

13 How Did They Bury the Kings of Qatna?

Peter Pfälzner

1 Introduction: Theoretical considerations

The reconstruction of burial rites, and especially the reconstruction of the course of events during funerals, has been a long-lasting interest in Ancient Oriental Studies.¹ Most attempts have been undertaken on the basis of written sources, such as, for example, studies dealing with burial practices of the Early Dynastic period,² of the kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur,³ or of the Assyrian time.⁴ Astonishingly, it has proved to be much more difficult to reconstruct processes of interment on the basis of archaeological data. Attempts have been made with regard to the burial data from the Royal Cemetery of Ur,⁵ and from Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian grave contexts.⁶ This, however, has not yet led to a detailed picture of the course of events during a funeral in the Ancient Orient, particularly with regard to royal burials. There are several reasons for this shortcoming: The location of a certain part of the funeral activities outside of the tomb at unknown places; the fact that many activities of an interment do not leave material traces; a lack of precise archaeological observations in grave contexts; and the rarity of undisturbed burials which could yield clear material indicators of the processes of interment. With regard to the latter two deficiencies, the discovery of the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna has made a large amount of new data available. The tomb offers particularly favourable conditions for the reconstruction of burial activities. Thus, this data has the potential to contribute substantially to our understanding of the course of events during an Ancient Oriental royal burial.

The interpretation of the Qatna royal burial data is based on the theoretical assumption that a burial consists of a series of activities, each with a specific function within the sequence of the "*rites de passage*".⁷ This ritual sequence intends to transfer a person from his status as living to his status as dead. This sequence starts with a separation phase (*rites de séparation*), passes through a transformation phase (*rites de marge*) and results in an incorporation phase (*rites*

d'agrégation).⁸ When applied to funerary rites, this theoretical concept needs to be specified. It has to be defined which specific activities are linked to each of the three phases of the rites of passage.⁹ This, however, is not an easy task. While mourning is a specific activity within the rites of passage, which is carried out by and related to the living, particularly those who have a certain relation to the deceased, the dead person proceeds differently through this part of the ritual. This starts with the laying out of the corpse, following on from preparatory actions such as washing and anointing.¹⁰ These activities make up the *separation rites*.¹¹ They often end with the closure of the tomb.¹² The second phase, the *transformation phase*, is mainly characterized by the deliberate excarnation or the gradual decomposition of the corpse. Both processes accompany the transition of the deceased into the realm of the dead. During this time, of variable length, the dead still maintains a link to the living and their society through common meals, visits to the dead and food offerings. The third phase, the phase of *incorporation* is reached with the arrival of the spirit of the dead in the netherworld and its integration into the society that exists there, as A. van Gennep argues.¹³ The link to the living is cut as a result of this process.¹⁴

It must be the task of archaeology to identify the behavioural correlates of the different steps of the rites of passage. These rituals, as materialized in a certain culture, can be better understood once it is possible to differentiate the nature and the sequential steps of specific rituals during a burial process and to order these activities along a line of actions.

A definition of different principal steps of a burial has been proposed by Robert Hertz in his writings about the collective representation of death. He distinguishes a "provisional burial" from a "final burial".¹⁵ The provisional one takes place directly after the passing away of a person. It is a temporary burial at a close or a remote place, but within the community of the living. The final burial is carried out as a second burial process, which could take place a year or even

1 For a recent approach, see: Laneri 2007.

2 Meyer 2000; Cohen 2005; Katz 2007.

3 Moorey 1984; Sallaberger 1995.

4 Hockmann 2010; Lundström 2003; 2009; Lundström, this volume.

5 Woolley 1934; Pollock 1983; 1991; Cohen 2005; for a corrected picture see: Baadsgaard – Zettler in print.

6 Mofidi Nasrabadi 1999.

7 Van Gennep 1999.

8 Ibid.: 21.

9 Ibid.: 142-159.

10 Quigley 1996: 49-53.

11 In contrast to the author's definition, van Gennep counts the laying out of the corpse to the second stage, the transformation rites (van Gennep 1999: 144).

12 Ibid.: 158.

13 Ibid.: 144-146.

14 Ibid.: 157.

15 Hertz 1960: 29-34, 53-58.

up to ten years after the first one. The second burial is made after the complete decomposition of the corpse, with only the bones remaining.¹⁶ The dissolution of the body is seen as a precondition for the dead to reach a new state of existence in order to finally enter the netherworld and for the souls to finally leave earth.¹⁷ At this final place the body is reunited with the community of the ancestors.¹⁸ Hertz is convinced that the two-stepped burial is a general practice attested in different cultures throughout the world. He even argues that – at a first view – seemingly differing burial practices, such as smoking, cremation or mummification of the corpse, have to be included into this concept of temporary (primary) and final (secondary) burial.¹⁹ Thus, being an inter-cultural concept, it principally also has to be taken into consideration when studying and interpreting Ancient Near Eastern burial customs. In addition, it is obvious that van Genneps theory of the “rites de passage” can be combined with the concept of Hertz: The provisional (or primary) burial marks the “separation phase”, the time between the primary and secondary burial is the “transformation phase”, and the final (or secondary) burial marks the beginning of the “incorporation phase”.

A third basic theoretical concept to be applied to the evidence from Qatna is Assmann’s notion – following Halbwachs – of the individual and the collective memory, and, in connection to it, of the personal and the collective identity.²⁰ Both concepts can be combined when acts of common remembrance within a society are directed towards the creation and strengthening of a common identity of the society as a whole, or for a sub-group of the society. When applied to funerary practices, and especially in the realm of royal burials, one can argue that burial rituals aim at continuously remembering an individual person and, at the same time, at remembering the ancestors of the dynasty as a group. The latter aspect is a strategy to construct and memorize the collective ancestors. This has an important effect on strengthening the collective identity of the living group of descendents of the deceased and of the society in general. Through ritual veneration the dead become ancestors that comprise two aspects: the ancestor representing the individual deceased person; and the ancestor as a member of an ancestor group connected to a family, a lineage or larger descent group. Thus, one can distinguish between individual and collective ancestors. It will be argued in this paper that the Qatna royal funerary rituals result in a gradual transformation of the character of the dead from individual to collective ancestors.

2 Taphonomic preconditions for the reconstruction of ritual activities

The inventory of the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna, situated below the Royal Palace, features two major peculiarities: first, the large quantity of objects – more than 2000 individual items – distributed over numerous activity areas within the four rock-hewn burial chambers; second, a very specific taphonomic situation. The latter is characterized by the fact that many, if not most, of the objects were deposited at the positions of their presumed last use. This is due to the specific circumstances of the destruction of the Royal Palace. It happened at around 1340 BC and was connected to an extensive fire, traces of which are visible throughout the palace. When the building collapsed as a consequence of the fire, the tomb entrance and the corridor leading to the tomb were completely blocked by meters of wall debris which had fallen down from the palace structures above. The debris sealed the tomb chambers and the ante-chamber perfectly. As a consequence, no post-destruction looting or disarrangement took place and no post-depositional disruptions of the inventory through external factors occurred (figure 1).²¹

Principally, looting still could have happened during the destruction of the palace. However, no visible traces of looting happening during the destruction have been detected archaeologically. If it happened at all, its extent must have been limited. This is supported by the discovery of gold objects in close proximity to the tomb entrance, where they could have been seen at a glance and easily taken away by possible looters. In addition, a bowl standing in an unstable position at the top corner of the sarcophagus in the western side chamber (chamber 4) would have possibly fallen down, if violent intruders had approached the sarcophagus.

