

**Death and Burial in the Latin East.
A Study of the Crusader
Cemetery at 'Atlit, Israel.**

Jennifer A. Thompson

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Title of thesis *Death and Burial in the Latin East. A Study of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, Israel*.....

Summary:

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of death and burial in the Latin East. The Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit is used as a test site and the result of the 1934 excavation and 2004 survey of the site are here published. Burial customs from Western Europe, the Byzantine and Muslim worlds are all studied, in order to understand all of the influences that came together to impact on the death and burial customs of the Latin East. Data from all known Crusader burials is brought together, forming a compendium of known Crusader burial sites. This work is based on the following questions: 1) what were the cultural influences involved in Crusader burials? and 2) are there any distinctively Crusader burial customs that can be seen in the archaeological record? The end result of this thesis is an interdisciplinary discussion of death and burial in the Latin East, something that has been lacking up to this point. The main points of this thesis may be summarised as follows: 1) the burial traditions followed at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit appear to have French roots; 2) burial rites varied throughout the Latin East, probably as a result of different groups of ethnicities burying people at the different sites; 3) a systematic method of excavating burials must be developed for Crusader burials in the Latin East; and 4) more work is needed in this area to fully understand the different traditions at work in the burials of the Latin East.

Declaration

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed *Jennifer Thompson*..... (candidate)
Date *10 November 2006*.....

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This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated.

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Summary

This thesis is an interdisciplinary study of death and burial in the Latin East. The Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit is used as a test site and the result of the 1934 excavation and 2004 survey of the site are here published. Burial customs from Western Europe, the Byzantine and Muslim worlds are all studied, in order to understand all of the influences that came together to impact on the death and burial customs of the Latin East. Data from all known Crusader burials is brought together, forming a compendium of known Crusader burial sites. This work is based on the following questions: 1) what were the cultural influences involved in Crusader burials? and 2) are there any distinctively Crusader burial customs that can be seen in the archaeological record? The end result of this thesis is an interdisciplinary discussion of death and burial in the Latin East, something that has been lacking up to this point. The main points of this thesis may be summarised as follows: 1) the burial traditions followed at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit appear to have French roots; 2) burial rites varied throughout the Latin East, probably as a result of different groups of ethnicities burying people at the different sites; 3) a systematic method of excavating burials must be developed for Crusader burials in the Latin East; and 4) more work is needed in this area to fully understand the different traditions at work in the burials of the Latin East.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation could not have been completed without the huge amount of support I had. First, I have to thank all of the staff at the Palestine Exploration Fund in London, especially the curator, Felicity Cobbing, for her help when I was working with the C. N. Johns archive at the PEF office. As well, the Council for British Research in the Levant was one of the major sources of help I had while I was doing my research in the Near East. I especially have to thank the staff at the Kenyon Institute in Jerusalem, which became a home away from home for me during my periods of research in Israel. Many thanks to Bill Finlayson and Nadja Qaisi in Amman, Penny Wiggins in London, and John Harte, Tobias Richter, Matthew Elliot, Tim Moore, Hussein Gheith, Sami Salah, and Bahijah Kuneh in Jerusalem.

While working in Israel, I also had support from the Israel Antiquities Authority and many of its staff members. I must thank the IAA for allowing me to survey the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, and for access to the artefacts and records housed at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem. Alegre Savariego, curator of the stores at the Rockefeller Museum, was a friendly face and a great help to me in the days I spent in the basement of the museum, working on the pottery and other artefacts from the excavations at 'Atlit. ArieH Rochman-Halperin, chief archivist of the IAA archives, was another friendly and helpful figure in my search for all the records pertaining to the Johns excavation of 'Atlit. ArieH was especially supportive during the days when I was frustrated by not finding any of the material I was hoping to find. I have to thank Gideon Avni and his staff for helping me to get my permit when it seemed like my application would not go through in time for me to do my fieldwork. Finally, I have to thank Ehud Gallili, the head of the marine archaeology department of the IAA, based at 'Atlit. Ehud took time to show me around 'Atlit and to discuss my plans for the survey at the Crusader cemetery. His input, both into the survey and into the history of the site, was invaluable.

During my time at Cardiff University, I received financial support from a number of sources. First, I have to thank the School of History and Archaeology at Cardiff University for their many grants that supported my numerous research trips around the world. Secondly, I would like to thank the British Institute at Ankara for the travel grant I received in 2003, which allowed me to travel to Ankara to work in the library at the BIA. Thirdly, thank to you the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society, which awarded me a student grant to support the survey work I did in 2004.

During the two periods of survey work I completed at the Crusader cemetery, I received help from a number of sources. During my first few days at the site, I had the help of two Israeli archaeological students from Beer Sheva. Nissim Golding and Adi Golan worked with me on the first two days of my survey at the Crusader cemetery and helped ease me into working on the site. Their support was invaluable and their friendship helped make my time in Israel a wonderful memory. I especially have to thank Nissim and Adi for their help in answering the questions of the many people who stopped to see what we were doing. The presence of native Hebrew speakers helped make the first few days of the survey run smoothly. I have already mentioned the financial support I received from the School of History and Archaeology at Cardiff University, but there is much more that I have to thank

the school and its staff for. I would not have been able to come to Cardiff without the help and support of my supervisor, Professor Denys Pringle, and of the then history postgraduate advisor, Dr. Keir Waddington. Denys and Keir jumped through many administrative hoops to get me permission to study for a Ph.D. at Cardiff when I had problems with my M.A. from Toronto. Professor Peter Edbury and Dr. Helen Nicholson have answered many of my questions and provided me with many sources for my research. I also have to thank all of the postgraduates who have, through the years I have been at Cardiff, provided a sounding board for a lonely Ph.D. student and have provided many opportunities to socialise.

Finally, I have to thank my family and the many friends who have always been there throughout this long process. My parents have, on many occasions, provided me with financial assistance so that I could carry through with my dissertation. I cannot thank them enough for this support. Also, my mother and sister have to be thanked for their tremendous efforts in editing this dissertation. They have had the sometimes dubious honour of reading this whole dissertation, parts of it more than once. My family has always been there for me to complain to, to advise me on numerous decisions, and to support me through the whole process. Thank you.

I cannot mention all of the friends who have helped me. Thank you to my housemates, Charlotte, Dinusha, and Siân, for putting up with me in the final years of my Ph.D., with all of the stress and the globe-trotting, and for, on occasion, waking up at 3am to drive me to the bus station. Thank you to Bill and Val Jones for providing many meals and much entertainment. To all my friends at St. Mark's Church, thank you for your prayers and support, and for providing me with a life outside of my dissertation. Jo Donaldson and Beckie Capper deserve a huge thank you for their entertainment over the years and for welcoming me to Cardiff when I first arrived. I would like to give a huge thank you to all my friends in Israel, especially to the Golding family. Thank you for welcoming me into your family and making me feel welcome during my many trips to Israel. And to all of my friends in Toronto, who are currently working on their own Ph.D.s, thank you for your understanding and good luck.

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Preface

This thesis originated from a suggestion given to me by my supervisor, Professor Denys Pringle. When my original thesis topic fell through, Professor Pringle started me on the path of death and burial in the Latin East. My research began with the idea of publishing the excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, which was undertaken by C. N. Johns in 1934. This then expanded into studying death and burial in the whole of the Latin East, with the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit being used as a test case.

Death and burial in the Near East has not been studied in depth. Very little is known about burial customs in the Latin East and what information there is, is scattered through a number of different sources. The main purpose of this thesis is to provide an overview of death and burial customs in the Latin East, and to try to trace the customs back to their origins. This work brings together archaeological, historical, and literary sources to try to answer a number of questions. The two main questions are: 1) what were the cultural influences involved in Crusader burials? and 2) are there any distinctively Crusader burial customs that can be seen in the archaeological record?

I have divided this thesis into four parts, with the conclusion forming Part Four. In Part One, I lay out the background to death and burial in the Latin East, including burial sites that have been excavated in Western Europe and throughout the Latin East. The funerary and burial rites of medieval Western Europe are discussed in detail, to give a background to the discussion of customs in the Latin East. It is presumed that the medieval Western European customs were imported to the Latin East by the Crusaders. In light of this, it is necessary to understand how the people of medieval Western Europe viewed death and burial in order to understand what they meant in the context of the Latin East.

Part Two discusses the work carried out in the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. This part is a synthesis of the work done by Johns in 1934 and the survey work that was undertaken by myself in 2004. A tomb typology was developed, largely based on the 2004 survey data, though the 1934 data was also included. The tomb typology will

form the basis for a discussion of tomb types in the Latin East, and the social aspects of burial and of cemetery use.

Part Three brings together the information from the first two parts and attempts to answer the questions posed at the beginning of this work. The discussion of death and burial in the Latin East looks at the subject from an overall point of view. This work brings together the archaeological and historical sources to understand a subject that has to be studied from an interdisciplinary point of view. Death and burial are usually studied from an archaeological point of view, but even in archaeology, there is not a synthesis of information. The excavation information is not often discussed with regard to the osteological evidence, and vice versa. Part Three also attempts to provide a framework for future studies of burial sites in the Latin East, showing how information from many sources can be brought together to understand a topic as complex as death and burial.

Part 1

Medieval Death and Burial The Literary, Historical, and Archaeological Background

1

Death and Burial in the Middle Ages

Introduction

The focus of this dissertation is a study of death and burial in the Latin East, during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries A.D. Evidence from the whole region of the Latin East will be considered, though the most detailed analysis will be done on the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, Israel. The Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit is an almost completely intact cemetery from the thirteenth century. The analysis of the cemetery and the burials within it will form the basis of a test case, which will be used in a wider discussion of death and burial in the Crusader period.

Death and burial in the Latin East is a topic that has yet to be explored in the written literature. Most work that relates to the subject deals with the study of bones from burials that are found during archaeological excavations. These studies are important and tell us a great deal about the people who were buried at that site, but the amount of knowledge that can be gained by only studying the bones is limited.

Medieval Death and Burial

According to Christopher Daniell, “[t]he key to medieval religion is the fate of the individual’s soul after death (1997: 1)”. Death can be considered to occur only when the soul leaves the mortal body. The soul is immortal and the death of the body does not affect the soul. The body, on the other hand, could be affected by the health of the soul. Physical illness was often seen as a result of a sin. Leprosy, for example, was considered to be a consequence of a sexual sin (Daniell 1997: 1).

It was the duty of the Church to correct sins. This was done by confession, repentance, and penance. It was essential that the soul be saved from sin lest it spend eternity in Hell. Penance could be achieved by devout praying, alms-giving, and mass-singing. The burning of witches was supposed to cleanse their souls and stop their sin from spreading to other souls (Daniell 1997: 1).

It is essential to remember that, while the soul was only on earth for a short period, it was the actions while on earth that determined its fate in the afterlife (Daniell 1997: 1). Meditation upon death was an important aspect of medieval Christianity in the West. According to Daniell, the main purpose of this meditation was to instil a sense of fear and humility in a person (1997: 2).

The focus of medieval death was salvation. Jesus Christ gained salvation for the human race by dying at the Crucifixion and then rising from the dead. According to Christian tenets, only by dying can a human find salvation. And because salvation is vital to the Christian faith, one of the main goals in life should be to go to Heaven and be saved. Resurrection is an affirmation of faith; it is the triumph over death (Daniell 1997: 8).

By the fourth century A.D. the practice of praying for the dead was established in Christian liturgy (Catholic Encyclopaedia 2003). In the eleventh century, the idea of Purgatory was already established in the faith of the Western Christians. The Cluniac monks in the eleventh century were gaining power and influence with their lifestyle of almost exclusively praying for the dead (Hunt 1967: p 124, 139-140).

It was common belief at the time that one of the most important methods of gaining help for the soul was pilgrimage. As a result of the growing belief in purgatory and the power of prayer in the afterlife, pilgrimages were often made to shrines to invoke the power of a saint (Daniell 1997: 21). In 1033, a large number of pilgrimages were made to Jerusalem to commemorate the thousandth anniversary of Christ's passion (Mayer 1988: 12). However, pilgrimages to the Holy Land may have been taking place as early as the second century A.D and are known to have occurred in the third

century (Brundage 1969: 6). Even after the rise of Islam and the Muslim Arab conquest of the Holy Land, pilgrims continued to visit Jerusalem (Mayer 1988: 13). In fact, one pilgrimage in 1054 was said to have numbered around 3,000 people and another just ten years later was said to have been composed of 7,000 people (Brundage 1969: 9).

Death and burial in Medieval England

In recent years, people's approach to death and burial in medieval England has been the subject of a number of new studies, amongst them those by Christopher Daniell (1997) and D. M. Hadley (2001). Hadley provides the most detailed account of the subject, providing a multi-disciplinary study (See also Binski 1996; for earlier treatment of the subject, see Ariès (1981), Ragon (1981), and Bassett (1992)).

Prior to discussing death and burial, it is necessary to explain why the first part of this chapter relies so heavily on Daniell's work, while the other aforementioned works on the same subject are rarely cited. Simply put, Daniell covers the subject of death and burial from both a historical and archaeological perspective, while the other works deal with death from only one perspective, whether it be archaeological or art historical.

As well, it would be difficult and time consuming to chase down all of Daniell's references. Many of the works he cites are rare and one must search to find a library or archive that has the sources in its collection. I decided that tracking down all of Daniell's sources, both primary and secondary, was not a good way to spend the limited time I had to prepare this dissertation. In light of this decision, it will appear that I did not use enough sources when discussing medieval practices of death and burial. In fact, the truth is that the subject is not widely covered in the sources and it is difficult for a researcher to find material relating to the subject.

What happened when someone was dying? The death-bed played an important part in the medieval death customs. There was a procedure that was to be followed at the deathbed to ensure a good death. The person who was dying wrote the will, either as the time of death came nearer or several months or years in advance (Daniell 1997: p

32-33). As the time of death drew nearer, the priest was called to come with the Sacrament to administer the last rites (Daniell 1997: p 34-35). These last rites included the priest hearing the confession of the dying person; this was the most important of the death-bed rituals. If the priest was not present at the death, such as in the case of an accident, then the dying person could make his or her confession to a lay-person. If there was no opportunity to confess or no one was present, then it was assumed that the deceased had made peace with God prior to his or her death (Daniell 1997: 35).

The scene of the medieval death-bed was usually noisy and crowded. In addition to the dying person, there would be the priest, the person's family and friends, and doctors. Each person had his or her role in the death, most especially the dying person, who was expected to take an active role in the death-bed scene, for instance by answering questions with set phrases (Daniell 1997: 37).

Once death had occurred, another series of carefully ordered events took place. First, the body was laid out. This could be an important event in the case of politically sensitive deaths, in that laying out the body of the deceased proved that death had taken place. The body would be washed at this point, although this did not always take place (Daniell 1997: 42).

A person might belong to a religious guild or 'burial club' as it became known. If this was so, then the guild would take up the preparations for burial. There were different procedures depending on which guild one belonged to. In the case of the guild of St Michael on the Hill in Lincoln, the Dean of the guild went to the deceased member's home with four wax lights, which were called 'soul-candles' and performed the "usual ceremonies (Daniell 1997: 42)." The banner of the guild was brought to the house and prominently displayed. The banner was then to be carried before the body in the funeral procession, with a great torch burning before it (Daniell 1997: 42).

Once the body had been washed, it normally stayed in the home until it was taken to the church. A wake or 'night-watch' would take place if the body stayed in the home overnight. This wake could be requested by the deceased in his or her will (Daniell

1997: p 42-43). While in the house, the body was clothed, normally in a shroud. This was usually done by women. Custom called for the body to be laid “on a bed with a lit candle at the head and the shroud was sewn along the centre and would eventually cover the whole body (Daniell 1997: 43).” In some cases the shroud could be tightly bound around the body or could be tied at the feet. A small cross was placed in the middle of the chest (Daniell 1997: 43).

The shroud was not the only option for burial clothes, but was usually the only one available for those who were not wealthy. For those with means, it was possible to be buried in the clothing of their rank. Embalming was the other option. As Daniell points out, “[b]oth of these methods were rare and only occurred for the highest ranks of society (1997: p 44).”

Following the clothing or shrouding of the body, the corpse may have been moved into a coffin or put onto a hearse. It seems that it was at this point that mourning clothes were put on by those attending to the body. The coffin was usually used to transport the body and was not buried with it but kept to be reused. The wealthier members of society could have a coffin specially made and would be buried in it (Daniell 1997: 44).

The body would have been taken to the church as quickly as possible to avoid the post-mortem odours. In the thirteenth century it was custom that only certain categories of people should be taken into the church for the funeral service. Women who died in childbirth and those who died a violent death were not to be borne into the church. It is unknown if the body simply stayed in the church until the burial or if there was a viewing of the body in the church. For political reasons there were some bodies which were viewed in the church so it would be known to the public that they had died (Daniell 1997: 44).

A funerary procession may have occurred while moving the body from the home to the church. A bell was rung at the front of the procession (Daniell 1997: 44). The type of procession depended on the status of the deceased. The procession for members of religious guilds could have torches and the guild banner in the

procession. Processions could also be denoted in wills. According to Daniell, “processions to church were an outward sign of power and prestige, as well as being a powerful reminder that prayers should be said for the soul (1997: 45).” The procession could take place at either day or night and if the procession was over a long distance, then the body could be kept overnight in a church (Daniell 1997: 45).

The funerary rites

Once the body had arrived at the church, the corpse was generally hidden from view, with few exceptions. The body would be placed in a hearse, “which was a metal stand or ‘special funeral cart’ with a coffin sometimes incorporated within it (Daniell 1997: 47).” The parish was normally required to have a hearse which served as a free, re-usable coffin. The wealthy often had their own, more elaborate hearse (Daniell 1997: 47).

Throughout the funeral service, the hearse would have stood before the high altar of the church. A hearse cloth would have been placed over the coffin. As with the hearse, a basic hearse cloth would have been a standard part of the parish’s equipment. A cloth of better quality could be donated by individuals if they wished to be remembered in prayers (Daniell 1997: p 47-48).

Once the body was placed on the hearse before the high altar, the Office of the Dead would commence. A priest would read from a book while two clerks would either read or sprinkle water, presumably holy water. The coffin would be covered by the hearse cloth and the candles on the hearse would be lit (Daniell 1997: 48).

There were two parts to the Office of the Dead. The first part of the office took place on the afternoon or evening prior to the day of burial. This was the evensong of the dead and was known as the *Placebo*. There could be a vigil during the night, with the mourners varying from priests to paupers, depending on the wealth of the deceased. The next morning, Matins and Lauds would be sung for the deceased as one service rather than two. This combined office was known as the *Dirige*. A second service,

such as the Mass of the Trinity, could be said but this was not necessary. A Requiem Mass would be said after breakfast (Daniell 1997: 48).

The burial

Once the Requiem Mass had been said, the body was buried. This normally occurred three days after the death but differences did occur throughout the Middle Ages. For example, at Bury St Edmunds, the burial took place on the day after death. It was possible for the deceased to set in their will the period of mourning before the burial (Daniell 1997: p 48-49). Daniell claims that “[t]he burial of the person does not seem to have been important in comparison to the last rites or the funeral service itself (1997: 49).”

But, while burial may not have been important to the common person, it was very important to the church. Irregular burials were often reported to the church. These included the stealing of corpses from another parish, cursing the corpse as it was being buried, or a burial taking place without a mass being said for the deceased (Daniell 1997: 49).

The normal process of death and burial could be interrupted if there was an epidemic or a large number of deaths at one time. The Black Death meant that death became a private matter, no longer the communal nature that was so important in the medieval period. During a period of plague, priests might not visit the sick and people were dying without the last rites being administered (Daniell 1997: 192). During the Black Death, it was decreed that even an unordained deacon could administer the Holy Sacrament, an act which never would have occurred under normal circumstances. As well, the bodies were buried in communal pits without ceremony. It is interesting to note that this type of burial could also occur after sieges (Daniell 1997: 193).

Funerary sermons were often said at some point during the time between death and burial. A large number of these sermons survive, making them an important source of knowledge about death and burial in the Middle Ages. Sermons could be said in a number of different languages, depending on the make-up of the mourners. If the

deceased was a national figure, such as a king, the sermon could also be said in a number of different places. This is presumed to have been done to form a “collective grief.” The sermon did not have to be said at the time of burial but could be said at a different time and place. This type of sermon is known as the memorial sermon (Daniell 1997: 50).

While the outline for the funeral service was fairly standard, it was possible for individual touches to be included. Sermons could be tailored to the desire of the deceased or of the deceased’s family. In the will, the deceased could arrange his own funeral. The will could detail the number and kind of mourners, bells, candles, and Masses that the deceased wished to have (Daniell 1997: 51).

It was traditional that the wealthier the deceased, the more ostentatious was the funeral. This could, however, be altered so that a wealthy person could have a very Spartan funeral, which was especially popular in the early part of the fifteenth century (Daniell 1997: 51). The modest funeral, though, was a rarity and the funeral was most often as lavish as the person could afford (Daniell 1997: 52).

Daniell argues that some of the most important elements of a medieval funeral were the number of mourners, the sights and sounds of lights and bells, and the generosity of the deceased (1997: 52). The deceased could arrange to include additional priests in the funeral and make charitable payments to the poor, who were then expected to go to the funeral unless they were too ill. The poor were an especially important part of the funeral, as their prayers were thought to be useful for the deceased because of their low status in life. Torches were placed around the hearse and were carried in the procession to the church. It was often the poor who carried the torches, in exchange for a sum of money (Daniell 1997: 52).

The role of bells in the funeral was two-fold. First, the tolling of the bells was to tell people that a death had occurred and to pray for the soul of the deceased. The social status of the deceased was also reflected in the number of strokes of the bell. The second role of the bells was to drive off devils that might try to attack the soul of the deceased. The importance of the bells was such that sometimes the bell ringers were

paid more than the clergy who were performing the funeral service (Daniell 1997: p 52-53).

The role of plants and flowers in medieval funerary practice is ambiguous. Plants were used in funerals in the sixteenth century, either being carried by mourners or covering the coffin or even being placed on the grave. There is little evidence for the use of plants in the Middle Ages. Plant material has sometimes been found in excavated graves and there are some textual references, though they tend to be of a rather exceptional nature (Daniell 1997: p 53-54).

Christian cemeteries and burial practices

Cemeteries are one of the few places where one will come into direct contact with people from the medieval period. They are also an important source for artifacts. But cemeteries contain more than just bodies and artifacts – they contain information about the society of the people who were buried there (Halsall 1997: 1).

In burial archaeology it is important to remember that burial practices are not static and they change over time, often frequently. According to Halsall, “[i]t is easy to overestimate the conservatism of burial customs (1997: 1).” Christian burial practices can seem to be consistent and unchanging when one looks at the placement of the body and the grave goods, or lack thereof, in the grave. But this is only one aspect of death and burial. The burial rites can change over time as can the covering of the grave (Halsall 1997: p 1-2).

What can a burial tell us? The first thing that can be looked at is the grave itself. Social status or gender might be reflected in the type of grave used. The shape or depth of the grave may help tell us who was buried there. The shape could also reflect other aspects of society, such as a house or a storage pit (Parker Pearson 2000: 5).

The orientation of the grave and of its occupant or occupants may have societal significance. Orientation of graves is often important in a religious context,

particularly for those in which death is a major ritual. Muslims are buried with the body facing Mecca and the Qibla. Christian burials are orientated east-west, with the head to the west and the face to the east and the rising sun. The reason for Christians to be buried with the head to the west is contested. Parker Pearson says that this orientation is such that the dead may arise on the Day of Judgement to face God in the east (2000: 6). Other sources claim that the dead face east because the Cross of Calvary faced west or because the west is the region of darkness and the east is the region of light. Still more reasons have been put forth but there is no one definitive answer (Daniell 1997: 148).

The body could be arranged in a number of positions: prone on its back, lying on one side, lying face down, sitting up, or standing. The legs may be flexed or bent. As well, the differences in the position of the legs and arms can indicate that presence of different groups within a single cemetery (Parker Pearson 2000: 6). In a standard medieval Christian burial, the body is prone on its back with its head facing above or off to one side. The legs are normally flexed. The arms can be placed with the hands over the pelvis, arms crossed on the chest, or arms by the sides of the body (Daniell 1997: 118).

Grave goods are an important feature in understanding the society in which the deceased lived. The items included in graves may have been owned by the deceased or may have been left by the living. The grave goods could be tokens of the grief of the mourners or could be present to serve the dead in the afterlife (Parker Pearson 2000: 7). It is difficult to know if the grave goods were meant to be used by the dead or were left by the living for a specific purpose.

In Christian burials, grave goods are supposed to be absent. Being buried with money was considered a great sin. Daniell suggests that this aversion to the placing of coins in Christian graves may be a reaction against pagan practice (1997: 150). Broken objects, a common feature in Roman, Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Viking graves, to name a few, are absent in most medieval Christian graves. However, despite this prohibition against them, grave goods can sometimes be found in Christian graves and

it was most often the ecclesiastical hierarchy who were buried with elaborate grave goods (Daniell 1997: p 152-153).

Clerics were often buried with a chalice and paten, being at the lowest level of the hierarchy. Bishops and archbishops, being at the highest level of the hierarchy, were buried in their full ceremonial robes. Even pilgrims were buried with grave goods. They were often buried dressed in the costume of a pilgrim, complete with boots. It was common for royalty to be buried in their regalia, as they were thought to rule by divine right (Daniell 1997: 153).

The concept of the church hierarchy and secular rulers being buried with grave goods is seen as a problem since the general rule was that Christians were not to be buried with any goods. Saint Cuthbert was buried with grave goods in the seventh century, which indicates that this tradition was already in practice in the early Middle Ages. There is no reason given for Cuthbert being buried in this manner, except for a mention of his shoes, which were worn so that he would be ready to face Christ (Daniell 1997: 153).

Footwear seems to be an important item for the dead to wear. Daniell gives several examples of the dead being buried with footwear (1997: p 153-154). The reasons for wearing footwear all seem to be different but in all cases the footwear is seen as a significant aspect of burial (Daniell 1997: 153).

Bishops were said to have been buried in their robes so that they would be ready to meet Christ, the same reasoning behind Cuthbert's footwear. In the *Life of St Anselm*, it is related that, in a vision, a monk saw a bishop dressed in full pontifical robes (Eadmer 1962: 155). After Anselm's death, he was seen dressed in his pontifical vestments (Eadmer 1962: 162). Daniell asserts that these bishops were wearing their vestments "to show they were in Heaven (1997: 154)."

Visions of bishops and archbishops in Purgatory present a problem for the previous interpretation for their burial in vestments. Bishops in Purgatory are described as holding a cross or wearing a mitre rather than in full robes (Daniell 1997: p 154-155).

If bishops and archbishops were to be buried in vestments so that they could meet Christ, why are they not seen in vestments in Purgatory? One explanation could be the shift from a focus on the Day of Judgement to a focus on Purgatory.

It was believed that on the Day of Judgement all Christians would rise up to go before Christ to be judged (Ariès 1981: p 97-98). This may be one reason why the Christian dead were buried with their feet to the east and why the Christian hierarchy were buried with grave goods. As well, it was common belief that only those whose bodies were undisturbed would arise (Ariès 1981: 31).

The move to the belief in Purgatory meant that the corporeal body was not as important and that it was the health of the soul which was more important. The growth of the belief in Purgatory rose at the same time that intercessions for the dead and penitentials are seen to increase in medieval literature (Ariès 1981: p 153-154). Purgatory was seen as a place of waiting which replaced the earlier idea of death as a time of rest and sleep in preparation for the Day of Judgement (Ariès 1981: 107). Since the destiny of the soul was decided in Purgatory, the body of the deceased no longer had to be whole to face judgement at the end of time. Hence, the need for grave goods or vestments decreased.

Daniell refers to the “geography of burial” when discussing the medieval burial (1997: 87). In the medieval period, there were two considerations when it came to burial: which church and where in the holy ground. These were the two basic considerations, with other considerations coming into play such as the wishes of the deceased and social expectations, to name but two. Generally, people in the Middle Ages were buried in their parish cemetery or church but within this space there were still many choices to be made concerning the actual gravesite. The wealthier members of society had more options than those below them in the social strata, mainly because the church had more interest in people of higher status. This was because it was the wealthier people who brought money and prestige to the church (Daniell 1997: 87).

The problems of where to be buried are highlighted by two events: the Norman Conquest and the Crusades (Daniell 1997: p 87-88). When the Normans conquered England in 1066, the nobility were given more options for where to be buried. As many of the nobility were from originally from Normandy, they could choose to be buried either in England or in France, or, in some cases, in both places (Daniell 1997: 87).

Gilbert de Clare, the fifth Earl of Hereford, died in Brittany in 1230 and, following his wishes, his body was taken from Brittany to Tewkesbury Abbey for burial. The last male de Mandeville died in 1189 and wished to be buried at Walden in England but his family chose to bury him at the abbey of Mortemar in Normandy (Daniell 1997: 87). The Crusades resulted in decisions having to be made about burial and transporting a body over a long distance. Some Crusaders were buried where they died while others had their bodies carried back to their homelands. If a body was returned to the homeland, it was possible to bring back part of the body, such as the bones and heart (Daniell 1997: 88; Brown 1981: 229, 231).

In fact, the practice of transporting the body from the place of death to the place of burial was quite common in northern Europe during the medieval period. This practice is called the “division of the corpse (Brown 1981: 226; Park 1995: 111).” The first trace of this practice comes from 877, when Charles the Bald died after he crossed the Alps. He was eviscerated and his body was preserved with wine and spices so that it could be transported to Saint-Denis, where he wished to be buried. His body, however, never made it to Saint-Denis because, by the time his party reached Nantua, near Bourg-en-Bresse, the body was in such a decomposed state that it needed to be interred. It was only later that the emperor’s bones were recovered and taken to Saint-Denis for reburial (Brown 1981: 226).

