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2019

Among the ancestors at Aidonia

Lynne Kvapil

Kim Shelton, *University of California - Berkeley*



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Edited by Elisabetta BORGNA, Ilaria CALOI, Filippo Maria CARINCI and Robert LAFFINEUR

PEETERS
LEUVEN - LIÈGE
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AMONG THE ANCESTORS AT AIDONIA*

Funerary rituals have been identified as a way to aid the transition of the deceased from the world of the living to the world of the dead.¹ For the living, however, these rituals can serve as a means of reshaping the identity of the deceased post mortem, including the extent to which the deceased retained their fundamental identity as a person. Chris Fowler defines a person as “any entity, human or otherwise, which may be conceptualized and treated as a person,” and he is careful to qualify this definition as culturally determined, context specific, and dependent on whether cultures conceived of persons as whole and unified or made up of component elements and therefore alterable and partible.²

The first part of Fowler’s definition is particularly salient here because it emphasizes that the endowment of personhood requires active conceptualization and treatment on the part of someone separate from the entity receiving personhood. Following this definition then, we can understand that the process of conducting funerary rites was a means by which the living might endow a deceased individual with personhood through the treatment of the dead as a person.³ The physical engagement of the living with the material remains of death – the corpse and grave goods – constitute that treatment, whether the engagement was visual, tactile, aural, or olfactory.⁴ Oliver Harris, in his discussion of Neolithic burials in Dorset, England, describes this process of engagement as affective in that it is “highly mnemonic,” and capable of both creating and calling to mind relationships, between the living and the deceased and between people and objects, that are literally grounded in burial but spanning generations.⁵

Since 2015, TAPHOS (Tombs of Aidonia Preservation Heritage and explORation Synergasia) has excavated five Mycenaean chamber tombs across three cemeteries at Aidonia, in the southwest Korinthia (Pl. CXVIa). The site of Aidonia, which became known due to systematic looting and the attempted sale of precious artifacts almost surely plundered from rich burials,⁶ consisted at the start of the renewed

* The authors would like to thank the following: co-director Konstantinos Kissas; the staff and students of the TAPHOS project and the University of California Berkeley Field School, who worked tirelessly to complete the excavation of Tomb 103 and who continue to work on processing materials from the tomb, especially trench supervisor Stephanie Kimmey and bioarchaeologist Gypsy C. Price; The American School of Classical Studies at Athens; the Korinthian Ephorate of Antiquities, Ephor Giota Kassimi, and Ephoreia representative Dimitris Sakkas; Maro Nikitakou and the guards of the Nemea Archaeological Site; topographer Kostas Chronis, conservator Maria Dimitrakopoulou; the mayor of Nemea, Konstantinos Kalantzis. The TAPHOS project would not be possible without funding from the Merops Foundation, The Loeb Classical Library Foundation, the Kanellopoulos Family Foundation, the Archaeological Institute of America, the UC Berkeley Department of Classics, The Archaeological Research Facility of UC Berkeley, The Friends of the Nemea Center for Classical Archaeology, and the Butler University Georgia Watkins Fund.

¹ W.G. CAVANAGH and C. MEE, *A Private Place. Death in Prehistoric Greece* (1998); C. GALLOU, *The Mycenaean Cult of the Dead* (2005).

² C. FOWLER, *The Archaeology of Personhood. An Anthropological Approach* (2004) 7.

³ FOWLER (*supra*. n. 2) 44-45.

⁴ See, for example, L. NILSSON STUTZ, “More than Metaphor: Approaching the Human Cadaver in Archaeology,” in F. FAHLANDER and T. ØSTIGÅRD (eds), *The Materiality of Death. Bodies, Burials, Beliefs* (2008) 19-28; J. NYBERG, “A Peaceful Sleep and Heavenly Celebration for the Pure and Innocent: the Sensory Experience of Death During the Long Eighteenth Century,” in F. FAHLANDER and A. KJELLSTRÖM (eds), *Making Sense of Things. Archaeologies of Sensory Perception* (2010) 15-33; Y. HAMILAKIS, “Archaeologies of the Senses,” in T. INSOLL (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion* (2011) 208-225.