An interesting observation relates to the pottery bowls deposited in a careful arrangement around the ancestor statues in the ante-chamber of the tomb. They were lying in the position of their active use as offering bowls, one bowl was even turned upside down with a large animal bone below it representing a good piece of meat. This undisturbed situation leads us to the conclusion that the destruction of the palace and the blocking of the tomb complex happened very suddenly, in the course of ongoing ritual activities in the grave chambers.

On the other hand, it is clear that the tomb was used over a long period of time. Many ritual activities, primary burials, secondary burials and the removal of burials must have taken place in the course of the continuous use of the chambers. As a consequence, one can assume that many objects must have been moved around, taken out, and possibly even recycled into the functional context of the palace. Logically, only those objects were present in the archaeological inventory

16 Ibid.: 31.

17 Ibid.: 52-53, 58-61.

18 Ibid.: 55.

19 Ibid.: 41-42; see also Assmann 2000: 23.

20 Assmann 1992: 35-37, 130-133.

21 Pfälzner 2011b: 39-41.

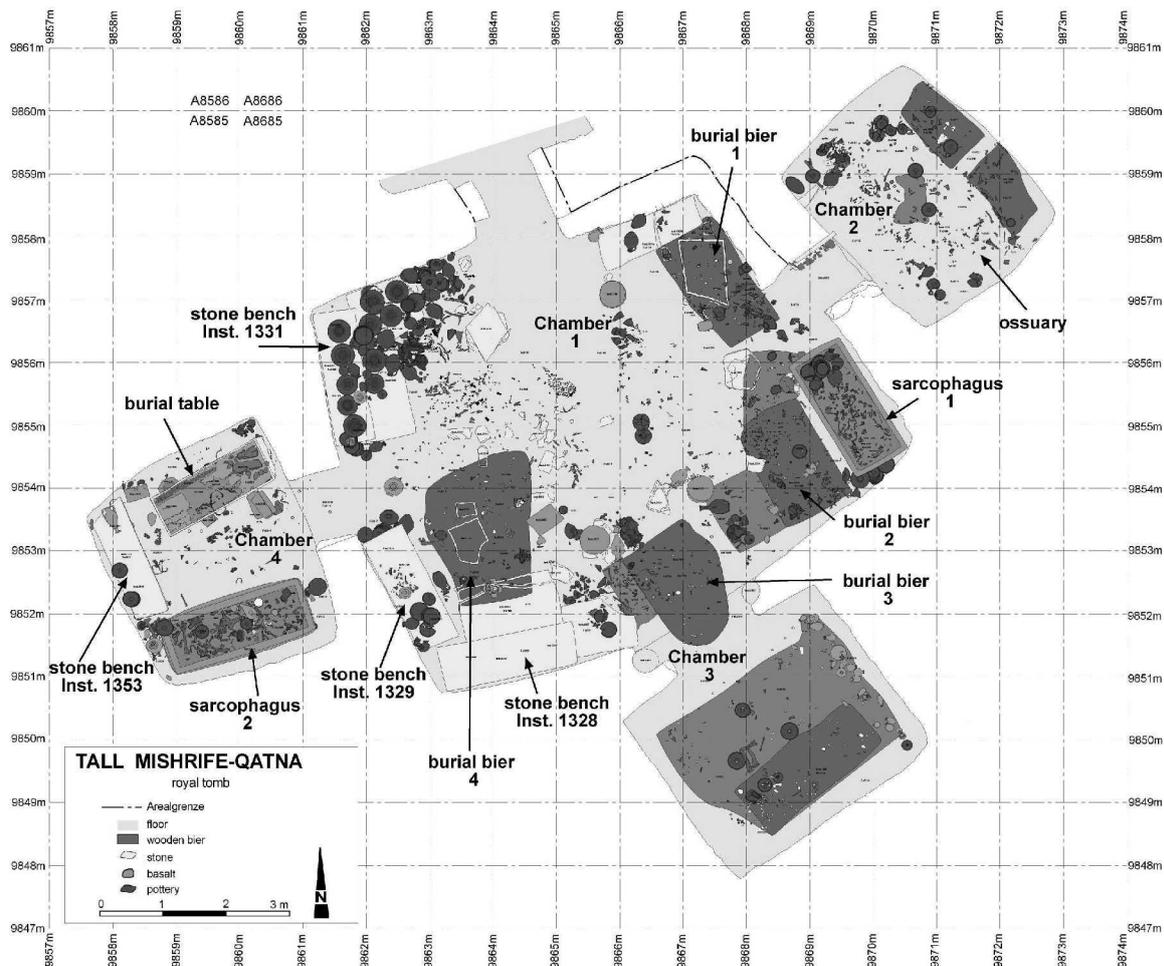


Figure 1: Plan of the Qatna Royal Hypogeum with installations and grave inventory.

of the tomb which were being used and located in the tomb during the very last minute of the use of the tomb. Compared to many other tomb contexts in the Ancient Near East, this is an ideal taphonomic situation. It allows for a reconstruction of former activities within the grave complex.

The unique situation of this archaeological context was evident from the very beginning of the excavations in the tomb. Thus, spontaneously, interpretations were made and presented already in our first preliminary reports.²² Meanwhile, after seven years of intensive study and evaluation of the materials and depositions from the Royal Hypogeum, some of the preliminary interpretations could be modified, while others proved to be supported by further evidence. Thus, we are now in a position to present more definite interpretations. These are based on the inter-disciplinary studies of different scholars involved in the project. However, we are not yet in a position to present a final and definitive picture; and it remains unclear whether this will ever be achievable at all. More adjustments and cor-

rections will possibly become necessary following further analysis.

3 The sequence of burial stages

I propose to arrange the attested activities within the tomb complex into a sequence of burial stages. It consists of four main stages, each with a series of different activities and each located in one or more specific activity areas.

3.1 The primary burial

Among the various depositions of human bones in the tomb, related to a minimal number of 20–24 individuals,²³ only at one place were there clear remains of a primary burial. A skeleton was lying on a stone bench in the western side chamber (Chamber 4) of the tomb (figure 2).²⁴ It was not complete, but

22 Al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2003; Pfälzner 2002/2003.

23 Witzel – Kreutz 2007; Witzel 2009: fig. p. 209; Witzel 2011a.

24 Al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2003: 200–203; Pfälzner 2002/2003: 101; Dohmann-Pfälzner – Pfälzner 2011: 485.



Figure 2: The burial table in chamber 4 of the Qatna Royal Hypogeum, with bones of a primary burial (photo: Günter Mirsch).

the remaining bones prove that the skeleton was in its proper anatomical order.²⁵ The stone installation was designated as a ‘preparation table’ for burials in our first preliminary reports.²⁶ This proved to be incorrect. Instead, it was a table for a primary burial. The bones, although badly preserved, indicate that the buried person was an older woman, with an age of around 50 years. She was laid down in a spacious wooden box made of cedar.²⁷ This box is larger than a normal coffin, and would have been big enough to contain two individuals next to each other. The box was held together by bronze hooks at the corners. It is not sure whether the box possessed a lid, as no traces have been found. Interestingly enough, this burial box was permanently installed on top of the stone table. This is proven by a thick layer of gypsum between the stone table and the base of the wooden box, which penetrated from below in between the wooden planks of the box. With this arrangement the box was hermetically sealed from below, probably to avoid liquids flowing out of the bottom of the box.

This is a typical rendering for primary burials, as has been attested in ethnographical studies. The Dayak of Borneo, for example, hermetically seal the cracks in the coffin during the primary burial, a period, in which the decomposition of the corpse takes place.²⁸ In Borneo, the reason for this rendering is to prevent smells and corpse liquids to escape from the coffin during the putrefaction of the corpse, because of their evil powers. Possibly similar considerations were prevailing at Qatna, or it was just a principal concern for smell. Given the fixed installation of the wooden box in the Qatna Royal Hypogeum, it is clear that the burial container was not intended to be removed during burial rites or for new burials (figure 3).