This practice continued in the centuries that followed, although the procedure for dividing the body became more elaborate than that practiced on Charles the Bald. The first mention of a body being dismembered, rather than just eviscerated, was in 992, when Bishop Gerdag of Hildesheim died on the road following a pilgrimage to

Rome. The bishop's body was dismembered and the pieces were placed in two containers that were taken to Germany for burial (Brown 1981: 226).

The final stage of development for this practice came in the twelfth century. In this case, Count Ekkebert of Puntten and some of his men were killed in Milan. Monks hid the bodies and then separated the bones from the flesh and returned the said bones to the count's homeland. The flesh was buried at the monastery in Milan (Brown 1981: 227).

This practice of disembowelling the body and then boiling the dismembered parts of the body to separate the bones from the flesh was used from the twelfth century into modern times, though it was condemned in 1299 by Pope Boniface VIII in his bull *Detestande feritatis* (Brown 1981: 221, 267). In addition to being used in Europe, especially in northern Europe, it was also used during the Crusades in the Latin East to facilitate the transport of remains back to Europe.

One of the first mentions of this practice being used in the Latin East comes in 1190, following the death of Frederick Barbarossa. Frederick died in Cilicia while crossing a river. His flesh was buried in Antioch, while his bones were transported to Tyre (Brown 1981: 227; Mitchell 2004: 141). It should be noted that, prior to the separation of the bones from the flesh, the Germans did attempt to preserve Barbarossa's body in vinegar, a preservation technique that did not work in this case (Mitchell 2004: 141).

Frederick Barbarossa was not the only Crusading noble whose body was transported for burial. Baldwin I of Jerusalem (d. 1118) and William, earl of Arundel (d. 1221) both had their bodies preserved in order to be buried elsewhere (Mitchell 2004: 141-142). In the case of Baldwin, following his death in Egypt, he was disembowelled and the remainder of his body was preserved in salt, balsam, and spices. This preservation was not very successful, as his body was said to reek horribly by the time the body arrived in Jerusalem. There is no information about how William of Arundel's body was preserved for the journey back to England from the Latin East (Mitchell 2004: 24).

It was important to have authorisation to bury the body before the burial place could be decided. The right to bury people was a serious matter and authorisation was either established through tradition or was granted. In the Middle Ages, conflict arose between parish churches and outlying chapels over the right to bury people. The main reason for this conflict was that burial was a profitable business and the parish church did not wish to lose any of its profits from burial (Daniell 1997: 88).

While burial was profitable, it was also easier for people to be buried at a chapel than to travel the long distance to the parish church. In some cases the journey to the parish church was dangerous and for others it meant an economic loss, especially in the case of sailors, merchants, or tradespeople (Daniell 1997: p 88-89). The burial might have been profitable for the parish church, but it was an inconvenience for the parishioners.

Once a site had been granted the right to bury people, the cemetery had to be consecrated. Daniell describes the process as it was recorded in the early sixteenth century (1997: 89). One cross was stationed at each corner of the cemetery with another placed in the middle of the cemetery. Three candles were lit before each of the crosses. Holy water would be sprinkled on each cross by the bishop, who would then cense it. Once this was done, the candles would be placed on top of the crosses by the bishop, who would stand on a ladder to accomplish this (Daniell 1997: 89).

Parishioners were not the only ones who could be buried in the parish church. The right of burial could be extended to sailors, travellers, and strangers, as well. Many churches in the ports of England and along the coast were given the right to bury sailors who died on their ships or who were drowned (Daniell 1997: 90).

Disputes over burials were common in medieval England. Disagreements could take place over preferential treatment in where people were buried. There could even be disputes over the body of a deceased person, particularly if the deceased was especially holy. Disputes could also take place if a new religious group, such as monks or friars, arrived in an area. A monastery could compete with a parish church

for burials (Daniell 1997: p 90-91). At the same time, monasteries could also compete with new orders of canons or friars who claimed the right of burial. Daniell claims that “monasteries saw themselves as the natural choice for important burials and were affronted when people chose to be buried elsewhere” (1997: 92).

To avoid these types of disputes, agreements were often made by the local religious establishments. Often the agreement was made to ensure that no income was lost by the parish church. Hospitals might be limited as to the type of person they might bury or they might not be able to ring their bells, so as not to attract parishioners from the local churches. To ensure that parish churches did not lose money to hospitals for burial of their parishioners, the hospital might make a payment to the parish church of the deceased (Daniell 1997: 91).

Burial did not necessarily mean that one’s earthly journey had been completed. As Daniell states, “[o]nce buried, there was no guarantee the body would remain in the same church or churchyard for ever (1997: 93).” Saints and those of political importance were especially likely to have their bodies reburied at another site. Bodies had been disinterred in England for centuries. For instance, the remains of Saint Cuthbert were taken from Lindisfarne, around the north of England, and finally laid to rest in Durham (Daniell 1997: p 93-94).

Saints were not the only ones to be reburied; it happened to nobility and those of lower classes, too. The reburial of nobility was often done for reasons of prestige or politics. Those of lower classes could be reburied if their grave was thought to be inappropriate, especially if they led a very spiritual life. Reburials could also occur for more practical reasons, such as the defilement of a cemetery or a dispute over the consecration of the cemetery (Daniell 1997: 94).

The church in the Middle Ages was seen as a centre for holiness and the holiness of the church and churchyard spread out in concentric circles. The holiest area of the church was the high altar, which was at the east end of the church. The holiness of the church decreased as one moved west from the high altar and was at its lowest in

the churchyard. The boundary of the cemetery enclosed the holy areas (Daniell 1997: 95).

While the churchyard was the least holy area, even the cemetery could be divided into more and less desirable areas for burial. The south side of the cemetery seems to have been a more desirable place for burial than the north side. As well, the area close to the cross in the churchyard was one of the holiest places to be buried in the cemetery. It should be noted that most of this information comes from textual sources and the analysis of prayer requests does not wholly back up these claims (Daniell 1997: p 99-100).

While holiness was important when choosing a burial site, so was the proximity to one's loved ones. Wives most often requested to be buried near their husbands and husbands near their wives and for both husbands and wives to be buried near their children. It was less common for adults to request burial near their parents and still less to be buried near a sibling (Daniell 1997: p 101-102). One could also request to be buried near the tomb of a saint or near a saint's relics (Hadley 2001: 31-32).

The edge of the cemetery marked the bounds between the Christian world and the non-Christian world in terms of burial. In the Middle Ages, there were a number of people who were not allowed to be buried within the cemetery. Non-Christians or pagans were the most obvious group of people to be denied burial within the cemetery. Heretics and the excommunicated were also denied burial within the cemetery. Throughout the Middle Ages, the list of those denied a Christian burial varied but they included women who died in childbirth, thieves who were killed while in the process of stealing or did not make 'satisfaction', lechers, the 'cursed', those who died suddenly, those who drowned, or accidentally killed themselves (Daniell 1997: p 103-104). Those who died in tournaments or duels and those who committed suicide were also to be excluded from the cemetery, although this was not always the case (Daniell 1997: p 104-105).

The issue of unbaptised and still-born infants is a difficult one when it comes to analysing burial patterns. The number of child burials found in English sites is

reasonably low, without taking into account the burial of unbaptised and still-born infants. Saying this, there have been examples of women buried with the foetus still in the womb, or with the infant lying on top of the woman (Daniell 1997: 125-126).

The evidence from medieval English burials seems to point to unbaptised infants being buried in a special section of the cemetery, or being excluded from the cemetery completely. At Hereford, for example, the Catholic cemetery was enclosed in order to stop the illegal burial of unbaptised infants, which suggests this practice was quite prevalent. It also indicates that unbaptised infants were not, under most circumstances, afforded a 'normal' burial (Daniell 1997: 127).

In some cases, a special zone of the cemetery was set aside for the burial of infants, including those who were not baptised. At other sites, this zone did not exist. Archaeologists seem to take both the presence and the absence of special burial zones for infants as a sign that unbaptised children were not afforded 'normal' burials (Daniell 1997: 127-128). It is possible that different cemeteries had different customs when it came to the burial of unbaptised children, meaning that in some cemeteries you will find a special burial zone for the children, while in others you will not. However, this complicates matters when looking for a pattern of burial for unbaptised children.

An important question for an archaeologist is, is there anything else a cemetery could have been used for? A cemetery was not only for burying people and these other activities could leave traces in the archaeological record. This is why it is important to consider what else could have taken place in a cemetery when discussing archaeological evidence.

The cemetery could act as a place of refuge, just as a church could. The cemetery was an enclosure which extended the holiness of the church from its interior to its exterior. During a time of war, the church was considered a safe place and William of Malmesbury, in his chronicle, scorned men who violated the sacred space of the churchyard (1847: 492). The cemetery could also be used as a place of storage during times of peace (Daniell 1997: 109).

The cemetery also had its secular uses. It is argued by Daniell that these secular uses can be traced back to the Anglo-Saxon period (1997: 109). Statutes and decrees are the main source of information for the secular use of cemeteries. Frequently, statutes were issued which said that “cemeteries should have defined boundaries (Daniell 1997: 110).” This boundary could be anything from a ditch or fosse to a wall or hedge. As well, the cemetery was not to be used to pasture animals as they trampled on dead bodies and had a tendency to dig up the deceased (Daniell 1997: p 110-111).

The use of the cemetery as a pasture is one example of the area’s economic uses. Trees that grew in the churchyard, which included the cemetery, could be sold, either legally or illegally. A licence was needed for parishioners to cut down trees to repair the nave or for clergy to repair the chancel (Daniell 1997: p 111-112).

Buildings other than churches and chapels are not often associated with cemeteries but officials did allow them to be built within cemetery boundaries during times of war. Immediately after the time of war, the buildings were supposed to be taken down. In addition, any structure built during a time of peace was to be immediately dismantled. In the time of war, the builder was required to obtain a licence from the rector, allowing the construction to be closely watched and curtailed if necessary. (Daniell 1997: 112).

The cemetery land could also be gradually encroached upon by the buildings of the laity. Castles are known to have been built partially on cemetery land, as was noted by William of Malmesbury in reference to Bishop Roger of Salisbury (1847: 498). As well, the laity could close off small portions of the cemetery land with the walls of their houses, perhaps making the encroachment seem less noticeable. In 1390, Exeter Cathedral made the act of encroaching on cemetery land an act punishable by excommunication (Daniell 1997: 113).

The holding of markets was another secular activity that took place in cemeteries. Church statutes condemned markets and trading in both the church and the cemetery. This seems to be a common problem as there are numerous references to bishops

trying to stop markets and trading from being held on church property (Daniell 1997: 113).

Reverence for the dead is given as one reason for the condemnation of games or any other form of entertainment in the cemetery. In the twelfth century, the Statutes of London II forbid games, plays, the singing of songs, wrestling, ring-dancing and any other wanton behaviour. As with markets and trading, the statutes against entertainment in the cemetery are wide ranging over both space and time, indicating that the church considered this to be a serious problem (Daniell 1997: p 113-114).

Funerary Practices in Medieval Western Europe – the Continental Experience

Continental Europe has been left behind in the discussion on death and burial in the medieval period. While three relatively recent studies have been published on death and burial in medieval England, Binski is the only author to consider any Continental material (1996; Daniell 1997; Halsall 1997). There is no recent study which looks at purely death and burial on the Continent in the mediaeval period.

The largest amount of data on medieval burials comes from France, though Italy and Spain have also made their contributions. The only problem with the Continental evidence, as with most of the British data, is that most of it dates to the period immediately before the eleventh century or to the period following the thirteenth century, thus bypassing the period of the Crusades.

First, we turn to the burial practices in medieval Castile and Leon, in what is today Spain. Sabater records three different types of burials found in medieval cemeteries in Castile and Leon: pit graves, graves with a more or less oblong shape and covered by flagstones, and brick graves (1992: 195). These graves are usually found in a cemetery which is associated with a church or hermitage. As well, the burials are normally on the west, south, or east sides of the associated building (Sabater 1992: 195).

The pit graves have an anthropomorphic shape and different patterns developed from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. The head of the grave can be either straight or rounded (Sabater 1992: 195).

The graves that are more or less oblong in shape and have a covering of flagstones need no further description. They date from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries and can also be found with sarcophagi (Sabater 1992: 195).

The brick graves have an anthropomorphic shape and a square head but lack the covering of flagstones. They seem to have been elaborate structures of a better quality than the other grave types. Based on this, Sabater believes that they may have been a family vault (1992: 195). Brick graves are usually associated with *mudejar*, or Moorish influenced, churches, which are made of brick (Sabater 1992: 195).

Different types of graves can be found within one cemetery. At the site of Ucero, in central Spain, pit graves, flagstone graves, piling up graves, and wooden boxes were all found within the same cemetery. Burials have also been found within churches (Sabater 1992: 195).

In some of the graves in Castile and Leon, coins were found in the mouths of the deceased. This custom was performed because it was believed that the dead would have to pay for the boat of Caronte in the trip to Paradise (Sabater 1992: 194). Coins were also found in the hands of the deceased (Sabater 1992: 195-196). Some coins had been perforated, which may indicate that they were worn around the neck as amulets. The coins that were found were normally of the smallest denomination in circulation at the time of burial (Sabater 1992: 196).

Christopher Gerrard has published a book on the monastery of Ambel, in Spain, which was held both by the Order of the Temple and by that of the Hospital. A number of burials were found (Gerrard 2003: 123-125). This is an interesting site because both Christians and Muslims occupied it. The Christians and Muslims had separate areas within the settlement, both in terms of where they lived and where they were buried (Gerrard 2003: 122). Within the Christian burials, there was also

segregation based on social status (Gerard 2003: 123). Unfortunately, Gerrard does not give more details on the burials, leaving the reader with only tantalizing clues as to the burial practices of Ambel.

France is the last area of Continental Europe that will be discussed in this section. As stated earlier, the largest amount of information of medieval death and burial comes from France. In many ways, the rituals of death and burial in medieval France were almost identical with those of medieval England. Considering the traditional link between the two areas, this is not surprising. There are, however, a few important differences.

The first important difference between the rituals of death and burial in medieval France and in medieval England is the use of pottery in burials, particularly during the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. In medieval France, the use of pierced *flammulé* pots¹ has been noted in a number of sites and seems to have been a common occurrence in medieval French burials.

The *flammulé* pot or vessel is a distinctive type of pottery. This is a piece of pottery, usually either a vase or a pitcher, with perforated sides. The holes are found in a circle around the body of the vessel and are believed to have allowed incense smoke to be released, in much the same way that a modern censer is used to release incense smoke (Young 1978: 328; Durand 1988: 181-182).

Ceramics are a fairly common occurrence in French burials of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries, whether the pottery is pierced or not. This is in stark contrast to the situation in medieval England during the same time period. In England, grave goods are rarely found in graves of that period. In fact, in Daniell's work on death and burial in medieval England, he does not include pottery in his long list of grave goods that have been found in burials of the medieval period (1997: 145-174).

¹ It should be noted that the term 'pot' is being used as a general description for the *flammulé* vessels. In some cases, the vessel takes the form of a vase, and in some cases it appears to be a pitcher. The different authors also use different terms. Cochet, for example, found vases of the *flammulé* type, and does not use the term 'pot' (1970: 319-320). Durand, on the other hand, almost exclusively uses the term 'pot' when referring to *flammulé* vessels (1988: 181-182).

In an abandoned cemetery of the old church at Bouteilles, near Dieppe, a number of Anglo-Norman tombs were found in the middle of the nineteenth century. Among these tombs were a large number of fragments of vases, as well as two complete vases. The two complete vases were pierced in four places along the body of the vessel, in a manner that would not have been conducive to their use as cooking vessels. Cochet surmises that the holes were likely to allow for the filtering of smoke (1970: 319). This assumption is backed up by the presence of remains of charcoal at the bottom of the jars (Cochet 1970: 319-320).

The tombs themselves were cut out of the soil, with the walls lined with stone and with stone covers. There were traces of mortar between the stones on two or three of the tombs. The sides of the tombs were curved while the head of the tomb was composed of one to three pieces of stone. The head was constructed in such a way that an enclosure was formed for the head of the deceased, either circular or squared in form. There were no indications that wooden coffins were used in these burials. The orientation of the burials was, unsurprisingly, east-west, as was customary for Christian burials of the medieval period. Most of the skeletons were found with their arms crossed over the chest, while two or three were found lying on their right sides, again with the arms crossed over their chests (Cochet 1970: 321-323).

Interestingly, there were two metal crosses found during the excavations. The first of these was a Maltese cross cut out of lead. It contained an inscription in Latin, which was a prayer of absolution for the deceased. The second cross also contained a prayer of absolution and was apparently made for a woman. These crosses, along with all of the other elements of the burials, led Cochet to date the cemetery to the 11th and 12th centuries (Cochet 1970: 325-327, 330).

Excavations at the church of Saint-Pierre-de-Montmartre in Paris have uncovered a number of medieval graves. The area was used as a religious site from the Roman period onwards, with a number of Merovingian tombs having been found. In some of the medieval graves, *flammulé* pots were found, all pierced and with the characteristic red stripes (Young 1978: 320-322). The medieval tombs were classified as “funeral cavern” types and were constructed partly of moulded plaster. The inside of the grave

was smooth but the actual sides were constructed of a rubble mixture, sometimes with bones from earlier burials present. The tombs were rectangular in shape, some with a head-shaped feature at the west end. All of the tombs were aligned east-west and they appear to have been reused, as no covers were found and there was evidence of both primary and secondary burials. The medieval tombs were dated to the 13th and 14th centuries (Young 1978: 326-327).

Not all of the medieval burials were found in these “funeral cavern” tombs. One tomb was found which was a sarcophagus composed of stone slabs. Other burials have been found without a sarcophagus but with evidence of wooden coffins. The bodies were all positioned in the same manner: the arms were folded on the chest and the legs were together (Young 1978: 327).

Death in the Byzantine Empire

The tradition of death and burial in the Byzantine Empire prior to the Crusades is best seen through the liturgy of the Greek Orthodox church. Liturgy was the law of public worship, and, in the Byzantine church, it was in the vernacular, which allowed its influence to spread throughout the people who heard it. Unlike in the Western church, in the Eastern church the liturgy often had more influence on the Christian faith than did the writings of the Church fathers, such as St Augustine of Hippo, the late fourth and early fifth century C.E. bishop of Hippo (Fedwick 1976: 152).

In the Orthodox church, the liturgy for the dying was separate from the sacrament of the Holy Unction, which was for the sick rather than the dying. The office for the dying was known by many names, such as the ‘Order for letting the soul break loose’ and the ‘Office of the soul standing trial’. The name of the office emphasises the agony of the soul at death, relating to the temporal event of the soul leaving the body and not to the judgement of the soul. In order to be born again by the grace of the final resurrection, man has to die and the soul must leave the material body behind (Fedwick 1976: 153).

Prayers for the dying were said in the first person singular, rather than in the third person singular. This was because the prayers were being said “on behalf of a person whose soul is departing, and who cannot speak” (Fedwick 1976: 153). The prayers for the dead were both a penitential service and a celebration. The living priest spoke for the dying, stressing both the joy and victory of death but also the impotence of a mortal to reach everlasting life without the help and grace of God (Fedwick 1976: 154).

There were five classes of liturgy for the dead: the order for the burial of lay (adult) people; the order for the burial of monks; the order for the burial of priests; the order for the burial of children; and the requiem office for the dead in general. In the funeral service, death was seen as a departure and a separation. Death was the departure of the soul from the body, from the world, from relatives, and from habits of conduct. Death was seen as simply a part of the journey towards a new life rather than the end of life. It was looked on as the great leveller of all people, erasing the differences of rank and status in society. Death should both be mourned and celebrated because it was considered a victory over a life, which is brief and in itself futile (Fedwick 1976: 154-155).

Orthodox liturgy is unclear as to whether the deceased immediately enter Heaven or whether they remain in another place for a certain amount of time, as is the case with the Western belief in Purgatory. There is a belief that death does not seal the fate of a sinner but that prayers can be offered for the soul of the deceased. Thus, the departed cannot reach salvation alone, but the prayers of the living are required to help the deceased on his or her way. According to Fedwick, “death is characterized, on the one hand, by a sense of complete helplessness, and, on the other hand, of absolute reliance on others” (1976: 156).

To help the soul in the afterlife, the Orthodox offered special services of requiem for the deceased on the third, ninth, and fortieth days following death. Following death, the soul was supposed to have felt a deep sorrow and loneliness, brought on by leaving the physical world and the body, but the prayers on the third day were supposed to assuage these feelings (Fedwick 1976: 156). In the Orthodox view, the

states of sin and of death were both characterized by a separation from God, from the world, from other people, and by the inability to help oneself. For the sinner, the state of sin could be overcome by his or her actions while on earth. For the deceased, only the prayers of the Church could bring relief to the soul (Fedwick 1976: 157).

For an Eastern Christian, the reason for dying was to be reborn. Life and death were both seen as temporary states, and the cemetery as simply a place for the body to rest while awaiting the Resurrection. The body had to decompose in order for the Resurrection to take place (Fedwick 1976: 159). Death was only the beginning of the journey to the Resurrection, rather than the end of life.

But where were the dead buried? And was this similar to what occurred in the Western world during the same period? The answer to the second question is yes. In many ways, the burial patterns were and their development in the medieval period were parallel in Western Europe and the Byzantine world.

As to where the dead were buried, both Western Europe and Byzantium inherited their traditions of burial grounds from the ancient world, specifically the Romans. This did vary, depending on the amount of assimilation into Roman customs that occurred in the different areas. In general, most of the areas discussed here followed the ancient Roman custom of burying the dead *extra-muros*, or outside the walls of settlements.

According to Dagron, the Roman prohibition on burial within a settlement's limits remained in effect for quite some time following the advent of Christianity. Different sites in Byzantium incorporated burials *intra-muros*, within the walls, at different times. In many cases, the incorporation of burial sites within a settlement was connected with the growth of a settlement or with the abandonment and reuse of a site (1977: p 14-19). In the pre-Justinian period, in places like Antioch and Tyre, the ancient cemeteries located *extra-muros* were reused by Christians (Dagron 1977: 15).

In the following sections, burials from the Crusader area, found in the different regions of Byzantium, will be discussed in more detail. Of all of the sites discussed,

the most detail will be given for the burials in medieval Corinth. This area has been extensively excavated over the last number of decades and there is a great deal of material on the burials of Frankish Corinth.

Burials in Constantinople

Burials in Constantinople are a more complicated matter than in most parts of the Byzantine Empire. Here, burial grounds became part of the city because of rapid population growth and the resulting urban sprawl. While at one time the ancient burial sites were located outside of the city, with the population growth of the fourth and fifth centuries, the ancient cemeteries were now within the settlement (Dagron 1977: 15).

Constantine, for example, ordered the ancient tombs that covered the slopes of the hills near the Thracian gate and were located along the Via Egnatia, also known as Via Thracia, to be filled in. This work was done to create the *Forum Constantini* and the *Forum Tauri*. Theodosius I allowed the transfer of all tombs that were above the ground to be relocated *extra urbem*, while the tombs that were in the ground were to be left where they were (Dagron 1977: 15). From these examples it can be seen that, in Constantinople, bringing the dead inside the city was done as an expedient of the growth of the city.

While the old burial grounds were being built over, new ones were created. Between 330 and 412, new cemeteries were installed near the gates of the city. These new cemeteries were located in a new area that was enclosed by the ancient walls and the new Theodosian walls. Therefore, the cemeteries were actually located between two sets of walls, bringing them into the realm of the living, but not too close into the city (Dagron 1977: 16).

There is little evidence of these cemeteries, and Dagron does not give a detailed discussion of the excavation of these sites. Therefore, little more can be said about the medieval cemeteries in Constantinople proper. Outside Constantinople, however, there is a Latin cemetery at Galata, which was a colony of Genoa, which will be discussed in the next section.

Latin Burials in the Byzantine Empire before 1204

According to Ivison, prior to the Fourth Crusade of 1204, the Latin population of Constantinople had its own burial grounds and burial churches, which were separate from those of the Orthodox population (1996: 91). In spite of this, little is actually known about burials in the Latin cemeteries, either before or after 1204. The only evidence for Latin burials in Constantinople comes from the Genoese colony at Galata, and dates after 1261 (Ivison 1996: 91).

Galata was located just to the north of Constantinople. Evidence for burials comes from the monastery of Sts Paul and Dominic, which was founded in 1228. The monastery church became the most important Latin church in Galata in the fourteenth century. The church was built on a basilican plan and had two burial chapels on either side of the sanctuary. This was done according to Genoese custom and the two chapels were used for the burial of members of the nobility (Ivison 1996: 91).

The burial remains found in the funeral chapels were in the form of funerary monuments, rather than the interments themselves. The church was converted to a mosque at some point in its history and a number of the monuments were found under the floor of the mosque between 1913 and 1919. Ivison concludes that they are Genoese based on their design, which is characterised by armorial bearings and Latin inscriptions, though medieval French is also used (1996: 91).

Three motifs are common at the Galata. These are arms borne upon a shield with an inscription above or below it, the Angel of God accompanied by coats of arms on either side, and figural representations of the deceased. According to the inscriptions, most of the tombs belonged to family groups. As well, most of the funerary monuments were floor slabs, while a few were pseudo-sarcophagi (Ivison 1996: 91-92).

The tombs from Galata also showed Byzantine influences. A number of Byzantine crosses were found on the floor slabs. These crosses included a foliate cross, a tanged

cross, a cross that stands on three steps, and a Greek cross set within a medallion. Another Byzantine influence is the use of arcosolia, or tomb niches, in the Byzantine style in the building of the church. These influences lead Ivison to conclude that Byzantine masons were probably used for at least some, if not all, of the work on the funerary monuments in the church (1996: 92).

Death and Burial in the Latin East

Latin Burials on Mainland Greece

There are a number of sites with Latin cemeteries on mainland Greece. The main site, Corinth, will be discussed separately, as there is a great deal of material from the Frankish cemeteries there. In this section, evidence for Latin burials from other mainland Greek sites will be discussed.

The main evidence for Latin burials on mainland Greece comes from the former Frankish Duchy of Athens and Thebes. The duchy was founded in 1205 and was ruled by the de la Roche family until 1311. The duchy then passed into Catalan hands and then onto the Florentines (Ivison 1996: 92). It is the de la Roche period that will be discussed here.

The Byzantine monastery of Daphni was given to the Cistercian Order by Guy de la Roche and was subsequently used as the burial place of his family. A number of sarcophagi have been found in the floor of the narthex and in the crypt, which is located below the narthex. Most of these are undecorated but one appears to have belonged to Guy II, the last de la Roche duke (Ivison 1996: 92-93).

As with the burials at Galata, the sarcophagus of Guy II shows both Frankish and Byzantine influences in its decoration. The sarcophagus has a carved relief panel on one side, which is decorated with fleurs-de-lys, a Latin cross upon a stepped pedestal, and two confronted serpents. The serpents have been interpreted as the arms of Guy II and are known from other Frankish sculpture in Greece. The fleurs-de-lys are French but the cross is common of Byzantine sculpture. Ivison believes that the

serpents were substituted for foliage that would normally have been found at the foot of the cross (1996: 93).

Athens, as the capital of the duchy, contained both the residence of the dukes and the Latin cathedral. The latter was dedicated to Our Lady and was formerly the Byzantine metropolitan church and the Parthenon. The church was used for centuries by the Byzantines as a burial place and the Franks continued that tradition. From the epitaphs engraved on the columns of the church, it appears that the Orthodox archbishops and clergy were the only people to be buried within the church, and the Latin clergy continued to engrave their epitaphs in the church (Iverson 1996: 93).

Some small fragments of sculpture from the Acropolis show more evidence of the mixing of Frankish and Byzantine elements. Among the fragments were four pieces of a Gothic pointed-arch tomb niche, under which there would have been a sarcophagus. The figure of a man, probably the deceased, is depicted on the left hand side of the arch. On another fragment, a young woman is shown. Iverson says that “[t]hese and other fragments... show the influence of the Gothic style of France and Cyprus” (1996: 93).

In addition to the depiction of the deceased, a partial inscription was also found in the niche. It read:

HIC IACE[NT]...
...S EI Q(UI;) OP(US) F[ECIT...]
...NO(STR)I D(OMI)NI HUE[GUES?] (Iverson 1996: 93).

According to Iverson, the letters were carved in Gothic Latin characters. What is especially interesting, is a latter part of the inscription that includes Greek characters. This is not the only inscription that combines Latin and Greek, with other fragments naming Byzantine saints (Iverson 1996: 93). Iverson records that the tombs and inscriptions “bear... witness to the artistic fusion taking place in Frankish Athens during the thirteenth century” (1996: 93).

The 13th century church of Agia Paraskevi, in Chalkis, located north-east of Athens, is one of the few sites where Frankish burials are to be found in Greece outside the

duchy of Athens and Thebes. At this time, Chalkis was the Venetian Negroponte. The church was built on the basilican plan and, as with the church at Galata, the side chapels were used for the burial of members of the nobility. In this case, the north chapel was used for the burial of Pietro Lippamano, the Venetian consul of the Negroponte (Iverson 1996: 93).

The tomb of Pietro Lippamano was built in the form of a Gothic arched tomb niche with a marble wall slab. The wall slab bears Lippamano's arms, with two lion supporters, and a Gothic Latin inscription. A similar tomb is present in the south wall of the south chapel, but does not have an extant inscription. Iverson does not see any Byzantine influence in these tombs (1996: 93-94). He says that they "look exclusively westwards for their inspiration" (1996: 94).