⁵ O. HARRIS, “Making Places Matter in Early Neolithic Dorset,” *OJA* 28 (2009) 111-123; IDEM, “Emotional and Mnemonic Geographies at Hambledon Hill: Texturing Neolithic Places with Bodies and Bones,” *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 20 (2010) 357-371.

⁶ J.H. BETTS, *Gold of the Mycenaeans. Important Finger Rings, Sealstones and Ornaments of the 15th c. BC. Michael Ward Gallery* (1993).

investigation of twenty tomb and tomb-related features most of which were heavily disturbed.⁷ Only two chamber tombs and a so-called pit-cave type tomb were found unlooted, and these were excavated in haste for various reasons not least of which was an effort to preserve artifacts from disappearing. The work of the TAPHOS project, directed by Kim Shelton and Konstantinos Kissas, continues efforts to preserve cultural heritage through archaeological investigation, and, through systematic excavation, to reveal nuanced aspects of Mycenaean burial practices not previously understood at this site.

Based on our work, we argue that, for the people of Late Bronze Age Aidonia, the conceptualization of the deceased as a person was determined by the treatment not only of the human remains but also through manipulation of the tomb environment.⁸ Because Mycenaean chamber tombs were reused over generations, each opening of the tomb offered an opportunity for the living to encounter and engage with the past. In this paper, we focus on a single tomb from the Lower Cemetery, one of the three cemeteries, or *systades*, that we have identified in this area. Tomb 103 (Pl. CXVIIb) had a long period of use and activity that extended even beyond the Late Bronze Age⁹ and included examples of a surprising degree of variation in burial practices, among both primary interments and secondary depositions while it was in use.

The final interment in the tomb, designated burial [1] (Pl. CXVIIa), was found with the bones of the lower body articulated but those of the upper body missing due to later periods of disturbance beginning in the Geometric period with the installation of a small hearth located over part of the burial but also included coverage by fallen stones from the stomion blocking wall and episodes of ceiling collapse. An *amphoriskos* (FS 59) found among the grave goods of burial [1] provides a *terminus ante quem* of LH IIIB2 for the latest Bronze Age use of the tomb. The deceased individual had been laid prone on the floor of the chamber, slightly to the west of center, with feet directed to the south near the stomion. Several *conuli* made from different types of stone were found surrounding the body, and vessels, in addition to the *amphoriskos*, had been placed around it. Three stirrup jars were arranged roughly in a semi-circle around the individual, and a small monochrome alabastron was found between the legs.¹⁰ Overall, it was a

⁷ For the cemetery of Aidonia, see K. KRYSTALLI-VOTSI, “Τα δακτυλίδια από τα Αηδονία Κορινθίας,” in *Φιλία Επη. Festschrift for G.E. Mylonas* (1989) 34-43; “The Excavation of the Mycenaean Cemetery at Aidonia,” in K. DEMAPOPOULOU (ed.), *The Aidonia Treasure. Seals and Jewelry of the Aegean Late Bronze Age* (1998) 21-31; K. KRYSTALLI-VOTSI and K. KAZA-PAPAGEORGIOU, “Το μυκηναϊκό νεκροταφείο των Αηδονίων,” in K. KISSAS and W.-D. NIEMEIER (eds), *The Corinthia and the Northeast Peloponnese. Topography and History from Prehistoric Times until the End of Antiquity* (2013) 417-424. For the Phlious Valley and settlement of Aidonia, see S.E. ALCOCK, “Urban Survey and the Polis of Phlius,” *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 421-63; C. CASSELMAN, M. FUCHS, D. ITTAMEIER, J. MARAN and G.A. WAGNER, “Interdisziplinäre landschaftsarchäologische Forschungen im Becken von Phlius, 1998-2002,” *AA* (2004) 1-58; V. HACHTMANN, “The Bronze Age settlement at Aidonia,” in KISSAS and NIEMEIER (*supra*) 405-416; IDEM, “The Basin of Phlius in Mycenaean times,” in A. SCHALLIN and I. TOURNAVITOU (eds), *Mycenaeans up to date. The archaeology of the northeastern Peloponnese – Current Concepts and New Directions* (2015) 222-232.

