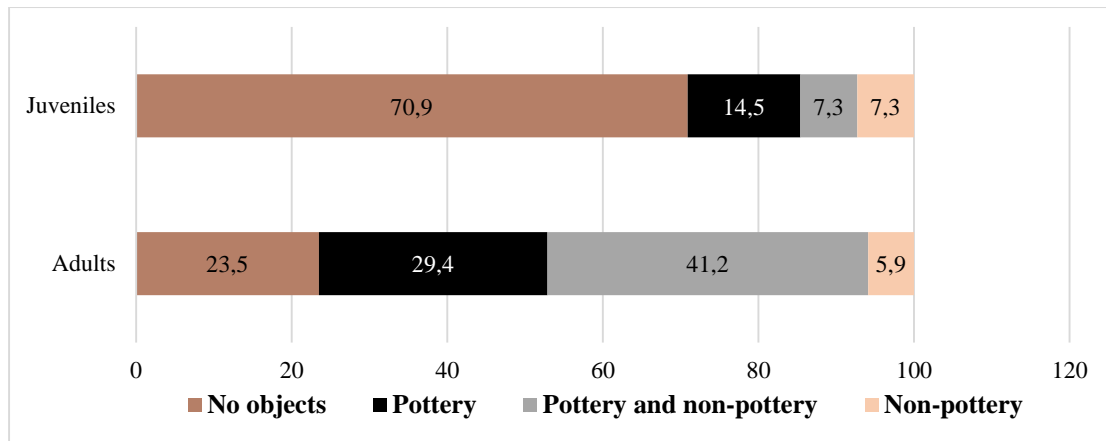


Table 5. Types of graves holding subadults.

Finally, adult burials yield, usually, grave goods consisted mainly of pottery vessels (**Table 6**). The number of them do not exceed four in each assemblage. On the other hand, the majority of infants and children accompanied by nothing, besides the urn-burial facilities, when these exist.

Table 6. Grave goods in adult and juvenile burials from north Iraq.⁸²³

3.1.3.3. North Syria and Syrian Kurdistan

North Syria is a huge area from east Mediterranean Sea to the edge of Zagros mountain chain. The majority of the Ubaid sites in Syria are located to the Euphrates, Balikh and Khabur rivers valleys, which interrupt a broad steppe plain expanding between the coast and uplands.⁸²⁴ Here, besides the Euphrates river and its numerous tributaries, arable lands and animal husbandry were developed under rainfed condition, which sometimes were supplemented by the artificial irrigated system.⁸²⁵ Furthermore, many pastoral nomads were constantly passing through the steppe zone following fixed routes to cover their great demands in water by analogy to the present time nomadic people, who spend their time between Jazirah uplands on summers and rivers plains on winters.⁸²⁶ Securing their folks survival is one of the main reasons for this way of life.⁸²⁷

3.1.3.3.1. Hammam et-Turkman

The site

The Hammam et-Turkman excavation was carried out by the Leiden University of Amsterdam⁸²⁸ and some of this work is summarized in two volumes published in 1988.⁸²⁹ The mound is high, standing 45 m above plain, and preserves occupational

⁸²³ The urn is not included as grave good.

⁸²⁴ Weiss 1991, 683; Hritz 2013; Watfa 2015.

⁸²⁵ Wilkinson 1998, 63.

⁸²⁶ Duistermaat and Akkermans 1996, 28.

⁸²⁷ Compare with the idea that animal husbandry is more difficult during warm seasons (Mallowan and Rose 1935, 3-6.).

⁸²⁸ Several excavations seasons were held, see van Loon 1982; 1983; 1985; 1988b; van Loon and Meijer 1983; Meijer 1996.

⁸²⁹ van Loon 1988a.

debris from several periods up to Iron Age.⁸³⁰ In a surface of 500 x 450 m⁸³¹ the excavation is extended to many parts, with the eastern slope dug as deep as the Ubaid material assemblage, dated to the end of the 6th and early 5th mil.⁸³² Akkermans supervised the digging of this trench, the bottom 15 m of which yielded 12 Levels of successive Ubaid 3 and 4 occupation, which was grouped into four phases. The earliest of these is the Hammam IVA, which bears close parallels to Amuq E Tell Kurdu and Tell al ‘Abr levels 6 and 7.⁸³³ The phase Hammam IVC corresponds to Tepe Gawra XIII and Tell al ‘Abr levels 4 and 5, and the later Hammam IVD to Tepe Gawra XII and Tell al ‘Abr 3-2.⁸³⁴

No general plan of the buildings could be retrieved, as they are still only partially exposed. Many of them do however appear to have been renovated and rebuilt in the upper levels. Interestingly, the wall of the west house in Level 6 preserves white-plaster and traces of red pigment.⁸³⁵ Furthermore, the Room 1 of this house yielded a great quantity of debitage⁸³⁶ suggesting that at least some activities were conducted within specific rooms of the house. Another noteworthy architectural finding is a portion of a buttressed and niched wall.⁸³⁷ Similar examples of such an architectural facet come from the north Temple of the contemporary site of Tepe Gawra. This indicates that Hammam et-Turkman was a large settlement during the period, covering an estimated 10 ha.⁸³⁸

The burials

Only four single burials associated with the buildings have been uncovered so far, and these are published by Thissen in a high level of detail.⁸³⁹ Anthropological studies are not included in his work, as these were not completed by the time of publication.

All the interments belong to middle Ubaid Levels. Two belong to infants or children and two to adults. The earliest belong to a sub-adult lying in an oval-shaped

⁸³⁰ van Loon 1988a.

⁸³¹ About 17.5 ha.

⁸³² Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 164.

⁸³³ van Loon 1988b, 582; Akkermans 1988, 109; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.

⁸³⁴ Akkermans 1988; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003.

⁸³⁵ van Loon 1988a, 71.

⁸³⁶ van Loon 1988a, 71.

⁸³⁷ van Loon 1988a, 71.

⁸³⁸ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 164.

⁸³⁹ In van Loon 1988a

clay box measuring 21 x 34 cm with no offerings.⁸⁴⁰ The second and later juvenile was buried in an oval-shaped grave, the walls of which were lined with clay and the upper part sealed with two layers of mud brick.⁸⁴¹ Even in the case of this embellished grave, the corpse was not accompanied by offerings. Both bodies were placed in a flexed position with the heads to the W and SW respectively. Individuals of older age were laid in simple pits, with one in an extended position and unaccompanied by offerings, and the other in a flexed position and accompanied by a bowl left near the knees.⁸⁴² They are oriented to the SW and NE respectively. All four burials are completely different cases, implying fluid mortuary customs at Hammam et-Turkman. This may also suggest that special treatment of the dead is expressed not only by the deposit of goods, but also by the construction or position of their grave. Nevertheless, common Ubaid burial patterns such as urn burials are completely absent.

3.1.3.3.2. Tell Aqab

The site

Tell Aqab is situated in the north of the Balikh Valley, and was excavated by the University of Edinburgh between 1975 and 1976 with results summarized in an essay.⁸⁴³ The 9.5 m high mound is formed mainly by a Halaf material assemblage, according to 3 trenches dug on the north slope and one on the south.⁸⁴⁴ Above the Halaf occupation, a HUT Period is present in trench 1, with the uppermost level clearly assignable to the Ubaid Period.⁸⁴⁵ Trench 4 offers a similar picture, though a Halaf material assemblage is completely absent.⁸⁴⁶ Finally, 2nd mil. pottery was uncovered in trench 3.⁸⁴⁷ Unfortunately, no contextual data is available, and we cannot determine the nature of both the Halaf and Ubaid occupation. It is worth mentioning that according to the reports, obsidian was used in the lithic industry of both periods quite extensively, with percentage 80% of lithic assemblage⁸⁴⁸ suggesting intensive trade with neighbors in northeast Anatolia.

⁸⁴⁰ van Loon 1988a, 144.

⁸⁴¹ van Loon 1988a, 144.

⁸⁴² van Loon 1988a, 144.

⁸⁴³ Davidson and Watkins 1981.

⁸⁴⁴ Davidson and Watkins 1981.

⁸⁴⁵ Davidson and Watkins 1981, 4.

⁸⁴⁶ Davidson and Watkins 1981, 5.

⁸⁴⁷ Davidson and Watkins 1981, 4.

⁸⁴⁸ Davidson and Watkins 1981, 4.

The burials

Seven burials have been uncovered at Tell Aqab, all belonging to the Ubaid Period.⁸⁴⁹ Both adults and children are identified at Tell Aqab, placed in simple pits and wrapped in matting. Sometimes, matting was used to line grave walls.⁸⁵⁰ The deceased were accompanied by a bowl or a bowl and jar. The offerings were usually found near the skull.⁸⁵¹ No further information regarding the position and orientation of the dead or grave distribution is available in the essay. Since the graves are examined as a whole and not in their individual contexts, thus details of the burial arrangement are not included in **Appendix A**.

3.1.3.3.3. Tell Zeidan

The site

Tell Zeidan is a three-summit mound covering a total of 12.5 ha. It was discovered by Mallowan, who investigated the region in 1938,⁸⁵² but work at the site was not conducted until 2008's joint Syrian-American Expedition, directed by Gil Stein. By 2010 three excavations seasons had been held, revealing a deposit covering Halaf, Ubaid and Uruk Periods.⁸⁵³ Given that the excavation is in progress,⁸⁵⁴ some aspects regarding the nature of the Ubaid occupation at Tell Zeidan are still unfolding.

According to the annual reports,⁸⁵⁵ Ubaid 3-4 Phase occupations at the site (5300-4500 BC)⁸⁵⁶ had an organized layout. The southeast slope was used for different purposes throughout this time.⁸⁵⁷ The superimposed fire installations and pyrotechnic constructions associated with ashy and trash deposits suggest specialized craft production in later periods. Beneath them some buildings have been partially excavated.⁸⁵⁸ On the southeast slope, there is an open area with an enclosure and an oven or tannur lying on a mud platform.⁸⁵⁹ A later (early 5th mil.) buttressed and niched wall, interpretable as part of a temple or communal building,⁸⁶⁰ came to light at the

⁸⁴⁹ For more see Davidson and Watkins 1981, 11.

⁸⁵⁰ Davidson and Watkins 1981, 11.

⁸⁵¹ Davidson and Watkins 1981, 11.

⁸⁵² For the regional survey see Mallowan 1946.

⁸⁵³ See generally Stein 2009; 2010; 2011.

⁸⁵⁴ The present sociopolitical situation in Syria did not allow further excavation season to be held.

⁸⁵⁵ Stein 2009a; 2010a; 2011.

⁸⁵⁶ Stein 2009a and b; Stein 2011.

⁸⁵⁷ Stein 2010a, 108.

⁸⁵⁸ Stein 2010a, 108.

⁸⁵⁹ Stein 2011, 123-5.

⁸⁶⁰ Stein 2009a, 132; Stein 2011, 130.

central-east of the mound. Dwellings were developed near the oven or tannur. The exposed sections of houses, on the northeast of the mound, show a possible preference toward the tripartite plan.⁸⁶¹ Radiocarbon analysis dates this debris to 5265 to 5075 B.C.⁸⁶² The findings from their interiors vary, with figurines following the Syrian tradition part of this assemblage.⁸⁶³ Exotic or prestige goods have also been identified. These include clay tokens, pieces of a hematite mace-head, and sherds from stone vessels.⁸⁶⁴ An interesting and unusual finding is a chlorite rod⁸⁶⁵ which seems to me that it shares some stylistic features with the enigmatic item kept by the well-known male figure from Eridu (**fig. 5b**). Stone implements including cores, flakes, blades and debitage have been found in abundance on the floor of one room, suggesting it was a lithic tool workshop.⁸⁶⁶ According to the report, recovered obsidian originates from Lake Van (Bingöl or Nemrut Dağ) some 400 km to the south, and sources of bitumen are 70 km away.⁸⁶⁷ Given that imported raw materials like steatite and hematite are also identified at Tell Zeidan, it is assumed that the settlements was heavily involved in long distance trade.

Extensive archaeobotanical analysis presents a picture of intense agricultural activity including the cultivation of two-row barley, emmer, einkorn and bread wheat.⁸⁶⁸ Flax seeds for the manufacture of textiles, as well as lentils, peas and nuts are also attested.⁸⁶⁹ Based on this evidence of gradually intensified agricultural production, Tell Zeidan evolved into a substantive settlement. Evidence from faunal remains of Halaf and Ubaid deposits show that levels of domesticated sheep, goats, cattle and pigs were much higher in the Ubaid Period, while in earlier times the distributions of wild and domestic species are almost equal.⁸⁷⁰ The age of mortality of Ubaid domesticated animals signifies exploitation of dairy products as well as meat.⁸⁷¹

⁸⁶¹ Stein 2011, 125-8.

⁸⁶² Stein 2011, 127.

⁸⁶³ Stein 2011, 126.

⁸⁶⁴ Stein 2011, 128.

⁸⁶⁵ Stein 2010a, 115.

⁸⁶⁶ Stein 2011, 128.

⁸⁶⁷ Smith *et al.* 2015, 53.

⁸⁶⁸ For more see Smith *et al.* 2015.

⁸⁶⁹ For more see Smith *et al.* 2015.

⁸⁷⁰ Grossman and Hinman, 2013.

⁸⁷¹ Grossman and Hinman, 2013.

The burials

So far, seventy-four burials dated between Halaf and Uruk Periods have been unearthed, with the majority of them being infants.⁸⁷² Stein mentions four examples belonging to the Ubaid Period. One of them is an infant urn burial found in the buttressed and niched wall area. Flotation technique reveals the corpse was accompanied by flowers,⁸⁷³ evidence that infants and children were accompanied with perishable materials. The second burial is a simple inhumation of a child. The child's head had been artificially modified.⁸⁷⁴ The rest of the infant urn burials were found within the architectural remains of different level floors.⁸⁷⁵

3.1.3.3.4. Tell al 'Abr

The site

Several regional surveys held in the 1970's and 80's resulted in the discovery of Tell al 'Abr, a settlement founded on the east banks of the Euphrates river. The site's excavation was part of the Tishreen Dam Project, conducted between 1989 and 1999 by a Syrian-Japanese mission led by general director Hammade and assistant Director Yamazaki.⁸⁷⁶

The full stratigraphic sequence of the mound has been established, with the excavation reaching 8 m deep in many trenches dug at different areas of the mound.⁸⁷⁷ Ten levels were identified, the upper three belonging to the Uruk Period (Levels 1A, 1B and 1C) and the rest to the Ubaid Period. Hellenistic remains were also found accumulated in a small pit.⁸⁷⁸ The modern village of Tell al-Arb occupies a large part of the ancient mound surface, mostly at the east end.⁸⁷⁹ Therefore the excavation trenches were dug to the west, where a workshop area was gradually installed during the Ubaid Period.

The Ubaid occupation at Tell al 'Abr is dated to a few centuries before 5000 B.C. Level 7, which consists of five building units, is the earliest at the site. The layout of one of these buildings offers parallels to the so-called storage buildings or granaries

⁸⁷² Stein 2011, 136.

⁸⁷³ Stein 2011, 137.

⁸⁷⁴ Stein 2011, 137.

⁸⁷⁵ Stein 2011, 125, 128.

⁸⁷⁶ For more see Hammade and Koike 1992; Hammade and Yamazaki 1993; 1993; 2006; Yamazaki 1999; 2010; 2012.

⁸⁷⁷ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 15-6.

⁸⁷⁸ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 15.

⁸⁷⁹ Yamazaki 2010, 314.

found in different sites in south and north Mesopotamia.⁸⁸⁰ The building's rooms are extremely elongated, and one of them yields many complete vessels. Some of the buildings continue to be used in renovated forms in the subsequent Level 6, while others were used as foundation for new structures.⁸⁸¹ Both levels 7 and 6 are characterized by continuous reconstruction activities which are generally hard to follow. However, the excavators identify three main sub-phases in each level.⁸⁸² These levels share many similarities regarding the use of space. There are seeming distinctions among the rooms composing each building unit, with some serving as pottery workshops and others as domestic space.⁸⁸³ However, more intensive ceramic production seems to take place in Level 6, as evidenced by kilns constructed inside some rooms.⁸⁸⁴ Levels 6 and 5 are separated by a thin layer of greenish soil containing a few sherds, referred to as the "Intermediate Level".⁸⁸⁵ No architectural remains were found here. A clearly industrial area occupies Levels 5 and 4.⁸⁸⁶ Domestic activities reappear in the building units of Level 3,⁸⁸⁷ with meager evidence of animal product processing also turning up in the northern zone of the mound, where a pit filled with animal horns and organic soil has been found.⁸⁸⁸ Against the previous level, Level 2 presents a completely different picture. Here the buildings seem to be scattered and have an exclusively domestic character. This, and the decadence of the pottery, signifies the end of the Ubaid Period at Tell al 'Abr.⁸⁸⁹

The burials

The data discussed in this chapter is extracted from the final publication of the excavation,⁸⁹⁰ in which anthropological analysis of the skeletons is included.⁸⁹¹ Eight simple pits near or under the architectural remains were uncovered, which corresponded to single burials of six infants and two adults. The majority of these were attributed to

⁸⁸⁰ Hammade and Koike 1991, 682.

⁸⁸¹ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 16.

⁸⁸² Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 16.

⁸⁸³ Yamazaki 2010, 314.

⁸⁸⁴ Yamazaki 2010, 316.

⁸⁸⁵ See generally Hammade and Yamazaki 2006.

⁸⁸⁶ For more see Hammade and Yamazaki 2006 and Yamazaki 2010.

⁸⁸⁷ Yamazaki 2010, 318.

⁸⁸⁸ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 38; Yamazaki 2010, 318.

⁸⁸⁹ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006; Yamazaki 2010.

⁸⁹⁰ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55-8.

⁸⁹¹ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 435-41.

Level 3 (four examples) and Level 2 (three examples), with one turning up in Level 7.⁸⁹²

It is most convenient here to examine the burials by level. Br.7-1 of Level 7, the earliest of the discovered burials, was located near the architectural remains of the south building unit. The simple pit contains the skeletal remains of an adult in such poor condition that its flexed position is barely recognizable and no definite conclusions can be drawn regarding the age or gender.⁸⁹³ The head was oriented to the south, and no offerings were found.⁸⁹⁴

Another adult⁸⁹⁵ and three newborn infants⁸⁹⁶ were found in Level 3. The infants were found in simple pits covered by a thin layer of clay, with their position and orientation unidentified.⁸⁹⁷ Interestingly, the clay-coating of Br. 3-3 bears the impression an adult skull (**fig. 29**).⁸⁹⁸ This suggests that, prior to this infant burial, an adult skull assigned as Br. 3-4, was interred at this same spot. A pot found at the south of the infant pit is believed to belong to the older Br. 3-4, as it is located where the legs of the adult would have probably extended.⁸⁹⁹ At the time of interment of the infant, the pit was re-opened and the skull was carefully removed, leaving its impression in the clay.⁹⁰⁰ The excavators argue that the re-use of the pit indicates a relation between the infant and the adult, although there is not much evidence to confirm this,⁹⁰¹ since the rest of the grave seems to have been destroyed by a later pit, and no skeletal remains of the adult have been found.⁹⁰² However, even in the case of this activity, we should assume some bones of the adult would remain. Therefore, it is assumed that only the skull was buried. In this case the pot should not be understood as a grave good, but an intact utensil found about 1 m away. Moreover, if the initial intention was a new interment to be laid within the grave of a relative, there are no grounds for the skull to be removed or discarded rather than left next to the infant. It seems more logical for the two individuals to have been laid together in the same pit. It is therefore more likely

⁸⁹² Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55.

⁸⁹³ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 57.

⁸⁹⁴ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 57.

⁸⁹⁵ Br. 3-4.

⁸⁹⁶ Br. 3-1, Br. 3-2 and Br. 3-3.

⁸⁹⁷ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55.

⁸⁹⁸ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 56.

⁸⁹⁹ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 56.

⁹⁰⁰ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 56.

⁹⁰¹ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 56.

⁹⁰² Yamazaki 2020, personal communication.

that those interring the infant dug randomly, accidentally hit upon an adult skull, and removed it to make room for their burial. The fact that they did not flatten the grave floor before applying the clay had as result the clay coating took the form of the subtle skull impression in the soil. This fact also indicates that there was no particular attention to the careful formation of the grave.

Finally, three newborn infants buried in urns were found in Level 2.⁹⁰³ The two (Br. 2-1 and Br. 2-2) were laid in flexed position inside their jars, and were accompanied by fragments of flint. In the case of Br. 2-1 the urn's lid was constructed of sherds, while in the case of Br. 2-2 the urn's lid was made of a large fragment of a cooking pot. Br. 2-3 was poorly preserved, with only a few parts of the skeleton and urn preserved, and was lidded with a bowl.⁹⁰⁴

3.1.3.3.5. Tell Kosak Shamali

The site

Tell Kosak Shamali was excavated by a Japanese mission between 1994 and 1997. The oval-shaped mound measures 70 x 80 m,⁹⁰⁵ standing 9 m in height above the surrounding ground surface.⁹⁰⁶ The main bulk of the occupation here belongs to the Ubaid Period. Excavations occurred in two sectors. Sector A at the southwest consisted, from bottom to top, of Levels 18 to 1. The upper 17 of these layers date to the Ubaid 3 and 4 Phase.⁹⁰⁷ Sector B at the southeast consists of Levels 8 to 1, with Levels 7-5 dated to Ubaid and Post-Ubaid Periods.⁹⁰⁸ However, the south slope is eroded and includes intrusions of some deposits originating from other parts of the mound.⁹⁰⁹ As a result, the lower levels of Sector A were disrupted, with the virgin soil occupied by few Paleolithic deposits, and the earliest Levels 18 and 17 containing Epipaleolithic artifacts.⁹¹⁰ Nevertheless, this erosion has allowed Neolithic and Paleolithic artifacts⁹¹¹ to come to light which would have otherwise been left under the dam.

⁹⁰³ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55.

⁹⁰⁴ Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55-6.

⁹⁰⁵ 0.5 ha large.

⁹⁰⁶ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 9; Nishiaki 2016.

⁹⁰⁷ In publications, the terms used are Early and Late Northern Ubaid, while the term Terminal Ubaid include the final stage of the Ubaid presence and/or the early phase of the Post-Ubaid Period. See Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001; Nishiaki 1998, 144.

⁹⁰⁸ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 49.

⁹⁰⁹ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001.

⁹¹⁰ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 51-5.

⁹¹¹ For more about these evidence see Chapters 7-9 in Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001.

According to the evidence from Sector A, Tell Kosak Shamali was first occupied in a pre-Halaf Period (Level 18).⁹¹² After a gap of few hundred years, Ubaid Culture (Levels 17 to 1) was established there around 5200 BC,⁹¹³ when the Halaf Culture had still remarkable influence in the rest of the region. This is evident at Kosak Shamali, as well, by the stone foundation of the partially excavated buildings⁹¹⁴ and the round building⁹¹⁵ unearthed in Level 14. Thus, the excavators suggest that the earliest Levels, 17 to 10, may reflect some aspects of "*Halaf-Ubaid Contact*".⁹¹⁶ Evidence of Ubaid 3 and 4 Phases are very scanty in Section B, and come from Level 7 which lies above the Neolithic Level 8.⁹¹⁷ The upper two levels, 6 and 5, consist of two successive workshop buildings attributed to the Post-Ubaid Period, *ca.* 4300 BC.⁹¹⁸ The fact that these were found isolated from the residential area may indicate the emergence of specialized craftsmen.⁹¹⁹ The upper four levels are assigned to the Uruk Period.⁹²⁰

The best-preserved building is the burnt building of Level 10, dated to 5000-5100 B.C.⁹²¹ The northwest part of this structure consists of a large room and a few adjacent smaller ones. This building was the potter's workshop, as evidenced by the discovery of a kiln and large quantity of ceramics and tools such as scrapers and palettes.⁹²² Besides rooms associated with pottery production, there is a room where wheat and barley were stored.⁹²³ It is worth mentioning here that there is a high accumulation of stamp seals in this building,⁹²⁴ which were obviously used to seal grain-storage vessels. However, these agricultural products are not likely to have been exchanged for raw materials, since imports are limited only to obsidian, which occupies hardly 1% of the whole assemblage,⁹²⁵ and bitumen.⁹²⁶ Throughout the Ubaid levels six fragments of marble vessels have been found.⁹²⁷

⁹¹² Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001.

⁹¹³ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 156.

⁹¹⁴ Stone foundation was found in all the Ubaid Levels. For more see Chapter 3 in Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001.

⁹¹⁵ This construction resembles the *tholos*, a well-known architectural type of the Halaf Period. For more about it see Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 58.

⁹¹⁶ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 155.

⁹¹⁷ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 119.

⁹¹⁸ Nishaiki 2016, 78.

⁹¹⁹ Nishaiki 2016, 78.

⁹²⁰ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 123-31.

⁹²¹ Nishaiki 2016, 76.

⁹²² Nishaiki 1998, 144-5; Nishaiki 2016, 76-7.

⁹²³ Nishaiki 2016, 76-7.

⁹²⁴ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003, 240.

⁹²⁵ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003, 21.

⁹²⁶ For more see the analysis held by Connan and Nishiaki in Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003.

⁹²⁷ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003, 245.

Tell Kosak Shamali is characterized by the reporters as "*a small peasant village carrying on a 'multicomponent' economy.*"⁹²⁸ The few samples that were studied by Willcox⁹²⁹ show that cereals were the basic species under cultivation. These especially include wheat and barley, which were found in wild forms in the region. The crops flourished in the Chalcolithic Period without irrigation. This is probably why these species go extinct in the Bronze Age, when the growing population's food requirements was met by the construction of extended canals.⁹³⁰ Furthermore, there is evidence of dairy production from domesticated sheep and goats,⁹³¹ while among fauna remains pigs and cattle were also identified.⁹³² Wool processing began in the subsequent Uruk Period, becoming a more significant determinant in faunal assemblages than dairy production.⁹³³

The burials

Four infant burials were discovered under the floors of buildings from the Ubaid Levels of Section A. However, few details beyond their grave types was published in the final report.⁹³⁴ The two earliest, 1318 and 824, were assigned to Levels 13 and 8 respectively, and are simple inhumations.⁹³⁵ Quite peculiar is the infant burial from Level 5 (505), since the pit was lined with clay and stones, while in Level 4 an infant (412) was buried in an urn.⁹³⁶ No grave goods accompanied the interments and the dead were always laid in a flexed position. From Section B only one grave was found. This was a simple inhumation of an infant unaccompanied by offerings found in Post-Ubaid Level 6.⁹³⁷

3.1.3.3.6. Ugarit

Ras Shamra is situated in the east Mediterranean coast. After several excavations under the directions of Schaeffer, it is identified with the ancient Ugarit,

⁹²⁸ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003, 276.

⁹²⁹ In Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003.

⁹³⁰ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003, 270.

⁹³¹ Faunal remains were studied by Gourichon and Helmer, published in Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003.

⁹³² Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003, 276.

⁹³³ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2003, 276; Sudo 2010, 169.

⁹³⁴ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001.

⁹³⁵ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 95.

⁹³⁶ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 95.

⁹³⁷ Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 122.

the great port-city of 2nd mil. BC.⁹³⁸ In fact, Ugarit was almost interruptedly occupied already from Neolithic Period.⁹³⁹ However, it was not a typical Ubaid and Halaf site, since local aspects of the Amuq Phases predominate and only pottery shows influence from the eastern regions.⁹⁴⁰ Wondering whether Ugarit deserves a mention here, it seems that Halaf and Ubaid characteristics entered the ritual-based, as expressed in the on-site burial arrangement. In addition to the familiar way of treating the corpse, Ugarit presents a clear shift in mortuary practices from Ubaid to Halaf Culture that is only subtly identifiable in other most typical sites.⁹⁴¹ In more details, during Halaf and HUT Period juveniles were placed in simple pits, while few examples of adult burials have been found, too.⁹⁴² On the other hand, no adult corpse have been identified in the level III, contemporary with the Ubaid Period. The 11 graves that have been unearthed so far are referred to as infant urn burials.⁹⁴³ Unfortunately, no specific information concerning the deposition and orientation of the body, as well as the type of urn (lidded-unlidded urns and type of vessels) are mentioned.

3.1.3.4. Discussion

According to the 42 recorded graves,⁹⁴⁴ the situation prevailed in Syrian sites in HUT, Ubaid 3 and Ubaid 4 Phases is not unlike to the contemporary North Iraq, where adults are buried in simple pits and sub-adults in either simple pits or urns. It is worth mention here that in southern parts of Mesopotamia, where Ubaid 2 Phase have also been observed (see Tell Abada), only infants and children were associated with architectural remains, and the overwhelming majority of them were placed in lidded urns, while here in unlidded urns. Also, built shafts have been observed, whereas in one case the body was placed in a box⁹⁴⁵ (Table 7). The HUT and Ubaid 3 Levels from Tell Aqab yield only simple pit burials, which were used for both children and adults suggesting an interaction between Halaf-Ubaid. Nevertheless, the data is too

⁹³⁸ Indicative publications: Schaeffer 1939; 1956; 1962; 1969; 1978; Nougayrol *et al.* 1968.

⁹³⁹ For Prehistoric Occupation in Ugarit see de Contenson 1992.

⁹⁴⁰ See levels IV for the presence of Halaf Culture and III for the presence of Ubaid Culture.

⁹⁴¹ As mentioned, the Tepe Gawra stratigraphic sequence is still debatable and Ubaid Yarim Tepe III continued to follow many of the Halaf traditions with the burial arrangement being away from the Ubaid ritual. In Tell Kurdu, Tell Arpachiyah and Tell Songor the Halaf graves make up a very small sample, while no Halaf grave has been found in Tell Aqad.

⁹⁴² Akkermans 1989, 81; de Contenson 1992, 21-40.

⁹⁴³ de Contenson 1992, 40-52.

⁹⁴⁴ Without the dubious burial 3-4 from Tell al 'Abr.

⁹⁴⁵ Found at Tell Hammam et-Turkman.

fragmentary to proceed toward general conclusions. At first glance, it seems the further north we go the more degenerated Ubaid burial practices appear, since they are affected mainly by the earlier traditions. For example, we can see here that the 31.6% of sub-adults was interred in non-urn burial facilities (Table 7). Moreover, there is a significant percentage of adult interments (11,4% is the adults and 88,6% the juveniles). Finally, a single interment lying in an extended position⁹⁴⁶ indicates the influence of north Mesopotamia, where bodies were placed like this in cemeteries.

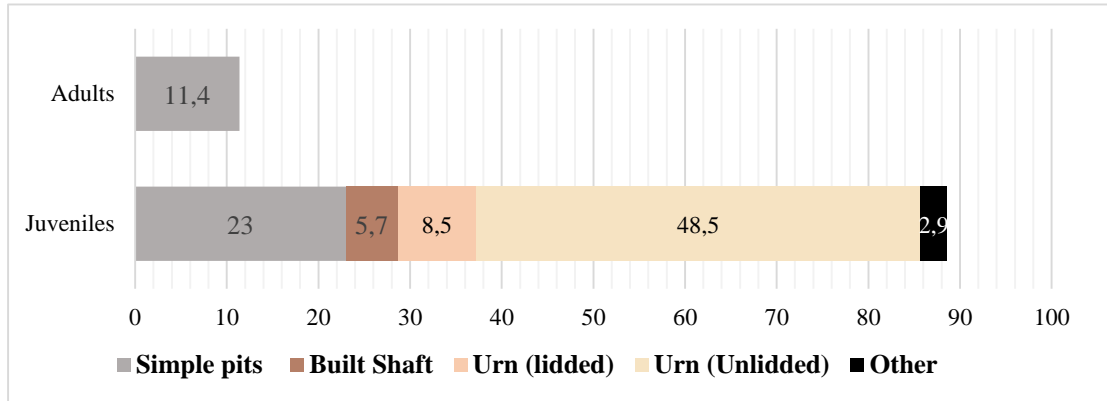


Table 7. Percentages of adults and sub-adults in conjunction with the grave type in Syria.⁹⁴⁷

Finally, the furnishing of the grave does not seem to be a matter of priority of both age category, although infants and child burials do not demand any kind of such deposit in more regular base (Table 8).

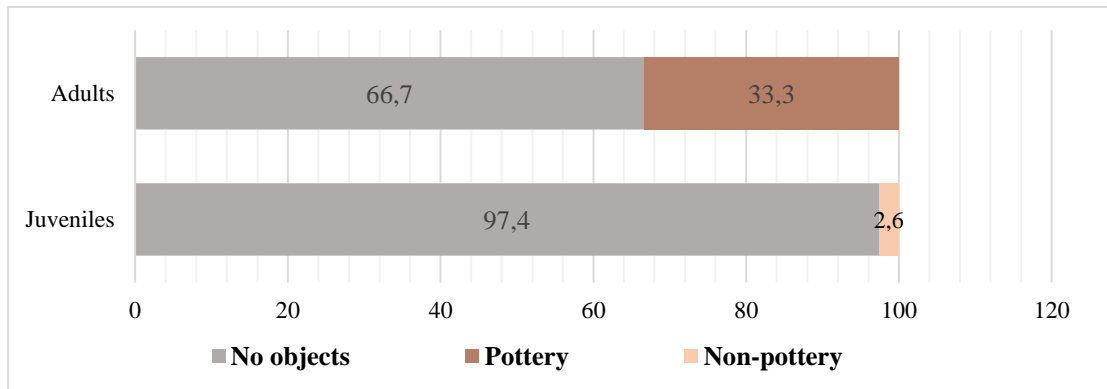


Table 8. Grave goods in adult and juvenile burials from Syria.⁹⁴⁸

⁹⁴⁶ Found at Tell Hammam et-Turkman.

⁹⁴⁷ Tell Aqab graves are not included, since the numbers of both adults and juveniles are not available.

⁹⁴⁸ Urns are not included in grave goods.

3.1.3.5. Southeast Anatolia

South-east Anatolia is restricted from north-west to north east by the Taurus mountain chain⁹⁴⁹ and several high mountains, which end to small hills and plateaus to the south. The semi-desert climate of north Iraq and Syria occur here, as well. Aside from the flourishing agriculture, this region was rich in obsidian⁹⁵⁰ sources, which was traded to a large area across Tigris and Euphrates during this time.

3.1.3.5.1. Tell Kurdu

The Amuq Valley is situated between Euphrates river and Mediterranean Sea, and was a point of intersection of many different cultures throughout Mesopotamia, the Aegean, Anatolia and Egypt. As early as the 1930's, several surveys were held in the region,⁹⁵¹ with the most recent regional survey undertaken in 1995 to 1998.⁹⁵² Among the sites explored was Tell Kurdu. The results of its excavation demonstrate an Amuq C-E occupation, with Amuq E contemporary with the Ubaid Period.⁹⁵³ The expanse of the site at that time is estimated at 11-14 ha.⁹⁵⁴ According to the pottery evidence and C14 analysis, the Ubaid Levels were settled earlier than Hammam et-Turkan IVC-D and Tell al 'Abr levels 5-2.⁹⁵⁵

Tell Kurdu yields no tripartite buildings. However, a large grill structure erected on a large platform similar to those from Tell al 'Abr, Tepe Gawra, Tell Ziyadeh and Tell el-Oueilli has been partially excavated.⁹⁵⁶ Stamp seals and tokens were found in the interior of this structure. According to Özbal's estimates, this granary could not have been large enough to conserve storage supplies for the whole community. She therefore proposes that it was used only by nearby households.⁹⁵⁷ Evidence of craft production is also present at Tell Kurdu, with a form of a pyrotechnic pottery complex installation. Here evidence does not indicate a craft specialization reserved for a specific group within the community. Rather, as Özbal points out, it indicates non-household-

⁹⁴⁹ Yener *et al.* 2000, 163.

⁹⁵⁰ Renfrew and Cann 1966; Healey 2007; Khalidi *et al.* 2016.

⁹⁵¹ Yener *et al.* 2000b. See, also, Braidwood and Braidwood 1960.

⁹⁵² Yener *et al.* 2000b. See, also, Gerritsen and Özbal 2006.

⁹⁵³ Yener and Wilkinson 1997; Yener 1999; Yener *et al.* 2000b. See, also, Yener *et al.* 2000a; Özbal *et al.* 2004.

⁹⁵⁴ Yener *et al.* 2000b, 182.

⁹⁵⁵ Yener *et al.* 2000b, 182; Özbal *et al.* 2004, 50.

⁹⁵⁶ Yener 1999; Özbal 2010a, 47; 2010b, 298.

⁹⁵⁷ Özbal 2010a, 47.

based pottery manufacture undertaken primarily by the women.⁹⁵⁸ On the other hand, trade activities were much restricted in later periods, since obsidian originating from Cappadocia and Lake Van have been found at numbers **around 5% of** the total lithic assemblage, in contrast to the earlier and later occupational levels, where numbers sit around 30%.⁹⁵⁹

Among the five excavated burials, three are not mentioned in any detail in the preliminary reports,⁹⁶⁰ and we have no clue about the position or orientation of the dead in the remaining two (23:11 and 24:3). What is known is that 23:3 was a built shaft, since the walls are lined with mud bricks, and hold a female skeleton.⁹⁶¹ Whether or not there were grave goods is unspecified. The simple pit 23:11 hold a single body, too, but the age cannot be testified by anthropological analysis. 3 painted vessels were laid in association with the body: a bowl, a cup and a jar, a set of pottery commonly found in cemeteries. Locals' testimonies reveal that the mound was recently eroded, with a possibility that the lost area was an ancient cemetery.⁹⁶² Nevertheless, the available data is much restricted, and it is uncertain if the excavated burials are indeed remains from such a cemetery.

3.1.3.5.2. Kenan Tepe

The site

The Upper Tigris Archaeological Research Project was founded in 1998 under the direction of B. J. Parker. Its purpose was to rescue several sites located throughout Diyarbakir Province which were to be flooded by the construction of two dams. In the first season, conducted in 1999, the sites of Boztepe and Talavaş Tepe were investigated.⁹⁶³ The next nine seasons were devoted to the excavation of Kenan Tepe, situated on the banks of the Tigris.⁹⁶⁴ This mound is 4.5 ha wide, rises 20m above the plain, and its deposit spans the Ubaid Period, Middle Bronze Age and Early Iron Age. So far, the excavation is published as a series of preliminary reports and thematic articles.

⁹⁵⁸ Özbal 2010a, 47; Özbal 2010b, 301.

⁹⁵⁹ Bressy *et al.* 2005.

⁹⁶⁰ Yener 1999.

⁹⁶¹ Özbal *et al.* 2004, 71; Özbal 2010b, Table 18.1.

⁹⁶² Özbal *et al.* 2004, 70.

⁹⁶³ Parker and Creekmore 2002.

⁹⁶⁴ Parker *et al.* 2002b; Parker *et al.* 2002c; Parker and Dodd 2003; Parker *et al.* 2003a; Parker *et al.* 2003b; Parker *et al.* 2004; Parker and Dodd 2004; Parker *et al.* 2005; Parker *et al.* 2006; Greekmore 2007; Parker *et al.* 2008; Parker *et al.* 2009; Foster 2009; Parker and Dodd 2011.

The southeast part of the mound (Area E and D) produced a domestic structure assigned to the middle 5th mil., at the end of the Northern Ubaid Period.⁹⁶⁵ The pottery evidence corresponds with Tell Hammam et-Turkman's IVA Period and Değirmentepe.⁹⁶⁶ Starting with the trench D5, no remains have been recovered from the interior of the two exposed rooms, which is a part of the *Ubaid structure 1*, as it has been labelled.⁹⁶⁷ However, the adjacent north open work area yields traces of chaff. This suggests a pile of this material was stored outside of the north wall of the structure. This corresponds to behaviors prevailing in many present-day Turkish villages, where chaff is gathered at the back of the houses to await use as animal feed or building material.⁹⁶⁸ More artifacts were found in a lower level house (*Ubaid Structure 5*) beneath *Ubaid structure 1*, including lithic and ground stone tools, animal bones, river shells and pottery vessels.⁹⁶⁹ These two buildings were separated by a deposit of cultural materials more than 1 m thick.⁹⁷⁰ South of these remains, in Trenches D8-10 and E2, two elongated structures (*Ubaid Structure 2* and *Ubaid Structure 3*) were excavated. These are dated a little later, around 4700-4460 BC and 4720-4520 B.C. respectively.⁹⁷¹ Both have rooms so narrow that they could only be utilized for storage.⁹⁷² Similar architectural plans have been found at Tell Hammam et-Turkan and Tell al 'Abr.⁹⁷³ The last exposed building (*Ubaid Structure 4*) was excavated in trenches D4 and D6, and consists of a central room and several adjacent storage chambers.⁹⁷⁴ Several different kinds of artifacts were recovered from the central room, including lithic and ground stone implements, bone awls, pottery, andirons, animal bones, seeds, shells, spindle whorls and jewelry.⁹⁷⁵ As far as the archaeobotanical remains are concerned, emmer, two-row barley, pea and legumes have been attested from the *Ubaid Structure 4* interior.⁹⁷⁶

⁹⁶⁵ Parker and Dodd 2004, 475; Parker and Dodd 2005, 71-2; Parker and Kennedy 2010.

⁹⁶⁶ Parker and Dodd 2005, 73.

⁹⁶⁷ Parker and Dodd 2005, 72; Parker and Dodd 2011, 736-7.

⁹⁶⁸ Parker and Dodd 2005, 72; Parker and Dodd 2011, 736-7.

⁹⁶⁹ Parker *et al.* 2009, 91-2.

⁹⁷⁰ Parker *et al.* 2006, 74-5.

⁹⁷¹ Parker *et al.* 2008, 106-9.

⁹⁷² Parker *et al.* 2008, 107.

⁹⁷³ Parker *et al.* 2008, 107.

⁹⁷⁴ Parker *et al.* 2009, 88-91

⁹⁷⁵ Parker *et al.* 2009, 88-91.

⁹⁷⁶ Graham and Smith 2013, 405-6.

The total area the Ubaid occupation covered is hard to determine. It is estimated between 1 and 2 ha.⁹⁷⁷ Even though Kenan Tepe lies close to southeast Anatolian sources – closer than any other Ubaid site – obsidian imports represent only 30% of the chipped stone industry.⁹⁷⁸ On the other hand, there is remarkable evidence for intensive textile production.⁹⁷⁹ According to the archaeobotanical studies⁹⁸⁰ and faunal remains,⁹⁸¹ Kenan Tepe was inhabited mainly by farmers during the Ubaid Period, and these farmers kept mostly sheep and goats, not pigs and cattle.

The burials

So far, nine burials have been excavated and are combined with anthropological studies in the primary reports, although there is no mention of the position or orientation of the bodies. Generally, the picture is not that different from the rest of the Ubaid 4 sites of North Mesopotamia. A single infant of 6 months-1 year old was placed in unbaked urn with a bowl as its lid.⁹⁸² Two others aged from unborn to 9 months were found inside ceramic urns.⁹⁸³ In Kenan Tepe we have firm evidence that baskets were employed in burials from traces of their materials found under the infant of grave D.6.145.4. Conflicting with the poor material of the urn, a calcareous bead accompanied the body.⁹⁸⁴ Traces of either cloth or basket / matting have been observed in two other child burials,⁹⁸⁵ suggesting that these receptacles may have served as an alternative to ceramic vessels. This does not necessarily mean that such perishable materials were always available, judging from the simple pits E.2.174.1 and D.8.90.1. In the last grave the body belongs to an adolescent between 12 and 18 years old.⁹⁸⁶ The pit E.2. 146.6 hold a jar, inside of which an adult woman in her thirties was interred. Her skeleton is partial,⁹⁸⁷ suggesting a different form of disposal than the rest of the individuals buried within the limits of the settlement, one indeed rather similar to the fractional burials of the cemeteries (see below). This fractional burial was interred completely within a wall.

⁹⁷⁷ Parker *et al.* 2005.

⁹⁷⁸ Parker and Dodd 2005, 73. See Tell al 'Abr, where these imports are much higher.

⁹⁷⁹ Parker *et al.* 2009, 131.

⁹⁸⁰ For more see Parker *et al.* 2009.

⁹⁸¹ For more see Parker *et al.* 2008.

⁹⁸² D.6.155.4

⁹⁸³ D.8.54.1 and D.5.5221.1.

⁹⁸⁴ Parker *et al.* 2009, 115.

⁹⁸⁵ D.4.4128.1 and D.8.162.1.

⁹⁸⁶ Parker *et al.* 2009, 131-2.

⁹⁸⁷ Parker *et al.* 2009, 132.

Two more burials (D.8.90.1 E.2. and E.2. 146.6) were found partially within walls, and the excavators argue that individuals of older ages were deliberately buried in the foundations of buildings. One parallel is the grave from Nuzi, which is interpreted as a sacrificial burial. Nevertheless, during the Ubaid Period the majority of intramural burials are located under floors, in the yards of houses, or in outdoor workshop areas, suggesting that isolated interments within walls, found only in north Mesopotamia, are a vestige of the Hassuna Period.

3.1.3.5.3.Salat Tepe

Salat Tepe is located on the banks of Salat River, 12 km east of Kenan Tepe. This mound rises 24 m above the plain and, according to the sounding sunk in its summit, is formed mainly of Bronze Age cultural debris.⁹⁸⁸ The south slope trench provides evidence regarding earlier occupation during the Ubaid Period.⁹⁸⁹ A tripartite house was excavated in 2012 dated to the very end of the Ubaid Period in North Mesopotamia.⁹⁹⁰ Below its floor an infant⁹⁹¹ was found in a mud brick grave.⁹⁹² It was placed in flexed position with the head oriented to the east,⁹⁹³ and was accompanied by approximately 2500 stone beads⁹⁹⁴ lying near its chest.

3.1.3.6.Discussion

Few burials have been found in southeast Anatolia with our sample consisting of only 12 graves. Consequently, little information exists to draw out generalities or standards in the position or orientation of the deceased. In contrast to the rest north Mesopotamia and Syria, the grave type in adults is varied, since built shafts and urns are included to our sample (Table 9). Whether they are isolated cases or indicative example of the situation prevailed in southeast Anatolia is hard to say.

The urn without lid is the main grave type for juveniles, although at Değirmentepe they had been widely buried in simple pits.⁹⁹⁵ Sometimes infants and

⁹⁸⁸ Ökse 2014; Koizumi 2016; Koizumi *et al.* 2016, 147.

⁹⁸⁹ Koizumi *et al.* 2016, 147.

⁹⁹⁰ Koizumi *et al.* 2016.

⁹⁹¹ Or maybe a child.

⁹⁹² Koizumi *et al.* 2016, 153.

⁹⁹³ According to the available photograph, see Koizumi *et al.* 2016, Fig. 10.

⁹⁹⁴ Koizumi *et al.* 2016, 153.

⁹⁹⁵ The examination of Değirmentepe was not completed due to the consequence of covid-19. Main source of information is the catalogue in Brereton 2011.

children were accompanied by non-pottery objects (Table 10), like beads. In an isolated case from Salat Tepe, beads accounted for thousands.⁹⁹⁶ This grave is a peculiar example of exaggeration.

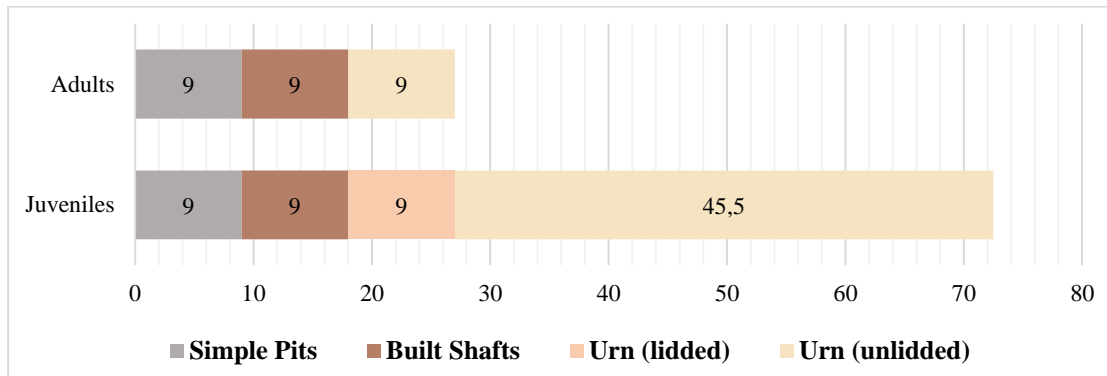


Table 9. Percentages of adults and juveniles in conjunction with the grave type in southeast Anatolia.

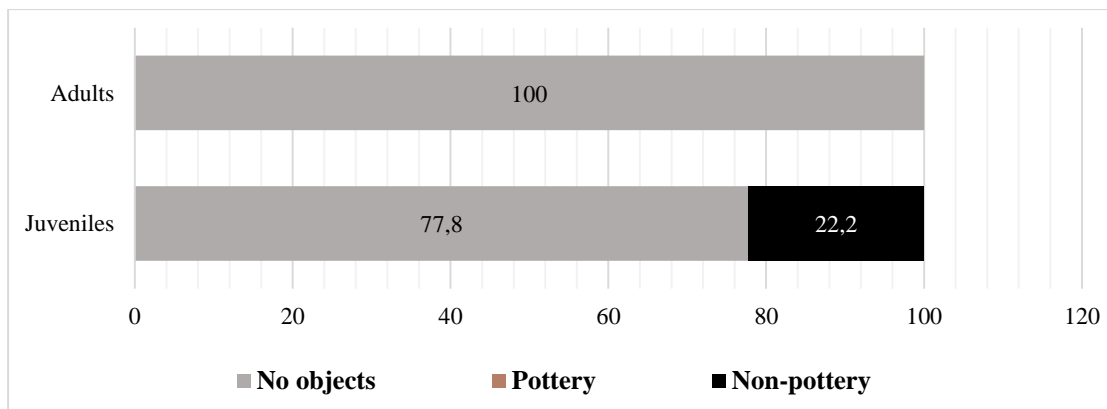


Table 10. Grave goods in adult and juvenile burials from southeast Anatolia.⁹⁹⁷

3.2. Extramural Burials

Many scholars suggest that cemeteries only began to come to use into Middle Ubaid Period,⁹⁹⁸ since during the Neolithic Period, the burials were exclusively intramural. However, earlier burials may have been found outside the limits of contemporary settlement of Yarim Tepe II⁹⁹⁹ and Sabi Abyad¹⁰⁰⁰ suggesting that the necessity of secluded burial places outside the boundaries of the active residential area started to emerge at earlier times, until it was fully expressed in the period under consideration. Perhaps, the intensive agricultural activity and population growth that

⁹⁹⁶ The infant or child has been found together with 2500 beads (see Koizumi *et al.* 2016, 153).

⁹⁹⁷ Urns are not included to the grave goods.

⁹⁹⁸ Stein and Özbal 2007; Carte and Philips 2010; Croucher 2010; Ahmed 2012.

⁹⁹⁹ For more see Yoffee and Clark 1993.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Plug *et al.* 2014; Akkermans 2008.

characterizes the Ubaid Period gradually brought with it this significant change in the manner that people buried their dead. Unfortunately, such cemeteries demand extensive investigation of a large area to discover and, so far, a limited number have been unearthed: *i.e.* at Tell Arpachiyah, Eridu, Ur, Tell Songor A and Tell Abu Dhahir.¹⁰⁰¹ In this chapter we will focus on each one of these by examining the mortuary practices prevailed in each site based on the distribution of graves, the burial arrangement and the grave offerings.

3.2.1. *Tell al-Ubaid*

The site

The mound of Tell al-Ubaid is located west of the Euphrates on the south Iraq marshy plain, where many prehistoric settlements were established in close proximity to each other. Tell al-Ubaid is a mound of about 11.5 ha,¹⁰⁰² which stands 9 m high.¹⁰⁰³ Excavations have determined the site as among the earliest habitations occurring in the Persian Gulf. The first archaeological inklings of this site's existence came in the discovery of sherds of a then-unknown ware at Eridu and Ur, which seemed to be in use before the Sumerians established their civilization (see Ur for more detail on these discoveries). Nothing was known about this pottery, until 1919, when Hall was invited by the British Museum to be in charge of the expedition at these sites. Roughly 6 km southwest of Ur he discovered the site of Tell al-Ubaid,¹⁰⁰⁴ where his attention was drawn to a large amount of this unidentified ware in surface deposits. Since then, the mound was the only one identified as a typical site of the time. Indeed, after a short occupation corresponded to the Early Dynastic Period, an Ubaid deposit was reached, resulting in a full reconstruction of the pottery type, which was, eventually, named after the site.

As usual, the first season of work at the site was dedicated to the uppermost levels and the temple of the 3rd mil. B.C.¹⁰⁰⁵ Hall expected to undertake further investigation of the earlier period in the following years, but some financial

¹⁰⁰¹ Perhaps the few burials at Tell al-Ubaid and Tell Kurdu are part of an extended cemetery.

¹⁰⁰² According to Moore (2002, 69), the mound of oval shape was 500 m in length and 300 m in width; According to the excavators (Hall and Woolley 1927, 5) was 45 m long.

¹⁰⁰³ Hall and Woolley 1927, 5.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Hall 1930.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For more about its discovery and the presence of Dynastic Period material assemblage see Hall and Woolley 1927; Hall 1930.

difficulties¹⁰⁰⁶ led to an absence of four years. Eventually, the excavation of Tell-al Ubaid continued in 1923-24 under a joint expedition of the British Museum and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology.¹⁰⁰⁷ In co-operation with Woolley, Hall investigated the earlier assemblage, digging southeast of the temple, where a part of the Ubaid residential area was uncovered. The dwellings were made of reeds lined with clay, with no mud bricks employed as building material. Findings from these dwellings indicate the inhabitants were humble farmers who reared domestic animals and fished.¹⁰⁰⁸ However, according to the excavators, rock crystal and obsidian was widely involved in the manufacture of blades and small objects at the site. The "*primitive*" villagers took care, also, to import carnelian and steatite,¹⁰⁰⁹ while recent studies held by Moore¹⁰¹⁰ suggest that the western part of the mound was used exclusively for the firing of ceramics, as he found ashy soil and kiln debris, implying specialized craft production.

The material assemblage found is not well-stratified and the majority of the pottery originates mostly from the surface collection.¹⁰¹¹ Later studies held by Perkins¹⁰¹² and Oates¹⁰¹³ upon ceramic vessel types suggest that the occupation of Tell al-Ubaid is contemporary with Eridu levels XII-VIII and Gawra levels XIX-XVIII. They therefore reason that these pottery styles should be included in a distinct sub-phase, nowadays known as the Ubaid 3 Phase. However, the excavations at Tell al-Ubaid have only reached the uppermost occupation and, thus, earlier phases may be sunk even deeper in the excavated trench or in other parts of the sizable mound.

The burials

Small-scale digging at the site yielded two Ubaid graves (G8 and G9), which are included in the final publication with reference to their offerings.¹⁰¹⁴ Their location was passed over in silence, although the excavators noted that there were no architectural remains nearby.¹⁰¹⁵ It seems also that this area was used as burial place in

¹⁰⁰⁶ Woolley 1934; Crawford 2015, 7.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Hall and Woolley 1927.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Hall and Woolley 1927, 151-2.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Hall and Woolley 1927, 151-3.

¹⁰¹⁰ Moore 2002, 69-70.

¹⁰¹¹ Perkins 1945, 76-77.

¹⁰¹² Perkins 1945, 76-77.

¹⁰¹³ Oates 1960, 32.

¹⁰¹⁴ Hall and Woolley 1927.

¹⁰¹⁵ Hall and Woolley 1927, 151.

later times¹⁰¹⁶ suggesting that we are probably dealing with Ubaid extramural burials. Perkins recognized a third Ubaid grave (G64) which was assigned by the excavators to the later occupation.¹⁰¹⁷ The interments were laid in simple pits, but there is deficient evidence to consider them graves. The area in which they were found yielded a great quantity of various artifacts. This has created confusion on which artefacts belong to the burial assemblage, especially when no skeletal remains have been identified.

In more detail, G8¹⁰¹⁸ was defined as an assemblage of various clay and stone artifacts. The pottery in this grave consisted of two plain bowls, one painted jar and many fragments of an unidentified number of vessels, the types of which have not been discerned. Also present was a clay nail, an open stone vase most probably made of diorite, and two flint tools. There were no skeletal remains in this pit.

G9,¹⁰¹⁹ a simple pit grave, contained a scanty assemblage of bones accompanied by three jars, at least two of which are painted, as well as sherds of a vessel and a pot, both of unknown type. Fragments of pottery have also been found in the soil filling. Other objects found a half-meter from the grave have been ascribed to the assemblage as well.¹⁰²⁰ These were a shell, a bone implement, traces of bitumen and a sandstone mortar or palette with a flint pestle lying on it.

Even more problematic is G64.¹⁰²¹ Finds here are limited to traces of powdered bones and fragmentary vessels, making it difficult to safely situate G64 in a specific chronological framework. Although the majority of the fragments have been recognized by Perkins as Ubaid types,¹⁰²² there is a possibility that they do not all belong to the same assemblage. Unfortunately, their initial places of deposition have been disregarded.¹⁰²³

These exposures are so limited that it is impossible to restore the burial arrangement in Tell al-Ubaid and achieve an indubitable conclusion on its contexts.

¹⁰¹⁶ For more about those graves and their chronology see Hall and Woolley 1927, 172-203.

¹⁰¹⁷ Perkins 1945, 89-90.

¹⁰¹⁸ Hall and Woolley 1927, 190.

¹⁰¹⁹ Hall and Woolley 1927, 190.

¹⁰²⁰ Hall and Woolley 1927, 190.

¹⁰²¹ Perkins 1945, 89-90; Hall and Woolley 1927, 198.

¹⁰²² These are all the painted vessels, see for more Perkins 1945, 76-7.

¹⁰²³ Hall and Woolley 1927, 198; Perkins 1945, 89-90.

3.2.2. *Ur*The site

By the 19th century several efforts were made to discover the location of the biblical city of Chaldees, Ur.¹⁰²⁴ Some scholars proposed several sites in south Iraq, such as Uruk (Warka) and others supposed that the city was situated as far as Urfa.¹⁰²⁵ It was not until the middle of the century that Rawlinson, after successfully deciphering the cuneiform tablets,¹⁰²⁶ recognized Ur as situated at the modern Tell el-Mukayyar. Thus, the British consul, Taylor, was invited to explore the site and its surroundings. During his expedition many archaeological sites were mapped, like Eridu (see below) suggesting that Neolithic settlements had stood as south as Persian Gulf, as well.¹⁰²⁷

Ur was occupied without interruption from the Ubaid to Early Iron Age,¹⁰²⁸ remaining consistently one of the most influential centers of each period. Roughly 260 km north of the Persian Gulf, the city stood on marshy ground.¹⁰²⁹ The initial choice to build a settlement at this specific point seems deliberate, as the location offered the opportunity to exploit the Euphrates Valley and the river, on the banks of which the settlement is presumed to have been built.¹⁰³⁰ Consequently, Ur benefitted from both irrigated agriculture and exchange networks. The latter was one of the most significant economic factors, on which Ur based its growth, the settlement taking control of an extensive portion of the region's trading activities.¹⁰³¹ Indeed, imported raw materials have been uncovered even from the first occupational levels, namely Ubaid levels,¹⁰³² albeit in very small amounts. Even at the earliest Ubaid Phase, there was an occasional use of semi-precious stone, such as steatite and calcite, while two beads made of amazonite, probably, originated from India, have been uncovered, too.¹⁰³³ Obsidian was the most common imported stone and had been put into service of blade production, while cooper was appeared few later in this time.¹⁰³⁴

¹⁰²⁴ Crawford 2015.