The woman buried in the container was luxuriously dressed, as is indicated by a rich girdle put around her waist. It was decorated with 132 beads, made of gold and semi-precious stones – such as amber, amethyst, rock crystal and lapis – being arranged on three golden strings.²⁹ Beside the body, in the northern half of the box, there was a long twig of a big bush-like plant, probably myrtle. Regrettably, the botanical identification did not result in a precise identification. The twig was clearly put in as a whole, on top of the burial.

The body was resting on layers of textiles. Many different types of cloth could be distinguished, showing various weaving patterns and different colours, such as white, blue and red. All textiles were densely woven, demonstrating their high quality. In addition, several of the textiles were dyed with purple and madder. The purple-coloured cloth proved, with the help of chemical analysis, to be true Royal Purple.³⁰ Some of the textiles even carried coloured decorations, e.g. geometric bands with dots. The mission’s textile specialist Nicole Reifarth was able to identify up to 40 layers of textiles above each other.³¹ They were nearly all put below the body of the deceased. Only two or three layers were above the body. Thus, it is clear that the textile does not represent the garments of the dead, but layers of cloth put below the dead. Probably, the cloth was folded before putting it in the burial box, thus accounting for the high number of layers. Despite this, the number of differently woven and coloured textiles is still high enough to allow for the reconstruction of a large quantity of different textiles deposited below the dead. At least ten different textile types were present. The pile of textiles upon which the deceased was bedded can not be understood as a practical or decorative arrangement. It must be interpreted symbolically as a wealth and status indicator. The valuable cloth must have

25 Witzel – Kreutz 2007: 175; Witzel 2009: 210, fig. p. 209 (Area G); Witzel 2011b.

26 Al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2003: 208-209; Pfälzner 2002/2003: 101.

27 Dohmann-Pfälzner – Pfälzner 2011: 487, 492-495; Deckers 2011: 406, Fig. 2.

28 Hertz 1960: 32.

29 Rossberger 2009: 232, fig. p. 230; Rossberger 2011: 132.

30 James *et al.* 2009; James – Reifarth – Evershed 2011: 456-457.

31 Reifarth 2011: 499.



Figure 3: Reconstruction of a primary burial in the burial container on a stone bench in chamber 4 (Dohmann-Pfälzner – Pfälzner 2011b: Fig. 26).

been deliberately presented to the dead, either as a grave gift from third persons or as burial equipment from the woman's own former property.³² The value of cloth as a grave good can be compared to the well-known high prestige of cloth in the elite gift exchange of the Middle and Late Bronze Age.³³

There is yet another, very interesting observation in relation to the burial table: The deceased body was heated. First evidence for this treatment was obtained by physical anthropology studies of the material. Collagen alterations were attested in nearly all bones, which must have resulted from heating the body to a temperature of approximately 250°C.³⁴ These primary results have been confirmed by chemical analysis. The first textile layer attached to the human bones, which must have been in direct contact with the body, was blackened by fire or smoke. This strongly supports the idea that the body was heated in connection with fire and smoke. This kind of treatment can be understood as a means to reduce body liquids before the interment took place. A dried body attracts fewer micro-bacteria and causes less smell during the process of decomposition. Thus, it improves the hygienic conditions in the tomb and facilitates ritual activities within the tomb complex. As is demonstrated by col-

lagen alterations observed also on many of the other bones from the tomb chambers, heating must have been a usual practice in royal burials at Qatna. It is, however, not a practice uniquely attested at Qatna, but it can be observed in a large number of ancient and traditional cultures.³⁵

In addition, iron-oxides (probably earth pigments), oil and resin substances could be identified in association with the black textile layer on top of the body.³⁶ They probably are the remains of a paste made of oil, resin and earth pigments, used to rub on the body. Thus, an anointing of the bodies seems to have taken place. The question is, whether the anointing took place before or after the heating of the body. One might argue that it must have happened thereafter, because, otherwise, the paste would have been spoiled during the heating process. However, when chemically analyzing the anointing substance traces of heating to a temperature of 250–300°C were detected on the iron minerals and on the proteins.³⁷ Thus, the substance

32 In texts from Ebla cloths are among the main funerary gifts presented to the deceased, see Archi this volume: 20. The delivery of cereals for funerals is also mentioned, *ibid.*: 9.

33 Reifarth – Baccelli 2009: 217-219.

34 Dohmann-Pfälzner – Pfälzner 2006: 89; Witzel – Kreutz 2007: 177-179; Witzel 2009: 210; 2011a: 369.

35 Very recently, new evidence came up indicating that a similar treatment also took place in the Royal Cemetery of Ur during the Early Dynastic period (Baadsgaard – Zettler in print). Furthermore, heating of the bodies of the deceased is attested in the Queen's graves at Nimrud dating to the Neo-Assyrian period (Schultz – Kunter 1998: 95, 119). Finally, the smoking of a corpse on a wicker-work frame is also widely attested in ethnographical data around the world, from Australia through Papua New Guinea and Africa (Nigeria) to America (Hertz 1960: 42, n. 86).

36 Reifarth 2011: 514.

37 *Ibid.*

was also heated. Therefore, we can conclude that the anointing took place before the heating of the body.

On the basis of these detailed pieces of evidence deriving from the studies on the burial table in chamber 4 of the Royal Hypogeum, we are now in a position to reconstruct the different steps of the primary burial at Qatna (see table 1):

Stage	Activity of the primary burial process
1	Installing the burial container
2	Anointing the body
3	Heating the body
4	Burial procession
5	Depositing textiles
6	Depositing the body
7	Second depositing of textiles
8	Depositing of plants

Table 1: Table of activities during the primary burial phase.

- First, a wooden box was installed on the stone burial bench in the western side chamber of the tomb. It was not a coffin in a proper sense. The term ‘burial container’ is to be preferred.
- At the onset of the primary burial ritual the body of the deceased was anointed with a paste of oil, resin and earth pigments. This clearly took place outside the tomb, probably in the Royal Palace. If we assume that in connection with anointing the body was laid out, a practice referred to as *taklimtu* in Mesopotamian texts,³⁸ the great ceremonial hall of the palace (Hall A), connected to ancestor rituals,³⁹ could be seen as an appropriate place for both activities.
- The third stage of the burial process was the heating of the body. There were no traces of fire or charcoal⁴⁰ detected within the tomb, thus the heating must not have been carried out there. Moreover, in view of a process that must have developed a lot of smoke and odour, this activity must have taken place outside of the tomb, and also outside of closed palace rooms. The most plausible locations would have been either the roof of the royal palace, or the wide, open northern terrace of the

palace, north of room Q.⁴¹ Here, on the edge of the palace terrace, and high above the northern lower city of Qatna, large mud brick platforms were located during the excavations, which must have been perfectly suitable for out-door activities.⁴² Heating could have most easily been carried out on an elevated platform-like construction, probably a wicker-work frame, erected over a fireplace. The heating surely did not take place through direct fire, but rather through hot charcoal placed below the elevated platform, on which the body was laid. During the heating the body was dressed in an ordinary garment, which became soot-blackened from the smoke.