⁸ See, for example, K. BRANIGAN, “Ritual Interference with Human Bones in the Mesara Tholoi,” in R. LAFFINEUR (ed.), *THANATOS. Les coutumes funéraires en Égée à l'Âge du Bronze* (1987) 43-50; I. MOUTAFI and S. VOUTSAKI, “Comingled Burials and Shifting Notions of the Self and the Onset of the Mycenaean Era (1700-1500 BCE). The Case of Ayios Vasilios North Cemetery, Laconia,” *Journal of Archaeological Science. Reports* 10 (2016) 780-790; I. SCHOEP and P. TOMKINS, “‘Death is Not the End’: Tracing the Manipulation of Bodies and Other Materials in the Early and Middle Minoan Cemetery at Sissi,” in A. DAKOURI-HILD and M.J. BOYD (eds), *Staging Death. Funerary Performance, Architecture and Landscape in the Aegean* (2016) 227, 250.

⁹ The tomb was initially disturbed in the Geometric period with activity that extended into the Archaic period. Several Byzantine era *bothroi* were dug into the stomion, dromos, and dromos walls, and there was an attempt to rob the tomb as recently as 2007.

¹⁰ The stirrup jars found with the burials, all of which date to LH IIIB1, include one FS 173 decorated with lozenges (FM 73:j) in the shoulder zone, one FS 167 with dot rosettes (FM 27) on the shoulder, and one FS 171 decorated with flowers (FM 18c:127) on the shoulders; the *amphoriskos* (FS 59) dates to LH IIIB2

relatively humble and not atypical LH IIIB burial,¹¹ but its composition allows us to make some initial observations regarding the what we can understand as the relationship between the living and the dead.

Conuli have been found in burial assemblages from the LH I-IIIB periods, but they are most commonly found in LH IIIA-B contexts.¹² Although their function in burials is not well-understood, they are frequently associated with textiles.¹³ The presence of *conuli* recovered from around burial [1] suggests that the deceased was covered either partly or entirely by some kind of clothing or a shroud. Whatever type of material or textile was weighed down by the *conuli*, it would have served as a barrier that may have been intended to protect the corpse,¹⁴ but it would also have protected any living person viewing the deceased as it would have partly or wholly shielded their eyes from the sight of decaying flesh. In the same way, scented oils used for anointing or libation, as implied by the inclusion of stirrup jars and the alabastron amongst the grave gifts, would have shielded the nose from the smell of putrefaction. The deliberate masking of the sight and smell of decomposition combined with the arrangement of the corpse in such a way that the skeleton would remain articulated through the decomposition process suggests that the impartible nature of the body was important to some aspect of the transition from living to dead, or at least the impression of bodily integrity was at the time of burial important to the transition and would be in the future.¹⁵ Through the use of clothing to protect the body and the application of perfume to mask undesirable smells, the deceased appears to have been afforded a level of personhood, according to Fowler's definition, by those conducting the funeral preparations.¹⁶ This treatment at once imitated the practices of the living while simultaneously acknowledging that the body of the deceased would deteriorate gradually with the natural processes of decay.¹⁷