¹⁰²⁵ Crawford 2015.

¹⁰²⁶ For more about the discovery of Ur see Crawford 2015.

¹⁰²⁷ See general Crawford 2015 and Hall and Woolley 1927, 3-

¹⁰²⁸ Woolley 1934; 1939; 1955; 1962; 1965; 1974; 1975.

¹⁰²⁹ Woolley 1934, 1.

¹⁰³⁰ Woolley 1934, 1. Nowadays, Euphrates course lays 30 km to the east of the site.

¹⁰³¹ Crawford 2015.

¹⁰³² Woolley 1935, 7.

¹⁰³³ Woolley 1955.

¹⁰³⁴ Woolley 1955.

However, the Ubaid levels have not been fully investigated, since Ur has a rich stratification sequence attributed mainly in the thriving city of the 3rd mil. BC. The first season excavation at the site was held by Hall after the World War I, who dug, besides Ur, Tell al-Ubaid and Eridu.¹⁰³⁵ After that, the British Museum not affording a further investigation agreed to a joint excavation with the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,¹⁰³⁶ on which Charles Leonard Woolley worked. Thus, the excavation continued under his direction. Woolley was already a recognized and experienced archaeologist, having worked at several sites including Carchemish,¹⁰³⁷ during which he was assisted by T. E. Lawrence, also known as Lawrence of "Arabia". Woolley and Lawrence made many important discoveries together¹⁰³⁸ and were co-opted by the British Military during the World War I.

Woolley joined the excavations at Ur during the second season of work, in 1922. His team consisted of few members, including Max Mallowan and Hammoudi of Jerablus. Woolley was familiar with Ubaid pottery, as he worked on the excavation of Tell-al Ubaid and expected similar discoveries at Ur. Between 1928 and 34 he focused to this scope by digging a restricted area of pit B, where the famous Royal Cemetery of Ur was unearthed. The results were not expected, since he found a mixed refuse level together with Ubaid pottery beneath a large layer of silty soil, while immediately beneath the Ubaid deposit, virgin soil was reached at 1.90 m above sea level.¹⁰³⁹ Then, he proceeded with another trial trench in pit A, where he found the same outcome. During 1929-30 he decided to excavate a whole area of pit F.¹⁰⁴⁰ Under a layer sporting kilns and debris, Ubaid pottery started to arise in small proportions from approximately 8.50 m to 5.50 m above the sea level. Thereafter, the presence of Ubaid material assemblage became stronger until the virgin soil (that is the marsh ground) was recovered at 1.10 m. However, these levels were separated by a silt-soil layer of maximum a 3.5 m thickness, which was read by Woolley as the earliest evidence of the Deluge, known from the Sumerian literature of Bronze Age as the myth of the Great Flood.¹⁰⁴¹ Nevertheless, similar findings have been discovered at many other sites, since the Euphrates flooded on a regular basis.

¹⁰³⁵ Hall 1923; 1930. Previously, a small scale of excavation was carried out by Campbell Thompson.

¹⁰³⁶ Woolley 1934; Crawford 2015, 7.

¹⁰³⁷ Crawford 2015, 7-8.

¹⁰³⁸ Crawford 2015.

¹⁰³⁹ Woolley 1955, 2.

¹⁰⁴⁰ For the excavation process see general Woolley 1955.

¹⁰⁴¹ For the Woolley's association of the flood with the later epics see Woolley 1955, 15-19.

The levels XVIII - XIV were established by Woolley as sitting between 5.50 m and 1.10 m, which Woolley categorized into three different phases of the Ubaid Period. Ubaid I corresponded to the pre-flood population, represented by scanty dwellings and plenty of artifacts of a mostly domestic nature, while the Ubaid II and III were represented only by graves.¹⁰⁴²

According to Lloyd¹⁰⁴³ Ubaid I (Level XVIII), was perhaps contemporary with the Eridu Ware Style (recently defined as Ubaid 1). According to Oates,¹⁰⁴⁴ it should be attributed to Hajji Muhammad or Ubaid Ware Style (recently defined as Ubaid 2 and 3 respectively). Perkins¹⁰⁴⁵ did not find any parallels between the pottery of Ur-Ubaid I and that of Eridu. This may be because Eridu Levels XV and XIV are represented by only a few findings, with almost no pottery.¹⁰⁴⁶ Alternatively, it may be because many sites, including Tell el-Oueili, were still unexcavated at the time of all these conclusions. When weighing these opinions, one should take into account that these analyses were made in the middle of the 20th century, when division into phases was based on the stratigraphic sequence of Eridu (see Chapter 1), and the pottery from Ur-Ubaid I was not properly published. Consequently, this issue needs to be reviewed. The identification of Ur-Ubaid II (Levels XVII-XIV), is however generally agreed upon, since it is contemporary with the Late Ubaid¹⁰⁴⁷ (recently defined as Ubaid 4). Finally, after a gap in Level XIII¹⁰⁴⁸, the Ubaid assemblage reappeared in Levels XII and X, which belong to Woolley's Ubaid III. However, these remains should be associated with the subsequent Uruk Period, as stated by Lloyd¹⁰⁴⁹ and Perkins,¹⁰⁵⁰ or with a transitional phase, as stated by Oates.¹⁰⁵¹ Alternatively, the Ubaid III assemblage at Ur could be assigned to the Terminal Ubaid, as Wright and Pollock¹⁰⁵² propose, but again the evidence should be reexamined on the basis of the new data.

¹⁰⁴² General for the findings see Woolley 1955.

¹⁰⁴³ Lloyd 1960, 26-7.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Oates 1960, 41.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Perkins 1949, 77-8.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Charvát 2002, 54,

¹⁰⁴⁷ Perkins 1945, 78; Oates 1960, 40; Lloyd 1960, 25.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Woolley 1955, 22.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Lloyd 1960, 27.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Perkins 1949, 78.

¹⁰⁵¹ Oates 1960, 42.

¹⁰⁵² Wright and Pollock 1987.

The burials

The Ubaid graves of Ur are described¹⁰⁵³ in detail by the excavator. However, no anthropological examination of the skeletal remains has ever been done, in part because of the silty soil, which has caused advanced disintegration of the bones. Thus, evidence of age, gender and cranial deformation are not available. Until today, 46¹⁰⁵⁴ graves have been unearthed in Pit F, occupying mostly squares E7, E6 D5, C4, but no plan of their distribution is available. Wright and Pollock,¹⁰⁵⁵ having compared the cemeteries at Ur and Eridu, identified differences in the types of pottery and non-pottery artifacts that were chosen to furnish the graves in each site, as well as different grave constructions between the sites, despite their contemporaneity with each other. They concluded that neither cemetery reflects the social organization of Ubaid society.

The graves contained an indeterminate number of interments. The flood deposit, into which many graves were installed, bore bones of advanced disintegration with no traces identifiable in some cases. Woolley, also, assumed that graves PFG/AA and PFG/AAbis were two different burial assemblages. In PFG/AA there was a complete skeleton, to the right side of which all the offerings were deposited together with an additional skull and leg bone. In PFG/AAbis a single skull together with a bowl was found. However, the skull from the second grave was laid at the same elevation and so close to the offerings of the first one that they were "*almost touching*" them.¹⁰⁵⁶ These can therefore arguably be concluded to be of the same burial context. The main occupant of PDG/AA was accompanied by two skulls and a great variety of ceramic vessels. The total number of excavated Ur graves is, therefore, 45 according to the present research.

Chronological Issues

Woolley separated the graves into two groups according to their elevation and ceramics offerings.¹⁰⁵⁷ The later graves¹⁰⁵⁸ (10 in number) were dated to Ubaid III, found right up to the flood level at 4.60 to 6.30 m above the sea level.¹⁰⁵⁹ The earlier

¹⁰⁵³ Woolley 1955.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Here graves PFG/AA and PFG/AAbis are studied as the same burial context, since the skeletal remains were found in touch.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Wright and Pollock 1987.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Woolley 1955, 95.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Woolley 1955, 19-21.

¹⁰⁵⁸ These are graves: PFG/A,B,C, PFG/D, PFG/E, PFG/F, PFG/G, PFG/J, PFG/K, PFG/L, PFG/M and PFG/N.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Woolley 1955.

graves (35 in number) correspond to Woolley's Ubaid II or to the most recently defined Ubaid 4. Their elevation varies from 1.00 to 4.00 m.¹⁰⁶⁰

Grave Type

According to the above information, it seems that the contemporary people buried their dead quite deep. Even if they reoccupied the settlement immediately after the flood, they would have dug down to 2 m or more in order to reach the end of this deposit,¹⁰⁶¹ with some graves¹⁰⁶² installed in 1.00 to 1.30 m above sea level.

All graves are simple pits,¹⁰⁶³ but a few of Ubaid 4 Period show some elaborate features. Six of the 34 had their floors paved with fragments of ceramic vessels (**fig. 30**), on which the dead were laid.¹⁰⁶⁴ Despite the particular care of these pits, no other unique characteristic concerning the quantity or quality of offerings emerge. From the Ubaid III graves only PFG/D¹⁰⁶⁵ differs completely, due to its enclosure by mud bricks at one narrow side and at the middle of both long sides, as well as the absence of visible grave goods.

Burial Type

Starting with the earlier graves, the number of partial and complete skeletons is unclear due to preservation issues. We face this problem with at least 20 graves¹⁰⁶⁶ (**Table 11**). Indeed, 9 of them¹⁰⁶⁷ failed to reveal any skeletal fragments suggesting that they were cenotaphs or the few bones, that were buried, had fully disintegrated or, actually nothing of a complete skeleton was left. Nevertheless, four of these graves had their floors¹⁰⁶⁸ paved with sherds, indicating a preparation of grave facilities. Further, some graves overlapped others, resulting sometimes in distribution, such as PFG/NN

¹⁰⁶⁰ These are: PFG/O, PFG/P, PFG/Q, PFG/R, PFG/S, PFG/T, PFG/U, PFG/V, PFG/W, PFG/X, PFG/Y, PFG/Z, PFG/AA, PFG/AAbis, PFG/BB, PFG/CC, PFG/DD, PFG/EE, PFG/FF, PFG/GG, PFG/HH, PFG/JJ, PFG/KK, PFG/LL, PFG/MM, PFG/NN, PFG/OO, PFG/PP, PFG/QQ, PFG/RR, PFG/SS, PFG/TT, PFG/UU, PFG/VV, PFG/WW and PFG/XX. Their elevation was 1.00 to 4.00 m. above the sea level.

¹⁰⁶¹ Woolley 1935, 69.

¹⁰⁶² PFG/UU, PFG/SS, PFG/RR, PFG/PP, PFG/OO.

¹⁰⁶³ Woolley 1955, 20.

¹⁰⁶⁴ PFG/Q, PFG/T, PFG/W, PFG/CC, PFG/DD, PFG/FF.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Woolley 1955, 87.

¹⁰⁶⁶ PFG/O, PFG/Q, PFG/R, PFG/W, PFG/X, PFG/Y, PFG/VV, PFG/BB, PFG/DD, PFG/EE, PFG/FF, PFG/HH, PFG/LL, PFG/NN, PFG/OO, PFG/PP, PFG/QQ, PFG/RR, PFG/SS and PFG/WW.

¹⁰⁶⁷ PFG/Q, PFG/W, PFG/DD, PFG/EE, PFG/FF, PFG/HH, PFG/PP, PFG/SS and PFG/WW.

¹⁰⁶⁸ PFG/Q, PFG/W, PFG/DD PFG/FF.

and PFG/RR. From the remaining 15, six¹⁰⁶⁹ definitely contained complete skeletons and four¹⁰⁷⁰ more likely contained complete skeletons due to the arrangement of the offerings alongside the body in two instances¹⁰⁷¹ or due to the fact that the occupant was accompanied by additional skulls in one example.¹⁰⁷² On the other hand, fractional burials could be confirmed only by the existence of the skull,¹⁰⁷³ suggesting that the rest of the skeleton wasn't buried, otherwise some traces of it should be noticeable.

According to the **Table 11**, the single inhumation of fractional or complete skeletal remains seems to be most common during the Ubaid 4 Phase. Multiple burials are very restricted in their number, with just four confirmed: PFG/JJ,¹⁰⁷⁴ which holds a double burial; PFG/T, which holds a double burial and a third skull; PFG/AA-AAbis, the main occupant of which is accompanied by two skulls and one additional bone; and PFG/U, in which bones of three individuals were found. As mentioned, no evidence of the ages of the interred is available, but according to the excavator only one skull of an infant was unearthed in PFG/U,¹⁰⁷⁵ along with one probable child in PFG/OO.¹⁰⁷⁶

¹⁰⁶⁹ PFG/Z, PFG/CC, PFG/GG, PFG/JJ, PFG/KK and PFG/TT.

¹⁰⁷⁰ PFG/V, PFG/AA, PFG/MM and PFG/XX.

¹⁰⁷¹ PFG/V, PFG/MM

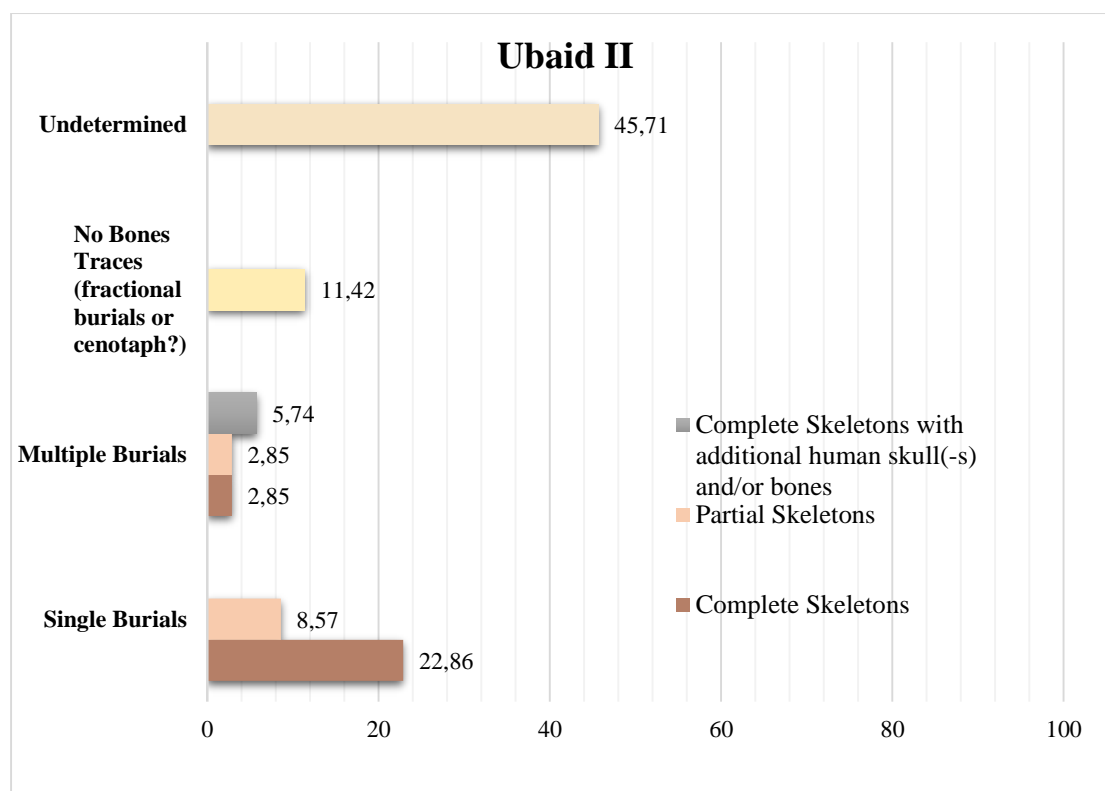
¹⁰⁷² PFG/AA-AAbis contained additional skulls and a leg bone. In PFG/T the skull was associated with the complete skeleton. Additional skulls, sometimes accompanied the occupant(-s) of the graves, as visible in Arpachiyah and Eridu (see below).

¹⁰⁷³ PFG/P, PFG/S, PFG/UU.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Woolley 1955, 97.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Woolley 1955, 92.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Woolley 1955, 99.

Table 11. Burial type, Ubaid II.¹⁰⁷⁷

An interesting example is grave PFG/T (**fig. 31**), which contained 2 bodies – one possibly complete (Skeleton A) and one partial (Skeleton B), as well as an additional skull. At a depth 0.3 m below them, in grave PFG/U, the excavator found the skull of an infant, below which four vessels and a few bones related to the third skull turned up, and slightly below within the same grave bones of another individual were found.¹⁰⁷⁸ It seems that these two graves not only overlapped one another, but quite possibly were reopened several times. Indeed, in PFG/U, the paved floor and all the offerings are associated with skeleton A. Skeleton B was partially laid on the paved floor without offerings and skull C was laid at the knees of skeleton A.¹⁰⁷⁹ It seems that the relatives buried the bones related to skull C sometime earlier than they buried the skull. It is inconclusive whether these bones and skull belong to the same individual, as well as whether or not these burials represent a family.

The picture is clearer in the Ubaid III graves (**Table 12**). Three graves preserved complete skeletons: the single burial of PFG/E;¹⁰⁸⁰ the double burial of PFG/M;¹⁰⁸¹ and

¹⁰⁷⁷ See also Table 13.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Woolley 1955, 92.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Woolley 1955, 91-2.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Woolley 1955, 87.

¹⁰⁸¹ Woolley 1955, 89.

the triple burial PFG/ABC.¹⁰⁸² It is worth mentioning that in the last two graves the bodies seem to have been buried together at the same time. In PFG/M the corpses were laid facing each other and the offerings were found at their feet.¹⁰⁸³ In PFG/ABC, the three bodies were wrapped in matting.¹⁰⁸⁴ In contrast to Ubaid II graves, multiple and single interments are present in almost equal numbers at this time.

Three single fractional burials were identified: PFG/D,¹⁰⁸⁵ where the upper part of the body was missing; PFG/G,¹⁰⁸⁶ in which no skull was found; PFG/F,¹⁰⁸⁷ in which the leg bones were missing. In addition, one multiple fractional burial¹⁰⁸⁸ PFG/L, was found, containing eight skulls and various bones laid with no particular order. Finally, PFG/J and PFG/N gave no traces of bones.¹⁰⁸⁹ There seems, also, an increase in the percentage of fractional skeletal remains compared with that of the Ubaid II graves.

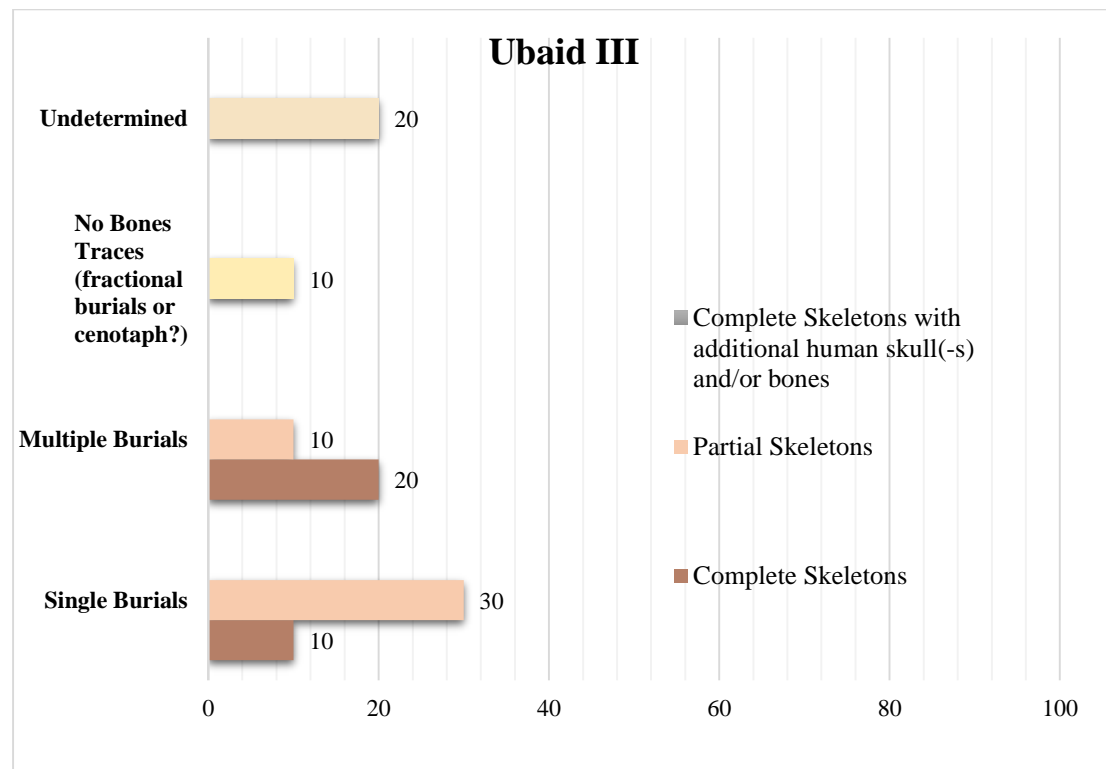


Table 12. Burial type, Ubaid III.¹⁰⁹⁰

¹⁰⁸² Woolley 1955, 87.

¹⁰⁸³ Woolley 1955, 89.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Woolley 1955, 87.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Woolley 1955, 87.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Woolley 1955, 88.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Woolley 1955, 87.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Woolley 1955, 88.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Woolley 1955, 88-9.

¹⁰⁹⁰ See also Table 14.

Body Disposal

In the Ubaid 4 Phase, we can see that the corpses were laid supine with the hands usually near or above the pelvis (**fig. 32**). Grave PFG/T (**fig. 31**) is a peculiar case. The excavator mentioned that the bodies were laid on their backs,¹⁰⁹¹ but according to the sketch the legs appear slightly bent. Perhaps they were not fully extended. Nevertheless, the extended position remains the most preferable in Ubaid 4 Phase. On the other hand, there is a turn to the flexed position in the Woolley's Ubaid III Period, with three cases¹⁰⁹² having been identified as such, and just one body¹⁰⁹³ placed extended and on its back.

At Ur, there is great variation in the way that the dead were oriented. The evidence comes from ten graves of Ubaid 4 Phase and two later ones. The head was in the most cases at W, NW or SW.¹⁰⁹⁴ Three exemptions – all assigned to Ubaid 4 Phase – have been observed: in PFG/MM and PFG/XX, the bodies were oriented to the SE and in PFG/Z to the E, but they differ in other quality.

Grave Goods

Given the preservation conditions of the bodies, a complete counting analysis of grave goods per individual is difficult. Generally, the cemetery of Ur indicates a wealthier and more flourishing community than all the others included in this research. Ceramic vessels were usually placed at the feet, head, or along the one side of the corpse.¹⁰⁹⁵ Any other offerings, if existing, were placed in close proximity of the hand or above the dead.

No grave of the Ubaid 4 was unfurnished, and there are quite a few (14 instances) with five to thirteen ceramics (**Appendix B**). Usually, open and closed type of pottery coexisted in the same context. Eight exemptions have been observed: PFG/T, PFG/U, PFG/W, PFG/X, PFG/W, PFG/HH and PFG/NN bore no closed type ceramics and PFG/DD no open types. Generally, the deposit of at least a bowl, cup and jar seems to be demanded by the mortuary customs of Ur during the period. A further trend seems to be the presence of some painted pottery in each grave. In fact, two cases had only

¹⁰⁹¹ Woolley 1955, 91-2.

¹⁰⁹² PFG/E, PFG/G and PFG/M.

¹⁰⁹³ PFG/F.

¹⁰⁹⁴ PFG/E, PDF/F, PFG/T, PFG/AA-AAbis, PFG/CC, PFG/GG, PFG/JJ, PFG/KK, PFG/TT.

¹⁰⁹⁵ At Head: PFG/GG; At legs: PFG/Z, PFG/KK, PFG/TT; Both at head and knees: PFG/V; At one side: PFG/AA-AAbis, PFG/MM.

plain ceramic vessels,¹⁰⁹⁶ whereas seven¹⁰⁹⁷ contained solely painted vessels. The remaining graves bore both. This evidence indicates that the contemporary people of Ur paid attention to preparing and properly furnishing each grave, possibly in line with a generally accepted etiquette. The deposit of figurines¹⁰⁹⁸ (**fig. 5a**) – which were found in both graves with one to three pots and with more than seven – confirm the formal character of the funeral.

It is observed, also, that the lowest graves¹⁰⁹⁹ of Ubaid 4, *i.e.* the graves which were dug from 1.00 to 1.90 m above sea level, show more restricted numbers of pottery. The majority hold four vases (4 instances), and no examples with more than seven have been unearthed. These graves may reflect the post-flood society, the economy of which was gradually regenerating. Based on the evidence from the upper graves, a general exaggeration of the mortuary practice is apparent, which may be the effect of a flourishing economy. Indeed, some graves, like PFG/Z, PFG/JJ, PFG/GG and, mostly, PFDG/AA-AAbis, appear to express such a trend of exaggeration,¹¹⁰⁰ but in a moderate manner.

As far as the non-pottery goods are concerned, it's interest that traces of red pigment, probably produced from hematite, were found in PFG/JJ and PFG/KK. In the case of PFG/JJ, a lump was identified next of the head of the first body, while the second body was completely covered with these traces. In grave PFG/KK, pigment was preserved on the upper part of the corpse.¹¹⁰¹ The ritual pigmentation of the body has been recognized in few other cases across Mesopotamia, such as Choga Mish and Eridu G91 (see below). Further, a bone pin was also found in PFG/PP, which Woolley suggested should be considered part of the clothing of the dead.¹¹⁰² Animal bones (**Appendix B**) are also extremely rare in the Ubaid 4, perhaps due to the great degree of decay occurring at Ur. Possibly, under different circumstances, such evidence would be more available. Finally, broken figurines and vessels compose a small proportion – given the effect of the flood – and, hence, ceremonial fragmentation is not supposed to have occurred, with the possible exception of vessels composing the paved floors.

¹⁰⁹⁶ PFG/DD and PFG/EE.

¹⁰⁹⁷ PFG/S, PFG/T, PFG/X, PFG/HH, PFG/NN, PFG/PP and PFG/QQ.

¹⁰⁹⁸ They were found in: PFG/O, PFG/Q, PFG/T (2 of them), PFG/AA-AAbis, PFG/JJ, PFG/QQ.

¹⁰⁹⁹ PFG/HH, PFG/LL, PFG/MM, PFG/NN, PFG/PP, PFG/OO, PFG/QQ, PFG/RR, PFG/SS, PFG/UU, PFG/XX.

¹¹⁰⁰ They hold 9 to thirteen pots.

¹¹⁰¹ Woolley 1955, 97-98.

¹¹⁰² Woolley 1955, 20.

Woolley mentioned that in the case of paved floors the sherds were almost always carefully selected from one broken pot.¹¹⁰³

Moving on to the Ur-Ubaid III we can see a general decline in furnishing of the graves, shown mostly through the depositions of painted ceramic vessels (**Appendix B**). In fact, plain pottery is now in a great proportion with, approximately, half of the furnished graves without a single painted pot. Furthermore, a single burial (PFG/N) was accompanied by both open and closed types, while one example¹¹⁰⁴ had a closed pot and seven¹¹⁰⁵ had only open ones. As mentioned, PFG/D had no offerings at all. Figurines were no longer placed in the graves.¹¹⁰⁶ In one case¹¹⁰⁷ shell beads at the neck of the complete skeleton were found and traces of matting have been observed in PFG/ABC and PFG/F.

Accompanying a decrease in painted pottery, however, was an increase in the deposition of personal objects – characteristic of the following period. For instance, we find a mace-head,¹¹⁰⁸ axe¹¹⁰⁹ and spear-head¹¹¹⁰ usually placed above the chest or by the hand. We may also conclude that the creation of shallow pits of less than 1 m in depth is another effect of the general economic downturn of this particular period of time, since Ubaid material deposits reached 5.50 m above sea level and the graves elevation varies from 4.80 to 6.30m. As Hole noted,¹¹¹¹ it is very possible that some of these graves actually belong to the Uruk Period. The elevation of some is distant from the last strong stratigraphic presence of Ubaid material culture,¹¹¹² and based on the offerings, they abstain from typical Ubaid deposits— besides personal objects, stone vessels and ceramics made of low quality clay have been uncovered. Thus PFG/D, PFG/E, PFG/F, PFG/G and maybe PFG/ABC should be assigned to the Uruk Period and the rest to the Terminal Ubaid Period.

¹¹⁰³ Woolley 1955, 20.

¹¹⁰⁴ PFG/G.

¹¹⁰⁵ PFG/ABC, PFG/E, PFG/F, PFG/J, PFG/K, PFG/L and PFG/M.

¹¹⁰⁶ Woolley 1955, 21.

¹¹⁰⁷ PFG/E.

¹¹⁰⁸ Found in PDF/E.

¹¹⁰⁹ Found in PFG/F.

¹¹¹⁰ Found in PFG/G.

¹¹¹¹ Hole 1989, 167.

¹¹¹² Their elevation was 5.50 to 6.10 m in contrast to the Ubaid assemblage in 5.50 m.

Discussion

We can approach neither the number of individuals buried in the cemetery nor the geographical limits of the cemetery with certainty. However, the evidence suggests the population was kept low for a period due to the flood disaster, causing a migration and subsequent reoccupation by a small group. Children and infants' fragile bones could be either disintegrated in the flood leaving no traces or they were buried elsewhere, or inside the limits of the settlement following trends of intramural burials, the largest percentage of which are of individuals of young ages. Based on the numbers of ceramic vessels in the graves, there was no distinct differentiation from burial context to burial context, but a subtle increase in interred ceramics, reflecting social changes and natural disasters.

We can, also, assume that those interred at the cemetery at Ur were treated quite differently from those of the above mentioned intramural burials. The ritual conventions, that seem to have developed here, include the adoption of the supine extended position and the obligatory deposit of good quality pottery. The construction of a larger pit, as the outcome of the new way the corpse was positioned inside the grave, as well as the quantity and the quality of ceramic vessels indicates the establishment of a more wasteful funeral ceremony, or at least one more elaborate than those applied in the intramural burials.

The most important information we can draw from the examination of Ur graves regards the evolution of mortuary practices over time. It seems that during the Ubaid 4, some specific burial customs spread throughout the greater part of the population and became well-established, while in the subsequent phases a general degeneration and regression towards previous customs occurred. Old, deep-rooted customs at least on north Mesopotamia like the flexed position, rough made pottery deposited in small amounts and an increase in the deposition of fragmentary skeletal remains appeared in south Mesopotamia. The small number of interments, a problem characterizing earlier phases and periods, as well as Ur-Ubaid III cemetery should also be included as part of this regressive trend. Apparently, during this time, the dead were treated in a way that archaeological research cannot yet fully detect or understand. With the reduction of the proportion of the individuals buried at Ur, the inhabitants are not sufficiently represented to draw rigorous archaeological conclusions, even if one takes this decrease as indicative of a wider de-population in the region, and we are led again to the assumption that older mortuary practices re-emerged at this time. Crucial changes in

the evolution of funeral customs did gradually take place from the end of Terminal Ubaid Phase to the early Uruk Period, when the deceased received personal items instead of pottery. A similar picture emerges at the cemetery of Eridu, described presently.

Single Burial				Multiple Burials			Other
Complete Skeleton	Fractional Skeleton	urn	Unknown	Complete Skeleton with additional human skull(-s) or other parts	Complete Skeletons	Fractional Skeletons	No bone traces
PFG/Z	PFG/P	—	PFG/X	?PFG/AA-	PFG/JJ	PFG/U	PFG/Q
PFG/CC	PFG/S		PFG/BB	PFGAAbis			PFG/W
PFG/GG	PFG/UU		PFG/LL				PFG/DD
PFG/KK			PFG/QQ	?PFG/T			PFG/EE
PFG/TT			PFG/NN				PFG/FF
			PFG/RR				PFG/HH
?PFG/V			PFG/O				PFG/PP
?PFG/MM			PFG/R				PFG/SS
?PFG/XX			PFG/Y				PFG/WW
			PFG/VV				
			PFG/OO				

Table 13. Distribution of skeletal remains, Ubaid II.

Single Burial				Multiple Burials			Other
Complete Skeleton	Fractional Skeleton	urn	Unknown	Complete Skeleton with additional human skull(-s)	Complete Skeletons	Fractional Skeletons	No bone traces
PFG/E	PFG/D PFG/G PFG/F	–	PFG/J PFG/K	–	PFG/M PFG/A,B, C	PFG/L	PFG/ N

Table 14. Distribution of skeletal remains, Ubaid III.

3.2.3. Eridu

The site

As mentioned above, Taylor carried out an investigation of the marsh area of south Iraq in the middle of the 19th century. 24km southeast of Ur, he discovered a site called Abu Shahrein by the locals.¹¹¹³ Later, the new data that came from the Sumerian texts led to this site's identification with ancient Eridu. According to the Bronze Age texts, Eridu was preserved in the memory of the contemporary people as an ancient and sacred city.¹¹¹⁴

After some limited excavations carried out by the British Museum,¹¹¹⁵ the site was systematically excavated from 1946 to 1948¹¹¹⁶ under the aegis of the General Directorate of Antiquities in Iraq. Lloyd served as a general advisor to these excavations from their outset. The excavators considered the earliest Levels XIX-XIV to belong to a pre-Ubaid Period, and the subsequent XIII-VI to the Ubaid.¹¹¹⁷ However, later studies have assigned all of these layers to sub-phases of the Ubaid Culture. Consequently, Eridu early stratification was dated from Ubaid 1 to 4 Phases, evidence coming from

¹¹¹³ For the results of this excavation see Taylor 1855

¹¹¹⁴ It was believed to be a pre-Flood city and the first ruled by king. For the relative mentions in Mesopotamia Myths see Heidel 1942; Dalley 1989; Penglase 1994; Espak 2015.

¹¹¹⁵ As mentioned by Taylor (1855), as well as by Campbell Thompson in 1918 (published in 1920) and Hall in 1919 (published 1923 and 1930).

¹¹¹⁶ Al-Asil *et al.* 1947; Lloyd 1948; Lloyd and Safar 1948; Safar 1950.

¹¹¹⁷ Safar *et al.* 1981.

the three trenches that had been dug, namely the "Hut Sounding", "Temple Sounding" and the cemetery (**fig. 34**).

Unfortunately, the excavated residential area is highly restricted, and traces of dwellings are absent in half of the levels. From what is available, the residences seeming to be humble rectangular buildings with small dimensions, made of mud bricks or reeds lined with clay. Counter to this dearth of evidence on residential practices, emphasis was paid in the excavation to the so-called temples (**Fig. 33**), which were made of fired bricks.¹¹¹⁸ The earliest surviving example comes from the Level XVII (Ubaid 1) and it was one chambered room 2.80 m in diameter. Ten buildings were consecutively constructed¹¹¹⁹ in the following levels directly above this structure, the dimensions of which gradually increased, with consistently more elaborate decoration appearing on the outside walls. The last of these buildings belongs to the Uruk and Ur III Periods. The architecture of the Ubaid 4 Phase temple would be, eventually, found in monumental buildings at other contemporary sites.¹¹²⁰ Thus, this architectural type seems to have been originally developed in Eridu as early as the first phases of the Ubaid Period. It is not excluded that it was later adopted from other places, which may have adapted some individual features to the local data. It is likely to have served other purposes as well across the time under consideration, such as an exchange and redistribution center. Besides, findings such as obsidian blades, a frit seal and marble beads¹¹²¹ suggest that Eridu was involved in small-scale trade despite its location as the *"remote and inaccessible mound"*¹¹²² of the Euphrates valley which was *"confined in the east by the ridge Al-Hazim"*. Indeed, an alluvial plain was extended along the north sides of the site, creating a large surrounding swamp area.

The Eridu inhabitants based their diet on agriculture, as confirmed by the bones of cattle that were found in "Hut Sounding". Occasionally this diet included wild animals, such as onager and probably gazelle and wild boar.¹¹²³ Evidence for domestication of goats and sheep is absent from Eridu, but further analysis should be held in this prehistoric site of south Mesopotamia before firm conclusions are made on this. Generally, though, we can describe the society of Eridu as farming subsistent.

¹¹¹⁸ Some similar examples may have been identified in Ur. See Woolley 1955, 7-8.

¹¹¹⁹ For more details, see Safar et al. 1981; Soudipour 2007.

¹¹²⁰ Tepe Gawra, Tell Uqair and Uruk.

¹¹²¹ Safar et al. 1981.

¹¹²² Al-Asil 1947, 3.

¹¹²³ For more see Flannery and Wright 1966.

The burials

The data presented below is drawn mainly from the final publication of the excavation. However, the age and the sex of individuals are only approximated by the excavators, who based their assumptions on some general observations of the bones and the presence of beads inside the graves.¹¹²⁴ Therefore, the information is unreliable for a largely indeterminate number of the graves. Further studies have been held by Coon,¹¹²⁵ who revealed the possibility that some skulls were artificially deformed. This fact would be later confirmed by Molleson and Campbell, although it remains unknown which graves hold these 15 deformed skulls.¹¹²⁶ Studies by Pariselle¹¹²⁷ as well as Wright and Pollock¹¹²⁸ agreed that no Ubaid grave indicated any clues as to the social rank and identity of the deceased, although this cannot be received as proof that Ubaid society was unstratified. Finally, Vértesalji has analyzed the pottery from the graves¹¹²⁹ and used the data from the cemetery to estimate the population of the site.¹¹³⁰ The conclusions of these studies are summarized below.

When the digging process focused on the exterior of the northeast Early Dynastic wall, some 193 graves of Ubaid Period have been come to light.¹¹³¹ So far, the Eridu cemetery is the largest throughout the Ubaid "Horizon", with a potential necropolis further expanding through a large area at the west of excavated squares G8 and G9.¹¹³² The estimated number of the unexposed graves therefore ranges from eight hundred to a thousand.¹¹³³

It comes natural to me that the northwest and less steep slope of the mount chosen for the cemetery provided an easy access from the plain to the main residential area on the top. This assumption is based on both ground surface morphology as well as the brick-paved layer dated to the Bronze Age which, according to Safar,¹¹³⁴ was likely a part of a pathway leading to the interior of the acropolis. Indeed, the fact that a

¹¹²⁴ Safar et al. 1981, 123.

¹¹²⁵ Coon 1949.

¹¹²⁶ Molleson and Campbell 1995, 50.

¹¹²⁷ Pariselle 1985.

¹¹²⁸ Wright and Pollock 1987.

¹¹²⁹ Vértesalji 1984.

¹¹³⁰ Vértesalji 1989.

¹¹³¹ Safar et al. 1981.

¹¹³² Safar et al. 1981, 117 ; Pariselle 1985, 2.

¹¹³³ Lloyd 1978, 45; Safar et al. 1981, 123; Hole 1989, 169.

¹¹³⁴ Safar et al. 1981, 117.

number of graves was laid beneath this 3rd mil. structure ¹¹³⁵ is a clue to consider that by the time the cemetery was in use, people were expected to cross it to enter their village. Obviously, the northwest slope was suitable for multiple uses in line with the needs of each period. The central part of the cemetery yields an upper and deep deposit of waste materials¹¹³⁶ suggesting a gradual transition as a dump site due to a continuous use from the Early Ubaid Period. The debris found here could also have been produced by the temples or houses. The contemporary Temple VI was built less than eight meters beyond the site,¹¹³⁷ and the same assumption should apply in the case of huts. The uncovered part of the cemetery may reflect, then, the limits of the settlement, which is supposed to be expanded to the northwest of the excavated "Hut Sounding".¹¹³⁸

Returning to the graves, it is necessary to consider burial context. I have already expressed my hesitations as to whether G8 at Tel al-Ubaid should be considered a genuine burial or not.¹¹³⁹ The question emerges again for 11% of the Eridu graves. In seven of them¹¹⁴⁰ no remains have been recorded and, G187 was characterized as empty grave.¹¹⁴¹ The excavators did not specify how they reached the conclusion that, in these parts of the cemetery, a pit was dug during prehistoric times. The identification of an inhumation loose in soil is very difficult – if not impossible – when no evidence of the body is preserved. If skeletal remains or indicators of the formation of a grave, such as paved-floors or a built shaft, are absent, then burials are likely to get overlooked. Adding to these questions, I have put aside the grave offerings, since by themselves they are not a reliable indicator of burials. Many kinds of artifacts, like pottery, are found in a variety of contexts, making it hard to accept their votive use, unless one of the above mentioned features (remains of bones or of grave facilities) belong to the same assemblage. In Eridu, the discovery of some ceramic vessels have been used to indicate the installation of graves in six cases.¹¹⁴² It remains dubious, though, as to whether these represent simple inhumations in which the skeletal remains have disintegrated, or if this pottery represents no-longer useful utensils that were just dumped at the site, like many other artifacts. Furthermore, as mentioned, inhabitants

¹¹³⁵ Safar et al. 1981, 117.

¹¹³⁶ Lloyd and Safar 1947, 117; Safar et al. 1981.

¹¹³⁷ Safar et al. 1981, 117; Pariselle 1985, 2.

¹¹³⁸ Safar et al. 1981, 117-9.

¹¹³⁹ PFG/Q, PFG/W, PFG/DD PFG/FF.

¹¹⁴⁰ G4, G5, G6, G33, G49, G187 and G190.

¹¹⁴¹ Safar et al. 1981, 141.

¹¹⁴² G19, G20, G74, G75, G113 and G154.

accessed the top of the mound by crossing this area. Various objects have been unearthed from the free space among or above the graves.¹¹⁴³ Consequently, there are not good grounds for ascribing this pottery to graves. Finally, ten more cases¹¹⁴⁴ are not registered. For all these reasons, the graves studied below are limited to a number of 170, containing 225 burials.

Chronological Issues

Pottery evidence dates the cemetery to the Ubaid 4 Phase,¹¹⁴⁵ contemporary with the Ubaid II graves at Ur. Vértesalji's study¹¹⁴⁶ focused on establishing a chronological seriation in the cemetery development. He concluded that four combinations of the ceramic vessels appeared in the graves and, regarding the pottery types each combination consisted of, classified these combinations into earlier and later groups in relation to the graves that contained them. Consequently, apart from five graves assigned to the transitional period between Temple X to IX,¹¹⁴⁷ the main phase of the cemetery corresponds to the period of Temples VIII and Temple VI. Vértesalji also identified twenty-six graves as slightly later within this time-bracket.¹¹⁴⁸ Graves which contained only one or two vessels were difficult to classify due to insufficient evidence, but, generally, pottery can't guarantee the chronology of a grave. Many vessel types were already in a long-term use, and in a few cases an ante-dated implement could end up as grave good, as its owner kept it for a long time before its deposition. Thus, some pottery combinations have been randomly laid in the same assemblage. Perhaps Vértesalji's method can provide the research with some clues, if it is applied to other sites and similar conclusions turn up. So far, according to the most accepted view, the cemetery and Temple VI were used contemporaneously and in parallel,¹¹⁴⁹ and this use lasted about 250 years, according to some estimations.¹¹⁵⁰ The elevation above sea level of the graves, "Hut Sounding" and Temples was not determined.

Grave Type

¹¹⁴³ Safar *et al.* 1981; Charvát 2002, 56-7.

¹¹⁴⁴ G11, G46, G55, G57, G84, G85, G126, G127, G156 and G160.

¹¹⁴⁵ For more see Oates 1960 and Charvát 2002.

¹¹⁴⁶ Vértesalji 1984.

¹¹⁴⁷ These are G13, G64, G114, G132 and G152.

¹¹⁴⁸ G18, G22, G28, G36, G61, G67, G70, G79, G109, G110, G113, G125, G133, G139, G140, G150, G151, G153, G161-163, G167 G169, G170, G173, G174.

¹¹⁴⁹ Wright and Pollock. 1987; Pariselle 1985, 4; Safar *et al.* 1981; Oates 1960.

¹¹⁵⁰ Vértesalji 1989, 182.

Three different grave types have been found in Eridu: *libn* tombs, which are the most numerous (107), tombs with a *libn* floor (10) and simple pits (53). The *libn* tomb was introduced in this period at Eridu and it would be eventually adopted by other northern sites such as Tepe Gawra. In *libn* tombs, each side of the rectangular pit is lined with walls constructed of mud bricks.¹¹⁵¹ Afterwards, the corpse is placed on the floor and covered with soil up to the upper part of the walls.¹¹⁵² Then, the shaft is roofed with the same material as the walls.¹¹⁵³ There was no effort made to embellish the floor of these tombs, except for G129, which had its floor paved with bitumen, though its offerings were very humble.¹¹⁵⁴ The ten cases in which brick construction was applied to the floor of the grave, but not used for the walls of the shaft, distinguish a second distinct type, the *libn* floor.¹¹⁵⁵

Interestingly, simple pits don't seem to be preferable at Eridu. It seems such graves were occasionally installed in Ubaid debris deposit – two of them distinguishable only by a clay floor.¹¹⁵⁶ Safar mentioned three more simple inhumations,¹¹⁵⁷ but did not offer their registration numbers or any further information about them. It is impossible to ascertain whether they are included in the 170 graves examined below or belong to a context that escapes record completely.

The estimations of grave depth are not reliable, since the measurement point was the cemetery surface and the upper part of the 3rd mil. *ziggurat*.¹¹⁵⁸ Taking into consideration that in the middle of the cemetery the graves were found mainly beneath the ante-dated debris deposit, the thickness of which was on average 1.06 m deep,¹¹⁵⁹ we can conclude that, usually, the dead were not buried in shallow pits. No plan of the cemetery is available in publications, leaving this issue open, alongside a series of other questions regarding the organization and the chronology of burials. One must ask, for instance, whether the distribution of *libn* tombs and simple pits was more or less homogeneous in the whole area, or whether type groups were localized in specific parts of the cemetery. As Vértessalji admitted, he was quite involved in locating the graves

¹¹⁵¹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 119.

¹¹⁵² Safar *et al.* 1981, 119.

¹¹⁵³ In G155 the built shaft left incomplete.

¹¹⁵⁴ Safar *et al.* 1981, 137.

¹¹⁵⁵ G2, G77, G78, G83, G88, G92, G101, G125, G149 and G176.

¹¹⁵⁶ G69 and G76.

¹¹⁵⁷ Safar *et al.* 1981, 121.

¹¹⁵⁸ Safar *et al.* 1981, 123. The depths varied from 0,40m or less in some few cases, to 1.80m. from the surface.

¹¹⁵⁹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 119.

and created a site plan based on the given data without eventually accomplishing it.¹¹⁶⁰ It is generally assumed that the graves here would leave marks on the surface,¹¹⁶¹ since, according to the information provided by excavators, only seven graves were overlapped¹¹⁶² and only three were found over older ones.¹¹⁶³ Possibly, therefore, the cemetery gradually expanded over time. By extension, a detection of the development of mortuary practices through comparative analysis of the burial contexts lying close to the limits of the cemetery with those of the center may be possible would be possible, if we know the distribution of graves.

The spatial relation of graves is, unfortunately, the missing link in the existing examination. I think that the only known overlapping-overlying cases may give some light to this matter. Few of these burials (2/10) are included in *libn* boxes,¹¹⁶⁴ while the trend of depositing ceramic vessels seems to be in decline: five graves¹¹⁶⁵ contained no pot, two¹¹⁶⁶ contained only one, and three¹¹⁶⁷ had two to three. The overlying G21 is quite characteristic example: as we will see below in more details, it is probably the only grave, which is almost certainly post-dated suggesting that when the cemetery fell into disuse, no remains of it was left. Interestingly, the graves with two or three vessels offer sufficient evidence to Vértesalji to incorporate them into his later grave group.¹¹⁶⁸ Returning to the previous example, G21 was, indeed, dug over one of them, grave G22. Thus, these instances may indicate impoverished mortuary practices at the end of Ubaid 4 Phase and the subsequent transitional period.

Burial Type

Single inhumation prevailed at Eridu, since 126 graves contained one complete or fractional body, while only 41 contained bones of two or more individuals. The skeletal remains of G26 and G27 were so decayed that single burials cannot be confirmed. Finally, we have credible evidence that there existed the idea of the cenotaph

¹¹⁶⁰ Vértesalji, 1984, 11.

¹¹⁶¹ Lloyd and Safar 1948, 118; Safar *et al.* 1981.

¹¹⁶² G22, G50, G73, G104, G111, G137 and G151.

¹¹⁶³ G21, G32 and G36.

¹¹⁶⁴ G22 and G104.

¹¹⁶⁵ G21, G32, G73, G104 and G137.

¹¹⁶⁶ G50 and G111.

¹¹⁶⁷ G22, G36 and G151.

¹¹⁶⁸ Vértesalji, 1984, fig.2b.

at Eridu, as the brick box of G144 contained nothing, but pottery.¹¹⁶⁹ A similar example have been attested at Tepe Gawra.¹¹⁷⁰

The deposition of incomplete skeletons was rare at Eridu: 32 partial burials (32/225 = 14.22%) were included in just 11 graves (11/170 = 6.47%). More than half of these interments (19/32) were represented only by the skull, 16 of which were retrieved from G97.¹¹⁷¹ Each of the remaining three were accompanied by the occupant of grave G123, G145 and G163. No offerings are associated with the skulls.¹¹⁷² The exact opposite occurred in three other cases, in which only the skull was missing.¹¹⁷³

Complete skeletons do not necessarily indicate primary burial or interment immediately after death, as mentioned in previous chapter. In three examples, no signs of disruption or later interment could justify the idea that the bones were mixed or some parts were laid in disorder:

G22: arms and legs are misplaced.¹¹⁷⁴

G115: the bones are separated in two groups.¹¹⁷⁵

G120: skull next to the arm and jaw next to the leg.¹¹⁷⁶

Comparing the data in conjunction with the grave type, it is apparent that single interments prevailed in simple pits with a percentage 88.23% against multiple interments, 11.77% (Table 15). In the latter case, graves hold double burials only:

G121: contained complete skeletal remains of two adults.¹¹⁷⁷

G100: contained the skeleton of a child and fractions of a second one.¹¹⁷⁸

G151: two partial bodies of a child and an adult.¹¹⁷⁹

G183: complete skeletons of two adults.¹¹⁸⁰

Fractional skeletons have been observed in 11.76% of the simple pits, usually with the skull missing.¹¹⁸¹

¹¹⁶⁹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 138.

¹¹⁷⁰ See G36-148.

¹¹⁷¹ Together with a complete skeletons and two partial. Compare with Ur PFG/L, where 8 skulls have been unearthed.

¹¹⁷² Compare with PFG/AA-AAbis (Ur), in which the skulls were laid together with the offerings and G2, G7 and G9 (Arpachiyah), in which the skulls were placed near the dead or inside a vessel.

¹¹⁷³ See graves G148 and G151.

¹¹⁷⁴ Safar *et al.* 1981, 127.

¹¹⁷⁵ Safar *et al.* 1981, 135.

¹¹⁷⁶ Safar *et al.* 1981, 136.

¹¹⁷⁷ Safar *et al.* 1981, 136.

¹¹⁷⁸ Safar *et al.* 1981, 134.

¹¹⁷⁹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 138.

¹¹⁸⁰ Safar *et al.* 1981, 141.

¹¹⁸¹ See G137, G148 and G151. Compare with simple pit of G78, which hold 16 skulls.

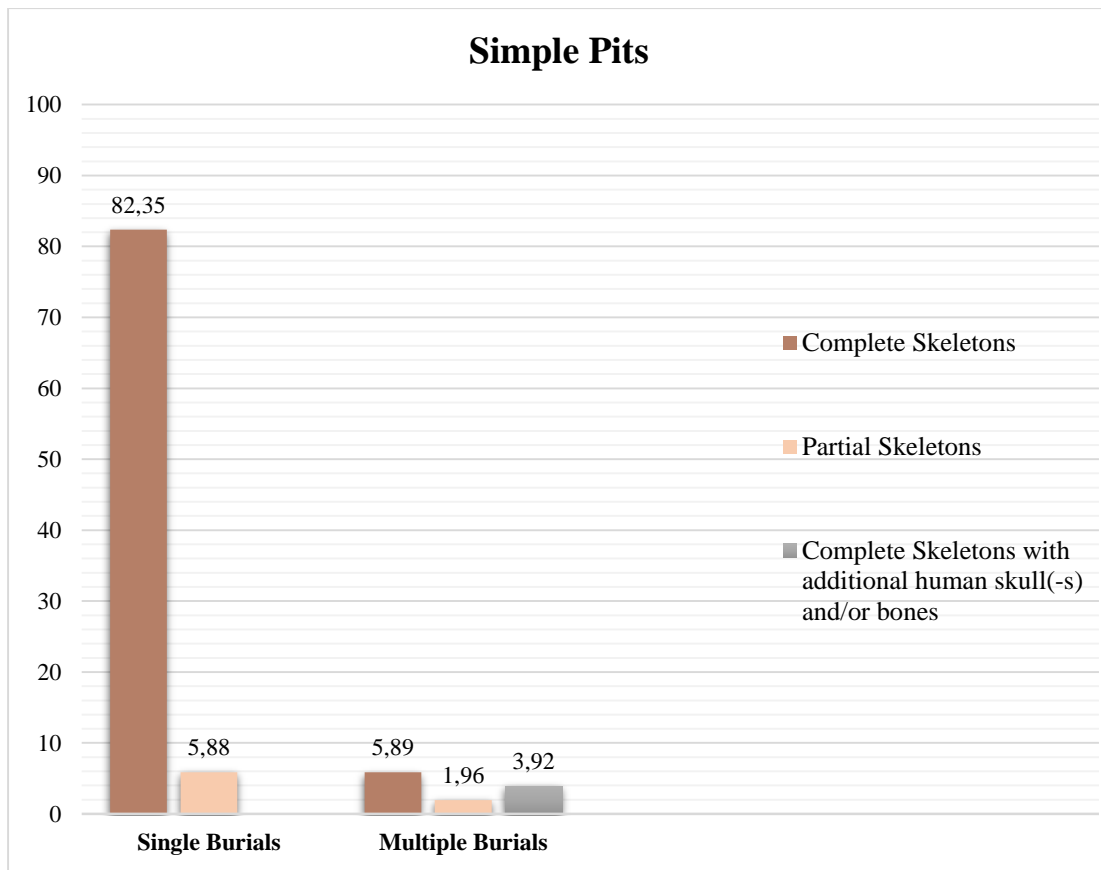


Table 15. Burial type found in simple pits, Eridu.

The percentage of multiple burials is much higher in *libn* tombs (Table 16), usually containing two adults – a man and a woman according to the assumptions of excavators. There is a significant difference between simple graves and built shafts. In the simple type, single interments are seven times more common than multiple ones, whereas within built shafts the ratio is 3:1. Furthermore, one *libn* tomb holds a triple burial of two adults and a child.¹¹⁸² The excavators suggested that these cases should be considered "family tombs",¹¹⁸³ reopened after primary interment in order for the dead spouse to be buried. Thus, when the second interment took place, the upper part of the box was broken and soil from the interior of the tomb was removed to uncover the earlier interment.¹¹⁸⁴ After the new corpse was placed next to the old one, the shaft was filled and re-sealed. However, the sex of the individuals remains is approximated in the majority of cases in which we assume we are dealing with couples.

¹¹⁸² See G112.

¹¹⁸³ Safar *et al.* 1981, 119.

¹¹⁸⁴ Safar *et al.* 1981, 119.

In terms of fragmentary burials, there is no significant reduction in the percentage interred within built shafts (8.4%). On the other hand, no fractional skeletons were found in graves with *libn* floors. Further, the rates between one and multiple interments seem to be equally shared, since half of them¹¹⁸⁵ hold one corpse, four graves¹¹⁸⁶ hold two corpses and one grave¹¹⁸⁷ holds three adults.

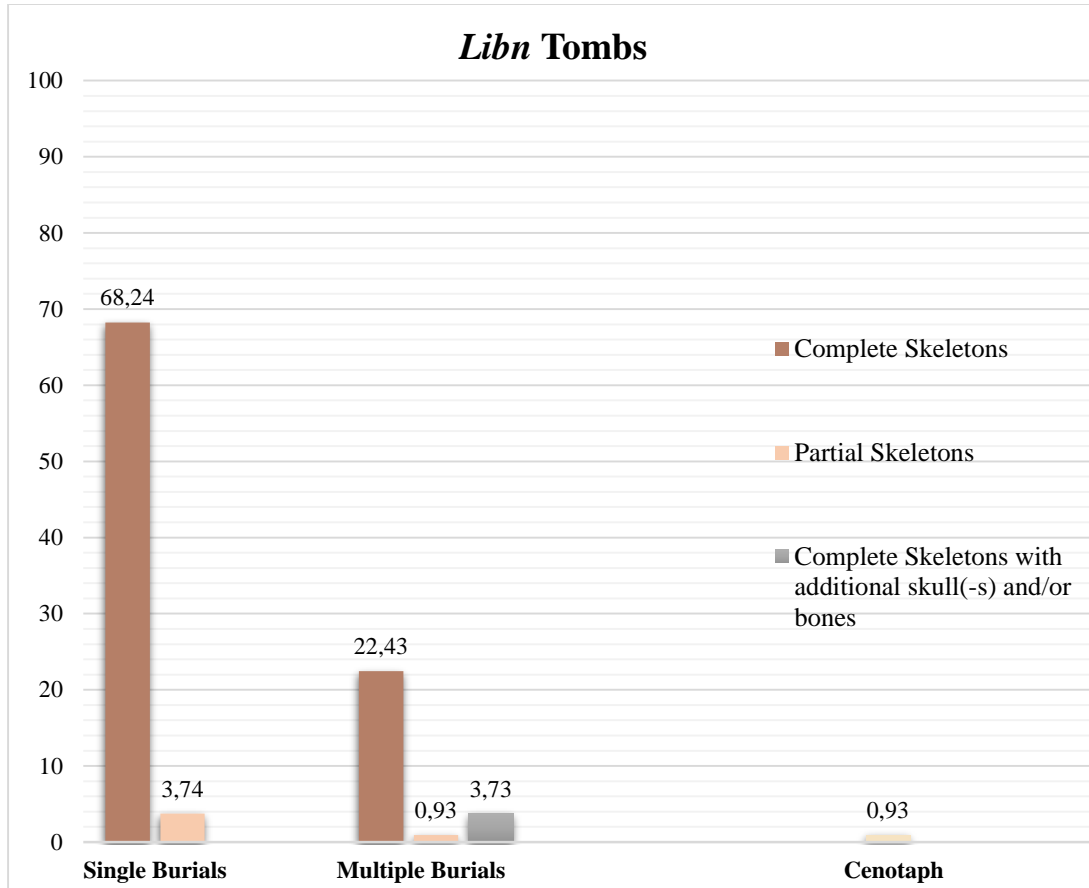


Table 16. Burial type found in libn tombs, Eridu.