- The next step was the voyage of the corpse into the grave chamber. It was a long way, as the body had to be carried through the 40 m long corridor leading down towards the royal tomb.⁴³ Several doors had to be passed during the descent.⁴⁴ At the end, the body was lifted down into the ante-chamber. From there, the body entered into the main chamber, where some of the burials were laid down onto wooden biers or into the sarcophagi. If necessary, as in the case of the dead person on the burial table of chamber 4, the corpse was carried through the main chamber into the western side chamber (chamber 4). This journey to the tomb chambers must have been carried out as a long, ceremonial burial procession. Obviously, the dead body was not yet lying in a coffin during the passage, as is indicated by the fact that the ‘burial container’ was installed in a fixed way on the burial table of chamber 4.
- When the body of the deceased arrived at the burial table of chamber 4, piles of valuable cloth were first put into the burial container. The different pieces of cloth were of excellent quality, in an extremely fine weaving technique, dyed with purple and madder, and some of them were even decorated with coloured motives. The luxurious textiles were probably presented as grave gifts to support the high status of the deceased, as is indicated by the fact that textiles also served as highly esteemed, valuable goods in the royal gift exchange of the Late Bronze Age palatial societies of Western Asia.
- Subsequently, after the textile depositions, the body of the deceased was laid into the burial con-

38 Groneberg 1990: 255-256.

39 Pfälzner 2005: 58-59.

40 The very few remains of charcoal found in the royal tomb cannot be related to a fire inside the chambers, but seem to have been brought in from outside, compare Deckers 2011: 404.

41 See plan of the Royal Palace in: Pfälzner 2009a: 166.

42 Dohmann-Pfälzner – Pfälzner 2008: 47-53, fig. 24.

43 Pfälzner 2007a: 56; 2009b: 241-242; 2009d: 201; 2011a: 60-70.

44 Novák – Pfälzner 2003: 148; Pfälzner 2009d: 201.

tainer, on top of the textiles. Here, it was decorated with the golden girdle of precious stone beads.

- The body was again covered with two to three layers of cloth.
- A long twig of a bush-like plant (myrtle?) was laid beside the body into the burial container. This marked the end of the primary burial ritual.

With regard to the depositions made during the primary burial process it is interesting and surprising to note that there were no pottery or stone vessels among the grave goods put into the burial container. This strongly argues for the non-existence of a food supply for the dead during the primary burial at the place where the body came to rest. There were only two stone vessels and three ceramic bowls in this area, all found below the stone burial table.⁴⁵ Moreover, the stone vessels are not to be regarded as containers for food, but rather as containers for ointments or oils.⁴⁶ The three pottery bowls, if at all connected to the burial on top of the table, would have offered only very small quantities of food. Whether they were related to the deceased person in the container above is not evident. They could also have been placed at this rather insignificant and hardly visible place below the stone bench at a time before or after the burial event under discussion. In conclusion, there is no evidence for an abundant supply of food, or possibly even any supply of food, for the dead during the primary burial ritual.

This is a very important observation, because it excludes the possibility of intensive feasting during the primary burial rites within the Royal Hypogeum. Nor were the dead persons directly supplied with food when the burial had been made. However, this does not mean that feasting or food offerings did not take place at all. Theoretically, it could have happened before the interment, for example during the mourning rites. But there is no archaeological material available for such an activity. Alternatively, feasting or feeding could have happened after the primary burial, meant as a supply of food for the dead in the longer term. Perhaps the three ceramic bowls below the burial table can be connected to such a later ritual activity. The lack of evidence of feasting in connection with primary burials in the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna stands in significant contrast to the intensive indications of such activities in Early Bronze Age burials in Syria. This is, for example, illustrated by the well-preserved context of the Hypogeum at Tell Ahmar.⁴⁷

45 Dohmann-Pfälzner – Pfälzner 2011: 492.

46 Ahrens 2011: 268-269; Pfälzner 2008b: 230-231.

47 See the contribution by Li Sang in this volume.

3.2 The secondary burial

As opposed to the corpse on the stone bench in chamber 4, to be identified as a primary burial, most of the other human remains discovered in the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna were retrieved in the state of secondary burials. The term ‘secondary burial’ is defined as a secondary modification of a primary burial, clearly distinguished in time from the first one.⁴⁸ It happens, when the anatomical coherence of the individual bones of a buried skeleton is diminished through gradual processes of decay of the body tissue, such as flesh, muscles or tendons. In consequence, the individual bones can be removed from the skeleton in order to be re-deposited. The re-depositing is often accompanied by secondary burial rituals. The purpose of a secondary burial is generally assumed to be related to changing the role of the deceased.⁴⁹ As Assmann points out, ‘secondary burial’ is a means to transfer the dead into the ‘Ewigkeitsgestalt’, the eternal form, which ultimately enables him to enter the community of the ancestors.⁵⁰

The remains of secondary burials were located both in the main chamber and in the western side chamber 4. In the main chamber secondary burial remains were located within sarcophagus 1 and on four wooden burial biers, while in chamber 4 they were found within sarcophagus 2. In total, a minimum number of 13–16 individuals can be connected to secondary burials, based on the data analysed by the anthropologist Carsten Witzel (figure 7).⁵¹ This quantity comprises the bone remains retrieved from the mentioned contexts in the main chamber and in the western chamber (chamber 4), excluding those representing a primary burial on the burial table of chamber 4. The characteristics of these bone depositions are the following: they are incomplete with regard to a full skeleton and they were found in complete anatomical disorder. The first fact is due to the severe decay of bone material in the humid atmosphere of the Royal Hypogeum. The latter must be interpreted as a consequence of intentional re-depositions during the use of the tomb, as no major later disruptions of the grave inventory, caused by human or animal action, are detectable.⁵² Thus, these bones have to be seen as remains of secondary burials.

It is, furthermore, interesting to note that nearly all skulls of the skeletons were missing. The only exception within the secondary burial remains is a skull found in the sarcophagus of chamber 4 (figure 4). The question is where the skulls have gone. Theoretically, they could have been accidentally destroyed. But there

48 Keswani 2004: 16-18.

49 See above, chapter 1; Hertz 1960: 53-58; Panagiotopoulos 2001/2002: 13-19; Keswani 2004: 13-17; Suriano 2010: 8-9.

50 Assmann 2000: 23.

51 Witzel 2009: fig. p. 209 (Areas A, B, C, D, E, F, I); see also Witzel 2011a: Abb. 1, 370-378.

52 Pfälzner 2011b: 39-45.



Figure 4: Bones of secondary burials in sarcophagus 2 in chamber 4 of the Qatna Royal Hypogeum (photo: K. Wita).



Figure 5: Remains of secondary burials in sarcophagus 1 in the main chamber of the Qatna Royal Hypogeum (photo: K. Wita).

seems to be no reason why they should have decayed more rapidly than many of the other bones. Also, at least the teeth should have been preserved *in situ* in such a case. However, there are only very few teeth within chambers 1 and 4, not enough to account for an *in situ* decay of the skulls. This leads us to the conclusion that the skulls must have been intentionally removed and taken out of the tomb.

The actions connected to secondary burials in the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna thus comprise the removal and relocation of bones after the soft parts of the skeleton had deteriorated. The bones of the decomposed skeleton were taken up, laid down again or removed, probably accompanied by ritual actions. This led to a mixing up of those bones remaining in place. The skulls were probably taken to a place where they could be venerated as part of the royal ancestor worship. This hitherto unknown place does not seem to have been an underground room, as no other chambers were detected in the surroundings of the royal tomb below the palace. Therefore, it could have been a separate, smaller, specialized room within the palace, or the large ceremonial Hall A, which is thought to have been related to the royal ancestor cult in general.⁵³

Two possible reasons can be brought forward to explain secondary burials at Qatna. One reason could have been to make place for new burials in the tomb chambers. This practical reason is often assumed to have been valid with regard to collective burials in the Levant and the Near East.⁵⁴ However, it does not seem to have been a major reason in this case, as the remaining bones, which were not removed with the skulls, remained at the places of their original burial. Thus, no space was gained through this activity. This is especially true for the four wooden burial boards or biers on the floor of the main chamber, where the relocated bones remained on the wooden support.⁵⁵ It is less evident for the two basalt sarcophagi in chambers 1 and 4. But even there, the remaining bones were so evenly distributed over the floor of the sarcophagus that the relocation of bones did not result in an effective gain of space.