Burial [1] was not the only one that would have been encountered by anyone who opened the tomb after interment. Piles of commingled human remains mixed with fragments of grave gifts, like beads and bits of bronze, were found in the northern, rear quadrants of the tomb. The piles, which laid on the floor of the chamber, would have remained visible, but the excavation revealed no organizational pattern in their deposition. If a kind of second funeral ritual,¹⁸ enacted at an earlier time and intended to mark a critical moment in the transition to the world of the dead, had resulted in the disarticulation of the skeleton and dismantling of the arranged grave goods before they were secondarily deposited, no trace of this ritual or at least a ritual dedicated to a single individual remained. Instead, the deceased of the past, through the commingling of bones and objects, would have appeared to anyone entering the chamber as a single mass. The movement of human and material remains to a context in which both were mixed together may represent the final transition into the world of the dead, and one might argue that this transition brought an end to any treatment appropriate to a perceived person. However, despite the lack of individualized

and was decorated with a wavy line (FM 53) in the decorative zone; the monochrome alabastron (FS 85) dates to LH IIIB middle.

¹¹ For LH IIIB burials typical to the Argolid and the Corinthia, see, for example, A.J.B WACE, *Chamber Tombs at Mycenae* (1932); A. SAKELLARIOU-XENAKI, *Οι θαλαμωτοί τάφοι των Μυκηνών ανασκαφής Χρ. Τσοόντα (1887-1898)* (1985); K. SHELTON, *The Late Helladic Pottery from Prosymna* (1996); R.A.K. SMITH, E. PAPPI, M.K. DABNEY, S. TRIANTAPHYLLOU and J.C. WRIGHT, *Ayia Sotira. A Mycenaean Chamber Tomb Cemetery in the Nemea Valley, Greece* (2017).

¹² S. IAKOVIDIS, "On the Use of Mycenaean 'Buttons'," *BSA* 77 (1972) 113-119.

¹³ GALLOU (*supra* n. 1) 120. For a summary of the interpretation of Mycenaean *conuli*, see, IAKOVIDIS (*supra* n. 12) who, in addition to giving examples of *conuli* used as textile weights in funerary contexts, cites the fresco from the Room of the Fresco at Mycenae, which shows *conuli* weighing down the robe of the main female figure.

¹⁴ L. NILSSON-STUTZ, *Embodied Rituals and Ritualized Bodies. Tracing ritual practices in late Mesolithic burials* (2003); EADEM. (*supra* n. 4) 24.

¹⁵ C. FOWLER, "Personhood and the Body," in T. INSOLL (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion* (2011) 133-150.

¹⁶ FOWLER (*supra* n. 2).

¹⁷ NILSSON-STUTZ (*supra* n. 14); EADEM (*supra* n. 4).

¹⁸ CAVANAGH and MEE (*supra* n. 1); W.G. CAVANAGH, "A Mycenaean Second Burial Custom?," *BICS* 25 (1978) 171-172.

distinction or the possibility that remains were merely ‘swept’ aside,¹⁹ these secondary burials would have sustained a mnemonic quality through their visibility. Affording something the ability to be present, to be seen, and be arrestive to a viewer would, in this context, perpetuate the perception of at least some degree of personhood that was anchored in a recognition of the relationships that existed only in the past. Although individual relationships could no longer be singled out from the mass, the deceased as a unit would have invoked the common memory of past relationships without distinguishing individuals – a communal ancestry that was visible and accessible if not distinctly identifiable.