Age

The total number of the adults interred in the cemetery is 162. Children account for 57¹¹⁸⁸ interments, placed either in *libn* tombs (24.26% of individuals in *libn* tombs), simple pits (24.64%), or graves with *libn* floor (37.75%). Three additional child corpses have been found in conjunction with G17: two of them interred in simple pits at each

¹¹⁸⁵ G2, G77, G125, G149 and G176.

¹¹⁸⁶ G83, G88, G92 and G101.

¹¹⁸⁷ G78.

¹¹⁸⁸ G7, G14-G16, G28, G29, G35, G38, G39, G40, G44, G47, G48, G50, G53, G54, G56, G65, G67, G69, G77, G89, G92, G93, G98-G100, G103, G105, G107, G108, G110, G112, G114, G115, G117, G122, G125, G129, G139, G140, G141, G149, G151, G153, G157, G163, G166, G167, G174, G176, G179, G182, G184 and G185.

side of the exterior of the box and one more above it.¹¹⁸⁹ The arrangement of the bodies shouldn't be considered random burials of independent individuals, but rather indicates some close relationship of the buried group.

Similarly to the evidence from Ur, urn burials are completely absent. So far, six infants¹¹⁹⁰ have been found, representing a scanty proportion of the cemetery. The majority of these infants (5/6) were laid in built shafts, and one in a simple pit. Infants, surely, were interred in separate place, accounting for their low numbers here.

Overall, the information on the age of the interred should be read with caution, as it is based on general observations held by the excavators. Furthermore, the terms "*child*" used in publications is highly general, including stages of youth from two years of age to adolescence.

Body Disposal

Individuals interred at the cemetery of Eridu were placed on their backs in an extended position, even in cases of fractional burials, although eighteen examples had bent knees¹¹⁹¹ and three had crossed knees¹¹⁹² (**fig. 36**). In addition, the skeleton of grave G88 had only one of its legs flexed, suggesting that the exact position of the legs should not be considered a matter of great importance. Likewise, in many interments either one or both hands were placed on or near the pelvis, on the chest, or close to the face.¹¹⁹³ Some skeletons were found lain slightly on their side, which the excavators interpreted as old interments pushed aside to make room for new ones.¹¹⁹⁴ However, while a few graves with double burials (6/29 graves), one or both bodies were laid on their side,¹¹⁹⁵ four single inhumations¹¹⁹⁶ seem to be placed this way at primary interment, since there are no additional bones witnessing the interment was disturbed. I suggest that this subtle deviation in the way that the body was positioned shouldn't be

¹¹⁸⁹ These three simple burials are not included to the Safar's numeration of graves (see comments for G17). For the present research, they are excluded, too. No further information concerning the burial arrangement is provided, so that they could join the statistics.

¹¹⁹⁰ G45 (double), G119, G124, G169 and G191.

¹¹⁹¹ G8, G9, G29, G56, G62, G77, G94, G116, G122, G129, G145, G146, G147, G151, G157, G163, G168 and G184.

¹¹⁹² G82, G150 and G153

¹¹⁹³ Vértessalji (1984) proposed that in all these cases the individuals were unenviable members of the society: relatives placed the corpse this way in order to avoid the revenant of his/her soul.

¹¹⁹⁴ Safar *et al.* 1981.

¹¹⁹⁵ G1, G3, G18, G23, G31 and G106.

¹¹⁹⁶ G14, G38, G53 and G146.

charged as either earlier interments or to indicate a different status of the deceased,¹¹⁹⁷ but rather indicates random arrangement of the bodies or even a negligence of custom caused by such reasons as the improper flattening of the grave floor. Since most examples of these aberrant positions come from *libn* tombs (8/10), it is also possible that incorrect estimation of the necessary size of the shaft led to these compressions of the bodies. Generally, such incorrect estimations shouldn't be out of question. For example, G120 was accidentally installed in an out-of-type direction and, therefore, the corpse was placed diagonally inside the box in order to be oriented in the same direction as the other burials.¹¹⁹⁸ In fact, three actual exceptions in the position of the dead have been observed:

G92: two children, one in flexed position and one quite disturbed. Three ceramic vessels were found next to them.¹¹⁹⁹

G103: one child in flexed position. No offerings.¹²⁰⁰

G107: one child in seated position close to the shoulders of an adult.¹²⁰¹

The fact that each of these exceptions is related to the interment of a child suggests children were sometimes treated differently than adults.

¹¹⁹⁷ Any particular differentiation in conjunction with the grave goods hasn't be noticed between corpses lying on side and those lying on back.

¹¹⁹⁸ Safar *et al.* 1981, 136.

¹¹⁹⁹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 133.

¹²⁰⁰ Safar *et al.* 1981, 134.

¹²⁰¹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 135.

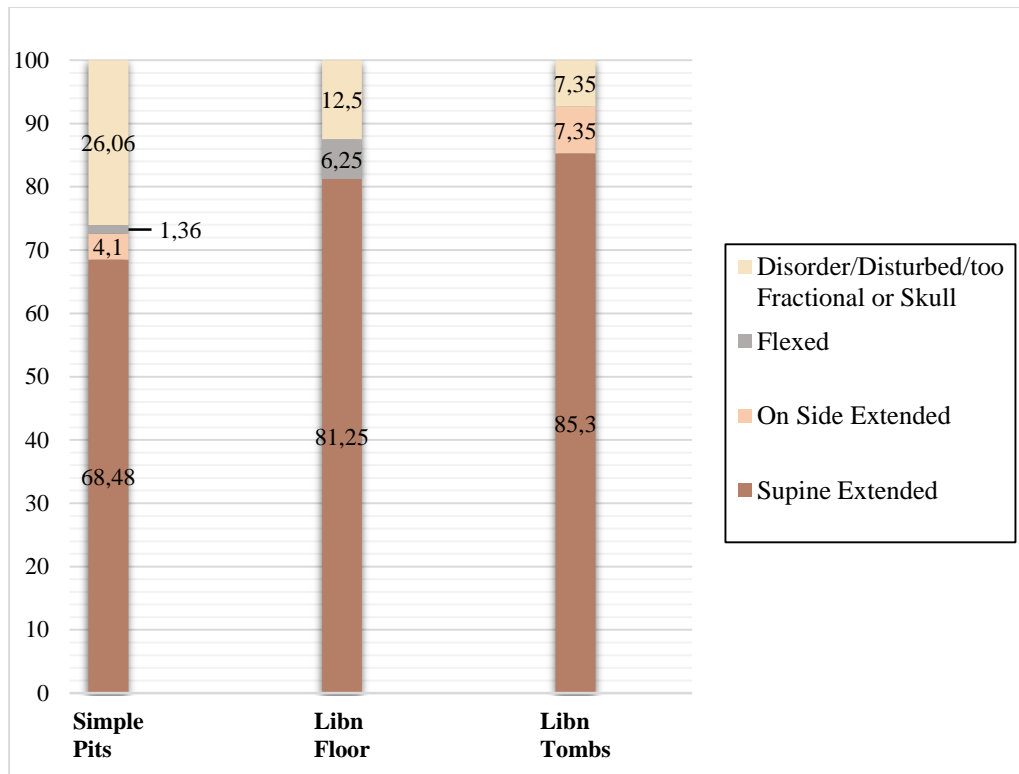


Table 17. The position of the dead at Eridu.

The majority of dead were oriented towards the NW (Table 18). This uniformity in orientation is unique, since it is far from the general situation occurring in prehistoric Mesopotamian society,¹²⁰² and as such the uniformity raises many questions. Vértessalji,¹²⁰³ based on the fact that the common orientation of the dead is a basic feature of all monotheistic religions, argues the consistency of orientation was a way the inhabitants of Eridu honored their gods, who were certainly related to beliefs about the afterlife. In possible support of this contention, the excavators observed that the temples were oriented in the same direction as the burials.¹²⁰⁴ Interestingly, the later *libn* tombs at Tepe Gawra had the same orientation with their contemporary temples.¹²⁰⁵

There were just five exceptions to the directional rule:

G148: body oriented N.¹²⁰⁶ The skull is missing. The deviation in its orientation was, probably, caused by accident.

¹²⁰² Vértessalji 1984, 29.

¹²⁰³ Vértessalji 1984, 29.

¹²⁰⁴ Lloyd and Safar 1948, 117.

¹²⁰⁵ Tobler 1958, 71.

¹²⁰⁶ Safar *et al.* 1981, 138.

G91: adult oriented SE.¹²⁰⁷ Safar¹²⁰⁸ recognized this as a post-Ubaid grave. No pottery was found, but animal bones were interred here. This interment also uniquely included traces of ochre pigment above it.

G103: child oriented SE.¹²⁰⁹ This burial was unique in various ways. It was one of the two burials in a flexed position, and there were no offerings. This grave is certainly very humble, since it was also installed in a simple pit. Probably, post or ante-dated.

GG169: infant oriented E.¹²¹⁰ It is the only infant buried in a simple pit. This burial was accompanied by three ceramic vessels.

G62: adult at NE.¹²¹¹ Besides three ceramic vessel, two stone beads have been found, as well.

Due to the small number and diversity of the exceptions, it is not likely there is a single explanation that applies to all of them. They are instead isolated cases, each one caused by individual initiatives.¹²¹²

¹²⁰⁷ Safar *et al.* 1981, 133.

¹²⁰⁸ Safar *et al.* 1981.

¹²⁰⁹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 134.

¹²¹⁰ Safar *et al.* 1981, 140.

¹²¹¹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 130.

¹²¹² Pariselle 1985, 4.

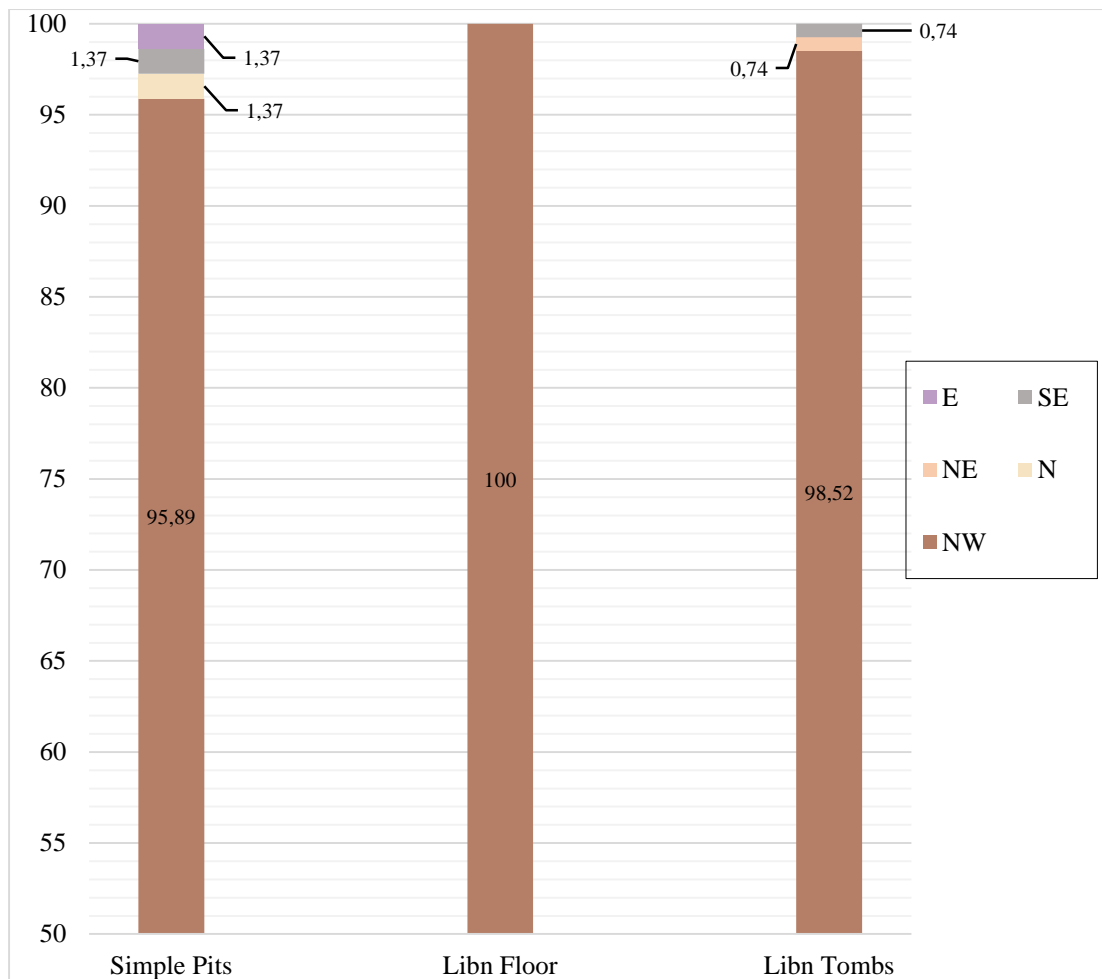


Table 18. Orientation of the body at Eridu.

Grave Goods

In Eridu the deposit of grave offerings occurred on a regular basis, since 64 of 225¹²¹³ interments bear no goods (=28.44%). The graves which do contain offerings present ceramics vessels deposited where there is an empty space, such as next to the legs¹²¹⁴, the shoulder,¹²¹⁵ or more rarely by the head¹²¹⁶ or side of the body.¹²¹⁷ The open types are more frequent than the closed ones,¹²¹⁸ and the overwhelming majority is painted.¹²¹⁹ There is a preference towards deposition of one open and one closed vase,

¹²¹³ The additional burials of children outside of G17 are not included, since there is no further information.

¹²¹⁴ G1, G23, G25, G30, G31, G41 (next to pelvis), G59, G60, G107, G116 and G133.

¹²¹⁵ G30, G39 (at arms), G56, G129, G132, G145, G147

¹²¹⁶ G1 and G44.

¹²¹⁷ G60.

¹²¹⁸ 238 open to 165 close vessels.

¹²¹⁹ 397 painted to only 6 unpainted vessels.

usually a bowl and a jar. When three vases are deposited, these are usually a bowl, jar and cup, just as at Ur (**Appendix B**).

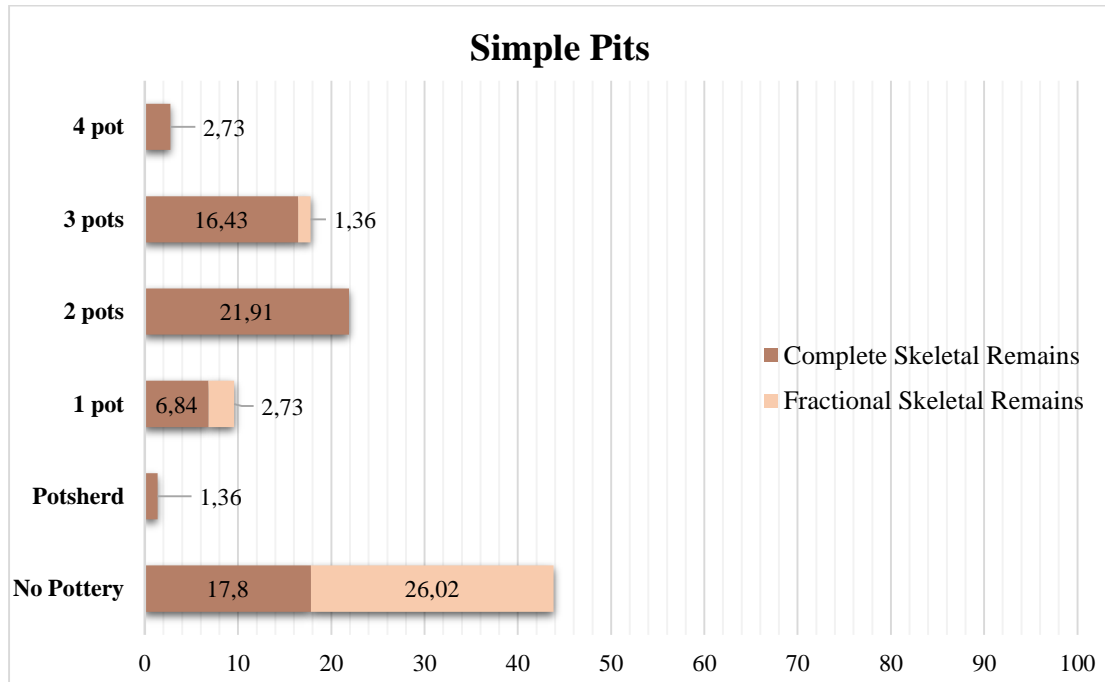


Table 19. Pottery found in simple pits, Eridu.

Simple pits usually hold 2 or 3 pots per individual (**Table 19**), apart from the cases of partial skeletons, which are accompanied by either one or no vessels. These statistics may be misleading, since the majority of the partial skeletons (16/23) are skulls from grave G78. This specific case is more reminiscent of a gathering of several interments or collection of many bones buried than a set of separate interments. There is indeed a single complete skeleton in this assemblage and the only vessel found seems to relate to it. As far as the interment of children, they compose 24.64% of the total inhumations. Less than half of these (7/18=38.88%) are accompanied by pottery.

In the case of grave G10, besides the three vessels, the individual was accompanied by animal bones. Two graves are not included in the **Table 19** above. The first one is G21, containing two stone vessels and one mace-head, some of which seem to belong to the Uruk Period.¹²²⁰ It, surely, was constructed after the period in question and perhaps at this point we should recall the later graves at Ur¹²²¹ containing stone artifacts, especially PFG/E, in which a limestone bowl and a steatite mace-head were

¹²²⁰ Safar *et al.* 1981, 126.

¹²²¹ PFG/A,B,C, PFG/E and PDF/F.

found.¹²²² The second grave not included in the table is G137, which was overlapped by another grave and hold no vase.¹²²³ Instead of pottery, a band of beads was found surrounding the knees of the occupant, and several other beads were found next to the elbows, suggesting great attention paid to the adornment of the body in this particular case, despite its fragmentary condition (the skull and bones of the upper body missing), or alternatively that they were already on the body prior to death. This simple pit grave is the only of its type with such findings.

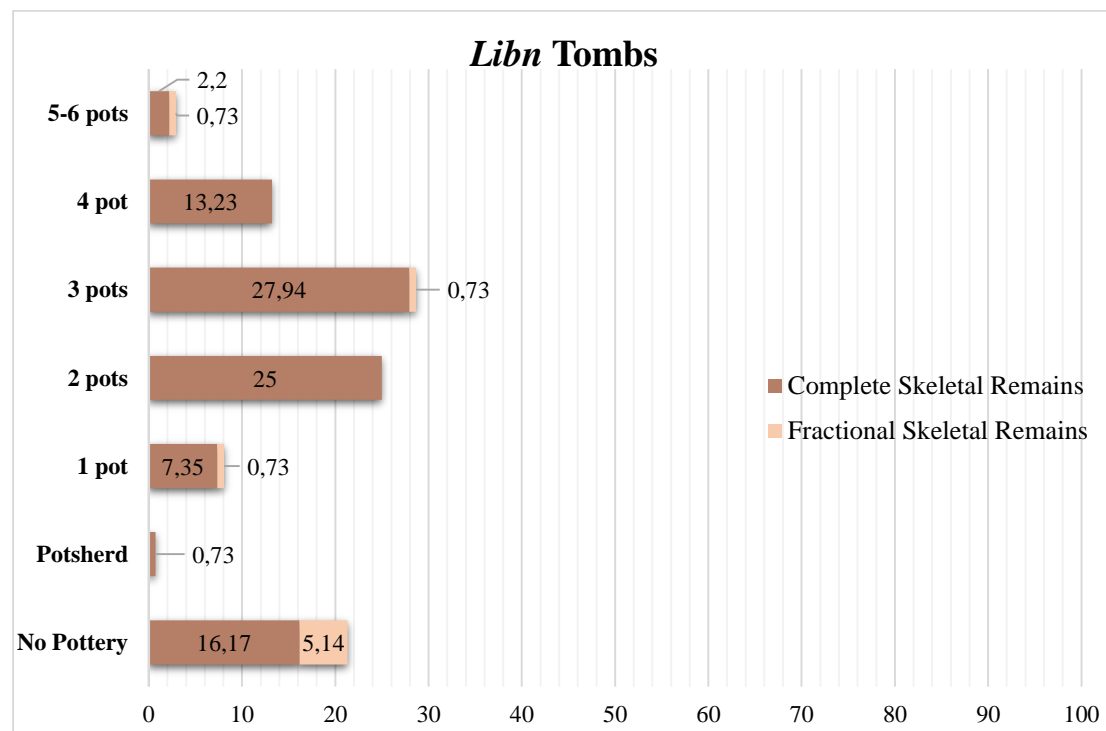


Table 20. Pottery found in *libn* tombs, Eridu.

In *libn* tombs the percentages of graves with three or four pottery vessels increases (Table 20). A few graves of this type also held five or six vessels. In regards to *libn* tombs which contained children,¹²²⁴ it seems that the overwhelming majority (28/33=84.84%) were accompanied by pottery and, occasionally, non-pottery items, similar to the adult graves of the type. It's worth mentioning that in G105 there were toys consisting of two clay pellets and in G185, the child was accompanied by nothing

¹²²² Tobler 1955.

¹²²³ Safar *et al.* 1981, 137.

¹²²⁴ As said before, children are the 24,26% of the inhumations.

but his dog (**fig. 36**), which was placed in a separate brick box immediately above the grave.¹²²⁵ Infants still did not receive any offerings.¹²²⁶

Built shafts were somewhat wealthier than simple pits and graves with *libn* flooring (**Table 21**). Besides their construction and the quantity of pottery, this is evident in the variety of other kind of artifacts, deposited in significant number (**Table 22**). After pottery, beads are the most common grave good, and were made from a great variety of raw material, including calcite, frit, obsidian and shell.¹²²⁷ These beads were found in association with several different parts of the body, such as the hands, legs and neck, suggesting that they adorned the body or clothing of the dead.

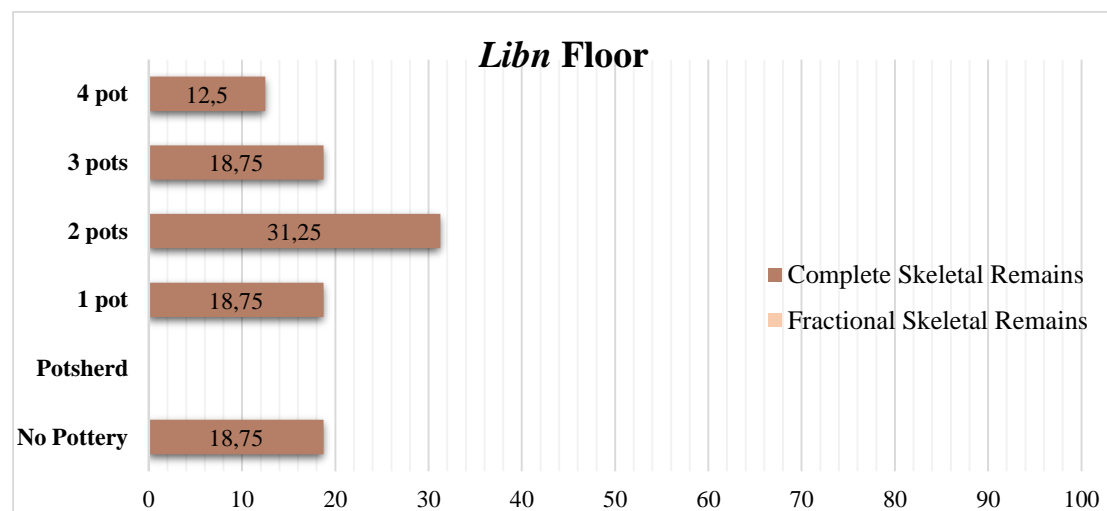


Table 21. Pottery found in libn floor, Eridu.

The deposit of animal bones also occurred on a more frequent basis in *libn* tombs, which could suggest a more elaborate funeral ceremony, accompanied by feasting. These bones were laid in various places inside the grave, perhaps tossed into the construction. Two interesting examples are G106 and G138. In the first one, a bowl and a cup found with the grave contained fish bones,¹²²⁸ indicating the vessels were not placed into the graves empty. In the second one, animal bones were found above the soil filling of the box,¹²²⁹ suggesting the associated feast probably took place after the burial was complete. Animal bones are also likely to have occurred in additional unrecorded cases, according to the excavators' general descriptions of the cemetery.¹²³⁰

¹²²⁵ Safar *et al.* 1981.

¹²²⁶ Infants account for five, and only one was placed with a pot in the grave.

¹²²⁷ Further yellow, white and black beads, as well as beads of red or green stone or rock crystal have found, too.

¹²²⁸ Safar *et al.* 1981, 134.

¹²²⁹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 137.

¹²³⁰ Safar *et al.* 1981, 121; Lloyd and Safar 1948, 118.

It would not be the only time that inaccuracies and omissions were noticeable in the excavation's documentation. For example, the information on the pottery deposit in G185 is uncertain. Based on the grave description, it seems there were no goods,¹²³¹ but the general observations on the cemetery indicate this grave contained some pottery.¹²³² In this section, it was classified together with the unfurnished graves. Further, skeletal remains of two dogs have been unearthed from a double burial,¹²³³ the call number of which remains unknown, and any further information about the burial arrangement is lacking.

Other isolated examples of unusual offerings have also been noticed. For instance, a clay figurine was found in *libn* tomb G68.¹²³⁴ It depicts a man holding a stick, described in chapter 1 (**fig. 5a**). This particular burial was not differentiated from the others regarding the quantity and the quality of pottery. In fact, some graves bore two or three more vessels than G68.

¹²³¹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 141.

¹²³² Safar *et al.* 1981, 121.

¹²³³ Safar *et al.* 1981, 121; Lloyd and Safar 1948, 118.

¹²³⁴ Safar *et al.* 1981, 131.

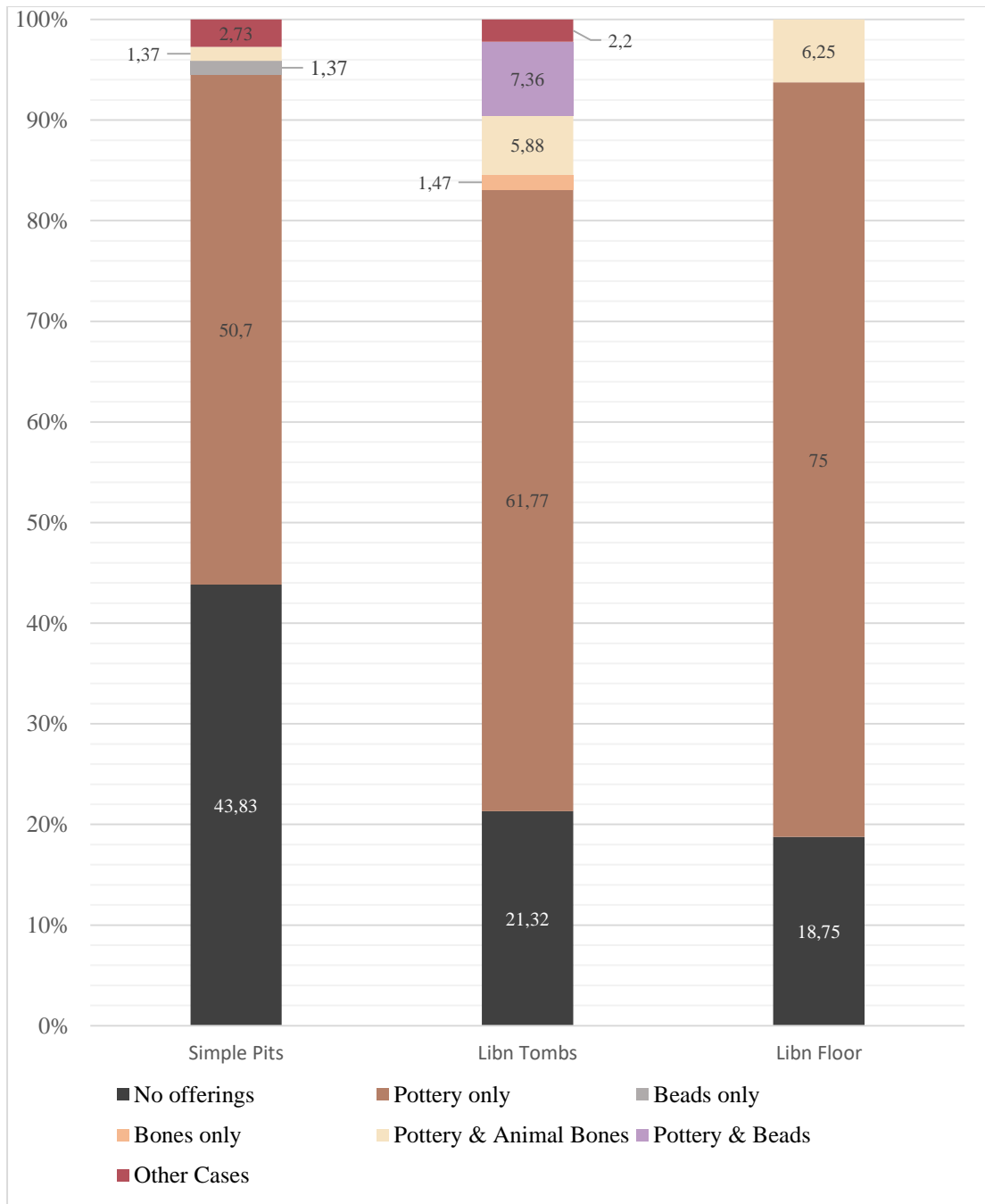


Table 22. Grave goods in conjunction with burials, Eridu.

In one case, G123,¹²³⁵ an open stone vase was found together with three pots. Traces of matting (**fig. 36**) were preserved in two graves, G91 and G63. However, given the perishability of this material, it is supposed that the majority of the dead were wrapped in matting not only at Eridu, but throughout Mesopotamia. Finally, a clay boat model has been found above the sealing of G51.¹²³⁶ Similar artifacts have been unearthed in

¹²³⁵ Safar *et al.* 1981, 136.

¹²³⁶ Lloyd and Safar 1948, 118.

the residential area, as well as from buildings of other sites, such as As-Sabiyah.¹²³⁷ The only interpretation of this offering is the intention of relatives to provide the deceased with an easy transition to the underworld.

Discussion

Vértesalji¹²³⁸ has argued that it would be difficult for the settlement of Eridu to support a population as large as the unexcavated cemetery reflects, and therefore proposes the use of this mortuary site by neighboring communities as well as that of Eridu. This being said, the Eridu cemetery shows a great degree of homogeneity, which would mean multiple communities embraced a common mortuary tradition. Further, given that the mortality was much higher at those times, it is difficult to accept that the inhabitants of neighboring sites carried over the bodies of their dead relatives to this site in frequent base, even across a small distance of 20 km or less.

In an effort to analyze the specific and uniform burial practices that Eridu promote during the Ubaid 4 Phase, we must first address the question of who had access to varied burial facilities. Since built shafts are the most common grave type of this period, the notion that Eridu rapidly became a flourishing society at this time is tenable. Simple pits, graves with *libn* floors and *libn* tombs may reflect evolutionary stages of a continuous mortuary industry. According to the above analysis, simple pits are characterized by a larger variety in burial arrangement, and graves with brick floors seem to combine features of the other two types. Subtle differences in pottery assemblages were observed from grave to grave, but do not overall encourage the identification of clear distinctions between the grave types. Instead, there was no specific and explicit criterion of distinction between individuals buried in simple pits and those found in built shafts, since this is a continuous tradition that gradually evolved. It is of course difficult for one to make absolutely certain conclusions based only on the small sample of the cemetery that is excavated. Nevertheless, the society of Eridu seems to have recorded a progression of cultural reforms of traditional beliefs towards the promotion of a deeper cultural uniformity during the Ubaid Period. Furthermore, the examination of offerings from *libn* tombs show that the people that

¹²³⁷ Carter 2002; 2006.

¹²³⁸ Vértesalji 1989.

built them had particular and strong beliefs about the afterlife, perhaps more so than their predecessors.

Let us consider some points about the multiple burials, which were more prominent in the graves of brick construction. According to Wright and Pollock "*it is difficult to evaluate whether multiple burials were preplanned when facilities were prepared*" without the dimensions of these facilities to be known.¹²³⁹ It is a matter of great debate whether the multiple interments of each of these group burials took place at the same time or whether the graves were repeatedly reopened. Evidence of multiple burials from Arpachiyah and Ur shows that bodies were more likely to be interred simultaneously. The same probably occurred here, evidenced by the following:

1. The demanding and time consuming process of construction of *libn* tombs likely disincentivize even partial destruction and reconstruction for the purpose of a second or third burial.

2. The young man of G185¹²⁴⁰ was placed in a *libn* tomb, immediately above which a corpse of a dog was buried in a box. This shows it was preferable to build a new box for the animal at the time of its interment rather than break the sealing and expose the old burial.

3. Similarly, in the case of G17, the interred children were not placed in the same built shaft, but around it, most probably, because they were interred later than the central shaft burial.

4. The excavators admit that in G96 there was no evidence of reopening,¹²⁴¹ and the bodies were interred together. This fact indicates that contemporary people were at least familiar with the practice of multiple simultaneous burial.

5. As mentioned above, deviations in the way that the bodies were positioned could be due to incorrect estimates during the digging of the shaft and not an indicator of a later burial.

Overall, the assumption that tombs were reopened for subsequent interment should be revised. There is in fact little evidence at Eridu which shows any intention of a corpse being buried in an already existing grave.

¹²³⁹ Wright and Pollock. 1987, 326.

¹²⁴⁰ Safar *et al.* 1981, 141.

¹²⁴¹ Safar *et al.* 1981, 134.

3.2.4. *Tell Songor*

The burials

Tell Songor is a group of three mounds. Tell Songor A is an Ubaid graveyard, Tell Songor B a workshop and Tell Songor C an Ubaid settlement.¹²⁴² No Ubaid burials have been found in the excavated area of Tell Songor B, but an infant urn burial has been unearthed within the Ubaid architectural remains (see previous chapter under "intramural burials"). This chapter discusses Tell Songor A, a mound used as a secluded burial place by the people inhabiting Tell Songor C. Eight burials have been recovered here and are described in detail by Kamada and Ohtsu,¹²⁴³ although the included anthropological studies concern only the individual in Gr. 1.¹²⁴⁴ In addition to the burial arrangement, the reporters include a list with the pottery vessels and other findings recovered from the graves.

As Tell Songor was to be flooded with the rest of the sites of Hamrin region, its salvage excavation brought to light only a small sample: eight graves, probably of the Ubaid 3 Phase. The interred individuals were placed in simple pits dug into Samarra debris at the south and north soundings.¹²⁴⁵ There are no multiple burials in our sample. A partial skeleton was found in one grave (Gr. 277), limited to only a few sections of the right arm. Therefore, no position or orientation of the dead can be determined. Despite the fragmentary conditions of the bones, one plain and one painted bowl were placed as offerings.¹²⁴⁶

From the remaining seven graves, Gr. 2 is so badly disturbed by a later pit that no position or orientation could be recognized¹²⁴⁷ and Gr. 280 was only partially excavated, since it was located outside of the sounding.¹²⁴⁸ Four graves hold corpses in an extremely flexed position¹²⁴⁹ and one¹²⁵⁰ contains a corpse laid in an oddly prone position (**fig. 35**), facing downward with the legs bent.¹²⁵¹ This abnormal position of the skeleton, which belonged to a male in their early thirties,¹²⁵² may indicate a unique

¹²⁴² For more about the excavation at Tell Songor see the subchapter under "Intramurals Burials".

¹²⁴³ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991.

¹²⁴⁴ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991.

¹²⁴⁵ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 221.

¹²⁴⁶ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 224.

¹²⁴⁷ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 222.

¹²⁴⁸ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 224.

¹²⁴⁹ Gr. 4, Gr. 5, Gr. 266 and Gr. 276.

¹²⁵⁰ Gr. 1. Compare with Tell Nader Skeleton 2.

¹²⁵¹ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 221-2.

¹²⁵² Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 231.

social status. This grave is the wealthier burial of the site, boasting nine pottery vessels, animal bones and more than 200 stone and wooden beads.¹²⁵³ It is also the only burial in which the body was oriented to the SE,¹²⁵⁴ while all the rest were oriented to the NE.¹²⁵⁵

As far as the offerings in the rest of the graves, only one grave (Gr. 5) is completely unfurnished (**Appendix B**).¹²⁵⁶ Three graves¹²⁵⁷ hold one pottery vessel, which in the case of Gr. 276 is made of alabaster.¹²⁵⁸ Gr. 277 contains two open pots. Gr. 1 and Gr. 4 hold nine and six vessels respectively. Their shape repertoire in both cases comprises a range of closed and open types.¹²⁵⁹ Finally, Gr. 266 hold some sherds. More than half of the ceramic vessels are painted.¹²⁶⁰ In the case that the grave only bears one pot, this pot is always painted. This suggests the minimum grave furnishing is the deposit of a bowl or jar of good quality, and any additional offerings depend on the family's economic or social status. Stone artifacts seem to be found on a frequent basis in burial contexts at Tell Songor. A marble palette was deposited in Gr. 24,¹²⁶¹ the second wealthiest burial at the site. As mentioned, stone beads together with wooden ones have been found in Gr. 1, the wealthiest burial at the site.

Vessels were placed near the legs or skull or placed in the upper part of the grave separated from the body by a soil layer of 30-40 cm.¹²⁶² Beads were used for embellishing the body or clothing. As mentioned, hundreds of beads made of wood, obsidian, or other kinds of stone¹²⁶³ have been identified at the ear, breast and legs of the corpses. Finally, in one case (Gr. 1) bones, probably of a bird, were found under a jar.

¹²⁵³ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 221-2 and 226.

¹²⁵⁴ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 221-2.

¹²⁵⁵ Gr. 4, Gr. 5 and Gr. 276.

¹²⁵⁶ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 224.

¹²⁵⁷ See Gr. 2, Gr. 276 and Gr. 280.

¹²⁵⁸ For the stone vessel see Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 229.

¹²⁵⁹ See Catalogue objects in Kamada and Ohtsu 1991.

¹²⁶⁰ 11 painted from the total of 19.

¹²⁶¹ Kamada and Ohtsu 1991, 222-4.

¹²⁶² In two cases: Gr. 4 and Gr. 277.

¹²⁶³ Different colored stones were found in abundance, such as white, grey and pinky orange.

Discussion

The extramural burials at Tell Songor A are similar to later burials at Eridu and Ur, except for the preference at Songor for a flexed position, which may be the characteristic of north sites. Tell Arpachiyah cemetery (see below) seems to conform to this assumption.

3.2.5. *Tell Arpachiyah*

The burials

The final excavation report refers to the condition in which the skeletal remains and the graves were preserved, as well the orientation and position of the corpses when this was possible to identify. Mentions of the age or gender of the deceased are approximate, especially the use of terms "infant" and "child," which are left indeterminate in the study. The grave offerings, on the other hand, are presented in detail, in most cases including mention of their location relative to the corpse. Selected skulls were examined by H. Linford,¹²⁶⁴ in which she came to a general conclusion that the inhabitants of Arpachiyah had a "*dolichocephalic*" head structure, but did not work to determine the age or sex of her samples. The artificial cranial deformation practice was applied in the majority of this small sample, as Molleson and Campbell¹²⁶⁵ observed some decades later, upon reexamining this material.

For the Ubaid Period, the total number of the unearthened extramural graves at the site is 46, which contain 59 interments.¹²⁶⁶ However, an indeterminate number of graves are not yet uncovered, and there are probably a few more excavated but unpublished. Indeed, in the description of G44 there is mention of a neighboring grave intruding on a Halaf road, but no further details were given on this grave and the distribution plan of graves in the excavation report does not mark it.¹²⁶⁷

The majority of them¹²⁶⁸ were found away from the Ubaid residential area concentrated in squares Fb V1, Fc V1 and Fc V2 – where the abandoned structures of previous Halaf Period lay. This fact suggests that during this time the western slope of

¹²⁶⁴ Mallowan and Linford 1969, 56.

¹²⁶⁵ Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹²⁶⁶ G14 and G15 refer to the same burial context, but because of its construction with two pits connected to each other, Mallowan gave them two registration numbers. Two vessels were, actually, assigned to G18, but no skeletal remains have been preserved. For this reason, it was characterized as dubious burial context and it is not included to the present study.

¹²⁶⁷ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41.

¹²⁶⁸ Their total number is 44 and these are: G1 up to G45. In Mallowan and Linford 1969 their number is 50 ensuring that not all of the excavated ones are published.

the mount was used as a secluded burial place (**fig. 37**). The contemporary people probably did not know about the Halaf occupational debris or they did want to deliberately exploit them for their graves. As mentioned, the actual limits of the cemetery remain unknown, since the investigation is incomplete. However, it could be expanded towards the south slope according to the three graves (G46, G47 and G48), which have been found lying further remotely (**fig. 37**). Despite the unexplored burial area, Mallowan was able to determine this site experienced a short period of habitation by noting that none of the graves bear evidence of disturbance or overlap with each other.¹²⁶⁹ Molleson and Campbell doubt that the burials of the cemetery correspond to the residents of the mount, because of the small number of houses here.¹²⁷⁰

Chronological Issues

By the middle of the 1930's, excavators had assigned TT1-4 to the end of the Ubaid Period.¹²⁷¹ The chronological approach at Arpachiyah, however, should be re-examined in light of new excavation data. This will aid in the secure determination of which Ubaid Phases correspond to these levels. It is likely that Uruk Culture began to emerge in the south part of Mesopotamia at this time.¹²⁷²

Based on the depth of the graves, excavators supposed that the people of the Ubaid Period chose to bury their dead deep in the ground,¹²⁷³ and the depth of graves assisted in distinguishing earlier and later interments. The majority were laid 2-3 m below the surface,¹²⁷⁴ while three graves from the cemetery (G22, G44 and G45) and three individuals (G46, G47 and G48) were characterized by Mallowan as subsurface, since they were found at 1.5-0.3 m deep. These may have been the last graves of the Ubaid period, though there was no "*great gap in time*" between these and the earlier interments.¹²⁷⁵ Half of the so-called later graves¹²⁷⁶ hold at least one pot, which show some stylistic feature prevailed in the subsequent period. This also led to the assumption

¹²⁶⁹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 8.

¹²⁷⁰ Molleson and Campbell 1995, 47.

¹²⁷¹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 24.

¹²⁷² Mallowan and Rose 1935, 24.

¹²⁷³ Mallowan and Linford 1969, 66.

¹²⁷⁴ Mallowan and Rose 1935.

¹²⁷⁵ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 35.

¹²⁷⁶ G45, G46 and maybe G47. For more see Mallowan and Rose 1935, 35.

that the deepest graves¹²⁷⁷ belong to the earliest phases of the Ubaid Period at Arpachiyah.¹²⁷⁸

The depth both of graves (at 3.00 to 0.3 m deep) and contemporary architectural remains (at 2.5 m deep) were estimated from the surface. This produced some confusion. Comparing the data, it seems that the pits were dug as deep as the houses stood or even higher in some cases, which is abnormal. Further, others were oddly shallow, at a depth of 0.5 m or less. In only the two intramural cases the evidence is more realistic found in at least 1 m deep (see previous subchapter). Nevertheless, the evidence is very inaccurate and the excavators themselves could have been misled by using this problematic calculation method.

Grave Type

The graves are simple pits, which do not reveal any effort for further embellishment. The exception to this rule is G5, the bottom of which was formed from beaten earth.¹²⁷⁹ Above this floor was a fractional burial comprising a skull and finger bones. The beaten soil floor is the only special treatment here received – no offerings were associated with the bones. Other graves seem to be formed using structures dated to preceding period. For example, the pisé construction that the corpse of G43¹²⁸⁰ was placed on was part of a Halaf floor.¹²⁸¹ Interestingly, G14-15 was *"dug into vaulted pits, with a cairn of mud brick over them."*¹²⁸² Elsewhere, the excavator explains *"the pit was an underground gallery or catacomb, and ... two important features must be connected with the catacomb: (a) a trench, 0.7 m deep, that led directly up to the mouth of the pit and ran away from it at a gentle slope; (b) a second pit, similar to the first, but above it there was a cairn consisting of mud bricks. This cairn was oval in plan, and the lower course of mud bricks rested on a layer of pisé 0.8 m thick. There were three courses of mud bricks over the pisé, all on edge."*¹²⁸³ As we have already seen, built shafts are not unknown in the Ubaid Period,¹²⁸⁴ but they generally display a simpler construction and a rectangular shape. Usually, these shafts were sealed after the burial took place. The

¹²⁷⁷ The main phase of the cemetery.

¹²⁷⁸ The above mentioned G22, G44, G45, G46, G7 and G48.

¹²⁷⁹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38.

¹²⁸⁰ Mallowan and Rose, 41.

¹²⁸¹ Further examples of intrusion into houses are: G26, G33, G35, G46 and G48.

¹²⁸² Mallowan and Rose 1935, 35.

¹²⁸³ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38-9.

¹²⁸⁴ See *libn* tomb in Eridu and Tepe Gawra.

uncommon features of G14-15 make this paired grave unique. One may assume therefore that the occupants – an approximately thirty-year-old man and woman both with deformed heads¹²⁸⁵ were important members of the society. However, no offerings accompany them, making such an assumption difficult to prove. Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that the cemetery laid on the earlier Halaf levels of the development. In the case of this pair of graves, we are told the corpses were covered with soil which *"was soft and contained chopped straw, grey ash, and wasters typical of kiln debris."*¹²⁸⁶ I therefore assume that during the Halaf Period the area of this burial was the site of a cluster of kilns for pottery production. Hence, the double burial simply interfered with this structure, and its inhabitants should not be given any special social significance.

Burial Type

More than half of the graves hold a single interment, either of a complete skeleton (21 instances) or of a partial skeleton (18 instances). The amount of interments missing an extensive portion of the body indicates the deliberate deposition of fractional skeletons with certainty. For example, in G11 only parts of the legs and feet have been found,¹²⁸⁷ while G12¹²⁸⁸ contained a skull and vertebrae. In G17¹²⁸⁹ only the skull was interred, and in G46¹²⁹⁰ many fragments of the upper parts have been found.¹²⁹¹ The practice of partial skeleton deposit was quite common at Arpachiyah (Table 23). In two cases¹²⁹² information about the condition of skeletal remains is omitted from mention in the excavation report and these are therefore also missing from the statistical breakdown in Table 23.

The situation is however more complicated than this picture, since additional human skulls sometimes accompanied the main occupant of the grave. This is the case in the following:

¹²⁸⁵ See No 3 in Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; Skulls G and H in Molleson and Campbell 1995, 54-55.

¹²⁸⁶ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39.

¹²⁸⁷ Mallowan and Rose 1938.

¹²⁸⁸ Mallowan and Rose 1938.

¹²⁸⁹ Mallowan and Rose 1939.

¹²⁹⁰ Mallowan and Rose 1941.

¹²⁹¹ Similar cases with a large part missing are: G5, G6, G10, G13, G35, G33, G36, G38, G41, G47 and 49.

¹²⁹² G2 and G31.

G2: a skull of an adult was placed at the feet of a female corpse.¹²⁹³

G9: an unpainted pot holds fragments of an infant skull.¹²⁹⁴ The main occupant was a man not elder than 25 years.¹²⁹⁵

G7: a skull of an infant is placed near the feet of the interred.¹²⁹⁶

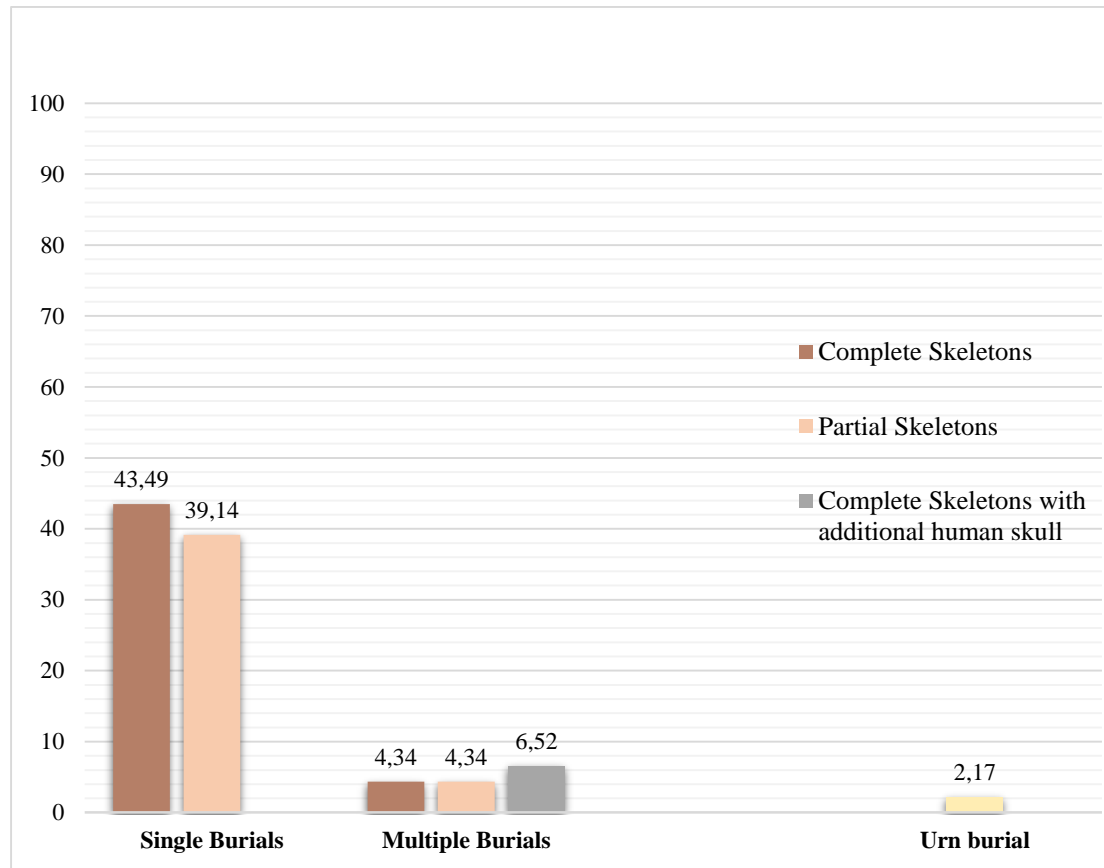


Table 23. Burial type at Tell Arpachiyah.

Young children and infants are not sufficiently represented among the burial record. Besides the above mention cases, there is one more infant urn burial (G22). In this case the corpse was placed in a bowl with a second open pot next to it. Mallowan and Linford also mentioned¹²⁹⁷ a burial of a three-year-old child, probably belonging to the Ubaid Period, in their study.¹²⁹⁸ Whether this is G22 or a different grave excluded from the final publication or is examined together with the Halaf graves is difficult to

¹²⁹³ See G7 in Mallowan and Rose 1935. For the female skeletal remains see no 4 in Mallowan and Linford 1969 and skull M in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹²⁹⁴ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38.

¹²⁹⁵ For the male skeletal remains see no 8 in Mallowan and Linford 1969 and skull F in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹²⁹⁶ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38.

¹²⁹⁷ Mallowan and Linford 1969.

¹²⁹⁸ Number 11 in Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55.

conclude. This is because Mallowan and Linford referred to the burials using the old registration numbers initially set by the excavators, but for some reason changed them in the final report, with many of the labels lost. Molleson and Campbell's¹²⁹⁹ reexamination identified some graves with the data presented in Mallowan and Linford's report, but not all of them. Thus, the burial context of the child, as well as of the deformed skulls E and D, which belong respectively to an old woman¹³⁰⁰ and to a man at the age of 20-25¹³⁰¹ remains questionable.

Multiple burials are sporadic. The graves G14-15 and G23 contained double burials, but the skeletal remains have been examined by anthropologists only in the first case (see above). As for G23, the identity of the occupants is uncertain, despite their characterization as male and female in the main publication – mostly due to their positioning in an embrace.¹³⁰² There are also multiple burials with fragmentary remains at Arpachiyah. G45¹³⁰³ contained three individuals, whose bones were arranged in groups separated by pebbles. In G48¹³⁰⁴ the fractional skeletons of at least seven individuals have been placed without any order, mixed with offerings of an unknown number of pottery sherds and pieces of flint.

It is generally observable that multiple interments took place simultaneously.¹³⁰⁵ This is clear in that in G2, G7 and G9 the additional skulls were placed together with other offerings, in G23 the corpses face and embrace each other,¹³⁰⁶ and the stratigraphic evidence of G14-15 doesn't show re-use of the grave in antiquity.¹³⁰⁷ The collective burials of G45 and G48 seem to match this trend, but may also be recognized as secondary burials as well. Interestingly, there are examples of non-fractional burials in which some parts of the body were not in the expected place. Mallowan identified two "*re-burials*" in the cemetery: G39, in which the bones from the arms are gathered next to the body,¹³⁰⁸ and G3, in which the skull was initially interred separate from the body and located 0.4 m below of it.¹³⁰⁹ Similar examples of misplaced remains are:

¹²⁹⁹ Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³⁰⁰ Number 2 in Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; skull E in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³⁰¹ Number 1 in Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; skull D in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³⁰² G23 in Mallowan and Rose 1935, 9.

¹³⁰³ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41.

¹³⁰⁴ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41.

¹³⁰⁵ Kopanias and Barlagianni 2019.

¹³⁰⁶ G23 in Mallowan and Rose 1935, 9.

¹³⁰⁷ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39

¹³⁰⁸ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40.

¹³⁰⁹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41.

G27: pelvis has been found on the right leg.¹³¹⁰

G42: the legs are interred vertical in the ground and above them a sizable stone.¹³¹¹

G7 and G44: some bones indicate that the body was shifted from its initial position.¹³¹²

Mallowan proposed circulation of animals living underground could have disrupted the burial arrangements in a few cases.¹³¹³ In the majority, however, it seems they were placed this way on purpose. Nevertheless, whether the above mentioned should be considered secondary burials is hard to say.

Ten skulls are preserved from Ubaid graves at Arpachiyah, half of them¹³¹⁴ artificially modified. Both males and females are present in this set.¹³¹⁵ These skulls are skull F from G9,¹³¹⁶ skulls G and H from G14-15,¹³¹⁷ and skulls D¹³¹⁸ and E¹³¹⁹ (**fig.**) from the unidentified graves F.Arch 1 and Archaic 1F, respectively (see above). Molleson and Campbell¹³²⁰ recognized the two types from cranial modification practices established in Ubaid Culture, but it is debatable which one is more popular, based on the lack of full details available. It is worth mentioning that the practice of skull modification was not unknown to the inhabitants of Arpachiyah during the Halaf Period. The deformed skull C is likely to be in a Halaf grave,¹³²¹ but this example was shaped in a completely different way, as Lorentz has observed.¹³²²

Body Disposal

Due to the fragmentary nature of the data, only a particular range of burials¹³²³ can provide us with details on the orientation and position of the deceased. The bodies

¹³¹⁰ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40.

¹³¹¹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41.

¹³¹² Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38 and 41.

¹³¹³ Mallowan and Linford 1969, 50

¹³¹⁴ Molleson and Campbell 1935, 54-5.

¹³¹⁵ 3/5 Female and 2/5 Male.

¹³¹⁶ see no 8 in Mallowan and Linford 1969 and skull F in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³¹⁷ see No3 in Mallowan and Linford 1969 and skulls H and G in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³¹⁸ Number 1 in Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; skull D in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³¹⁹ Number 2 in Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; skull E in Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³²⁰ Molleson and Campbell 1995, 49.

¹³²¹ Molleson and Campbell 1995.

¹³²² Lorentz 2010, 129-30.

¹³²³ These are graves: G1, G2, G4, G7, G8, G9, G13, G14-15, G16, G19, G20, G21, G23, G24, G25, G27, G28, G29, G30, G31, G32, G33, G34, G35, G36, G37, G39, G40, G41, G42, G43, G44, and G47.

were usually placed on matting,¹³²⁴ which laid at the bottom of the graves. In one case traces of cloth were discovered under the corpse.¹³²⁵ As far as the orientation is concerned, the evidence come from sixteen graves, and indicates that the head or the feet of the deceased were pointed towards the west or east,¹³²⁶ or even in a SE or NW direction.¹³²⁷ This may suggest the course of the sun had particular significance in the beliefs of the inhabitants during the period under consideration.¹³²⁸ The majority of the deceased were laid in a contracted position, usually with the hands in front of the face. There is no regularity as to whether the body was laid on its right or the left side. According to the evidence, partial skeletal remains seem to be arranged according to a contracted position as well.¹³²⁹ Three exception have been observed: G7 and G44,¹³³⁰ in which the corpse could have been placed in a seated position and subsequently fallen apart, and G21,¹³³¹ in which the body was laid on its back and extended, which is known from the cemeteries to the south alluvium. However, the offerings of these graves did not differ from the others.

Grave Goods

Mortuary practices at Arpachiyah share some common features with the Ur and Eridu cemeteries and intramural burials. The large portion of interments without grave offerings and the frequency of deposition of non-pottery goods are the main features of both contemporary and earlier intramural burials at Arpachiyah (Table 24). In more detail, 18 out of 61 individuals (= 29.5%) received no offerings. The rest were accompanied by ceramic vessels and occasionally other objects¹³³² (Table 24). The pots were both bowls and jars of good quality and were found close to the feet or the skull. Cups and beakers are completely missing. In two examples the individuals received lithic tools, probably a vestige of Halaf mortuary practices, as earlier graves occasionally bore such objects.

¹³²⁴ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 435.

¹³²⁵ G47.

¹³²⁶ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 35; Molleson and Campbell 1995, 47.

¹³²⁷ G12, G34, G35, G37, G31.

¹³²⁸ The corpses from Halaf graves had the same orientation and position. For more see Mallowan and Rose 1935, 42-3; and Hole 1989.

¹³²⁹ See G13, G30, G33, G35, G36, G40, G41 and G47

¹³³⁰ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38 and 41.

¹³³¹ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39.

¹³³² The thirty-three graves with pottery are: G1-G3, G7-G12, G18, G19, G21-G24, G27, G28, G32-G36, G40-G48. From these the G3, G21, G23, G24, G27, G34, G42, G45, G47, G48 contained other findings, too.