A second example of a Latin burial in Greece outside the duchy of Athens and Thebes is the tombstone of Princess Agnes of Achaia, who died in 1286. Princess Agnes' tombstone was found at the destroyed mortuary chapel of St James in Andravida, the capital of the principality, which was located in the western part of the Peloponnese. The mortuary chapel is the place where members of the ruling family of Villehardouin were buried (Iverson 1996: 94).

The only part of Princess Agnes' tomb that survives is the upper part of the floor slab or sarcophagus lid. The slab is divided into two zones: the border and the inner panel. The border contains an epitaph written in Gothic black-lettered French. The inner panel has a carved relief cross, which is accompanied by a number of animals. The inscription is similar to western European tomb slabs and is a type that has been found elsewhere in the Principality of Achaia (Iverson 1996: 94). The inscription reads:

+ ici gist madame Agnes iadis fille
dou despot diur Mikaille et [.....]
[.....]
[.....MCCL]XXXVI as IIII iours de ianvier
(Here lies Lady Agnes, late daughter of the despot
(dim?) Michael and [... who died in AD 128]6 on 4
January)
(Iverson 1996: 94).

Again, Princess Agnes' tomb is a combination of Western and Byzantine influences. The carved relief cross is done in a twisted rope style, which is characteristic of Middle Byzantine sculpture. Of the animals found on the panel, there is a group of drinking peacocks, which Ivison believes are present because of the Byzantine tradition of using peacocks as symbols of immortality (1996: 94). There are also some strange lizards or salamanders that are not found in Byzantine art and may be a heraldic symbol of the Villehardouins. Ivison believes that this was the work of one mason, who was likely trained in both the Frankish and Byzantine styles of sculpture (1996: 94).

Burials in Medieval Corinth

In the Medieval period, Corinth was first part of the Byzantine Empire and then, in 1210, it was taken by the Franks. At this point, it became part of the Principality of Achaia, which was granted to Geoffrey I of Villehardouin following the sack of Constantinople in 1204. The Franks ruled Corinth until 1458, when it was lost to the Ottoman Turks (Ivison 1992: 117). Of the areas outside of the Latin East that were held by the Franks, Corinth is one of the best-documented sites for Crusader era burials.

Four churches and associated burials have been found from medieval Corinth. They are: the Bema Church, the Temple Hill Church, the Temenos E Church, and the church of the Monastery of St John Theologos. All four of these churches had burials associated with them, some of which formed quite extensive cemeteries around the churches. The churches date from the tenth to the fifteenth centuries, though the dating for each church varies within this range (Ivison 1992: 117-118).

The Bema Church was built on the podium of the Roman Bema and excavated in 1935 and 1936. The church, according to Ivison, dates to between the second half of the tenth century and the early fourteenth century (Ivison 1992: 117). In the burials, two coins were found: one coin came from the reign of Manuel I, 1118-1180, and the other came from the reign of Louis IX, 1214-1270 (Scranton 1957: p 71-72).

Burials and tombs were found throughout the church, with the greatest concentration found in the south aisle. Scranton believes that the concentration of burials in the south aisle may be due either to the presence of hard concrete below the floor of the rest of the church or that the south aisle may have been the burial chapel for the church (1957: 71).

The burials in the church covered a range of types. There were slab-lined and covered tombs, tombs with built walls and slab-covered, and vaulted tombs. Some of the burials in the south aisle did not have stone linings but were simple interments in the ground. Little other detail is given of the burials in the Bema Church, with the exception of one multiple burial that included a skeleton in a seated position (Scranton 1957: 72).

The Temple Hill Church has an associated cemetery and was excavated in the 1960s and 1970s. The church and cemetery are located on the north-east corner of a hill, which is the location of the Roman temple of Apollo. Two churches were built in this area, one in the 6th century and the other in the 12th century. The second church appears to have been in use until the early Frankish period in the 13th century. According to Robinson, there is no evidence of the site being used from the late 13th century until the 18th century (1976: 222-223). According to Ivison, however, the burials at this site date to the 13th and early 14th centuries (1992: 117).

The Temenos E Church and its associated burials is the site for which the most information is known. Excavations at the site began in 1990 and carried on over the next decade. The church is located in the northwest corner of a large court that was built in the Frankish period. The church is small but well built and contains a narthex. A second building, consisting of two units, abuts the west side of the narthex (Williams and Zervos 1991: 21).

The two-unit building was built during the Byzantine period, in two stages, with the north segment, Unit 2, being built last. Unit 1, which was the original south building, was built at right angles to the long axis of the church and was the first building to be built in the west corner of the court. Unit 2 occupied the space between the church

and Unit 1. The façade of Unit 2 was built so that it would not block the only entrance to the church from the court (Williams and Zervos 1991: 22).

The Frankish church measured only 8.10m in width by 10.60m long, east to west. The simple rectangular plan of the church is broken by the single, three-faceted apse which projects from the east wall. Inside, the apse is semi-circular and the sanctuary is 2m long and c.2.70m wide (Williams and Zervos 1991: 24).

The church was built sometime in the late third or early fourth quarter of the 13th century, some forty years after the beginning of the Frankish period. In spite of this late date, the church does have some parallels with those built in the Middle Byzantine period. The destruction of the original church occurred around the end of the first decade of the 14th century or slightly later, based on the coins found at the site (Williams and Zervos 1991: 37).

The church then appears to have been rebuilt later in the 14th century, since the cemetery that surrounds the church was used from the 15th to the 18th century. It appears that the rebuilt church served as a burial chapel, as a large number of burials were found in the sterile soil immediately to the south and east of the church. As well, the rest of the buildings in this area do not appear to have been rebuilt, leaving the church and the cemetery isolated in the northwest corner of the court (Williams and Zervos 1991: p 38-39).

The cemetery that surrounded the church covered over 375m². In 1989 and 1990 alone, 53 extended burials were uncovered. It is impossible to date the burials, as few grave goods were found. Even the style of burial gives little indication of the age of the deceased, as there is little variation in the burials. Some of the bodies were buried in coffins and almost all of the burials were oriented in a rough east-west orientation. The only thing that may indicate the relative age of the burials is the position of the skeletons' hands. Williams and Zervos suggest that burials with their hands at their sides date later than the other burials in the cemetery. The evidence for this conclusion is the darker red soil found in the burials with the hands at the sides, which is believed to be a sign of a later burial. As well, most of the burials of this type were

found at a distance from the church. Closer to the church, the majority of the burials were found with the hands either laid across the chest or resting on the pelvis (Williams and Zervos 1991: 39-40).

The burials that can be dated to the 13th and 14th centuries are found in association with the two-unit building found on the west side of the narthex. Specifically, the burials were all associated with Unit 2 of this building. During the Frankish period, Unit 2 was converted into a burial ground and, within approximately 60 years, more than 200 people were buried within it (Williams *et al* 1997: 9; Williams *et al* 1998: 239). Of these, 120 were found with their skeleton articulated and the rest of the burials were disarticulated, usually with the bones redeposited in the new burial (Williams *et al* 1998: 239).

Unit 2 was converted into a burial ground by the addition of a shallow fill of earth, which was deepened at some point following its conversion. This area was first used for burials in the second half of the 13th century and continued to be used until the first quarter of the 14th century. The skeletons were found closely packed together, and were always buried in a shallow shaft. One child was found to have been buried in a wooden coffin (Williams *et al* 1997: 21). In some cases, the shaft might have a rough stone lining and roof tiles were often used to cover the head and upper body of the deceased. It was more common for the roof tiles to be used as pillows under the head of the deceased or to line the grave shaft (Williams *et al* 1998: 240).

The majority of the burials were articulated, but the rest were found to have been disturbed. As was common in the medieval period, once the burial plot became full, the gravediggers would dig through the older burials in order to create new graves. In Unit 2, the parts of the earlier burials that were dug up were reinterred with the new burial. In some cases, adult skeletons were found buried with an extraneous skull placed beneath the head of the new burial, in order to prop up the head (Williams *et al* 1997: 22). This propping up of the head was a common practice, though it was normally a stone that was placed beneath the head, and not another skull.

A second phase of burials was found dug into the level of the plaster floor. These burials were ordered and were oriented east-west. One of these burials was that of a woman who died in childbirth. The woman's skeleton was found with the skeleton of the child still in her pelvis (Williams *et al* 1997: 22).

This second phase of burials also included 26 burials of infants and young children. They were buried in rock and tile-lined cists, but not at a great depth. These burials were concentrated along the west and north walls of Unit 2. They were not interred in relation to any of the adults buried in the same area and there did not appear to be any relationship to family plots (Williams *et al* 1997: 22-23). Williams *et al* believe that these infants and children all died in a relatively short period of time, perhaps from some sort of epidemic at the beginning of the 14th century (1997: 23).

There were few grave goods found in the burials of Unit 2. Those grave goods that were found included buckles, an earring, a pendant cross, buttons, and a finger ring with a bezel. Of more interest was the discovery of three infants buried with unbroken eggs at their sides or on their chests. These burials are similar to a burial found at Sparta, where an adult male of 25 to 30 years of age was found with an egg in his hand (Williams *et al* 1998: 241-242).

Pottery was also found in the burials of Unit 2. Coarse ware jugs were found in a number of the burials, but they were all fragmentary and incomplete. It has been suggested that these jugs were purposefully broken during the burial rites and thrown on the ground around the burial shaft, or that they were broken when the shaft was being refilled (Williams *et al* 1998: 241).

There was a large percentage of diseased skeletons found in this area, compared to a relatively healthy population. This has led the excavators to suggest that Unit 2 was used in the Frankish period as a burial chapel for a hospice that was housed in Unit 1. One skeleton, that of an adult, was severely deformed by rheumatoid arthritis, with the ankle joints totally fused. This would have left this individual unable to walk and he or she would have needed constant care (Williams *et al* 1997: 23).

Other burials showed signs of anemia, some with severe anemia. It is likely that this anemia was due to chronic environmental conditions, since the bones of some of the child burials showed signs of severe anemia. The excavators believe that malaria was likely the cause for the anemia, since malaria was present in Corinth until the 1930's. This theory is supported by the presence of thalassemia among the population. This is a severe, chronic congenital anemia that develops in a population that is exposed to malaria for a long period of time. Most of the people would have been cared for at home but severe cases may have been taken to a hospice to receive medical treatment. This would likely have included infants and children with severe anemia, and newcomers to the regions, who were suffering from malaria for the first time (Williams *et al* 1998: 243).

Another chronic illness that was found in the area of Corinth was brucellosis, or Malta's disease. This was a disease whose symptoms mimicked that of malaria. It was transmitted through goat-milk products and the handling of infected sheep or goats. As with malaria, it would have been commonplace and only severe cases would have been treated at the hospice (Williams *et al* 1998: 243).

In addition to these illnesses, arthritis was found in a number of cases, one of which was described previously. Women who had difficulty in childbirth would also have sought help at the hospice, as the previous example of a woman who died in childbirth shows. An adolescent skeleton found just outside the cemetery shows signs of trephination on the right side of the skull. This adolescent suffered from multifocal eosinophilic granuloma, a rare disease which caused the individual to be an invalid and probably comatose by the end of his or her life (Williams *et al* 1998: 243).

The presence of these diseases alone does not point to the presence of a hospice nearby the cemetery. As Williams *et al* point out, deaths from these diseases could have occurred even if there was not a hospice located nearby (1998: 243). It is the presence of so many individuals with unusual diseases buried in one small area that points to the presence of a hospice (Williams *et al* 1998: 243).

In addition to the burials in Unit 2, human remains were also recovered from the Frankish fill of a manhole in the vicinity of the church. This was apparently a public water source that would have serviced the church. In light of the numerous cut marks on the skulls and leg bones found in the fill, the excavators believe that, following a massacre, dead bodies or parts of dead bodies were thrown into the wells and manholes to pollute the water supply (Williams *et al* 1998: 25, 30).

The fill contained the bones of at least nine adults, both male and female, one child, and one infant. The bones had genetic markers similar to those found on the skeletal remains of the Frankish burials in Unit 2, identifying them as being members of the Frankish population of Corinth. Two of the skulls, both male, were able to be reconstructed. Both showed evidence of cut marks, with the blows coming from above the head of the deceased. The cut marks on these bones, as well as on the remains of five more bones, supports the suggestion that these wounds were the results of a massacre (Williams *et al* 1998: 30-31).

The fourth church, that of the monastery of St John Theologos, was excavated in both 1907 and in the 1930s. The monastery was located at the west end of the Forum and burials at this site date to the 13th to 15th centuries (Iverson 1992: 118).

The grave artefacts from all four of the churches allow us to get a glimpse of the cultural beliefs of the people of medieval Corinth. According to Iverson, these objects “reflect emotional concern for the dead and are symbolic of resurrection and salvation” (1992: 119). They were also supposed to protect the dead until the Last Judgement. There were four categories of objects: personal jewellery, status or occupational objects, objects to protect against evil, and domestic items (Iverson 1992: 119-120).

Personal jewellery was found regularly in the medieval burials. Iverson claims that the jewellery was probably the only objects found in graves that actually belonged to the deceased (1992: 119). Most of the jewellery was bronze, though iron, silver, and gilt objects were also found. Gold objects were lacking in the medieval burials at Corinth, which may be due to a desire for a modest burial (Iverson 1992: 119).

Women and children wore more jewellery objects than did the men, though the men were also found to be wearing objects such as pendants, bracelets, rings, and simple ear-rings. The most common type of jewellery found were finger-rings and ear-rings. An ivory comb and an iron key were also found (Iverson 1992, 119).

Objects relating to the status or occupation of the deceased were rare finds in the medieval burials at Corinth. Tomb 3 at Bema Church contained the remains of two wooden crosses surmounted by iron crosses, which have been identified as the staffs of office of the abbots of monasteries (Iverson 1992: 119). A wooden comb was also found in Tomb 3 and Iverson associated this with the Byzantine liturgical tradition of combing the hair of clerics during the funeral (1992: 119). An inscribed amulet, identifying the owner as the monk Matheas, was found in Tomb 2, also at Bema Church (Iverson, 1992: 119).

Most of the grave goods found in the medieval graves at Corinth belong to the category of objects to protect the dead against evil. Coins and featureless beads, which were mainly of glass, would have served as amulets. Crosses were also found, which sanctified and protected both the living and the dead. Some objects were also found to have words inscribed on them (Iverson 1992: 119-120).

The objects of domestic use that were found were all pottery items, mostly jugs. A cup was found in Tomb 2 at Bema Church and a damaged iron kettle, which was dated to the late 13th century, was found at Temple Hill Church. The pottery was generally used in the Byzantine funeral liturgy to hold the oil for a symbolic libation over the corpse in the grave. Iverson suggests that “[t]he taint of death perhaps explains why they were not returned to domestic use and were placed in the grave” (1992: 120).

The Frankish graves mark a new phase in the burial practice in medieval Corinth. Grave goods were found in the Frankish burials that had not been found in the graves of the previous centuries. Iron shoe-like, or heels, were introduced in the 13th century, when they start to be seen in the graves at Corinth. Traces of wooden coffins, such as iron nails and bronze or iron handles, are not found before the 13th

century, when they also begin to be found in the West. In some graves, the bodies were found with stones on either side and behind the head and the arms were crossed over the upper or lower chest. This type of burial has prototypes in France (Iverson 1992: 121).

We begin to find glazed bowls in burials dated to the 13th and 14th centuries at Bema Church, Temple Hill Church, and St John's Church. This type of bowl burial has also been found in Asia Minor, the Crimea, Constantinople, Cyprus, and in other parts of Greece. The bowls were found placed upright, upside down or covered, which may suggest that they once contained organic material. All of the bowl burials date after 1200 and the bowls are not found in the 12th century Byzantine burials at Corinth. They are, however, found in Latin sites.

The use of glazed bowls in burials, according to Iverson, has its roots in France with the French *flammulé* vases that are found in French medieval burials. Iverson connects the use of the *flammulé* vases with the presence of glazed bowls in burials at Corinth because of the French pottery's connection with the use of incense. One bowl at Corinth was found to contain ashes. Iverson "suggest[s] that this custom was brought from the West by the Franks, who used the nearest local equivalent to the vases – the open bowl" (1992: p 120-121).

Burials on Cyprus

There are three main studies of Frankish burials in Cyprus: the first was produced by Camille Enlart in 1899; the second was done by Joan du Plat Taylor in the 1930's; and the third is a recent collection of the Frankish and Venetian tombs of Cyprus, edited by Brunehild Imhaus (2004). As well, Chamberlayne produced a collection of Frankish and Venetian inscriptions from Cyprus (1894). Enlart's study is concerned with the tombs that could still be found in Cyprus in the 19th century and provides detailed architectural data on those tombs. Du Plat Taylor's work, on the other hand, deals more with the actual burials themselves, and with the artefacts that were found with the burials. Imhaus' study of the tombs brings together all of the extant tombs

and inscriptions from the Frankish and Venetian periods, as well as those that can no longer be found.

Enlart found that the medieval tombs of Cyprus could be grouped into three categories: carved slabs, sarcophagi, and painted tombs. The carved slabs, similarly, could be divided into a further three groups: slabs with funerary inscriptions that were either plain or with coats of arms; slabs with incised effigies; and slabs carved in low relief, with either a single coat of arms accompanied by ornaments or with effigies (Enlart 1899: 361).

The plain inscribed tombstones were found at Nicosia, Limassol, and Karmi and are dated to the 13th and 14th centuries. These were sometimes accompanied by coats of arms and were small and very thick. Some of the slabs may have been built into the wall, and Enlart gives one example of a slab used in this manner (1899: 361).

The tombstones with effigies are based on French designs of the time, with a few local variations. In general, the effigy tombstones from Cyprus are a simplified version of the French design and the drawing of the figures is usually different from those found in medieval France. For example, in France, the figure of the deceased would have his or her feet placed on a symbolic animal. This depiction was rare in medieval Cyprus. All of the inscriptions found on the last two types of tombstones were in either Latin or French (Enlart 1899: 361).

The Cypriot sarcophagi are one of the most interesting types of tombs and it is here that direct links can be seen between the Latin East and Frankish Cyprus. The sarcophagus that is the best example of this form of burial belonged to the marshal Adam of Antioch and dates from the early 13th century. This sarcophagus consists of a marble lid that was probably raised on colonnettes. This is the type of tomb in which Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, both rulers of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, were buried at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem (Folda 1995: 38-39, 74).

The lid is decorated on both sides and on one end. On the decorated end, there is a twig with three leaves, which Enlart says resembles vine leaves (1899: 362). The two side panels are divided into seven sections, with one of the end sections on each panel larger than the rest. This larger section contains a plain escutcheon. The other six sections each contain either a cross, one of four rosettes, or a tree. The tree is of the same style on both sides, but the cross and rosettes vary (Enlart 1899: 364-365).

In Cyprus, as in France, the sarcophagi were usually located in arcaded niches, or *arcosolia*, within the church. The niches would be decorated, some more richly than others, and, generally, the sarcophagus would be surmounted by a pediment. In some cases, specifically that of the sarcophagus of Adam of Antioch, the sarcophagus might be meant to be seen from more than one side, and the configuration of the niche would be altered (Enlart 1899: 366).

The painted tombs of Cyprus are poorly preserved, as is common throughout the Latin East. In Italy, there are painted tombs from the 13th and 14th centuries and there is at least one surviving in France, which is from the 14th century. In Italy, the tombs either had an epitaph painted on them, or the sculptural elements, themselves, were painted. In Cyprus, there is one example of a tomb with a painted inscription, dating to 1383, and there is also a description of another painted tomb dating to the 1390s (Enlart 1899: 371-372).

Du Plat Taylor's work on medieval graves in Cyprus is based on burials found at two sites, the churches of Ayios Mamas and Chrysanayotissa. The purpose of the excavations was to study sources of glazed Byzantine pottery; (and) it was known that some of this pottery had been found in burials at old churches in Cyprus. The churches where the excavations took place are located at Episcopi, a village located west of Limassol, which was formerly part of the fief of the Ibelins, the counts of Jaffa, and which later passed into the hands of a Venetian family (du Plat Taylor 1938: 55).

The church of Ayios Mamas had been completely destroyed by the 1930s, the remains used to construct a new village church, but there were a number of graves

associated with it. These graves were arranged into three groups, which corresponded to the layers in which they were found. The majority of the burials had pottery associated with them, but the ceramics will be discussed later, following the discussion of the burials themselves (du Plat Taylor 1938: 55).

The burials of Layer 1 were found around the apse of the church and on the south side of it and date to the late 16th century. They were all within 0.50m of the surface and all were oriented with their heads to the west. In total, there were eight burials in this level, four of which were adults and three of which were small babies. The other burial, Grave 10, contained disturbed fragments of a number of skeletons, all lying in an extended position. One of the adults was buried in a stone-lined shaft, while the other adults were interred directly in the earth. One of the babies was buried in a seated position and the other two were buried in shafts that had a paving of small stones. All of the burials had their arms at their sides (du Plat Taylor 1938: 56, 61).

In Layer 2, dating to the late 14th to the mid 16th centuries, the burials were approximately 0.40m below the burials of Layer 1. Three of the burials were of adults, while the remaining five belonged to children. Four of the child burials, namely graves 1, 2, 4, and 5, were found in niches in the early foundations of the church. It appears that stones were purposefully removed to provide room for these burials. All of the adult burials appear to have been extended burials, though one of the burials was disturbed by a burial of Layer 1. The arms of the adults were all folded on their chests, but the child burials were too deteriorated to tell their arm position (du Plat Taylor 1938: 58-61).

Layer 3 was dated to the 11th to 12th centuries and contained only three burials. These were graves cut into the rock in narrow trenches and located near the south wall of the church. The graves were covered by large stone slabs and were in an area that was not used for burials in the periods following it. The arms of all of the deceased appear to have been folded on their chests (du Plat Taylor 1938: 60-61).

Pottery was common in the graves of Layers 1 and 2, though Layer 3 contained only the rim of a coarse cooking pot. In Layer 1, the pottery fragments were normally

scattered over the burials, but, in one case, a bowl was found intact, lying on the chest of one of the adult skeletons. In Layer 2, there is no indication that any of the ceramics were found in direct relation to the burials, such as with the burials from Layer 1. However, since a number of the bowls were found intact and were in the graves with the skeletons, they were likely buried with the deceased (du Plat Taylor 1938: p 56-60).

The largest percentage of the fine pottery was green sgraffiato ware and green-painted ware, with both at a little over 12% of the total number of sherds. The type of ceramic which made up the majority of the finds was coarse red ware, which constituted 56% of the finds. Twelve complete pieces of ceramics were found in Layer 1, with the remaining seven complete pieces found in Layer 2. The presence of ceramics in the burials increased as the period of burial became later (du Plat Taylor 1938: 61).

The church of Chrysanayiotissa was located southwest of the village of Episcopi and, like Ayios Mamas, the remains of the walls were taken apart to be used in the construction of the new village church. Two sites were excavated at the church, one near the centre of the north wall and the other at the east end of the apse (du Plat Taylor 1938: 61-62).

Site 1 contained three layers of burials, dating from the 12th to the 16th century. Dating to the late 16th century, Layer 1 contained five burials, all of which were found in an extended position and with their heads to the west and their hands at their sides. The bones of all of the burials were fragmentary. Two of the burials had stones placed beneath their heads as a support. The skeleton in grave 2 had a bowl in its left hand, with another bowl found 0.10m above the feet (du Plat Taylor 1938: 62, 68).

Seven burials were found in Layer 2, dating to the mid 15th to mid 16th century, and were 0.30m below the burials of Layer 1. All of the skeletons in this layer were buried in an extended position, with their hands folded on their chests. Two of the burials had stones around the heads of the skeletons, and the level of the burials

varied. None of the pottery recovered from this layer was connected to any one burial (du Plat Taylor 1938: 62, 68).

Layer 3, dating to the 12th to mid 15th century, contained one burial, which was in a narrow rock-cut grave. The grave was c.0.25m deep and tapered towards the foot. The skeleton was lying in an extended position, with the hands folded on the chest. Unlike the other burials, this skeleton had a blue glass bottle lying on its right shoulder, and a circular bronze brooch with a flat pin was found on the breastbone (du Plat Taylor 1938: 67-68).

Unlike the pottery found at Ayios Mamas, the highest percentage of fine wares from Chrysanayiotissa belonged to the brown-and-green sgraffiato wares. The percentage of green sgraffiato and green-painted wares at this site was low in comparison to the percentages from Ayios Mamas: 4.0% and 40.5% respectively, compared to 12.2% and 12.4%. The coarse red ware again made up the largest percentage of the total number of ceramics found, this time making up 61.8% of the finds.

Site 2 at the church of Chrysanayiotissa contained two layers of burials, dating from the 12th to the 15th centuries. Ten burials were found in Layer 1, with the most recent graves located near the apse and less than 0.10m below the surface. All of the burials in this layer date to the 15th century. At this site, the bones were less fragile than those at Site 1, with the skeletons in an extended position, with their heads to the west and their hands at their sides. In most cases, bowls were placed near either the hands or the feet of the skeletons (du Plat Taylor 1938: 69).

Three of the burials from Layer 1 were found 0.15m to 0.20m below the other burials. One of the skeletons had the left arm folded on its chest, while another had both arms folded on its chest. The third skeleton was found lying on its right side, with both its arms at its sides. This last burial had bowls placed on its right shoulder and on its body, while the other two had bowls near their feet (du Plat Taylor 1938: 69).

Ten burials were found in Layer 2, dating to 12th to 15th centuries. The burials were either placed right on the rock, or were interred in narrow rock-cut shafts, two of

which were covered in large slabs. The seven burials that were interred on the rock were placed in an extended position, with the arms folded on their chests. Most of these burials had blocks of stone or slabs enclosing their heads. Most interestingly, one of these graves, Grave 12, contained a skeleton with an iron implement placed on his or her chest. Du Plat Taylor suggests that this may have been a taper holder (1938: 70).

Of the three burials that were found in narrow rock-cut shafts, only one survived intact. Grave 13 contained a skeleton in an extended position, with his or her hands covering the face. Rather than containing a bowl, this grave contained a lamp, which was found between the knees of the skeleton. The other two burials were destroyed at some point prior to the excavation and nothing remained in the shafts (du Plat Taylor 1938: 71).

Surprisingly, the coarse red ware was still the most common type of pottery found in Site 2, but not by the same large margin as at the other excavation sites. Here, the coarse red ware made up 25.2% of the total percentage of pottery, with brown-and-green sgraffiato ware following a close second at 23.3%. The plain white ware, which never reached above 6% at the other two sites, here reached 22.0% of the pottery found. As with the pottery found in Site 1, the number of complete pieces of pottery was highest in Layer 2, at 27 pieces, while only 11 complete pieces were found in Layer 1. It seems that at Chrysanayiotissa, the number of complete bowls decreased as time went forward (du Plat Taylor 1938: 72).

Burials in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Latin Principalities

Very little is known about funerary practices in the Latin East. Other than the Rules of the military orders, there are few sources which describe the funerary rites of the Christians in the this area. One of those sources is a passage from the chronicle of Raymond of Aguilers, one of the French chroniclers of the First Crusade.

In this passage, Raymond is describing the death and burial of Galdemar Carpinell, which took place sometime around 16 September 1101. Galdemar had been in battle

near Jaffa and was critically wounded. His compatriots carried him to Jerusalem, with his entrails hanging out. Once they arrived in Jerusalem, they sought out Archbishop Hugo, who was the patriarch of both the people of Jerusalem and of the pilgrims.

Once the archbishop had been found, Galdemar's companions kept watch and placed him against the wall of the Holy Sepulchre. With the company of men assembled, psalms in Latin, Greek and Syriac were sung. This went on for some time, since the men were said to have become tired and were told by the archbishop to be still and quiet. After a short conversation with the archbishop, Galdemar died (Raymond of Aguilers 1866: 307-308).

This is the extent of Raymond's description of the death and funeral of Galdemar. It seems that, rather than styling this a funeral, it would be better to say that it was a death-bed vigil. Nothing is said of the actual funeral service and burial of Galdemar, so our knowledge of the funerary and burial rites of the Latin East is still quite limited.

In addition to Raymond's description, there are two other textual sources that give us clues as to the burial rites in the Latin East. One is a will, written by Odo of Burgundy, count of Nevers. In this will, Odo requests that his heart be embalmed. Presumably this was so his heart could be returned to Burgundy and his body buried in the Latin East. Odo of Burgundy will be discussed further during the discussion of the cemeteries of Acre (Chazaud 1871: 183).

The third source is the *Chronicle* of Matthew Paris. In a number of illuminated manuscripts, Paris' map of Acre shows the cemetery of St Nicholas. Matthew includes drawings of the tombs in the cemetery. These are probably not accurate depictions of the tombs, but are likely the type of tomb that was familiar to the illuminator of the manuscript. They do, however, tell us what a common medieval tomb looked like. The tombs appear to be flat and likely covered with plaster (Vaughan 1993: 85, 185). Now, it is necessary to turn to evidence from sites where burials from the Crusader period have been found or cemeteries are known to have existed.

Caesarea Maritima, located on the coast of Israel, between Tel Aviv and Haifa, is one of the most studied sites in the Latin East. It is also an important comparison site for 'Atlit, since Caesarea Maritima was being refortified at the same time that Pilgrims' Castle was being built. The majority of the Crusader burials were found in a cemetery to the west of the Crusader cathedral. Twenty-five burials were found in the cemetery, all of which were adults with one possible adolescent burial. All of the burials were found lying in the typical Christian disposition, with an east-west orientation and lying on their backs in an extended position (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34).