It is, therefore, more plausible to assume that the bones were relocated as a consequence of symbolic ritual activities connected to the decomposed skeletons. These can be seen in the frame of changing the role of the deceased. They could have reached a second stage within the *transformation* process directed towards the *reintegration* of the deceased, according

⁵³ Pfälzner 2005: 58-59.

⁵⁴ Keswani 2004: 31-33; Panagiotopoulos 2001/2002: 14.

⁵⁵ Pfälzner 2011c: 138-141.



Figure 6: Vessels at the northern end of sarcophagus 1 (photo: K. Wita).

to the concept of the “*rites de passage*” of van Gennepe (see above).⁵⁶ More specifically, the *transformation* of the dead members of the royal family through the gradual incorporation of the deceased into the group of royal ancestors could have been the background of these ritual activities.

This idea is supported by the fact that pottery vessels were deposited next to the remains of secondary burials. The best example is presented by sarcophagus 1 in the main chamber (figure 5). It contains a group of vessels, carefully arranged along the northern end of the sarcophagus. It includes nine flat open bowls, four jugs with handle, one bottle with a narrow neck, and one deep, rounded bowl (figure 6). Inside the bowls, which were stacked one above the other in two piles, were traces of organic material, probably the remains of food offerings. The vessels were put on top of the accumulation, which contained the bones of the secondary burials. Thus, they were deposited in this position during or after the secondary burial rituals. The 15 vessels in sarcophagus 1 seem to have kept the food supply for the dead, both in the form of liquids, kept in the jugs and the bottle, and as solid food, contained in the bowls. This supply of food can be interpreted as a *kispu*-ritual.⁵⁷ While it was not attested in connection with the primary burials (see above), *kispu* seems to have been a regular activity with regard to

secondary burials. Probably, *kispu*, to be presented to the deceased within the Royal Hypogeum, could have been the actual reason for effecting secondary burial activities and is, thus, responsible for the removal and mixing of human bones in the tomb. In conclusion, the regular, long-term supply of the dead with food obviously took place within the tomb chambers, with the food deposited besides or on top of the secondary burials.

In addition, it has been suggested that the living might have participated in the *kispu*-rituals in the Royal Hypogeum. This – as has been argued elsewhere⁵⁸ – can be concluded from the arrangement of hundreds of vessels and piled-up bowls in the north-western corner of the main chamber of the tomb, from the benches suitable for sitting in the south-western corner of the same room, and from discarded animal bones found below the benches. As can be concluded from the above-mentioned observations, this kind of ritual feasting in the main burial chamber was mainly connected to the stage of secondary burials within the ‘*rites de passage*’. Its main purpose must have been to venerate, nourish and care for each individual ancestor in the Royal Hypogeum.

3.3 The tertiary burial

There is a specific observation in the Qatna Royal Hypogeum which can be regarded as a further stage within the sequence of burial practices. It took place after the secondary burial and its associated *kispu*-rituals, and will, therefore, be called ‘tertiary burial’. One might argue that it is more appropriate to call it an advanced step of the secondary burial, however, the main reason for separating it from the secondary burial is that this ritual activity has a different aim, as will be shown below.

The eastern chamber of the Royal Hypogeum, chamber 2, was exclusively used as an *ossuary* (figure 7). Here there was a pile of bones that nearly covered the entire floor of the 3.0 m by 3.7 m large chamber (figure 8). A minimum number of six to seven individuals can be reconstructed on the basis of the human bone remains.⁵⁹ However, this is a very moderate number, which is mainly due to the bad state of preservation of the bone material. Originally, many more persons could have been present here, in view of the size of the bone pile. The large heap of bones consisted of a mixture of human and animal bones, obviously discarded carelessly at this place. This mixture can be explained by it consisting of the human bones of secondary burials and the animal bones of former *kispu*-offerings. All the bones must have been brought over from the main chamber and possibly other cham-

56 Van Gennepe 1999: 21-22.

57 Tsukimoto 1985; Groneberg 1990: 256-257; see also: al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2003: 204-206; Pfälzner 2005: 57-58.

58 Al-Maqdissi *et al.* 2003: 206; Pfälzner 2002/2003: 99; Pfälzner 2005: 57-58; 2007b; 2009b: 243.

59 Witzel 2009: fig. p. 209 (Area H).

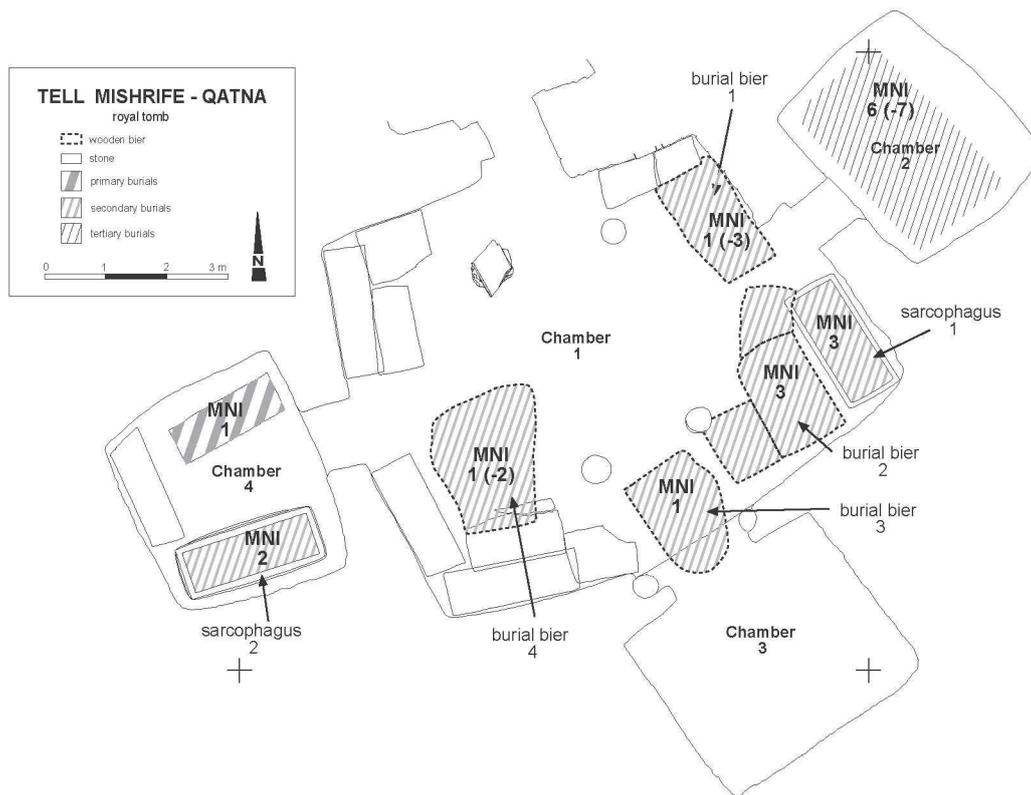


Figure 7: Schematic plan of the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna showing areas of primary, secondary, and tertiary burial and the minimum number of individuals.



Figure 8: Chamber 2 of the Qatna Royal Hypogeum, the “ossuary” (photo: K. Wita).



Figure 9: Offering bowls in chamber 2 in connection with tertiary burials (photo: K. Wita).

bers after they had become ‘useless’ in active funerary rituals. Thus, chamber 2 can be understood as the final resting place of the deceased, when secondary burial rituals had come to an end.