On the other hand, the decorated pottery continues to outnumber the plain ware, with only seven burials¹³³³ bearing no painted vessels. Fine pottery coming from the graves may reflect an official burial ritual, as at Ur and Eridu, although this product was not necessarily exclusive to mortuary use. Two bowls from G27 and bear traces of repair – the broken pieces joined with bitumen¹³³⁴ – testifying to longevity of use before deposition in the graves. It could also be possible these vessels were used in a feast taking place during the funeral. In G46¹³³⁵ a bowl has been found above remains of carbonized wood. Furthermore, five graves¹³³⁶ included various animal bones placed above or below the corpse or under vessels. However, evidence of feasting is scanty, with the much higher percentage of burials bearing no trace of such activity. As a final observation we must note the ritual fragmentation apparent at this site is a consequence of the lack of evidence. Very few examples with broken vessels have been unearthed and in most cases,¹³³⁷ all the pieces were found together, which indicates damage post-burial – a result of their delicate walls and the taphonomic factors. One exception is observed: in G24¹³³⁸ some pieces of the vase were missing. Further, four graves¹³³⁹ contained sherds (Table 25). G8 and G32 contained a single sherd each.

¹³³³ G3, G19, G28, G32, G35, G40 and G46

¹³³⁴ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40.

¹³³⁵ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41.

¹³³⁶ G3: skull of a ram or goat; G21: animal bones and teeth of a sheep; G34: horn of a goat; G45: various bones which belongs to sheep and cattles; G47: animal's Jaw over the human Jaw.

¹³³⁷ See G2, G7.

¹³³⁸ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39.

¹³³⁹ G8, G32, G47 and G48.

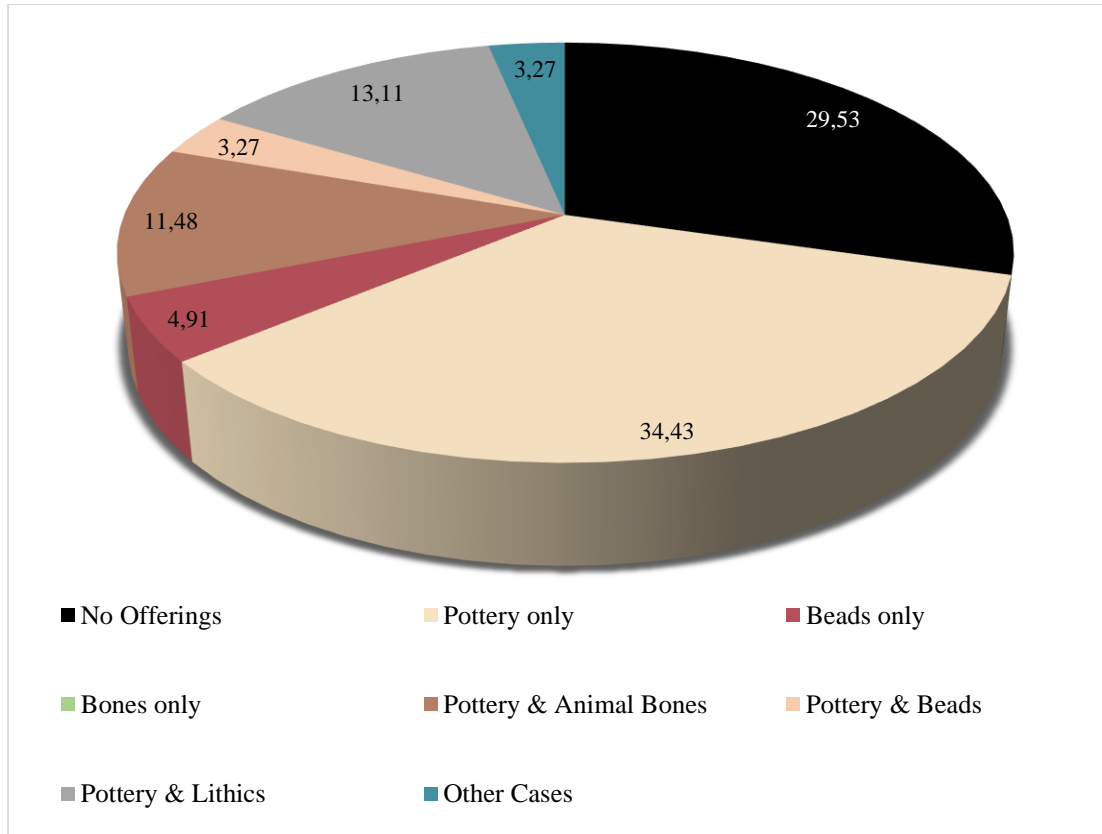


Table 24. Grave goods from Tell Arpachiyah,

Beads were found in 8.18% of the burials, exclusively associated with complete skeletons. These embellished the body or the clothing of the dead, found at the neck (G4 and G31), on the knee (G23) or at the toes (G27). In the majority of the cases of graves containing beads (4.91%), beads were the only offering. One can probably assume therefore that these beads were in the possession of the deceased prior to death. Unique cases are the discovery of a spatula (G24), which was placed upon the chest of the dead, and of a clay box (G42), which was found on the arm of another. Personal items were deposited in the transitional or subsequent Uruk Period, as we have seen in the above-mentioned cemeteries.

Any effort to study the grave offering data in conjunction with the data on complete or fractional burials (Table 25) proved futile – apart from the case of beads, which as noted was only evidenced among complete skeletons. The deposit of at least two pottery vessels is likely to be related to particular mortuary customs and beliefs, and not the social position of the deceased. Based on twenty-three graves, the reports of which provide detailed pottery descriptions, a pattern emerges: the majority hold one bowl and one jar (Appendix B). In this sample, three examples had one or two

additional pots, while in an absence of one type (bowl or jar), usually, they placed more vessels of the available one. No more than four vessels have been deposited in any burial, except for G45, which holds ten painted vases not directly associated with the three fractional burials. Molleson and Campbell¹³⁴⁰ assumed that it was a "*conflation of more than one burial*". Two more burials are not included in these statistics, G42 and G48, because the number and type of vessels are unknown.

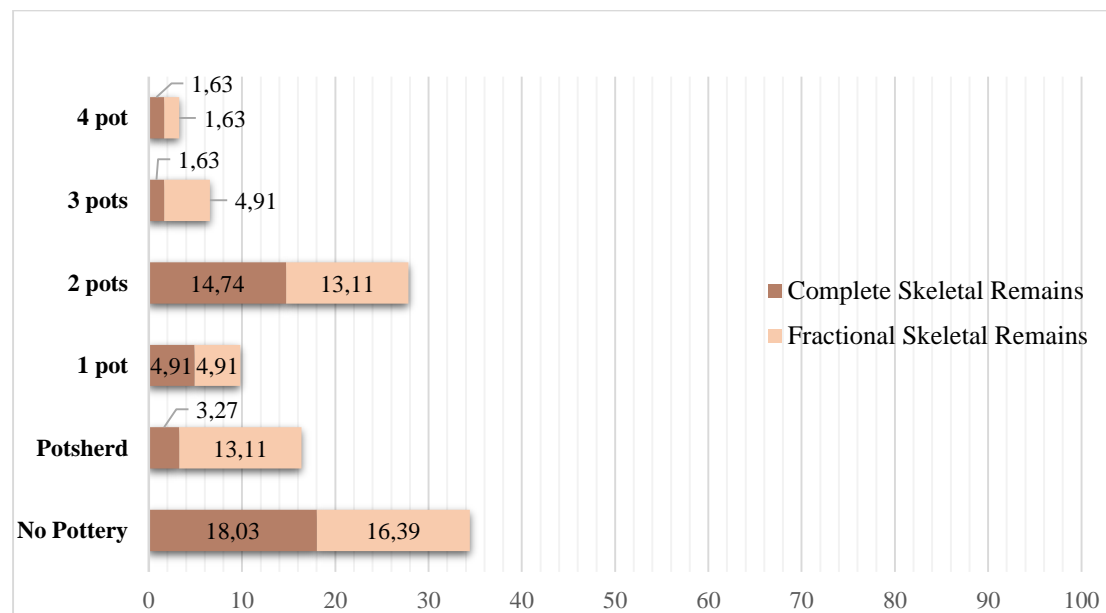


Table 25. Pottery in conjunction with burial type, Tell Arpachiyah.

Discussion

Based on the restricted number of burials, Arpachiyah was a small and short-lived settlement. Ubaid Culture was adopted at the end of the period under consideration and was thus not well-established. This is obvious in the variations of mortuary practices. Different traditions were applied here. The older ones are attested in:

1. the almost equal amounts of complete and partial burials, revealing two distinct ways the dead were treated.
2. the great degree that the orientation of the deceased is varied and some non-pottery grave offerings unusual to the Ubaid Period.
3. the persistence of burying beneath older architectural remains, known from some Neolithic sites (see chapter 2.1).

¹³⁴⁰ Molleson and Campbell 1995, 47.

4. the preference towards the already extant flexed position of the dead, in contrast to the supine extended pose prevailed in the cemeteries of south.
5. the small number of graves located outside the limits of the cemetery and near the residential zone indicate an incomplete acceptance of the new mortuary ideas.
6. the installation of an urn infant burial in the cemetery, the predominant feature of intramural burials, which shows that the establishment of the Ubaid mortuary practices is problematic.

3.2.6. *Abu Dhahir*

The site

Tell Abu Dhahir is situated in north Jazira. During the 1980's a rescue operation was conducted here, aiming to investigate the occupational seriation of the almost unknown area prior to dam construction.¹³⁴¹ Surface examination was held at 35 sites and excavation was carried out at seven.¹³⁴² Few except for Tell Abu Dhahir yielded Ubaid sherds. Tell Abu Dhahir is a multi-period mound, rising 20 m above the plain and measuring 350 x 500 m.¹³⁴³ The site preserves seven successive phases of Ubaid activity founded, after a hiatus, above Hassuna Levels.¹³⁴⁴ This fraction dug into the southeast slope had a completely different use through the time under consideration, with domestic deposits alternating with open areas.¹³⁴⁵ It is interesting that the most of the earlier phases at the site correspond with a few burials which penetrate the Hassuna debris. According to the excavators, these findings are a part of a large cemetery¹³⁴⁶ which was superimposed by a building level consisting of very small probable storage rooms, similar in construction to the granary found at Tell el-Oueilli.¹³⁴⁷ All these remains are dated to the Ubaid 4 Phase (early to middle 4th mil. BC).¹³⁴⁸ The excavators based this dating on the fact that obsidian occurs in small numbers at Tell Abu Dhahir, contrasting with the greater percentage at other sites like Tell el-Oueilli. This suggests

¹³⁴¹ Ball 2003; Ball 2007

¹³⁴² Ball 2003,

¹³⁴³ More than 13 ha.

¹³⁴⁴ Ball 2007.

¹³⁴⁵ Ball 2007, 33-5.

¹³⁴⁶ Ball 2007, 36.

¹³⁴⁷ Ball 2007, 31-33 and 38-40.

¹³⁴⁸ Ball 2007, 41.

there was "*an opportunistic recycling and/or superstitious curation*" of the substance combined with "*a small amount of continuing trade in obsidian.*"¹³⁴⁹

The burials

A total of 6 graves have been found throughout the Hassuna Levels, all lying close to each other. Two of them, G1 and G2, hold no goods and therefore are uncertain in their dating.¹³⁵⁰ Generally, the data on these graves is available in detail, including short anthropological discussions from forthcoming studies.¹³⁵¹

Five interments are of adults, both female and male, and one is of a child.¹³⁵² They were buried in deep pits cut in soil and placed in an extremely flexed position, similar to that used at Tell Arpachiyah to the south.¹³⁵³ No multiple or fractional burial have been found, though in G3 the skull was slightly displaced from the spine, suggesting a probable previous treatment.¹³⁵⁴ The common orientation is of the head to the W, except for G3, which was oriented to the E. Such homogeneity occurs at the Eridu cemetery as well.

As mentioned, two out the six graves bear no goods. The rest contain painted ceramic vessels usually found near the head or legs, except for G6, which holds one painted and one plain vessel. Two of them¹³⁵⁵ hold only one open vase, and the rest¹³⁵⁶ display both open and closed types. G6 is a very interesting case, as it yields two perforated vessels – a jar and a bowl. The rim of the jar bares four holes, and above was resting a bowl with a hole on its base.¹³⁵⁷ According to the excavators, a piece of leather or cloth could have been used as a lid tied to the jar's perforations, while the bowl could have been used for cooking prior to burial, with the hole facilitating steam escape.¹³⁵⁸ Regardless of its use in life, the bowl could have held any liquid offering to the dead.¹³⁵⁹ G4 holds four vessels with one bowl laid inside a larger one. Pots containing one-another is a common situation at many sites, including Eridu. Here, however, the

¹³⁴⁹ Ball 2007, 38.

¹³⁵⁰ Ball 2007, 23-4.

¹³⁵¹ See final report Ball 2007.

¹³⁵² G2

¹³⁵³ Ball 2007, 25-8.

¹³⁵⁴ Ball 2007, 25.

¹³⁵⁵ G3 and G5.

¹³⁵⁶ G4 and G6.

¹³⁵⁷ Ball 2007, 28.

¹³⁵⁸ Ball 2007, 28.

¹³⁵⁹ Ball 2007, 28.

coupling of these two pots is interpreted as a consequence of the decay of a lid made of perishable material topping the lower pot, causing the upper pot to fall into it.¹³⁶⁰ This is a convincing explanation. This does however imply that the containers were filled with food and liquids. Sporadic examples which help to confirm this come from Eridu¹³⁶¹ and Tell Kurdu.¹³⁶² In Tell Abu Dhahir food offerings have been attested only in G5, with a few animal bones lying close to the vessels. This usually happens at Eridu, Ur, Arpachiyah and Tell Songor A, and is a characteristic finding in cemeteries..

The wealthiest burial seems to be G4, which bares four vessels, one flat stone object which is interpreted as the lid of the single jar, two pieces of obsidian placed next to the hand and an obsidian blade.¹³⁶³ The two obsidian pieces near the hand are likely pendants, as one is perforated and there are traces of pigment in the grave fill.¹³⁶⁴

Discussion

The cemetery at Abu Dhahir is dubious, since it is the only example of a cemetery superimposed by several building levels. Few graves have been recovered from the site, making it difficult to determine whether or not they were dug in a secluded burial place outside of the limits of the contemporary settlement. However, some features of this possible cemetery do bare parallels to other contemporary cemeteries. This includes the homogeneity in orientation, similar to the Eridu cemetery, the existence of animal bones, and the greater percentage of adults in the assemblage. It is also interesting that that northern Mesopotamian cemeteries (Arpachiyah, Songor A and Abu Dhahir) did not adopt the extended position first introduced in southern cemeteries (Eridu and Ur).

¹³⁶⁰ Ball 2007, 26.

¹³⁶¹ See G106.

¹³⁶² See 23:11

¹³⁶³ Ball 2007, 27.

¹³⁶⁴ Ball 2007, 26.

CHAPTER 4

Counting analysis of the Data

Most of the available evidence is derived from Middle Ubaid period, with a lesser amount of data from the Late Ubaid Period. No burial is dated to the Ubaid 0, 1 and 2 Phases and, therefore, the detection of mortuary practices' beginnings could only be assumed based on remarks about the later graves.

4.1. Intramural Mortuary Practices

We cannot be sure if the intramural graves are contemporaneous with the houses, under or near which they were found.¹³⁶⁵ The Ubaid Period lasted many centuries, during which some populations could shift locations, periodically abandoning their settlements or parts of it. Hole's¹³⁶⁶ interpretation that itinerant people buried their dead inside no longer occupied settlements is unconvincing, in part because this theory does not explain why the intramural burials are almost exclusively sub-adults. Furthermore, such a practice would lead to the discovery of overlapped graves, since the same architectural remains would be used by different nomadic groups at different times, though such evidence has not been attested. It is true that tangible indications are hardly recognized since this aspect of mortuary practices is not easily manifested through archaeological remains. Burials ascribed with certainty to the same time-span as house occupation have only been identified at Tell Abada, since these are systematically present under the successive floors of the houses. Let us now assume that the buildings at Tell Arpachiyah were used as a burial location only after their abandonment, which leads to the unreliable conclusion that graves G49 and G50 were installed deep enough to penetrate the lowest Halaf level floors, being over the 3.5 m deep. Hence, the intrusion of G49 and G50 could only be justified if installed by the inhabitants of the earliest Ubaid building. Besides, burying intramurally was practiced

¹³⁶⁵ Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 175.

¹³⁶⁶ Hole 1989.

since 10th mil. B.C.,¹³⁶⁷ while a characteristic example of great preference to this custom is Çatalhöyük.

On the other hand, as mentioned, the inhabitants of Yarim Tepe II and Tell Songor C had chosen the already abandoned settlements of Yarim Tepe I and Tell Songor A respectively as burial place. Also the cemeteries of Tell Arpachiyah, Saby Abyad and maybe Abu Dahir were placed under the debris of previous periods. Consequently, it is more likely that the inhabitants themselves – and not an itinerant group – deliberately buried their dead not only within the limits of their active residential area, but they could exploit the available space outside of it, including those parts of the settlement, which had been abandoned. This should be a long-lasting custom, which was originated from the north parts of Mesopotamia and Syria and eventually came to south alluvium during the Ubaid Period. However, since south Ubaid regions were not occupied before, the extramural burial locale were laid far away from cultural debris producing, thus, the main characteristics of a genuine and organized cemetery, like this from Eridu.

The distinction between intramural and extramural graves could be seen to the burial arrangements. The analysis carried out in the previous chapter 3 reveals, actually, a great degree of coherence and consistence regarding the intramural burial assemblages in the Ubaid Horizon. There are five easily identifiable features of the intramural graves:

- None contain partial or multiple skeletal remains.
- The individual is usually placed in a flexed position. There is no concern about the orientation.
- The overwhelming majority of the individuals are underaged.
- The individuals are placed in urns.
- Unfurnished graves predominate.¹³⁶⁸

Each individual aspect has been sporadically identified in periods from the Hassuna to the Halaf, contributing to the great variety in burial methods during those times (see chapter 2). Hole argues that there is a continuation of the custom required the occupants of the intramural graves are infants and children, since it lasted from the Early Samarra to Ubaid Period.¹³⁶⁹ Indeed, the individuals recorded from several

¹³⁶⁷ McGeorge 2011, 6-7.

¹³⁶⁸ Tepe Gawra seems to be the only site, where these general rules were widely not applied. Tepe Gawra is analyzed in separate chapter as a unique example (see chapter 5).

¹³⁶⁹ Hole 1989, 174.

Neolithic sites, like Tell Hassuna, Tell Sotto, Telul eth-Thalathat and Yarim Tepe I belong to different age ranges with adults always being the numerically smaller group. Unlikely, during Halaf Period the more shared percentages between adult and underaged individuals indicate a declining trend or different mortuary customs. This general picture one gains from earlier times changes radically during the Ubaid Period. Now there is no doubt that the individuals' young age makes them subject to a very specific etiquette, which prevailed over any older traditions and eventually characterized the entire culture.

Ubaid intramural burials are, also, interwoven with one particular grave type, since the bodies were placed in urns without offerings and then usually covered with a bowl or sherds. The lack of signification this pottery has as a genuine grave good – even in a symbolic way – is presumed by the fragmentary nature in the majority of the ceramics, especially jars. Besides, their role is to protect the fragile skeletal remains, rather than contain any liquid or food offerings, suggesting that they serve to the formation of the grave. Pot burial is known from earlier times,¹³⁷⁰ although it is not yet the typical grave type for subadults and is usually formed by a single ceramic vessel without a lid. These are only sporadic examples of infant urn burials dated to the Neolithic Period with the inhabitants of Tell es-Sawwan first applied the lidded urn type to all the underaged individuals.¹³⁷¹ As previously, there is a discontinuity in urn burials during the Halaf Period, since they disappear,¹³⁷² while from the end of the Ubaid 3 Phase this type was simplified with the unlidded urn predominated.

As stated by the present research (see chapter 3), the discovery of juveniles interned in simple pits or adults buried near the contemporary architectural remains – and not in the abandoned part of the mound (see next subchapter) – signify a remembrance of earlier traditions. These cases are rare and attested only in sites that previously was inhabited by people, who follow the Halaf lifestyle.¹³⁷³ In general, the closer the evaluation carried out, the clearer it becomes that the burial practices of each culture have less in common with the others, as there are no progressive alterations to them over the time, especially between Halaf and Ubaid ones. The once complicated

¹³⁷⁰ Infant urn burials are sporadically found in few Hassuna and Samarra sites, like Tell Hassuna and Tell es-Sawwan. However, they have not been found in such regularity as in Ubaid sites.

¹³⁷¹ el-Wailly and es-Soof 1965, 24.

¹³⁷² With the exception of some skulls found in ceramic vessels at Tell Arpachiyah.

¹³⁷³ See Yarim Tepe, Tepe Gawra, Tell Arpachiyah (?), Tell al 'Abr, Tell Aqab, Hammam et-Turkman, Kosak Shamali and Tell Kurdu.

situation is drastically changed during the Ubaid Period with many aspects becoming now obsolete. For example, partial or multiple burials completely vanish and built shafts are no longer constructed. As a result, the burial repertoire is presented as shrunk to the above mentioned five features, which we can conclude that highlight the dead's final disposal as individual manifestations of a formalised funerary custom. Its origins are the northern parts of the Ubaid expansion and Hamrin Basin with the former insusceptible to the Halaf customs.

It is true that some Halaf mortuary practices present a discontinuity concerning not only the infants/children individuals and the wide use of urn burial facilities mentioned above, but also there are additional aspects, which are unfamiliar to both Hassuna/Samarra and Ubaid Cultures, like cremations and mass graves contained over 20 individuals. As mentioned in chapter 2 both (collective burials and cremation) are known from PPNB and PN Syro-palestine and southeast Anatolia, but not from PN Mesopotamia.¹³⁷⁴ In addition to mortuary practices, there are some architectural¹³⁷⁵ and pottery similarities¹³⁷⁶ between Ubaid and Samarra Cultures (see chapter 1 for more). Furthermore, people, who used the Hassuna and/or Samarra material cultures, did not seem to eventually adopt Halaf one, as a site produced successive Hassuna/Samarra to Halaf occupation is hardly recognized¹³⁷⁷ and the most sites yield either Halaf followed by Ubaid or Hassuna/Samarra followed by Ubaid debris (see chapter 2). This evidence may suggest that wearers of Halaf Culture moved to the east, towards Zagros Mountains and north Mesopotamia, probably from even northwest regions, during the 6th mil BC. Pottery evidence shows continuity in some north and northwest sites, but not in further east areas.¹³⁷⁸ Those populations barely came into contacts with the local population of north and central Iraq and Hassuna and Samarra Cultures.

Indeed, we cannot exclude that such large population movement causing its increase in the area forced some local groups (maybe together with some of the

¹³⁷⁴ Verhoeven 2002a, 7.

¹³⁷⁵ Forest 1983b; 1983c; Margueron 1989.

¹³⁷⁶ McIntosh 2005, 58; Oates 2010, 48.

¹³⁷⁷ Usually, after an interruption. In two cases (Yarim Tepe II and Tell Songor B), Halaf Culture was not attested in the subsequent levels of the Hassuna mounds Yarim Tepe I and Tell Songor A respectively, but it was established in the nearest region creating two different mounds (Yarim Tepe II and Tell Songor B). However, in the case of Yarim Tepe II and Yarim Tepe III the occupation continued through the Ubaid Period without changing locations, since they were actually joined mounds prior natural causes split them.

¹³⁷⁸ Copeland and Hours 1987; Cruells 2008. According to Kaplan (Kaplan 1960) there is some affiliation with Palestine pottery.

immigrants) to look for new agricultural and grazing lands to the south Mesopotamia. In such case the theory according to which the Ubaid south is first inhabited by immigrants from Hassuna and Samarra Horizon¹³⁷⁹ gains more support.

On the other hand, southern mortuary practices are best known through extramural burials. Despite the fact that the region is less investigated, no intramural burial has been found, but only from Hamrin Basin and even northern (**fig. 38**). It is interesting, also, that Tell el-Oueilli, where the large-scale excavation exposed several building levels assigned to a large farming community flourishing from the Ubaid 0 to Ubaid 4 Phase,¹³⁸⁰ yields no infant burials, as expected, suggesting that all the dead were interred extramurally. This evidence supports the idea that the practice of intramural burial was not applied in southern or lower central Mesopotamia during the Ubaid Period. To the extent that we can rely on the approximate age estimates of the deceased found in the Eridu cemetery, it is very likely sub-adults were treated in the same manner as adults regarding burial facilities, grave goods and the location of the grave. This seems evident in the fact that there are no urns found and that the infants were buried in secluded areas usually accompanied by offerings, just as other members of the community.¹³⁸¹

4.1.1. *Age and Grave Type*

Juveniles and adult burials requiring separate disposal have been identified in many Mesopotamian sites over time. During the 5th mil B.C. this practice was widely applied from Hamrin Basin to south-east Anatolia, certainly an expression of an officialized ideology.

It has been proposed that the seclusion of infants and child burials represents the social isolation of these individuals. In other words, in agreement with later European examples, individuals of these ages were not accorded any status or prestige, but marginal roles within community life.¹³⁸² On the other hand, it has also long been supposed that the residential area is a more privileged burial location than secluded cemeteries, one which reveals a strong bond between the living and the dead.¹³⁸³

¹³⁷⁹ Kopanias 2013, 83.

¹³⁸⁰ Huot 1987a; 1991; 1992; 1996. Calvet 1987.

¹³⁸¹ Only the 27% of the subadults burials hold no offerings. Compare with the 20% of unfurnished graves of adults.

¹³⁸² Brereton 2013, 236.

¹³⁸³ Hole 1989, 174; Croucher 2010, 118.

Juveniles were the ‘new blood,’ and were raised with the expectation that they would contribute to the future prosperity of the household as a productive unit. Thus, their death obstructs this ambition and could be understood as a bad omen for the survival of the household.¹³⁸⁴ Burying them within the house and thereby keeping their memory mentally integrated with the household might have been considered profitable for the realm of human habitation,¹³⁸⁵ imbuing the household with a sense of rebirth or productive capability.¹³⁸⁶ Also Brereton¹³⁸⁷ goes a step further suggesting the ceramic vessels protecting the corpse represent the womb. The initial intention of such storage could indeed be the protection of the fragile infant skeleton. Even in these cases, however, the quality of the vessels was poor or fragmentary, as described in chapter 3, and, thus, they could not correspond to this theory.

As mentioned, the household is perceived as a kin group, the prosperity and economic growth of which is a clue to the social position of its members,¹³⁸⁸ Since neonate burials have been found in communal places and workshops as well, the discovery of a such burial is not a sure sign of any elevated social status for living inhabitants.

Alternatively, it has been proposed that they were sacrificial burials.¹³⁸⁹ Moses¹³⁹⁰ studied the infant burials on the foundation deposits from Çatalhöyük buildings suggests that the sacrifice of a sub-adult individual and its burial under the foundation signaled a transition or a new start of the household in sociopolitical terms. In other words, in a mainly egalitarian societies this would be a way for negotiating social relations among households.¹³⁹¹ However, I argue that in an ever-growing farming society, in which families responsibilities kept increasing and the households¹³⁹² may end up competing with each other, the labor and its distribution is a significant, if not fundamental factor, for prosperity, and therefore, the willing loss – besides the high mortality rates of the time – and the further reduction of such potential do not have any practical reason. Consequently, deliberately conceptualization of such death cannot have tangible effect in the continuity of the household. Furthermore,

¹³⁸⁴ Brereton 2016, 203.

¹³⁸⁵ Brereton 2016, 203; McMahon and Stone 2013, 84.

¹³⁸⁶ Brereton 2013, 240-1; McMahon and Stone 2013, 89.

¹³⁸⁷ Brereton 2013, 241.

¹³⁸⁸ Brereton 2016, 203.

¹³⁸⁹ Starr 1939, 14-6; Tobler 1950, 104.

¹³⁹⁰ Moses 2012.

¹³⁹¹ Moses 2012, 71-3.

¹³⁹² For example, the production of dairy product, which became more common in the Ubaid society.

sacrifices are isolated cases in the Prehistoric World, like the Royal Tombs in Ur, and some of them are yet under discussion, like the mass graves from Domuztepe and Tepe Gawa.

Nevertheless, children and infants are members of the household and/or community who are not yet productive or independent. Their burial in domestic spaces indicates they maintained this role after death. Also we should not forget that the way that infant burials were treated varied regionally. Areas near the Persian Gulf, for instance, lack intramural burials and exhibit juvenile burials in cemeteries, suggesting a differentiation in social position by this life stage.

4.1.2. *Grave Offerings*

Barely the 7%¹³⁹³ of the graves are actually furnished (Table 27). This fact suggests that, besides the widely adoption of urn burial and the large percentage of infants and children, the furnishing of the graves also underwent a serious change during this time: the dead were no longer buried with grave goods. In more details, only 16 out of 231 graves¹³⁹⁴ hold just few sherds to 4 ceramic vessels, painted or plain. Halaf graves contain up to 4 clay ones, as well, however the painted examples seem to be more. Characteristic example is Tell Arpachiyah, where the Halaf graves hold only painted pottery, in contrast to the Ubaid ones therein, which contained both painted and plain pottery.¹³⁹⁵ In even earlier time, the number of vessels was even bigger due to the widely use of stone vessels together with clay ones, as already described in chapter 2. It is true that non-pottery offerings were found in more regular base in the pre-Ubaid burial assemblages, and they were characterized by great variety. In addition to stone vessels, we discover beads, lithic tools, stone implements, seals, sealings, animal bones, figurines, pendants, spindle whorl, bone awls and other more isolated objects. On the other hand, the only non-pottery goods during the Ubaid Period are beads, lithic pieces and in one case from Tell Abada a figurine. Generally, to the shift from Halaf to Ubaid Period, there is not much priority in the deposit of offerings, while their variety and quantity (painted-unpainted vessels) show a remarkable reduction affected both adult

¹³⁹³ As stated here, urns refer to grave facilities and not to the furnishing. Also, this number does not include the graves from Tell Aqab, as not recorded in detail, skeleton 2 from Tell Nader, since it was not properly buried and graves from Tepe Gawra, as they were analyzed in the next chapter.

¹³⁹⁴ Without the graves from Tell Aqab, as not recorded in detail, skeleton 2 from Tell Nader, since it was not properly buried and graves from Tepe Gawra, as they were analyzed in the next chapter.

¹³⁹⁵ See Mallowan and Rose 1933, 38-43.

and underaged individuals. It is likely that the once common offerings were replaced by others made of perishable materials,¹³⁹⁶ although, even in this case, the funeral ceremony seems to be less significant both for the dead and living.

The scarcity of offerings is particularly apparent among juveniles: 208 out of 219 (95%) graves had no offerings, which contradicts the 6 out of 10 adult graves (60%).¹³⁹⁷ According to **Table 26**, ceramic vessels were, usually, accompanied adults and non-pottery objects, usually beads, have been systematically found in infant or child burials. As reported by Brereton,¹³⁹⁸ the aspect of furnishing widely juvenile burials would be re-evaluated at the subsequent Uruk Period, when different social groups seem to have taken advantage of mortuary ceremonies as an occasion for the manifestation of authority. This fact certainly affect and change the identity of the deceased, a shift that did not occur to the entire Ubaid Horizon, since intramural and urn burials are absent in south Mesopotamia, as mentioned. Therein, the juveniles were accorded different status, as their final disposal is the same with this of an adult regarding the location of the grave, the burials facilities and the furnishing. At least from the Ubaid 4 Phase and Eridu cemetery we know that children and infants were usually accompanied by offerings, mainly pottery, just like the rest members of the community (see next subchapter 4.2), contradicting the infant urn burials found under houses and occasionally bore non-pottery goods from the southern sites.

¹³⁹⁶ See ZG5902 grave from Tell Zeidan, which contained flowers.

¹³⁹⁷ Two burials are missing: the youth burial from Yarim Tepe III accompanied by no grave goods and the undetermined burial from Tell Kurdu accompanied by 3 vessels.

¹³⁹⁸ Brereton 2013, 246.

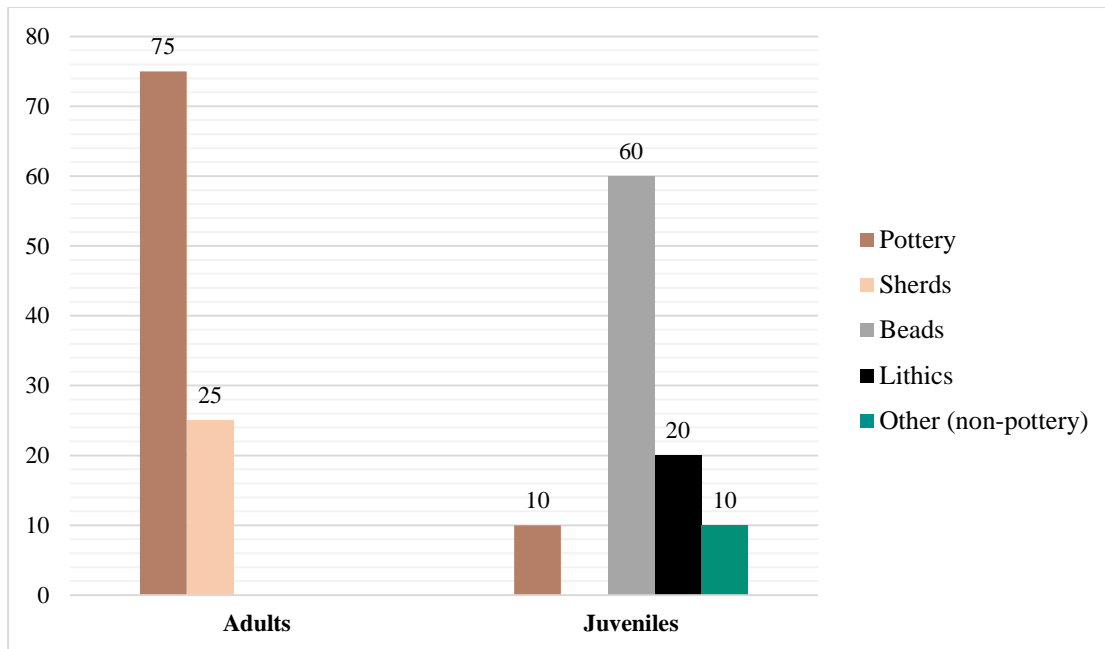


Table 26. Different kinds of offerings found in adult and juvenile intermural graves.

4.1.3. *The Funeral Ceremony*

As mentioned, the limited number of Ubaid adults buried intramurally is consistent with previous traditions, albeit in a rather degenerate form and influenced by the new practices within the Ubaid Period. Previous studies on PPNB intramural mortuary practices suggest that uniform expression of beliefs and values within the frame of a single household could be succeeded through common ritual practices.¹³⁹⁹ These include standardized burial ritual, since they provide a continuous link with the ancestors and reinforce the relations among the members to act efficiently together as a social and economic unit.¹⁴⁰⁰ This assumption draws on the fractional and disarticulated skeletal remains, found systematically under the floors, and the plastered skulls, which were interpreted as cultic objects used in various formal ceremonies.¹⁴⁰¹

However, this theory could not be applicable to Ubaid households, since there was a complete absence of partial or disarticulated burials. Ubaid intramural mortuary practices centred around the infants and children social and symbolical degradation. Their exclusion from the community of ancestors, their unfurnished graves and the low quality of their urns are the major departures from previous and subsequent

¹³⁹⁹ Kuijt 2002a, 141-2; Campbell 2008, 134-5.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Kuijt 2002a, 141-2; Campbell 2008, 134-5.

¹⁴⁰¹ Kuijt 2002a; Cambell 2008.

Mesopotamian practices. This lends reliability to the Liverani's idea¹⁴⁰² that the Ubaid period's drastic changes in the funerary sphere signify social, political, economic, and religious transformations triggered by the foundation of household units. One of the main arguments for discriminations among households is the large number of burials found under specific buildings. Within archaeological research, the following interpretations of such burial arrays are most common:

- They contribute to memory and history making.
- They provide a continuous link with ancestry and household lineage, which is fundamental for production of wealth and authority.
- The house stands out as a preferential burial providing opportunities for household members to establish relations among different households or bargain for further privileges within the community.

As many of these seem to be applicable in the case of Çatalhöyük,¹⁴⁰³ let us examine this site briefly as a case study. At Çatalhöyük, the burials are distributed among specific buildings, which were repeatedly renewed while maintaining their original plan. This fact suggests the special use of these buildings as arenas for activities beyond the domestic and likely centralized on specific kin groups. These specific houses at the site are usually referred to as History Houses.¹⁴⁰⁴ The household continuity interpretation is widely used even for early communities as such dated to PPNB Period.¹⁴⁰⁵ Indeed, Verhoeven¹⁴⁰⁶ suggests that the increase of single-complete burials under the architectural units during PN express primary this necessity.

However, the main difference between these houses and the Ubaid examples is that the interred at Çatalhöyük cover the complete human age range and are not just juveniles. Consequently, for the Ubaid Period this interpretation gains less evidence. As stated by Düring,¹⁴⁰⁷ juveniles themselves cannot contribute to the establishment of a household continuity, since they did not have opportunity to possess any elevated position during their lifetime. In this respect the generally poor burials of the children and infants during the Ubaid Period suggest that the social rank of the family was not

¹⁴⁰² Laneri 2007, 6.

¹⁴⁰³ For more see Mellaart 1965; Hodder and Cressford 2004; Hodder 2007; Düring 2008; Hodder 2010; Carleton *et al.* 2013; Hodder 2016.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Carleton *et al.* 2013; Hodder and Pels 2010; Hodder 2016.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Kuijt 2002a and b; Verhoeven 2002a.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Verhoeven 2002a, 8.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Düring 2008, 608. For Verhoeven, also, points out the question about whether children are considered real ancestor or not (see Verhoeven 2002b; 2005).

inherited, but rather attributable to those individuals that can offer to the family and the society through personal effort.¹⁴⁰⁸ The humble funeral that seems to be provided to the very young individuals was more likely practiced only by the members of the immediate family (parents and siblings) and not by all the occupants of the house, which is dictated by the not so spacious rooms. The irregular distribution of the burials, which gives the impression that burials were deliberately concentrated in the larger houses of the site, may instead be explained by the reality that the more people living within a household, the more births and infant mortalities would occur.

4.2. Extramural Mortuary Practices

The earliest cemeteries discovered are dated to the Ubaid 3, 4 and 5 Phases and therefore there is generally an *a priori* agreement that it was the first time that they were introduced. However, during the earlier periods, it is observed a very small number of intramural burials and only in some of these settlements, suggesting that in some cases dead were buried extramurally.

The Ubaid secluded burial places are in a proximity with the associated settlement. According to the burial arrangements, they present a completely different picture from intramural graves regarding mainly the disposal of the body and the offerings. The main features of an Ubaid secluded burial locale that are highlighted here by their thorough description are:

- The discovery of multiple burials within the same grave.
- The discovery of fractional burials.¹⁴⁰⁹
- The systematic deposit of grave goods and the increase in ceramic vessels over intramural burials of Ubaid Period.
- Subtle indications of feasting based on the presence of animal bones and meat offerings.
- The occasional embellishing of the graves and the creation of built shafts.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Elaborate burial ceremony is likely to be applied in burials of juveniles from Samarra site of Tell es-Sawwan. According to Flannery (see Flannery 1972, 403) this evidences that elevated positions were indeed ascribed to descendants by the time of their birth. However, stone objects, made mainly of alabaster, have been attested to all the burial assemblages indiscriminately, suggesting a flourishing society generally and not social hierarchy (this assumption was developed by Campbell 1995).

¹⁴⁰⁹ Graves hold exclusively multiple or fractional skeletal remains have been found, but there are, also, several different combinations. For example, a grave could contain either partial remains belonged to many individuals or a complete together with one or more fractional bodies.

There are also some further characteristics which are limited to either the northern or southern burial locale. As far as the age range of the dead is concerned, no relative examinations have been held, although juveniles and young children are hardly found and only within the Eridu cemetery.¹⁴¹⁰ It is likely that the influences from earlier traditions entailed the continuation of intramural burials in northern settlements, albeit in a rather new form, since during the Ubaid Period a clear age discrimination is observed. In other words, young individuals were interred within the residential area and adults within cemeteries, just as at Tell Songor. A second difference between northern and southern Mesopotamian cemeteries is the larger burial pits dictated by the supine position of the corpse in the southern cemeteries. This trend lasted until at least the Ubaid 4 Phase, with a flexed position preferred towards the end of the Ubaid Period.¹⁴¹¹ Finally, the uniformity within the Eridu cemetery is worth mention, since it may imply the crystallization of customs and thereby a greater degree of social cohesion developing within South Mesopotamian settlements.

Vértesalji¹⁴¹² assumed that there were supralocal cemeteries in south Mesopotamia, like these in Eridu and Susa, which were used by the nearest sites, as well. Demographic evidence from Eridu, such as the limited number of the unearthed infants and children, does not correspond to the population lived not only in a large area of 25 kilometers radius, but even within Eridu settlement. Moreover, walking more than 7 hours just to bury a dead is a quite tedious journey and non-practical in those times. Mortality rate was very high and thus a family or the relatives could not travel in such frequent base.

4.2.1. *Disposal of the body*

The body was very likely to be wrapped in matting, despite the fact that it was not preserved in the majority of the cases. Fractional and multiple burials are in serious decline¹⁴¹³ during the Ubaid Period, as only sporadically attested in extramural graves (approximately 24.2%), which contradicts the earlier intramural graves in Anatolia, Syria and north Iraq contained similar skeletal remains in more regular base. The shift

¹⁴¹⁰ The urn burial found in Tell Arpachiyah cemetery is a unique example, which combines the north and south Ubaid mortuary practices.

¹⁴¹¹ Evidence from Ur indicates a turn to flexed position after the Ubaid 4 Phase.

¹⁴¹² Vértesalji 1989.

¹⁴¹³ Croucher 2010, 116; Hole 1989, 176; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003, 175.

to the single-complete burials is another indication that drastic social and cultural changes emerged during 5th mil BC.

Partial burials or disarticulated skeletal remains, cited usually as secondary burials, may involve the practice of postmortem excarnation, body exposure or delayed burial.¹⁴¹⁴ Excarnation could be achieved either manually or through the exposure of the corpse, which may be depicted in the "Vulture Scene" (**fig. 40**) at Çatalhöyük.¹⁴¹⁵ In this painting one can clearly see representations of vulture-like animals attacking headless human figurines. This suggests that after death, the body was left lying in these scavengers which would remove the flesh, scattering or carrying away the bones.¹⁴¹⁶ As a result the relatives or designated people could not always retrieve the entire skeleton for burial.¹⁴¹⁷ Perhaps, in order to ensure that the head of the deceased was not lost, the relatives kept it decapitating the body, while sometimes they chose to bury only it, either because they did not return to collect the skeletal remains or they did not find them. This way, a delay in burial did exist, while the body excarnated through its exposure. It is likely that the fragile bones and the size of neonates did not allow their exposure to the wild animals and therefore kept them buried differently. The fact that they constitute the overwhelming majority of intramural burials during that time dictates the complete absence of partial skeletons from domestic context.

As mentioned, graves were barely reopened to receive additional burials. For example, G48 from Tell Arpachiyah is a characteristic example of concurrent burials of unrelated individuals. According to it the skeletal remains were collected at the same time or separately within a short time-frame by designated people.¹⁴¹⁸ I argue that these burials are more collective graves than family tombs, and were dug to receive individuals – either members of the same family or different ones – who died within a close period of time and were therefore interred together.

4.2.2. *Grave offerings*

As natural, there are examples of Ubaid graves both with and without grave goods. When these existed, they were deposited in the free space around the body. 49

¹⁴¹⁴Mellaart 1965, 86-88; Pollock 1999, 200; Croucher 2006b; Haddow and Knüsel 2017.

¹⁴¹⁵ Mellaart 1965; Düring 2008, 605; Lichter 2016, 72-3..

¹⁴¹⁶ Düring 2008, 605; Mellaart 1965; Kopanias and Barlagianni 2019, 5-6.

¹⁴¹⁷ Kopanias and Barlagianni 2019, 5-6.

¹⁴¹⁸ Kopanias and Barlagianni 2019, 6.

out of 275 graves¹⁴¹⁹ bear no offerings whatsoever. The rests displayed mainly both open and closed ceramic vessels, which usually consisted of a jar, a cup and a bowl in south burial locale and a jar and a bowl in the north burial locale. The quantity of the goods is not relevant either to the number of the deceased present in a grave, or to their age or the type of grave.

Counting analysis elucidates several differences between the offerings in intramural and extramural burials. Generally, extramural graves are wealthier regarding the ratio of furnished to unfurnished examples and the overall quantity of offerings and quality of ceramic vessels. According to the **Table 27**, the preferential burials in secluded burial places are accorded a different mortuary ritual. Over the 60% of the burials hold at least a rudimentary set of offerings that accompanies the deceased. Around the same percentage – if not larger – occurs in reverse in the intramural burials, with most graves bearing no preserved offerings.¹⁴²⁰ Moreover, for first time, several cases break the barriers of 1 to 4 vessels in the same assemblage by displaying 5 to 13 ones (**Table 27**). Such large deposit of pottery appeared in Ubaid cemeteries, as it has not been observed in intramural burials of both Ubaid and earlier periods. It is worth mentioning here that their numbers of vessels are not affected by the multiple interments occurring in cemeteries, being that the ceramic vessels should increase in order to be shared by the occupants of a grave. According to the available evidence presented to the **Table 27**, when more individuals are interned in the same grave, the vessels could belong to all or one of them. We should recall those double burials that pots were concentrated next to one body. Moreover, there are several single burials – complete or fractional – which happen to contain more than 4 pots.

¹⁴¹⁹ Without the dubious graves from Tell al-Ubaid.

¹⁴²⁰ In the cases of pot burials, these ceramics are not included in the table, since they are not considered the offerings that accompany the dead, but the material for the formation of the grave.

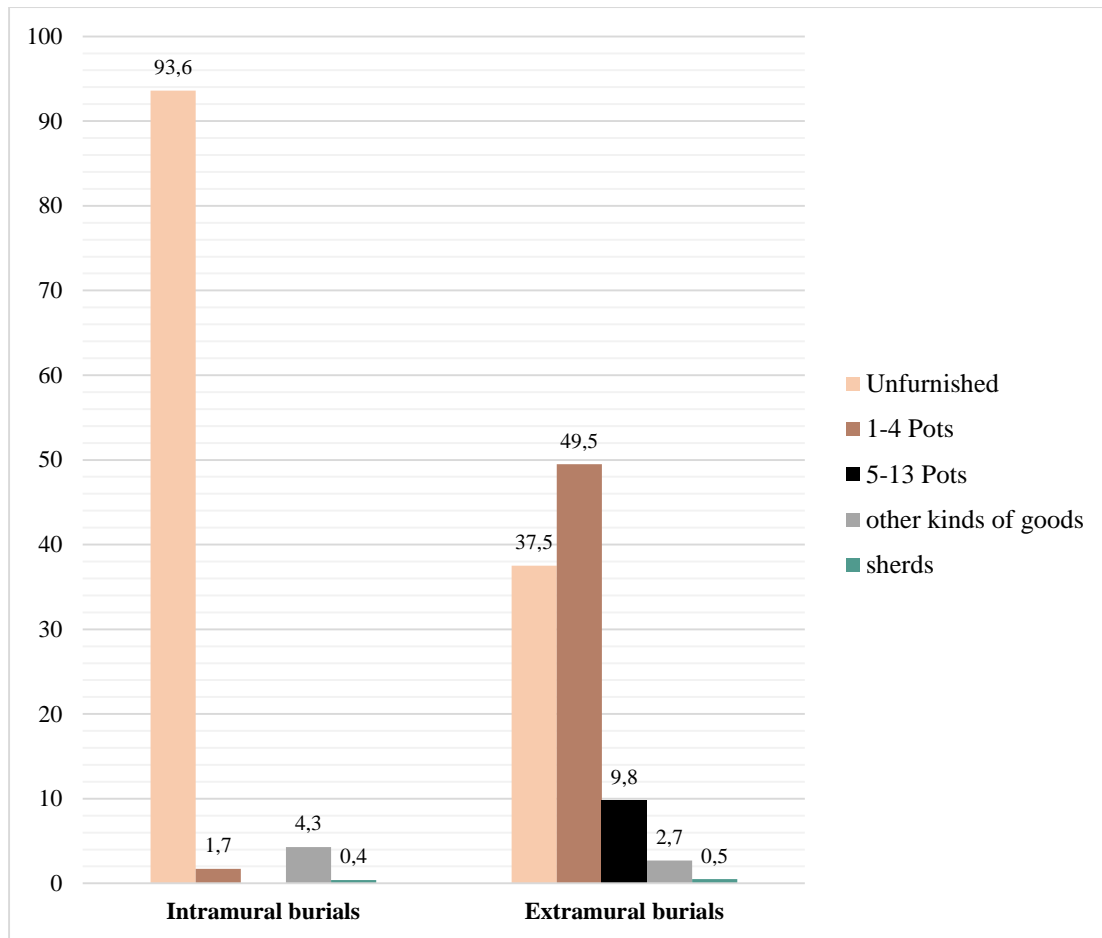


Table 27. Grave goods found in burials.¹⁴²¹

It becomes obvious that the offerings of food and drink is a firmly established practice in the cemeteries over any other kind of good. They are usually placed in fine and decorated ceramic vessels. In extremely few cases there was only plain pottery (Table 28), since the 94.7% of the graves hold at least some painted ceramic vessels. On the contrary, in every three intramural graves, one contained only plain vessels, which include the urn and the lid or further pottery offerings, when these exist. The last factor that makes the extramural burials wealthier is the fact that from the 49.5%, which hold clay vessels (Table 27), the 11.6% contains additional non-pottery objects.¹⁴²² On the other hand, in intramural burials there is no such case, since the assemblages consisted of either clay vessels or non-pottery offerings (Table 27).

¹⁴²¹ In total of burials and not graves. However, 14 burials found in cemeteries are not included in this Table, since it is not certain whether they were accompanied by offerings or not. Nevertheless, their number is too small to affect seriously the counting analysis and the general picture that is given.

¹⁴²² This percentage is not depicted in the Table 27.

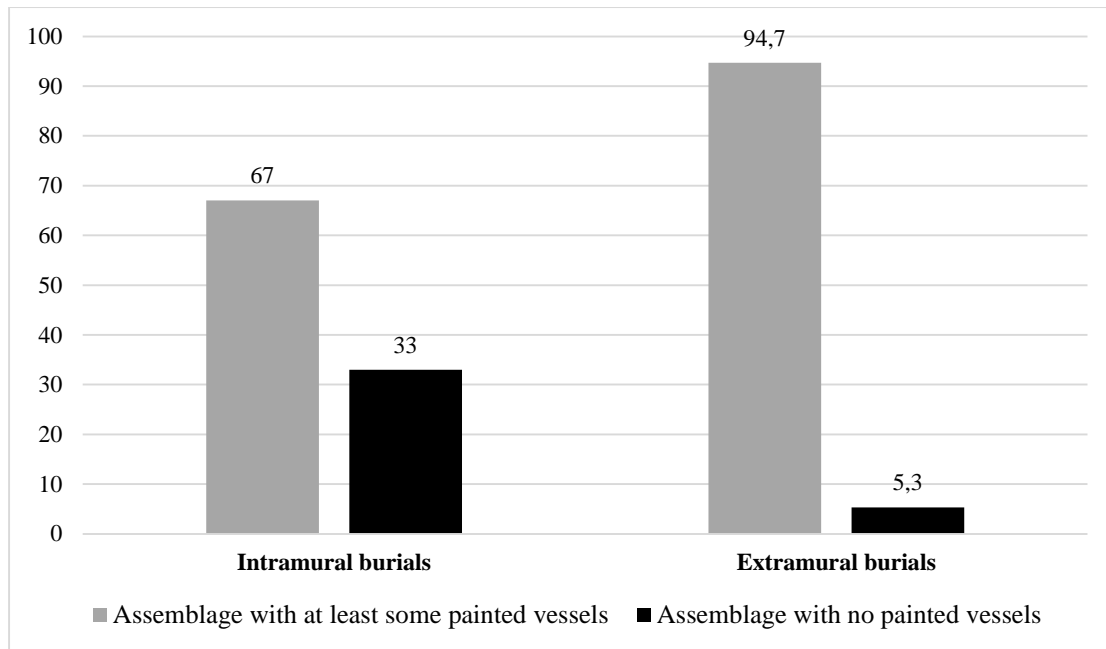


Table 28. Presence of painted pottery by grave.

The first most common non-pottery offering in cemeteries is beads (Table 29), which could be either part of clothing decoration or personal jewelry suggesting that the relatives only occasionally adorn the dead body. Besides, in the case of fractional skeletons, the body is intended to be exposed. In such cases jewelry could be lost and therefore there is no particular reason for the body to be even properly prepared and adorned. Nevertheless, the presence of beads does not necessarily reflect the embellishment of the body, a contention supported by those graves that contain nothing, but beads: since relatives could afford a such wealthy deposit, as beads, which are sometimes made of imported raw material, there is no reason to overlook the widely applied and accepted practice of food and drink offerings, even if these display a basic set of one or two pots. This fact indicates that there was no intention to honor the deceased and the adornments were on the body during lifetime. Consequently, beads cannot be taken as an indicator of an elaborate burial.

Animal bones have been also found regularly in burial assemblages and thus they are the second more frequent non-pottery grave good. Interestingly, animal bones and meat offerings are no longer part of intramural grave assemblages, as they were found only in cemeteries during the Ubaid Period. One could therefore argue that burial location had decisive influence on mortuary practices. It is hard to intuit why animal bones were intended to accompany the dead, due to their scanty percentage. Further, their varying and sometimes abnormal locations inside the graves could be interpreted

in several ways, as they could be either food offerings laid directly on the soil or inside containers made of perishable material or the leftovers of a funeral meal. For example, in some Eridu graves animal bones have been found above the filling soil suggesting a feast after the burial is complete. In addition to this, in many cases such offerings are placed in direct association with the body, *i.e.* on the chest, on the jaw, or next to the skull, suggesting that they are supposed to be consumed immediately by the dead, accompanying the funeral meal that the relatives organized. However, the findings from the free space among the graves are in general not available in detail and thus there is not enough evidence of funeral meals for this view to be supported.

Definitely, isolated examples are stone vessels, lithic implements and clay figurines (Table 29). Indeed, lithic implements have been found in Tell Arpachiyah and Abu Dhahir and figurines in Ur and Eridu suggesting that, besides the basic furnishing of the food and drink offerings, each region follow their own needs and rules and thus subtly differentiation in the burial assemblage could be observed from one site to another.

Based on the above, at least in the case of beads, we have more evidence that they were in the possession of the individual prior to death. Unfortunately, studies on traces of use on the surface of both pottery and non-pottery objects have not been held. However, some observations on the clay vessels reveal marks of repairing¹⁴²³ suggesting a previous use. We cannot exclude that pottery was in a secondary use and relatives deposited the no longer needed utensils or vessels that wore out. It is probably unreliable to believe that pottery vessels found in graves were manufactured exclusively for burial use, since some of bad quality have been found our sample.¹⁴²⁴ Whether they were previously in the possession of the deceased or of the family is hard to say.

¹⁴²³ Like G27 and G35 from Tell Arpachiyah.

¹⁴²⁴ Like PFG/AA-AAbis, PFG/G, PFG/F and PFG/E from Ur.

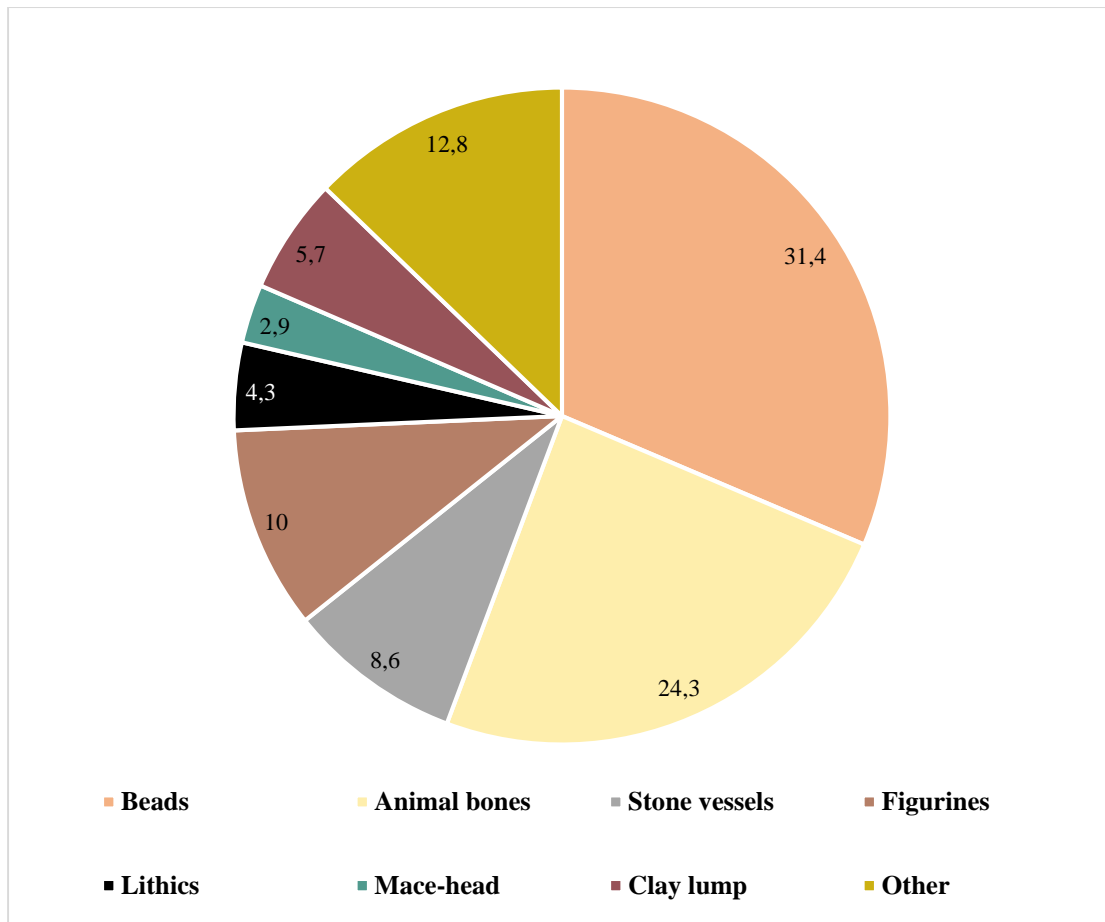


Table 29. Graves with non-pottery offerings.