The burials at Caesarea Maritima were found in four types of graves: buried in a wooden coffin within a stone cist, buried in a stone cist without evidence of a wooden coffin, buried in a wooden coffin against an existing structure, and burial in a wooden coffin in an unlined grave. No evidence of shrouds was found in the burials, but there was also no evidence of clothing. Yule and Rowsome propose that the deceased were buried in shrouds that were tied, rather than being pinned (1994: 34).

The wood coffins were completely decayed and it was only the presence of nails in the burials that indicated their former presence. Of the cist burials, 12 were excavated. They were constructed with reused kurkar, or marine sandstone, stone slabs that were laid on their edge, usually with another kurkar slab laid over the top of the grave. The slabs themselves were unmortared but the cists were usually sealed by a coat of plaster along the sides and base, and the covering slab was usually placed in a matrix of plaster or mortar and attached to the sides of the grave with plaster (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34).

In addition, two of the skeletons had stones placed under their heads, likely to raise them. In other burials, the grave cut for the body was made at a lower level than the grave cut for the head, thus giving the same effect as the stone beneath the head (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34).

The Crusader burials at Caesarea Maritima were generally in poor condition. Many of the burials were partially destroyed by large, deep pit cuts. These cuts were most

prevalent in the southern part of the cathedral cemetery and were likely associated with the robbing of Arab walls and substructures. Yule and Rowsome believe that this robbing was done in the 13th century, when the Crusader walls were being refortified (1994: 36).

The skeletal remains were also in poor condition. The bones recovered from the Crusader burials were in a state of poor preservation, which may account for the lack of child and adolescent burials. Among the skeletal remains, disease and bone fracture seem to have been the most common osteological conditions in the population of Frankish Caesarea Maritima. It is interesting to note that the majority of the burials were those of men (Smith and Zegerson, 1999: 435-437).

Ascalon, located just north of Gaza on the Israeli coast, may have had an extra-mural chapel, which in itself was likely associated with a cemetery, though there is no extant evidence of this. The location of the Chapel of St Michael is not known, nor is it known if it was a Latin or an Orthodox foundation. It is known that there was a cemetery at Ascalon in the 13th century, which would suggest that a cemetery chapel was also in existence at this time (Pringle 1993: 67).

In Tyre, the remains of a Crusader church were found beneath an 18th century Greek Catholic church of St Thomas. The Crusader church lay south of the present altar and under the whole of the 18th century church and into the surrounding street. In the remains of the Crusader church, three fragments of funerary inscriptions were found. Two were in French and were dated to the 12th century, while the third was in Latin and was undatable (Bikai 1971: 88). These inscriptions have been included in Pringle's collection of funerary inscriptions from Southern Lebanon (Pringle 2004). A tomb was also found during the excavation of the Crusader church, but Bikai does not describe it in her text (1971: pl. 7).

Four other funerary inscriptions have been found in Tyre. All of these were inscribed in Latin and three of them are datable. One of the inscriptions dates to 1190, a second to 1202, and the third to 1266. The fourth, undatable inscription was found in the cathedral in Tyre (Pringle 2004: p **).

Pringle also records five funerary inscriptions that were found at Sidon. Of the five inscriptions, only one can be roughly dated to the 13th century. One inscription has been attributed to an archbishop of Tyre, but there is no strong evidence for this substantiation (Pringle 2004: p **).

The Crusaders' castle at Tripoli has given us one of the most detailed descriptions of a Crusader cemetery in the Latin East. In the early 1970s, Sarkis excavated the Crusader Castle on Mount Pilgrim. During these excavations, almost 50 burials were found within the confines of the castle. The orientation of the tombs is erratic, with some oriented to the east, others to the west, and still others to the south. The orientation of the tombs was likely attributable to the available burial space, rather than a matter of religious belief (Sarkis 1980: 91).

All of the tombs within the castle were built using the same basic construction methods. They consisted of blocks of sandstone placed on their sides, with the joints covered in a coat of plaster or mortar. The ground sometimes had a coat of the same plaster or mortar, but this was a rare occurrence. The tombs were covered by slabs of sandstone, which were largest around the stomach region and smaller at the head and feet (Sarkis 1980: 91).

Sarkis identified four types of graves in the castle cemetery. They are: graves of a rectangular form; graves of an oval form, with the long sides rounded; graves of a trapezoidal form; and tombs of a trapezoidal form, with a receptacle for the head. The trapezoidal graves were broad at the shoulders and narrow at the feet, resembling a mummy case and in the same form as the tomb slabs (Sarkis 1980: 92).

The skeletal remains from the castle cemetery were in a very poor state of conservation, probably due to the activity of rodents. According to Sarkis, the rock that makes up the centre of Mount Pilgrim is a limestone conglomerate, which is full of cracks. These cracks would have allowed small rodents to get into the graves, likely through the unplastered bottom of the graves. The rodents would have been

responsible for the dispersion and disappearance of the bones within the graves (Sarkis 1980: 91).

The majority of the graves in the castle cemetery were single burials, although one grave contained the remains of two individuals. Some of the tombs contained nails, suggesting that coffins may have been used to bury the dead, though the small size of the graves make this seem less likely. There is no indication of any inscriptions being found among the burials, meaning they were either anonymous or the epitaphs have since disappeared (Sarkis 1980: 92-93).

A second series of burials was found in the necropolis of St Johns of Mount Pilgrim, an area that includes a modern cemetery. In spite of the intrusion of the modern cemetery, Sarkis was able to identify around 30 Crusader burials, both in the interior and the exterior of the church. The graves were in the same form as those from the castle cemetery, with one exception. A fifth type of grave was found, one with a superstructure in a parallelepiped rectangle, which covers a grave of a trapezoidal form, with a receptacle for the head (Sarkis 1980: 110).

The main difference between the burials at St John and the castle cemetery is the state of preservation of the skeletal remains. At St John, the majority of the graves found were in a perfect state of conservation, which Sarkis attributes to the red earth in which the graves were dug. Most of the graves contained the remains of adults, though there were four burials of children. Grave goods were found in only one of the burials, namely a piece of a coin in Grave 2. As with the castle cemetery, no inscriptions were found in association with the burials of St John (Sarkis 1980: p 111-112).

Tel Jezreel (Ziv'in), located overlooking the Jezreel valley to the south-east of Haifa, was excavated in the early 1990's and 38 burials were found in association with a medieval church, and several more found in the fill of the moat. The graves were found in a locus that dates to the Crusader period and were located on the north side of the church. It appears that the cemetery extended for 15 metres from the north wall of the church and the western side of the cemetery seems to have been bounded by the

edge of a moat. In total, the cemetery seems to extend 10 to 25 metres east-west and up to 15 metres north-south. Approximately 50 burials were uncovered, the majority of which were infants and children, with only one sub-adult and one adult burial found (Bradley 2006: 33; Bradley 1994: 63; Ussishkin and Woodhead 1997: 56; Mitchell 2006: 38). The Crusader population of Tel Jezreel consisted of local Eastern Christians, with the village under the control of the Templar Knights (Mitchell 2006: 37).

Four gabled tombs were found during excavations of the parish church at al-Qubaiba. One was found *in situ* beneath the second bay of the north arcade and was opened in 1874. The tomb measures 1.90m long, 0.43m high, and 0.67m wide at the head and 0.62m wide at the foot. The cover was of a type well known in both medieval Europe and the Latin East, being gabled in shape with two crosses carved in relief on the tympanums on each end of the tomb cover. The cross at the head of the tomb was a Cross of Lorraine, which was 0.03m wide, while the cross at the foot of the tomb was a simple cross, called a Latin cross, 0.05m wide (Bagatti 1993: 77-78).

The body of a man, approximately 70 years of age, was found under the cover when it was lifted. The skeleton was complete and in a good state of preservation. At some point in the man's life, he had broken his left collarbone, but it healed well before he died. Along with the skeleton, a zinc box was found, which contained some human bone fragments. The fragments appeared to be from two separate individuals, one approximately 40 years of age and the other an infant of approximately 3 years of age (Bagatti 1993: 78).

The remaining three gabled tombs were not found *in situ*, and one was found in fragments. Bagatti believes that the bones found in the zinc box, described above, belonged to two separate tombs and were interred with the body of the 70 year old man, presumably following the destruction of their own tombs (1993: 78).

The tomb cover that Bagatti attributes to the bones of the 40 year old individual is similar in design to the first tomb cover, though this cover was not complete. It was 0.68m long, with only one end complete. Bagatti believes that it was the foot of the

tomb, which was complete, measuring 0.60m wide and decorated with a cross in relief. The cross was a Latin cross, which is why Bagatti believes that this may have been the foot of the tomb, as it parallels the decoration on the first tomb cover (1993: 78).

The third tomb cover was attributed to the tomb of the infant. This cover was found complete, though its original position was uncertain. It measured 0.24m high and 0.53m long. The decoration consisted of a Greek cross in relief, though Bagatti does not say whether it was found at the head or foot of the cover (1993: 78).

A fourth tomb cover was recovered, though this one was found in fragments. It appeared to have belonged to the tomb of a child, and measured 0.95m in length. A double-barred cross in a frame was used to decorate this tomb cover. The lower bar of the cross is longer and wider than the upper. The stone was cut diagonally, which Bagatti attributes to Crusader-period masons (1993: 78).

Other tombs were found around the parish church at al-Qubaiba, these in the form of rock-cut cist graves. The graves were cut into the rock, with one of the graves containing slabs laid on their sides to form the shape of a coffin. Bagatti claims that the stones were used as dividers between three separate burials. Only one skeleton was found, located in the supposed middle grave. It was oriented east-west, with his or her hands crossed on the chest. On either side of the middle burial, was a mixture of bones and dirt (Bagatti 1993: 78-79).

In light of evidence from Crusader burials in Cyprus and other sites in the Latin East, not to mention burial sites in Western Europe, it is obvious that Bagatti's interpretation of the number of burials associated with this grave is mistaken. It appears that there was one burial, that of the complete skeleton found in the "middle burial". The mixture of bones and dirt may indicate that the area had been used for burials prior to the construction of the stone-lined grave. If this is the case, then the bones could have been displaced during the construction of the cist grave. They would then have been redeposited in the backfill.

Two further burials were found at the parish church at al-Qubaiba. Bagatti does not specify, but it is likely that these were also found in cist graves. A little to the east of the stone-lined cist grave just discussed, a second burial was found. The skeleton was broken in half and was oriented east-west. The second burial was uncovered in an earlier excavation, lying 0.60m below the ground level. The bones in this burial were of poor condition. The grave itself measured 1.50m by 0.40m (Bagatti 1993: 79).

There is little information on the Crusader burials found at Yoqne'am, located in the Jezreel Valley. In total, eight burials were uncovered, six of which were adults with the other two belonging to infants. They were buried in cist graves that were dug into the floor of the nave of the church, with an east-west orientation; they had been placed in a supine position. The burials did not contain grave goods and were dated by the burial position, which was commonly found in Byzantine and Crusader churches of the time (Ben-Tor *et al* 1996: 242).

The site of the 'Abudiyah Church in Abud, which is approximately 30km northwest of Jerusalem, contains the remains of both a Crusader and post-Crusader cemetery. The church was known as the church of St. Mary and the site of Abud was known as Casale Santa Maria in the Crusader period (Taha 1997: 359). The cemetery at the church was broken into two levels during the excavation of the site: Level IIA, dating to the 16th to 19th centuries (Ottoman) and IIB, dating from the 10th to the 12th centuries (Crusader-Mamluke) (Taha 1997: 364).

The cemetery covered the north area of the church and contained at least 56 cist graves. The upper layer contained 22 cist graves and the lower layer contained 32. The cist graves were consistently rectangular in shape with no evidence of wooden coffins being used for burial. All of the burials were primary inhumations, in both single and multiple burials. There were four sizes of grave, each associated with a different age group, namely adult, adolescent, child, and infant. It appears that the adult and adolescent graves were similar in size, while the child and infant graves were smaller. All of the graves were covered with stone slabs (Taha 1997: 366). The graves were oriented east-west and the bodies were laid on their backs in an extended position, with the arms either on the chest or on the pelvis (Taha 1997: 367). Taha

sees this continuity of burial practice as a sign that the population of Abud remained consistent from the 10th to the 19th centuries (1997: 366-367).

Artefacts were found throughout the cemetery, in 35 out of the 56 burials. Fifteen of these burials were from IIA while the other 20 graves were from IIB, the Crusader-period graves. The grave goods from the two phases were generally the same, with most of the artefacts being related to personal ornamentation. The difference was that a shoe was found in one of the burials from IIA while two glazed bowls were found in IIB. The artefacts from the Crusader period (IIB) were mainly beads, coins, bracelets, rings, and earrings, in addition to the two glazed bowls and a glass vessel (Taha 1997: 367).

The burials found at Bethany, located on the south-eastern slope of the Mount of Olives, were found in what Saller calls the Second Church and what Pringle calls the East Church (Saller 1982: 49; Pringle 1993: 128). Saller was not sure about the exact dating of the burials but Pringle's discussion of the church indicates that the burials likely dated to the Crusader period or to the period just prior to the Crusades (Saller 1982: 49; Pringle 1993: p 124-128). None of the burials in the church had been opened prior to Saller's excavation work and were found in the nave and portico, or narthex, of the church (1982: 52).

One tomb was found in the west end of the East Church's nave. A hole was cut through the upper and lower mosaic pavements of the floor, with the covering slabs of the tomb found 0.30m below the lower pavement. This tomb was not opened by Saller (1982: 54).

The majority of the tombs found in Bethany were in the south end of the narthex of the East Church. Saller states that "here all available space was occupied by tombs (1982: 54)." The tombs in the narthex were not opened by Saller and all were covered with stone slabs. Two of the slabs had rectangles incised on the upper surface of the stone. One was found near the south wall and had two rectangles incised on the surface of the stone, while the other was found near the south face of

the southern most pier of the portico and, again, had two rectangles incised on its surface (Saller 1982: 54).

Recent excavations at Castellum Vallis Moysis, known as al-Wua'yra in present-day Jordan, have uncovered 15 burials of children. They were located within the castle, adjacent to the church. The children may either be offspring of the castle inhabitants or of local Christians who worked in the castle, or perhaps both. A number of the skeletons showed signs of scurvy (Mitchell 2006: 38).

One of the most recent works on death and burial in the Latin East deals with Latin Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem and Acre. Riley-Smith points out that pilgrims did not journey to the Holy Land to find healing, but went on penitential journeys. It seems that many of these pilgrims were in poor health, although this cannot be true in all cases. However, in the cases where the pilgrims were ill, they all would have wanted a proper burial if they died in the Latin East (Riley-Smith 2006: 1).

If any of the pilgrims settled in Jerusalem, they would likely have become parishioners and would have been allowed burial in the parish cemetery of St Mamilla, located to the west of the city walls. The parish cemetery belonged to the canons of the Holy Sepulchre and contained a mortuary chapel, which was located over a charnel pit. In addition to this, the cemetery also contained individual tombs, some of which were re-used in the Muslim cemetery that later occupied the site (Riley-Smith 2006: 2).

Members of the higher classes could be buried either within or just outside of one of the shrine churches of Jerusalem. The kings of Jerusalem were one example of this and their tombs will be discussed in more detail later in this section. (Riley-Smith 2006: 2).

The military Orders would have taken responsibility for the burial of any pilgrims or settlers who was a lay associate of the Order. These *confratres* and *consorores* would have been buried in the conventual cemetery of the Order. The cemetery of the Templar Knights may have been attached to a cemetery located by the Golden Gate,

on the eastern side of the city walls. This cemetery was used at least until the later part of the 12th century and likely contained a charnel pit and individual tombs (Riley-Smith 2006: 4).

Some of the cemeteries belonging to other Orders have been identified, but not all of them. The cemeteries of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, St Saviour in Gethsemane, and St Mary of Mt. Sion have all been found. The conventual cemetery of the Hospitallers, on the other hand, has not been identified. It is known that they had a cemetery in Jerusalem, apart from the cemetery of Akeldama, which was reserved for the burial of pilgrims. Despite this knowledge, the cemetery has yet to be located (Riley-Smith 2006: 4).

The cemetery of Akeldama was dedicated to the burial of pilgrims and is the site where most pilgrims were buried during the Crusader period. It is located on the south side of the Hinnom Valley and is believed to have been the historical Potters' Field. The cemetery was granted to the Hospitallers in 1143 by Patriarch William of Jerusalem (Riley-Smith 2006: 5). With the help of members of the local Syrian Orthodox church, the Hospitallers were able to establish the boundaries of the cemetery and began to build a church, which would have been dedicated to St Mary (Riley-Smith 2006: 10).

Of all of the Crusader cemeteries in Jerusalem, perhaps the most is known about the Akeldama cemetery. The cemetery contained a charnel pit, which was located underneath the church that stood in the cemetery, as well as a number of free-standing tombs. Interestingly, the last known burial to take place in the charnel pit was in 1829, six centuries after it was used in the Crusader period (Riley-Smith 2006: p 13).

The pit itself can still be seen today. It was cut through a natural cave and a number of rock-cut tombs. It measured approximately 19 metres by 6 metres and was around 16 metres in depth. The pit was entered through one of four shafts, located at one end of the enclosure. Riley-Smith believes that a charnel pit would have been a "necessity" for the Hospitallers, since "the size of the hospital and the fact that in times of epidemic the number of dead could be overwhelming" (2006: 13).

Riley-Smith attempts to answer the question of where Jewish and Muslim patients of the Hospital were buried. As he points out, this question is likely unanswerable. The best that can be said is that the bodies may have been transported to the nearest settlement with either a Jewish or Muslim cemetery, since, apparently, there were no Muslim or Jewish cemeteries in use around Jerusalem during the Crusader period. Of course, as Riley-Smith points out, they could have been baptised on their death-bed, either with their permission or without (2006: 14).

In Jerusalem, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre is the best known Crusader burial site. This is the site where the Latin kings of Jerusalem were buried. Only two of the tombs are still preserved, as the others were destroyed by the Greeks in 1810. There were said to have originally been eight tombs of the kings at the Holy Sepulchre, dating from 1101 to 1186 (Enlart 1925: 165; Folda 1995: 39).

The royal tombs were found at the entrance to the Chapel of Adam, on the south side of a screen that divides the south transept and the Canons' Choir. This area was closed to the elements, but had originally been open to the sky (Enlart 1925: 165; Folda 1995: 39). Both Godfrey and Baldwin I's tombs had inscriptions on their tombs. The tombs themselves are in the form of a sarcophagus lid that is raised on short columns and has panelled sides. The tombs were plain in style, with no sculptured figures or armorial bearings present (Jeffery 1911-1914: 729; Folda 1995: 37-40, 74-75).

A second tomb was found at the Holy Sepulchre, that of Philip d'Aubigny. Philippe was the governor of the Channel Islands in Normandy and a councillor of King John of England at the signing of the Magna Carta. He arrived in Jerusalem with the German Emperor Frederick II and died in 1236. His tomb consists of a tomb slab set into the ground outside of the entrance to the south transept entrance of the church (Jeffery 1911-1914: 729). It is incised with a shield and an inscription, which gives the name of the deceased, but little else (Mauss 1888: 70).

A second inscribed tombstone was found at the either site of the English Christ Church or on Mount Sion and was subsequently given to the Medieval Collection at the convent of St Anne's. The inscription reads "Here rests Johannes of Valencinis." Little else is known about the deceased, apart from his name. Jeffery dates the tombstone to the 12th century (1911-1914: 766).

A number of tombs have been found at Gethsemane, which is to east of the Old City of Jerusalem, on the slopes of the Mount of Olives. A number of Crusader burials from different sites have been found in this area. The tomb of Queen Mesilende of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was found in the Tomb of the Virgin Mary. Little is known about the tomb, as the sarcophagus was apparently removed from the site in the 14th century. Prior to this removal, the sarcophagus was likely buried under the north altar of the chapel, and may have been moved to an arcosolium in the eastern wall of the site (Bagatti 1975: 92).

At the Church of the Saviour, Orfal found a Crusader tomb containing an ossuary in the middle apse (1924: 5). Three Christian tombs were also found inside the medieval church, one of which contained a skeleton with a copper cross beside it. Another of the burials contained the remains of a woman who had three copper finger-rings buried with her. The burial also contained traces of a shroud. In the third burial, the skull was missing and a small vase was found near the body (Orfal 1924: 5).

The highest number of Crusader tombs from Gethsemane was found at the Church of the Agony. Approximately 150 tombs were found in the church and around it, with the majority aligned along the exterior walls of the medieval church. Orfal identified two groups of tombs, one that appeared to belong to Byzantine nobles dating to before the Crusades, and the other belonging to the confraternity of the Hospital of Our Lady of Josaphat (1924: 13).

The tombs of the confraternity of the Hospital of Our Lady of Josaphat were found both within and outside of the medieval church. The Hospital used the Church of the Saviour as its spiritual centre, and it was there that masses were said twice a week for the benefactors of the Hospital, both those living and deceased. Within the tombs,

small shells of pilgrims, small metallic crosses, and coins of Baldwin I were found (Orfal 1924: p 13-14). As well, a fragment of a Latin inscription was found among the tombs, which was identified as being from the 12th century. The inscription read:

HIC IACET...
LAMBERTI CORIPARII
DE ACON (Orfal 1924: 15).

Orfal identifies Lambert as a benefactor of the Abbey of St Mary of Josaphat and also as a sub-prior of the abbey in 1180 (1924: p 16-17).

Following the loss of Jerusalem to the Muslims in 1187, Acre became the most important urban centre in the Latin East. In addition to the centre of government moving to Acre, the headquarters of the military Orders also moved here from Jerusalem. At this time, Acre became a place of pilgrimage in its own right, since it was now all but impossible to travel to Jerusalem on pilgrimage (Riley-Smith 2006: 17).

There are two known Crusader cemeteries in Acre, both of which are no longer extant. The cemeteries were located outside the walls of Crusader Acre, one called the cemetery of St Nicholas, and the other, the cemetery of St Michael. The question of the exact location of these cemeteries is confused, with different authors placing the cemeteries in different locations. Matthew Paris says that the cemetery of St Nicholas was located to the north of the city, just outside the city walls, with the church of St Nicholas also located *extra-muros*. The cemetery of St Michael is not mentioned (1250: p 10-11).

Rey disagrees with Matthew Paris over the location of the cemetery of St Nicholas, and he places it to the east of the city, near the ancient tell (1878: 45). In fact, Rey says that the cemeteries of St Nicholas and of St Michael were actually in the same location, but the plot of land was divided into two to make the two separate cemeteries (1888: 60). In the late 19th century, an Arab cemetery was located in the same position as it is believed that the Latin cemeteries were previously located. Rey used the extent of the Arab cemetery to extrapolate the extent of the former Latin cemeteries (1878: 45).

If Rey's supposition is correct, the cemeteries of St Nicholas and St Michael were located in the area between the ancient tell, known as Tell el-Fukar or the *Toron*, and an area of gardens which lay just to the east of the medieval city walls. It is likely that these gardens were owned by the Templar Knights, since they owned several pieces of land on the east side, beyond the city walls (Rey 1878: 46).

The consensus of the academic community at present is that the cemetery of St Nicholas was located outside the town walls, somewhere to the south-east. The church of St Nicholas was located near one of the water mills that lay on the Nahr Na'aman, which is the river of Acre. In addition, the cemetery itself was supposed to have been bounded by the river, meaning that it would have to be to the south-east of Acre (Riley-Smith 2006: 17).

Within the cemetery of St Nicholas, an area was granted to the Amalfi merchants to be used for burials and for the construction of a charnel-house for Amalfitians who died in Acre (Rey 1888: 61). Riley-Smith points out that the charnel-house may have been a proper ossuary rather than a charnel pit (2006: 18).

Also within the precinct of the cemeteries was the Fountain of St William, known by the Arabs as the Fountain of the Cow. This fountain was supposed to be located next to the grave of St William, and it was said that this was the place where the saint performed miracles of healing (Rey 1888: 60). The fountain was still existant in the 19th century, but the Latin cemetery was supposedly destroyed by the Muslims during the attack on Acre of April 1263 (Rey 1888: p 60-61).

It should be pointed out that the cemetery of St Nicholas also suffered from the pillage of Christians. In both 1260 and 1265 the tomb stones and part of the church were used to reinforce the city walls (Riley-Smith 2006: 18).

The cemetery of St Michael was associated with the mortuary chapel of St Michael, which was confirmed to Order of the Hospital of St John in April 1200. Prior to this, the Hospitallers made use of a section of the town cemetery that was assigned to them

and probably also made use of the church of St Nicholas. The church of St Michael may have been built over a charnel pit, likely with individual tombs located around the church, as well (Riley-Smith 2006: 20).

We know that some of the nobles and masters chose to be buried in the Hospitallers' church within Acre, while a statute of 1263 shows that the cemetery of St Michael was used to bury masters, brothers, and other people. This shows that the Hospitallers' burial practices in Acre were different from their practices in Jerusalem. In Jerusalem, there was a separate cemetery for members of the Order, while pilgrims from the hospital were buried in the Akeldama cemetery. In Acre, though, the cemetery of St Michael was used for the burial of both members of the community and of pilgrims (Riley-Smith 2006: 20-21).

Crusader burials have also been found under a Greek Catholic church in Acre, which was built in the 18th century. This church was built over the remains of the Crusader Church of St Andrew (Dichter 1973: 107).

Muslim Death and Burial

Since this dissertation is concerned with Crusader burial practices in the Near East, it is appropriate and necessary to discuss Muslim burial practices in brief. The suggestion has been made that the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit contains Muslim graves, which necessitates a working knowledge of Muslim burial practices (Bird 1934: 11). The Franks who settled in the Latin East were said to have taken on many of the local customs (Mayer 1988: 81-82). With this in mind, it is necessary to know what the Muslim burial customs were in order to assess any impact they may have had on Crusader burials. It should be noted that the following information refers to Late Islamic burials, which corresponds to the late medieval and post-medieval periods in Europe (Simpson 1995: 240).

The Qur'an does not specify burial customs but Islamic law does. Upon death, the body should be laid out "in the house, courtyard, or morgue with the face and the soles of the feet facing towards Mecca" (Simpson 1995: 241). The body is then

washed and is sprinkled with camphor and dried leaves. The washing of the body is to be performed either by the spouse or by members of the same sex as the deceased. The body may also be hennaed and perfumed while the head is shaved for men and the hair is braided for women. The beard of men is trimmed, nails are cut, and the body is circumcised, if necessary (Simpson 1995: 241).

Once the body is prepared, prayers are said over the corpse. Watch is kept until the burial takes place, which is either before sunset or early the next morning. The body is then shrouded. The shroud is generally white and is left open at the head to allow the departure of the soul. The wealth of the deceased is reflected in the type of cloth used for the shroud. Coffins are rarely used in Muslim burials although they are not prohibited (Simpson 1995: 241).

Once the body is shrouded, it is placed on a ladder or a bier with low sides and is covered with a shawl or rug, depending on the sex or status of the deceased. It is carried to the grave by male relatives and there is sometimes a procession of boy singers, professional wailers, musicians, paupers, and female relatives. The procession proceeds quickly, so to hasten the arrival of the deceased to heaven or to reduce the contact with the deceased (Simpson 1995: 242).

The type of grave used appears seems to depend on the material available or the local subsoil, though there may be other factors involved. In general, women are buried deeper than men, apparently to try to cover up the “respective sexual characteristics” (Simpson 1995: 242). Infants, on the other hand, could be buried in shallower graves than men and women. Other differences in the grave occur if the deceased is Bedouin, semi-sedentary, or fully sedentary (Simpson 1995: 242).

In the Late Islamic period the common types of graves ranged from stone to mudbrick-lined cist graves to simple shaft graves or even shafts with undercut side-chambers, which were blocked with a range of materials. By custom, the bases of the graves were supposed to be of pure earth. Multiple graves are generally only permitted in times of war or epidemic but the first interment is to be that of the most pious person (Simpson 1995: 242).

The siting of Muslim cemeteries is fairly consistent. There is a prohibition on intramural inhumations so Islamic cemeteries tend to be situated outside the settlement. They are often found on land that is agriculturally poor or useless, mainly on dry raised ground. This type of ground is particularly found in the form of deserted tells or rocky outcroppings. In some cases, a single tell can be used as a cemetery for a number of nearby communities. When an old cemetery becomes full, the community establishes a new one (Simpson 1995: 243).

In normal situations, the graves within a cemetery are regularly spaced, which should allow a more efficient use of the space available. However, cemeteries do not tend to stay organised and those of the Late Islamic period fall into this category. The cemeteries tended to grow laterally and then vertically, once space became very limited. Once the space was used up, it was necessary to establish a new cemetery (Simpson 1995: 244).

Muslim cemeteries can be divided up in a variety of ways. At Tell Toqaan, graves were grouped by family rather than by social status. The graves of close kin tended to be close together, although this was not always possible as the cemetery grew. Graves could be segregated by sex, especially in regards to burials in shared vaults or caves. Some cemeteries may also have been used only for women and children (Simpson 1995: 244).

Shaikhs or other important people were often buried close to mosques or shrines. In a parallel with Christian customs, graves tended to cluster around the burial sites of these shaikhs or important people. Simpson asserts that it is the presence of the shrine which initiates the formation of the associated cemetery. The reasons for this association are said to be that being buried near a holy person will help to “protect the grave from disturbance and increase the amount of blessing in the afterlife” (Simpson 1995: 244).

Muslim burials are usually primary interments and the bodies are normally excavated fully articulated. Non-articulated burials have been excavated but these have been

interpreted as secondary Bedouin burials, although there is a case that the disarticulated remains were disturbed by later graves being dug. Cremation is forbidden under Muslim law, as the corpse is believed to be able to feel pain as if it was still living (Simpson 1995: 244).