Here, in contrast to the main chamber and to chamber 4, the bones were deposited without respect to the unity of the individual person. The dead became part of a collective group of the deceased. On the other hand the bones were still valued. This can not only be concluded from the fact that they were not thrown out, but rather kept within the Royal Hypo-

geum in a separate chamber. It becomes also obvious from signs of special care for these bones. A number of flat bowls, interpreted as offering bowls, was put on top of the heap of bones. They were laid down carefully and horizontally, which shows that they obviously still functioned as offering containers (figure 9). There were even bowls included within the bone accumulation at different heights, so that a continuous process of food offering in the *ossuary* can be reconstructed. This is an interesting observation, because it demonstrates that the *kispu-*



Figure 10: General view of Tomb VII with quarternary burials (photo: Qatna project).

offerings were extended to the stage of the tertiary burial. We can conclude that these older dead persons were not excluded from the ritual cycle and that they were still remembered. However, at this stage, it was no longer a remembering of individual dead persons, but of a group of dead. This supports the idea that the individual ancestors became collective ancestors after having been transferred into the *ossuary*.

3.4 The quarternary burial

A new argument was added to the reconstruction of the royal burial sequence at Qatna by the discovery, in 2009, of a second tomb below the Royal Palace, referred to as Tomb VII.⁶⁰ It is located below Room DA in the northwestern wing of the building and was used together with the palace during the Middle Bronze IIB period. It is, therefore, clearly earlier than the discovered inventory of the Royal Hypogeum, which dates to the Late Bronze IIA period. With one rock-hewn double chamber it is much smaller than the Royal Hypogeum.

Here, a huge number of human skeletons, numbering around 100 or more according to a first preliminary and very rough count, was found. The human remains were deposited in wooden boxes – with several persons in each box. Most of the bones were put into the boxes as individual items, detached from their anatomical order. In some instances, however, larger parts of a skeleton in anatomical order were retrieved, showing that the decay of the corpse was not yet finalized at the time of the re-burial. Some grave goods were put

into the densely packed boxes as well. More grave goods were assembled around the boxes (figure 10).

There is ample proof that the inventory of Tomb VII does not represent original, primary burials, but is a result of a systematic transfer of bones from another place to this chamber.⁶¹ The most plausible explanation is that the bones came from the Royal Hypogeum, which was in use as a burial place for a long period of approximately 400 years (from Middle Bronze IIA to Late Bronze IIA) and must have been emptied from time to time in order to make space for new burials. The transfer could have been made either out of necessity, because there was no space left in the royal tomb, or deliberately, because a new dynasty might have seized power at Qatna, which neglected the line of descent of the former dynasty. In the first case, being the result of a practical consideration of space availability, one could argue that this transfer is part of, or the extended form of, a tertiary burial. In the latter case, however, referring to the option of a dynastic change, both the purpose and the ritual background of this burial activity are different from a tertiary burial. Therefore, a new explanatory category has to be introduced: it will be called ‘quarternary burial’ or fourth burial stage.

There is one interesting observation with regard to this burial stage: in Tomb VII there are very few offering bowls, which in the Royal Hypogeum are the clearest indications of food offerings. Most of the 13 wooden boxes with bones or parts of skeletons do not contain offering bowls in clear association with them. The only exception is a large wooden box which stood at the southern wall of the southern chamber

60 Pfälzner – Dohmann-Pfälzner 2010: 77-78; 2011.

61 Pfälzner – Dohmann-Pfälzner 2010: 77-78; 2011: 135-136.



Figure 11: Offering bowls in quaternary burial box at the southern wall of Tomb VII (photo: Marc Steinmetz).

of Tomb VII. Here, two offering bowls were placed – more or less horizontally – on top of the bones and the skeleton parts (figure 11). In this case the reason might have been a specific one: in this box the skeletons were still in larger parts anatomically complete. Thus, the decay of the bodies was not yet finalized at the time when they were transferred to Tomb VII. This might explain why they still needed food supply. All the more obvious is the sharp contrast to the other bone-filled boxes in the same tomb, where no offering bowls were present. These bones no longer had a need for food offerings. Their *kispu*-cycle had ended. In conclusion, this strongly supports the idea of distinguishing this phase as a separate burial stage and to call it a ‘quaternary burial’.

In connection with the quaternary burial the bones had left the place where they had been originally buried and where they had been part of ritual activities over a longer period of time. They had been kept in their primary tomb as a symbol for the veneration, first of the individual, and subsequently of the collective ancestors. With their transfer into the secondary tomb (Tomb VII), they lost their direct connection to the locality of the collective ancestors of the dynasty. We can conclude that the phase of remembering the dead, both as individual and as collective ancestors, had been weakened and started to dissolve. However, the bones and the grave gifts were still treated with respect and not just discarded. Thus, a distant, general and unspecific memory of the dead, as opposed to the living community, was still kept alive, while the link to a specific lineage group must have been lost. This last stage, therefore, can be regarded as a phase when the remembering of the dead shifted from the perception as collective ancestors to a more distant and general perception of collective dead.

4 Summary

In short, the picture of royal burial rituals at Qatna is a very complex one. This can be surmised from the well preserved context, the detailed archaeological observations and the profound analysis of the material. A succession of primary, secondary, tertiary and quaternary burials could be defined. The *kispu* – the caring for the dead through a regular supply of food and drink – was a main concern. It could be demonstrated that it was mainly connected to secondary burials, but it is still attested with regard to the tertiary burials. In one specific instance, it is even observable in connection with a quaternary burial context. On the other hand, *kispu* can only be connected with primary burials to a very limited extent, probably in a slightly advanced stage of the primary burial stage (table 2).

With these observations the concept of Hertz of a ‘provisional’ (primary) and a ‘final (secondary) burial’ can be clearly applied to the royal burial practices at Qatna. Furthermore, the Qatna data can even be used to amplify the concept of Hertz. The primary burial at Qatna can be clearly understood – in the sense of Hertz – as a preliminary deposition of the body, awaiting and leading to the dissolution of the corpse. The secondary burial at Qatna marks a modification of the primary burial, accompanied by a series of regular rites that took place after the dissolution of the corpse when only individual bones survived. It can be correlated to Hertz’s ‘final burial’, with the restraint that, at Qatna, this activity does not represent the final stage. Therefore, the designation as ‘secondary burial’ is to be preferred to Hertz’s term of ‘final burial’. Still, this phase marks – in Hertz’s sense – the ongoing transfer of the dead

Step	Burial stage	Ritual activity	Symbolic meaning of funerary rituals	Phases of remembering	Phases of „rites de passage“
1	Primary burial	Preparations for interment and interment	Transferring the individual person into the netherworld	Emotionally remembering the individual person	Separation phase
2	Secondary burial	Relocating bones, removing skulls, presenting food offerings	Venerating and nourishing the individual ancestors	Remembering the individual ancestors	Transformation phase
3	Tertiary burial	Intra-tomb transfer of bones to ossuary, presenting food offerings	Venerating and nourishing the collective ancestors	Remembering the collective ancestors	Incorporation phase I
4	Quarter-nary burial	Transferring bones from royal tomb to secondary tomb	End of veneration and nourishing of the ancestors	Remembering the collective dead	Incorporation phase II

Table 2: Chart of the sequence of burial stages in the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna and its conceptual equations.

and their soul to their final place in the netherworld and the definitive departure of the soul from earth. As can be deduced from the way the funerary picture at Qatna presents itself, this final and decisive burial period can be seen as an elongated process and can, thus, be subdivided into three phases, the secondary, the tertiary and the quaternary burial. Only with the last stage have the dead fully reached their place in the netherworld and have lost their connection to the world of the living. Thus, an extension of the concept of Hertz is proposed here. The ‘secondary burial’ needs to be re-defined as a transitory, and not as a ‘final’ burial stage. The example of Qatna, furthermore, demonstrates that a ‘final burial’ in the original sense of Hertz⁶² does not exist, because the burial sequence is a long, continuous process incorporating several transfers with different intentions, but never marking a real, clearly defined end to the existence and remembrance of the dead.