A mark of differentiation in extramural graves could be the disposal of the body, since, as mentioned, two distinct treatments, the complete and the partial (and disarticulated) burials have been attested. The discovery of skeletons in fragmentary form or in disorder was deeply rooted to earlier times. However, according to the **Table 30**, all burial assemblages hold grave goods without a remarkable difference between them, since the 80.4% of the complete burials and the 72.9% of the fractional/disarticulated ones accompanied by some offerings. Usually, these consisted by pottery vessels, although non-pottery objects are subtly more common in graves with partial or disarticulated (23.5%) than in graves with complete skeletal remains (13.7%). This fact is probably a reminiscent of old customs, according to which, as mentioned in the chapter 2, the deposit of clay vessels was rare, contradicting the discovery of other kinds of offerings, like stone objects. Nevertheless, the constant interaction and influences observed during the Ubaid Period diminished any several difference among old and new burial practices, as obvious not only in the deposit of grave goods, but also in the presence of complete and fractional burials in the same assemblage.

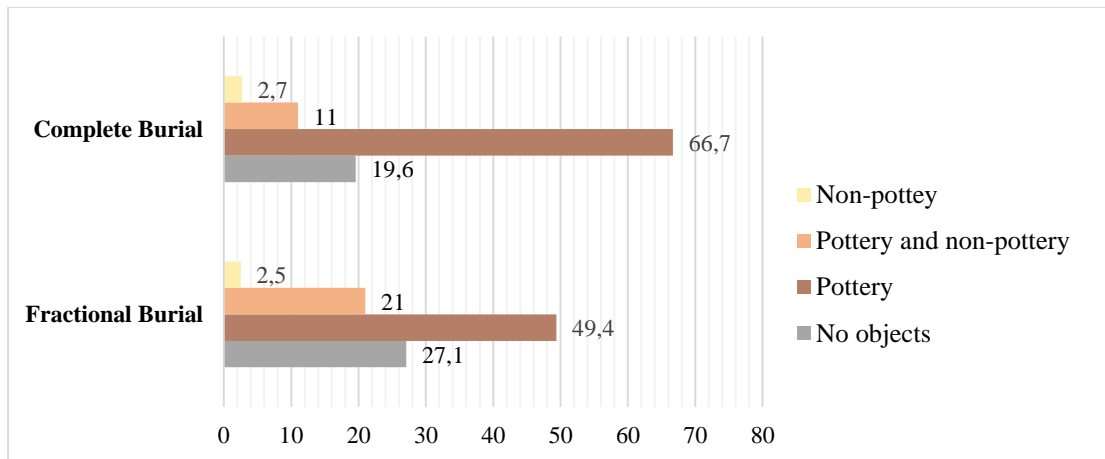


Table 30. Grave goods in graves hold complete skeletons and partial or disarticulated ones.

4.2.3. *The Funeral Ceremony*

Due to their locations, cemeteries were accessible to all members of the community. Judging by the variety in grave wealth, there was no restriction on who would be buried in these locations. Thus, cemeteries provided communal stages for social bonding through demonstration of religious etiquette.

Overall, the assemblages at cemeteries suggests more elaborate burial process than what occurred intramurally, and indeed than all those practices seen in earlier periods in Mesopotamia. The clear increase in ceramic vessels, embellishment of some graves, the presence of animal bones – even in scanty portion – and the effort required to build a shaft or dug larger pit in order for the extended body to fit constitute foundations for formal performances. The attendance of the villagers is necessary, since funerary rituals are social experience, which give the opportunity to construct group ideals and beliefs.¹⁴²⁵ This situation may have been exploited by some groups aiming to gain more power over the rests. From later periods in Mesopotamia, we know that different social groups attempted to show off their status in all social events, including the funeral ceremony. This phenomenon appears around the time the permanent settlements developed in such a degree that a necessity of dividing productive activities into different groups arises. The social groups became progressively more competitive, and the manipulation of death became a venue for this competition. The starting point of this manipulation is cemeteries. The standardization of the process of grave offering witnesses the emergence of exaggerated gesture associated with ceramic vessels.

¹⁴²⁵ Laneri 2007, 5.

As reported by Streit¹⁴²⁶ Ubaid mortuary practices are characterized by great homogeneity and they were gradually spread to the Persian Gulf. However, according to this research, a main point of difference is detected between mortuary practices of north and south Mesopotamia. While there is a distinction between domestic and public mortuary practices at the northern areas, south alluvium traditions require the exclusive use of organized cemeteries, wherein children, youths and adults of both sexes have been attested. The fact that infants were buried extramurally, just like adults, means a profound difference in death infancy beliefs. Although there is little available evidence, we cannot exclude that household in southern sites were not as extended as in north.

4.3. Tepe Gawra

The shift from earlier cultural material assemblage to the Ubaid one has been detected from Hamrin Basin to southeast Anatolia. Evidence from several sites, like Tell Abada, Choga Mami, Tell al-Arb and Ugarit show a short-lived phase with an admixture of heterogeneous traditions in many aspects of the archaeological remains, which is usually interpreted as a transitional period. As mentioned in chapter 1, it is, generally, considered that there was a clear cultural change that took place in a very receptive environment, since only from Tell Arapchiyah some findings of conflagration may correspond to a more abrupt invasion of the Ubaid traits.¹⁴²⁷

On the other hand, stratigraphic sequence from Tepe Gawra suggests that the passage to the Ubaid lifestyle was a more complicate procedure. As described in chapter 3, several studies tried to figure out the nature of the Halaf and Ubaid Culture in this settlement, although any agreement does not seem feasible. The earliest ten levels dated prior to the Uruk occupation yield archeological remains of both cultures, as if the HUT lasts for more than a millennium. The examination of the contemporary mortuary evidence corresponds to this line. Tepe Gawra deserves a separate mention here, since it presents some unique characteristic regarding the intramural burial practices.

¹⁴²⁶ Streit 2012, 104.

¹⁴²⁷ Campbell and Fletcher 2010, 69-70.

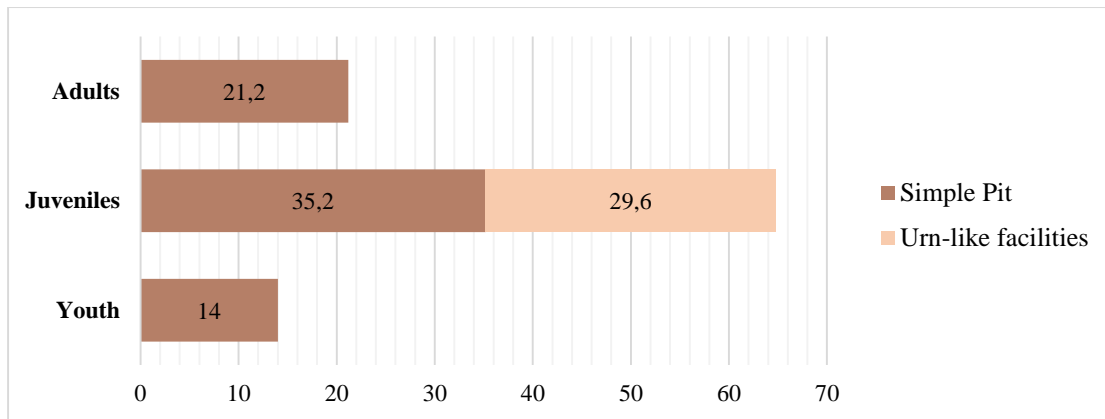


Table 31. Grave type in conjunction with the age of the individuals from Tepe Gawra.

In contrast to the basic characteristic of the intramural burials identified by this study (see chapter 4.1), graves from Tepe Gawra hold fractional bodies, double burials, a great percentage of non-pottery offerings, while urn burials are in serious decline. In more detail, while infants and children seem to be the majority of the individuals (Table 31), occupying the 64.8%, they were not placed in urn-like facilities, but rather in simple pits. From the 29.6% of urn burials barely the 11.3% are assigned to the earliest levels XX to XIIA and the remaining 18.3% to the XII, which is usually interpreted as a transitional phase to the Uruk Period (see chapter 3). It is worth mentioning here, that during the Halaf Period no infant/child pot burial has been discovered and thus the bodies were placed in the common simple pit, as the rest members of the society.

However, the most unique elements in the entire Ubaid Horizon attested in Tepe Gawra are the double burial 7-66¹⁴²⁸ and the fractional burials 7-58 and, maybe, 7-6. Such features have only been observed in extramural burial practices according to the results of the present study. Intramural partial or multiple examples are dated to earlier periods and mainly to the Halaf Culture, as thoroughly described in chapter 2.¹⁴²⁹

As far as the grave goods are concerned, several differences have been observed. Firstly, almost half of the burials are furnished (55.7%), contradicting the 93% of the intramural burials from the rest of the Ubaid settlements (see chapter 4.1.). Secondly, according to the statistics presented in chapter 4.1., infants and children are accompanied by both pottery and non-pottery objects¹⁴³⁰ and adults only by some pottery. However, as shown in Table 32, at Tepe Gawra the non-pottery objects have

¹⁴²⁸ See also No.22 from Yarim Tepe III.

¹⁴²⁹ Also Yarim Tepe III yields one double burial (No 22), which is interpreted here as an influence from Halaf Period.

¹⁴³⁰

been found in graves of adults in more frequent base than in graves of underaged individuals. Indeed, there are assemblages with no ceramic vessels at all (Table 32). Beads do not decorate only the bodies of juveniles, but those of adults, as well, while animal bones, which were traditionally found in cemeteries, have been unearthed in few cases at Tepe Gawra (Table 33). Non-pottery goods include pendants, spindle whorls, stone vessels and palettes. Isolated cases are a seal, a gaming piece and a rattle. However, this variety is unlikely to be an influence from the extramural burials of other Ubaid sites, but rather it seems to correspond better to Halaf traditions, which continued to exist until at least the level XVA level.

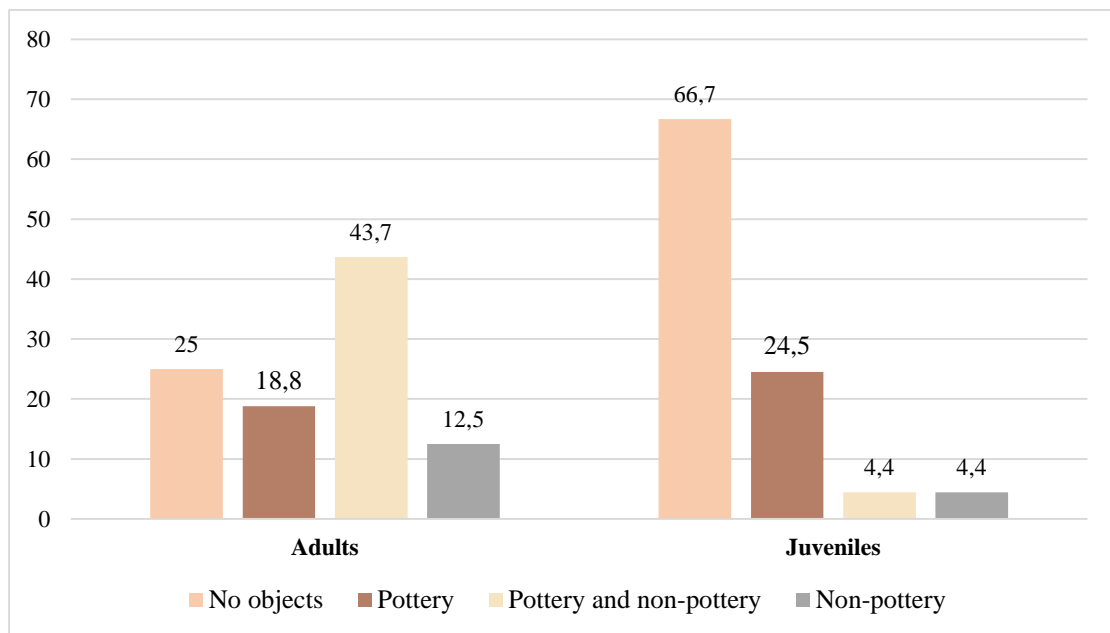


Table 32. Presence of pottery and non-pottery offerings in adult and juvenile burials from Tepe Gawra.¹⁴³¹

¹⁴³¹ Compare with Table 26.

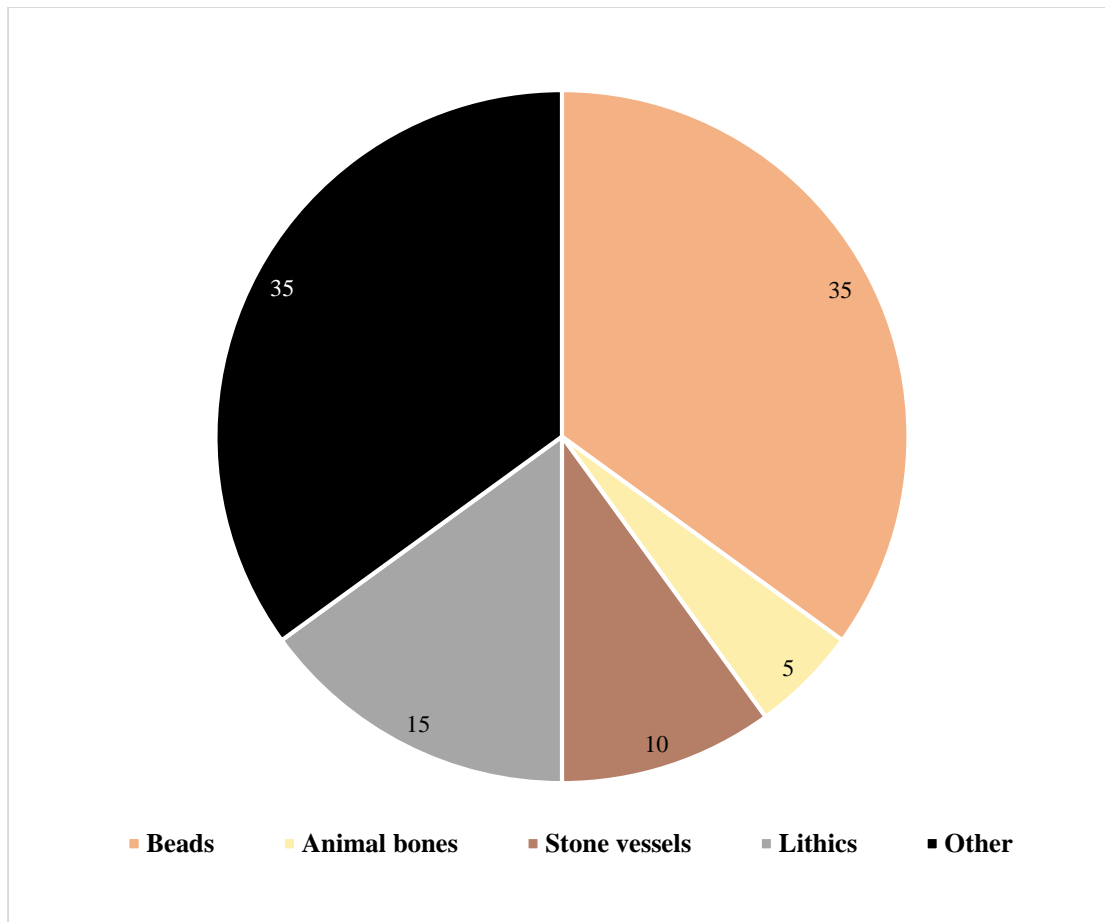


Table 33. Graves with non-pottery goods at Tepe Gawra.

On the other hand, the discovery of an urn burial in XIX level indicates an Ubaid invasion. Consequently, Tepe Gawra yields an admixture of both Halaf and Ubaid funeral customs for the entire pre-Uruk occupation. This fact could indicate that there was no complete assimilation of the entire population into a common cultural identity. On the one side, the Halaf influence was likely to be strong, like happened in Tell Arpachiyah, which was a typical Halaf, rather than Ubaid site. On the other side, the Ubaid cultural presence was preserved quite distinct throughout the centuries at Tepe Gawra as a result of a constant establishment of immigrants. Consequently, even if immigrants achieved with time to be fully assimilate in local traditions, there would be new population groups that moved from the Ubaid south to Tepe Gawra "renewing" the Ubaid presence therein. Frangipane observed that the great similarity in some architectural remains and pottery evidence between Tepe Gawra and south Mesopotamia is due to the population movement and mixing.¹⁴³²

¹⁴³² Frangipane 2015.

As naturally, this co-existence led different population groups to influence each other and, therefore, no distinct cultural identity is possible to be observed. Burial practices may reflect a multicultural community, in which new elements – that is Ubaid Culture – established gradually and in some degree, rather than completely replacing older customs, as happened in the overwhelming majority of the northern sites. Consequently, the clear distribution of Levels XIX - XII into distinct cultural units, Halaf - HUT - Ubaid, is impossible and probably irrelevant to be identified in Tepe Gawra. Besides Tepe Gawra, another site with strong presence of the Halaf material assemblage into later levels is Yarim Tepe, which notably did not produce several of the Ubaid traits, including architecture, figurines and burial practices.

The spatial organization of the architectural remains at Tepe Gawra, which seem to be divided into north and south section, advocate such a multicultural society. According to this evidence, immigrants could keep settling in a distance with the inhabitants. Perhaps, this fact explains the systematic absence of burial assemblages from the north section, since the occupants therein could follow different mortuary customs and thus buried their dead extramurally. However, the south section burials indicate some Ubaid influence in mortuary practices caused by various reasons. For example, some of these customs could be considered exotic and thus be adopted by some families of the south section in the light of differentiation and negotiation social identity. Nevertheless, such co-habitation could lead to cultural admixture in some degree, though the north section could yielded primarily Ubaid archeological material and south section Halaf ones. However, this is just a hypothesis, since there is no credible evidence. We should not forget that a large part of the mound is still uninvestigated. This fact means that future excavation, if ever held, could reveal that the settlement is not divided into different areas and the present spatial organization is just random. For now a reexamination of earlier levels at Tepe Gawra would be of great interest. In final publication there no mention to the context of different items making necessary the review of the fields notes. Studying the cultural material assemblages at Tepe Gawra *in corpore* could shed some light to this matter.

Further Discussions

5.1. Death Demographic Elements

The main question that concerns almost all studies on Ubaid mortuary practices is the location of the majority of the community grave sites, as total uncovered burials do not correspond with the estimated population of the settlements. However, with the spread of the Ubaid Culture numerous new villages were established throughout Tigris and Euphrates, many of which had a short-lived habitation dated to the Ubaid 3 or Ubaid 4 Phase. Kanijdal East, Tell Nader, Tell Rashid and Tell Abu Husaini are some examples that yield no firm occupational remains assigned to any remarkable continuity, albeit also against rather scanty earlier or later cultural assemblages.

As mentioned, Hole¹⁴³³ supports the idea that after a climatic change during the Ubaid Period, immigrants from south Mesopotamia moved in north sites, like Mashnaqa, Kuran, Ziyadeh and Kashkashok for short period of time in some.¹⁴³⁴ I assume that in some cases, the villages are short-lived and the occupation there should not be more than one at most two generations. The small number of inhabitants usually estimated to 100-200 or less, were characterized by more flexibility in moving somewhere else abandoning their settlements, after the intensive and continuous use of natural sources cause their unsustainability, like pasture depletion. This helps to explain why the burial data of some sites does not correspond to the assumed population level.

In this sense, sites in Mesopotamia or Iran lowlands that were uninterruptedly occupied for centuries by a large population should figure out some ways to survive and have constantly access to natural sources. I suggest that a part of this population or designated groups of people moved seasonally together with the folk to small settlements situated near Zagros mountains. Two main reasons for such mobility exist,

¹⁴³³ Hole 1997, 43.

¹⁴³⁴ The present analysis of the Ur graves sees the possibility a natural disaster which may reduce population density.

both related to animal husbandry. First of all, following Mallowan's¹⁴³⁵ briefly statement that grazing could not be always efficiently achieved makes more sense to me that the higher temperature in lowlands and the inadequate water supplies of the brooks during the warmest months of the year would inhibit flock subsistence here, urging groups to move out with the animals after the spring harvest, seeking more favorable pastures. Similar examples exist in contemporary Greece, where breeders and their families move their flocks into the Pindus mountain range during the summer season and into Thessalian plain during the winter season. Secondly, the uninterrupted use of grazing land would make them useless, requiring them to be left to lie in fallow at frequent intervals. When rainfall increases, these populations would have returned to their winter basin for sowing.

According to the evidence, sheep and goat domestication was more common in north Mesopotamia, and, therefore, this lifestyle would be more common there than in south Mesopotamia, where cultivation prevailed over animal domestication. Nevertheless, a large part of the population in the entire region split their lives between two settlements, resulting in a misleading image related to the total number of expected burials. We should also take into account that these journies between mountain and plain were long and arduous, affecting mortality rates. Individuals that died during the journey were likely buried in some intermediate spot, rather than carried for days to their final destination. Consequently, only a fraction of the burial data is available at each site.

Children and infants are especially underrepresented in the Ubaid mortuary landscapes, with identical findings at the long-standing Tepe Gawra and the extended Eridu necropolis. In many modern tribes, infant mortality rates are generally low, due both to the modern medicine and polygamous social systems.¹⁴³⁶ With households organized polygamously, women have the chance to give birth less frequently, prolonging the postpartum period and thereby increasing child survival rates.¹⁴³⁷ Moreover, when the average birth interval is lengthened per woman, maternal recovery is improved and maternal mortality is reduced.¹⁴³⁸

¹⁴³⁵ Mallowan and Rose 1935, 3-6.

¹⁴³⁶ See South America and African pastoral groups (Hern 1992; Flannery 2002).

¹⁴³⁷ Hern 1992, 503.

¹⁴³⁸ Hern 1992, 503 and 545.

In some Natufian and PPNA settlements, the construction of storage facilities in a place, which was easily accessible for all the inhabitants, rather than inside dwellings attested in other contemporary sites, is interpreted by Flannery as indication that these communities consisted of "*individual nuclear families*."¹⁴³⁹ In other words, different residential structures housed some of the members of the same family, especially the women of a polygamous man were distributed to separate buildings.¹⁴⁴⁰ As stated by Byrd,¹⁴⁴¹ it is difficult to identify a household, since it is very likely for the family members to use more than one building complex and the spatial analysis of a structure cannot always reveal the relations between individuals and households.

For the tripartite houses of Ubaid Period, though, their spatial organization and the distribution of the activities in their interior are the main reasons that it is believed they were built for extended families,¹⁴⁴² as mentioned in chapter 1. Balossi Resteli, who examined the architectural remains from several sites, suggests also that the tripartite structures housed two distinct families, which shared the same T-shaped hall, since they usually consisted of two symmetrical sides, both yielded hearths and the same facilities for cooking and preparing the food.¹⁴⁴³ Based on both the modern polygamy in Iraq and the Flannery's interpretation of some Natufian and PPNA communities, the occupants of the Ubaid house could be related with each other through a polygamous man, who was the main man of the household. I believe it would be very useful for research to look at the Ubaid household in the light of the concept of polygamy, since there is a possibility this was the factor of the low percentage of the burials.

5.2. Cranial Deformation as Identity Mark

Over the time the way human bodies are adorned, dressed and, generally, treated varies according to inclination and capacities which may be individual or imposed. Ubaid cranial modification belongs to the second case, constituting an imposition on individuals.

¹⁴³⁹ Flannery 2002, 421.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Flannery 2002, 421. According to Byrd (2002), nuclear families compose all the Natufian and PPNA communities.

¹⁴⁴¹ Byrd 2002, 65-6.

¹⁴⁴² Liverani 1998, 28; Frangipane 2007; Balossi Restelli 2010; Gurdil 2010; Ur 2014, 260-1.

¹⁴⁴³ Balossi Restelli 2010, 195-6.

According to our sample¹⁴⁴⁴ analyzed in chapter 4, gender-based headshaping practice does not correspond to the Ubaid society, since both male and female skeletal remains bear such traces.¹⁴⁴⁵ Moreover, the idea of deformed skulls as manifestation of inherited social status and social complexity seems untenable. In our sample no grave holding deformed skulls show any differentiation with the rests regarding the burial facilities, the disposal of the body and the grave offerings. Indeed, their poor furnishing does not support their identification with an elite member, chief or leader, since among the three adult graves, only one contained painted and plain vessels¹⁴⁴⁶ and none of the two infant/child graves bear offerings.¹⁴⁴⁷ However, this is a very small sample for extracting profound conclusions and, as mentioned in chapter 1, the strong counter argument to this assumption supports that the absence of individual's status or identity manifestation is an inessential and irrelevant part of the Ubaid burial ritual.¹⁴⁴⁸ Croucher¹⁴⁴⁹ assumes that the image itself send the message of each individual's identity and different treatment of the body means a manifestation of rank. We should not forget that from Hamrin Basin to southeast Anatolia infants, children and maybe adolescents were altogether excluded from the conventional burial treatment applied to the rest members of the community, despite the fact that some of them experienced headshaping under specific sociocultural traditions.

It would be interesting to know whether cranial deformation played an important role in the preparation of a burial held in south Mesopotamia in both underaged and adult individuals. Therein it seems that age discrimination did not exist and everyone were interned in extramural burial locale. Unfortunately, the indications are only fragmentary in those sites and hence the initial necessity for the appearance of cranial modification in the Ubaid Period remains unknown.

According to Lorentz¹⁴⁵⁰ the Ubaid circumferential types of headshaping has been attested in Iran around the 8th and 7th mil. Furthermore, there is subtle evidence that this practice was known to the users of Halaf Culture.¹⁴⁵¹ Thus, it was not hard for the inhabitants of south Mesopotamia to master the technique. The main question,

¹⁴⁴⁴ See Tell Arpachiyah (G9 and G14-15), Tell Madhhur (6D:68), Tell Nader (Tell Zeidan (Burial 2).

¹⁴⁴⁵ See G14-15 from Tell Arpachiyah.

¹⁴⁴⁶ See Tell Arpachiyah (G9).

¹⁴⁴⁷ See Tell Zeidan (Burial 2) and Tell Madhhur (6D:68).

¹⁴⁴⁸ Wright and Pollock 1987; Huot 2004, 64; Kopanias 2013, 95-6; Kopanias and Barlagianni 2019.

¹⁴⁴⁹ Croucher 2008, 31; 2010, 118.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Lorentz 2010, 142; 2017.

¹⁴⁵¹ See skull C in Arpachiyah (Molleson and Campbell 1995) and Kurban Höyük (Alpagut 1986; Lorentz 2009).

though, still, exist: which were the sociocultural reasons for such huge need of differentiation? In a multicultural and probably multiethnic environment, like 6th mil south Mesopotamia, headshaping should be adopted by affiliated tribes to avoid intermarriages.¹⁴⁵² The arrival of new populations, the wearers of Halaf cultural material, in the region, maybe intensify the need for differentiation. The results are evidenced towards the second half of the 6th mil archeological deposits, according to which there is a cultural and probably an ethnic distinction between the south Ubaid Culture and the north Halaf one.¹⁴⁵³ Besides cranial modification, burial mortuary practices could confirm such distinct cultural zones.

Besides their practical application, headshaping should be had a particular meaning for the wearers, being that the members of the tribes. Ethnoarchaeological parallels indicate that members of Maya and Olmec modify their skulls to look like their gods.¹⁴⁵⁴ Similarly, the relation between Ubaid headshaping and religion is evident by:

- The seals as image-bearing objects seem to depict more religious than secular scenes, despite their use.¹⁴⁵⁵
- Generally, the iconographic evidence of humans put emphasis on cranial modification.
- The obvious step to the establishment of common beliefs and customs. A remarkable homogeneity characterizes the Eridu cemetery revealing common beliefs.
- No partial skeletal remains had deformed skulls indicating that old traditions had no relations with the emergence of this group.

Contacts between ethnic groups and/or a migration from the south to north resulted to the prevalence of the Ubaid cultural material and ideas over large masses of people. It is tempting the idea that this spread makes headshaping more necessary and obligated. I believe, though, that the intense interaction among populations has as a result the cranial modification ceased gradually to fulfill its principal aim, *i.e.* to keep the cohesion of the ethnic groups, and eventually fade, since the intermarriages

¹⁴⁵² Kopanias 2013, 81.

¹⁴⁵³ Frangipane 2015.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Tiesler 2010, 302-3.

¹⁴⁵⁵ Or they had cosmological meanings according to Costello (2011).

throughout this vast area and over the centuries could easily slip out of control and thus cranial modification was not practical anymore.

Furthermore, it was likely members of other ethnic groups adopt headshaping for various other reasons. For example, they aimed to imitate these influential tribes for prestige purposes. To give an ethnographic example, in Atacama Desert located to Latin America, cranial modification was considered exotic element. It is believed that some Atacamenos members, who had deformed their heads intending to communicate the message that they had close ties with the more powerful Tiwanaki, who were already practicing cranial modification and had a great reputation in the wider area.¹⁴⁵⁶ Contemporary Iranian sites, like Choga Mish¹⁴⁵⁷ and Choga Sefid,¹⁴⁵⁸ show some Ubaid influence including indications of circumferential cranial modification.

Consequently, the application of cranial deformation is likely to be more complicated and its reasons varied according to the sub-phase and region. However, the archaeological records are too scanty to make generalities. Further excavations and relative findings will contribute to shed some light to this matter.

5.3. Some Thoughts on Religious Ideas and Afterlife Beliefs

The subtle differences in quantity of offerings among Ubaid burial contexts and the absence of any identity manifestation indicate a relatively equal treatment of all the deceased regardless their previous responsibilities and roles or their family's state.¹⁴⁵⁹ The ceremony that the relatives provided in cemetery is a formal act of parting and marking decedent's departure. The ancestor worship did not seem to be yet the case, since after the conclusion of the burial the dead fade into oblivion. The fact that the female adult from Tell Nader was not buried properly signifies that there is no fear of the soul or any relation between the living and the dead. However, this does not mean that there were not afterlife beliefs. Already from the Ubaid Period, the basic burial arrangement and the huge shortage of non-pottery and exotic artifacts deposit portrays a gloomy netherworld seeing that the release of every previous acquis is likely to imply their uselessness in afterlife.¹⁴⁶⁰

¹⁴⁵⁶ For more see Torres-Rouff 2002.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Delougaz *et al.* 1996.

¹⁴⁵⁸ Hole 1977.

¹⁴⁵⁹ Besides, death could transform the identity that the deceased previously had, according to Croucher (Croucher 2006a.).

¹⁴⁶⁰ This refers to all the individuals regardless their age. Children and infant do not seem to maintain any kind of symbolization as is commonly interpreted when they found in domestic place.

The early Ubaid Period is characterized by religious and political fermentation. South Mesopotamia is likely to have developed as a religious center exporting ideological convictions and beliefs to the rest of the area. The fact that the newly-settled communities were not under the direct influence of earlier cult ideas – like the north settlements – created the ideal conditions for religious transformations in such a homogeneous manner as presented by Eridu cemetery and temples. The region seems to have maintain this role over the time, since until the end of 3rd mil BC temples were powerful and sometimes engaged with more authorities than the palaces.¹⁴⁶¹ The early beginnings of the Early Dynastic religion could be appeared or entrenched during Ubaid Period.

Nevertheless, these are just assumptions, although we do have a positive evidence that south settlements proceeded with several changes at least in the mortuary practices. As mentioned in chapter 4, in northern parts the inhabitants exploited the entire available free space around their settlements for burying their dead already from PN to Ubaid Period.¹⁴⁶² Maybe, in some cases there was an age discrimination required different disposal for adults, away from the contemporary houses. It is, though, south Mesopotamia the area, where organized and formal cemeteries emerged during the Ubaid Period. Here, the extramural burials were gradually developed and expanded around a particular place, without changing location. The complete absence of domestic mortuary ritual already from Ubaid 0 Phase¹⁴⁶³ leads to the assumption that communal burial locations emerged actually in south Mesopotamia (**fig. 39**). The Ubaid spread to the north was intense, although occasionally older mortuary practices persisted with most popular the intramural burials indicating that only a part of the religion and afterlife beliefs were partially accepted.

The wide use of formal cemeteries contributed to the evolution of mortuary practices by opening a new social space, where groups could express common ideological and moral principles. Descendants of those being interred were in the center of this social performance, beholden to reproduce ritual conventions for the sake of both the living and the dead. The official representation of funeral etiquette seems to progressively address the living over the dead, since cemeteries were typically transformed into fields for the negotiation of social identities through an increasingly

¹⁴⁶¹ Mieroop 2004, 52; Stein 2004, 73-5; Liverani 2005, 8.

¹⁴⁶² See for example Yarim Tepe, Sabi Abyad, Tell Songor and Tell Arapchayah.

¹⁴⁶³ See Tell el-Ouelli.

rich funeral ceremony, the deposition of grave goods, and the embellishment of the graves. The introduction of an elaborate feast is another mean used for establishing social relations.¹⁴⁶⁴ As Parker Pearson states, through ritual "*the social order may be legitimized or even subverted*".¹⁴⁶⁵

The necessity of ensuring, strengthening and bargaining the roles by every group of the community inspires renewal in the ritualization affecting the beliefs about afterlife. More specifically, a need for the livings to look for an interaction with their ancestors and the spiritual world started to emerge. Within an increasingly antagonistic society households or individuals need the protection and assistance of their dead in order to achieve their aims. Towards the Ubaid 5 Phase, the environmental changes and disasters witnessed by the later burial assemblages from Ur, resulted social changes and a downturn in some economic aspects. This fact led to serious imbalances among the different groups or individuals with some of them could not anymore afford an elaborate burial rite keeping. Those which managed to survive had a chance to assume as more as possible authorities and eventually prevailed. The end of the Ubaid and the subsequence transitional period meets with such sociopolitical modification. The mortuary practices were adopted to the new reality with the favorable groups trying to advertise their power over the rest members of the community by going one step further and besides the extravagant funeral, they care to keep the spirit of their ancestor satisfy in order to favor and bring good luck to the descendant. In this way the beliefs about afterlife and ancestors' spirits became more significant into the Mesopotamian religion.

5.4. Some Thoughts on Social Organization

In accordance with the interregional differences in the mortuary customs, social formation should not be interpreted uniformly to the entire Ubaid Horizon. Ubaid organizational system was unlikely to spread homogeneously to the northern societies, which already from the earlier millennia had undergone an on-going sociopolitical evolutionary process. Consequently, for the majority of the settlements former social values met with the new ones resulting to local synthesis variations. Ubaid original ideologies are hard to be detected, since their applications should occur in various degrees throughout this vast area.

¹⁴⁶⁴ For the dynamic of feast see generally Helwing 2003.

¹⁴⁶⁵ Parker Pearson 1999, 194.

The environmental conditions are an additional factor that affect the integration and evolution of them in the local community. The ethnicity, the nomadic populations, the trade networks and the irrigation-based or the rainfed-based agricultural domain developed in each region create imbalances on the administration model of the 3rd mil city-states.¹⁴⁶⁶ According to the later evidence, cities were fewer, but with larger territory in north Mesopotamia¹⁴⁶⁷ with their warlike kings and their decisions lying on the central government authority.¹⁴⁶⁸ On the other hand, south Mesopotamia was organized by an intense system of smaller cities with basically religious character. Their control was in hands of priestly administrators, who based their authority on agricultural production, rather on the control of trade networks and various kin groups.¹⁴⁶⁹ The more powerful palace of north Mesopotamia in contrast to the importance of the temples in south alluvium is evident in mortuary practices of the time.¹⁴⁷⁰ Similar evidence of differences in sociopolitical level are dated back to the 5th mil BC, during which Hamrin Basin, Syria and north Iraq produced a more complex society than further south.¹⁴⁷¹

North regions privileged by the rainfed agriculture, imported raw material and animal husbandry¹⁴⁷² developed various economic activities allocated among households. Thus, households were likely to be stronger and more competitive therein. On the contrary, excavations from Eridu and Tell al-Ubaid revealed modest and humble dwellings suggesting that households assumed their authorities only on some religious conviction.

Consequently, environmental factors do not allow any attempt to impose administrative uniformity and, therefore, the proposed theories have their own weaknesses. For example, Pollock¹⁴⁷³ and Frangipane's¹⁴⁷⁴ theory, *i.e.* the elevated position of a single family derived from verbal traditions, is based mainly on the dissimilarities among the houses¹⁴⁷⁵ and the intramural burials, which are unequal distributed, respectively.¹⁴⁷⁶ The evidence from north Mesopotamia may support it, but

¹⁴⁶⁶ Liverani 2005, 7-8.

¹⁴⁶⁷ Kopanias 2013, 118.

¹⁴⁶⁸ Mieroop 2004, 52; Stein 2004, 73-5; Liverani 2005, 7-8.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Liverani 2005, 7-9.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Stein 2004, 73-5.

¹⁴⁷¹ Stein 2014, 58.

¹⁴⁷² Sheep and goats are less common in south Mesopotamia than cattle and pigs.

¹⁴⁷³ Pollock 1999, 85-7.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Frangipane 2007, 164-9.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Pollock 1999, 88-9.

¹⁴⁷⁶ Frangipane 2007, 169.

south Mesopotamia lack similar domestic evidence, as well as graves within the limits of the residential areas. On the other hand, Hole's sacred sites¹⁴⁷⁷ and Stein's¹⁴⁷⁸ elitist approach of controlling irrigated agricultural labor and surplus by religiously-empowered leaders corresponds better to the south ritual behaviors. Such capitalization on the beliefs of wider populations is not feasible in north Mesopotamia, given that there were heterogeneous cult elements and religious differentiations within this region, as witnessed by the variations in mortuary practices therein.

However, I would argue that social complexity was achieved through a much more gradual process. A single building housed a significant number of individuals. An extended household was primarily a social group with its own responsibilities, organization and cultural unity and moral traditions.¹⁴⁷⁹ Over the time, it underwent ideological transformations and changes regarding the *"intra- and interhousehold social relations."*¹⁴⁸⁰ Lying on the basis of Ubaid social organization, future studies on the Ubaid household could shed some light to the issue of social organization.

The subsistence of such large group surely presupposed at least a rudimentary organizational system promoting intra-group differentiation. Despite the fact that everyone on the household were merely engaged with productive activities, some of them could serve religious or administrative/bureaucratic functions,¹⁴⁸¹ as well, gaining the support and respect of the rest members. As long as the large humble juvenile burials under the architectural remains do not suggest the existence of an ancestors cult and no family tombs have been identified by the present research, Ubaid households did not attempt as a whole to expand authorities. Perhaps, it was those pre-eminent individuals in each household, who probably claimed authorities on the community individually. Towards the shift from Ubaid to Uruk Period, burial contexts witness a competition arose among ambitious individuals with similar responsibilities and authorities in the community and not among households/kin groups. After assuming the power, they proceeded with the creation of an inherited rank. Consequently, the Ubaid society may be more complex and its study should be held on the basis of a multilevel approach.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Hole 1983.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Stein 1994.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Souvatzi 2008.

¹⁴⁸⁰ Souvatzi 2008, 1.

¹⁴⁸¹ Characteristic examples is Tell Abada Building A.

Conclusions

The present study is an analysis of the Ubaid burial assemblages of the settlements established throughout Tigris and Euphrates rivers. It may be one of the first efforts for holistic approach to the mortuary practices and beliefs of the long-lasting and widely spread Ubaid Culture.

Mortuary practices are an effective mean for manipulation and controlling social behavior. Thus, one of the main results of this research has to do with the communities organizational system as the primary factor that determines mortuary practices. The examinations of the data and their synthetic analysis ascertain that the Ubaid expansion contributed effectively to the circulation and exchanging of ideas between regions, producing more complex societies and communication networks among them. Besides, it is well-known that the most valuable effect of this spread was the shift into the urbanization at the end of this time. Despite the association of entire Mesopotamia with common ideological and cultural values, local expressions and regional deviations should be taken into consideration.

For such reasons, Ubaid ritual values are presented highly diverse, corresponding to successive evolutionary stages of shared mortuary practices. In this process, afterlife beliefs were progressively adopted to the new ideas and social necessities. Evidence from both intramural and extramural burial assemblages suggest that individual's identity was not seen as a continuing into afterlife. However, the more complex Ubaid society became, a more complex burial ritual was established. By the Ubaid 4 Phase wealthier burial assemblages emerged and, thus, the ancestors' spirits occupied a central and foremost position in the afterlife beliefs. Their interaction in the living world is fundamental part of the social life.

To this shift, the most decisive role played the use of communal burial places and formal cemeteries, which stood out as very effective field of negotiations and interactions among individuals and various social groups. The more elaborate grave facilities, *i.e.* floors paved with sherds or libn constructions, and the increase in the numbers of ceramic vessels¹⁴⁸² accompanying the dead, advocate of such reform in the conceptualization of death. Even children and infants burials were employed to this

¹⁴⁸² As mentioned in chapter 6.2.2., 9,8% of the burial assemblages consisted of up to 13 pots.

scope, since a number of them has been found in cemeteries accompanied by grave goods instead of receiving a humble domestic funeral.

Family tombs are hardly recognized here, since the concurrent death of more than one family member did not happen in a frequent base. It is likely that multiple interments were buried simultaneously. Burying more than one deceased in the same grave is not preferable for the relatives, who intended to renegotiate their social position. In this line, using an additional method of disposing the body prior to burial, such as exposure, which usually resulting body's fragmentation, does not service one's ambition for extending authorities exploiting burial ceremony. Perhaps, this is the main reason behind the decline of the fractional and multiple burials during the Ubaid Period.

However, burial place at Tell Arpachiyah presents high percentages of partial and multiple burials indicating strong influences from the earlier Halaf occupation. It was also located in the abandoned area of the mound, just as the rest – older and contemporary – burial places of north Mesopotamia. Burying outside the limits of the active residential zone was, also, adopted by the first inhabitants of south Mesopotamia during the Ubaid Period, although it was impossible these burial locale to be established within earlier settlements and architectural debris. Graves were progressively dug in an open area exclusively used as graveyard and, thus, the first formal cemeteries emerged, where more complex mortuary customs were held. While south Mesopotamia burial practices are only known from communal ceremonies, central and north Mesopotamia put emphasis on domestic funeral probably originated from Hamrin Basin.

These are not the only difference between north and south Mesopotamia mortuary practices. As mentioned, north Iraq, Syria and southeast Anatolia were subject to earlier burial customs that could not easily ceased to be practiced by the local populations and replaced by the Ubaid ones. On the contrary south Mesopotamia had the chance to produce a more uniform ideological background without foreign influences. Eridu seems to play a crucial role in this ideological transformation. Furthermore, the systematic deposit of ceramic vessels instead of various non-pottery offerings within graves of south Mesopotamia indicates standardization in funeral ceremony.

Distinction in mortuary practices means distinction in social lifestyle. Archaeological research should focus more on local variations avoiding generalities, which are regarded here as narrow interpretations of the Ubaid social organization. As mentioned, settlements could maintain some of the older administrative activities and organizational principles. Thus, the Ubaid ideas and values were incorporated and

expressed in varied ways and according to the needs of each society. Given that there is no evidence for centralisation in administration, it is more likely various Ubaid organizational systems to be produced. Also, the long duration and expansion definitely means great degree of adaptation and flexibility of the Ubaid formation. Otherwise, if there was a uniform control system in the entire territory, there would be a central government authority, which would try to keep all the different regions incorporated. However, the local variations and the peaceful spread of the Ubaid Culture witness that there is no intention of extending power and influence in the neighboring areas by an elite. To this line, there is no need for systematic imports of exotic items and by extension for establishing a well-organized trade network. It is more likely, non-local raw materials were occasionally imported to the sites.

Returning to the issue of the Ubaid organizational systems, it has been proposed here that south Iraqi's households were not so antagonistic as those in north regions. This fact affected the socio-economic structures of each Ubaid society. However, the evolution of these organizational systems was not linear throughout the Ubaid Period, since ideas moved from south to north and vice versa resulting variations. Thus, the situation is more complex and only further excavations and studies could shed some light to this matter. Generally, the closer a site was situated to Persian Gulf, the greater the role of the religion in administrative issues.

According to the analysis of chapter 3 the inhabitants of those settlements that were previously occupied by the wearers of Halaf Culture may be skeptical about the foreign Ubaid tradition including burial customs. As a result Ubaid ideas were not accepted by the whole population of north Mesopotamia. An indicative example is Tepe Gawra. Here, the transition from Halaf to Ubaid Culture took several centuries, during which the two cultures co-existed creating a multicultural community. Perhaps, Tepe Gawra was evolved to a quite large and flourishing settlements of the time attracting many immigrants. Such centers, though, seems impossible to control an extended area and several neighboring villages. Besides, smaller sites seems to enjoy agricultural subsistence. Furthermore, those founded during the North Ubaid Period present different and more homogeneous picture regarding mortuary practices, since they strictly follow the Ubaid examples of burial ceremonies. This fact suggests a population movement from southern region. Searching for new grazing and arable land should be a basic reason for shifting locations and migration.

There is no doubt that in more than two millennia some settlements falls into disrepair and decrepitude. Also, the development of the irrigated farming and the exploitation of domestic animals both for their meat and dairy products led to a population growth. These two factors had as a result the circulation of people throughout the Tigris and Euphrates river. This should be the main characteristic of the Ubaid Period, which probably caused its expansion. Together with the people the innovations and the more advanced ideas of the Ubaid Culture, like the slow wheel and the extended irrigated agriculture, spread to every direction and became popular to the locals.

Ubaid burial practices were adopted regionally. However, some rituals of the Halaf Culture continued to exist and this is evident in the sites, which previously were under a very strong Halaf influence, like Tell Arpachyah and Tell Aqab. This fact suggests no intention for interaction between locals and immigrants. For example, in the ever-increasing of the Ubaid presence the inhabitants of Tepe Gawra tried to keep their cohesion and therefore the Halaf Culture had not assimilated until the end of the Ubaid Period. Based on mortuary evidence from the site there is indeed two distinct traditions from XX to XIV levels. Overall, the so-called tholoi, the simple rectangular buildings and the ceramic vessels of Halaf Culture could not evolved to the Ubaid tripartite buildings and the black-on-buff pottery. In fact, by the middle of 7th millennium the two cultures do not seem to interact. This research reveals a discontinuity in the burial practices. Cremations and mass graves were unknown in Mesopotamia until the appearance of the Halaf Culture, while infant urn burials originate from Samarra Period. It is proposed that Halaf Culture originate from the eastern areas of the Euphrates river. The foreign people did not seem to mix with the local population, maintaining this way their identity and their distinct characteristic. Maybe, the wearers of Hassuna and Samarra Cultures treated them with caution, as well. The main question, though, still exist: is the arrival of Halaf Culture the reason for south Mesopotamia to be settled by some northern populations?

Although mobility should be common during the Ubaid Period, population movements are sometimes hard to be identified through the archaeological research, especially in those early times. During the Ubaid Period the periodic movement of the breeders from the lowland to Zagros mountains and vice versa cannot be fully confirm based on the evidence so far. Nevertheless, future studies on Ubaid mortuary practices should focus more on the issue of small number of on-site burials and the identification

of the extramural burial places. The small sample of the Ubaid graves, also, and the relatively few anthropological studies have as a result a limited knowledge about mortuary practices and cranial deformation, as well. However, in the case of headshaping it is clear that there is no differentiation in burial arrangement between those graves that deformed skulls with the rests.

To sum up, Ubaid Culture was very influential during 5th mil BC. This does not necessarily mean that each site adopted the mortuary practices together with the rest ideas and customs. The way that the dead was treated is not extremely innovative, but rather it presents a smooth transition from the Hassuna and Samarra burial practices. During the Ubaid Period there is more or less a standardization in the burial arrangement and in the deposit of offerings. The regular presence of clay vessels in burial context is but one step further to associate funeral with the social identity. However, Ubaid funeral still signifies equality in death, since everyone were considered as peers in afterlife.

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Appendix A

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	1	urn	no lid	single	flexed	SE	infant / child	1		bowl	plain / roughly made	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	2	urn	lidded with a bowl	single	flexed	?	newborn-6 months	2		pot and bowl	?	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	3	urn	no lid	single	flexed	S	6 to 15 months	1		bowl	Painted and repaired with clay plaster in antiquity	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	4	urn	no lid	single	flexed	N	newborn-6 months	1		spouted vessel	Painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	5	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	?	newborn-6 months	3 (body inside the jar, which was covered with a plate)		1 jar, 1 plate 1 cup	?	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	6	urn	sealed with gypsum plaster	single	flexed	?	infant or child	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	7	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	?	infant or child	2		urn is an unbaked clay and lid is a plate	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	8	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	S	newborn-6 months	2		pot and plate	urn made of rough pottery, but painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 37; Jasim 2021, 21	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	9	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	N	infant or child	2		pot and plate	painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	10	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	11	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	N	newborn-6 months	1		bowl	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	12	urn	sealed with gypsum plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	13	urn	sealed with gypsum plaster	single	flexed	N	newborn-6 months	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	14	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		jar	?		?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38;	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Jasim 2021, 21	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	15	urn	lidded with a sherd of jar	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	16	urn	no lid	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	unbaked clay	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	17	urn	sealed with clay and gypsum plaster	single	flexed	SE	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 38; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	18	urn	sealed with clay plastered	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	19	urn	lidded with jar and sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	newborn-6 months	2		pot and jar	urn painted	?	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	21	urn	lidded with bowl	single	flexed	N	infant or child	2		pot and bowl	painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	22	urn	sealed with clay plastered	single	flexed	N	newborn-6 months	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	23	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	N	newborn-6 months	2		plate and jar	urn painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	24	urn	lidded with large sherd	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	25	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	?	6 to 15 months	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	26	urn	lidded with half pot	single	confused	?	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39;	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	27	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	E	infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	28	urn	lidded with pot	single	flexed	E	newborn-6 months	2		pots	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	29	urn	sealed with clay plastered	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 39; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	30	urn	lidded with a fragment of plate	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	31	urn	lidded with a large sherd of a plate	single	?	?	unborn child ?	1		jar	roughly made		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 22	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	32	urn	no lid	single	confused		infant or child	1		jar	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	33	simple pit	lidded with bowl	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		bowl	?	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	34	urn	no lid	single	flexed	E	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	beads	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 22	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	35	urn	lidded with sherds and sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	E	infant or child	1		pot	plain	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	37	urn	sealed with clay plastered	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	38	urn	sealed with gypsum	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40;	

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																								Jasim 2021, 23; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	39	urn	sealed with gypsum	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 40; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	40	urn	sealed with a layer of baked clay and unbaked clay	single	flexed	E	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	41	urn	covered with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	unbaked	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	42	urn	lidded with sherds and sealed with clay plaster	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	unbaked clay	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	43	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	S	infant or child	1		pot	plain and	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41;	

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													roughly made											Jasim 2021, 23; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	44	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		jar	impressed		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	45	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	SW	1 or 2 years	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	46	urn	no lid	single	confused		infant or child	1		jar	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	47	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	unbaked	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	48	urn	lidded with plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		painted pot / plain and roughly made plate	painted and plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	49	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	SW	infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	50	urn	lidded with a pot	single	confused		infant or child	2		pots	urn painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	51	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	SW	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	52	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	SW	infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 41; Jasim 2021, 23	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	53	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	54	simple pit	covered with a bowl	single	flexed	S	infant or child	1		bowl	?	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 23	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	55	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		pot and plate	plain ?	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	56	simple pit	covered with a plate	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		plate	?	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	57	urn	lidded with a plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		pot and roughly made plate	plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	58	urn	lidded with a plate and	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot and plate	?	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
					sealed with clay plaster																				
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	59	urn	no lid	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	60	urn	lidded with a plate and sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		jar and plate	urn painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	61	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	62	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 42; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	63	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		painted pot and plain plate	painted and plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	64	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	65	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	N	6 to 15 months	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	66	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	67	urn	lidded with a plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	beads	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	68	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	urn painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	figurine associated	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	69	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	urn painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43;	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Jasim 2021, 24; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	70	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	urn painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	71	urn	lidded with pot	single	confused		infant or child	2		pots	lid painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	72	urn	double urn / lidded with plate	single	flexed	S	infant or child	3		2 pots and 1 plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	73	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	74	urn	lidded with plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43;	

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																								Jasim 2021, 24; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	75	urn	lidded with plate	single	confused		6 to 15 months	2		painting pot and plain plate	painting and plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 43; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	76	simple pit	covered with plate	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		plate	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 24	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	77	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	78	urn	lidded with plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		pot and roughly made plate	plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	79	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	painting	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44;	

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																								Jasim 2021, 25; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	80	simple pit	covered with plate	single	extended	N	child	1		plate	?	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	81	urn	lidded with plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	82	urn	lidded with sherds and sealed with caly plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		jar	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	83	urn	lidded with plate and sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	84	urn	lidded with plate ans	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		pot and plate	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44;	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
					sealed with gypsum plaster																			Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	85	urn	lidded with plate and sealed with caly plaster	single	flexed	N	infant or child	2		pot and plate	urn painted	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	86	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	urn painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	87	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	N	newborn-6 months	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 44; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	88	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	89	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	E	infant or child	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45;	

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																								Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	90	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	91	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim, 1985, 45	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	92	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		jar	paint		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	93	urn	lidded with sherds and sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	urn painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	94	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	95	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45;	

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																								Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	96	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	S	infant or child	1		jar	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	97	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim. 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	98	urn	lidded with half plate	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	badly made	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 45; Jasim 2021, 25	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	99	urn	lidded with half plate	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	100	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		newborn-6 months	1		pot	plain	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	101	urn	lidded with plate	single	flexed	SE	1 or 2 years	2		pot and plate	urn plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	102	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	103	urn	plastered with baked clay	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	104	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	105	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	106	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46;	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	107	urn	plastered with baked clay	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	108	urn	no lid	single	confused		infant or child	1		spouted vessel	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	109	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	110	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	111	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	

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Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	112	urn	lidded with plate and sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	N	infant or child	2		pot and plate	?	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 46; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	113	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	confused		infant or child	1		?	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	114	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	painting	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	115	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		bowl	painting	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	116	urn	sealed with clay plaster	single	flexed	N	infant or child	1		pot	painting	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	117	urn	no lid	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47;	

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																								Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	118	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	119	urn	lidded with a large sherd	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	120	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		pot	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	121	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	NE	infant or child	2		roughly made pot and painted dish	painted and plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim, 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	122	urn	lidded with a plate	single	flexed	N	infant or child	2		jar (urn painted) and	painted and	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47;	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
												repaired plate	plain / repair											Jasim 2021, 26	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	123	urn	lidded with plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		jar and plate	?	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 27	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	124	urn	sealed with gypsum plaster	single	flexed	SW	infant or child	1		pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 27	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	125	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		jar	roughly made	?	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 47; Jasim 2021, 27	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	126	urn	lidded with plate	single	confused		infant or child	2		pot and plate	?	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 48; Jasim 2021, 27	
Tell Abada	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	127	urn	lidded with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	1		jar	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Jasim 1985, 48; Jasim 2021, 27	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abu Dhahir	North Mesopotamia	Hassuna ? Pre-Ubaid ?	G1	simple pit		single	flexed	W	male adult	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ball 2007, 2-3	
Tell Abu Dhahir	North Mesopotamia	Hassuna ? Pre-Ubaid ?	G2	simple pit		single	flexed	W	child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ball 2007, 24	
Tell Abu Dhahir	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G3	simple pit		single	flexed	E	female adult	1	near head	bowl or cup	?	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ball 2007, 25	
Tell Abu Dhahir	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G4	simple pit		single	flexed	W	female adult	4	close to legs ?	1 jar (with stone lid) / 3 bowls	painted	X	X	stone lid	2 obsidian pendants, one perforated, near the hands	—	—	two clay lumps	a lump of pigment close to a bowl	—	—	Ball 2007, 25-7	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abu Dhahir	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G5	simple pit		single	flexed	W	adult	1	?	bowl	plain	X		—	—	some	an obsidian blade	—	—	—	—	Ball 2007, 27	
Tell Abu Dhahir	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G6	simple pit		single	flexed	W	female adult	2	?	1 painted jar / 1 bowl	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Ball 2007, 28	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G1	urn	lidded with a beaker	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	jar and beaker	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G2	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	jar and beaker	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G3	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	jar and beaker	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G4	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	jars	plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G5	urn	lidded with a bowl	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker and bowl	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G6	urn	lidded with a bowl	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker and bowls	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G8	urn	lidded with bricks	single	?	?	infant or child	1	—	beaker	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G9	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker and jar	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G10	urn	lidded with a bowl	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker and bowl	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G11	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker and jar	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G12	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1	—	beaker	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G13	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1	—	jar	plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G14	simple pit	cover with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	1	—	jar	plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G15	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1	—	beaker	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G16	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	jars	plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G17	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker and jar	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G18	urn	lidded with a jar and beaker	single	?	?	infant or child	3	—	2 beakers (urn painted) and a jar	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122-3	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G25	urn	lidded with spouted vessel	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	baeker and spouted vessel	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G26	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	jars (urn painted)	painted and plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122-3	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G31	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	spouted vessel (painted) and jar	painted and plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122-3	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G32	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker and jar	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G34	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1	—	jar	plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122	
Tell Abu Husaini	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	G35	urn	lidded with a jar	single	?	?	infant or child	2	—	beaker (painted) and jar	painted and plain			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Chiocchetti 2007, 122-3	
Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Br.7-1	simple pit		single	flexed	S	adult	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 57	

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Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	Br.3-4	simple pit		No humans remains			adult	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—		dubious, since the adultural was witnessed only by the impression of the skull in the clay coating of Br.3-3	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 57	fig. 29
Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	Br.3-3	simple pit	clay floor / the coat has the impression of an adulkull	single	?	?	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 56	
Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	Br.3-2	simple pit	clay floor / body covered with sherds	single	confused		infant or child	sherds	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 56	
Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	Br.3-1	simple pit	clay floor	single	confused		infant or child	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 56	

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Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	Br.2-3	urn	lidded with a bowl	single	decay		infnat / child	2	—	urn scattered / bowl	—	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55-6	
Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	Br.2-2	urn	lidded with a broken cooking pot	single	flexed	?	infnat / child	2	—	1 jar / 1 broken cooking pot	—	?	X	—	—	—	flint flakes	—	—	—	—	—	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55	
Tell al 'Abr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	Br.2-1	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed		infant or child	1	—	jar	—		X	—	—	—	piece of flint	—	—	—	—	—	Hammade and Yamazaki 2006, 55	
Tell Aqab	North Mesopotamia	HUT and Ubaid 3		7 simple pits		single	?	?	children and adults																Davidson and Watkins 1981, 11.	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G1	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	2	—	1 jar / 1 painted bowl	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	

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Tell Arpachayh	North Mesopotamia		G2	simple pit		double / complete and fractional (complete skeleton near the legs of which a second skull)	flexed	?	female / at thirties	3	—	1 painted / 1 jar painted / 1 broken pot	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	according to the excavator contemporary with G7	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38; Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; Molleson and Campbell 1995, 55) (skull M)	