The orifices of the body are usually closed, though the ears are left open so that the deceased can answer the questions of visiting angels. The jaw may be bound tight in order that the jaw does not open and any cords holding the shroud together are loosened. In fact, the shrouds may be completely removed, folded, and placed underneath the body (Simpson 1995: 244).

There are a few abnormalities found in burials. Some bodies seem to have been buried facing away from Mecca, which Simpson suggests may indicate they were buried facing Jerusalem, the third most holy site in Islam. A small number of bodies were buried with their arms either flexed or straight by their sides (Simpson 1995: 245). These sorts of variations in burial practice are expected to be found as burial customs can be adapted to fit individual circumstances.

As with Christians, Muslims are not supposed to be buried with grave goods. But, as with Christian burials, Muslim burials do contain grave goods on a rather frequent basis. Objects which have been found include coins, jewellery, pins, combs, knife blades, and ceramics. The significance of the grave goods is unknown, although some researchers have proposed that the placing of coins is a continuation of more ancient funerary practices (Simpson 1995: 245-246). The grave goods also seem to be somewhat gender specific. At some sites, bracelets and beads were mainly associated with the burials of young girls and grave goods in general were less associated with the graves of men than of women (Simpson 1995: 246).

In Islamic cemeteries, the primary purpose of grave-markers is to “prevent people from accidentally treading on or otherwise disturbing the dead” (Simpson 1995: 247). In spite of this and of the disapproval of inscribed or ornamented graves in Muslim law, Islamic tombs can be some of the most impressive monuments in the Islamic world. Inscriptions from the Qur’an are found rarely on tombs because of the danger

of the words being defiled. The grave-markers vary from site to site and many are easily erodable so do not enter into the archaeological record. Some cemeteries have been found to be completely unmarked (Simpson 1995: 247).

When tombstones are found, the name of the deceased, his or her tribe or family, and their profession may be shown. At some sites, it is impossible for most people to tell who was buried in a grave unless it was a close relative, recent death, or had a marker with the deceased's name. Sometimes markers were made in different shapes to reflect the sex of the deceased. Those who died in battle may have had weapons depicted on their grave-marker. The grave-markers vary widely from site to site and there seems to be little stability in their form (Simpson 1995: 248).

Post-funerary ceremonies may seem to have little to do with the subject of death and burial, but what happens after the burial is just as important as the burial itself. The ceremonies that take place after the burial can leave archaeological traces that cannot be properly understood until one looks at the time after the funeral. Therefore, the post-funerary ceremonies of the Late Islamic period will be discussed briefly.

At the graveside, it is common for female relatives to tear their clothes, dye their faces and hands, scratch their cheeks, wail, and sometimes play music. All of these things were forbidden by the Prophet and the orthodox disapprove of them but the rituals still take place. In some cases, necklaces and bracelets may be broken and thrown into or near the grave, which could leave traces in the archaeological record. Dull-coloured or old clothing is worn during the period of mourning and the production of bright textiles or baskets is halted. There are recitations from the Qur'an and incense may be burnt over the grave. Ritual meals are often held at the graveside and offerings may be made "as an act of charity on behalf of the soul of the deceased" (Simpson 1995: 248).

An example of a medieval Muslim cemetery is found at Tell el-Hesi in southern Israel. The dates attributed to the cemetery at Tell el-Hesi are disputed by the archaeologists who excavated the site. Toombs dates the use of the Muslim cemetery at Tell el-Hesi to between 1400 and 1800 C.E., though he acknowledges that these

dates are, at best, a hypothesis (1985: 116). The archaeologist who worked on the later excavations of the cemetery disputed the dates given by Toombs. Eakins proposed that the cemetery was used between 1550 to 1800 C.E (1993: 76).

Eakins and Toombs both agree that it was local Bedouin tribes who used the cemetery at Tell el-Hesi. Toombs notes that Tell el-Hesi was not located close to a village, and that this did not appear to be a recent development (1985: 114). Eakins is even more definite about the Bedouin using the cemetery and he even goes so far as to identify the tribe that occupied the area. According to Eakins, it was the Wuhaydat Bedouin who moved into the area of the Negev and Tell el-Hesi around 1550 C.E. They used the area around Hesi as their main camping area and either the whole tribe or one part of the tribe used Tell el-Hesi as their cemetery. This tribe was then forced to leave the area in 1799 C.E. (1993: 76).

The only detail about the people who used the cemetery that is not in doubt is that they were Muslim. It is almost certain that it was nomadic or semi-nomadic Bedouin who used the cemetery, rather than a village population. In general, the burials in the cemetery suggest that the deceased lived in an egalitarian society and were not particularly wealthy (Toombs 1985: 110-111; Eakins 1993: 76-77). The only sign of social stratification was reported by Toombs (1985: 111).

In the vicinity of the “tomb of the Holy Man”, a number of tombs of apparently wealthier people were found. These higher status tombs appear either to have been intermingled with the more common, poorer tombs in the area around the Holy Man’s tomb or to have been intermingled in the other parts of the cemetery. Toombs is unclear on this point. As Toombs puts it, “there was a tendency for better-constructed and better-furnished burials to be concentrated near the south end of the cemetery... [t]his was merely a tendency, not a consistent pattern” (1985: 111).

Toombs believes that the richer tombs belonged to members of the community who, because of their status, were able to claim the more prestigious burial places (1985: 111). This cannot be the only reason for placing the tombs where they were, because the better-constructed tombs were found throughout the cemetery. It is also not

certain who was buried in the richer tombs, as there was no definitive evidence in the burials (Toombs 1985: 111).

There were differences found in some of the graves within the Tell el-Hesi cemetery. Toombs found that there were two sub-groups of burials, both of which showed differences in burial customs as compared to the more common burials. One of the groups is assumed to be foreign women brought into the tribe for marriage. The other group was buried with the head facing the north, towards Jerusalem, rather than facing the southeast, towards Mecca. Toombs points out that Jerusalem was also a holy city for the Muslims, so these burials cannot be taken categorically as proof that not all of those buried within the cemetery were Muslim (1985: 111).

Eakins, on the other hand, sees these differences in burial practices as an ignorance of orthodox Muslim customs, rather than as evidence of separate groups within the burial population at Tell el-Hesi. An alternate explanation for the deviations from the norm of burial customs is not given, however (Eakins 1993: 77-78).

The tombs at Tell el-Hesi were not marked when the cemetery was first excavated. When the site was visited in the late 1700s, it was noted that the tell was covered with stones. In fact, it appeared that the surface was paved and that there were remains of some kind of citadel. Toombs believes that these may have been the remains of the grave markers, since the ancient buildings would have been built of mud-brick and would not have left the remains that were reported in the 1700s (1985: 113).

The burials themselves were generally similar to one another. There did not appear to be a set burial position, with the exception that the head almost always faced the south-east. The body was placed in a shroud and was sometimes found to have been dressed and adorned with jewellery. More jewellery could be placed in the grave by female relatives of the deceased (Toombs 1985: 112-113).

The grave itself could either be stone-capped or left uncapped as well as either being stone-lined or unlined. There was no set pattern as to whether the graves were lined and capped. If the grave was stone-capped, it would then be covered over by a layer

of earth-fill. The fill probably formed a mound on the surface, so as to allow for settling in the grave (Toombs 1985: 113).

Tell el-Hesi is not the only Muslim cemetery located in the region. Toombs records six other examples of Muslim cemeteries in the region of Tell el-Hesi. These are Tel Gat, Tel Nagila, Tel Gezer, Tel Zeror (Khirbet Tell ad-Durur), Tel Mevorakh (Mubarak), and Caesarea Maritima (Toombs 1985: 16-18). As well, Muslim cemeteries dating to the Frankish period have been found at Tall Dair'Alla, Tall Qiri and Tantura (Dor) (Pringle 1997b: 1).

Tel Gat, located approximately 9km northeast of Tell el-Hesi, has close parallels to the Muslim cemetery at Tell el-Hesi. The cemetery at Tel Gat had not been used recently and the excavator dated the site to the 7th century to the 15th century C.E. The site, as with Tell el-Hesi, was densely covered with burials (Toombs 1985: 16).

Data with respect to the Muslim cemetery at Tel Gezer has not yet been published. The cemetery at Tel Nagila has yet to be excavated and we await data on that cemetery as well (Toombs 1985: 17).

The cemetery at Tel Zeror is located on one of the two peaks that make up the site. The other peak contained an Arab village, dated to 1200 to 1400 C.E. The graves that were found at Tel Zeror were almost identical to those uncovered at Tell el-Hesi. The cemetery at Tel Zeror was believed to be contemporaneous with the Arab village on the opposite peak (Toombs 1985: 17).

Tel Mevorakh is a difficult site to interpret. A cemetery was found that covered most of the surface of the tel. Four types of graves were identified, one of which was dated to the Crusader period of the late 12th and 13th centuries. Another type was dated to the 19th century onwards, with the other two types not being dated. Toombs believes that the two dated types of graves should be considered contemporaneous, while leaving the other two types undated (1985: 17-18).

Tel Mevorakh was believed to have belonged to the Crusader occupants of Caesarea Maritima, which lies approximately 5km southwest of the tel. However, the orientation of the bodies indicates that the deceased were Muslims. Toombs suggests that these may have been the bodies of the Crusaders' servants, rather than Christians (1985: 18).

Caesarea Maritima is a site where both Muslim and Christian cemeteries have been found. The Crusader burials were previously discussed. The Muslim burials at Caesarea Maritima were found in the sand dunes, just south of the Crusader castle. The dune cemetery contained three phases of burials: pre-Crusader, Crusader, and post-Crusader. The pre- and post-Crusader burials were all Muslim burials (Toombs 1985: 18).

Medieval Tombs and Graves

The medieval tomb is one of the most important sources we can use to understand beliefs about death and burial. According to Binski, "[t]he tomb stood for the dead, marked their resting-place, and lent them a voice" (1996: 71). Tombs were a memorial that would last. They were stable, permanent, and accessible (Binski 1996: 71).

Tombs also provided a link between the living and the dead. With the rise of the belief in Purgatory in the late thirteenth century, the tomb acted as a message from the dead to the living, asking for prayers to help the soul in Purgatory (Binski 1996: 71). According to Binski, "[t]ombs...provoked both memory and action, good works, in the living, and their systems of display were related to this dialectical relationship" (1996: 71).

The Christian tomb differed from the pagan tomb of Roman times. The pagan tomb was used to celebrate the life of the deceased and to ensure that person and his accomplishments were not forgotten. The Christian tomb, on the other hand, was created to ensure the safety of the souls of the living and the dead (Binski 1996: 72). Pagan tombs looked backwards while Christian tombs looked forwards.

Binski argues that the medieval tomb was essentially a form of interior art. That is to say that tombs were to be found in churches. This is what really separated medieval tombs from ancient, pagan tombs. Medieval tombs were found inside churches while ancient tombs were found outside, on roads leading to settlements (Binski 1996: 72). This question of where tombs belong and what that means will be discussed in a later chapter, when the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit is discussed. In brief, however, it is my belief that tombs were not essentially an interior form of art but that their presence inside churches had a different purpose than did tombs found outside of churches.

Burial inside the church was at first restricted to the highest members of society: royalty, saints, and clerics. In the early Middle Ages, lay burial was mainly limited to the thresholds of churches. That began to change in the 12th century and lay burial moved further into the church (Binski 1996: p 72-73). By moving further into the church, the tomb "surfaced into the light" and became a public display (Binski 1996: 77).

The exception to this rule may be the funerary basilicas in Rome. The funerary basilicas were built near the grave of a martyr, which was in a catacomb and not actually part of the basilica itself. The faithful would be buried either in the catacombs near the martyr's shrine, in an open-air cemetery, or in a funerary basilica (Krautheimer 1965: 27-32). These basilica date from the time of Constantine, namely the early 4th century AD. In this time, the laity were already moving into the church. This may be a unique situation, though, since the funerary basilica were built to accommodate burials and the funerary celebrations that accompanied them.

Medieval tombs were a mixture of different forms of public display. The more elaborate tombs often had a canopy above them with the more traditional tomb beneath (Binski 1996: 85). The carving of effigies became common on these elaborate tombs, either showing a realistic figure or an idealised one (Binski 1996: 93-94).

Tombs could be more discreet, though. Incised stone slabs became more common in the later medieval period. The grave slabs could be inlaid with metal or stone, or gilded, or enamelled, all of which would have suggested the grandeur of the canopied tomb, but at a much humbler level. The stone slab was permanent and more resistant to wear than the tombs carved in relief (Binski 1996: 90).

There are at least six types of tombs or burial structures in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, as detailed by Boas (1999: 228-236). Boas' analysis of the tombs is superficial and a more detailed analysis of tomb types will be discussed later in this dissertation.

Problems Related to Medieval Death and Burial

The study of death and burial in the Middle Ages is in its infancy, especially for the period of the later Middle Ages. One has only to read a few of the general texts on death and burial in the medieval period to realise that there is a lack of work in this field. Too often cemeteries are ignored in favour of the more spectacular church tombs. Final excavation reports that include burials more often than not do not do a complete analysis of the context of the burial and focus more on the bones and what they can tell about the person who was buried. As well, grave goods tend to be a focus of most archaeologists, meaning that the later middle ages, with its general lack of grave goods, is left to by the wayside.

The focus on tombs in churches is evident in a reading of Paul Binski's book, *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. Binski acknowledges that he sees tombs as a form of interior art (1996: 72). And yet, by saying this, Binski is ignoring the tombs that are found in cemeteries *outside* the church. For tombs were not just found inside churches but they were an essential part of external cemeteries. Binski picks and chooses the material that supports his claims and ignores anything that might damage what he puts forth.

Christopher Daniell's book is much more useful than Binski's as it contains more detail on the particulars of death and burial. However, it is also lacking in certain

material. For instance, little is said about the tomb in its context within the cemetery. In fact, the tomb is little discussed in Daniell's book, *Death and Burial in Medieval England*. When discussing archaeology, Daniell prefers to look at the grave goods found in burial and at the osteology of the burials. However, when discussing the geography of burial, Daniell focuses on burial preferences within the church and only briefly discusses burial preferences within the cemetery itself (1997: 95-104). The main problem with Daniell's work is that he does not integrate archaeological evidence with the textual evidence. For example, when discussing burial preferences within the cemetery, he uses evidence from burial requests but does not look at archaeological evidence from excavated cemeteries (Daniell 1997: p 99-100).

It should be noted that most of the work that has been done on cemeteries and burials focuses on prehistoric, early medieval, or post-medieval burials. This leaves a large gap in time for which mortuary archaeology studies have not been conducted to any great extent. As Williams has stated, "[d]espite the rich potential of the data, burial archaeology in the period (later medieval period) continues to be side-lined in archaeological research" (2003: 228). By this, Williams means that burial archaeology in the later medieval period tends to be put under the category of church and monastic archaeology and that any detailed discussion of death and burial in these areas is difficult to find in the literature (2003: 228).

Another problem with burial archaeology is the lack of a consistent system of recording and disseminating data from burial sites. Since it is rare to find two Crusader burial sites that have been excavated by the same person, it is fair to say that no two excavation reports will contain the same information. Very often one report will include details such as the size and shape of the burials, while another report will not. Without a consistent method of recording and reporting the data, there is no way to form a real picture of Crusader burial patterns.

As well, too often the only publication relating to a burial site is a short article in a journal, which does not go into detail on the types artefacts recovered from the graves. Taha's article on the excavation of the 'Abudiyah Church at Abud is a good example of this. In the discussion of the church cemetery, he gives a list of the types of

artefacts found in the graves, but does not go into detail. From the article, we know that two glazed bowls from the Crusader/Ayyubid period were found but there is no discussion of the exact type of bowls they were (Taha 1997: 367). Details like decoration or the colour of the slip are not given. It is details like this that are important to a study of burial archaeology.

One area of medieval society that is generally ignored by authors is the poor. Little is said about the death and burial of the poor. Daniell refers to the poor only in relation to the role they played in the burial rites of the wealthier members of society (1997: 52, 55). Information on burial of the poor may be inferred from archaeological excavation reports of medieval cemeteries, something that neither Binski nor Daniell seem to do. Information on the death and funerary rituals of the poor may be more difficult to determine, though a thorough perusal of the primary sources may provide some information. Unfortunately, this is not the focus of my thesis, so the work on this subject will have to be left to someone else for the time being.

The burial of criminals is also not discussed in great length by the sources. Daniell does briefly mention that thieves were to be buried in unconsecrated ground but little else is said with regard to criminals (1997: 103). What happened to those who were executed for their crimes? Again, a reading of the primary sources would be necessary to find the answers to this question. For instance, it is known that the Knights Hospitallers in England buried criminals who had been hanged (Pugh 1981: 566).

One source that does tell us about the burial of criminals is the site of Sutton Hoo in England. Burials found around the edge of Mound 5 and around the eastern edge of the mounds, which all belonged to people who had been hanged, beheaded, or mutilated. Carver believes these were the burials of criminals who had been executed, though their deaths may also have been seen as sacrifices. In fact, Carver sees these executions as coming at the same time as the development of kingship. The king would have had to protect his kingdom and his power by the deterrent of public executions (Carver 1998: 137-140).

The works of Daniell and Binski both bring to light important views on death and burial in the Middle Ages but their work is limited. Both works tend to focus on textual sources and on art historical analyses. The interpretation of archaeological data is lacking, though Daniell does make a token effort to work with the available data. Williams is especially scathing of their work as he says that works such as these simply use archaeological data to support the views of historians and they do not seek to use archaeology to suggest new theories that would advance the study of death and burial in the later medieval period (Williams 2003: 228).

Conclusion

Any archaeological interpretation of death and burial practices must be based on a knowledge of the religious beliefs which were prevalent in the area at the time being discussed. In the Middle Ages, beliefs tended to be centred on the question of the fate of a person's soul after death. This belief was reflected in the burial practices of the period.

The archaeological study of death and burial in the Middle Ages is in its infancy. Scholars have tended to ignore cemeteries in favour of the more spectacular church tombs. This is done despite the fact that cemeteries can reveal many important aspects of social and religious customs of the time. To date, studies of death and burial in the Middle Ages focus on textual sources and art historical analyses while neglecting an in depth interpretation of archaeological data.

Part 2

The Crusader Cemetery at 'Atlit: history and archaeological investigation

2

The history of 'Atlit and the archaeological work done at the Crusader cemetery

A short history of the Order of the Knights of the Temple

Pilgrims' Castle, known today as 'Atlit, and the area around the site were held by the Templar Knights during the Crusader period. With this in mind, it is necessary to explore the history of the Order before discussing the history of the site itself. To understand the history of the castle and its development in the Crusader period, it is necessary to understand the history and purpose of the Templar Knights.

The Order of the Knights of the Temple was one of the foremost military Orders formed in the Latin East. The exact origins of the Order are not known, but William of Tyre relates one version of the Order's beginnings. According to this version, in 1118, a number of knights approached the Patriarch of Jerusalem and promised to live as regular canons in Christ's service. These men, of whom the exact number is not clear, were given space near the al-Aqsa mosque, on the Temple Mount, from which the Templars took their name (William of Tyre 1986: 553-554).

No matter how the Order was founded, they were given a *Rule* nine years later, in 1127. Their purpose was to protect pilgrims and the roads and passes from robbers and brigands. According to William of Tyre, there were only nine knights in the Order in 1127. In the following years, however, the Order grew and, in the early 1170's, the Order was said to have had 300 knights, in addition to a large number of brothers (William of Tyre 1986: 554).

The organisation of the Templar Knights was similar to the other military Orders and was based on the organisation of a monastic Order, such as the Augustinians (Luttrell 1996: 200-201). The Templar Knights were headed by a Master, who was based in the Latin East, at the headquarters of the Order. This headquarters was originally in

Jerusalem, but was moved to Acre following the capture of Jerusalem by the Muslims in 1187 (Nicholson 2001: p. 113).

Since the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit belonged to the Templar Knights and was used to bury their dead, it is necessary to discuss who would have been a member of the Order. As stated previously, the Templars had both knights and brothers in the Order (Barber 1994: p. 94).

In addition to the knights and brothers, lay people could be admitted to the Order as associate members. The levels of association were *familiares*, *conversi* and *conversae*, *confratres* and *consorores*, and *donati* and *donatae*. The *familiares*, which is translated as 'friends', were people who promised to enter the Order if they ever chose to join a religious Order. They gave their possessions to the Order but retained the income from those possessions for the rest of their life. When they died, the *familiares* were granted the right to be buried with the Templar Knights. In return, the Templars gave the *familiares* a share in the spiritual and worldly benefits of the Order. If they required it, the Templars gave financial assistance to the *familiares*, likely in the form of a loan (Nicholson 2001: pp. 132-33).

The next level of association within the Order was that of the *conversus* or *conversa*, the former being a male 'convert' and the latter a female 'convert'. A *conversus* chose to join the Order, but did not make the profession of the three monastic vows that a full member would have taken. Little is known about the *conversi*, but it is likely that they would have followed the *Rule* and would have been buried in the same manner as a full member of the Templar Order (Nicholson 2001: p. 133).

The *confratres* and *consorores* are known in English as 'fellow-brothers' and 'fellow-sisters', respectively. They were associated with their local house but remained in their own home, rather than living in the local house of the Order. Their association with the Order would have included such things as giving an annual donation to the Order. This donation would have been returned in the form of prayers and a share in the good works of the Order. As with the *familiares*, the *confratres* and *consorores* would have promised to join the Templar Order if they ever chose to join an Order. The Templars promised to care for the *confratres* and *consorores* in their old age and

would bury them in a Templar cemetery upon their death (Nicholson 2001: p. 133; Upton-Ware 1992: p. 36, 141, 173-174).

The final level of association was that of the *donati* and *donatae*, or the male and female 'donats'. Donate means 'people who have given themselves'. These were people who intended to enter the Order, and who gave a vow of obedience to the Master of the Order. Donats could choose to live either in one of the Order's houses or in their own homes. They had the same rights as full members of the Order and would have been buried in a Templar cemetery upon their death (Nicholson 2001: p. 133).

The Templars' houses would not only have been a place for the housing of the knights and brothers. Hermits and anchoresses that were associated with the Order could have lived in separate cells that were isolated from the rest of the community. As well, there would have been a number of servants in the houses. These would have been both male and female servants, even though the *Rule* forbade the use of female servants (Nicholson 2001: p. 136; Upton-Ward 1992: p. 36).

Another group of people that could have been found at a Templar house was pensioners of the Order. These pensioners would have been either elderly servants of the Order or were people who had given a donation to the Templars in return for support in their last years, such as the associate members previously discussed. The Templars supported the pensioners with food, clothes, and money. This type of support was called a *corrody* and could be given to men, women, and married couples (Nicholson 2001: p. 136).

The Templars continued to be one of the most influential of the military Orders in the Latin East up to 1291. Following the dissolution of the Latin states in the Levant, they continued to have influence in Western Europe, though this influence did wane following the loss of the Latin East to the Muslims. The Templar Order was finally dissolved in 1312.

'Atlit - the site and its history

'Atlit is the current day name for the Crusader castle known as Pilgrims' Castle or Château Pèlerin. The castle and the faubourg are now in ruins, with only part of the castle walls still standing and the Crusader cemetery mostly intact. The site is located on the Mediterranean coast of Israel, north of Caesarea, along the Haifa to Tel Aviv road. It is approximately 20 kilometres southwest of Haifa. The castle and faubourg of 'Atlit are currently under Israeli military control and access to most of the site is restricted, though the Crusader cemetery is still accessible to civilians.

Although most of the visible remains at 'Atlit date to the Crusader period, the site seems to have been occupied first by either the Canaanites or the Phoenicians (Johns 1947: 9). The oldest occupation was in the headlands and the area behind the beach, which is the same area used by the Crusaders. In the Crusader chronicles that relate the building of the castle, it is told that the builders uncovered ancient walls and a hoard of coins while digging on the headland. During Johns' excavations at 'Atlit, a pottery deposit was found at 4 metres depth, which was dated to the eighteenth or seventeenth century B.C. and relates to the Hyksos period (1947: 10). Pottery sherds have been found throughout the site, which are dated to the fourteenth century B.C. onwards, corresponding to the period of Egyptian, Philistine, and Israelite invasions (Johns 1947: 10-11).

A Phoenician colony was established at 'Atlit sometime in the eighth or seventh century B.C. The evidence for a colony at the site includes cremated burials in the typical Phoenician style. The actual settlement has not been found but Johns suggests that it was located on the headland beneath the inner and upper ward of the Castle (Johns 1947: 11).

Ruins of houses from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. have been found below the level of the Crusader occupation at 'Atlit. A number of tombs from this period have also been found. Finds from the tombs date them to the Persian period, which began in the sixth century B.C., until the end of the fourth century B.C., when Alexander the Great conquered the Persian Empire (Johns 1947: 11).

'Atlit continued to be occupied into the Roman period and was likely known as Mutatio Certha, which was a staging post on the Roman road to Caesarea. Pottery and coins have been found at 'Atlit from the Roman period (Johns 1947: 13).

The site does not appear to have been occupied again until the time of the Crusades. The site was abandoned at the end of the eleventh century A.D. and was said to be a place where highway robbers laid in wait to ambush pilgrims. In order to protect the pilgrims, the Templar Knights built a fort near 'Atlit, called Le Destroit, which is today known as Khirbat Dustrey. Destroit was situated near a pass, which led to the coastal plain from Jerusalem. Oliver of Paderborn says that it was occupied both in times of war and in times of truce. This means that there probably would have been a permanent garrison at Destroit, since it would have been continuously occupied. According to Oliver, Le Destroit, meaning “the strait”, was so-called because the path it guarded was narrow (1971: p. 57).

The castle at 'Atlit was built in the early thirteenth century A.D. The Fifth Crusade brought a force of mainly Austrians and Hungarians to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. It was this force, along with the Templar Knights, the Hospitaller Knights, and the Teutonic Knights, who built the castles at both Caesarea and 'Atlit. The work took place during the winter of 1217 and 1218. Oliver of Paderborn records that it was “the Templars with Lord Walter of Avesnes and some pilgrim helpers, and the Hospitallers from the House of the Teutons, who began to refortify the Pilgrims' Castle, which was formerly called Destroit (1971: p. 57).” The land upon which the castle stood belonged to the Knights Templar and they took charge of the castle upon its completion.

Oliver describes, in detail, the land upon which the castle was built. There was a large promontory, which Oliver describes as overhanging the sea. This promontory formed the northern part of the natural harbour. Natural cliffs on the north, west, and south sides protected the promontory, leaving only the east side unprotected. Originally, this side was protected by Le Destroit, though it was built a fair distance from the actual promontory (Oliver of Paderborn 1971: p. 57). In 1217, the protection of the promontory was shifted from Destroit to the castle that was being built upon the promontory.

During the construction of the castle, the Templars came upon ancient foundation walls. These walls likely date to the Phoenician occupation of the site. In addition to the walls, a cache of ancient coins was also found. Oliver of Paderborn said that these coins were “unknown to modern times” and that they were used to cover some of the expenses incurred during the construction of the castle (1971: p. 57). The third discovery made during the construction was fresh water springs. These springs were found under an ancient wall and were said to have “freely gushed forth (Oliver of Paderborn 1971: p. 57).”

The stones used to construct that castle and its defences were locally quarried. According to Oliver, “the Lord...supplied an abundance of stones and cement (1971: p. 57).” The stone quarries are still visible today, and are situated to the east of the castle and the salt pans that lie outside of the fortified walls. The stones used were hewn and fitted, and were so large that it was difficult for them to be carried in a cart drawn by two oxen (Oliver of Paderborn 1971: p. 58).

The promontory was enclosed on both sides by a high wall as far as the rocks. The height of the two main towers of Pilgrims’ Castle was said to have exceeded that of the promontory, itself. The castle itself contained an oratory, with a palace and several houses. The convent of the Templars was removed from the vice and sin of Acre to Pilgrims’ Castle until the walls of Jerusalem were rebuilt, which never happened.

The territory surrounding Pilgrims’ Castle was rich in fisheries, saltpans, woods, pastures, field and plants, as well as having several vineyards, gardens and orchards. Oliver goes on to say that the Saracens suffered considerable damage from Pilgrims’ Castle and that they were forced to abandon their cultivated land (1971: p. 58).

Pilgrims’ Castle was one of the most heavily fortified sites in the Latin East. It twice resisted attack by the Egyptians during the Fifth Crusade, even though the castle at Caesarea was taken (Johns 1947: 16). The castle became one of the main Templar strongholds in the Latin East, following Acre and Tortosa in Syria. A small town was

situated outside the castle walls and likely dates from the second quarter of the 13th century, since its burgesses court was known to exist by 1250 (Johns 1947: 23).

Pilgrims' Castle is mentioned several times in the French text of the *Rule of the Order of the Knights Templar*. In the *Rule*, there are six mentions of brothers being put in irons or imprisoned and in which a specific geographical location is mentioned. Two of these refer to the offender either being in Cyprus, or of the offender being sent to Cyprus. In the other four cases, the offenders were imprisoned in Pilgrims' Castle. Pilgrims' Castle is the one of only two Templar site in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, with the other found at Acre (Abel 1926: 290, 294-295). There was obviously a site in Cyprus where brothers were imprisoned, since it is the only other site mentioned in regards to imprisonment of Templar brothers (Upton-Ward 1992: pp. 144, 153-156).

In 1265 Baybars, the Mamluk sultan, sacked the town at 'Atlit but the castle was not attacked. The area was raided again in 1266 but it is likely that Pilgrims' Castle was seen as impregnable as it was, again, left untouched (Johns 1997: 28). The Templars were able to hold out at Pilgrims' Castle until 1291, when Acre fell to the Mamluks. The castle was abandoned sometime after the fall of Acre in May 1291, although the exact date is uncertain (Johns 1947: 30).