What would not have been immediately visible to anyone entering the chamber was an oblong cist along the western wall and a rectangular shaft-like cist in the center, each of which contained the remains of multiple deceased individuals (Pl. CXVIIIb). The treatment of the individuals in these cists after their initial interment was very different, however, and appears to exemplify attitudes towards the dead that vary from simply the transition from living to dead and from individual to community identity so far discussed. The western cist, which was relatively small (approximately 0.90-1.00m by 0.40-0.55m) and located approximately along the center of the western wall of the chamber, contained the commingled remains of a minimum of two individuals. The skeletal material suggests that they were both adult women and that one, who was older than the other, may have died as the result of a blow to the back of the head.²⁰ Even though there was a mix of disarticulated skeletal material, no grave goods were found in the cist, with the exception of a spouted dipper with high swung handle (FS 253) found lying in fairly large pieces above the human remains (Pl. CXVIIIa). The pieces had been deposited in a way that suggests the dipper was deliberately broken. The bones, which were deposited secondarily, do not appear to have been at all disturbed after their placement in the cist. The dipper, which dates to LH IIIA1, indicates that this burial context was slightly earlier than the commingled remains found throughout the rest of the chamber, and the individuals do not appear to have been afforded the same post-mortem ritual treatment that would have joined them to the collective body of ancestors whose remains were still visible within the chamber. Instead, the bodies were isolated and removed from visibility in a stark and permanent manner. The spouted dipper implies the application of some kind of liquid – scented oil or even wine – to the bodies perhaps as a kind of purification,²¹ but this dipper, once its purpose was fulfilled, was, like the bodies themselves, removed from the world of the living through the elimination of visibility. The ritual seems to have culminated in the pouring of liquid that might, again, mask the putrefaction of flesh, and the sound of the dipper smashing. The end of the process was pronounced and dramatic, punctuated by the destruction of the ritual instrument and the eradication of any future use. Once the cist was covered, the two deceased were rendered invisible, and the possibility of future encounters was eliminated. The tomb yielded no more evidence of interaction with the remains of the two women. So far as we can tell from the archaeological remains, their treatment as persons ceased with their removal to the cist, and the memory of these dead was erased.

The central shaft, unlike the western cist, was a large, rectangular cist, approximately 1.05m wide, cut into the bedrock floor and extending from nearly the rear wall of the tomb to the south for approximately 2.25-2.50m (Pl. CXVIb). The burials within the shaft, although also removed from sight, suggest a much different interaction between living and dead. The initial burials in the shaft were the earliest of the tomb, dating from LH I to IIA based on vessels among the grave goods including a two-handled alabastron,²² and, as the form of the grave suggests, they resemble burials more like those of shaft

¹⁹ The removal of human remains and burial goods to heaps within the chamber of the tomb has been interpreted as a lack of respect for the past dead. For this view, see, for example, G. MYLONAS, *Mycenae and the Mycenaean Age* (1966) 133-134, and, for an example specific to Aidonia, see KRYSTALLI-VOTSI (*supra* n. 7) 27.

²⁰ The skull was fragmentary but exhibited signs of a *perimortem* wound on the occipital.

²¹ GALLOU (*supra* n. 1) 130-131.

²² The two-handled alabastron (FS 80/83/89), decorated with hatched loop (FM 63) with small stemmed spiral emanating from above a small looped tail, dates to LH I and is the earliest vessel found in the shaft. Other early vessels include: a pair of semi-globular cups (FS 211) with framed running spiral (FM 46) with added white and a pair of ring-handled cups (FS 237) with stipple (FM 77) in, out and under the base,

graves than chamber tombs. Deceased individuals, for instance, were laid out alongside and on top of each other but were not always removed to make way for subsequent burials. At the bottom of the shaft, we found the remains of two individuals. One, Burial [5] laid with head to the north near very disturbed and disarticulated human remains, and another, Burial [4], with their head to the south. The bones of each, though articulated, were essentially fused to the floor of the shaft. Two more individuals – a man and a woman, Burials [2] and [3] respectively – were laid directly above them (Pl. CXVIIIb). The woman, who had been laid to rest first, was interred wearing a necklace of yellow and blue glass beads, found mostly *in situ* but difficult to recover intact. The man, killed by sharp force trauma to the forehead, was buried, hands over his pelvis, with a bronze sword at his waist and wearing a carnelian sealstone on his left wrist. An array of fine grave gifts accompanied them, and, at their feet, we found a cache of grave goods including weapons, scale pans, and a very large mirror as well as vessels, some whole and some broken. As is the case with early Mycenaean burials, gleaming metal and objects with a shiny quality, like glass beads, were much more common,²³ and, by reflecting the limited light of the dark chamber, the metal objects would have lent the deceased individuals a sense of brilliance.²⁴