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Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G3	simple pit		single	reburial (see comments)	W	male / 25-30 years old	1	near legs	pot	plain	?	?	—	—	animal skull under the pot	—	—	—	—	according to the excavator, secondary burial, since the skull was found almost 1 m away and 0,5 m deep from the rest skeleton. He argues that the skull was buried first	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38; Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; Molleson and Campbell 1995, 55 (skull J)	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G4	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	—	—	—	—			—	Necklace of white and black beads* Black beads at the knees	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	

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Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G5	simple pit	beaten soil	Fractional (skull and phalanges found)	—		—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G6	simple pit		Fractional (skull and arm-bone found)	—		—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G7	simple pit		double / complete and fractional (complete skeleton near the legs of which a second skull)	sitting position	?	?	1	near legs	1 broken pot	painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	according to the excavator contemporary with G2	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	

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Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G8	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	3	near legs	1 bowl / 1 jar / 1 pot / 1 sherd	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G9	simple pit		double / complete and fractional (complete skeleton and part of infant skull inside a pot)	flexed	?	male / 25 years old	3	near head and legs	1 painted jar / 1 painted bowl / 1 bowl	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38; Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55 (MRG9); Molleson and Campbell 1995, 54 (Κρανίο F)	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G10	simple pit		Fractional	—	E	male / 45-50 years old	3		3 bowls	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38; Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; Molleson and Campbell 1995, 55 (skull L)	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G11	simple pit		Fractional (bones of arms and legs found)	—	—	—	4		2 painted bowls / 1 jar / 1 miniature jar (inside a bowl)	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	According to the excavator the miniature pot is a bowl, but according to the available photograph in the publication it is clear that it is a jar	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	

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Tell Arpachayh	North Mesopotamia		G12	simple pit		Fractional (back bones and fragments of skull found)	—	NW	—	2		1 jar / 1 painted bowl	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	
Tell Arpachayh	North Mesopotamia		G13	simple pit		Fractional (back bones and leg bones missing)	flexed	E	—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G14-15	cairn ?		double	flexed	?	female at 30 years old / male at 25-30 years old	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	X	According to excavator the only double burial, but see G23	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 38-9; Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; Molleson and Campbell 1995, 55 (skulls G and H)	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G16	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G17	simple pit		Fractional (skull found)				—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G18	simple pit		No humans remains				2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dubious	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G19	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	2	—	1 bowl / 1 jar	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G20	simple pit		single	flexed	?	female / 35-40 years	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39; (Mallowan and Linford 1969, 55; Molleson and Campbell 1995, 55 (skull I))	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G21	simple pit		fractional (the skull, arm-bones and toes missing)	extended	E	—	2	—	2 jars	painted		X	—	—	animal bones and sheep's teeth	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G22	urn	lidded ?	single	?	?	infant or child	2		1 jar (urn) and 1 bowl	?	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G23	simple pit		double	flexed	W	adult male? and female?	4	near head and legs of female	2 painted bowls / 1 jar / 1 open pot	painted and plain	X	X	—	a bead on the knees	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G24	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	2	near legs	1 plain jar (both broken)	?	?	X	—	—	—	—	spatula	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G25	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	—	—	—	—			—	steatite bead	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G26	simple pit		fractional				—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 39-40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G27	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	2	near legs	1 bowl (repaired) / 1 jar	painted / repair	X	X	—	steatite in toes	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G28	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	2	against stomach and near legs	1 bowl / 1 pot	plain	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G29	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G30	simple pit		fractional (pelvis missing)	flexed	W	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G31	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	—	—	—	—			—	steatite bead at neck	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G32	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	?	1		1 jar / 1 sherd	plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G33	simple pit		fractional (legs)	flexed	E	?	2		1 bowl / 1 painted jar	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
						missing)						(inside the bowl)													
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G34	simple pit		single	flexed ?	SE	?	2	near legs	1 jar / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	ibex horn by the waist	—	lump of clay	—	?	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G35	simple pit		fractional (skull nad some arms and legs-bones found)	flexed	NW	—	1	near legs	1 bowl (repaired) / 1 pot	repair	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G36	simple pit		fractional (legs-bones found)	flexed	W	—	2	near legs	1 painted jar / 1 bowl	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G37	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G38	simple pit		fractional (skull, upper arm-bone and ribs found)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	according to the excavator it is a collection of bones, perhaps from the battle-field, carelessly eposited.	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G39	simple pit		single	reburial (see comments) / flexed	?	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Arm-bones had been collected and laid down in front of the body	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G40	simple pit		fractional (skull missing)	flexed	?	—	2	near legs	1 jar / 1 bowl	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G41	simple pit		fractional (some ribs, some backbonees and some bones of the pelvis missing)	flexed	SE	—	2	near legs	1 jar / 1 bowl	paintd	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G42	simple pit		single	reburial (see comments)	?	—	?	near the lengs and head	?	?	?	?	—	—	—	—	clay box above the arms	?	—	Legs vertical in the ground and covered by stone	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 40-1	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G43	simple pit		single	?	?	?	2	near the legs and head	1 jar / 1 painted bowl	paintd and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G44	simple pit		single	sitting position	?	?	2	behind the head	2 bowls	paintd	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G45	simple pit		triple fractional	groups of bones separated lines of pebbles.	—	—	at least 10						—	—	animal bones, mostly jaws of sheep and cows.	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G46	simple pit		fractional (upper part found)				1	away from the skull	1 bowl	plain	X		—	—	—	—	The pot lay on carbonized wood.	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G47	simple pit	traces of clothing	fractional (some back and arm-bones, as well as low jaw missing)	flexed	E	—	1	near the legs	1 pot of Jembet Nasr type / 2 sherds	?	X		—	—	sheep's jaw over human jaw	2 fragments of flint behind head	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G48	simple pit		7 all fractional	—	—	—	unspecified number of vessels						—	—	—	fragments of flint	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 41	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G49	simple pit		single	—	—	—	2	1 jar / 1 bowl	1 painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 42	
Tell Arpachiyah	North Mesopotamia		G50	simple pit		single	flexed ?	E	?	1	pot	1 painted	?	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	—	Mallowan and Rose 1935, 42	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	1	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and female ?	2	near the legs and head of the one individual	1 painted jar	?	?	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 125	
Erudu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	2	libn floor		single	extended	NW	adult	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 19181, 125	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	3	libn box		duble	extended	NW	adult male and female ?	4	each individual accompanied by 2	1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—					—			Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 125	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	7	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 125	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	8	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult	—	—	—	—			—	—	animal bone in the chest	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 125	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	9	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	clay lump	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 125	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	10	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult	3	—	2 bowls / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	animal bone	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 125	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	12	libn box		single	extended	NW		—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	13	libn box		double	extended	NW	adults	3	2 to one individual and 1 to another	1 painted bowl / 1 painted jar / 1 open	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	14	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	15	libn box		single	extended	NW	young ?	6	—	3 bowl / 2 cups / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	16	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3	—	1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	17	Libn box		single	extended	NW	adult	3	—	2 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	In each side of the grave there is a simple burial holding a child.	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	18	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and female ?	2	next to the male	2 bowls	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Uruk	21	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	—	—	—	—			1 stone jar / 1 stone plate	—	—	—	1 mace-head	—	?	According to excavators ç and Pariselle (1985), the stone vessels are dated Uruk Perios* Overlay G22	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 126	fig. 36

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	22	libn box		single	arms and legs in disorder	NW	adult female ?	3	—	1 closed / 1 painted bowl / 1 painted cup	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	23	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and female ?	6	four next to male	1 cup / 3 bowls / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	24	?		double	extended	NW	adult male and female ?	3	2 next to male	1 bowl / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	25	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2	near legs	1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	26	?		disintegrated	extended	NW	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Safar, Mustafa,		

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Lloyd 1981, 127	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	27	—		single	disintegrated	—	—	3		1 cup / 1 jar / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	28	libn box		single	extended	NW	child at 14 yaers ?	3		1 cup / 1 jar / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	29	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	30	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and female ?	8	6 next ot female	2 bowl / 4 jars / 2 cups,	painted	X	X	—	—	fish and meat bones	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 127	fig. 36

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	31	libn box		double	extended	NW	adults ?	5	3 to one individual and tow to other. At legs	3 jars / 2 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	32	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	34	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	animal bones near skull	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	35	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	36	simple pit		single	extended	NW	?	2		1 bowl / 1 closed	painted			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	37	libn box		single	extended	NW	?	2		1 bowl / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	38	libn box		single	extended	NW	child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	39	libn box		single	extended	NW	child at 14 years ?	4	near arms	2 bowls / 1 jar / 1 cup	painted	X	X	—	rock cristal bead near the jaw	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	40	—		single	extended	NW	child ?	4		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	Beads near the jaw and beads made of obsidian, calcite and shell atound the waist	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	41	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	3	near pelvis	1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	meat above the earth cover the body	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 128	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	42	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	4		1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	43	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	44	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	1	nera head	jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	45	libn box		double	extended and disorder	NW	infants ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	

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Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	47	libn box		single	extended	NW	young ?	4		1 bowl, 1 cup, 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	48	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		2 cups / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	50	simple pit		single	extended	NW	young at 12 years ?	1		closed	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	51	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	4		1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	52	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	5		1 bowl / 1 cup / 3 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	53	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa,	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	54	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	4		2 cups / 1 bowl / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	56	libn box		single	extended	NW		1	near shoulders	jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 129	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	58	libn box		fractional (legs missing)	extended	NW	adult female ?	5		1 bowl / 3 cups / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	59	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male ? adult female ?	4	each individual accompanied by 2 / near legs	3 jars / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	60	-		single	extended	NW	adult ?	3	near the legs and body	1 bowl / 2 cup	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	61	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult ?	3		1 bowl / 2 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	62	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	2 srone beads	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	63	libn box	each wrapped with a mat	double	extended	NW	adult male ? adult female ?	2	near male	1 bowl / 1 cup	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	64	libn box		single	extended	NW	?	3		2 bowls / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number		Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
										Pottery	Pottery Deposit														
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	65	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	1 painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	66	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	1 painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 130	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	67	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	1 painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	68	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	1 painted	X	X	—	White and black beads around waist	—	—	figurine near the shoulder	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	69	simple pit	clay floor	single	extended	NW	child ?	3		2 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	1 painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	70	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	71	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	4	each individual accompanied by 2	2 bowl / 1 jar / 1 cup / 1 broken	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	72	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	4	refer to the one individual	1 bowl / 2 cups / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	73	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	76	simple pit	clay floor	single	extended	NW	adult ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 131	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	77	libn floor		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	78	libn floor		triple	extended	NW	child ?	6	fout near one individual and two near a second	1 bowl / 2 jars / 1 cup / 2 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	79	simple pit		single	extended	NW	?	2		2 bowls / 1 cup	painted			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	80	libn box		single	extended	NW	girl ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	necklare of calcite around the neck* necklare of yellow, ehite nad black beads around body near hips	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	81	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	3		2 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	82	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	4		1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	83	libn floor		double	extended	NW	adult male ? adult?	6	four near one individual and two near a second	2 bowls / 4 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	86	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	87	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	6	four next to male	1 closed / 2 bowls / 2 jars / 1 cup	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 132	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	88	libn floor		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult	4	one near adult	1 closed / 2 cups / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 133	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
									female ?																
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	89	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	painted			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 133	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	90	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	6	four next to female	1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 close	painted	X	X	—	two necklace one of frit other of obsidian around the body near the hips	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 133	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	91	libn box	piece of reed mat near left leg	single	extended	SE	adult ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	meat bones on chest	—	—	X	?	according to Parissele (1985) it is post-Ubaid	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 133	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	92	libn floor		double	confused and flexed	NW	childrem ?	3	two near the one	1 closed /	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa,	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
											individual	1 bowl / 1 cup												Lloyd 1981, 133	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	93	libn box		single	extended	NW	child	4		1 bowl / 3 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	animal jaw east of the head	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 133	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	94	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult ?	1 sherd						—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 133	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	95	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 133	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	96	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 jar / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	97	—		multiple / fractional (one complete skeleton, 16 skulls and two partially bodies)	extended	NW	adults ?	1		closed	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	98	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	99	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	100	simple pit		double complete and	flexed	NW	children ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa,	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
						fractional																		Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	101	libn floor		double	extended	NW	adults ?	6	each individual was accompanied by three	2 bowls / 2 cups / 2 jar	Painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	102	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	103	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	104	libn box		fractional (legs missing)	?	NW	adult ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	105	libn box		single	extended	NW	child	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	two clay pellet	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	106	libn box		double	extended	NW	adults ?	6	four accompanied the one individual	2 bowls / 2 cups / 3 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	fish bones inside vessels	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 134	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	107	libn box		double	extended and sitting	NW	adult female and child ?	5	three near female legs	2 bowls / 2 cups / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	108	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	stone beads around hips	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	109	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult	3		1 closed / 1 bowl / 1 cup	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	110	libn box		single	extended	NW	girl at 15 years ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	frit beads at the right side of neck	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	111	simple pit		fractional (legs and some arm-bones missing)	extended	NW	adult female ?	1		1 cup	painted			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	112	libn box		triple	extended	NW	adult male, adult female and child ?	7	three accompanied the male, two the female and two the child	2 bowl / 3 jars / 1 cup / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	114	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 jar / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	Band of two raws of frit beads around knees / Band of frit beads around hips	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	115	In debris		single	disorder		child ?	2		1 jar / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 135	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	116	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	4	near the male legs	2 bowls / 1 jar / 1 cup	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	117	libn box		single	extended	NW	child female ?	4		2 cups / 1 bowl / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	118	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	The libn box was broken through near the skull where the legs of another corpse were placed	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	119	libn box		fractional			infant ?	1		1 cup	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	120	libn box		fractional	extended	NW	adult male ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	the box was wrongly orients and it seems that it was prepared before	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																							interment, so that the corpse had to be place diagonally in order to be in the right orientation		
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	121	simple pit		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	1	near the male	1 jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	122	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child	3		2 jars / 1 closed	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	123	libn box		double (complete skeleton)	extended	NW	adult male ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	1 stone vessel	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 136	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
						and a skull)																			
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	124	libn box		single	extended	NW	infant ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	125	libn platform		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 bowl / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	128	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	1		bowl of three petals shape		X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	129	libn box	floor paved with bitumen / corpse wrapped with mat	single	extended	NW	child ?	1	near shoulders	1 closed	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	fig. 36

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	130	Libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	131	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	132	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	4	near shoulders	2 cups / 1 bowl / 1 open plain	painted and plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	133	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3	near legs	1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	134	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	4		1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number		Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
										Pottery	Pottery Deposit														
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	135	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	2		1 painted jar / 1 closed	painted and plain			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	136	libn box		single	disorder	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	137	simple pit		fractional (the skull and bones form the upper part missing)	extended	NW	adult female ?	—	—	—	—			—	Band of white and black beads around kness / Beads near elbows	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	138	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	meat bones above filling	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 137	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	139	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		1 closed plain / 1 bowl / 1 cup	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	140	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 bowl / 1 κλειστό	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	141	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	142	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	143	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		2 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	144	libn box		No humans remains				2		1 bowl / 1 cup	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	145	libn box		double (complete skeleton and a skull)	extended	NW	adult ?	2	near shoulders	1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	146	simple		single	flexed	NW	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	147	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2	near shoulders	1 bowl / 1 cup	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	148	simple pit		fractional (skull missing)	extended	N	?	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	149	libn platform		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	animal skull near legs	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	150	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	151	simple pit		double fractional (skulls missing)	extended	NW	adult male ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 κλειστό	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	Both skulls are missing due to an old pit	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 138	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	152	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		2 bowls / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	153	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		2 bowls / 1 cup,	painted			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	155	libn box ?	Libn box incoplete	double	extended	NW	adult female ?	1	near female	1 bowl / 2 jars	painte	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	157	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painte	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	158	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2		2 bowl / 1 cup / 1 closed	painte	X	X	—	cowrie shell and two frit beads found on chest	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	159	Libn box		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painte	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	161	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painte	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	162	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	3		2 bowls / 1 cup	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	163	libn box		double (complete skeleton and a skull)	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 plain closed	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	164	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	1	near male	1 bowl	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	fig. 36
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	165	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult male ?	1		1 cup	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	166	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa,	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Lloyd 1981, 139	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	167	simple pit		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 cup / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	it is likely the vessels do not belong to this assemblage	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	168	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	169	simple pit		single	extended	E	infant ?	3		1 jar / 1 closed / 1 bowl	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	170	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2		1 bowl / 1 cup	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	171	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	172	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	4		1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	173	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2		1 bowl / 1 cup	painted			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	174	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	3		2 bowls / 1 κλειστό	painted	X	X	—	3 cm bands of frit below kneed	—	—	—	—	?	the one open pot has incisions inside	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	175	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	176	libn floor		single	extended	NW	child ?	1		closed	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number		Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
										Pottery	Pottery Deposit														
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	177	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	178	—		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	1		1 cup	Painted			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	179	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	Painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	180	libn box		double fractional (the legs missing)	extended	NW	adults ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 140	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	181	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult female ?	4		2 bowls / 1 cup / 1 jar	Painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	182	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	4		2 bowls / 1 cup / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	183	simple		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	4	each individual was accompanied by two	1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	184	libn box		single	extended	NW	child ?	2		1 bowl / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	185	libn box		single	extended	NW	young ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	The complete skeleton of a dog? was found in box, separated from the corpse by a	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																				thin layer of earth. The dog is laid on its left side across the human skeleton, with its head to the south					
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	186	libn box		double	extended	NW	adult male and adult female ?	3	two accompanied the male	1 bowl / 1 jar / 1 κλειστό	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	188	libn box		fractional (the legs missing)	extended	NW	?	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 κλειστό	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	189	libn box		double	extended	NW	adults ?	3	two accompanied	1 bowl / 2 jars / 1 potsherd	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa,	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
											the one individual													Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	191	libn box		single	extended	NW	infant ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	192	libn box		single	extended	NW	adult ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Eridu	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	193	libn box		single	extended	NE	adult ?	4		1 bowl / 1 cup / 2 jars	Painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	?	—	Safar, Mustafa, Lloyd 1981, 141	
Tell es-Sa'adiyeh	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3 Phase	No.8	urn	lidded with bowl	single	flexed	?	infant or child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kozlowski and Bielinski 1984, 104	
Tell es-Sa'adiyeh	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3 Phase	No.9	urn	lidded with bowl	single	flexed	?	infant or child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kozlowski and	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
																								Bielinski 1984, 104	
Tell es-Sa'adiyeh	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3 Phase	No.10	urn	lidded with bowl	single	flexed	?	infant or child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kozlowski and Bielinski 1984, 104	
Tell es-Sa'adiyeh	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	No.12	urn	?	single	flexed	?	infant or child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kozlowski and Bielinski 1984, 104	
Tell es-Sa'adiyeh	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	No.13	urn	no lidded	single	flexed	?	infant or child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kozlowski and Bielinski 1984, 104	
Tell es-Sa'adiyeh	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	No.14	urn	lidded with sherd	single	flexed	?	infant or child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kozlowski and Bielinski 1984, 104	
Tell Haizalum	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4		urn	lidded with a bowl	single	?	?	infant or child	2		bowls	painted and plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Killick 1988, 147	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Hammam et-Turkman	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	HMM 84-B1	into an oval clay box		single	flexed	W	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Van Loon (ed) 1988, 144	
Tell Hammam et-Turkman	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	HMM 84-B2	simple pit		single	extended	SW	adult	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Van Loon (ed) 1988, 144	
Tell Hammam et-Turkman	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	HMM 84-B3	simple pit		single	flexed	NE	adult	1	near legs	bowl	?	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Van Loon (ed) 1988, 144	
Tell Hammam et-Turkman	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	HMM 84-B4	built shaft	oval lined with clay and sealed with mud bricks / traces of matting	single	flexed	SW	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Van Loon (ed) 1988, 144	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Hassan	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4		simple pit		single	flexed	NW	male	4		4 bowls (on painted, one coarse)	painted and plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fiorina 1984, 285-6; Fiorina 1987, 249	
Tell Hassan	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4		simple pit		single	flexed	NE	male	2		2 bowls	plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Fiorina 1984, 285-6; Fiorina 1987, 249	
Kanijda 1 East	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	41	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1		?	unbaked clay			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 42; Wilkinson <i>et al.</i> 1996, 26	
Kanijda 1 East	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	42	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1		?	unbaked clay			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 42; Wilkinson	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.	
																								<i>et al.</i> 1996, 26		
Kanijda 1 East	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	65	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1		?	unbaked caly			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Wilkinson and Tucker 1995, 42; Wilkinson <i>et al.</i> 1996, 26	
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4600 BC	D.8.90.1	simple pit	parts of the skeleton found inside the wall of the room	single	?	?	woman under 18 years old ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2008, 107, 131-2		
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4600 BC	D.8.54.1	urn	no lid	single	much decay	?	3 to 9 months	1		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2008, 132		
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4720-4520 BC	E.2.146.6	urn	no lid / partially within wall	single /fractional			woman 30-40 years old ?	1		pot	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2008, 132		

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4400-4200 BC	D.4.412.8.1	urn (?)	traces of basket or cloth under the corpse	single	?	?	2 years old	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2009, 115	
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4700 BC	D.5.522.1.1	urn	no lid	single	?	?	unborn-2 months	1		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2009, 115	
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4400-4200 BC	D.6.145.4	urn	basket as urn / no lid	single	?	?	unborn-6 months	—	—	—	—			—	calcareous bead	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2009, 115	
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4400-4200 BC	D.6.155.4	urn	lidded with a bowl	single	?	?	6 months-1 year	2		unbaked pot and a bowl	?	X	?	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2009, 115-6	
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4700 BC	D.8.162.1	urn (?)	wrapped in matting or placed in basket	single	?	?	unborn-6 months	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2009, 116	
Kenan Tepe	North Mesopotamia	4400-4200 BC	E.2.174.1	simple pit	within a mud brick wall	single	?	?	1-6 years old	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Parker et al. 2009, 116-7	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Kosak Shamali	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	1318	simple pit		single	flexed	?	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 60 and 95	
Tell Kosak Shamali	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	824	simple pit		single	flexed	?	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 80 and 95	
Tell Kosak Shamali	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	505	built shaft	lined with mud and stone	single	flexed	?	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 82 and 95	
Tell Kosak Shamali	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	412	urn		single	flexed	?	infant or child	1		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 85 and 95	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.	
Tell Kosak Shamali	North Mesopotamia	Post-Ubaid	B612	simple pit		single	?	?	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Nishiaki and Matsutani 2001, 122		
Kudish Şaghîr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period		urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1		open	plain and roughly made	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Starr 1939, 9	
Kudish Şaghîr	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period		urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1		open	plain and roughly made	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Starr 1939, 9	
Ninveh	North Mesopotamia	Post-Ubaid	4 burials	urns		single			infant or child														allied to G.22 from Tell Arpachiyah	Perkins 1945, 56.		
Nuzi	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period		urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	broken		jar	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Starr 1939, 14	
Nuzi	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period		urn	no lid	single	flexed	N	infant or child	broken		Large sherd of a jar	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Starr 1939, 16	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.	
Tell Kurdu	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3 ?	24:3	built shaft	walls lined with mud bricks	single	?	?	woman	?		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Özbal <i>et al.</i> 2004, 71; Özbal 2010b, Table 18.1	
Tell Kurdu	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3 ?	23:11	simple pit		single	?	?	undetermind	3		1 bowl / 1 cup / 1 jar	Painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Legumes traced from the interir of the pottery	Özbal <i>et al.</i> 2004, 71; Özbal 2010b, Table 18.1	
Salat Tepe	North Mesopotamia	End of Ubaid 4	64/G	built shaft	mud brick constructed	single	flexed	E	infant or child	—	—	—	—			—	more than 2500 stone beads	—	—	—	—	—	—	Koizumi <i>et al.</i> 2016, 153		
Tell Madhur	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3 ? - Ubaid 4	5F:320	urn		single	?	?	newborn	1		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Roaf <i>et al.</i> 1985, 127		

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Madhur	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3 ? - Ubaid 4	5E:263	simple pit	covered with sherds	single	?	?	8 years	sherds		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Roaf <i>et al.</i> 1985, 127	
Tell Madhur	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3 ? - Ubaid 4	6E:194	urn	no lid	single	?	?	newborn-6 months	1		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Roaf <i>et al.</i> 1985, 127	
Tell Madhur	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3 ? - Ubaid 4	6D:68	urn	no lid	single	?	?	2-3 years old	1		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	Roaf <i>et al.</i> 1985, 127	
Tell Nader	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period	Skeleton 2	not appropriate burial	skeleton lying on a kiln	single	prone	?	woman / 25-39 years old	—	—	—	—			—	—	3 teeth from dogs	—	—	—	X	—	Kopanias and Fox 2016; Kopanias <i>et al.</i> 2014, 171-2	fig. 27 and fig. 28
Tell Nader	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period	U1208	urn	lidded with sherds of a bowl	single	flexed	N	infant / child	sherds		2 bowls	plain (?)	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		

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Tell Nader	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period	U1209	lidded		single	flexed	NE	infant / child	sherds		bowl		X		—	reddish bead by the chest	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Tell Nader	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid Period	UI1224	urn	no lid	single	disorder (?)	NW	infant / child	sherds		bowl		X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Tell Rashid	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	?	urn		single	?	?	child	?		?					—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Jasim 1985, 144	
Tell Rashid	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 2-3	?	urn		single	?	?	child	?		?					—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Jasim 1985, 144	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	HUT?		simple pit ?		single	?	?	adult				?											de Contenson 1992, 40	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	HUT?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 42	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	HUT?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 42	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	HUT?		simple pit ?		single	?	?	infant or child				?											de Contenson 1992, 42	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar												de Contenson 1992, 43	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	>	infant or child	1 ?		jar												de Contenson 1992, 44	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 44	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 44	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 44	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 44	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 44	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 44	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1 ?		jar	?											de Contenson 1992, 45	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infantn or child	1?		jar												de Contenson 1992, 46	
Ras Shamra	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4?		urn		single	?	?	infant or child	1?		jar												de Contenson 1992, 47	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 1	simple pit		single	prone with legs bent	SE	Male at thirties	9	near head and feet	5 jars (three painted) / 4 bowls (one painted)	paintrd and plain	X	X	—	More than 200 beads of different coloured stone (black, grey, white, pinky orange) and wood found at breast, hips and knees / different kind of stone, mostly obsidian, near the ear	Bones of small animal under a jar	—	—	—	—	—	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991	fig. 35

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 2	simple pit		single / disturbed	?	?	—	1		jar ?	paint		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	damaged grave	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991	
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 4	simple pit		single	flexed	NE	?	6	above a thin layer of soil	2 jar (one painted / 4 bowl (three painted))	paint and plain	X	X	Marble palette	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991	
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 5	simple pit		single	flexed	NE	?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991		
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 266	simple pit		single	flexed	?	?	sherds		—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991		
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 276	simple pit		single	flexed	NNE	—	—		—	—			alabaster vessel near the head	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991		
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 277	simple pit		fractional	—	—	—	2	above a thin	2 bowl (one painted)	paint and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991		

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											layer of soil														
Tell Songor A	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	Gr. 280	simple pit		single	?	?	?	1		jar	painted		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	the largest part of the burial is outside the excaated area	Kamada and Ohtsu 1991	
Tell Songor C	Central Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3 ?	?	urn		single	?	?	infant ?	?		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—		Kamada and Ohtsu 1991	
Ubaid	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	8	simple pit	—	No humans remains	—	—	—	?		2 plain bowls / 1 painted jar / fragments of unknown type and an unspecified number of	painted and plain / some roughly made	X	X	Bowl of diorite	—	—	2 spoon-shaped flint implements	clay nails and a clay bazier	—	—	—	Hall and Wooley 1927, 109	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
												pottery type													
Ubaid	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	9	simple pit	—	fragments of bones	—	—	—	5		3 jars (two painted) / 1 unknown pot / 1 incomplete pot	painted and plain	?	X	palette or ruder made of sandstone	—	—	spoon-shaped flint lying on the palette	oyster shell / lump of bitumen / a bone drill	—	—	the fill consists of many painted sherds	Hall and Wooley 1927, 109	
Ubaid	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3	64	simple pit	—	dust of bones	—	—	—	only in fragmentary forms		2 bowls (both in fragments) / half painted jar	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Perkins 1945, 89-90; Hall and Wooley 1927, 198	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/A BC	simple pit	wrapped in matting	triple	?	?	?	1	next to the skull B) and a sherd (next to	1 cup (broken)	probably of good quality clay	X		1 white limestone (calcite) cup (next to the skull B)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 87	

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											the skull C														
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/D	simple pit	against the feet construction of mud-bricks which returned by the feet to make two sides of rectangular enclosure	fractional (pelvis and leg-bones preserved)				—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 87	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/E	simple pit	/mud-bricks were found, but not enough to witness a built shaft	single	flexed	W	?	1	behind the back	1 cup	probably of bad quality clay	X		1 limestone bowl (behind skull)	shell beads (at the neck)	—	—	Steatite mace-head at the hand / clay disk	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 87	

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Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/F	simple pit	wrapped in matting	fractional (legs missing)	extended	NW	?	2	near head	2 cups (one broken)	probably of bad quality clay	X		—	—	—	—	Stone axe (at the hand)	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 87	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/G	simple pit		fractional (skull missing)	flexed	?	?	1	near legs	1 jar	not burnished		X	—	—	—	—	a copper spear-head (by the upper part of the body)	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 88	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/J	simple pit		fractional			?	4	by the body	2 bowls (one painted) / 1 pedestal bowl / fragment of a fourth vessel	painted and plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 88	

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UR	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/K	simple pit		single			?	8	under bones	1 bowl / 4 pedestal bowl / 3 cups (one painted)	painted and plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 88	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/L	simple pit		multiple fractional (8 skulls and bones in disorder)			?	7		4 bowls / 2 pedestal bowl / 1 cup	plain	X		—	beads (on a bone)	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 88	
UR	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/M	simple pit		double	flexed / facing each other		?	8	near legs	5 bowls / 3 cups (one painted)	painted and plain	X		—	shell beads (on the arm)	animal skull (behind the back) and higher animal teeth	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 89	

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UR	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 5 ?	PFG/N	simple pit		?			?	13		7 bowls (two painted) / 5 cups (one broken and two painted) / 1 jar (broken)	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 89	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/O	simple pit		?	?	?	?	7		1 plain broken plate / 2 painted cups / 3 jars (one painted) / 1 plain bowl	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	female figurine	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 89-90	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/P	single pit		fractional (the skull was found)			?	5		1 painted bowl / 3 painted cups / 1	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 90		

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												plain bowl													
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/Q	simple pit	paved floor	?	?	?	?	6		1 painted bowl / 3 cups (one painted) / 2 jars(one painted) / painted sherds	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	bird bone	—	female figurine	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 90-1	
?	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/R	simple pit		?	?	?	?	7		1 plain bowl / 2 open painted pots / 2 painted cups / 1 closed painted pot / 1 painted jar	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 91	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/S	simple pit		fractional (only the skull was found)			?	2		2 painted jars	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 91	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/T	simple pit	paved floor	triple (two complete skeletons and one skull)	flexed	SW	?	3	near the knees of skeleton A	1 bowl / 2 cups (one broken)	painted	X		—	shell beads in the right hand	—	—	2 figurines neat the skeleton A, one with traces of color (U 15379) and one with traces of bitumen (U 15385).	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 91-2	fig. 30 and fig. 31

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/U	simple pit		fractional (bones of 3 individuals)	1 skull of infant, under which bones of the additional skull from PFG/T were found and even lower bones of another individual		?	7	4 below the infant's skull and 3 next ot the lower individual	upper Level: 3 painted cups / 1 bowl. Lower level: 1 bowl, 1 painted cup and 1 jar	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 92	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/V	single rectangular pit		single (bad condition)			?	6		2 bowls (one painted) / 3 cups (two painted) / 1 closed	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 93	

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												Painted pot													
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/W	simple pit	paved floor	?			?	3		1 plain cup / 2 painted bowls	painted and plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 93	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/X	simple pit		fractional (bones from skull and other parts of the body)			?	2		2 cups	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/Y	simple pit		fractional (the skull was found)		—	?	2		1 broken bowl / 1 painted cup	painted and plain	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 93	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/Z	simple pit		single	extended	E	?	11	near legs	2 bowls (one painted) / 1 painted cup / 1 plain closed pot / 1 closed closed pot / 1 plain jar / some sherds	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 93-4	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/A	simple pit		double (complete skeleton with an additional skull and	extended	SW	?	12	by the body	5 bowls (two painted) / 3 painted cups / 1 jar / 1 painted closed	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	PFG/AA and PFG/Aabis are the same assemblage	Woolley 1955, 94	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
						long bone						jar / 2 sherds													
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/A A bis			fractional (the skull was found)			?	1		1 bowl	plain, bad quality of clay	X	X	—	—	—	—	female figurine holding an infant	—	—	PFG/AA and PFG/Aabis are the same assemblage	Woolley 1955, 95	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/B B	simple pit		fractional (few bones found)			?	3		2 bowls (one painted) / 1 closed pot	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 95	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/C C	simple pit	paved floor	single	extended	W-SW	?	9		3 bowls (two painted) / 2 painted cups / 3 plain cups / 1 open pot	painted and plain some of poor quality of clay	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 95	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/D D	simple pit	paved floor	?			?	1		1 closed pot	plain		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 96	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/E E	simple pit		?			?	2		1 cup / 1 jar	plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	terra-cotta disks	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 96	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/FF	simple pit	paved floor	?			?	3		2 bowls (one painted) / 1 painted jar	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 96	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/G G	simple pit		single	extended	W	?	9	near head	4 bowls / 2 cups / 1 jar / 2 painted closed pots	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 96-7	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/H H	simple pit		?			?	1		1 cup	painted	X		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 97	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/JJ	simple pit		double	extended	SW	?	9		5 painted bowls / 1 painted jar / 3 closed pots (one painted and one broken),	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	female figurines (above the hands)	haematite in the ear of the skeleton / all the bones of skeleton B were covered with haematite	—	—	Woolley 1955, 97	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/K K	simple pit		single	extended	SW	?	4	near legs	1 painted bowl / 1 painted jar / 1 closed pot. 1	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	traces of haematite on the	—	—	Woolley 1955, 98	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
												painted cup										upper part			
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/L	simple pit		fractional (the skull and few bones were found)			?	2		1 painted bowl / 1 jar	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley, 1955, 98	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/M	simple pit		single	extended on the side	SE	?	6	by the body	2 painted bowls / 2 cups (one painted open broken) / 2 jars (broken)	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 98	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/N N	simple pit		fractional (few bones)			?	1		1 bowl (broken)	painted	X		—	—	—	—	clay cone	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 99	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/O O	simple pit		fractional (the skull was found)			youth ?	4		1 painted bowl / 2 jars (one coarse) / 1 closed pot	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 99	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/PP	simple pit		?	?	?	?	2		1 bowl (broken) / 1 jar	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	bone pin	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 99	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/Q Q	single rectangular pit		?			?	3		2 bowl / 1 closed	painted	X	X	—	—	—	—	female figurine	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 99	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/R R	single rectangular pit		fractional ?			?	4		2 bowls (one painted) / 1 painted cup	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 100	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
												κύπελλο / 1 jar													
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/SS	simple pit		?			?	4		2 painted bowls / 1 painted cup / 1 closed (broken)	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 100	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/T T	simple pit		single	extended	W	?	5	near legs	2 painted bowl / 1 painted cup / 3 closed (two coarse and broken and one painted)	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 100	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/U U	simple pit		fractional (the skull was found)			?	5		1 painted bowl / 2 cup / 1 painted jar / 1 painted closed	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 101	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/V V	simple pit		fractional (the skull was found)			?	4		1 painted bowl / 3 jars	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 101	
Ur	South Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4	PFG/W W	simple pit		—			?	4		2 painted bowls / 1 painted jar / 1 closed	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 101	
Ur		Ubaid 4	PFG/X X	simple pit		fractional ?	extended ?	SE	?	4		2 closed pots (one painted and one broken) / 1 bowl	painted and plain	X	X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Woolley 1955, 102	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
												(broken) / 1 painted cup													
Yarim Tepe III	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4 ?	No 7	simple pit		single	flexed	N	youth ?	—	—	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Merpert, Munchaev, Bader 1981, 59	
Yarim Tepe III	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4 ?	No 9	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant/child	3		?	?			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Merpert, Munchaev, Bader 1981, 59	
Yarim Tepe III	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4 ?	No 21	simple pit		single	flexed	NE	adult	sherds	one cover the skull and the rest above the corpse	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Merpert, Munchaev, Bader 1981, 59	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Yarim Tepe III	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4 ?	No 22	simple pit		double	flexed (the infant on the breast of the adult)	N	adult and infant	sherds	cover the infant)	—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Merpert, Munchaev, Bader 1981, 59	
Yarim Tepe III	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4 ?	No 23	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant/child	—		—	—			—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Merpert, Munchaev, Bader 1981, 59	
Yarim Tepe III	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 4 ?	No 25	simple pit		single	flexed on back	N	infant/child	—	—	—	—			—	3 shell beads near the hand* 8 black stone beads near the leg	—	—	—	—	—	—	Merpert, Munchaev, Bader 1981, 59	
Tell Zeidan	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3-4	Burial 2	simple pit		single	?	?	child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	X	—	Stein 2011, 137	
Tell Zeidan	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3-4	ZD590 2	urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant	1		jar	?		X	—	—	—	—	flowers	—	—	—	Stein 2011, 137-8	

Site	Region	Phase	Cat. No.	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Number of Pottery Vessels	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Open Type	Closed Type	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Traces of Paint	Cranial Modification	Further Observations	Citation	Fig.
Tell Zeidan	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3-4		urn ?		single	?	?	infnat / child	?		?				—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Stein 2011, 125	
Tell Zeidan	North Mesopotamia	Ubaid 3-4		urn	no lid	single	?	?	infant or child	1		jar	?		X	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	Stein 2011, 128	

Appendix B

Ur

Grave	Burial	Bowl Painted	Cup Painted	Jar Painted	Bowl Plain	Cup Plain	Jar Unpainted	Other Pottery	Others
PFG/A BC	complete					1			
PFG/A BC	complete								limestone cup
PFG/A BC	complete								1 sherd
PFG/D	incomplete								
PFG/E	complete					1			limestone bowl, shell beads and mace-head
PFG/F	incomplete					2			axe
PFG/G	incomplete						1		spear-head
PFG/J	?	1			2			1	
PFG/K	?		1		5	2			
PFG/L	incomplete (8 skulls and bones)				6	1		1	
PFG/M	complete		1		5	2			shell beads and animal bones
PFG/M	complete								
PFG/N	?	2	2		5	3	1		
PFG/O	?		2		2		1	2	female figurine
PFG/P	incomplete	1	3				1		
PFG/Q	?	1		1		2	1	1	animal bones and

									female figurine
PFG/R	?		2	1	2			2	
PFG/S	incomplete		2						
PFG/T	complete	1	2						beads and 2 figurines
PFG/T	incomplete								
PDF/T	incomplete								
PFG/U	incomplete		3		1				
PFG/U	incomplete								
PFG/U	incomplete		1		1		1		
PFG/V	complete (?)	1	2		2	1		1	
PFG/W	?		2			1			
PFG/X	?		2						
PFG/Y	?		1		1				
PFG/Z	complete	6			1	1	1	3	
Grave	Burial	Bowl Painted	Cup Painted	Jar Painted	Bowl Plain	Cup Plain	Jar Unpainted	Other Pottery	Others
PFG/A A- Aabis	complete								
PFG/A A- Aabis	incomplete	2	3		4		1	3	
PFG/A A- Aabis	incomplete								
PFG/B B	?	1			1			1	
PFG/C C	complete	2	2		1		3	1	
PFG/D D	?							1	
PFG/E E	?					1	1		2 clay disks
PFG/FF	?	1		1	1				

PFG/G G	complete				4	2	1	2	
PFG/H H	?		1						
PFG/JJ	complete	2	3	1				3	female figurine
PFG/JJ	complete								
PFG/K K	complete	1	1	1				1	
PFG/L L	?	1					1		
PFG/M M	Complete (?)	2	1			1	2		
PFG/N N	?	1							1 clay cone
PFG/O O	?	1					2	1	
PFG/PP	?	1		1					1 bone pin
PFG/Q Q	?	2						1	1 female figurine
PFG/R R	?	1	1		1		1		
PFG/SS	?	2	1					1	
PFG/T T	complete	1	1					3	
PFG/U U	incomplete	1		1		2		1	
PFG/V V	incomplete	1					3		
PFG/W W	?	2		1				1	
PFG/X X	Complete (?)		1		1			2	

Total Numbers	38	41	9	46	23	22	33
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Eridu

Grave	Burial	Bowl	Cup	Jar	Other Plain	Other Painted	Others
30	Complete	2	1	3			Animal Bones
30	Complete		1	1			
37	Complete	1				1 close	
3	Complete		1	1			
3	Complete	1		1			
87	Complete					1 close	
87	Complete	1		1			
48	Complete	2	2				
89	Complete						
17	Complete	1	1	1			
28	Complete	1	1	1			
96	Complete	1					
96	Complete			1		1 close	
25	Complete						
118	Complete	1	1	1			
118	Partial						
22	Arms and legs in disorder	1	1		1 close		
78	Complete						
80	Complete	1	1	1			beads
62	Complete	1	1	1			beads
65	Complete	1	1	1			
67	Complete	1	1	1			
90	Complete	1				1 close	
90	Complete	1	1	2			
91	Complete						animal bones and traces of paint
78	Complete	1	1			2 close	
78	Complete		1	1			
78	Complete						
149	Complete	1		1			animal bones
116	Complete	2					
116	Complete		1	1			
7	Complete						
107	Complete	1	1			1 close	
107	Complete	1	1				

12	Complete						
13	Complete	1		1			
18	Complete	2					
18	Complete						
13	Complete				1 open		
31	Complete	2					
31	Complete			3			
38	Complete						
83	Complete	1		3			
83	Complete	1		1			
88	Complete		1	1		1 close	
88	Complete		1				
45	Complete						
45	In disorder						
1	Complete	?	?	1			
1	Complete						
23	Complete	2	1	1			
23	Complete	1		1			
44	Complete			1			
Grave	Burial	Bowl	Cup	Jar	Other Plain	Other Painted	Others
68	Complete	1	1	1			beads and male figurine
47	Complete	1	1	2			
8	Complete						animal bones
15	Complete	3	2	1			
16	Complete	1	1	1			
53	Complete	1		1			
102	Complete						
104	Partial						
144	No bones	1		1			
92	Complete	1				1 close	
92	Complete		1				
93	Complete	1		3			
164	Complete	1					
164	Complete						
77	Complete						
51	Complete	1	1	2			
42	Complete	1	1	2			

58	Complete	1	3	1			
64	Complete	1	1				
66	Complete	1	1	1			
81	Complete	1	1	1			
82	Complete	1	1	2			
101	Complete	2	2	1			
101	Complete			1			
105	Complete	1	1	1			2 clay pellets
139	Complete	1	1		close		
145	Complete	1		1			
145	Skull						
155	Complete			1			
184	Complete	1		1			
185	Complete						
189	Complete	1		2			1 sherd
189	Disorder						
117	Complete	1	2			1 close	
39	Complete	2	1	1			bead
186	Complete	1		1			
186	Complete					1 close	beads
43	Complete	1	1	1			
54	Complete	1	2			1 close	
109	Complete	1	1	1			
112	Complete		1	1			
112	Complete			1		1 close	
130	Complete	1	1	1			
112	Complete	2		1			
157	Complete	1	1	1			
159	Complete	1	1	1			
71	Complete	1		1			
71	Complete	1	1 (incomplete)				
108	Complete	1	1	1			beads
136	Disorder	1	1	1			
163	Complete	1	1			1 close	
163	Skull						
165	Complete		1				

Grave	Burial	Bowl	Cup	Jar	Other Plain	Other Painted	Others
110	Complete	1	1	1			beads
179	Complete	1	1	1			
193	Complete	1	1	2			
175	Complete	1		1			
176	Complete					1 close	beads
177	Complete						
180	Complete						
180	Complete						
182	Complete	1	1	1			
188	Partial	1	1			1 close	
106	Complete	1	1				
114	Complete	1		1			beads
119	Partial		1				
123	Complete	1	1	1			stone bowl
124	Complete	1			1 close		
34	Complete	1	1	1			animal bones
41	Complete	1	1	1			animal bones
95	Complete						
106	Complete	1	1	3			animal bones
171	Complete	1	1	1			
52	Complete	1	1	3			
191	Complete						
59	complete	1		1			
59	complete			2			
72	complete	1	2	1			
72	complete						
133	complete	1	1	1			
138	complete	1		1			animal bones
181	complete	2	1	1			
132	complete	1	2		1 open		
158	complete	1	1			1 close	beads
174	complete	2				1 closed	
192	complete						
56	complete			1			
129	complete					1 close	
161	complete	1	1	1			
162	complete	2	1				

120	partial						
128	complete						1 bowl of three petals shape
63	complete	1	1				
63	complete						
86	complete	1	1	1			
2	complete						

Total Numbers	107	80	101	1 open 4 close	19 close
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Grave	Burial	Bowl	Cup	Jar	Other Unpainted	Other Painted	Others
21	complete						1 stone jar, 1 stone bowl, 1 macehead
168	complete						
10	complete	2		1			meat bone
Grave	Burial	Bowl	Cup	Jar	Other Unpainted	Other Painted	Others
29	complete	1		1			
99	complete						
61	complete	1				2 close	
69	complete	1	1	1			
121	complete			1			
121	complete						
115	disorder	1		1			
146	complete						
98	complete	1		1			
14	complete						
24	complete	1		1			
24	complete			1			
76	complete	1	1	1			
137	partial						beads
166	complete						
32	complete						
25	complete	1		1			

111	partial		1				
131	complete	1		1			
140	complete	1				1 close	
183	complete		1	1			
183	complete		1	1			
135	complete			1	1 close		
142	complete	1	1	1			
147	complete	1	1				
151	partial	1	1			1 close	
151	partial						
36	complete	1				1 close	
9	complete						
94	complete						1 potsherd
103	complete						
134	complete	1	1	2			
152	complete	2		1			
50	complete					1 close	
122	complete			2		1 close	
79	complete	1		1			
100	complete						
100	partial						
167	complete		1			1 close	
143	complete	1	1	1			
150	complete	1	1	1			
153	complete	2		1			
169	complete	1		1		1 close	
170	complete	1	1				
173	complete	1	1				
141	complete						

Total Numbers	27	14	25	1 closed	9 closed
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Tell Songor A

Grave	Burial	Bowl Painted	Jar Painted	Bowl Plain	Jar Plain	Other Pottery	Others
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1	Complete	3	3	1	2		beads and animal bones
2	Complete		1?				
4	Complete	3	1	1	1		
5	Complete						
266	Incomplete						potsherds
276	Complete						alabaster vessel
277	Incomplete	1		1			
280	Complete		1				

Total Numbers	7	5?	2	3	
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Tell Arpachiyah

Grave	Burial	Bowl Painted	Jar Painted	Bowl Unpainted	Jar Unpainted	Other Pottery	Others
1	Complete	1			1		
2	Complete	1	1			1	
2	Incomplete						
3	Disorder	2		1		1	animal bones
4	Complete						beads
5	Incomplete						
6	Incomplete						
7	Complete					1	
7	Incomplete						
8	Complete	1	1			1	1 sherd
9	Complete	1	1	1			
9	Incomplete						
10	Incomplete	3					
11	Incomplete	2				2	
12	Incomplete	1			1		
13	Incomplete						
14	Complete						
15	Complete						
16	Complete						
17	Incomplete						

19	Complete			1	1		
20	Complete						
21	Incomplete		2				animal bones
22	Complete	1				1	
23	Complete	2			1	1	Bead
23	Complete						
24	Complete				1	1	Spatula
25	Complete						Bead
26	Incomplete						
27	Disorder	1	1				Beads
28	Complete			1		1	
29	Complete						
30	Incomplete						
31	Complete						Bead
32	Complete		1				1 sherd
33	Incomplete		1	1			
Grave	Burial	Bowl Painted	Jar Painted	Bowl Unpainted	Jar Unpainted	Other Pottery	Others
34	Complete	1	1				animal bones
35	Incomplete			1		1	
36	Incomplete		1	1			
37	Complete						
38	Incomplete						
39	Disorder						
40	Incomplete			1	1		
41	Incomplete	1	1				
42	Disorder	?	?	?	?		clay box
43	Complete	1			1		
44	Complete	2					
45	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		animal bones
45	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		animal bones
45	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		animal bones
46	Incomplete			1			
47	Incomplete					1	2 fragments of flint blades and animal bones
48	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		fragments of flint
48	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		fragments of flint

48	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		fragments of flint
48	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		fragments of flint
48	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		fragments of flint
48	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		fragments of flint
48	Incomplete	?	?	?	?		fragments of flint

Total Numbers	21	11	9	7	12
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Abu Dhahir

Grave	Burial	Bowl Painted	Jar Painted	Bowl Unpainted	Jar Unpainted	Other Pottery	Others
1	Complete						
2	Complete						
3	Complete					1 bowl or cup	
4	Complete	3	1				stone lid and 2 obsidian pendants
5	Complete			1			beads and obsidian blade
6	Complete		1	1			Alabaster vessel

Total Numbers	3	2	2		1?
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Appendix Ca

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-2 (same for two graves)	under XV	5K	4.58 / spotted	XIII	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		bowl		—	—	—	—	—		
7-2 (same for two graves)	under XV	5K	4.58 / spotted	XIII	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		bowl		—	—	—	—	—		
7-3	XV	3M	5.37	XIII	lidded	lidded with a bowl, which covers the legs	single		SW	infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	some	—	piece of flint	—		Tobler 1950, 104
7-4	under XV	5G	4.66 / spotted	XIV	simple pit		single	flexed	W	youth	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-6	XV / from XIII?	5G	5.06 / not well spotted	XIII	simple pit		fractional (?)	flexed	NE	youth?	1 and sherds		bowls	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XIII)
7-8	under XII	6J	6.89 / spotted	XII	urn	lidded with bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowl and jar (painted)	painted and plain							

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-21	XVII	4J			simple pit		single	flexed		infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-22	XVII	3J-4J	4.41 / spotted	XVA	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
7-24	XVII	5G (?)	4 / spotted	XVA	simple pit		single	extended	SE	infant / child	1	near head	pot		—	—	—	—	—	according to the measurements the grave is not spotted to the 5G, as noted to the sheet	
7-25	XVII	4J	4.3 / spotted	XVA	simple pit		single	flexed	NW	youth	1	near legs	bowl		—	—	—	—	—		
7-26	XII	8M	8 / spotted	XIA (?)	libn box		single		W	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-27	XVII	3J	4 / spotted	XVA	simple pit		single	flexed	NE	adult	2	near head	a jar inside a bowl		—	—	—	—	—		
7-28	XII	9M	7.75 / spotted	XIA (?)	urn		single	flexed	N	infant / child	1		bowl	broken	—	—	—	—	—		
7-29	XII	8M	7.7	XIA (?)	libn box		single	flexed	E	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-30	XII	8M	8 / spotted	XIA (?)	libn box		single	flexed	NW	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-32	XVII	3J	4.3 / spotted	XVA	simple pit		single	flexed	S	youth	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-33	XVII	3J	4 /spotted	XVA	simple pit		single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-34	XII-XIII	7M	7.5 / spotted	XIA (?)	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
7-36	XII-XIII	7M	7.20 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed	W	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-37	under XVII	5G	3.5 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed		infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	rattle, which contains clay pellets) / animal figurine		Tobler 1950, 105 and 119 (XVI)
7-38	XVII-XVIII	3J	3.45 / spotted	XVI	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	2		bowl (painted) and jar	urn painted and plain	—	—	—	—	ballista inside jar		Tobler 1950, 105 and 119 (XVI)
7-39	XVIII	3J	3.07 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	—				—	yes ?	—	—	bone tool ?	See grave 7-45 (same measurments and elevation)	
7-40	XVIII	5J	2.3 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 (XVII)

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-41	XVII-XVIII	4J	3.51 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 (XVI)
7-42	XVII	3K	3.96 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
7-43	under XVII	3J	3.67 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	2	near legs	a jar and a bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	spindle whorl		Tobler 1950, 120
7-44	XVII ?	3K	3.92 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-45	XVIII	3J	3.06 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	youth	3	near legs and head	1 plate, 1 jar, 1 cup	painted	stone plate	some near head	—	—	—	See grave 7-39 same measurments and elevation)	Tobler 1950, 105 (XVII)
7-46	XVIII	4K	2.76	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	N	youth	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 (XVII)
7-47	XVIII	4G	3.67	XVI	simple pit		single	extended	NW	adult	3	near legs	miniature jars	painted	—	—	—	obsidian blade and a pebble	pendant on wrist	Wrongly labeled 7-35	Tobler 1950, 105 and 120 (XVI)
7-48	XVIII	4J	2.52 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 (XVII)

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-49	XVII	5G	3.70 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	SW	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-50	XVIII	4J	3 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	E	youth	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-51	XVIII	4G	spotted		simple pit		single	flexed	NW	infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
7-52	XVIII	4J	2.43 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant / child	1	near legs	bowl	painted	—	some by pelvis	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 and 120 (XVII)
7-53	under XVII	4J	3.68 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 120
7-54	under (?) XVIII	5J	2.75 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	S	youth	1	near legs	bowl	painted	stone plate near hands	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 and 120 (XVII)
7-55	XVIII	3J	2.68 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 (XVII)
7-56	XVIII	3J	2.62 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	youth	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-57	XVIII	3J	2.72 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant / child	1	near head	bowl		—	some	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 120 (XVII)

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-58	XVIII	3J-4J	2.67 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single / fractional (head higher than bones)		SW	adult	2	near legs	2 jars	at least one painted	—	—	—	—	gaming piece		Tobler 1950, 120 (st. XVII)
7-59	under XVIII	4J	1.90 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	2	near legs	1 bowl, 1 jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 120 (XVII)
7-60	XVIII	4J	spotted		simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-61	XVIII	4G	2.96 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	youth	2	near legs	one miniature		—	some by pelvis	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 120 (XVII)
7-62	XVIII	3J	3.02 / spotted	XVI (?)	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	youth	3	near legs	2 bowls, 1 jar	painted	—	beads at chest	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 120 (XVII)
7-63	under XVIII	4K	2.32	XVII (?)	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-64	under XVIII	4K	2.39	XVII (?)	simple pit		single	flexed	NW	infant / child	1	near legs	bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
7-65	under XVIII	5K	2.15 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-66	XVIII	3J	2.85 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		double	flexed	SE	youth and infant / child	3	near legs	1 bowl, 2 jars (painted)	painted and plain	2 stone dish	some by chest	—	—	Ubaid seal	jars of Ubaid style	Tobler 1950, 120 (st. XVII)
7-67	under XVIII	4K	2.33 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	4	near legs	1 bowl, 1 plate, 1 jar, 1 miniature jar (painted)	painted and plain	—	two clam shell	—	—	wooden object (spatula)		Tobler 1950, 120 (st. XVII)
7-68	under XVIII	4J	2.24 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	3		1 bowl, 2 jars	painted	stone dish, stone palette	some	tooth	—	—	jar of Ubaid style	Tobler 1950, 120 (XVII)
7-69	under XVII	3J	3.43 / spotted	XVI	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant / child	2	near legs	jar inside bowl (painted)	painted and plain	—	—	—	—	—	on top of wall XVIII	Tobler 1950, 120 (XVI)
7-70	XVIII	4G	2.48 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	3	near legs	1 bowl, 1 jar, 1 miniature jar	painted	—	some by chest	—	4 stone objects	spindle whorl		Tobler 1950, 120 (XVII)
7-71	XVIII	4G	2.78 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-72	XVIII	3G	2.50 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	adult	2	near legs	1 bowl, 1 jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—	pottery of Ubaid style	Tobler 1950, 120 (XVII)

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-73	under XIX	4J	0.66 / spotted	XIX	urn	no lid	single		SE	infant / child	sherd of a jar		jar		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 106 and 121 (XVIII)
7-74	XIX	3J	1.93 / spotted	XVIII	urn	no lid	single	flexed		infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-75	XVIII-XIX	5J	1.98 / spotted	XVIII	lidded	lidded with a sherd	single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 (XVII)
7-76	XVIII-XIX	4J	2.40 / spotted	XVII (?)	simple pit		single	flexed	E	adult	3	near legs	2 bowls (painted), 1 jar	painted and plain	—	—	—	—	—	the one bowl of Ubaid style	Tobler 1950, 121 (st. XVII)
7-77	XVIII-XIX	3K	2.17 / spotted	XVII	simple pit		single	flexed	NW	infant / child	1	near head	bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 105 (XVII)
7-78	XVIII-XIX	3K	2.20 / spotted	XVII	lidded	lidded with sherds of a bowl	single			infant / child	sherds				—	—	—	—	—	according to the given measurments the grave is spotted to the square 3J and not to the 3K, as noted in the sheet	