The Mamluks took control of Pilgrims' Castle in the summer of 1291. To avoid the possibility of the Crusaders reoccupying the castle, it was immediately destroyed (Johns 1947: 30). A group of nomadic Mongols were allowed to settle in the area of 'Atlit in 1291. European travellers from the seventeenth century onwards mentioned that people were occupying the site and carrying out trade (Johns 1947: p. 31). When 'Atlit was excavated in the 1930's, the site was occupied by a village and the Crusader cemetery was said to have been used by the villagers and their ancestors (Johns, letter dated 29 December 1937, to the Commissioner for Lands and Surveys, IAA Archive).

When C. N. Johns excavated the site in the early 1930's, a village occupied the ruins of the castle. Clearance of the site began in 1922 by the Department of Antiquities of the British Administration. Excavation of the site on a larger scale commenced from

1930 to 1936. The town, castle, and cemetery were excavated and the findings were published in 1947 by Johns in the *Guide to 'Atlit*. Unfortunately, the *Guide* was not widely distributed, mainly due to the loss of the main consignment during its journey to Jerusalem from Oxford. A reprint of the *Guide* was not done, as the British Mandate ended in 1948 and the Palestine Department of Antiquities became defunct (Johns 1947: xiii). Johns returned to Britain but did not have time to complete a report of the excavation of the Crusader cemetery. The *Guide to 'Atlit* was reprinted in 1997 as part of a volume of Johns' work, edited by Denys Pringle.

Johns also published a series of articles in the *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine*. In total, Johns published five articles on the excavations at 'Atlit, though none of these contained any information about the excavation at the Crusader cemetery. These articles were also republished in 1997, in the same volume as the *Guide to 'Atlit*.

C. N. Johns' excavation of the Crusader cemetery in 1934

The Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit was excavated from April to June, 1934, under the direction of C. N. Johns. The records of the excavation are currently in the C. N. J. Archive, part of the main archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London, England. The only detailed record of the excavation that survives is the field diary of H. E. Bird, an archaeologist who was working under Johns.

To date, the only publication of the work done at the Crusader cemetery had been three paragraphs and a number of pictures and drawings included in Johns' *Guide to 'Atlit* (1997: 92-4). From the notes and writings found in the Palestine Exploration Fund's archive, it seems that Johns intended to properly publish the work done at the cemetery but this work was only in its infancy when it was abandoned. Johns intended to publish the work done on the cemetery in the *Quarterly of the Department of Archaeology of Palestine*, as he did with the reports on the other excavations at 'Atlit, but he never completed the work.

The excavation at the Crusader cemetery began on 24 April, 1934 with a number of trial pits being dug to the north of the modern road to look for "evidence of general

cemetery occupation" (Bird 1934: 2). The finds from these trial pits proved to be of little interest. Once the trial pits had been dug, a grid was imposed on the cemetery and clearing work began. While the clearing work was carried out, Johns continued to dig pits, which Bird saw as less effective than digging a trench (1934: 2).

The cemetery was systematically cleared, apparently moving from east to west, though Bird records that on 1 May it was decided to clear two broad strips of the cemetery which ran north-south (1934: 3). As the clearing continued, the structures of graves were dug down to the surface level and unmarked graves were completely exposed. It seems that one group of men cleared the surface and another group came behind them and did the actual excavation work (Bird 1934: 3).

Trial trenches were dug outside of the actual cemetery, in addition to the work conducted inside the cemetery. The cemetery was defined by the extant Crusader walls, which Johns and his team later rebuilt. One trench was dug in a bank of rising ground near Khirbet Dustrey and the railway, to the south-east of the Crusader cemetery, though nothing was found in this trench (Bird 1934: 4). Other trenches were dug in a bank near the south side of the cemetery, north of the road, north of Khirbet Dustrey, and west of the railway and south of the road. Again, only some pottery was found but nothing else (Bird 1934: 5).

As the excavation work continued, some graves were being reconditioned. Bird records this reconditioning as being "extensive" though little detail as given as to what the reconditioning entailed (1934: 5). On 21 May, a number of plaster-sealed graves were uncovered which had little, if any, stone superstructure remaining. These were loosely covered with stones, which could be later set in plaster (Bird 1934: 6). This may give us an idea of the type of reconditioning that was undertaken during the excavation of the Crusader cemetery. Bird also describes "trial graves" or "trial exhibits" which were completed at the end of June. Two graves were plastered over in mud and then had small stones set in the plaster, while two others only had the mud plaster (Bird 1934: 18).

By 29 May, most of the clearing work had been completed and only excavation and reconditioning continued within the Crusader cemetery. The excavation work

continued through June. Blank areas, devoid of stone grave covers, were explored to determine if there were any graves. While the cemetery was being excavated, a new road was being built next to the Crusader cemetery, as the old road ran over part of the cemetery (Bird 1934: 18). The excavation was completed by the end of June and the first part of July was given over to completing drawings of the Crusader cemetery and completing a plan for air photographs (Bird 1934: 19). The drawings and plan are no longer extant, though the aerial photograph is currently in the Palestine Exploration Fund archive.

During the excavation, all of the graves were individually numbered. The numbering was done using number cards, which were somehow fixed to the graves (Bird 1934: 10). At the end of the excavation, 1720 graves were recorded. The total number of burials was probably closer to 1900, though, as many of the graves were multiple burials (Bird 1934: 19).

Following the excavation, the whole of the Crusader cemetery was recovered and the sand was packed down. None of the skeletal remains were removed from the site. Instead, Johns chose to simply cover them up again, without doing any osteological studies. The only data we have in regards to the sex and age of the deceased found in unmarked graves is what Bird recorded in his excavation diary.

I make special mention of the fact that we only have data on the skeletons from the unmarked graves, because none of the graves with tomb markers were excavated below the base of the tomb, itself. The tombs were excavated to the base of their foundations, while the remainder of the site was excavated to what Johns identified as the bottom of the Crusader level.

All of the artefacts recovered from the Crusader cemetery were found either in relation to the skeletons in the unmarked graves or in the area between graves. Nothing was recovered from the tombs or in relation to the tombs.

The squares

The Crusader cemetery was divided into seven squares, each of which varied in its size and shape as the grid system ran at an angle to the orientation of the cemetery itself. The squares are W.4, W.5, W.6, X.4, X.5, X.6, and Y.5. W.4 to W.6 roughly covered the west to northwestern part of the cemetery, X.4 to X.6 covered the middle section and Y.5 covered the eastern-most corner (Bird 1934: 10).

In the excavation cards recording the small finds, Johns at times referred to squares with the classification of M.20, M.60, M.25, N.25, and N.35. These numbers are not explained in any of the extant records and one can only assume that they were the references given to the early test pits and trenches that were laid in the cemetery at the beginning of the excavation. This assumption is supported by the fact that the last reference to either an M or N square is on 3 May, and excavation work began on 24 April. These five squares or trenches will not be discussed in detail here as nothing is known of them except for the finds recorded in the excavation cards.

W.4.

W.4 was located in the north to northwest corner of the Crusader cemetery. This area contained shallow burials which were not marked, though there was evidence of remains of stone coverings, which led Bird to believe that all of W.4 was once filled with stone marked graves (1934: 7). Johns later questioned this assumption and believed that burials in the northern part of the cemetery were not marked with stones (Bird 1934: 16).

Part of the north wall of the cemetery was contained within W.4 and it was near this wall that a line of skeletons was found in which the skeletons were overlapping. This points to later burials cutting into earlier burials and mixing the bones of the skeletons. A complete bowl was found near one of these skeletons, though not apparently associated with it. In association with this same line of skeletons was a bronze cruciform pendant that was worn around the neck or sewn onto clothing and another complete bowl, this time associated with a burial (Bird 1934: 13). A child burial was found near a gap in the north wall with which was associated a complete pot of finer red ware. The skeleton of the child was disturbed and fragmentary (Bird 1934: 13).

An important find was fragments of white plaster painted with red. Bird argues this shows that the northern area of the Crusader cemetery, namely W.4 and W.5, once contained covered graves (1934: 14-5). What is even more important about this find is the possibility that the graves could have been covered with plaster and then painted. The paint could have been used for inscriptions, which would indicate that these graves were not anonymous, as they today seem to be. This is, however, only an assumption and it cannot be proved as none of the extant graves in the cemetery have inscriptions.

Once the excavation of W.4 was complete, all of the burials were marked with a line of stones (Bird 1934: 15). Bird does not indicate if these stones were removed at the end of the excavation season or if they were left in place. This question will be covered later, in Part 3.

W.5.

W.5 covered most of the northwestern corner of the cemetery. The graves were very plentiful in this area, with solid masses of sand bound stone showing on the surface, as was the case in X.5 and W.6. A small tomb slab with a cross in low relief was found, as was a slab with an insignificant raised cross which was a few inches long and said to look like an ankh (Bird 1934: 6). Grave W.5.6 had a taller stone at the head of the grave than at the foot, which was plain. This type of grave also occurred in X.5 with the stone at the foot of the grave not always found. Two or three examples of this type with an incised cross on the east face were found near W.5.6. Another example has the remains of plaster in which a cross was moulded (Bird 1934: 6).

On the edge of X.5 and W.5, a large slab of stone was found which was unworked except for a few incised lines, which may have been part of a cross. A fine gable-shaped slab with a surmounting cross was found immediately beside the stone slab. Another small tomb slab was recessed with an equal armed cross which was eight inches long and over an inch wide and deep (Bird 1934: 7).

The graves in W.5 were mixed in type and included rubble mounds, graves of small boulders, and remains of plain worked slabs. There were also a number of shallow burials, both with and without stone markings. Bird believed that the "numerous and definite (if scanty) remains of stone coverings at convincing intervals" point to the fact that all of W.5 was originally filled with stone covered graves (1934: 7).

Remains of white plaster with red paint were found, which suggests that at least some of the graves in the area were covered with plaster, a supposition which is supported by the existence of a number of small and medium sized stones in the area (Bird 1934: 14-5).

An interesting find was three fragments of a white late classical tombstone of a pediment form, which were incorporated into the structure of different graves. There were also various pieces of different worked stones found in graves that may have been rejects from the building of the town or castle (Bird 1934: 7). A broken slab of medium size had an equal armed cross in low relief and a large white 'boulder' slab with a rough and uneven surface and oblong shape had a crude central cross in relief, which Bird says was of "strangely primitive work" (1934: 8). A stone from one tomb showed that the grave had been completely covered with a smooth coat of white plaster.

Sherds of a bowl with an incised bird were found in association with a burial thirty centimetres below the surface and another complete bowl, unconnected with a burial, was found in the north part of the square (Bird 1934: 9). The most interesting bowl found was discovered at the foot of grave. The bowl contained a black and grey ashy substance but the bowl was cleaned by a worker so it is unknown what the substance was (Bird 1934: 16).

A number of unmarked burials were found in W.5. A strip of burials near the road was covered with small stones (Bird 1934: 10) and three other groups of burials showed later burials overlapping earlier ones, which Bird suggested may have shown that the graves were anciently covered by sand (1934: 11). Immediately adjacent to the western wall, a group of skeletons was uncovered that showed a combination of composed and disturbed burials. One skeleton had its head to the west and face to the south, which is the accepted Muslim attitude for burial, while another interment was

of a mother and child. Beside one of the skeletons, two plates were found in situ (Bird 1934: 11-2). Ninety of these unmarked skeletons were covered with a line of four or five stones collected from the castle area (Bird 1934: 14).

At the conclusion of the excavation of this square, a number of graves were reconditioned. The sites of all burials in W.5 were marked with a line of stones, as was done in W.4. Bird recorded that a total of around 460 tombs were found in W.5 (1934: 15).

W.6.

W.6 was located in the southwestern corner of the cemetery. The graves were very plentiful in W.6, as they were in X.5 and W.5. There were solid masses of sand-bound stone showing on the surface (Bird 1934: 6) and the graves in W.6 were of mixed type, as they were in W.5. These types were rubble mounds, graves of small boulders, remains of plain worked slabs, and two of the large substructures which held the large stone covers, as seen in X.5. A group of eight or nine graves of a nicely squared smaller type of grave was found, which consisted of chessed stone and was of a regular oblong shape. Plaster was found on the sides of the graves and Bird believed they may have been plastered on the top, as well (1934: 8).

During the course of the excavation, an upstanding cross incised with a cross-bow was found, which was said to have been of "rather crude work" (1934: 6). As well, a broken slab in which was cut in slight relief a sword-like cross, broken longitudinally and with about a third missing was uncovered (Bird 1934: 7), as was another small stone slab upon which was a sunk circle enclosing an equal-armed cross of a possible Hospitaller type. The cross on this last slab was of a similar type of cross to those found on two other sculptured slabs from X.5 and W.6 but these were not in a circular field (Bird 1934: 11).

A possible gateway was found in the western wall. There were stones that could have made the threshold and there was also a socketed stone on one side of the area, which Bird identified as possibly being the original gatepost socket (1934: 12). If this was the entrance, it would have been four feet wide, although the presence of burials

immediately inside the wall does pose a problem with this interpretation (Bird 1934: 12).

The old road ran through W.6 and there was evidence that burials were dug through this road. This was in contrast to the modern road, where burials in X.5 and Y.5 were covered over when the modern road was laid (Bird 1934: 17). Thus, the ancient road must have been out of use by the thirteenth century.

X.4.

X.4 comprised the north-eastern corner of the Crusader cemetery. In this area, skeletons were found immediately under the top sand without stone covers, a trend that continued in W.4 and W.5 (Bird 1934: 2 & 7). Bird suggested the stones and sand were probably moved to make the foundations of a modern hut near the Crusader cemetery (1934: 2). The skeletons were both composed and disturbed, some even mutilated. The burials were found mainly in an extended position and were in a quite sound condition, except for where they had been disturbed. These were not separate and orderly burials as some of them overlap, and there was no distinguishable arrangement to the burials. The coverless burials appeared to have been hasty or careless interments, which were generally collective burials (Bird 1934: 3). This area of X.4 came to be known as "The Shambles" (Bird 1934: 4).

An upstanding cross was found in X.4, which was one of four found in the Crusader cemetery. The cross was made by cutting quarter circles out of a square stone block. The cross in X.4 was found in an area where skeletons were buried just below the surface and there were few remains of stone covers (Bird 1934: 6).

Thirty burials in X.4 had stone markers, some of which lay near the north wall. A number of scattered stones were found on the surface of this area, which were probably the remains of graves (Bird 1934: 17), although Johns did question whether burials in the north part of the cemetery ever had stone markers (Bird 1934: 16). Fragments of corner stones that were worked in relief were found in the foundation of the hut mentioned earlier. These stones included one with a plain shield in relief, fragments of a larger cruciform relief, a plummet and set-square in bold relief on a

square slab, a gabled cross slab, and a plain gabled slab. Bird believed these were originally from X.5 as that was where most of the graves with the necessary heavy substructure were found (1934: 4). Bird's conclusion was that most of X.4 was originally filled with stone marked graves, although he hesitated about making the same conclusion for the area of X.4 called "The Shambles" (1934: 7).

A number of the graves in X.4 were repaired. While repairing one grave, which was of one of the better types, a skeleton was found with its head to the east. Another grave in X.5 had a similar situation (Bird 1934: 18). Neither Bird nor Johns had an explanation for this unusual orientation of the skeletons.

X.5.

X.5 was located in the middle of the cemetery and one corner extended almost to the eastern wall while another corner encompassed part of the southern wall and the area outside of the wall. Four grave slabs that were more or less intact were found, along with the heavy substructures of other large tombs, which had the heavy slabs on top of them. A fragment of one of these slabs was found on its substructure, known as grave X.5.75, and others were found on the surface nearby. One of these was the "Mason's Tomb" (X.5.106), which had an incised cross and the hammer and set square symbolic of the mason's trade. Bird suggested that the cross may have originally been filled in with brass. X.5.107, an upturned slab found next to the "Mason's Tomb", had cruciform incisions on its surface and two other stone had crosses in relief (X.5.111 and 112), which had been defaced at some point. Most of the heavy substructures had been disturbed to some degree, possibly when the covering slabs were removed (Bird 1934: 2).

X.5.345 was a grave with a socketed stone by the 'head' of the original stone mound. Beside this was found a green glazed bowl, which was suggested by Johns as being in situ. The bowl was beside an isolated skull, which was not that of the original interment under the stone mound. Bird believes that all of these finds were accidentally associated as they were found in a disturbed area by the roadside (1934: 5).

In the area immediately to the east of the road, a series of extended skeletons were found buried under the top-soil with no stone markings. A similar row was excavated to the W of the first row. Fragments of a rough stone covering were found in one case, which suggests they were all originally covered with stone mounds. A small glazed cup and glass lamp were found near these burials and were determined by Johns to have been in situ. Bird believed that the association of these finds held little significance as the burials appeared to have been hurried or careless and even the orderly burials were extremely disturbed when they were excavated. The level of disturbance was so great that thirty seven skulls were found in thirteen numbered graves (Bird 1934: 3).

Graves were very plentiful in X.5, with solid masses of sand bound stone found on the surface. A number of tomb slabs were found, one of which had a cross in low relief (X.5.322). One tomb was found covered in white plaster, which was originally painted in red. This grave was completely sealed with plaster before the stone superstructure, of which one stone remained in situ, was added. The skull of this burial was partly emerging from the ground and appeared to have been at the east end of the grave (Bird 1934: 6). The remains of two more tombs, said to have been of "good square construction", overlapped and were of exactly the same type and construction (Bird 1934: 6). Bird also identified the large stone slabs in X.5 as being associated with the substructures found in W.6 (1934: 7-8).

Certain graves in X.5, as well as in W.5, had a stone at the head of the grave that was often plain and taller than the one at the foot of the grave, which was identified as being Muslim in fashion. Johns identified certain graves in the western part of the cemetery as probably being of Muslim origin, although there were no other attributes to substantiate this claim (Bird 1934: 2 & 6).

There were two interesting finds in X.5. One was a roughly semi-circular ridge of ancient plaster that was found between two graves (Bird 1934: 6). Another was a beaker-shaped pot of coarse buff ware that was found lying on its side below the surface between two graves and contained scraps of perished iron (Bird 1934: 9). The ridge of plaster may indicate the spot where plaster was made in the medieval period

before it was applied to the graves (Bird 1934: 6). The beaker with the iron is more unusual and its significance will have to be further studied.

A group of four skulls was uncovered which pointed to secondary burials taking place during the Crusader period. A primary burial was found intact to the north of a secondary burial and was lying partly under the debris of the four disturbed skeletons mentioned above. The four skulls were found to the south of the secondary burial, placed in a deliberately made pile. Bird believed that the disturbance of these burials shows that the primary burial was either unmarked or the marker was destroyed by blown sand at a time prior to the secondary burials (1934: 15).

A blank area in X.5 and Y.5, parallel to the modern road, was searched, as was the area under the modern road, itself. Three or four graves were found under the modern road, with their covers still intact. The area now covered by the modern road was probably covered by graves in the Crusader period as the intact burials mentioned above were associated with the fragmentary remains of more skeletons (Bird 1934: 17).

The area of X.5 adjacent to the modern road was sparsely occupied by tombs, though some traces of skeletons were found (Bird 1934: 4). Some wide spaces were never occupied by graves (Bird 1934: 5). Forty graves were marked with rubble mounds (Bird 1934: 18) and a total of nearly four hundred graves were labelled, though this number did not include unmarked skeletons (Bird 1934: 10). Once excavation was complete, X.5, along with Y.5, was covered in hard black earth and the ground was watered and stamped flat (Bird 1934: 18).

X.6.

X.6 covered the southwestern part of the cemetery, although most of the square is located outside of the boundaries of the cemetery. There is no mention in the extant excavation records of any artefacts or burials having been found in X.6.

Y.5.



Y.5 covered the southeastern corner of the cemetery, which was only a small portion of the square itself. Large tombs were found in this square with the heavy substructures upon which the tomb slabs would have rested. These tombs were similar to those found in X.5 (Bird 1934: 2). A stone slab was found which was of a tapering form upon which a double cross with a foot inside a circle was incised (Bird 1934: 4). Other than these large tombs, some disturbed skeletons were exposed and at the end of the excavation around forty graves had been uncovered and marked with rubble mounds. At the end of the excavation work, both X.5 and Y.5 were covered by hard black earth and the ground was watered and stamped flat to cover the burials (Bird 1934: 18)

The modern road crossed the southeast corner of the cemetery, which contained Y.5. This road was taken up and moved further south in order to facilitate the excavation of the whole of the Crusader cemetery (Bird 1934: 8). The excavators explored the area parallel to the road, as well as the area under the road itself. Under the road, three or four graves were found which still had their stone covers in place (Bird 1934: 17). These graves were discussed earlier, in the section relating to Square X.5.

The 2004 survey of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit

The purpose of the survey

A surface survey of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit was carried out over a total of 3 weeks in May and November 2004. The purpose of the survey was to map out the tombs in the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit in as precise a fashion as possible. A Global Positioning System (GPS) unit was used to map out the graves and the data from this was used to produce an accurate map of the cemetery using GIS software. This is the first map of the gravestones that has been produced. It is unknown if a map was produced during the 1934 excavation, as no record of it has survived. If a new excavation is ever planned, then an even more accurate map may be produced but, for now, this map shows the distribution of grave types in the cemetery with a high degree of accuracy.

In addition to the mapping of the graves, a random survey of the graves was also conducted. This survey was used to take more precise measurements of a selection of graves from different areas of the cemetery. During the first part of the survey, which took place in June 2004, four areas of the cemetery were chosen for study. A fifth area was studied in the second part of the survey, which took place in November 2004. The purpose of the random survey was to identify the characteristics of each grave type contained within the Crusader cemetery.

Seventeen characteristics were recorded for each of the graves that was studied. The characteristics were as follows: the height of the grave; the width of the grave; the length of the grave; the number of stones used in the construction of the grave; the position of the grave within the cemetery; whether or not the grave was in a grouping of similar graves; the orientation of the grave; the shape of the stones used in the grave; whether or not the grave is in a row; the position of the grave in a row; the measurements of each stone used in the grave; whether or not the grave is decorated; whether or not plaster was present on the grave; whether or not a slab was present on the grave and the shape of that slab; whether or not there was a stone at the head of the foot of the grave; whether or not the grave was covered by boulders or by rubble.

In addition to recording the characteristics for each of the graves in the survey areas, the state of preservation of the graves since 1934 was also studied. C. N. Johns took a great number of photographs of the cemetery during the 1934 excavation and these have been used to judge the state of preservation of the graves at present. It was also noted during the survey where stones had been robbed from graves, which has been occurring up to the present day at the cemetery.

Methodology

A methodology for the survey was planned prior to going out into the field, but this plan was quickly revised once in the field. The first thing done was to measure the length of the walls of the cemetery. The walls are of uneven measurements, forming a trapezoid with one very short side and another very long side. The measurements of the cemetery are 30.8m by 78.4m by 74.7m by 209.0m (SW x NW x NE x SE).

Four areas were selected randomly to be surveyed. This selection was based on which areas were most complete and were free of vegetation cover. As most of the east side of the cemetery is covered by thick vegetation, it was not possible to choose an area there. One area was chosen near the south-western wall (F), another in the middle of the cemetery (E), a third along the north-eastern wall towards the northern corner of the cemetery (A, B, C, D), and the last towards the eastern corner, where the majority of the slab graves are concentrated (F).

These four areas were divided into 4m squares and the graves within the squares were sketched and numbered. Once the areas had all been divided into squares and the graves numbered, the graves were then individually surveyed. The graves were fully measured and all the characteristics previously listed were recorded for each grave. These characteristics were compiled in a database, which can be found in an appendix to this dissertation.

The characteristics were analysed to define the categories included in the grave typology. Once the categories had been established, it was simply a matter of matching the graves to the type to which they belonged. In some cases this was a straightforward process but, in others, it was more complicated than this. Some of the graves did not easily fit into a category and a decision was made by the author to assign a grave to a certain type.

The following chapter contains the grave typology that has been determined for the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. This typology is not the final word on the topic, and more work will have to be done to refine it further. As more information on grave types in the Latin East is discovered, the grave typology presented here will have to be adapted.

State of preservation

The gravestones have faced 70 years of erosion since the Crusader cemetery was first excavated in 1934. During these seventy years, the plaster that covered most of the graves has been lost and the bare stone is subjected erosion by blown sand. The stone

used for the gravestones is a type of sandstone, meaning that it is relatively soft. This has resulted in a great deal of erosion since 1934.

Looking at the cemetery in its present state, it is easy to see that there has been a great deal of erosion over the years. However, the full extent of the erosion cannot be known until one studies the photos taken of the Crusader cemetery in 1934 by Johns. These photos show that an alarming rate of erosion has occurred over the past seventy years.

As stated at the beginning of this section, the plaster that was present on a number of the graves is now conspicuous in its absence. In some cases, remnants of the plaster are still visible on the graves but the majority of it appears to have been eroded off. Of course, there could be plaster preserved on the parts of the graves, which are below the current surface level. Only an excavation of the Crusader cemetery can reveal the full extent of the damage to the plaster on the graves.

In the photos from 1934, there is a surprising amount of plaster on the graves. The two graves in the middle of IAA photo 9047 are an excellent example of this (Plate 58). The grave on the left-hand side has plaster that is especially well preserved. This grave has either a rounded foot or a rounded head. As there is no orientation marker, it is impossible to say which is the head and which is the foot of the grave. From the photo, it seems to be the head that is rounded, though this is just a guess. In the survey of the Crusader cemetery in 2004, graves were found with a rounded foot but there were none observed that had a rounded head.

It is not the fact that the grave has one rounded end that makes it remarkable, though. It is the fact that it was still mostly covered in plaster in 1934. The plaster on the very top of the grave appears to have been eroded off but it remains on the rest of the grave. This is an excellent example of how the graves in this cemetery would have been constructed. The stone foundation would have been plastered over, not only to make to grave look nice but also to protect the stone from the elements. The plaster on this grave had survived for at least 634 years, and probably longer.

The reason for its survival likely is due to the fact that it was covered by sand for most of that period. This is probably true for all of the graves in the cemetery. Since most of the graves did not have plaster on them when they were uncovered in 1934, it must be assumed that they were exposed to the elements for quite some time after they were placed in the cemetery, especially in light of the erosion that has occurred over the past seventy years.

Although this plaster had survived from the thirteenth century up to 1934, it is no longer visible today. Once the excavation of the Crusader cemetery was completed in 1934, the skeletons were covered over again with sand but the gravestones were left as they were. With their protective covering of sand removed, the graves were once again at the mercy of the elements. It seems that the last seventy years has been enough time for the plaster finally to have been destroyed.

And it is not only the plaster that has been destroyed by the elements. C. N. Johns' photos from 1934 show that a number of the graves were decorated with incised crosses. In particular, one gravestone had at least three and perhaps four crosses incised on the top of the stone, at the head of the grave. Another cross was incised on the end of the grave, again at the head of the grave. From photos 9052 and 9014, it is obvious that this gravestone had been heavily weathered in the past and the crosses were already eroded in 1934 (Plates 44 and 45). These inscribed crosses are no longer visible on the gravestone in question. They have been completely weathered off and it is only the photos from the 1934 excavation that attest to their existence at all.

And it is not just the incised crosses that have suffered from the effects of erosion. Crosses that were carved in relief upon the gravestones have also been eroded over the past seventy years. Photo 7780 from the Israel Antiquities photo archive shows a grave of three boulders, with a cross carved in relief on the boulder at the head of the grave (Plate 37). Presumably, these three boulders were once one complete piece of stone but erosion had broken the stone into three separate pieces. However, the cross only appears on the stone at the head of the grave. If the shaft of the cross continued down the rest of the grave, it had eroded away by 1934.

As with the crosses on the gravestone from photos 9052 and 9014, this cross is no longer visible on the gravestone (Plates 44 and 45). Graves A⁴, Sb1.1, Sb2.2, and Sb11.1 are all examples of crosses carved in relief that have been eroded to varying extents since 1934 (Figures 78, 80, 82, 97; Plates 47 and 48). The larger crosses have generally fared better but still show significant signs of erosion as compared to the photos of 1934.

This is only a sample of the number of graves, which have been badly eroded over the past seventy years. It is likely that every grave in the Crusader cemetery would show signs of erosion if one had photos from 1934 with which to compare them. This is not possible and not necessary. What is more interesting and possibly more telling about the rate of erosion over the last seventy years, is the lack of evidence for any of C. N. Johns' test graves.

Following the excavation of the Crusader cemetery, Johns had a number of graves covered in plaster as test graves. Bird's diary records these trial graves as being "trial exhibits (Bird 1934: 18)." It may be that Johns was thinking of reconstructing the cemetery to its past glory and having a museum of some sort on this site. The photos of the cemetery from 1934 show two of these test graves.

It appears that the graves were squared and covered by a plaster made of mud. They were completely covered and the plaster was slightly rounded on the top of the grave. From Bird's diary, it appears that the plaster covered a rubble grave, which may have been what had originally been done with the graves. However, there is no longer any trace of these graves. The plaster had been completely eroded, leaving no sign that any work was done on these graves since they were placed in the cemetery in the thirteenth century.

Conclusion

This study of the Crusader cemetery relies on data from both the 1934 excavation of the site and the 2004 survey. Unfortunately, the gaps in data from the 1934 excavation make it difficult to give an accurate and detailed description of the

excavation that took place. Most of the data used is based on one source, H. E. Bird's excavation diary. Most of the official records of the excavation, which were referred to in Bird's diary and in some of John's personal documents, are not to be found in either of the two archival collections consulted during the research for this dissertation.