Joins discovered between sherds from the shaft and those from a cist found in the floor of the dromos²⁵ (Pl. CXVIb) suggest that, sometime after LH IIB, the shaft was cleared out to the level of the deceased couple. Although some grave goods may have been moved or removed, the inhumed burials – their bodies and items on their bodies like clothes, weapons, and jewelry – were left for the most part intact. We found that the upper part of the shaft contained secondary burials consisting mostly of commingled human remains similar to the piles of remains found on the floor of the chamber. These secondary burials deposited over the earlier interments emphasize the importance of proximity. Once the transition from living to dead and then from primary to secondary interment was complete, there was a desire for the living to associate their ancestors, even with their communal identity, with the remains of forebears whose bodies, although decomposed, remained articulated and gleamed with rich adornments. While they were eventually covered with mixed human and material remains, the memory of these ancestors obtained for generations, at least until LH IIIA2. The memory associated with them was potent enough that the bones of some, deemed especially worthy of the pride of place, appear to have been wrapped in cloth weighed down by *conuli*, which were found positioned in a circular pattern, before reburial and deposition within the shaft so that they were physically embedded within the remains of their communal ancestors while also being in close proximity to the earliest burials in the shaft.²⁶

The preservation of the articulated remains of the deceased in the shaft and their adornments speaks to the priority of bodily integrity as a component of personhood in the later Mycenaean period, and perhaps a feature of mortuary ideology that persisted from the early Mycenaean period. The long dead individuals, rather than being joined to the ranks of the communal ancestors, retained some perception of unique and discrete identity long after death that allowed the living to forge post-mortem relationships through their placement of the dead, even when such relationships had not existed in life. The treatment of the deceased in this case was much different than that of the women in the western cist,

both of which date to LH IIA; a pair of Vapheio cups (FS 224) with foliate band (FM 64) that date to LH IIA/B transitional; and two rounded alabastra (FS 83) with rock pattern (FM 32) that date to LH IIB. These vessels, which have been mended into whole or partially complete vessels, were found at the north end of the shaft broken but concentrated in that area, although some pieces were found in a cist in the dromos.

²³ W.G. CAVANAGH and C. MEE, “The Location of Mycenaean Chamber Tombs in the Argolid,” in R. HÄGG and G. NORDQUIST (eds), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid. Proceedings of the Sixth International Symposium at the Swedish Institute in Athens, 11-13 June, 1998* (1990) 60.

²⁴ GALLOU (*supra* n. 1) 130; C. GILLIS, “A Colorful Death. A Study of the Social Life of Colors in Late Bronze Age Grave Goods,” in SCHALLIN and TOURNAVITOU (*supra* n. 7) 515-529.

²⁵ Joining sherds included, for example, several pieces from the one of the rounded alabastrons (FS 83) with rock pattern (FM 32) found in the north end of the shaft.

²⁶ For the connection between place and memory created through the deposition of human bones, see HARRIS (*supra* n. 5) 364-366.

whose deposition removed them both from the view of the living and out of proximity of the past and future deceased with no sign of further consideration let alone veneration.²⁷ The dead in the central shaft, alternatively appear to have been granted a status that transcended mere personhood and instead elevated the deceased to the status of venerated ancestors whose identities adhered to the place just as the bones that had fused to the stone.²⁸

Variation in funerary practices revealed in the archaeological record suggests that choices on the part of the living created and recreated identities for the deceased, both at initial interment and with secondary deposition.²⁹ The transformation of the tomb environment and the burials within likewise transformed the identities of the deceased and endowed them with varying degrees or different conceptualizations of personhood. The application of scented oil, the sound of a vessel breaking, the gleam of rich adornments, and integrity of the body accentuated this process through the manipulation of the tomb environment into something that would be encountered with each new interment. In Tomb 103 at Aidonia, the funerary practices that shaped post mortem identity and afforded an individual the quality of personhood after death can be viewed as having constrained the ways the deceased would be perceived by the living through the enhancement, alteration, or wholesale removal of identity that shaped future encounters with the living and future memories of the dead.