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
7-79	XIX	4G	1.82 / spotted	XVIII	simple pit		single	flexed	E	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 106 (XVIII)
7-80	XIX	4G	1.88 / spotted	XVIII	simple pit		single	flexed	NE	adult	1	near legs	jar	painted	4 stone bowls, 1 palette	stone beads	—	—	pendant		Tobler 1950, 106 (XVIII)
7-81	XIX	5G	1.75	XVIII	urn	no lid	single	flexed		infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 106 (XVIII)
7-82	XIX	4J	1.95 / spotted	XVIII	simple pit		single	flexed	SE	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
7-83	under XIX	4G	1.49 / spotted	XVIII	simple pit	clay plastered	single	flexed	SE	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 106 (XVIII)
G36-1	XIII	4O			built shaft	mud brick above	double	flexed	N	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-2	XII	5Q			urn	stone side-cover	single	flexed		infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-3	XII	5Q-S			urn	lidded with jar	single			infant / child	2		jars	broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-4	XII	4Q			urn		single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-5	XII	4S			urn		single	flexed		infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-6	XII	4Q			unr		single				1			broken (only the half was found)	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-7	XII	4Q			urn	lidded with a sherd of a closed vessel	single	confused		infant / child	2		bowl and closed pot	urn painted / closed broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-8	XII	5Q			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		jar and bowl	urn painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-9	XII	5Q			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		jar and bowl	broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-10	XII	5Q			unr	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		jar and bowl	bowl painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-11	XII	4S (?)	7.45	XII	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar	broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-15	under XII	5Q			urn	covered by mud / no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-17	under XII ?	5Q	7.15	XIA	built shaft	pisé / matting	single	flexed	S	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-19	XII	5Q	7.1	XIA	urn	lidded with sherds	single	flexed		Adult	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-21	under XII	5S	7.6	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed	E	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-22	XII	5M			simple pit		single	flexed	E		1	near hand	bowl	poor	—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-23	under XII (?)	4K			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar	engrave	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
G36-24	XIII	4J			lidded		single	confused	E	infant / child	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-25	under XII (?)	5M			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-29	under a wall of XII	4K			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		bowl or jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—	in excavation sheet the urn is reffered as bowl	Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
G36-38	above XII	5J			urn	no lid	single			infant. Child	1		jar	broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-42	XII	5J			libn box	pisé top	single	flexed	S	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-43	under XII	5J			libn box		single	flexed	S	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-45	under XII ?	5M			urn		single			youth	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-48	XII (under floor)	5J			built shaft	stone walls and pisé cover	single	flexed	S		—				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-49	under XII (?)	5M			urn		single			infant / child	1		jar	broken	—	white paste beads	—	—	—		
G36-50	under XII	7Q			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-51	XII	5Q			urn						1				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118 (XIA)
G36-52	XII (?)	5J			unr	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-53	under XII wall	5K			libn box		fractional (skull)			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-54	under XII ?	5K?			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	—			—		
G36-55	XII	3M			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowls		—	dozen of white paste beads	—	—	—		
G36-56	XII?	4K			urn						1				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-57	XII	5M			urn ?		single			infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-58	XII	5M			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		pot and bowl	broken urn	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-59	under XII	3M			urn	lidded with basket	single			infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-60	under XII	5M			libn box		single	flexed	N	infant / child	1	meat head	jar		—	some at neck and hands	—	—	seal		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-61	under XII	4K			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowl and a closed		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119
G36-62	XII	5M			urn	lidded with a pot					2		jar and pot	urn painted	—	—	—	—	—	for Tobler lidded urn burial, infant (?)	Tobler 1950, 118 (XIA)
G36-63	under XII	4M			urn	no lid	single	flexed		infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-64	under XII	4R			urn	lidded with the rim of the urn	single			infant / child	1		bowl	broken and painted	—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-65	under XII	4J			urn	sherd of painted bowl	single			infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	five	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-66	under XII	3M			urn	lidded and with pisé	single			infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-67	under XII	3M			urn	lidded with incoplete bowl	single			infant / child	2		2 bowls (?)		—	some	—	—	—		
G36-68	XII	5M			libn box						—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-69	under XII	4M			urn	lidded with a bowl / in pisé with thin libn cover	single			infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-70	under XII	5K			urn	no lid / embedded in pisé and gypsum	single			infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-71	under XII	4K			urn	no lid	single	confused		infant / child	1		bowl	painted	—	—	—	—	—	bowl not in Ubaid style	Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-72	under XII	4K			built shaft	pisé	single	flexed	S	infant / child	—			?	—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-73	under XII	4J			built shaft	pisé	single	flexed	W	youth	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-74	under XII	5K			libn box		single	flexed		adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-75	XII	3M			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1			painted and broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-76	under XII	4K			built shaft	pisé	single	extended (?)	S	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-77	XII	6K			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	some	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118, (XIA)
G36-78	XII	6K			urn	no lid	single	flexed		infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	some	—	—	—		
G36-80	XII	4K			libn box		single	flexed	N	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-81	XII	4J			libn box		single	flexed	SE	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-82	XII	3M			urn	no lid					1		jar		—	four beads	—	—	—		
G36-83	XII	4J			urn	lidded with half jar	single	flexed	E	infant / child	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-84	XII	5K			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-85	under XII	4K			urn		single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-86	XII	4J			libn box		single	flexed	E	infant / child	—				—	some	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-87	XII	3O			libn box		single	extended	S	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-88	XII	5J			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2				—	some	—	—	—		
G36-89	XII	5J			urn	no lid	single			infanr / child	1		open		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-90	XII	5K			libn			flexed		S	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-91	XII	3M			urn		sinlge			infant / child	1		jar	Green ware (Ubaid?)	—	—	—	—	—	outside of the wall of temple of XIII	
G36-92	under XII	5J			urn	lidded	sinlge			infant / child	2			Green ware (Ubaid?)	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-93	under XII	5J			urn	no lid	sinlge			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-94	under XII	3M			urn	no lid / pisé around	sinlge			infant / child	1		bowl	Painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-95	under wall of XII	5J			libn box		single	flexed	S	adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-96	under XII	4K			urn	stone enclosure and pisé on top	single				1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-97	under XII	3K			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1			painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-98	under XII	4J			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1			broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-99	under XII	6K			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2		jar (urn painted)		—	some	—	—	stamp amulet (?)		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-100	under XII	4K			libn box		single		E		—				—	some	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-101	under XIII	3K			double urn	lidded with bowl	single			infant / child	3 and sherds		bowls	urn painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-102	under XII	3K			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2				—	some	—	—	—		
G36-103	under XII?	3K			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1			painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-104	under XII-A	3M			libn box	double row of bricks / top of stone	single	flexed	N	youth	1 and sherds		bowl	painted	—	one	—	—	—		Tobler 1950,

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
						layer / wooden supports															chapter II
G36-105	under XII	5J			libn box		single	flexed	N		1	near legs	bowl		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-106	under XII	5M			built shaft	pisé	single	flexed	W	infant / child	—				—	engraved bead at neck	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-107	under XII	5K			urn		single			infant / child	2			painting	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-108	under XII	5K			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-109	under XII	4J			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	3	near urn a bowl	urn, pot and bowl	painting	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-110	under XII	3K			libn box		single	flexed	E	adult	—				—	—	—	—	seal near hand		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-111	under XII	5J			libn box		single	flexed	W		—	Near legs	bowl	plain	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-112	under XII	3K			double urn	lidded with jar	single			infant / child	3		jars		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-113	under XII	5K			urn	lidded with a jar	single			adult	2		jars		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-114 (same number for two graves)	under XII	5J			urn	lidded with basket	single			adult	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-114 (same number for two graves)	under XII	5J			simple pit		single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-115	under XII	3M			urn	no lid	single	flexed	E	adultr	1		jar	plain	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-116	under XII	4J			urn		single			infant / child	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-117	under XII	3J			urn	no lid	single			youth ?	1				—	white paste beads	—	—	—		
G36-118	under XII	4K			double urn	lidded with a jar	single			Adult	3		jars		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-119	under XII	3K			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		jar and bowl (painted)		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950,

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
																					119 (XII)
G36-120	under XII	5J			libn box	lined with stone on one side (other libn)	single	flexed	S	Adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-121	under XII	4J			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar		—	some	—	—	—		
G36-122	under XII	5J			libn box		double	flexed		Adult and infant					—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-123	under XII	4M			urn	no lid	single	flexed		adult	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-124	under XII	5J			urn	Lidded with a pot	single			youth	3		bowl, jar (urn painted) and pot	painted and plain	—	one	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-125	under XII	4J			built shaft	pisé	single	on the back (legs flexed)	SE	wonam (?)	—				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-126	under XII	5J			urn	lidded	single	confused		youth	3		open		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-127	XIII	3K			built shaft	pisé	single	flexed	E		—				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-128	XII (above XII floor)	3K			urn	lidded with a closed pot	single			infant / child	2		cooking pot as urn, closed	?	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-130	under XII	6Q			urn	covered with a basket	single			infant / child	2	on side	urn (broken) / bowl (painted)	painted and plain	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-131	under XII	5J			urn		single			infant / child	2		bowls	painted and plain	—	—	—	—	—	in sheets the urn was not painted. Also the decoration of lid was not in Ubaid style	Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-132	under XII	4J			urn		single			youth	1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-133	under XII	4G			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2			plain	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-134	under XII	4J			libn box		single	flexed	N	youth	—				—	—	—	—	stamp seal near shoulder		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-135	under XII	5G			libn box		single	flexed	N	adult	1	near legs	pot		—	—	—	—	copper pendant		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-136	under XII	4J			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar		—	some	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-137	under XII	6G			libn box		single	flexed		infant / child	—				—	some at hand	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-138	under XII	4J			urn	closed by libn	single			infant / child	1			painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-139	under XII	4J			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1			painted and broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-140	XIIA	6Q			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	2	inside urn	bowl (painted)	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-141	under XII	4G			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowl and jar		—	—	—	—	serpentine pendant		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-142	under XII	5G			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowl and jar		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-143	under XII or XIII	4G			urn	no lid	single			youth	2	near urn	urn and jar		—	—	—	—	—		
G36-144	under XII	6J			libn box		single		W	infant / child	—				—	some near hand	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-145	under XII	6Q			urn	lidded with a bowl				infant / child	2				—	bead of carnelian, lapis lazuli and copper	—	—	—		
G36-146	under XII or XIII	4G			libn box	pisé cover	single	flexed	N		1	near skull	bowl	plain	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, chapter II
G36-148	XVI / from XIII or XII?	4O	5.58	XIII	simple pit	lined with gypsum	no bones			—	1		jar	painting	—	—	—	—	—	—	Tobler 1950, 119
G36-154	under XII	6S			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child			bowl	painting	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-155	XII (under) or XIII	5Q			libn box		single	flexed	N		1	near skull	bowl		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950,

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
																					chapter II
G36-156	under XII	6Q			urn	lidded with two bowls	single			infant / child	3		bowls		marble jar as urn (?)	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XII)
G36-171	XII	11M			urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2				—	—	—	—	—	bone playing pipe	Tobler 1950, 118 (XIA)
G36-147	XIII	5Q			lidded	—	single		undetemind	infant / child	3			—	—	one	—	—	—	within walls of XIII	
G36-151	under XIII	5M			libn box	single		flexed	E		1	near hands	jar		—	obsidian blades	—	2 obsidian blades	—		
G36-152	under XIII	5J			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		cooking pot	painted	—	—	—	—	—	under Eastern Shrine	Tobler 1950, 104 (XII)
G36-153	under XIII	5G			lidded	half jar as lid	single	flexed	S	infant / child	sherd		sherd of a jar		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 104 (XII)
G36-157	under XIII	4J			urn	lidded with a sherds of a plate / libn superimposed	single			infant / child	1 and sherds		bowl	sherds painted	—	—	—	—	—	outside E. Shrine cella	Tobler 1950, 119 (XIII)

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-164	under XIII	5G			urn	lidded with sherds / surrounding by stones (urn stone enclosure)	single			infant / child	2		bowls	broken	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-165	under XIII / form XII ?	5E			urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowls	lid painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 119 (XIII)
G36-161	XV	4G			built shaft	pisé on three sides	single	flexed	NE	infant / child	—			—	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 104 (XIII)
G36-162	under XIV	5J			lidded	a cooking pot as lid, which covers the body, but not the head	single			infant / child	1		cooking	painted	—	white beads	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 104 (XIII)
G36-167	under XV	4K			lidded		single				sherds		sherds of plate	—	—	—	—	—	—		
G36-170 (same number for two graves)	under XII	11M			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	some	—	—	—		
G36-170 (same number for two graves)	under XII	11M			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
G36-172	XII	11M (?)			urn						1				—	—	—	—	—		
G36-173	under XII	11M			urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	some	—	—	—		
183	XII	4Q	7.55 / spotted	XIA	urn		single	flexed	N	infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
194	XII	5Q	7.58 / spotted	XIA	urn		single			infant / child	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
236	XII	5M	7.63	XIA	simple pit		single			infant / child	—				palette	—	—	—	—		
237	XII	5M	7.63	XIA	simple pit		single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
238	XII	5M	7.39	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed	NW		—				—	—	—	—	macehead		
241	XII	3M	7.91 / spotted	XIA	urn		single	flexed		infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
243	XII	5M	7.81 / spotted	XIA	simple pit	matting	single	flexed	SW	infant / child	—				—	stone beads	—	—	—		
250	XII	5M			simple pit						—				—	—	—	—	—		
251	XII	5M	7.38 / spotted	XIA	simple	matting	single	flexed		infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
254	XII	5Q	7.50 / spotted	XIA	urn		single			infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950,

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Position of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
																					118 (XIA)
255	XII	4Q	7.27 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single		SE	infant / child	1		cup	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
257	XII / (under XI wall)	5M	7.84 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed	SW	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
259	XII	6S	spotted		urn		single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
265	XII	6Q	7.72 / spotted	XIA	urn		single			adult	1				—	—	—	—	—		
268	XII	6Q	7.8 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed		adult	—				—	—	—	—	—		
273	XII	5M	7.46 / spotted	XIA	urn		single				1			painted	—	—	—	—	—		
274	XII	5M	7.5	XIA	urn		single				1		closed		—	—	—	—	—		
275	XII	6M	7.4 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed	S	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
276 (same number for two graves)	XII	5M	7.59 / spotted	XIA	urn		single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
276 (same number)	XII	5M	7.59 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
for two graves)																					
279	XIII	4O	7.43 / spotted	XIA	urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2				—	—	—	—	—		
283	under XII	4O	7.7 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed	S	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
284	XIII	4O	7.05	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	some	—	—	—		
285	XIII	4O	7.60 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
286	XIII	4O	7.40 / spotted	XIA	urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
287	under XII	5S	7.38	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—	For Tobler it is bowl	Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
288	XIII	4O	7.39 / spotted	XIA	urn	lidded with sherds of a painted jar	single			infant / child	1			—	—	—	—	—	—		
289	XIII	4O	6.01 / spotted	XIII	lidded		single			infant / child	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
290	XIII	4Q	7.46 / spotted	XIA	urn	no lid	single			youth	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
291	under XII	4O	7.45	XIA	urn	lidded	single			infant / child	2		bowls	one pierced	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
292	XII-XIII	4Q	7.43 / spotted	XII (?)	urn	no lid	single	flexed	E	youth	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		
293	XII-XIII	4O	8.20 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed		infant / child	—				—	few	—	—	—		
294	XII-XIII	4Q	7.94	XII (?)	urn	lidded with a painted sherd of a jar	single	flexed		infant / child	1		jar		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118
295	XII-XIII	4O	7.33 / spotted	XIA	simple		single	flexed	E	infant / child	1	near head	jar		—	few	—	—	—		
296 (same number for two graves)	XII-XIII	5O	7.20 spotted	XIA	urn		single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
296 (same number for two graves)	XII-XIII	5O	6.57 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
297	XII-XIII	4Q	7.55 / spotted	XII (?)	urn	lidded with a painted sherd	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
298	XII-XIII	4O	7.15 / spotted	XIA	lidded		single			infant / child	1		bowl		—	—	—	—	—		
299	XII-XIII	4M	7.02	XII (?)	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
300	XII-XIII	4O	7.3	XII (?)	urn	no lid	single	flexed		infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
301	under XII	4Q	7.01	XII	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
302	XII-XIII	5O	6.57 / spotted	XIA	simple pit		single	flexed	E	infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
303	XII-XIII	5O			urn	lidded with a jar / matting	single			infant / child	2		bowl and jar		—	—	—	—	—		
304	XII-XIII	5Q	7.46	XIA	urn burial	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
305	XII-XIII	5Q	7.2	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		bowl		—	—	—	—	—		
306	XII-XIII	5O	7.22	XIA	urn	lidded	single				2		bowl and jar		—	—	—	—	—		
307	under XII	4M	7.08	XII (?)	urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowls (one painted)		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
308	under XII	4M	7.65	XIA	urn		single			infant / child	1		open		—	—	—	—	clay disk (?)		Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
309	under XII	3Q	7.15	XII (?)	simple pit		single			infant / child	1		bad condition		—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
													(unidentified)								
310	XII-XIII	4O	7.08	XII	urn	lidded with a bowl	single			infant / child	3		bowl		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118
311	XIII	3Q	6.46	XIIA	urn	no lid	single	flexed	N	infant / child	2		1 bowl, 1 jar		—	—	—	—	—		
312	XIII	3O	7.43		urn		fractional (only the skull)			?	1				—	—	—	—	—		
313	XII-XIII	5Q	7.83	XIA			single			infant / child	—				—	some	—	—	—		
314	XII-XIII	5Q	8.07	XIA			single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
316	under XII	4J	7.35	XIA	urn		single			infant / child	—				—	—	—	—	—		
317	XII-XIII	4M	7.07	XII (?)	urn	lidded with broken open pot	single			infant / child	1		jar (painted) and open pot		—	—	—	—	—	For Tobler it is under XII	Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
319	under XII	3O	7.08	XII (?)	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
320	under XII	5S	7.86	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1				—	—	—	—	—		

Cat. No.	Intrusion Level	Square	Elevation	Estimated Level of Origin	Grave Type	Additional Characteristics of Grave	Burial Type	Potision of the Dead	Orientation	Gender / Age	Quantity of Pottery	Pottery Deposit	Pottery Types	Quality of Pottery	Stone Vessels	Beads	Animal Bones	Lithics	Other Offerings	Further Observations	Citation
321	under XII	5S	7.63	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		closed		—	—	—	—	—		Tobler 1950, 118 (XII)
322	XII-XIII	5M	7.28	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1			painted	—	—	—	—	—		
325	XII	3O	7.76	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		urn	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
326	XII-XIII	4M	7.45	XIA	urn	no lid	single			infant / child	1		jar	painted	—	—	—	—	—		
327	XII-XIII	4M	7.3	XIA	urn	lidded with bowl	single			infant / child	2		bowl		—	—	—	—	—		
328	XII-XIII	3O	7.05	XII (?)	urn	no lid	single			infant child	1				—	—	—	—	—		
329	XII-XIII	3M			urn	lidded with a pot	single			infant / child	2				—	—	—	—	—		
406	XII-XIII	5O			?										—	—	—	—	—		
Burial A-B-C-D	under XX				secondary context	in a well	multiple (24 individuals)			adults											Tobler 1950, 49

Appendix Cb

As mentioned, the final publication, volume II, is an unreliable source of information, especially in the descriptions of burial assemblages. There are many differences with the field records, which are presented here in more detail.

- Locus 7-3: Besides a short mention of its location, grave 7-3 remains actually unpublished, since it is not included in Tobler's catalogue¹⁴⁸³ and there is no other reference. However, this grave is well recorded in the excavation sheets. The body, probably of an infant or child, was partially covered with a painted bowl, near which some beads and one piece of flint have been found.
- Locus 7-6: Tobler¹⁴⁸⁴ characterized grave 7-6 as disturbed. However, according to the excavation material, only parts of the skeleton were possible to be retrieved implying that it is a fractional burial.
- Locus 7-37: It is an interesting grave due to its burial offerings. Both Tobler¹⁴⁸⁵ and the excavation sheets include information of the body, which probably belongs to an infant or child in flexed position. The dead was accompanied by an unusual object, resembling a rattle, since inside this there were five clay pellets. Also an animal figurine has been found.
- Locus 7-38: It is an urn burial. However, not all of the grave offerings were published by Tobler.¹⁴⁸⁶ According to the field records, there was a plain bowl lying near the painted urn. An egg-shaped ballista has been found inside this bowl.
- Locus 7-40: Besides its location, Tobler did not give any further details.¹⁴⁸⁷ It is a simple pit containing probably an adult in flexed position. No offerings have been attested.
- Locus 7-41: Again the published material¹⁴⁸⁸ does not correspond to the description in the field notes. It is a simple pit without offerings. The body was probably an underaged individual.
- Locus 7-43: Tobler left out the majority of the grave offerings¹⁴⁸⁹ recorded in the field notes. Apart from the published jar, there were a decorated bowl and a spindle whorl.

¹⁴⁸³ Tobler 1950, 104.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁴⁸⁵ Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Tobler 1950, 120.

- Locus 7-45: There are no details published about grave 7-45, except for the fact that it contained a young individual and that it originated from level XVII.¹⁴⁹⁰ Studying the field records, the situation is more complicated. As mentioned in chapter 3.1.3.1.3. this grave has the same elevation and measurements with grave 7-39. However, 7-45 contained many offerings including three ceramic vessels, one stone plate and beads.
- Locus 7-46: Grave 7-46 is absent from Tobler's catalogue, and, thus, it remains actually unpublished.¹⁴⁹¹ It is a simple pit that contained a young individual with no offerings.
- Locus 7-47: Tobler¹⁴⁹² left out from the description of the grave assemblage an obsidian blade and pebble.
- Locus 7-48: Another grave that Tobler did not include in his published catalogue, but he restricted to a short mention.¹⁴⁹³ According to the field notes, it is a simple pit containing nothing, but the corpse of an infant or child.
- Locus 7-52: In Tobler's catalogue¹⁴⁹⁴ there is no reference to the painted bowl found inside this grave.
- Locus 7-53: The description of grave 7-53 is the same in the published catalogue and in the field records.¹⁴⁹⁵
- Locus 7-54: In Tobler's catalogue¹⁴⁹⁶ there is no reference to the stone plate found inside this grave.
- Locus 7-55: No particular detail has been published, besides its location.¹⁴⁹⁷ It is recorded as a simple pit containing an infant or child in flexed position accompanied by no offerings.
- Locus 7-57: According to the field notes, the body was accompanied by a bowl and beads. However, only the beads are included in the final publication.¹⁴⁹⁸
- Locus 7-58: An interesting grave, since it contained a disarticulate skeleton and a peculiar game piece. There were also two pots, although Tobler mentioned only one of them.¹⁴⁹⁹ As far as its location is concerned, to be more specific, this grave has been found between squares 3J and 4J (**fig. 18**).

¹⁴⁹⁰ Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁴⁹¹ Short mention found in Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁴⁹² Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁴⁹³ Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁴⁹⁷ Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Tobler 1950, 120.

- Locus 7-59: Again Tobler failed to mention all the offerings recorded.¹⁵⁰⁰ Thus, except for the jar, there was also a painted bowl.
- Locus 7-61: Like grave 7-59, Tobler mentioned only the beads found on the pelvis,¹⁵⁰¹ while according to the field notes a miniature pot laid near its legs.
- Locus 7-62: The information presented in Tobler's catalogue¹⁵⁰² is the same with this in the excavation sheets, although the exact spot of these offerings inside the grave is not available in the publication (for their location see Appendix Ca).
- Locus 7-66: The information presented in Tobler's catalogue¹⁵⁰³ is the same with this in the excavation sheets, although the exact spot of these offerings inside the grave is not available in the publication (for their location see Appendix Ca).
- Locus 7-67: It is an interesting double burial with a lot of grave goods, which remain unpublished. Besides the miniature jar that Tobler mentioned,¹⁵⁰⁴ there were also a bowl, a jar, a plate, two calm shell and a spatula.
- Locus 7-68: The full description of the burial assemblage is missing from the final publication.¹⁵⁰⁵ An animal tooth, an unspecified number of beads and a ceramic bowl have been unearthed from the grave according to the field notes.
- Locus 7-69: The burial arrangement presented in Tobler's publication¹⁵⁰⁶ is the same with this in the information sheets.
- Locus 7-70: The non-pottery objects are not included in the final volume.¹⁵⁰⁷ Specifically, four unspecified stone objects and beads, as well as a spindle whorl, belong to this burial assemblage.
- Locus 7-72: The description of the grave¹⁵⁰⁸ corresponds to the information found in the field notes.
- Locus 7-73: Both Tobler's final publication¹⁵⁰⁹ and the excavation notes provide the same details about grave 7-73.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰¹ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰² Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰³ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰⁴ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰⁵ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰⁶ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Tobler 1950, 120.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Tobler 1950, 121.

- Locus 7-75: Tobler did not include this grave in his catalogue, but there is a short mention of its location.¹⁵¹⁰ Further information about the burial assemblage is derived from the excavation sheet, according to which 7-75 includes an underaged individual. Above the body there was a ceramic potsherd. No further observations have been recorded and, as mentioned, the age of the dead should be treated with caution in every single case.
- Locus 7-76: Tobler did not include all the grave offerings, as he mentioned only the small plain jar.¹⁵¹¹ According to the excavators' notes, a plain bowl and a jar of Ubaid style have been also found in the same burial assemblage.
- Locus 7-77: Another grave that Tobler did not describe in detail¹⁵¹² and thus nothing is known about the burial arrangement. The unpublished excavation material describes grave 7-77 as a simple pit, which contained a body of a child and a plain bowl.
- Locus 7-79: It is an unfurnished simple pit that contained the body of an adult. However, this information is not available in Tobler's volume.¹⁵¹³
- Locus 7-80: It is a quite wealthy pit burial that Tobler did not discuss thoroughly.¹⁵¹⁴ The adult lying in flexed position was accompanied by a ceramic jar, five stone specimens, beads and a pendant.
- Locus 7-81: An infant or child urn burial without offerings that is not included in the published catalogue.¹⁵¹⁵
- Locus 7-83: According to the field notes, grave 7-83 is a simple pit plastered with clay containing an infant or child in flexed position. No offerings have been attested. In the final publication only some information of their location is available.¹⁵¹⁶
- Locus G36-23: Tobler included all the available information in the field records.¹⁵¹⁷
- Locus G36-25: Tobler included all the available information in the field records.¹⁵¹⁸
- Locus G36-29: Tobler included all the available information in the field records.¹⁵¹⁹
- Locus G36-42: Tobler discussed grave G36-42 in different parts of Chapter II taking into account the records of the notes.

¹⁵¹⁰ Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁵¹¹ Tobler 1950, LXXIIa No.7.

¹⁵¹² Tobler 1950, 105.

¹⁵¹³ Tobler 1950, 106.

¹⁵¹⁴ Tobler 1950, 106.

¹⁵¹⁵ Only a short mention we can find in Tobler 1950, 106.

¹⁵¹⁶ Tobler 1950, 106.

¹⁵¹⁷ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵¹⁸ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵¹⁹ Tobler 1950, 118.

- Locus G36-43: Tobler discussed grave G36-43 in different parts of Chapter II taking into account the records of the notes.
- Locus G35-51: Tobler included grave G36-51¹⁵²⁰ in his catalogue including all the available information recorded in the excavation sheets.
- Locus G35-59: Tobler included grave G36-59¹⁵²¹ in his catalogue including all the available information recorded in the excavation sheets.
- Locus G35-60: Tobler included all the information recorded in the sheets. However, they are found in different chapters in his volume (see mainly chapter II).
- Locus G35-61: Tobler included all the information recorded in the sheets. Besides his catalogue,¹⁵²² they are found in different chapters in his volume (see mainly chapter II).
- Locus G36-62: Tobler described grave G36-62 as an infant urn burial and mentioned a decorated bowl.¹⁵²³ On the other hand, according to the excavation sheets, the body was placed in a jar covered with an unspecified pot.
- Locus G36-63: Tobler¹⁵²⁴ took into account every note found in the field records.
- Locus G36-65: Tobler¹⁵²⁵ left out the five beads that have been found in the same burial assemblage.
- Locus G36-66: Tobler¹⁵²⁶ took into account every note found in the field records.
- Locus G36-68: It is a *libn tomb* that had been found before Bach joined the excavation team and created the more detailed registration system. Thus, we know actually nothing about the burial arrangement and Tobler could not describe it in more detail (see generally chapter II).
- Locus G36-69: Tobler¹⁵²⁷ took into account every note found in the field records.
- Locus G36-70: Tobler¹⁵²⁸ took into account every note found in the field records.
- Locus G36-71: Tobler¹⁵²⁹ took into account every note found in the field records.
- Locus G36-74: It is a *libn tomb* that had been found before Bach joined the excavation team and created the more detailed registration system. Thus, we know actually nothing

¹⁵²⁰ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵²¹ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵²² Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵²³ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵²⁴ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵²⁵ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵²⁶ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵²⁷ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵²⁸ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵²⁹ Tobler 1950, 119.

about the burial arrangement and Tobler could not describe it in more detail (see generally chapter II).

Locus G36-77: Tobler¹⁵³⁰ did not mention anywhere that beads have been found in the same burial assemblage.

Locus G36-86: It is a *libn tomb* that had been found before Bach joined the excavation team and created the more detailed registration system. Thus, less is known about the burial arrangement – it held an underaged individual in flexed position and some beads – and Tobler could not describe it in more detail (see generally chapter II).

Locus G36-90: It is a *libn tomb* that had been found before Bach joined the excavation team and created the more detailed registration system. Thus, less is known about the burial arrangement – it held a skeleton in flexed position perhaps with no offerings – and Tobler could not describe it in more detail (see generally chapter II).

Locus G36-94: The information in Tobler's catalogue¹⁵³¹ and field notes is the same.

Locus G36-99: According to the field notes, it is a lidded urn burial perhaps of an infant accompanied by beads and a stamp seal. However, there is no reference to the grave goods, albeit this grave is included in the published catalogue of the graves.¹⁵³²

Locus G36-100: Tobler relied on the field notes to publish grave G36-100 (see generally chapter II), although it is poorly recorded.

Locus G36-101: It is a rare grave that did not receive the attention it deserves, since only one of the three ceramic vessels is included in the final publication.¹⁵³³ Grave G36-101 was actually a lidded double urn burial according to the excavation notes.

Locus G36-104: Information about grave G36-104 was scattered in chapter II of the final publication, making it hard for one to follow the burial arrangement. Thus, Tobler missed out that the youth found in flexed position was accompanied by a single bead, besides the ceramic offerings.

Locus G36-105: Information about grave G36-105 was scattered in chapter II of the final publication, making it hard for one to follow the burial arrangement. However, besides the ceramic offerings near the legs and the position of the dead (flexed), nothing else was recorded.

¹⁵³⁰ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵³¹ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵³² Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵³³ Tobler 1950, 119.

Locus G36-106: This grave was included in the published catalogue¹⁵³⁴ including the records from the field notes.

Locus G36-107: From the published catalogue, a mention to a second painted pot is missing.¹⁵³⁵

Locus G36-110: Even if the estimation of the age of the dead is not reliable, it is worth a mention.¹⁵³⁶

Locus G36-111: The *libn tomb* G36-111 is not a well-recorded grave and therefore there is not much to be discussed about it (see generally chapter II).

Locus G36-119: The bowl that was the lid of grave G36-119 was not included in the published catalogue.¹⁵³⁷

Locus G36-120: According to Tobler the top of the tomb had been made with stone slabs.¹⁵³⁸ However, in the field notes, it is clear that the eastern side of the shaft was made with stones and roofed with mud-bricks. Also, there is no mention of the position and approximate age of the dead, albeit it is recorded.

Locus G36-122: Tobler took into account the few observations that the excavators kept (see chapter II).

Locus G36-124: Again Tobler did not mention all the findings from the grave,¹⁵³⁹ since besides the jar, which was used as an urn, an unspecified ceramic vessel was used as a lid and a painted bowl as an offering. Also there is a bead, which probably adorned the body or the clothes.

Locus G36-126: Tobler took into account the few observations that the excavators kept.¹⁵⁴⁰

Locus G36-131: It is not recorded as a lidded or unlidded urn burial, although two bowls have been unearthed. For Tobler, the painted bowl is used as the cover, since he characterized this urn as lidded.¹⁵⁴¹

Locus G36-134: The information of G36-134 is scattered through chapter II. However, there is no difference from the field records in the description of the grave.

Locus G36-135: The information of G36-134 is scattered through chapter II. However, there is no difference from the field records.

Locus G36-137: Not well recorded.¹⁵⁴²

¹⁵³⁴ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵³⁵ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵³⁶ For further information, see chapter II.

¹⁵³⁷ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵³⁸ Tobler 1950, 70 and 74.

¹⁵³⁹ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁴⁰ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁴¹ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁴² Tobler 1950, 97.

- Locus G36-141: Tobler did not include the type of the ceramic vessels – a bowl and a jar – that formed the lidded urn burial.¹⁵⁴³ Also, the grooved ornament that Tobler mentioned is recorded by the excavators as a lozenge shaped serpentine pendant.
- Locus G36-144: There was scattered information in chapter II. However, the estimation of the excavators that the dead was a child is not mentioned.
- Locus G36-146: The scattered information seems to follow the field records (see generally chapter II).
- Locus G36-148: It is worth a particular mention by Tobler that no skeletal remains have been attested by the excavators.¹⁵⁴⁴
- Locus G36-152: This grave is not included in the published catalogue.¹⁵⁴⁵ Thus, its arrangement remains unknown. It is registered as an infant or child urn burial (see Appendix Ca for more).
- Locus G36-153: This grave is not included in the published catalogue.¹⁵⁴⁶ Thus, its arrangement remains unknown. It is registered as an infant or child urn burial (see Appendix Ca for more).
- Locus G36-154: The type of urn was not recorded during the digging procedure and, therefore, only the lid has been published by Tobler.¹⁵⁴⁷
- Locus G36-155: The scattered information seems to follow the field records (see generally chapter II).
- Locus G35-156: A unique burial with double lid. However, there is no such mention in the final report¹⁵⁴⁸ and, thus, the two ceramic pots were left out.
- Locus G36-157: It is referred to as a lidded urn burial.¹⁵⁴⁹ However, there is no mention that the lid was not a complete ceramic vessel, but just a sherd.
- Locus G36-161: It is not included in the published catalogue and, therefore, it is not known that it contained a child or infant accompanied by nothing. However, Tobler pointed out that the grave had a pies construction.¹⁵⁵⁰

¹⁵⁴³ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁴⁴ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁴⁵ See a short mention in Tobler 1950, 104.

¹⁵⁴⁶ See a short mention in Tobler 1950, 104.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Tobler 1950, 110.

- Locus G36-162: Again there is not a full description of the burial assemblage, since the infant or the child lidded urn burial contained some white beads (for more see Appendix Ca). Tobler focused only on its location.¹⁵⁵¹
- Locus G35-165: The lid of the urn burial was a bowl that is not mentioned in the final catalogue.¹⁵⁵²
- Locus G36-171: Tobler took into account the few observations that the excavators kept.¹⁵⁵³
- Locus 254: It was listed¹⁵⁵⁴ including every piece of information from the field notes.
- Locus 287: While for Tobler the urn is a bowl (see Pl. CVVVVII, fig. 284), in the field notes it is recorded as a jar.
- Locus 291: It was listed,¹⁵⁵⁵ although there is no mention to the bowl, which was used as a lid of the urn.
- Locus 294: Tobler took into account the few observations that the excavators kept.¹⁵⁵⁶
- Locus 301: It was listed following the information from the field records.¹⁵⁵⁷
- Locus 307: Although Tobler mentioned that grave 307 is a lidded urn burial,¹⁵⁵⁸ he pointed out that the lid was a bowl, as recorded in the field notes.
- Locus 308: It was listed as an unlidded urn burial.¹⁵⁵⁹ However, according to the field records, a disk had been found (probably a clay disk?), which is not mentioned in the published volume.
- Locus 310: Tobler took into account the few observations that the excavators kept.¹⁵⁶⁰
- Locus 317: Again there is no mention to the type of the lid,¹⁵⁶¹ which seems to be an open broken pot, as recorded by the excavators.
- Locus 321: Tobler took into account all the information from the field notes.¹⁵⁶²

The field notes are quite explicit and descriptive, as evident from Appendix Ca. However, as mentioned, the age of the dead is not reliable, since it is based on general observations of the archaeologists during the field work. The term "infant or child" used

¹⁵⁵¹ Tobler 1950, 104.

¹⁵⁵² Tobler 1950, 119.

¹⁵⁵³ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁵⁴ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁶⁰ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁶¹ Tobler 1950, 118.

¹⁵⁶² Tobler 1950, 118.

in Appendix Ca includes the different descriptions, infant, child and toddler, that the scholars have used in the field notes. No skeleton has been examined by anthropologists. In addition to those different characterizations, the use of the term "youth", that is found on frequent basis in the archives, makes the situation even more confusing, since it could be referred to either as adolescent or as young adult. Usually, Tobler¹⁵⁶³ referred to it as "young adult". Here, the original term has been kept, since there is no evidence to confirm the age of the dead. Nevertheless, all these characterizations are approximate and maybe sometimes wrong. Furthermore, it is not known whether cranial modification was ever applied at Tepe Gawra or not, since no relevant studies have been held.

The chronological framework of the present research does not permit the examination of the superimposed graves, which have been found into the levels XIA, XII, XI and X and were definitely dated to the later occupation of Tepe Gawra. However, it is worth mentioning here that the majority of the later prehistoric burial assemblages were not recorded according to Bache's registration system, since they were unearthed before he joined the team. For this reason, the exact location, *i.e.* the distance from two fixed corners of the square, and sometimes the depth of the graves was not recorded. The absence of such information makes their level of origin even more precarious.

To examine the evolution of the burial ritual at Tepe Gawra and how this changed from the Ubaid to Uruk Period, an effort to incorporate the later prehistoric graves into the present research has been made. However, this effort failed to identify all or at least the majority of the later graves with the level of their origin due to recording problems. For example, as evident from Appendix Ca, only few level XIA graves have been identified in the present research¹⁵⁶⁴ and, thus, there is not a comprehensible picture of the prevailed mortuary practices for further observations.

On the other hand, Tobler left out of his publication a large number of burial assemblages that have been found and recorded, giving a misleading picture about the prevailing funeral customs in each phase. In particular, the prehistoric mortuary practices are not likely to be reconstructed, since the number of the unpublished graves

¹⁵⁶³ See generally Tobler 1950,

¹⁵⁶⁴ More level XIA and later prehistoric graves are included in the final publication, volume II,¹⁵⁶⁴ although many of them are not well-recorded and thus, their level of origin can not be identified easily.

found in the pre-Uruk Period at Tepe Gawra exceeds 180.¹⁵⁶⁵ In addition to the incomplete burial evidence, the already existing demographic problems are intensified. It is difficult to estimate the population of such a large settlement as Tepe Gawra, especially, if the intramural graves that were excavated do not seem to correspond to the actual mortality rates of that time. The examination of these 183 additional graves sheds some light on this matter, but still indicates that Tepe Gawra was not densely populated.¹⁵⁶⁶ It is sure that during the pre-Uruk occupation, Tepe Gawra would undergo short periods of crisis and the settlement would be occupied by a couple of families.¹⁵⁶⁷ Consequently, the number of burials would not be large in those cases. However, even in the case of level XIV, the single burial does not justify the construction of a large structure with a more stable and elaborate stone foundation.¹⁵⁶⁸ On the other hand, other levels reveal either an extended occupational area with a number of different structures and dwellings or a public building complex (see the monumental layout of the level XIII) which probably the inhabitants of the near lowlands visited on a frequent basis. According to the archaeological evidence, Tepe Gawra was in use continuously during the pre-Uruk Period and therefore, it evolved to an acropolis. Perhaps, there was a part of the population that travelled with livestock seasonally, but again the number of the uncovered burials remains very low and does not correspond to the exposed settlement.

All the above observations indicate that more investigations are needed close to an extended area around the unearthed part of the site, which perhaps would lead to the discovery of an extramural graveyard or even further occupational debris. It is an old, but very important excavation, which did not receive the attention it deserves.

¹⁵⁶⁵ 7-2, 7-4, 7-8, 7-21, 7-22, 7-23-, 7-24, 7-24, 7-25, 7-26, 7-27, 7-28, 7-29, 7-30, 7-31, 7-32, 733, 7-34, 7-35, 7-36, 7-37, 7-39, 7-41, 7-44, 7-48, 7-49, 7-50, 7-51, 7-56, 7-60, 7-62, 7-63, 7-64, 7-65, 7-71, 7-74, 7-78, 7-82, G36-1, G36-2, G36-3, G36-4, G36-5, G36-6, G36-7, G36-8, G36-9, G36-10, G36-11, G36-15, G36-17, G36-19, G36-21, G36-22, G36-24, G36-38, G36-45, G36-48, G36-49, G36-50, G36-52, G36-53, G36-54, G36-55, G36-56, G36-57, G36-58, G36-64, G36-67, G36-71, G36-72, G36-73, G36-75, G36-76, G36-78, G36-80, G36-81, G36-82, G36-83, G36-84, G36-85, G36-87, G36-88, G36-89, G36-91, G36-92, G36-93, G36-95, G36-96, G36-97, G36-98, G36-102, G36-103, G36-108, G36-109, G36-112, G36-113, G36-114, G36-115, G36-117, G36-118, G36-121, G36-122, G36-123, G36-125, G36-127, G36-128, G36-130, G36-132, G36-133, G36-136, G36-137, G36-138, G36-139, G36-140, G36-142, G36-143, G36-145, G36-147, G36-148, G36-151, G36-161, G36-164, G36-170, G36-172, G36-173, 183, 194, 236, 237, 238, 241, 243, 250, 251, 255, 257, 259, 265, 268, 273, 274, 275, 276, 279, 283, 284, 285, 286, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 309, 311, 312, 313, 134, 316, 319, 320, 322, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329 and 406.

¹⁵⁶⁶ Based on the excavated material.

¹⁵⁶⁷ For example, see level XIV and XIA.

¹⁵⁶⁸ This construction means that the level XIV did not correspond to a short-lived occupation.

The pre-Uruk levels need to be reviewed and the excavation archives to be reexamined. For now, it is impossible to achieve far-reaching conclusions.

Overall, the majority of the Ubaid sites were partially excavated and there is a small number of burials unearthed. This sample could give a general picture about the prevailing mortuary practices during that time, but definitely it is not a reliable source of estimating the settlements' population. The same holds for the cemeteries, since they were not fully excavated and we do not know actually their exact limits. For this reason, the demographic problem is not examined in more detail here (see chapter 5.1.). It is sure, though, that there were different sizes of settlements with some of them being short-lived, as mentioned.

According to the archaeological records, Tepe Gawra seems to be a unique case among the contemporary sites. Its material assemblages consisted of heterogeneous elements, lying in this way on the periphery of the cultural influence in each phase. Even in this case, though, it seems that Tepe Gawra had evolved enough to become one of the largest centers for many centuries. This is evident from the uninterrupted occupation, the monumental building and the extended area of the settlements estimated over 2 ha. Tepe Gawra joined a very important trade route to Iran. As mentioned, more and more semi-precious stones had been imported from eastern regions. Maybe, such continuous contacts with foreign cultures resulted in the absence of specific cultural coherence at Tepe Gawra. Usually, trade centers include different population groups with their own customs. Thus, one could assume that a similar case is Tepe Gawra. However, since the trading activities were yet very restricted, this assumption needs further investigation. It is true though that more than every other Ubaid site, Tepe Gawra offered a great variety of non-pottery objects within the graves. Especially stone beads have been found systematically in burial assemblages therein than anywhere else.

Definitely the site was wealthier than others based on grave offerings.¹⁵⁶⁹ Perhaps, this was a factor that pushed immigrants to establish therein. Perhaps, these immigrants have come from many different regions including north Mesopotamia and maybe Iran. Consequently, the material cultural assemblages should be reconsidered not only in the light of the Halaf and Ubaid style, but also of further remoter areas of northeastern regions. It is likely that the so-called "Gawra Period"¹⁵⁷⁰ has some

¹⁵⁶⁹ Especially stone beads have been found in frequent base. unfortunately, it is not known the raw material that they are made of.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Perkins 1949; Porada 1965.

affiliation with other cultures originating from neighboring regions. In addition to this, we should not forget that less studied and hardly known cultures could exist during 5th mil BC throughout Mesopotamia together with the Ubaid Period.¹⁵⁷¹ Maybe, some of them pre-existed. Consequently, the identification of some levels at Tepe Gawra with a familiar culture will not be possible, if the archaeological research does not shed some light on this matter. Perhaps, the variety of burial practices at Tepe Gawra reflects these unexplored local cultures, which did not eventually become influential, like Ubaid Culture. Nevertheless, whatever the truth is, Ubaid Culture was not well-established at Tepe Gawra. However, Tepe Gawra achieved to become one of the largest and wealthiest settlements of that time. The innovative ideas of the Ubaid Culture contribute to the evolution of the settlement, albeit Tepe Gawra does not seem to be a typical Ubaid settlement.

As mentioned, it is hard to identify a typical Ubaid settlement. Especially northern sites seem to follow local variations and many of them are affected by earlier customs. Generally, in this region there are two distinct types of settlements: those that can be characterized as genuine Ubaid sites and those that this culture has established at some degree. In the first case, they are small and short-lived villages, which were founded during the period under consideration. It is likely that they were founded by wearers of the Ubaid Culture, who immigrated from the south part of Mesopotamia. In the second case, the already existing settlements, like Tepe Gawra, Tell Arpachiyah, Hammam et-Turkman and Tell Kurdu, just embraced the new ideas that the immigrants brought together.

However, Tepe Gawra is still a unique case, since the local cultural material assemblages did not seem to be assimilated into the new ideas, until the end of the Ubaid Period. Furthermore, Tepe Gawra underwent continuous changes, since there were many differences among its occupational levels, even if we examine two successive levels. Besides Ubaid Culture, there were other foreign influences, which did not allow a uniform culture to be developed. This is also obvious from the various burial practices established in the settlement. There is no continuity in the way that the funeral evolved. For example, infant urn burials appeared as early as XIX level, though simple pits continued to be in use in the next occupational levels. Urn burials re-appeared only at the end of the Ubaid Period at Tepe Gawra and XIII level.

¹⁵⁷¹ For more see Kopanias 2016.

Furthermore, some intermediate levels yielded only underaged individuals¹⁵⁷² and other individuals of different ages. Even in the case of grave offerings, there is a great variety. The burial evidence available does not witness only a multicultural community, but it is likely that different tribes co-existed.

There is no way to determine the tribes hidden behind the different Mesopotamian cultures, even whether one or more tribes were the wearers of these cultures. However, based on the 3rd mil BC evidence and the long duration of the Ubaid Culture, it is likely that during 5th mil Mesopotamia was inhabited by different tribes. It is unlikely that for more than two millennia no population movement took place in this vast area. Eventually, Ubaid Culture became the predominant one at the end of the 5th mil, as evident from Tepe Gawra and other northern sites. Thus, the main question arises: how and why did this culture prevail over the others and affected such a vast area without a centralized authority existing? At least in the case of Tepe Gawra, the predominance of Ubaid Culture seemed to be very progressive and peaceful. Also, it is likely that the wearers of the Ubaid Culture exploited at some point a decline of the local cultures. The more advanced organizational system of the Ubaid Culture made these societies more flexible and stable and thus able to stand the test of the time. Maybe, the main reason that some Ubaid traits re-appeared in Tepe Gawra at the later occupational levels is a decline of the local traits, which permits the Ubaid Culture a further development therein.

The innovations of the southern Mesopotamian settlements on the domains of social organization and agriculture make Ubaid Culture one of the most influential cultures of that time. As mentioned, its vast spread and duration also show a great degree of adaptability of the Ubaid dynamic system in the heterogeneous environment of Mesopotamia. Of course, these characteristics were very important for its predominance over the other cultures occurring in Mesopotamia that time, albeit they cannot justify its persistence in sites with strong presence of the local traits, like Tepe Gawra. Here, for many centuries both Ubaid and local material assemblages co-existed, as mentioned. The Ubaid Culture had never been assimilated. Indeed, many of the Ubaid traits re-appeared in some occupational levels. It is likely that the local trends were gradually in decline until its collapse. Thus, Ubaid Culture easily expanded to the entire settlement and was adopted by the whole population, as evident in level XIII.

¹⁵⁷² See for example XVA level.

Perhaps, a social and economic stagnation of the northern sites¹⁵⁷³ and a cultural collapse is the key behind the peaceful and large spread of the Ubaid Culture. Settlements in decline found a solution to survive in the new organizational system of the Ubaid Culture.

¹⁵⁷³ As mentioned by Ahmed (see Ahmed 2012).

Figures

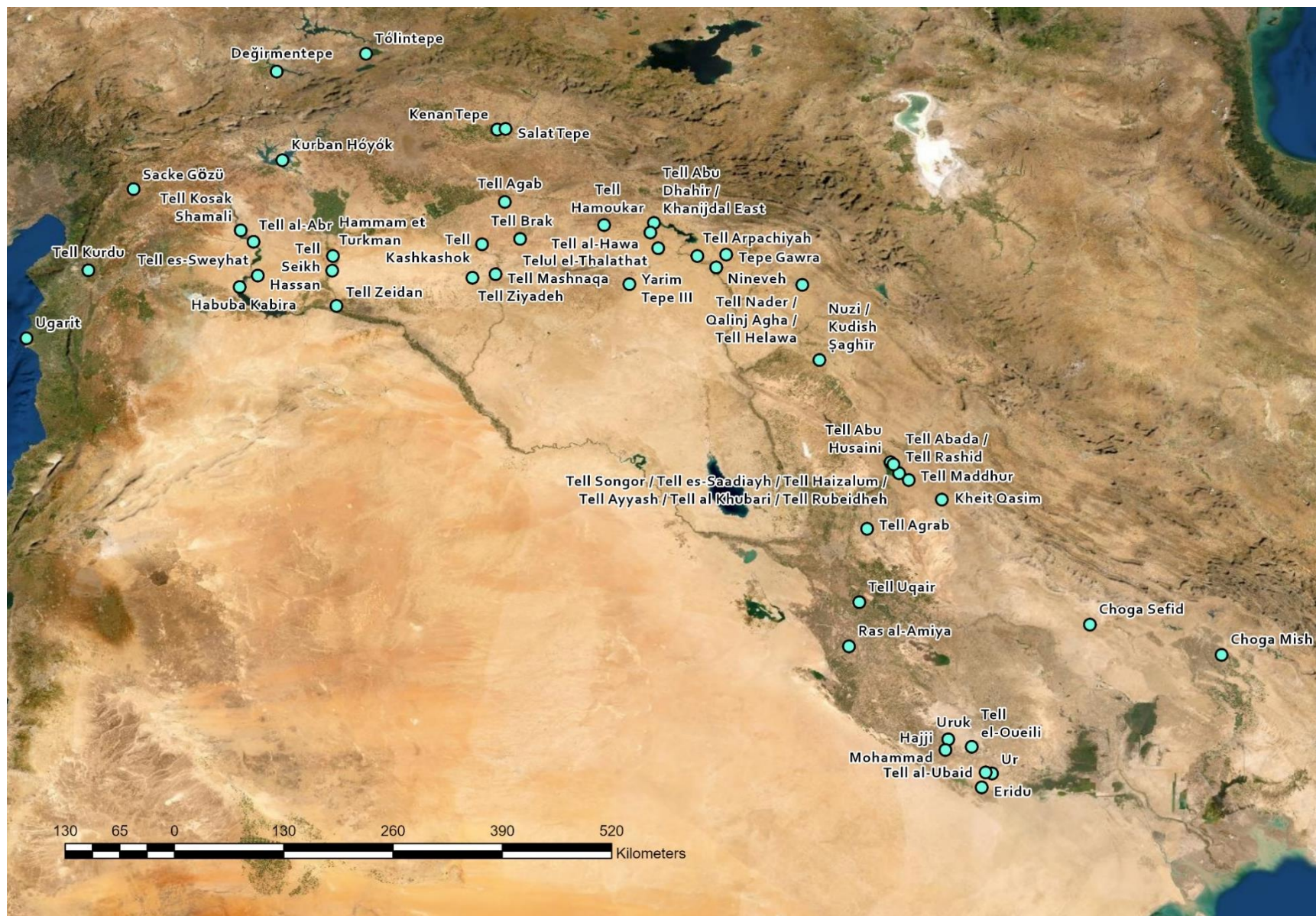


Figure 1. Ubaid sites



Figure 2. Ubaid Pottery.



Figure 3. Typical Ubaid House at Kheit Qasim.



Figure 4. Granary at Tell Kurdu.

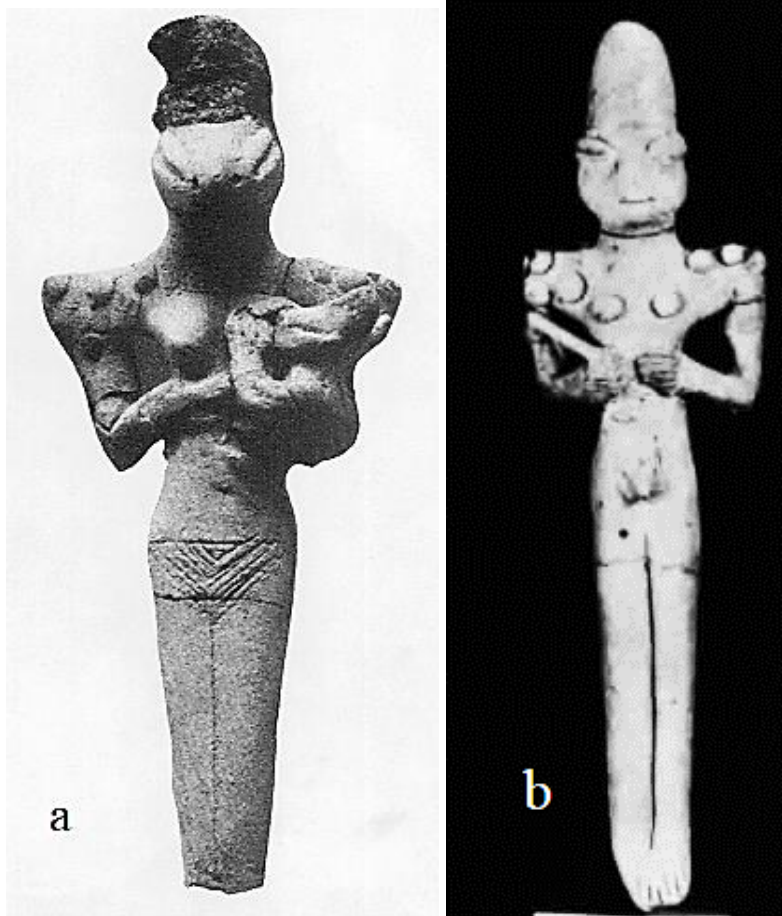


Figure 5. Ubaid Figurines.

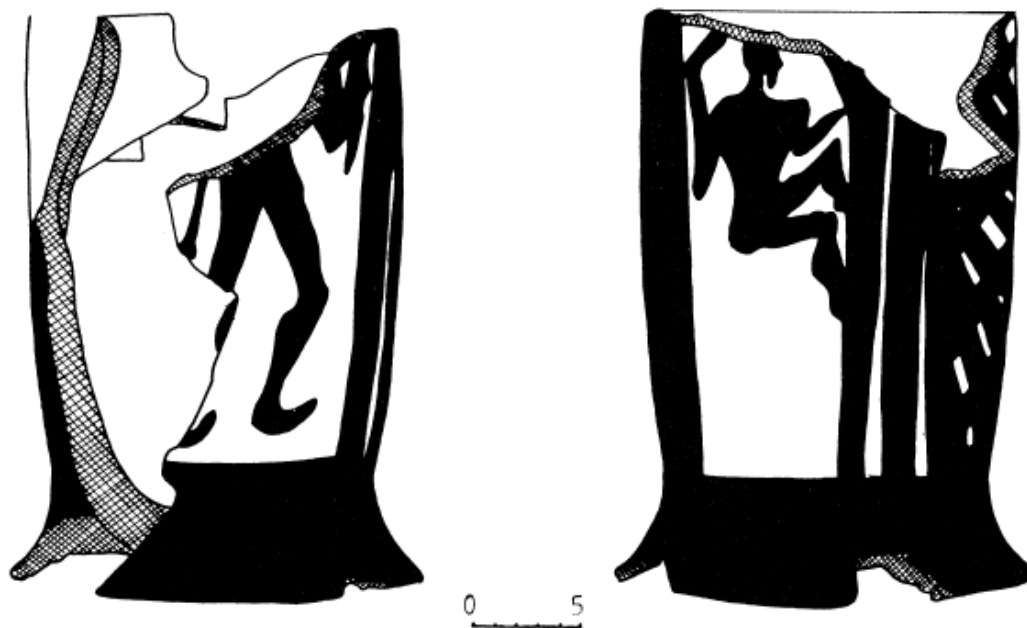


Figure 6. Ceramic vessel from Tell Abada.



Figure 7. Tell Abada Level II.

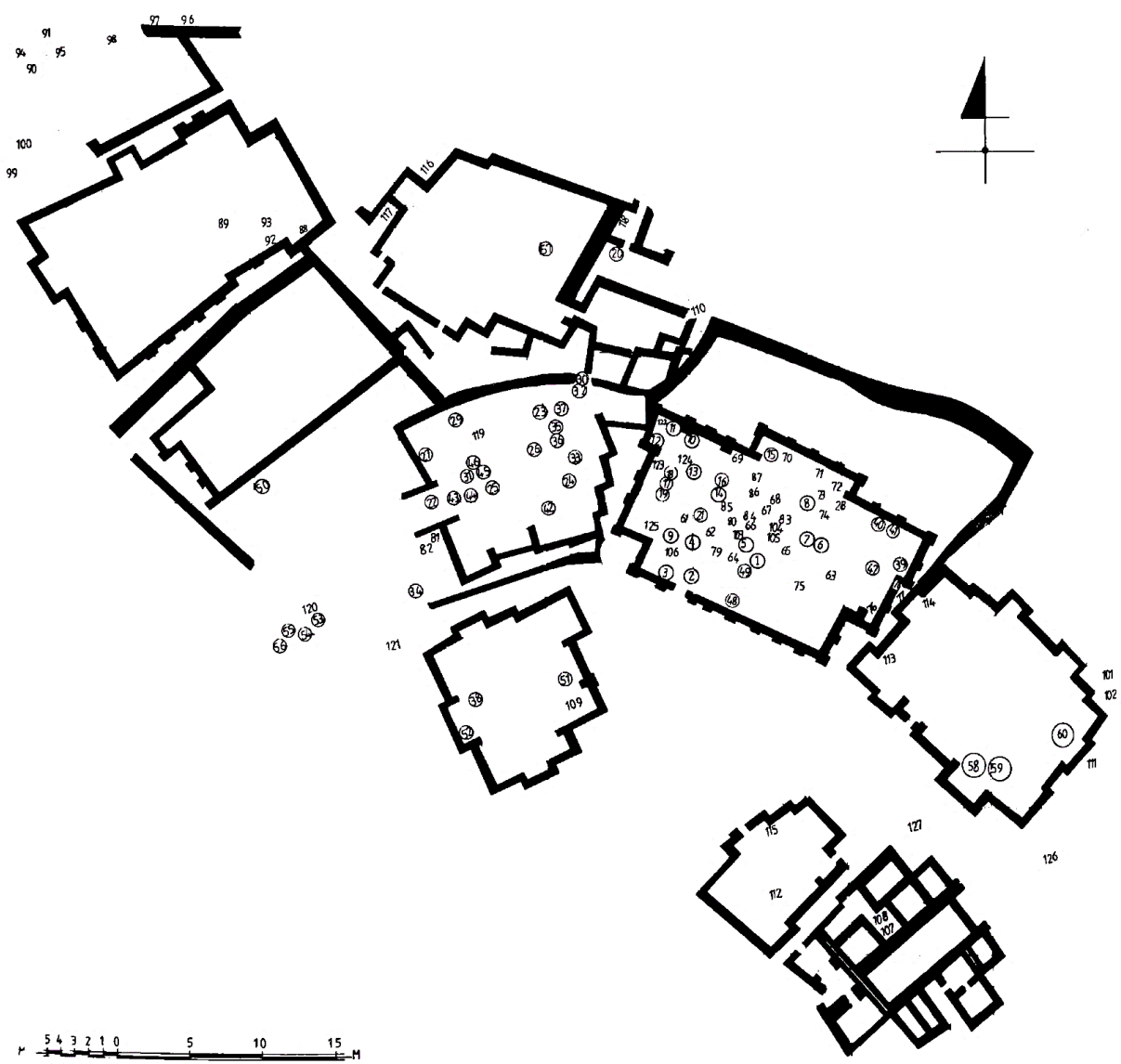


Figure 8. Grave Distribution at Tell Abada.