These gaps mean that much of the information needed to complete a proper excavation report is missing. For example, Bird makes reference to a record of tomb types that Johns was keeping but this record has been lost. This means that it is not possible to compare the tomb types identified during the 2004 survey with those from the 1934 excavation. Unfortunately, this is also the case with regards to the artefacts.

The lack of data from the 1934 excavation makes the description of the excavation found in this chapter woefully incomplete, with little detail that allows the site to be properly analysed. There is no record as to the exact position at which artefacts were found, either in terms of distance from burials or in depth. Neither do we know at what depth below the surface the skeletons from the unmarked graves were found.

In modern terms, this excavation is almost completely useless with the amount of data that has been preserved. We have no maps that record where the unmarked graves were located, nothing that records where the excavation areas were located, with the exception of a crude drawing found in Bird's diary (1934: 10; plate 71). In actual fact, we have no idea what is missing and what was simply not recorded.

Based on the findings from the 2004 survey, the Crusader cemetery is deteriorating, mainly due to wind erosion. As stated above, much of the data from the 1934 excavation has been lost, leaving only the bare minimum of records. If there is to be a full understanding of the Crusader cemetery and those buried within the site, it can only be a result of a new excavation of the site. Unfortunately, an excavation is not likely to occur in the near future, leaving the Crusader cemetery in a precarious position.

3

Tomb Typology from the Crusader Cemetery

Introduction

The analysis of tombs from the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit is difficult using the excavation materials left to us by C. N. Johns. The one extant source for determining a tomb typology from Johns' work is the excavation diary of H. E. Bird, which is a bound notebook. In this notebook Bird recorded the work being done at the cemetery during the 1934 excavation season at 'Atlit. The excavation diary contains fairly detailed notes on the daily work of the excavators, though not as detailed as the actual excavation records would have been, one hopes.

As most of the excavation records have been lost, it is unknown if Johns ever developed a tomb typology for the Crusader cemetery. In Bird's excavation diary, there is a mention of a "catalogue of tomb-types" in which the 1,720 tombs were entered (Bird 1934: 19), as well as a "register of tombs and types" (Bird 1934: 10). Bird mentions two types of tombs in his diary, namely the D type tomb and the C3 type, but he gives little in terms of description for these types (1934: 19). This catalogue is not in the archive at the Palestine Exploration Fund nor in the Israel Antiquities Authority archive so it may be assumed that it has been lost, along with many of the other excavation records. Johns did start to work on writing up the work done on the Crusader cemetery but this was at a very preliminary stage and much of the focus in his notes is on the pottery found during the excavation and not on the tombs themselves.

Despite the lack of a typology produced by Johns, it is possible to derive a very basic typology from the notes of H. E. Bird. In Bird's notes, he records 17 different kinds of tombs, which here have been grouped into five types. The exact number of each type of tomb is not able to be determined, due to the lack of details in Bird's

excavation diary. Any numbers that are given will not be concise, which makes an exact analysis of the cemetery based on the excavation records from 1934 impossible.

The positioning of the skeletons tells us that this was, indeed, a Christian cemetery, though there are a few irregularities. Most of the burials were oriented with the head to the west and the feet to the east. The majority of the burials were placed face-up in the tomb, in an elongated position.

There were several different arm positions shown by the skeletons in the Crusader cemetery. The main arm position was with both arms crossed over the pelvis, with flexed elbows. There were at least two instances of a skeleton with the left arm lying alongside the body and the right arm flexed at the elbow and covering the right side of the chest, with the hand rising up to the left-hand collarbone (Plates 21 and 27). Another skeleton had had both arms crossed over the chest. (Plate 28). One skeleton had both its arms crossed over its stomach, with the right arm over the left (Plate 21). The fifth arm and hand position found in the Crusader cemetery is a skeleton with the left arm slightly flexed at the elbow, with the left hand resting on the groin and the right arm flexed at the elbow with the right hand resting on the elbow of the left arm (Plate 34).

The positions of the bodies in the Crusader cemetery are consistent with the positioning of bodies at other Crusader burial sites (Yule and Rowsome, 1194: 34). At Caesarea Maritima, a site that was refortified at the same time as Pilgrims' Castle was built, a number of bodies were found in the vicinity of the Crusader cathedral. Five different arm and hand positions were identified by the archaeologists. Of those five, only one of the positions from Caesarea corresponds to the arm and hand positions found amongst the bodies of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. That is: the arms folded across the stomach, right over left.

Another of the arm and hand positions from Caesarea Maritima is similar to one of the positions from 'Atlit, but there is one difference. At Caesarea, bodies were found with the arms flexed slightly at the elbow with the hands placed on their respective sides of the groin (Yule and Rowsome, 1994: 34). At the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, the arms were crossed over the groin, with the right wrist covering the left wrist. The

arms were, once again, slightly flexed at the elbows. The difference in these two arm and hand positions is slight and it seems that they are simply a variation of each other.

The fifth arm and hand position from 'Atlit is, again, similar to one of the positions from Caesarea but with a slight difference. At Caesarea, skeletons were found with the left arm flexed at the elbow with the hand resting halfway up the right humerus and the right arm flexed at the elbow with the right hand on the left groin (Yule and Rowsome, 1994: 34). This is almost the exact opposite of what was found at 'Atlit. Another difference is that the arm of the skeleton at 'Atlit was resting on the elbow rather than halfway up the humerus of the opposite arm (Plate 34).

It seems from the burials at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit and from Caesarea, that the position of the arms and hands could vary quite a bit. However, in many cases these variations were relatively slight and the general positioning of the arms and hands was similar at both sites. As with this tomb typology, it seems that the typology of arm and hand positions in Crusader burials should be broken into general categories with the possibility of variance within each group.

In light of this evidence, it is possible to compile the following typology of arm and hand positions for Crusader burials. It should be noted that this is a compilation of hand and arm positions found in many Crusader sites and is not restricted to the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit.

1. Both arms folded across the stomach. At Caesarea Maritima and the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, this type was found with the right arm crossed over the left (Yule and Rowsome, 1994: 34). So far, no burial has been recorded that had the left arm crossed over the right arm.
2. One arm flexed at the elbow with that hand on the opposite arm, resting at the elbow or above, and the other arm flexed at the elbow with the hand resting on the opposite groin. This type has been found with both the right hand on the left arm and the opposite (Yule and Rowsome, 1994: 34; Johns, 1947: pl. LXXV, no. 4; see previous discussion).
3. One arm flexed at the elbow with that hand resting on the opposite groin and the other arm flexed at the elbow with that hand on the upper torso.

This type is attested to at Caesarea Maritima, where the left arm was found resting on the groin and the right arm on the upper torso (Yule and Rowsome, 1994: 34).

4. Both arms flexed slightly at the elbow with the hands on their respective sides of the groin. Yule and Rowsome record that this type was found at Caesarea Maritima (1994: 34) but it was not recorded that it was found among the skeletons at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit.
5. Both arms crossed over the chest. The most common form of this type is to have the right arm crossed over the left (Yule and Rowsome, 1994: 34). It is possible that this type was found in the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, but the burial was disturbed and is only known from a photograph. However, it appears that the skeleton had its left arm crossed over top of its right arm (Plate 28).
6. Both arms crossed over the groin. At the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, the skeletons were found with right wrist covering the left wrist (Plate 34). This type has not been recorded at any other site.
7. One arm resting at the side of the body with the other arm flexed at the elbow and the hand resting on the opposite upper torso. This type has only been recorded at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. There, a skeleton was found with the right hand covering the left collarbone (Plate 27).
8. Both arms at the side of the body. Bradley records that five of the burials from Tel Jezreel had this type of arm position, though two of them had their arms bent inwards below the elbow (1994: 63).

It is uncertain what the significance of the different arm and hand positions is, if there is any significance to them. It may have been the personal choice of the person burying the bodies as to how the deceased was laid out. There doesn't appear to be a reason for the right arm to be crossed over the left or vice versa. If there is a pattern to the different positions, it is not apparent in the research from the sites with burials.

It may also be that, in some cases at least, the position of the arms was not made by choice but by necessity. If some of the dead were not prepared for burial immediately following death, rigor mortis may have set in. Rigor mortis starts to set in approximately 3 hours after death and lasts for around 72 hours, with maximum

stiffness reached at the 12 hour mark. The stiffness associated with rigor mortis is caused by the contraction of muscles. When the arm muscles contract, the arms are drawn upwards, towards the chest. If a body was recovered from a battlefield, it is likely that rigor mortis may have set in to some extent. In this case, it may be easier to position the arms across the chest, in a flexed position, rather than along the sides or on the pelvis.

As well, we must consider the possibility that the arms may move after burial, as the flesh decomposes. When the body is buried, a cavity is made in the soil that is the same shape and size as the deceased. As the body decomposes and the flesh disappears, the soil will move in to fill the gaps in the cavity. And, since there is now space within this cavity, the limbs may move as they have more space to move. It may be that the position of the arms at the time of excavation may not be the same position that the arms were in at the time of burial.

In light of this, can the arm and hand positions actually tell us anything about the deceased? I believe that we need a larger sample of data in order to determine the usefulness of arm and hand positions in typing burials and burial sites in the Latin East. The excavations at Caesarea Maritima and Tel Jezreel recorded full data for the burials, but there is limited knowledge of the burials at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. This makes for a very small sample size, which, in turn, makes for a very unreliable study. Only more time and more data can answer the question of the reliability of arm and hand positions in the analysis of burial sites.

Type 1: Slab Tombs

This type is characterised by the presence of a stone tomb slab and/or a large stone substructure associated with the stone slab. The stone slab may be of a large type or of a smaller type. The slab is normally worked, perhaps with a carving in relief or incised. Normally the decoration consists of a cross of some form. Plain slabs have also been found, though they appear to be less numerous than decorated ones. The shape can either be squared or oblong, though the vast majority of tomb slabs were of the squared type.

In total, 24 slab tombs were included in the survey of May 2004 and November 2004. The average measurements for the slab tombs are 2.16m in length, 0.88m in width, and 0.16m in height. The size of the tombs ranges from 0.66-2.75m in length, 0.56-1.54m in width, and 0.04-0.60m in height. The wide variation in the range of tomb slab lengths and widths is due to the various shapes that the slabs take. One slab, which is decorated with a square and plumb bob in relief, is a small square slab with a length of 0.66m. The largest tomb, on the other hand, is decorated with a partial cross in relief and is 2.75m in length and is rectangular. These two examples are the extremes in the tomb slab grouping, and the other tomb slabs tend to have measurements that are closer to one another.

The list of slab tombs surveyed during the 2004 season follows:

1. B 6.2. Measures 0.40m by 0.55m; 1 stone present; other stones appear to have been robbed; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery; no plaster present; no decoration; slab is missing.
2. B 6.6. Measures 0.65m by 0.40m; 1 stone present; possible other stones have been robbed; located in north-west corner of cemetery; no plaster present; no decoration. It may be that this stone is a slab itself, and that it is associated with B 6.2, as they are located next to each other.
3. E 4.4. No measurements were taken of this tomb, as the bottom half of the tomb is out of alignment with the top half; 3 stones present; no plaster present; no apparent foundation; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
4. E 5.1. Measures 0.96m by 0.55m; 1 stone present; the stone has been squared and is in the shape of a rectangle; plaster is present on the bottom of the tomb; no decoration; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
5. E 5.3. Part of a slab; unknown where it was originally located; measures 0.66m by 0.61m; the sides of the stone are squared but the ends have been eroded so they are no longer straight or they may have been broken; plaster present on the bottom of the tomb; no decoration; located in the south central area of the cemetery.

6. E 5.8. Measures 1.43m by 0.60m; slab has been broken and 1 piece is *in situ* at the head of the tomb; foundation is visible; no plaster present; no decoration; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
7. F 5.3. Measures 1.40m by 0.44m; this is the foundation of a slab tomb and contains 12 stones that are mostly squared; plaster is present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
8. F 6.1. No total measurements were made of this tomb, as the two stones are out of alignment; was rectangular; both stones are squared; located in the middle of the cemetery; plaster present on top of one stone and on the side of the other; no decoration.
9. F 10.2. Measures 1.60m by 0.60m; slab has been broken and is only present at the foot of the tomb; the slab was rounded at the foot; no plaster present; no decoration; located in the middle of the cemetery.
10. Sb 1.1. Measures 2.10m by 0.81m; the south-western corner of the slab has been broken off, leaving the foundation visible; rectangular in shape with squared slab; in a row of tombs; no plaster present; decoration in form of an incised cross, which has been eroded and which appears to stop halfway down the length of the slab; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
11. Sb 2.1. Measures 1.72m by 0.57m; squared slab in a rectangular shape; decoration is apparently a cross in relief, though the top half of the cross has been eroded so it is no longer visible; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
12. Sb 2.2. The "Anchor" tomb. Measures 1.71m by 0.62m; decoration is a cross in relief, with the foot of the cross splitting into two like an anchor from a ship; it has been badly eroded; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
13. Sb 3.2. Associated with Sb 3.3. This is the foundation of a slab-covered tomb, with part of the slab likely being Sb 3.3. Measures 2.26m by 1.15m; 10 large, mostly squared stones are present in the foundation; no plaster present; no decoration; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
14. Sb 3.3. Part of a slab that is now off of its foundation, which is probably Sb 3.2; the slab is gable-shaped and is lying on its top. Measures 0.94m by 0.79m; from the peak of the gable to the bottom it measures 0.31m; no

- plaster present; unable to see if there is any decoration on the top of the stone; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
15. Sb 4.1. Measures 2.75m by 1.54m; most of the slab is now missing, with only one part of it still remaining on the foundation; the remaining part of the slab has part of cross in relief on it; plaster is present on the bottom of the slab; foundation consists of 16 stones, all of which are squared; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
 16. Sb 4.2. Measures 0.62m by 0.46m and is 0.29m high; slab appears to have been moved from its base, which is underneath it and consists of one stone; decoration consists of a set square and a plumb bob, both done in relief; plaster is present on the bottom of the slab; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
 17. Sb 4.5. Part of a slab, possible associated with Sb 4.1. Measures 0.51m by 0.72m and is 0.21m in height; located at the foot of Sb 4.1; plaster present; no decoration present but the top of the stone could now be lying on the ground, masking any decoration; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
 18. Sb 6.1. Measures 2.62m by 1.15m; is the foundation of a slab-covered tomb, associated with Sb 6.4 and Sb 6.5; consists of five stones, four of which are squared; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
 19. Sb 6.4. Part of slab, now lying on top of Sb 6.1, which is probably its foundation; associated with Sb 6.5. Measures 0.50m by 0.79m and is 0.15m in height; appears to be lying on its top, so decoration likely facing the ground; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
 20. Sb 6.5. Part of slab, now lying on top of Sb 6.1 and associated with Sb 6.4. Measures 0.76m by 0.53m and is 0.25m in height; appears to be lying on its top, so decoration likely facing the ground; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
 21. Sb 11.1. Largest slab in the Crusader cemetery. Measures 2.53m by 0.98m; decoration is a cross in relief with a second cross incised into the top of it, possibly with a sword located on the stem of the cross;

rectangular in shape; plaster present on the bottom of the slab; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

22. G2. Measures 1.65m by 0.33m; decoration consists of an incised Lorraine cross contained within an incised circle; the decoration is very faint and can only be seen when the sun casts a shadow upon it; shape is a tapering rectangle; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery, in an area to the west of Area Sb.
23. G3. Measures 0.87m by 0.46m; is one of the smaller examples of a slab-covered tomb; decoration consists of a cross carved in high relief; no plaster present; located in the south-western corner of the cemetery.
24. G4. Measures 1.75m by 0.69m; decoration consists of a cross carved in relief; the bottom half of the cross has been eroded away, as well as most of the bottom half of the slab; slab appears to be rounded at the foot; no plaster present; located in the south-central area of the cemetery, just to the east of Area E.

Type 2: Tombs with an Upstanding Stone/s at Head and/or Feet

Type 2 is characterised by the presence of an upstanding stone at the head or foot of the tomb, or at both ends of the tomb. The stones are large, though the tombs are smaller than the slab tomb type. The decorated stones can be in the form of a cross or have a decoration moulded in plaster. It is unknown from Bird's notes if any stones were found that were plain. Johns and Bird recorded at least ten tombs of this type. During the 2004 survey of the Crusader cemetery, only two tombs of this type were found in the survey areas. Both of the tombs were in Area F, which was located in the middle of the cemetery. The average measurements for the tombs were 1.82m in length, 0.65m in width, and 0.24m in height. The number of stones used in the construction of the tombs, as could be observed without any excavation, ranged from 11 to 22. Neither of the stones had the remains of plaster nor were any decorations visible on the stones.

1. F 13.4. Measures 2.15m by 0.77m; upstanding stone located at the head of the tomb; tomb consists of border of mostly squared stones, with a cobble

infill; no plaster present; no decoration visible on the upstanding stone; located in the middle of the cemetery.

2. F 14.2. Measures 1.48m by 0.53m; upstanding stone located at the foot of the tomb; tomb consists of border of squared stones, with a cobble infill; no plaster present; no decoration visible on the upstanding stone; located in the middle of the cemetery.

Type 3: Unmarked Graves

A large number of unmarked graves were found. Unmarked means that there was no stone marker for these tombs. There may have been originally a non-permanent marker for these, such as wood, or the stone cover may have been robbed or destroyed. The bodies in the unmarked graves were exposed during the 1934 excavation, where the bodies in the other types of tombs were not. The exact number of unmarked burials is not known, as any document that may have recorded it is no longer extant.

It is not possible to produce a comprehensive list of the unmarked graves in the Crusader cemetery. This is mainly due to the lack of information from the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery. Since the work done at the Crusader cemetery in 2004 was restricted to a surface survey, due to restrictions on the excavation of burials in Israel, the unmarked graves are only known from the extant records of the 1934 excavation. Until the Crusader cemetery is excavated again, it will not be possible to make a list of the unmarked graves in the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit.

Type 4: Plastered Tombs with a Cobble or Boulder Foundation

This type includes all tombs with a cobble or boulder foundation that have evidence of being plastered, with the exception of the slab tombs. Johns may have included these in his C type, as they are mainly cobble tombs. Some tombs, however, do not have a cobble covering and the plaster was applied over the surface of the tomb. The tombs could be plaster sealed or could only have evidence of plaster on part of the tomb, such as the sides. One tomb in X.5 was found which was covered in white clay

and then painted in red. It is unknown if other tombs were painted, though fragments of painted plaster have been found in the cemetery.

Within this type, there are four distinct groups of tombs. They are: cobble covered, boulder covered, cobble and boulder covered, and flat plaster covered tombs. The flat plaster covered tombs were constructed with a base of large squared stones that formed a flat top. This squared, flat tomb would then be covered with plaster, as indicated by the remains of plaster on the tops and sides of the stones. The cobble, boulder, and cobble and boulder covered tombs were not squared on top and often had a curved profile. These mounds would also be covered over with plaster, again evidenced by plaster remains on the sides and top of the tombs.

Bird does not give a size difference between cobble and boulders, but one can suppose that boulders would be significantly larger than cobble. These are once again smaller than the slab-covered tombs and are commonly referred to by Bird as cobble mounds. As with Type 5, the number of this type of tomb is not able to be determined.

Before each of the four sub-types is discussed, it is necessary to define the difference between a cobble-sized stone and a boulder-sized stone. During the 2004 survey season, the size of a piece of cobble was defined as being less than 0.20m in length and less than 0.25m in width. A boulder-sized stone was defined as being greater than 0.20m in length and greater than 0.25m in width. This was a general rule and not a strict one. Sometimes a stone would be very large in one direction but smaller in the other. In a case such as that, the larger dimension would determine whether the stone was defined as cobble or boulder.

Type 4a: Plaster cobble-covered tombs

Plaster cobble-covered tombs are similar in construction to the cobble-covered tombs discussed in type 5. The difference is that these tombs show evidence of having been covered with plaster after they were constructed. In all other aspects, they are identical to the cobble-covered tombs of type 5.

There were a total of four plaster cobble-covered tombs found in the areas surveyed in 2004. Only three of these were measured fully, as the fourth tomb was too covered over with soil to get accurate measurements. The average total length of this type is 1.26m, the average total width is 0.56m, and the average total height is 0.06m.

1. C 7.1. Measures 0.85m by 0.40m; rectangular with squared corners; plaster present in the middle of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
2. D 7.5. Measures 1.49m by 0.60m; plaster present on the top of the tomb; some of the stones have fallen off of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
3. E 2.6. Measures 1.45m by 0.67m; plaster present on the top of the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
4. F 8.4. No measurements taken; plaster present on the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.

Type 4b: Plaster boulder-covered tombs

A total of three plaster boulder covered tombs were identified in the 2004 survey of the Crusader cemetery. From the measurements of these three tombs, the following measurements were calculated: the average length is 1.37m, the average width is 0.75m, and the average height is 0.16m.

The plaster boulder-covered tombs are of the same type of construction as the boulder-covered tombs of type 5. The difference, however, is that these tombs appear to have been covered over with a coat of plaster once they were built.

1. E 3.2. Measures 1.58m by 0.82m; plaster present on the top of the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
2. E 6.3. Measures 1.34m by 0.94m; many of the stones are missing and may have been robbed; plaster present where the stones are missing, so the stones would have rested on a bed of plaster; located in the south central area of the cemetery.

3. F 7.2. Measures 1.18m by 0.50m; rectangular shape with a distinct border of squared stones; plaster present on the top of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.

Type 4c: Plaster cobble and boulder-covered tombs

This is the least common type of plaster-covered tomb. There was only one tomb of this type in the survey areas for 2004. The plaster cobble and boulder-covered tombs are identical to the cobble and boulder-covered tombs described in type 5, with the exception of the presence of plaster on the top and sides of the tombs. The low number of this type of tomb is consistent with its presence in the type 5 tombs. It seems that the tomb builders of the Crusader period at Pilgrims' Castle preferred to build tombs of either cobble or boulders and only rarely combined the two sizes of stones into one tomb.

1. Sb 5.4. Measures 2.14m by 0.49m; rectangular shaped; tapers towards the head of the tomb; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tombs

The flat plaster-covered tombs were by far the most common type of plaster-covered tombs found during the 2004 survey season at the Crusader cemetery. There were a total of 25 of these tombs found. Their average measurements were 1.75m in length, 0.72m in width, and 0.10m in height. Not all of the tombs had plaster present on them but it is assumed that they were all once covered by a coating of plaster.

1. A 6.2. Measures 1.50m by 0.57m; rectangular shaped with squared stones; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
2. D 7.4. Measures 1.98m by 0.64m; rectangular shape with squared stones; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
3. E 1.1. Measures 1.80m by 0.54m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones; located in a row, very close to E 1.2; plaster present between the stones; located in the south central area of the cemetery.

4. E 1.2. Measures 1.84m by 0.61m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones; located in a row, only 0.21m from E 1.1; plaster present on the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
5. E 1.3. Measures 1.14m by 0.39m; rectangular shaped with a border of squared stones; located in a row, next to E 1.4; plaster present between the stones and on the top of the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
6. E 1.4. Measures 1.36m by 0.61m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones; located in a row, next to E 1.3 and with the head of the tomb right next to the foot of E 1.2; plaster present on the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
7. E 1.7. Measures 1.83m by 0.60m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
8. E 2.1. Measures 1.69m by 0.59m; rectangular shaped with squared corners; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
9. E 2.2. Measures 2.12m by 0.76m; rectangular shaped; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
10. E 2.3. Measures 1.57m by 0.77m; rectangular shaped; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
11. E 2.4. Measures 1.42m by 0.49m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones; plaster present on the top of the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
12. E 2.7. Measures 1.48m by 0.64m; rectangular shaped with a border of squared stones; plaster present on the top of the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
13. E 4.3. Measures 1.67m by 0.72m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones and cobble fill in the middle of the tomb; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
14. E 5.2. Measures 1.48m by 0.55m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones; plaster present on the bottom of the stones; located in the south central area of the cemetery.

15. E 5.5. Measures 1.56m by 0.60m; rectangular shaped with a border of squared stones; located 0.11m to the east of E 5.6; the northern end of the tomb is covered by a large bush; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
16. E 5.6. Measures 1.48m by 0.56m; rectangular shaped with a border of squared stones; located 0.11m to the west of E 5.5; the northern end of the tomb is covered by a large bush; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
17. F 8.2. Measures 2.03m by 0.63m; rectangular shaped with a border of mostly squared stones; plaster present on the top of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
18. F 9.4. Measures 2.07m by 0.96m; this tomb is unusual because of its width; it is composed of mostly smaller stones, with only one large squared stone present in the south-western corner of the tomb; rectangular shaped; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
19. F 13.2. Measures 1.66m by 0.83m; rectangular shaped with a border of large squared stones; plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
20. F 13.3. Measures 1.47m by 0.94m; rectangular shaped with a border of large squared stones; one stone is missing and may have been robbed; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
21. F 13.5. Measures 1.91m by 1.37m; rectangular shaped; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery, close to area Sb.
22. F 14.1. Measures 1.64m by 1.11m; rectangular shaped; most of the stones are missing or covered by soil and vegetation; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
23. Sb 1.3. Measures 2.44m by 1.10m; rectangular shaped with a border of large squared stones; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
24. Sb 3.1. Measures 1.90m by 1.19m; rectangular shaped with a border of large squared stones; tapered towards that head of the tomb; plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

25. Sb 5.1. Measures 2.65m by 0.96m; rectangular shaped with a border of large squared stones; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
26. Sb 7.4. Measures 2.49m by 1.30m; rectangular shaped; composed of smaller stones than the majority of the tombs in this type; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
27. Sb 9.1. Measures 1.47m by 0.52m; rectangular shaped; composed of smaller stones than the majority of the tombs in this type; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
28. Sb 9.2. Measures 1.23m by 0.51m; rectangular shaped with a rough border of somewhat-squared stones; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

Type 5: Rough Dry Masonry Covered Tombs

Type 5 can be divided into 2 sub-types: cobble-covered and boulder-covered. All of the stones are unworked and with no sign of them being plastered. For a discussion of the difference in size between the cobble and boulder-sized stones, see Type 4.

Type 5a: Cobble-covered tombs

The cobble-covered tombs that did not have the remains of plaster on them were often difficult to measure. In total, 35 tombs of this type were identified during the 2004 survey. Three of these were tentative identifications, as not enough of the tomb was visible for a definite identification. None of the tombs that were tentatively identified as cobble-covered tombs were measured.

The average measurements for the cobble-covered tombs are the least accurate of all of the tomb types included in this typology. Of the 35 recorded cobble-covered tombs, only 26 had length and width measurements and only 21 had height measurements. With this in mind, the average measurements of the cobble-covered tombs are: 1.51m in length, 0.62m in width, and 0.12m in height.

1. A 7.1. Measures 1.30m by 0.52m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
2. B 6.1. Measures 1.60m by 0.65m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
3. B 7.2. Measures 1.45m by 0.45m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
4. B 7.3. Measures 1.45m by 0.45m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
5. C 7.2. Measures 1.26m by 0.49m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
6. E 1.5. Measures 1.37m by 0.90m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
7. E 1.6. Measures 1.14m by 0.77m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
8. E 1.8. Measures 2.00m by 0.89m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
9. E 1.9. Measures 1.81m by 0.82m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
10. E 2.8. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
11. E 2.9. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
12. E 3.3. Measures 1.38m by 0.61m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
13. E 4.1. Measures 1.46m by 0.79m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
14. E 5.4. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
15. E 5.7. Measures 1.83m by 0.77m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
16. E 6.4. Measures 1.56m by 0.70m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
17. E 6.5. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.

18. F 6.3. Measures 1.70m by 0.46m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
19. F 7.4. Measures 1.47m by 0.54m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
20. F 7.5. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
21. F 8.1. Measures 1.33m by 0.45m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
22. F 9.2. Measures 1.52m by 0.43m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
23. F 9.3. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
24. F 10.5. Measures 2.03m by 0.53m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
25. F 12.1. Measures 2.45m by 0.76m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
26. F 12.4. Measures 1.70m by 0.55m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
27. F 14.3. Measures 1.21m by 0.68m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
28. F 11.2. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
29. F 11.6. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
30. Sb 4.4. Measures 1.36m by 0.72m; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
31. Sb 6.3. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
32. Sb 7.1. Measures 1.70m by 0.59m; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
33. Sb 7.3. Measures 1.55m by 0.38m; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

Type 5b: Boulder-covered tombs

A total of 11 boulder-covered tombs were found during the 2004 survey, with one of them being a tentative identification. Of the 11 tombs, only nine of them were complete enough to have accurate measurements taken. From these nine tombs, the following average measurements were arrived at: a length of 1.81m, a width of 0.60m, and a height of 0.14m. As with the cobble-covered tombs, the boulder-covered tombs were concentrated in survey areas E and F.

1. D 5.6. Measures 1.51m by 0.48m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
2. E 4.2. Measures 1.34m by 0.69m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
3. E 6.1. Measures 2.04m by 0.65m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
4. E 6.2. Measures 2.49m by 0.69m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
5. F 5.4. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
6. F 6.4. Measures 1.87m by 0.43m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
7. F 6.5. Measures 0.96m by 0.49m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
8. F 6.6. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
9. F 10.6. Measures 2.16m by 0.65m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
10. F 13.1. Measures 1.69m by 0.57m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
11. Sb 4.3. Measures 2.24m by 0.71m; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

Type 5c: Cobble and boulder-covered tombs

The tombs that were constructed with a combination of cobble- and boulder-sized stones are the least common type of rough dry masonry-covered tombs in the Crusader cemetery. Nine tombs of this sub-type were found in the cemetery, with six of these from survey area F. The average measurements of the tombs were: 1.66m in length, 0.60m in width, and 0.13m in height.