Lynne A. KVAPIL
Kim SHELTON

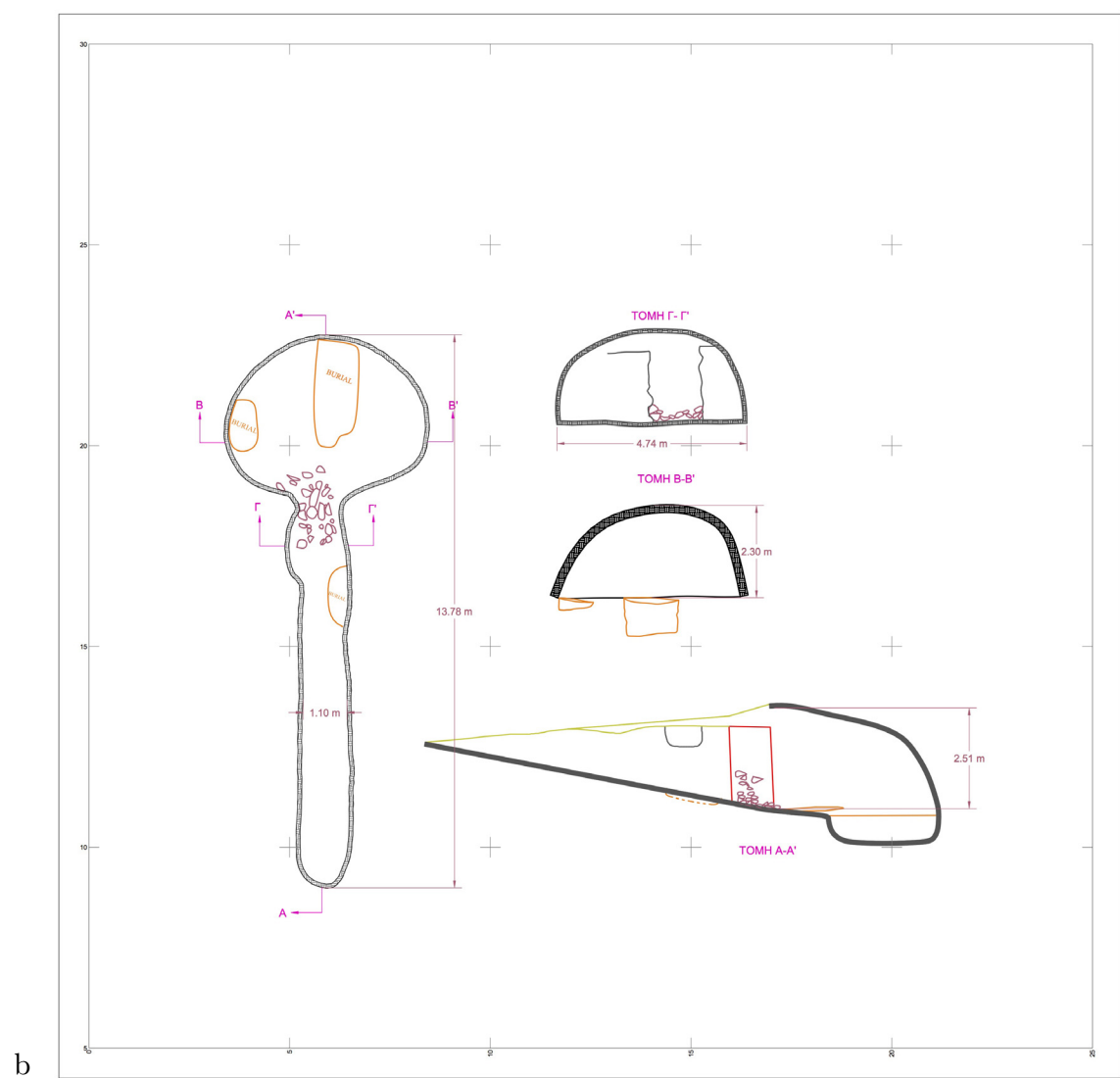
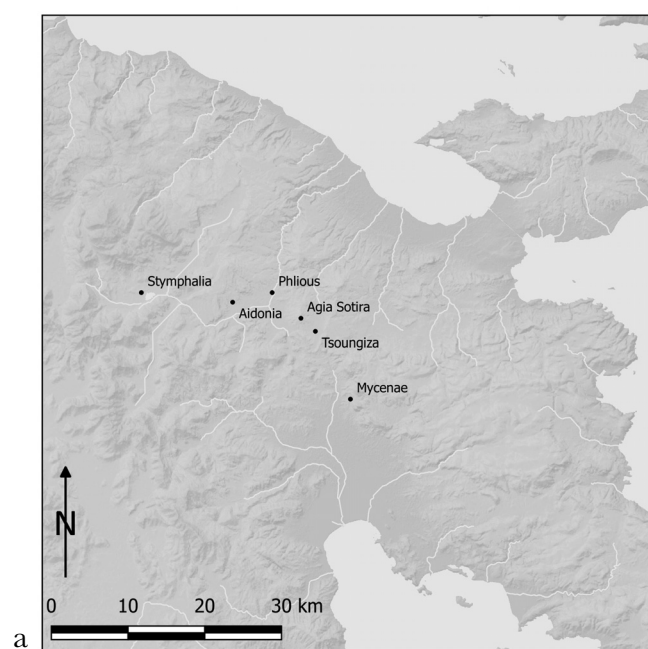
²⁷ This appears to contrast with the situation in Tomb 6, Pit 1 at Ayia Sotira, which contained the commingled remains of two adult males, an adult female, a 4-5-year-old child, and an 18-month-old child. The simultaneous deposition of these individuals, who may represent a family unit, into a pit has been interpreted as a special form of veneration. See SMITH *et al.* (*supra* n. 11) 209-210; 254-257; R.A.K. SMITH and S. TRIANTAPHYLLOU, this volume. We believe that the closing-type ritual suggested by the smashed dipper indicates a dissimilar treatment of the remains and thus a different perception of the deceased individuals.