The four-tiered interpretive model of the royal burial ritual at Qatna can also be related to the theory of the ‘rites de passage’. Van Gennep’s concept can be applied to the four burial stages at Qatna by assigning the ‘primary burial’ to the ‘separation rites’, as they serve to gradually remove the corpse of the deceased from the palace area and, thus, from the direct context of the living members of the palatial society. The extensive rituals of the ‘secondary burial’ illustrate the ‘transformation phase’, because the human remains are used ritually in order to enable

62 Hertz 1960: 29-34, 53-58.

and facilitate the transgression of the dead from the realm of the living to the realm of the dead. In this phase the living maintain a direct and regular contact with the dead. The ‘tertiary and quaternary burials’ are both aspects of the ‘incorporation phase’, as the dead completely join the society of the netherworld and loose the contact with the living. It is interesting to observe at Qatna that the breaking up of the ties between the dead and the living is also a gradual process, where, in fact, two stages can be differentiated. They will be labelled ‘incorporation phases I and II’ (see table 2).

Finally, the royal burial customs at Qatna can be related to the concept of individual and collective ancestors, which was proposed in the introduction and builds on Assmann’s theoretical concepts of individual and collective remembering. The ritual sequence of funerary rites in the Qatna Royal Hypogeum can be understood as a gradual transformation of the character of the dead from individual to collective ancestors. While the individuality of the dead was underscored in the primary burial and still emphasized during the secondary burial rituals, the tertiary, and moreover the quaternary burials, mark the transition of the dead to the group of collective ancestors. Here, the individuality of the former living person is no longer perceived, but his/her anonymous membership in to the powerful group of familial ancestors is manifest. This is materially demonstrated by the fact that the bones of the dead are kept in their original burial place during the secondary burial, while the bones are added to an accumulation of bones

during the tertiary and quaternary burial. This idea is further supported by the fact that no inscriptions are present, in the form of stone engravings, written tablets or inscribed seals, which would identify the buried persons or support their individual re-identification among the anonymous assemblage of collective burials within the tomb after a certain period of time. Ultimately, this also explains why the two completely identical ancestor statues, placed next to the entrance to the grave chambers in the ante-chamber of the Royal Hypogeum of Qatna and which were definitely venerated here as dynastic royal ancestors through ritual activities, lack any inscription or any individual rendering (see frontispiece of this book).⁶³ The funerary rituals at Qatna, thus, resulted in the forming of collective ancestors as part of the collective remembering of the kingdom of Qatna.

References

- Ahrens, A. 2011
Die Steingefäße aus der Königsgruft und dem Palast von Tall Mishrife/Qatna: Verteilung, Typenspektrum und Funktion, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 259-274.
- Al-Maqdissi, M. – Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. – Pfälzner, P. – Suleiman, A. 2003
Das königliche Hypogäum von Qatna. Bericht über die syrisch-deutsche Ausgrabung im November/Dezember 2002, MDOG 135, 189-218.
- Assmann, J. 1992
Das kulturelle Gedächtnis. Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen, München.
- Assmann, J. 2000
Der Tod als Thema der Kulturtheorie, Frankfurt/Main.
- Baadsgaard, A. – Zettler, R. L. in print
Royal Funerals and Ruling Elites at Early Dynastic Ur, in: Peter Pfälzner – Herbert Niehr – Ernst Pernicka – Tina Köster – Sarah Lange (eds.), *Contextualising Grave Inventories in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the Second and Third International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead"* at the London 7ICAANE in April 2009 and in Tübingen in November 2010, *Contributions to the Archaeology of Egypt and the Levant*, Vienna.
- Cohen, A. C. 2005
Death Rituals, Ideology, and the Development of Early Mesopotamian Kingship. Towards a New Understanding of Iraq's Royal Cemetery of Ur, Leiden/Boston.
- Deckers, K. 2011
Wood Remains from the Qatna Royal Tomb, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 403-410.
- Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. – Pfälzner, P. 2006
(unter Mitarbeit von M. Abbado – A. Ahrens – R. Evershed – E. Formigli – E. Geith – A. Mukherjee – V. Paoletti – C. Pümpin – E. Rossberger – C. von Rüden – J. Schmid – C. Schmidt – A. Stauffer), *Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Tell Mišrife/Qatna 2004 und 2005. Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationalen Kooperationsprojektes*, MDOG 138, 57-107.
- Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. – Pfälzner, P. 2008
Die Ausgrabungen 2007 und 2008 im Königspalast von Qatna: Vorbericht des syrisch-deutschen Kooperationsprojektes in Tall Mišrife/Qatna, MDOG 140, 17-74.
- Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. – Pfälzner, P. 2011
Archäologischer Kontext und Rekonstruktion des Bestattungstisches in Kammer 4, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 485-498.
- Groneberg, B. 1990
Zu den mesopotamischen Unterweltsvorstellungen: Das Jenseits als Fortsetzung des Diesseits, *AoF* 17, 244-261.
- Hertz, R. 1960
Death and the Right Hand, Glencoe.
- Hockmann, D. 2010
Gräber und Grüfte aus Assur I, Von der zweiten Hälfte des 3. bis zur Mitte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr., *WVDOG* 129, Wiesbaden.
- James, M. A. – Reifarth, N. – Mukherjee, A. J. – Crump, M. P. – Gates, P. J. – Sandor, P. – Robertson, F. – Pfälzner, P. – Evershed, R. 2009
High Prestige Royal Purple Dyed Textiles from the Bronze Age Royal Tomb at Qatna, Syria, *Antiquity* 83, 1109-1118.
- James, M. – Reifarth, N. – Evershed, R. 2011
Chemical Identification of Ancient Dyestuffs from Mineralized Textile Fragments from the Royal Tomb, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 449-468.
- Katz, D. 2007
Sumerian Funerary Rituals in Context, in: N. Laneri (ed.), *Performing Death: Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, *Oriental Institute Seminars* 2, Chicago, 167-188.