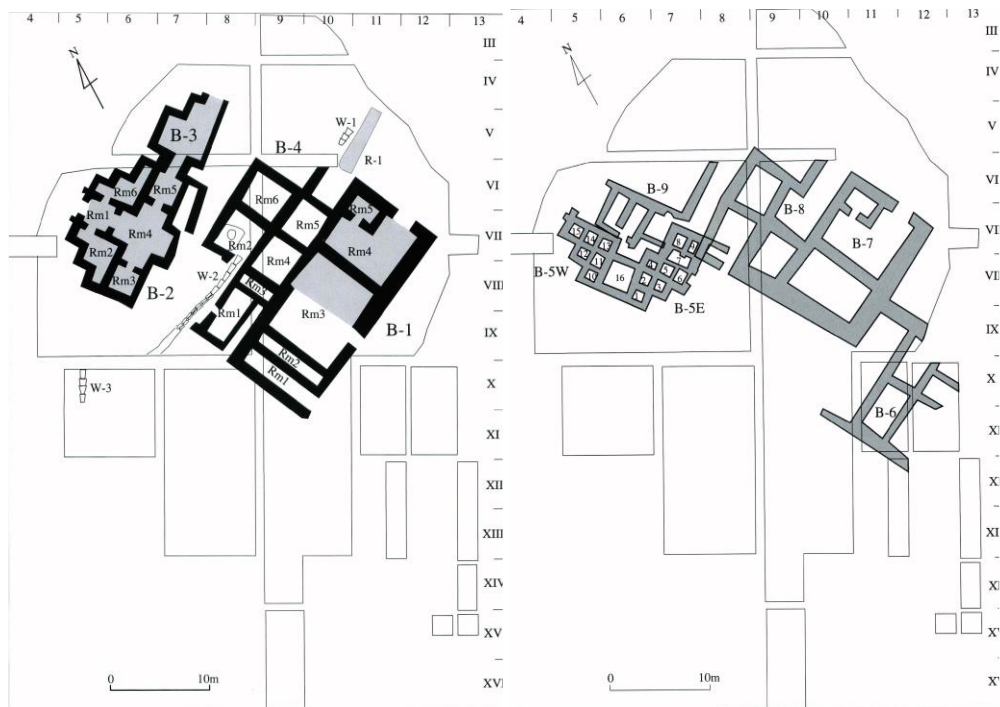


Figure 9. Tell Songor B Level II

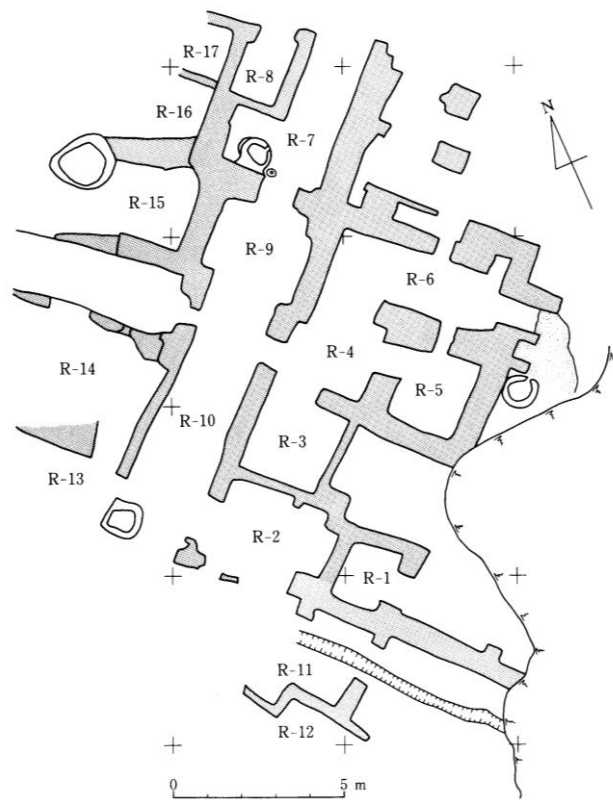


Figure 10. Tell Songor C



Figure 11. Tepe Gawra Stratigraphic Sequence, Levels X - XIII.

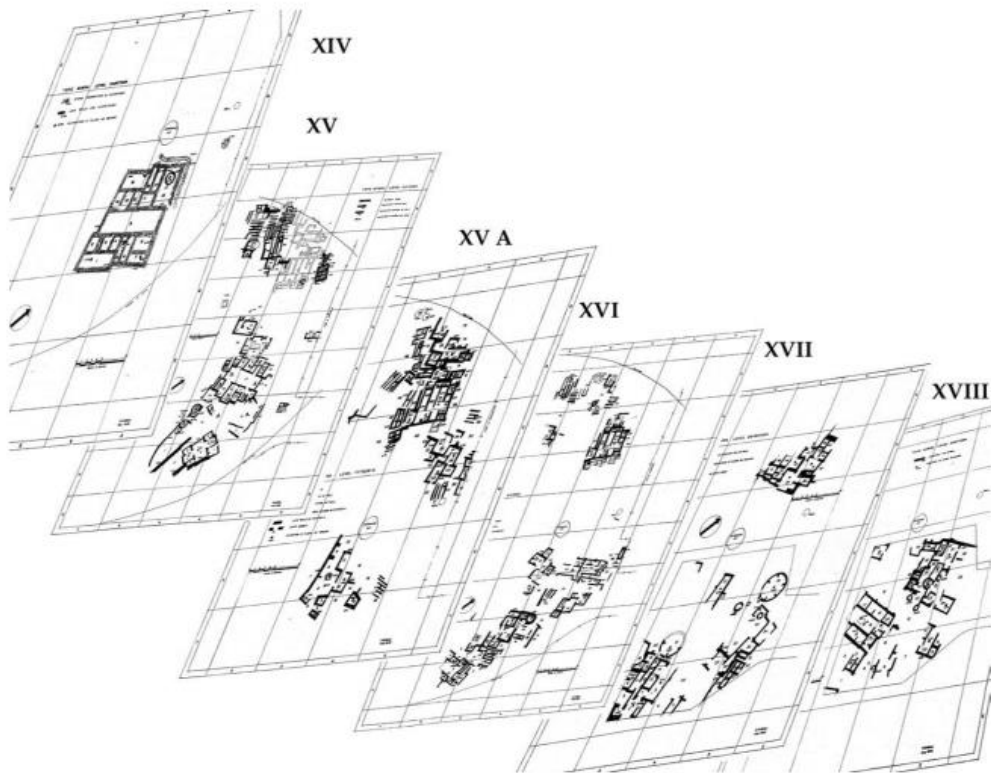


Figure 12. Tepe Gawra Stratigraphic Sequence, Levels XIV - XVIII.

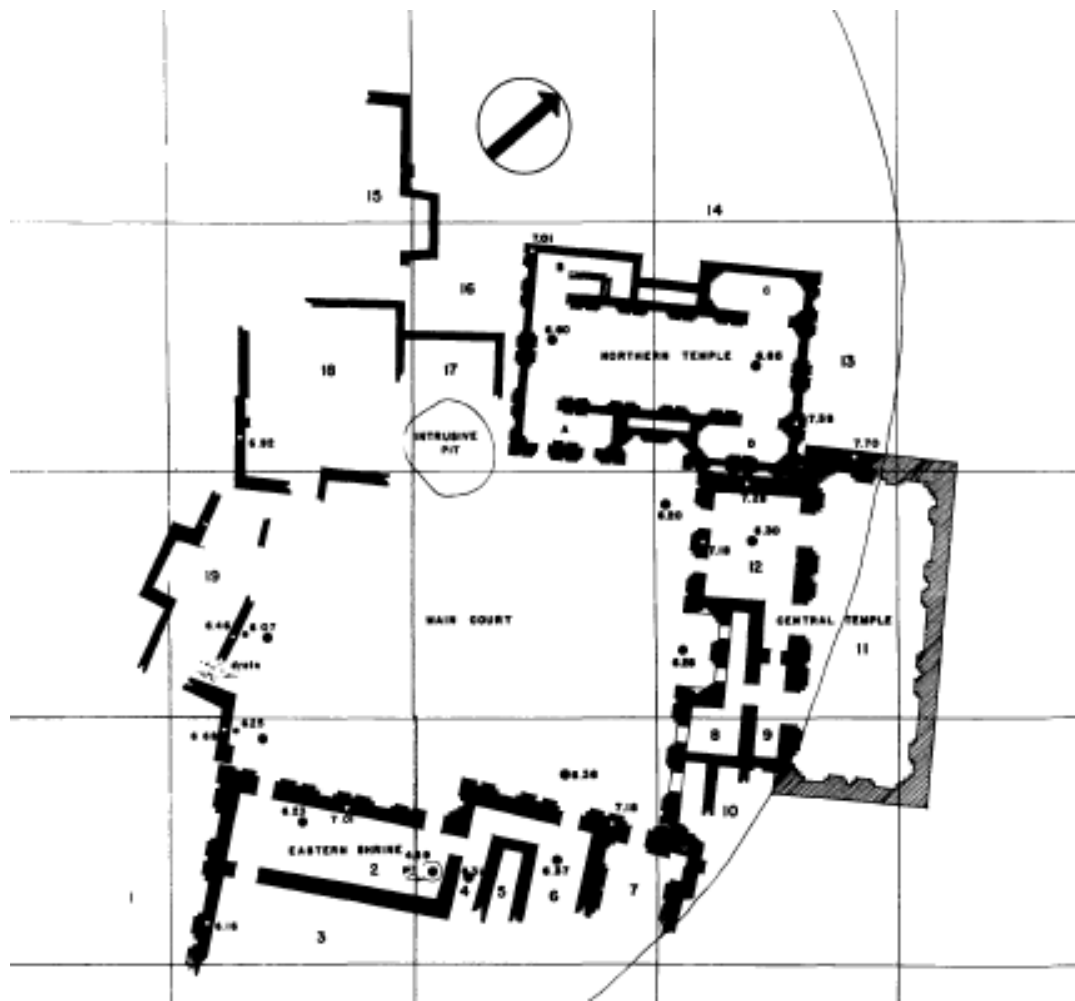


Figure 13. Tepe Gawra Level XIII.

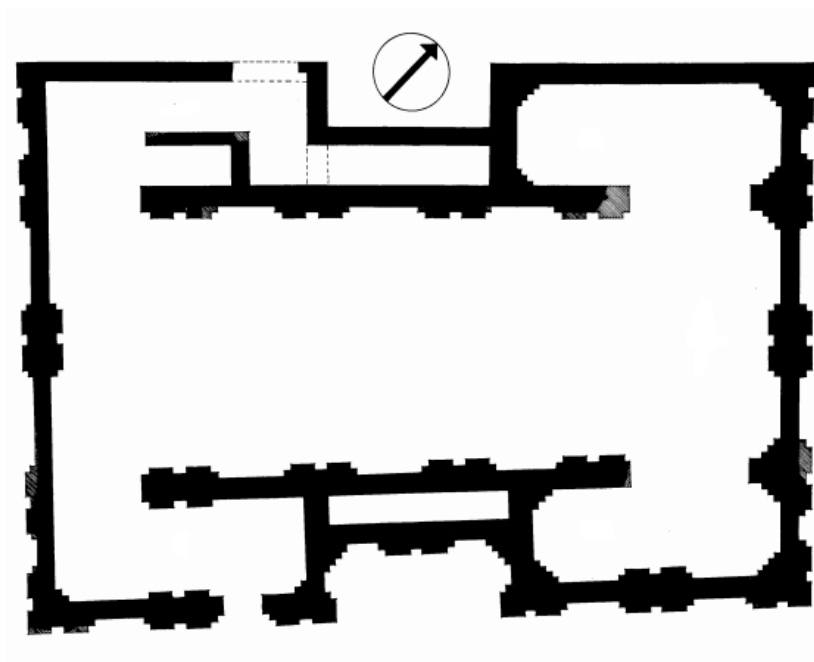


Figure 14. Tepe Gawra Level XIII Temple.

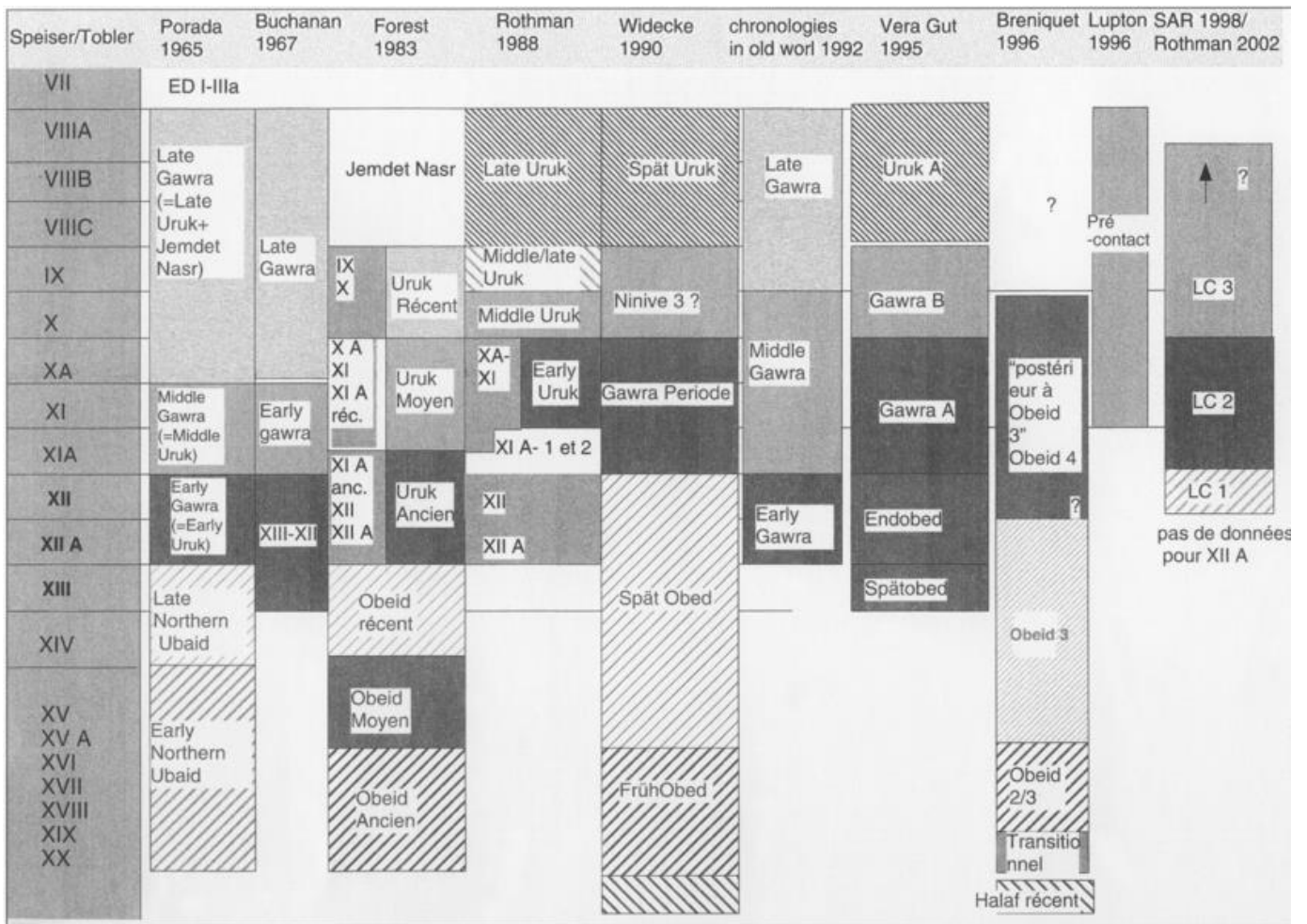


Figure 15. Proposed Stratigraphic Sequence, Tepe Gawra.



Figure 16. Graves at XIX Level.

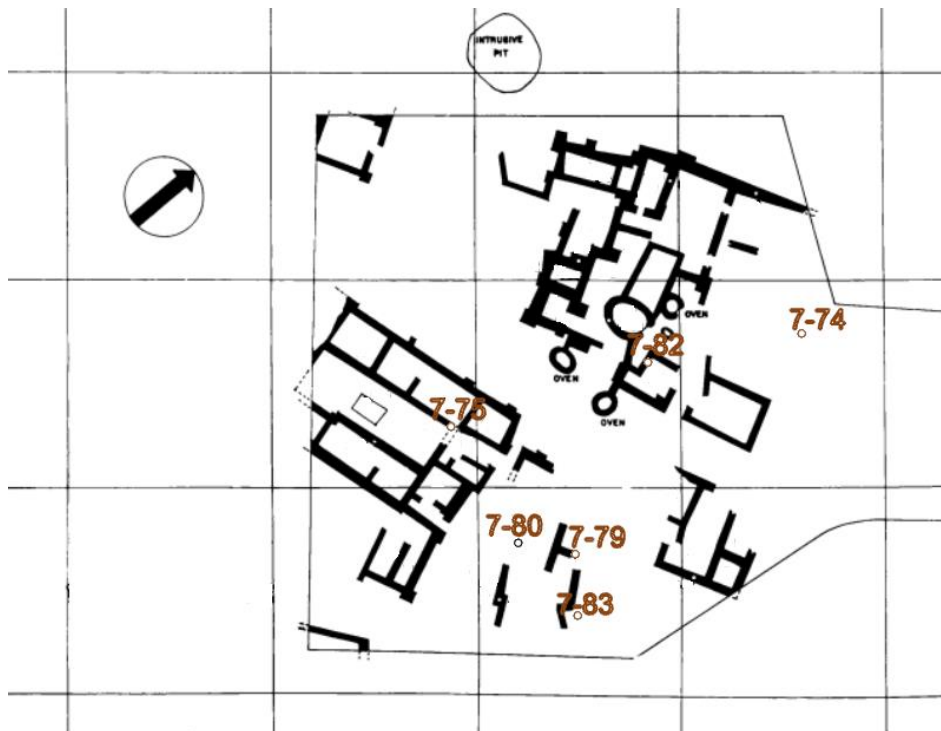


Figure 17. Graves at XVIII Level.

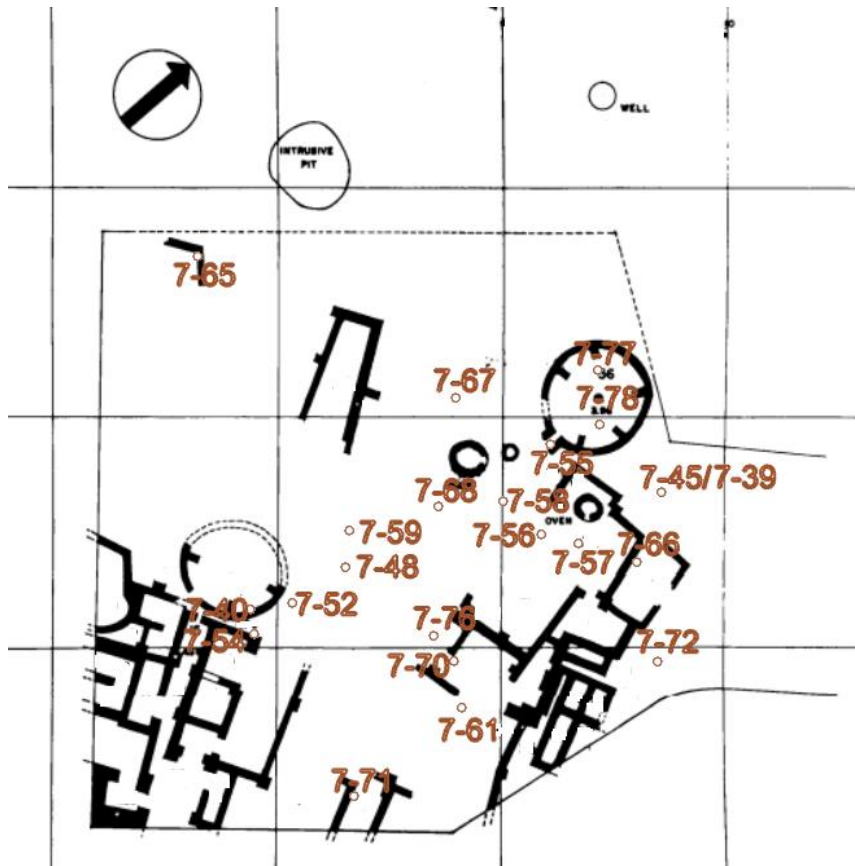


Figure 18. Graves at XVII Level.

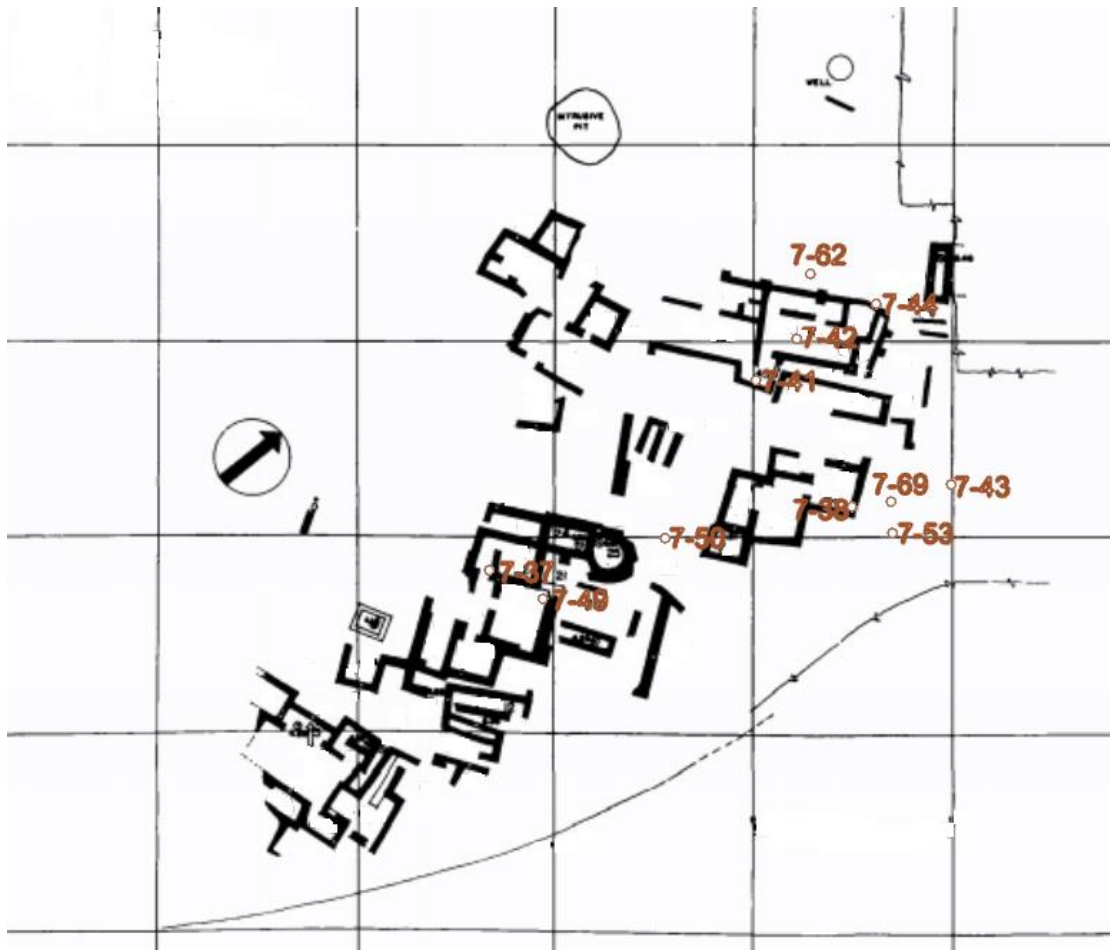


Figure 19. Graves at XVI Level.

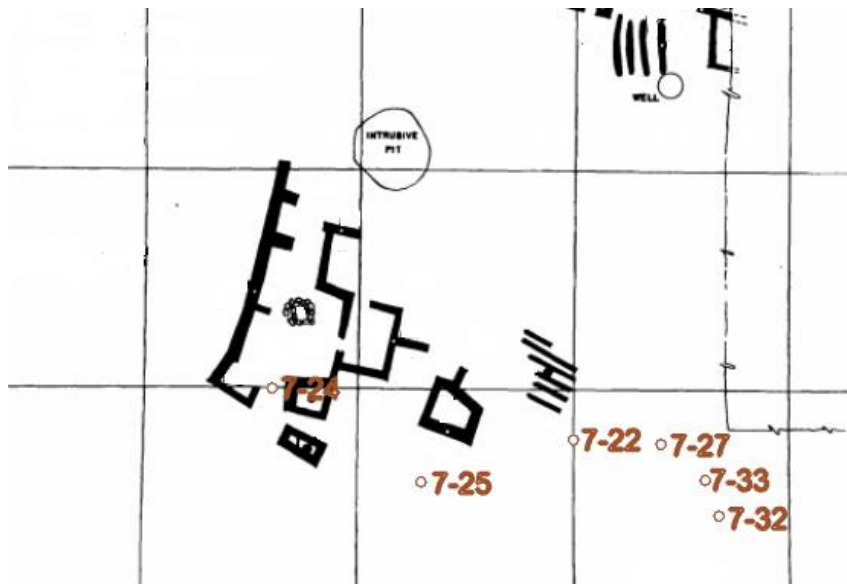


Figure 20. Graves at XVA Level.

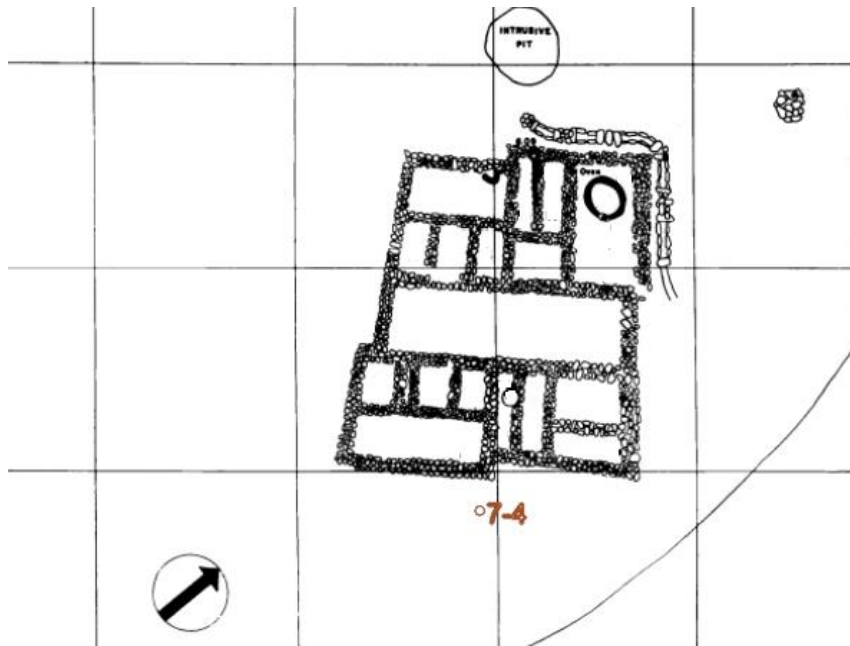


Figure 21. Grave at XIV Level.

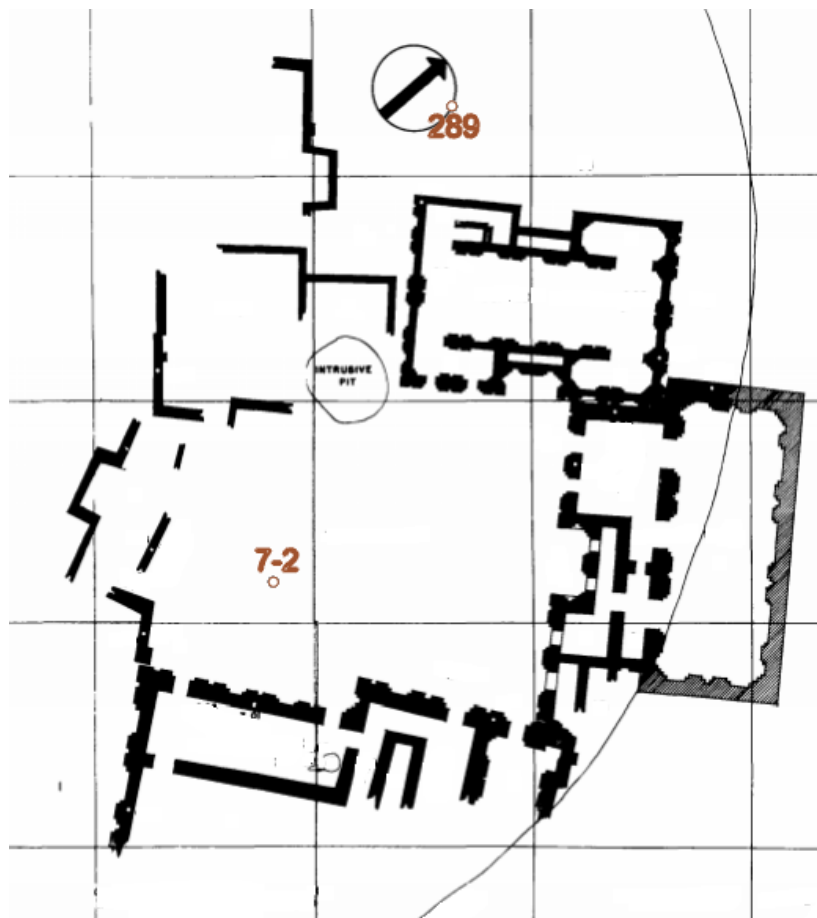


Figure 22. Graves at XIII Level.



Figure 23. Graves at XII Level.



Figure 24. Detail from a bowl found at Tepe Gawra.

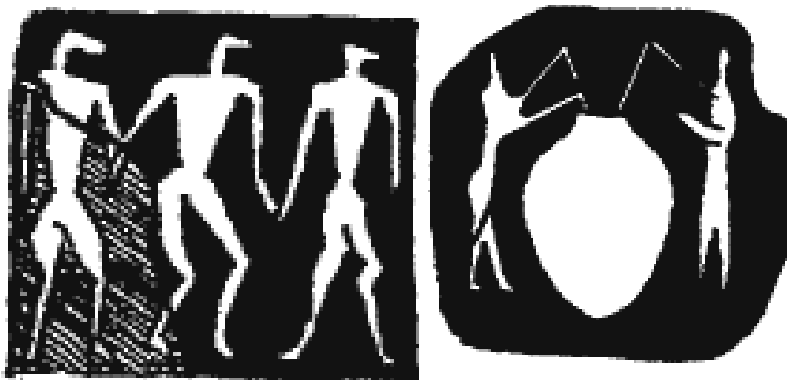


Figure 25. Stamp Seals from Tepe Gawra.

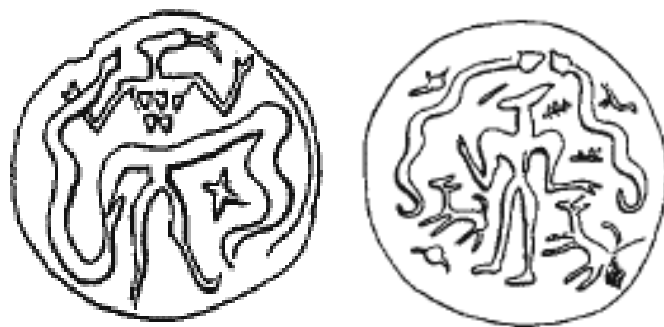


Figure 26. Ubaid Stamp Seals from Tepe Giyad (left) and Tell Asmar (right).

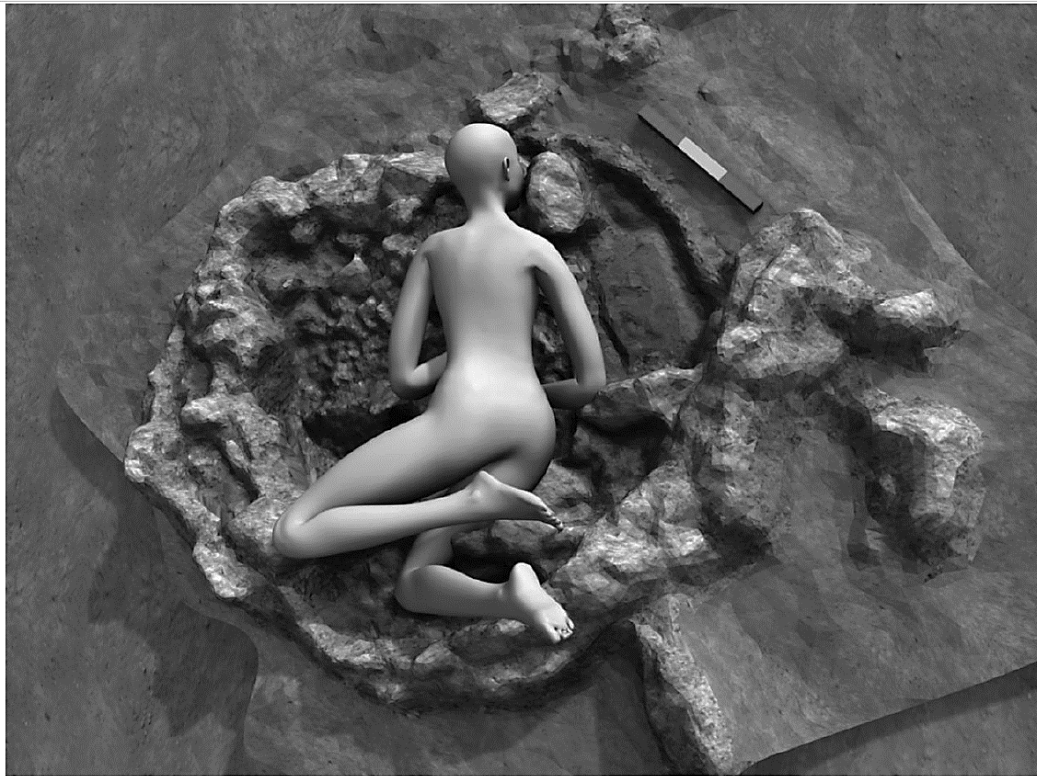


Figure 27. 3D Reconstruction of the Skeleton 2 from Tell Nader lying in prone position.

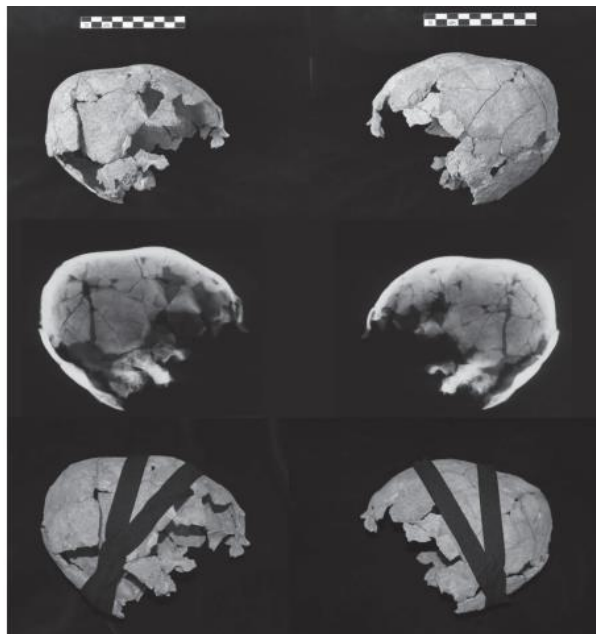


Figure 28. Deformed skull. Skeleton 2 from Tell Nader.



Figure 29. Clay-coating of Br. 3-3 with the trace of a skull

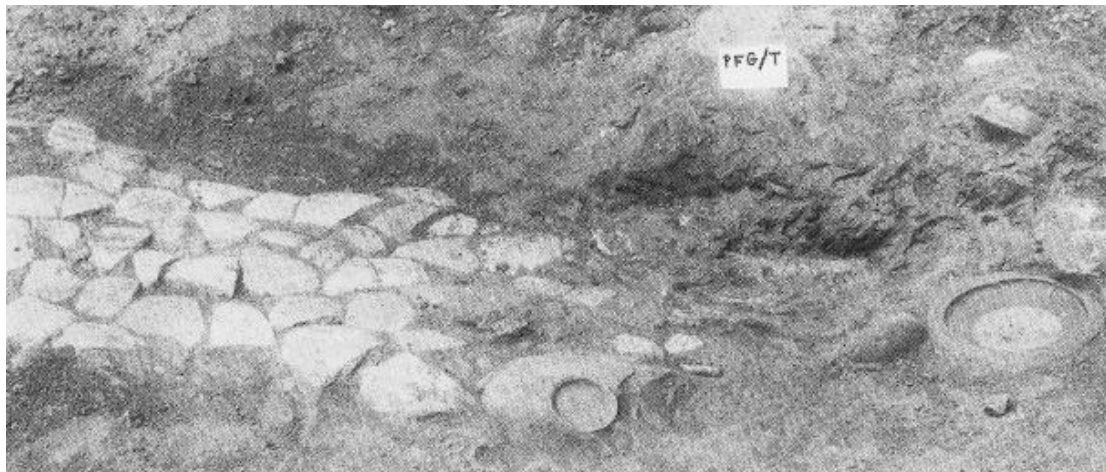


Figure 30. Paved floor with fragments of ceramic vessels, PFG/T of Ur.



Figure 31. Grave PFG/T of Ur.



Figure 32. PFG/Z as found.

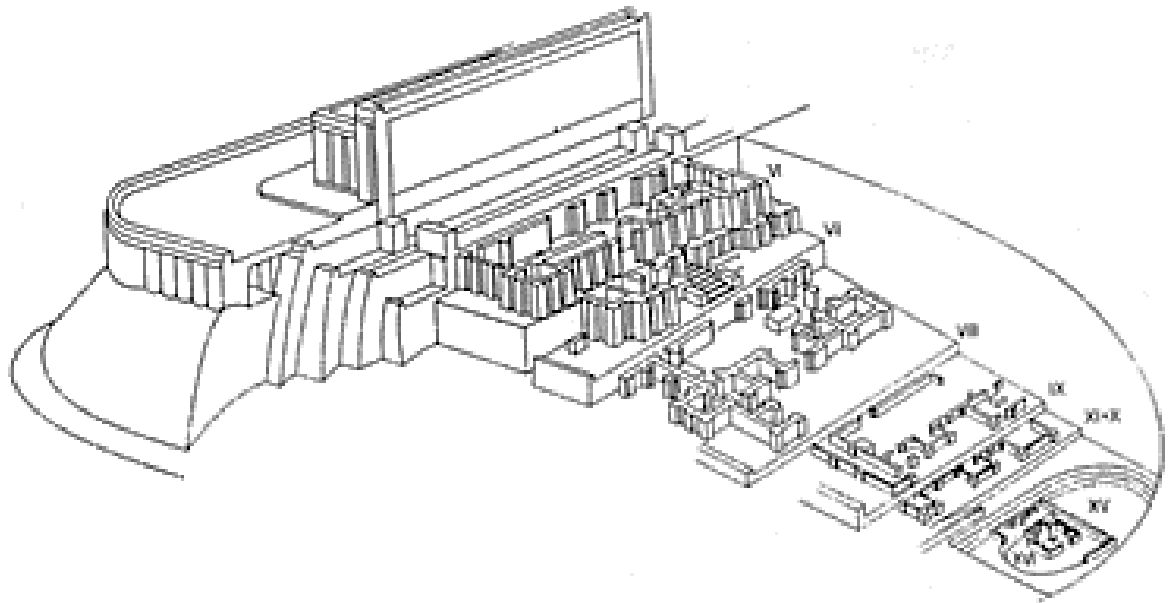


Figure 33. Eridu Temples.



Figure 34. Eridu cemetery.

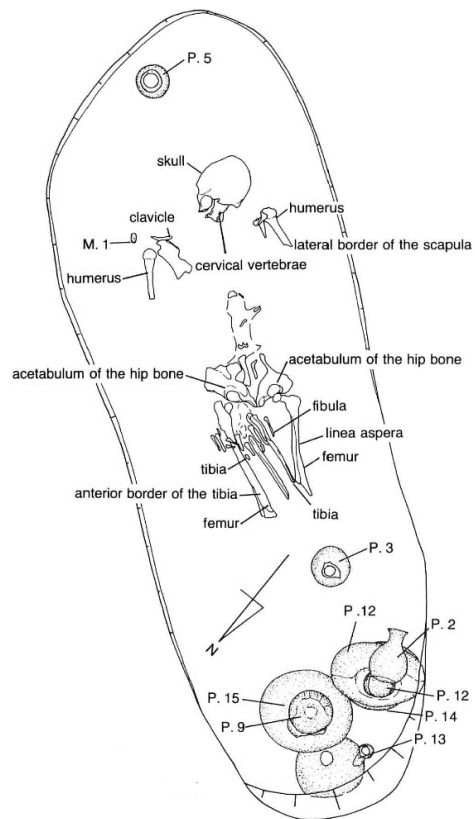


Figure 35. Skeleton of Gr. 1 in prone position at Tell Songor A.

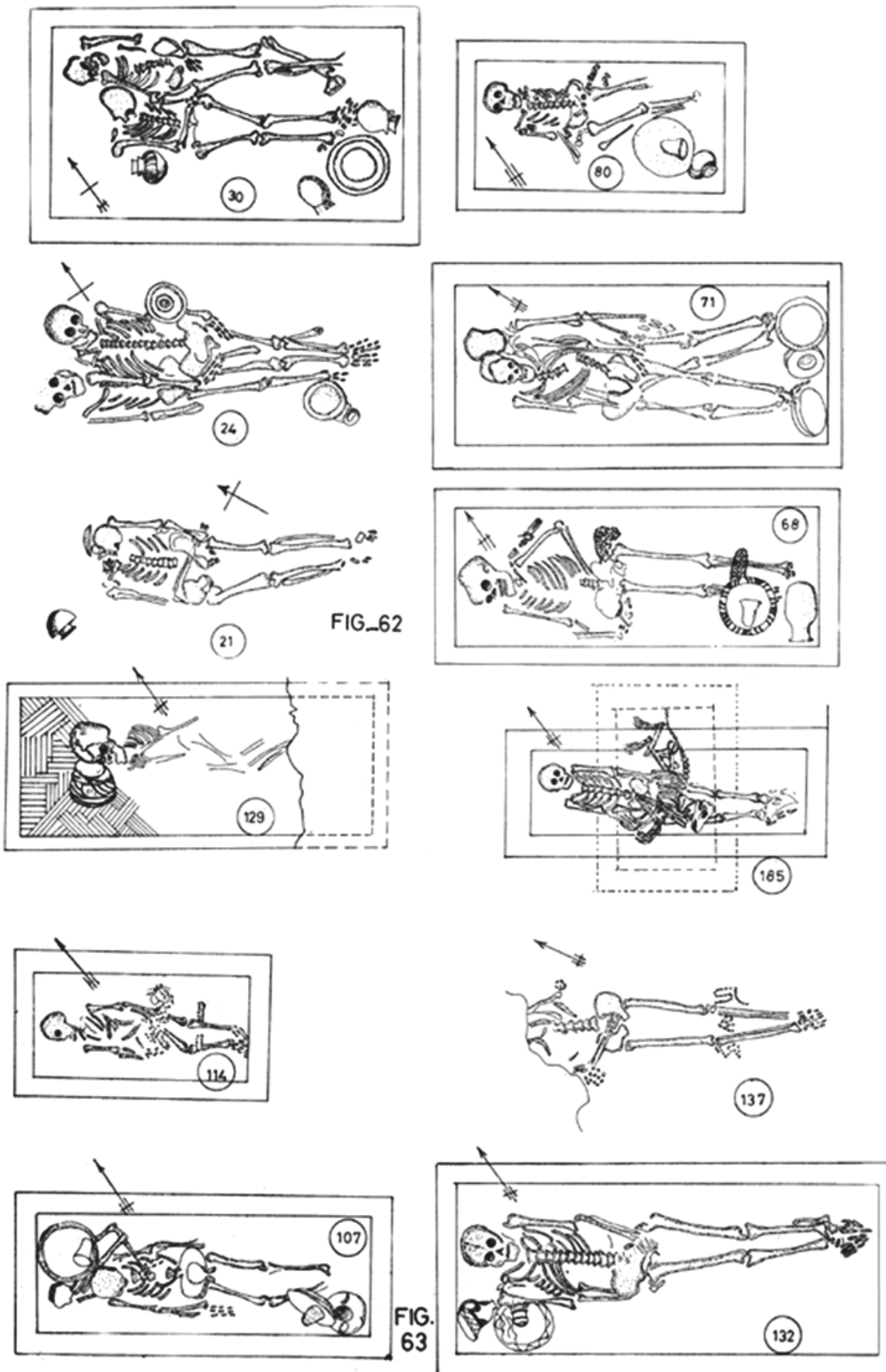


Figure 36. Eridu Graves.

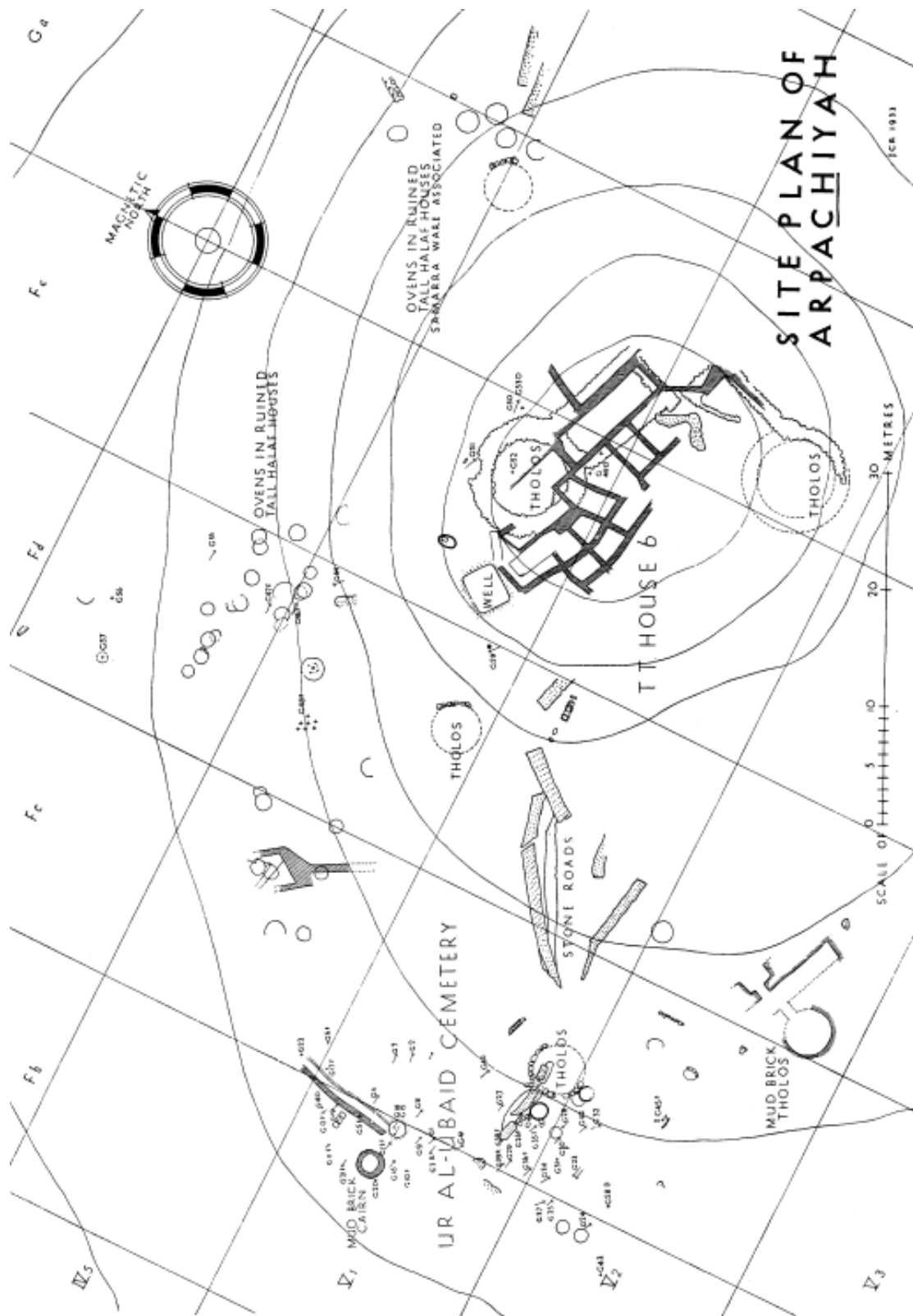


Figure 37. Ubaid Cemetery at Tell Arpachiyah.

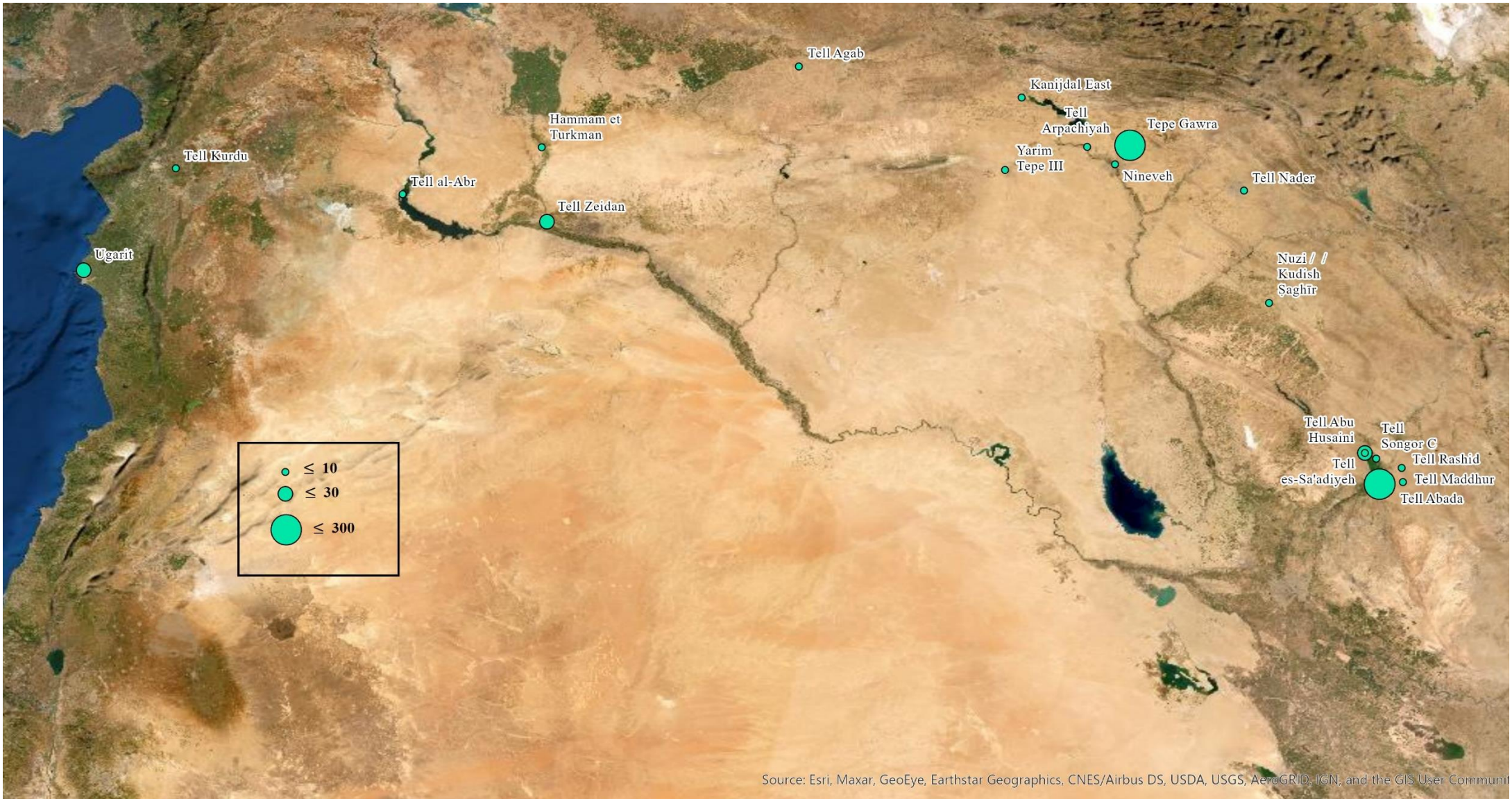


Figure 28. Sites with intramural burials.

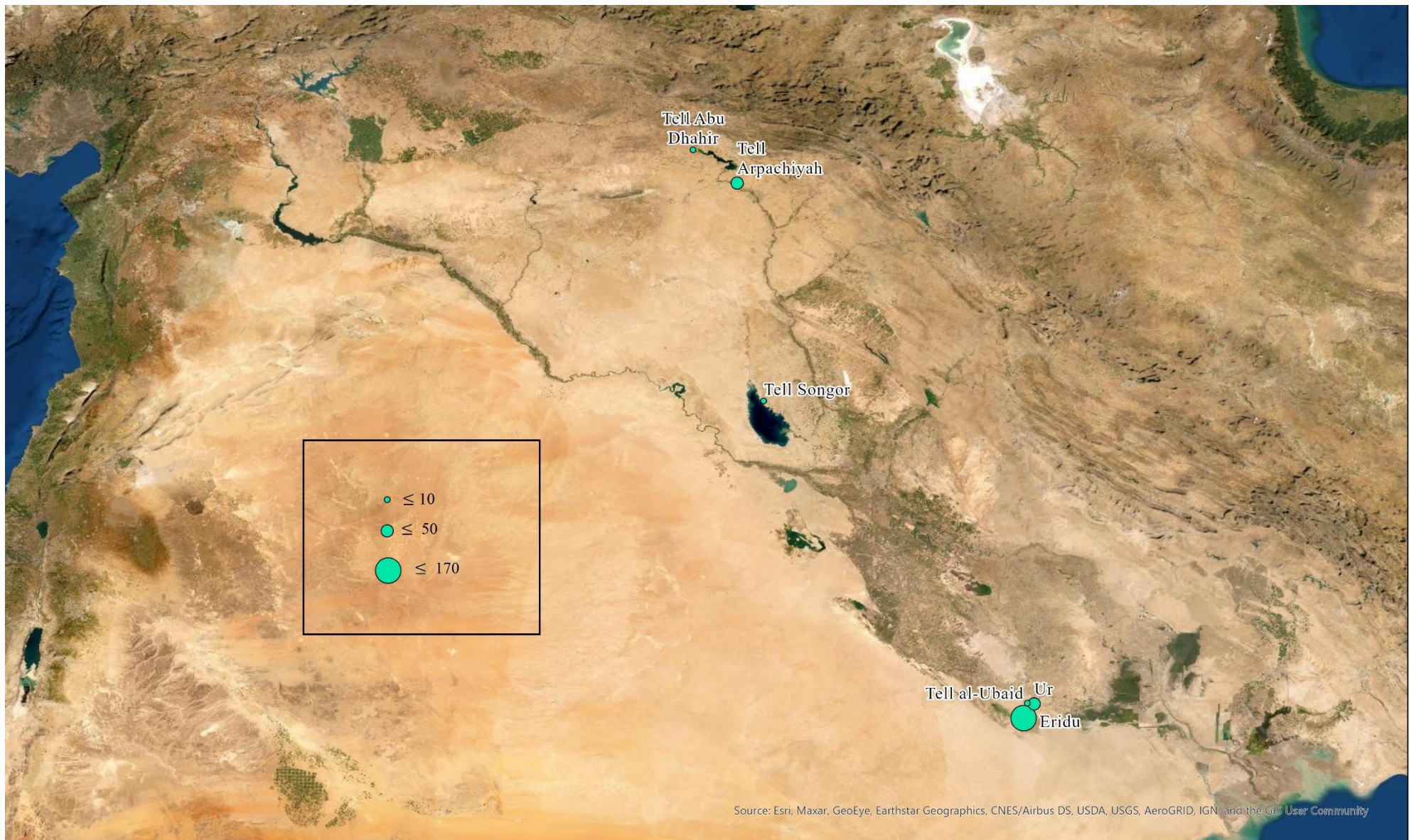


Figure 39. Sites with extramural burials

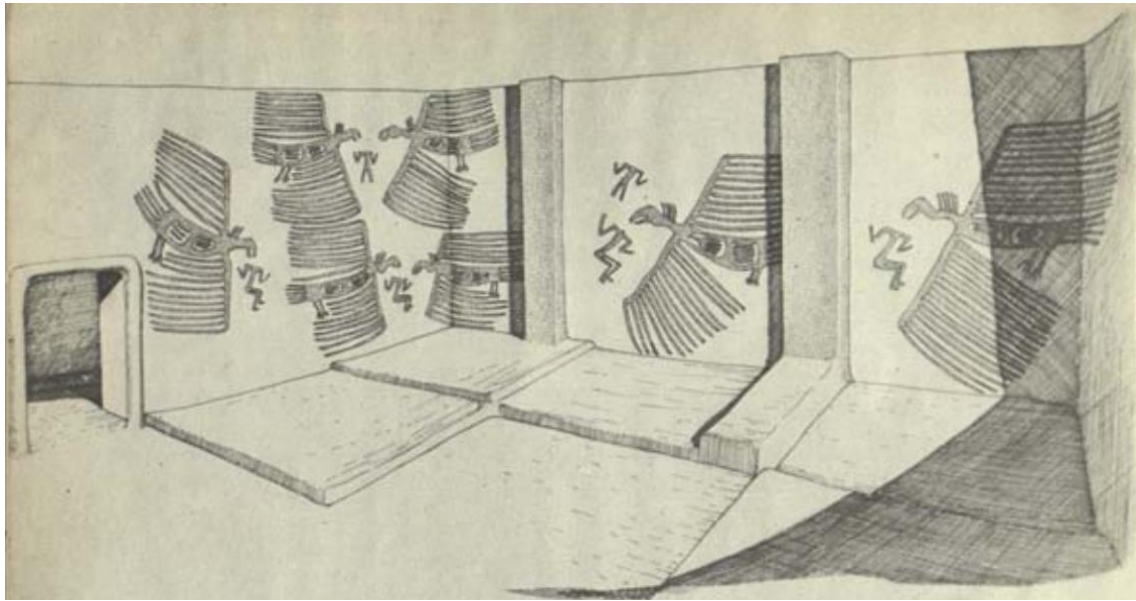


Figure 40. Vulture Scene at Çatalhöyük.