²⁸ GALLOU (*supra* n. 1) 132.

²⁹ We would argue that, while there is abundant evidence for the enactment of a variety of mortuary rituals, there is no indication in this tomb of a cult of the dead that might have involved the specialized worship of the deceased unrelated to burial practices or that might have extended beyond the interior spaces of the tomb where mortuary rituals were carried out.

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- Pl. CXVIb Plan and section drawings of Tomb 103 showing the location of the western cist, central shaft, and dromos cist. Prepared by K. Chronis. © University of California, Berkeley Excavations.
- Pl. CXVIIa Photograph of the remains of Burial [1] and associated vessels. © University of California, Berkeley Excavations.
- Pl. CXVIIb Photograph of the western cist from above showing the commingled human remains and the broken pieces of the shallow dipper. A large fragment of the dipper is visible in the center. Dark areas in the filling were caused by roots that had infiltrated the cist. © University of California, Berkeley Excavations.
- Pl. CXVIIIa Drawing and photograph of the shallow, spouted dipper from the western cist after it was mended. © University of California, Berkeley Excavations.
- Pl. CXVIIIb Photograph of Burials [2] and [3] *in situ* in the central shaft. © University of California, Berkeley Excavations.

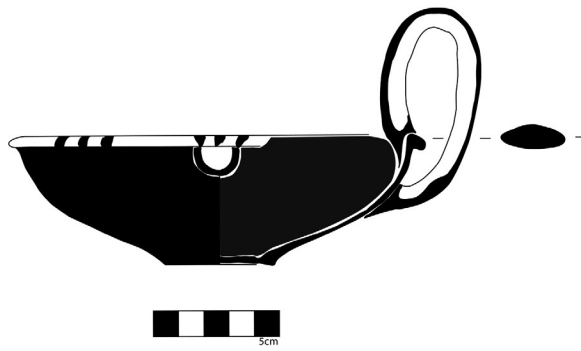




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