63 Novák – Pfälzner 2003: 156-162; Pfälzner 2005: 57; 2009c: 204-207.

- Keswani, P. S. 2004
Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus, *Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology* 9, London/Oakville.
- Laneri, N. 2007
An Archaeology of Funerary Rituals, in: N. Laneri (ed.), *Performing Death. Social Analyses of Funerary Traditions in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, *Oriental Institute Seminars* 3, Chicago, 1-13.
- Lundström, S. 2003
“Es klagen die großen Kanäle...”. Die Königsgrüfte im Alten Palast von Assur, in: J. Marzahn – B. Salje (ed.), *Wiedererstehendes Assur. 100 Jahre deutsche Ausgrabungen in Assyrien*, 129-135.
- Lundström, S. 2009
Die Königsgrüfte aus dem Alten Palast von Assur. Aufarbeitung des archäologischen und inschriftlichen Befundes, *WVDOG* 123, Wiesbaden.
- Meyer, J.-W. 2000
Zur Möglichkeit einer kulturhistorischen Einordnung von Grabfunden, *AoF* 27 (1), 21-37.
- Mofidi Nasrabadi, B. 1999
Untersuchungen zu den Bestattungssitten in Mesopotamien in der ersten Hälfte des ersten Jahrtausends v. Chr., *BaF* 23, Mainz.
- Moorey, P. R. S. 1984
Where Did they Bury the Kings of the Third Dynasty of Ur?, *Iraq* 46, 1-18.
- Novák, M. – Pfälzner, P. 2003
(mit Beiträgen von G. Elsen-Novák),
Ausgrabungen im bronzezeitlichen Palast von Tall Mišrife-Qatna 2002. Vorbericht der deutschen Komponente des internationale Kooperationsprojekts, *MDOG* 135, 131-166.
- Panagiotopoulos, D. 2001/2002
Die Minoer und der Tod. Ein Interpretationsversuch minoischer Bestattungssitten, *NüBIA* 18, 8-26.
- Pfälzner 2002/2003
Die Politik und der Tod im Königtum von Qatna, *NüBIA* 19, 85-102.
- Pfälzner, P. 2005
Syrien: Qatna. Ahnenkult im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., *Welt und Umwelt der Bibel* 2, 56-59.
- Pfälzner, P. 2007a
Archaeological Investigations in the Royal Palace of Qatna, in: D. Morandi Bonacossi (ed.), *Urban and Natural Landscapes of an Ancient Syrian Capital. Settlement and Environment at Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna and in Central-Western Syria. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Udine, 9–11 December 2004*, *SAQ* 1, Udine, 29-64.
- Pfälzner, P. 2007b
Where the Living Feasted with the Dead: The Royal Tombs of Qatna, Syria, in: B. M. Fagan (ed.), *Discovery! Unearthing the New Treasures of Archaeology*, London, 62-65.
- Pfälzner, P. 2008a
The Royal Palace at Qatna: Power and Prestige in the Late Bronze Age, in: J. Aruz – K. Benzel – J. M. Evans (ed.), *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium BC*, New Haven/London, 218-221.
- Pfälzner, P. 2008b
Egyptian Vessel; Amphora, in: J. Aruz – K. Benzel – J. M. Evans (ed.), *Beyond Babylon. Art, Trade, and Diplomacy in the Second Millennium BC*, New Haven/London, 230-231.
- Pfälzner, P. 2009a
Macht und Reichtum in der Königsresidenz, in: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (ed.) in Zusammenarbeit mit M. al-Maqdissi – D. Morandi Bonacossi – P. Pfälzner, *Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*, Stuttgart, 164-171.
- Pfälzner, P. 2009b
Die Bestattungsrituale der Könige von Qatna, in: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (ed.) in Zusammenarbeit mit M. al-Maqdissi – D. Morandi Bonacossi – P. Pfälzner, *Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*, Stuttgart, 240-243.
- Pfälzner, P. 2009c
Meisterwerke der Plastik. Die Ahnenstatuen aus dem Hypogäum, in: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (ed.) in Zusammenarbeit mit M. al-Maqdissi – D. Morandi Bonacossi – P. Pfälzner, *Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*, Stuttgart, 204-207.
- Pfälzner, P. 2009d
Residenz der toten Herrscher. Die Königsgruft, in: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (ed.) in Zusammenarbeit mit M. al-Maqdissi – D. Morandi Bonacossi – P. Pfälzner, *Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna*, Stuttgart, 200-203.
- Pfälzner, P. 2011a
Die Königsgruft von Qatna als architektonisches Ensemble, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), *Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna*, *QS* 1, Wiesbaden, 69-84.
- Pfälzner, P. 2011b
Das systemische und das archäologische Inventar der Königsgruft von Qatna und seine Interpretationsmöglichkeiten, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), *Interdis-*

- zipliniäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 39-54.
- Pfälzner, P. 2011c
Goldplaketten und andere prestigehaltige Einzelobjekte aus Gold, Silber und Bernstein aus der Königsgruft von Qatna im Kontext von Bestattung und Ritual, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 137-190.
- Pfälzner, P. – Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. 2010
Elefantenknochen und über 50 Schädel, AW 4, 75-78.
- Pfälzner, P. – Dohmann-Pfälzner, H. 2011
Die Gruft VII: Eine neu entdeckte Grabanlage unter dem Königspalast von Qatna, MDOG 143, 63-139.
- Quigley, C. 1996
The Corpse. A History, Jefferson.
- Pollock, S. 1983
The Symbolism of Prestige: An Archaeological Example from the Royal Cemetery of Ur (PhD-Thesis University of Michigan, Ann Arbor).
- Pollock, S. 1991
Of Priestesses, Princes and Poor Relations: The Dead in the Royal Cemetery of Ur, CambRAJ 1, 171-189.
- Reifarth, N. 2011
Die Textilien vom Bestattungstisch in Kammer 4. Vorbericht zu den mikrostratigraphischen und textiltechnologischen Untersuchungen, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 499-526.
- Reifarth, N. – Baccelli, G. 2009
Königsornat in Purpur und Gold. Die Textilfunde, in: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (ed.) in Zusammenarbeit mit M. al-Maqdissi – D. Morandi Bonacossi – P. Pfälzner, Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna, Stuttgart, 216-219.
- Suriano, M. J. 2010
The Politics of Dead Kings. Dynastic Ancestors in the Book of Kings and Ancient Israel, Tübingen.
- Rossberger, E. 2009
Schmuck für Götter und Könige. Funde aus der Königsgruft, in: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (ed.) in Zusammenarbeit mit M. al-Maqdissi – D. Morandi Bonacossi – P. Pfälzner, Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna, Stuttgart, 228-233.
- Rossberger, E. 2011
Der Perlenschmuck aus der Königsgruft von Qatna: Verteilung, Rekonstruktion und Funktion, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 121-136.
- Sallaberger, W. 1995
Eine reiche Bestattung im neusumerischen Ur, JCS 47, 15-21.
- Schultz, M. – Kunter, M. 1998
Erste Ergebnisse der anthropologischen und paläopathologischen Untersuchungen an den menschlichen Skelettfunden aus den neuassyrischen Königinnengräbern von Nimrud, JbRGZM 45 (1), 85-128.
- Tsukimoto, A. 1985
Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege (*kispum*) im alten Mesopotamien, AOAT 216, Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- van Gennepe, A. 1999
Übergangsriten (Les rites de passage), Frankfurt/Main/New York.
- Witzel, C. 2009
Was die Toten erzählen. Eine anthropologische Untersuchung, in: Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart (ed.) in Zusammenarbeit mit M. al-Maqdissi – D. Morandi Bonacossi – P. Pfälzner, Schätze des Alten Syrien. Die Entdeckung des Königreichs Qatna, Stuttgart, 208-211.
- Witzel, C. 2011a
Anthropologische Untersuchungen. Vorläufige Ergebnisse der Untersuchung menschlicher Knochen und Zähne aus der Königsgruft seit der Bergung 2002, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 367-382.
- Witzel, C. 2011b
Ein Zwischenbericht über die Lagebeziehungen, den Erhaltungszustand und die anthropologischen und paläopathologischen Befunde der menschlichen Überreste vom Bestattungstisch in Kammer 4, in: P. Pfälzner (ed.), Interdisziplinäre Studien zur Königsgruft von Qatna, QS 1, Wiesbaden, 527-532.
- Witzel, C. – Kreutz, K. 2007
First Results of the Anthropological and Palaeopathological Examination of the Human Skeletal Remains Recovered from the Royal Tomb of Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna, in: D. Morandi Bonacossi (ed.), Urban and Natural Landscapes of an Ancient Syrian Capital. Settlement and Environment at Tell Mishrifeh/Qatna and in Central-Western Syria. Proceedings of the International Conference Held in Udine, 9–11 December 2004, SAQ 1, Udine, 173-187.
- Woolley, C. L. 1934
The Royal Cemetery: A Report on the Predynastic and Sargonid Graves Excavated between 1926 and 1931, UE 2, London.