1. D 7.2. Measures 1.98m by 0.74m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
2. D 7.3. Measures 1.84m by 0.48m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
3. E 3.1. Measures 1.33m by 0.70m; no plaster present; located in the south central area of the cemetery.
4. F 5.5. Measures 2.15m by 0.66m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
5. F 5.6. Measures 1.93m by 0.82m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
6. F 8.3. Measures 1.43m by 0.50m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
7. F 10.1. Measures 1.80m by 0.48m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
8. F 10.7. Measures 1.66m by 0.55m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
9. F 11.4. Measures 1.42m by 0.42m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
10. F 14.4. Measures 1.25m by 0.57m; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery.
11. Sb 7.2. Measures 1.60m by 0.69m; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

Type 6: Plastered Row Tombs

This type of tomb was not described in detail by C. N. Johns nor by H. E. Bird, but it was most likely included in their category of plastered tombs. However, the row tombs form a distinct group within the plastered tombs and it has been decided to

divide the plastered tombs into two types, distinguished by the construction of their foundations. As well, the sheer number of plastered row tombs found within the Crusader cemetery marks them as a distinct category from the other plastered tombs.

Plastered row tombs are so called because they are constructed of a number of square or rectangular stones, which are laid in a row. The number of stones within a row varies from two to four. As well, there are actually two types of plastered row tombs. One is the simple row tomb and the other is the slab row tomb.

The 2-row tombs have an average measurement of 0.63m in length, 0.25m in width, and 0.08m in height. The average measurements for the 3-row tombs are 0.95m in length, 0.22m in width, and 0.12m in height. Finally, the 4-row tombs measure, on average, 1.00m in length, 0.25m in width, and 0.12m in height. The measurements for length and width are generally accurate, but the height measurement is almost certainly not accurate. Some of the tombs measured were covered with soil to the top of the stones while others were clear to their bases. This meant that it was difficult to get an accurate reading of the height and the measurements only reflect the current situation within the Crusader cemetery, and not the actual height of the stones being measured.

In addition to the average measurements of the simple row tombs, there is also a range of measurements for each of the 2-, 3-, and 4- simple row tombs. For the 2-simple row tombs, the range of measurements for each of the dimensions is: 0.37-0.89m in length, 0.18-0.32m in width, and there was only one height measurement of 0.16m. The 3-simple row tombs have the following measurements: 0.65-1.30m in length, 0.17-0.46m in width, and 0.04-0.21m in height. Finally, the range of measurements for the 4-simple row tombs is: 0.83-1.65m in length, 0.21-0.47m in width, and 0.01-0.26m in height.

Type 6a: Simple row tombs

The simple row tomb is by far the most common type of tomb within the cemetery. It consists of two to four stones laid in a row. The row tombs have a plaster base and are held together with plaster between the stones. They would also have been covered

with plaster on the sides and the top of the stones, making for a smooth surface. In most cases, at least some trace of the plaster survives, although not in all cases. Most often the plaster base survives along with remnants of the plaster between the stones.

1. A 2.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.05m by 0.34m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
2. A 2.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 0.93m by 0.25m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
3. A 2.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 0.98m by 0.30m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
4. A 3.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.24m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
5. A 3.2. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.87m by 0.30m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
6. A 3.3. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.92m by 0.25m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
7. A 3.4. 4-row tomb. Measures 0.92m by 0.30m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
8. A 4.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.93 by 0.26m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
9. A 4.2. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.11m by 0.29m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.;
10. A 4.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.14m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
11. A 4.4. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.26m by 0.34m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
12. A 4.5. 4-row tomb. Measures 0.98m by 0.30m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
13. A 4.6. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.29m by 0.46m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.

14. A 4.7. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.04m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
15. A 4.8. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.23m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
16. A 4.9. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.13m by 0.21m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
17. A 5.3. Remains of plaster, but can tell it was a row tomb. No measurements taken; likely the stones were robbed in the recent past; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
18. A 5.4. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.15m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
19. A 5.5. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.65m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and on the top and sides of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
20. A 5.6. 4-row tomb. Measures 0.97m by 0.29m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
21. A 5.7. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.06m by 0.27m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
22. A 6.1. 2-row tomb, but it may have originally had 3 stones. Measures 0.37m by 0.18m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
23. A 6.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.16m by 0.28m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
24. A 7.3. 4-row tomb, but the fourth stone is displaced from the row. Measures 1.17m by 0.26m; plaster between the stones and running the length of the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner, close to the northern wall.
25. A 7.4. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.26m by 0.25m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.

26. A 7.5. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.26m by 0.32m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery, close to the northern wall.
27. B 2.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.95m by 0.31m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
28. B 3.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.87m by 0.33m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
29. B 3.2. 4 row tomb. Measures 0.96m by 0.26m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
30. B 3.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.16m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
31. B 3.4. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.95m by 0.26m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
32. B. 3.5. 3-row tomb, with one of the stones missing. Measures 1.07m by 0.25m; likely the third stone was robbed in the recent past; plaster present at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
33. B 3.7. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.11m by 0.29m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
34. B 4.2. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.65m by 0.30m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
35. B 4.3. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.15m by 0.21m; plaster located between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
36. B 4.5. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.10m by 0.17m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
37. B 4.6. 2-row tomb, but there may have been more stones at one time. Measures 0.89m by 0.32m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
38. B 6.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.65m by 0.47m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
39. B 6.4. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.15m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.

40. B 7.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.50m by 0.46m; stone at the foot of the tomb is displaced from the row; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
41. B 7.4. 3-row tomb, with one of the stones missing. Measures 1.31m by 0.34m; plaster present at the base of the tomb; likely third stone was robbed in the recent past; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
42. C 2.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.29m by 0.22m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
43. C 2.2. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.19m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
44. C 3.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.26m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
45. C 4.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.37m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb, extending 0.09m from the base of the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
46. C 4.2. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.14m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
47. C 4.3. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
48. C 4.4. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.17m by 0.31m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
49. C 4.5. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.97m by 0.28m; plaster present at the end and between the stones; possible there was a fourth stone in the row, which has since been robbed; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
50. C 4.6. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.92m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stone and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
51. C 5.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.20m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.

52. C 5.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.29m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
53. C 5.3. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.11m by 0.28m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
54. C 5.4. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.10m by 0.39m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
55. C 5.5. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.40m by 0.30m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
56. C 5.6. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.43m by 0.30m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
57. C 5.7. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.18m by 0.28m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
58. C 7.3. 3-row tomb, with one stone displaced from the row. Measures 1.59m by 0.48m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
59. D 2.1. 3-row tomb, only 2 stones remain *in situ*. No measurements taken; no plaster present; located in north-west corner of the cemetery.
60. D 2.2. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.30m by 0.23m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
61. D 3.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.13m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones; located in a sparsely populated area of the north-west corner of the cemetery.
62. D 3.2. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.21m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones, at the base of the tomb, and on top of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
63. D 4.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.90m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones; was likely a fourth stone at the foot of the tomb, since plaster is present at the end of the tomb at the foot; fourth stone likely robbed in recent past; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
64. D 4.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.15m by 0.30m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
65. D 4.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.26m; no plaster present; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.

66. D 4.4. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.02m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
67. D 4.5. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.28m by 0.25m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
68. D 4.6. 4-row tomb. Measures 0.83m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
69. D 4.7. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.10m by 0.24m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
70. D 4.8. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.35m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
71. D 4.9. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.92m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
72. D 5.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.43m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
73. D 5.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.35m by 0.29m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
74. D 5.4. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.08m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
75. D 5.5. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.15m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
76. D 5.7. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.13m by 0.25m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; apparent rodent or insect activity has created a pile of sand and bones at the head of the tomb, with some of the pieces of bone large enough to identify as vertebrae; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
77. D 5.8. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.16m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.

78. D 6.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
79. D 6.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.25m; plaster present between the stones, at the ends of the stones, and on the sides of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
80. D 6.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.08m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
81. D 6.4. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.13m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
82. D 6.5. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.06m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
83. D 6.6. Remains of plaster, but was probably a 3-row tomb. Measures 1.04m by 0.42m; likely stones were robbed in the recent past; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
84. D 6.7. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.19m by 0.25m; plaster present between the stones, at the base of the tomb, and on the sides of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
85. D 6.8. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.16m by 0.25m; plaster between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
86. D 6.9. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.26m by 0.29m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
87. D 7.6. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.13m by 0.32m; plaster present between the stones and a plaster foundation is present on the south and west sides of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
88. E 2.5. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.10m by 0.42m; plaster present on top of the tomb; located in the south central area of the cemetery.

89. F 5.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.20m by 0.30m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
90. F 5.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 0.95m by 0.29m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
91. F 6.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.03m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones; located in the middle of the cemetery.
92. F 6.7. 3-row tomb. No measurements available as two of the stones are out of alignment with the other stone; plaster present between the stones and on the sides; located in the middle of the cemetery.
93. F 7.1. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.29m by 0.31m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
94. F 7.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.20m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
95. F 7.6. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.25m by 0.28m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
96. F 7.7. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.11m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and a plaster foundation extends between 0.07m and 0.14m around the whole base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
97. F 7.8. 4-row tomb. Measurements not available as the tomb has been broken in half and the two halves are out of alignment with each other; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
98. F 8.5. 3-row tomb. Measures 0.95m by 0.28m; plaster located between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
99. F 9.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.12m by 0.32m; plaster located between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.

100. F 10.3. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.16m by 0.26m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
101. F 10.4. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.28m by 0.29m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
102. F 11.1. 3-row tomb. Measures 1.17m by 0.32m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
103. F 11.3. 4-row tomb. Measurements not available as the lower two stones have been moved out of alignment with the upper two stones; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
104. F 11.5. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.10m by 0.34m; stone at foot of tomb missing, with only plaster remaining; likely stone was robbed in recent past; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb, as a foundation; located in the middle of the cemetery.
105. F 12.2. 4-row tomb. Measures 1.10m by 0.27m; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb, as a foundation that extends on the west side of the tomb; located in the middle of the cemetery.
106. F 12.3. 4-row tomb. Measurements not available as the two halves of the tomb are out of alignment; plaster present between the stones and at the base of the tomb, as a foundation; located in the middle of the cemetery.
107. G7. 3-row tomb. Associated with uncovered skeleton in the south-west corner that was discovered during the 2004 survey. Measures 0.81m by 0.29m; no plaster present; located in the south-west corner of the cemetery; skeleton was buried 0.50m below the tomb.

Type 6b: Slab row tombs

The slab row tombs are so called because the stones used in their construction are noticeably larger than those used in the simple row tombs. In this category, there are

3-slab row tombs and 4-slab row tombs. The average measurements of the 3-slab row tombs are 1.30m in length, 0.41m in width and 0.11m in height. The 4-slab row tombs have average measurements of 1.72m in length, 0.44m in width and 0.16m in height. The range of measurements for the 3-slab row tombs is as follows: 1.09-1.50m in length, 0.39-0.43m in width, and 0.04-0.12m in height. The 4-slab row tombs have measurements ranging as follows: 1.50-1.97m in length, 0.30-0.51m in width, and 0.05-0.17m in height. Again, the height measurements are not an accurate measurement of the actual height of the tombs but reflect the current soil cover of the Crusader cemetery.

1. D 5.3. 3-row slab tomb. Measures 1.09m by 0.39m; plaster present on the top of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
2. D 7.1. 3-row slab tomb. Measures 1.50m by 0.43m; plaster present between the stones and on the top of the tomb; located in the north-west corner of the cemetery.
3. Sb 1.2. 4-row slab tomb. Measures 1.97m by 0.40m; plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
4. Sb 2.5. 4-row slab tomb. Measures 1.70m by 0.30m; plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.
5. Sb 5.2. 4-row slab tomb. Measures 1.50m by 0.51m; no plaster present; located in the north-east corner of the cemetery.

Type 7: Unclassifiable tombs

These are tombs that cannot be typed. All three of the tombs are comprised of a single stone that may or may not form a complete tomb. They are unique in decoration and style, but defy categorization.

1. G1. This is the most unusual tomb in the Crusader cemetery. It is a gabled stone, with a circular hole carved through it at the northern end of the stone. Measures 0.92m by 0.39m and is 0.21m high; no plaster present; located in the middle of the cemetery, between areas Sb and D (Figure 71; Plate 67).

2. G5. This is a single squared stone with a deep depression in the middle of the top of the stone. Johns made a special note of this stone because a pile of plaster was found next to it; it is possible that the depression in the stone was used to mix the plaster that covered the tombs in the cemetery. Measures 0.53m by 0.43m and is 0.30m high; located in the south-west corner of the cemetery, near G7 (Plate 69).
3. G7. This is a single stone that may have been part of an upstanding stone tomb, as it is similar to a tomb photographed by Johns in 1934. An incised cross is present on one side of the stone, which measures 0.11m by 0.08m and is 0.005m deep. The top of the stone is rounded. Stone measures 0.45m by 0.35m and is 0.28m high; no plaster present; located 19.05m from the northern wall and 26.25m from the western wall (Figure 49).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the tomb typology from the Crusader cemetery shows that the tombs were grouped into types. The different areas of the cemetery that were surveyed each had one type of tomb that predominated that area. The full extent of this grouping will be discussed in the next chapter.

What does this typology tell us about the Crusader cemetery and the people buried within the site? This is one of the questions that will form the basis of the discussion which follows. We must understand what the different tomb types mean and what their location in the cemetery tells us, if we are to fully understand the structure of the Crusader cemetery, itself.

Part 3

Discussion and Analysis

4

Discussion and Analysis

An interdisciplinary approach to death and burial in the Latin East

Introduction

There is a great deal of information available on cemeteries and burials from the Near East in the Crusader period. As one can see by reading the first part of this work, throughout the Latin East a large number of sites with associated burials have been excavated and recorded. However, there has been no attempt to bring together all of the information on burials and tombs from the Latin East.

The following two chapters will begin to rectify this situation. Information from the burial sites of the Latin East, as well as Western Europe, will be brought together to form an overview of funerary and burial customs in the Latin East. The Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit will be discussed in detail, as it is being used as the test site for this synthesis of data on Crusader burials.

Location of cemeteries and burials within the cemeteries

The majority of the Crusader cemeteries in the Latin East were located near churches. This association of burials and churches is to be expected, as it was the norm in Western Europe during the medieval period. Since burial rites were given to churches or chapels, people were usually buried in cemeteries associated with these institutions.

There are a few notable exceptions to the rule, however, the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit being one of them. One of the more puzzling questions about the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit is, why it is located where it is? Why is it not closer to the church at the other end of the *faubourg*? There was not extensive excavation work done on

the area of the northern end of the *faubourg*, closest to the cemetery so it is unknown if there was a church in this area. This does not seem likely, however, as the Templars had their own chapel in the castle and the town church was at the southern end of the *faubourg*. Why, then, did the Templars establish the cemetery so far from the known town church?

Part of the answer lies in timing. Since the *faubourg* developed after the building of the castle, it can be reasonably assumed that the town church was established after the founding of the Crusader cemetery. This assumption is supported by the fact that the town church was never completed. Therefore, the Templars probably would have used the castle chapel for burial services prior to the building of the town church. The cemetery was relatively close to the castle, although it was outside the main defensive wall and was along the road to the main gate of the *faubourg*. Being on the main road would have allowed people travelling to and from Pilgrims' Castle to see who was buried in the Crusader cemetery, if we assume that visibility was a factor in burial practices at this time. Therefore, since the Crusader cemetery was likely being used before the town church was built, it would have been situated so as to be convenient for access to both the castle and the town.

If one looks at a map of Pilgrims' Castle and its surroundings, this supposition is further supported (Plate 72). The Crusader cemetery was located near the gate closest to the castle itself. There were three other gates along the outer wall, with two located near the town church. The ancient cemetery, dating to the Phoenician period, was located near the gate in the southern wall, near one of the main roads in and out of the site. If the town church had been used to perform funeral services for those buried in the Crusader cemetery, it would have made more sense for the cemetery to have been located in the same area as the ancient cemetery.

The question has been raised as to whether or not there is evidence that the Crusader cemetery was damaged when the *faubourg* was destroyed by Baybars in 1265. There is little evidence to suggest that there was damage to the cemetery, though there were two slabs with crosses in relief found in X.5, which had been defaced at some point. There is no reason to believe that this occurred in 1265 and there is no other evidence of destruction in the cemetery. It is possible that there was damage done to the

cemetery in 1265 and it was repaired following the attack but any evidence of this is no longer present.

It is not so much the fact that the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit was located outside the walls of the castle which is troubling, it is more the fact that a cemetery chapel has not been located in proximity to the cemetery. Other Crusader period cemeteries were located outside the walls of settlements, notably those in Jerusalem and Acre. In both those cases, however, there were churches located within the cemetery itself, with two possible exceptions.

The only other mention of a cemetery located outside of a settlement without a church directly related to it was found in Acre. This was a cemetery associated with the field hospital of the Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans. The field hospital was established in the Crusaders' camp sometime between the summer of 1189 and September 1190, with the purpose of tending soldiers who were wounded during the siege of Acre. The cemetery associated with the field hospital was used to bury the Germans who died during the siege (Pringle 2007: ?).

The cemetery is known to have existed because a dispute arose between the Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans and the Hospital of St. John concerning the burial of leading nobles. This dispute coincided with the death of the duke of Swabia, who wished to be buried in the German cemetery. In the end, the duke was buried in the German cemetery, in an unmarked grave so the Hospitallers could not exhume his body and rebury it in their own cemetery (Pringle 2007: ?).

The German cemetery was again mentioned in 1219. This time, it was Barzella Merxadrus who wished to be buried there, though he was at the time in Damietta (Pringle 2007: ?). In both of these instances, the German cemetery was mentioned but a cemetery church was not. There does not appear to have been any evidence of a church being located in the cemetery of the Hospital of St. Mary of the Germans.

It is possible that, since the cemetery seems to have been located near the hospital itself, there was a chapel inside the hospital which served both as the hospital's chapel and as a cemetery chapel. If this is the case, this lends support to the supposition that

the Templars' chapel within Pilgrims' Castle served both as the castle chapel and as the chapel for burying the dead at the Crusader cemetery.

There is one other example of a Crusader cemetery that did not have a cemetery church. This is the cemetery located in the vicinity of the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. This cemetery was said to have been used to bury those who were killed during the capture of Jerusalem in 1099. The cemetery was *infra muros*, which, in medieval Latin, may mean either "below the walls" or "inside the walls". In 1187, when Jerusalem was retaken by the Muslims, a number of Latin tombs around the Golden Gate were destroyed and, by the 15th century, a Muslim cemetery had replaced the Christian cemetery (Pringle 2007: ?).

There was, however, no mention of a cemetery church associated with the Golden Gate cemetery. In this case, however, it is not surprising that there is not a cemetery church. The Golden Gate is located next to the *Haram*, or the *Templum Domini*, meaning that the Golden Gate cemetery could be considered to be an extension of the Temple. To put it another way, the cemetery could be considered to be associated with the Temple, therefore there would not need to be a separate cemetery church.

Were all of the Crusader cemeteries that were located *extra muros* near main roads or in areas of high public visibility? The main extra-mural cemetery in Crusader Jerusalem was the cemetery of Akeldama. It was located on the south side of Mount Sion, and was said to have been used as a potter's field since the time of Christ. It would have been a well-known site and most people would have known its location. Would it have been an important burial site, though?

The answer to that question depends on your definition of 'important'. The Akeldama cemetery may have been associated with a hospital for Latin pilgrims since the time of Charlemagne and was likely still being used for the burial of pilgrims and strangers in the 12th century. In 1143, the burial chapel of St. Mary in Akeldama was granted to the Hospitallers, for use as a burial place for the pilgrims from the Hospital (Pringle 2007: ?). So, in the sense of being in use for a long period of time and being well known as a burial place for pilgrims, the cemetery of Akeldama can be said to have been an important cemetery.

In terms of the burial of important or wealthy people, it appears from the sources that Akeldama cannot be considered to have been an important burial site. There is no mention in the sources of any noble or saintly person having been buried at Akeldama, though one Greek source does mention that monks were buried in the Potter's Field as a way to avoid judgement (Pringle 2007: ?). In terms of the burial of nobles and saintly people, other sites in Jerusalem fared much better.

In Jerusalem, burial at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was almost exclusively reserved for kings. Other nobles and saints were buried other churches within the Old City walls, or the holy sites on the Mount of Olives, while the cemetery at Mamilla was the extra-mural cemetery of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The situation was different in Acre, with the extra-mural cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael being the burial place of both nobles and saints. That is not to say that all nobles and saints were buried in the cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael, but we know that some were.

Notably, there were two local cults associated with the cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael. The first was that of St. William, who has tentatively been identified as Bishop William of Acre (c. 1166-1172). The second cult belonged to one Odo of Burgundy, count of Nevers, who died in 1266. Both of these were healing cults, with the tomb of St. William located in the cemetery of St. Nicholas and the tomb of Odo of Burgundy located in the cemetery of St. Michael (Riley-Smith 2005: 18-19; Minervini 2000: 104). The identification of this second cult is tenuous. The *Chronicle of the Templar of Tyre* does mention that a count of Nevers was buried at Acre and that his tomb was the source of a number of healing miracles (Minervini 2000: 104). However, there is no evidence that this was the tomb of Odo of Burgundy.

Why were the extra-mural cemeteries of Acre different from those of Jerusalem? And were they really that different? The only real difference is that there were fewer extra-mural burial sites in Acre than there were in Jerusalem. Therefore, there were more choices for the burial of nobles and saints. As well, Jerusalem was simply a

more popular burial site because of its religious significance than was Acre, at least until Jerusalem fell to the Muslims in 1187.

Where does the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit fit into all of this? Why was this cemetery extra-mural? The best answer for this question seems to be that the Crusader cemetery was associated with the castle chapel and that its location is the one that is most convenient for bringing bodies out of the castle for burial. The cemetery could have been located within the town wall, but its location outside of the wall was no doubt a deliberate choice for a number of reasons.

Why was this decision made? It could be that the Templars chose to emulate the cemeteries at Jerusalem and Acre by placing their cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle *extra muros*. The Hospitallers had extra-mural cemeteries at both Jerusalem and Acre, so it makes sense that the Templars would also choose to have a cemetery outside the walls of their settlement. As well, an extra-mural cemetery offers room for expansion should the original cemetery become full. A cemetery within the walls would obviously have space limitations. It should be noted, however, that it is uncertain whether the Templars' cemetery at Jerusalem was inside or outside the Haram. The location of the Jerusalem cemetery may give insight into the placement of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit.

The desire for more space may well not have been a major consideration with regard to extra-mural cemeteries. If the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit is any indication, then it doesn't seem that space was an issue with Crusader period cemeteries, as they weren't with most medieval cemeteries in Western Europe. At 'Atlit, there is a great deal of evidence for intercutting of graves and both primary and secondary burials, which may be related to a shortage of space or to the lack of grave markers. This indicates that the cemetery was already full, or almost full, when the site was abandoned in 1291.

Why did the Templars not extend the Crusader cemetery to allow for more burials to take place, rather than cutting into the existing burials? The answer to this question seems to be relatively clear. In order to extend a cemetery, the Templars would have had to acquire permission of the bishop, which may not have been easy to get. Rather

than go to the hassle of getting permission for an extension, it was probably easier to continue to use a cemetery where space was limited.

With this conclusion, it seems that need for space did not play a crucial role in determining the location of the Crusader cemetery. The location of the cemetery may have played a role in its siting. The old Crusader road ran next to the Crusader cemetery; the modern road is in almost the same location as the ancient one. This was the main road into and out of Pilgrims' Castle, as it led from the pass between Haifa and 'Atlit. The desire for the tombs to be visible to those travelling the road seems to be the most likely reason why the Crusader cemetery was situated where it was.

Why should they be visible? Since it is virtually impossible to hide a cemetery, a virtue must be made of necessity. Compare the cemetery at 'Atlit to our modern cemeteries: they are located away from centres of habitation but are situated on major thoroughfares where access can be easily obtained. They celebrate the lives of the departed in a public way while, in the religious sense, being a reminder that life is transitory.

One must also remember the basic tenet of the Templars: to protect and provide for pilgrims. The cemetery on the main road is an advertisement, in a sense, reminding pilgrims and residents of the castle itself that members of the Order will look after them both in life and after.

It is also possible to ask why were the extra-mural cemeteries of Jerusalem and Acre situated where they were? To this date, there have been no major excavations of the cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael at Acre, nor of the cemetery of Akeldama in Jerusalem. In fact, it is still uncertain as to the exact location of the cemeteries at Acre. As with the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, there is no precise reason given for the location of the aforementioned extra-mural cemeteries of Acre. The extra-mural cemeteries of Akeldama and Mamilla in Jerusalem pre-dated the Crusader period.

As stated previously, the cemetery of Akeldama was supposedly founded during the time of Jesus, when Judas gave the money he had received for deceiving Jesus back to the priests. The priests then used this money to buy a field, which became a potter's

field (Acts 1:18-19) (Weber 1994: 1699; *NIV* 1985: 1612). Akeldama overlooks Gehenna, where the Last Judgment is supposed to take place. This may be the reason why the site was chosen, though this is not certain. It also may be that this was the closest field to Jerusalem that could be purchased at the time or that the site was near one of the city gates, therefore making it easy to transport bodies to the cemetery from the city.

As for the cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael in Acre, the reason for their geographical placement is more difficult to determine. Without knowing their exact location, there can be no firm conclusion about its placement in relation to the city and the surrounding geography. One supposition is that the extra-mural cemeteries of Acre were situated to the south-east of the city walls, between the city and the ancient tell, called *Le Touron*. This places the cemetery in the vicinity of the current-day Christian cemetery of Acre, which is located closer to the tell than to the city (Kedar 1997: 174).

If we take this as the location of the Crusader cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael, then we are left with the looming question of why were the cemeteries located there? Would it not have made more sense to locate the cemeteries closer to the city than to have to transport the bodies almost as far as *Le Touron*? The Templar Knights owned a number of pieces of land located between the city walls and the cemeteries. Most notable among these pieces of land was a garden, which was said to have been situated between the cemetery of St. Nicholas and *Le Touron* (Dichter 1973: 46). Some sources said that there were gardens located both in front of the cemeteries, i.e. between the cemeteries and the city walls, and extending beyond *Le Touron* (Dichter 1973: p 61-62).

It seems certain that the cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael were located somewhere between the city walls and *Le Touron*, though the exact location is still uncertain. The site was surrounded by gardens, some owned by the Templars and others of unknown ownership. This was obviously an area that was of great agricultural use, if the number of gardens is anything to go by. Why would a cemetery be located in the middle of such a rich agricultural area?

Since it is uncertain as to the actual start date of the cemeteries, it is difficult to determine what the area was being used for at the time and what the extent of the city and its surrounding gardens was. The situation may be similar to the one proposed for the foundation of the Akeldama cemetery in Jerusalem. Perhaps this was an area that was not being used or was being sold at the time the cemetery of St. Nicholas was established and was purchased by the church leaders. If this was the case, then the distance between the city walls and the cemeteries is not so worrying. Since the area between the eastern walls of the city and *Le Touron* were such agriculturally productive areas, it makes sense that you would not want to use up too much of the land for a cemetery, or that you would not want to put already productive land out of use.

It has to be admitted that the situation of neither the Akeldama cemetery nor the cemeteries of St. Nicholas and St. Michael sheds much light on the placement of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit in relation to Pilgrims' Castle. Prior to the building of Pilgrims' Castle, the only structure in the area in the Crusader period was the tower of Khirbet Dustrey, which is to the east of Pilgrims' Castle. There was no need to choose land that was not in use or that was for sale at the time of the establishment of the cemetery.

It may be that the cemetery was located a distance from the *faubourg* gate for defensive reasons. Having a large open piece of land in front of the main gate to a castle would have been an important defensive tactic. This would allow anyone in the gate tower to be able to see anyone approaching the gate and there would be nowhere for an attacker to hide. The tombstones in the Crusader cemetery are not overly large but it would be possible to use them for cover, though their effectiveness is questionable.

There is another possibility that has not yet been discussed and for which there is no evidence. It may be that there was some structure or structures that were located in the area between the Crusader cemetery and the town wall. There is no evidence of any structures in this area, and Johns did not mention any remains in the area when he excavated the site in the 1930's. Without evidence of any kind of structure in this

area, and without further excavation work, it is impossible to say if this was the case, though it remains a possibility, however slight.

Now that the position of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit has been discussed in relation to the castle and the *faubourg*, it is necessary to turn to the internal structure of the cemetery. The internal structure of the cemetery can tell us as much as the actual geographical location of the cemetery. The grouping of tombs, and their location within the cemetery, are indicators of social groupings and the social meaning of the different types of tombs.

In 1934, the tombs in the Crusader cemetery were found to be thickest in W.5 and X.5, which covered the northwestern corner and part of the western wall as well as the middle of the cemetery down to part of the southern wall. The graves in W.5 were a mixture of covered and uncovered graves, as was the situation in X.5, though there were fewer uncovered graves in the latter square. Most of the slab grave graves were found in X.5, though W.5, W.4 and X.4 contained a significant number, as well.

Most of the graves in X.5 were of the slab grave type. This suggests that this was the area in which the most important people were buried. The "Mason's Tomb", with its incised hammer and set square would seem to indicate that the deceased was a mason. Similarly, a fragment of a grave slab found in X.4 had a plummet and set-square in relief. Two other stones that might indicate the profession of the deceased are slabs with cross done in relief. The bottom of these crosses is reminiscent of an anchor and it is possible that these may indicate that the people buried in those graves were sailors or had a connection to the sea.

The location of these graves is important. They are located in the southern area of the Crusader cemetery that is closest to the road. The assumption in grave studies seems to be that the larger graves were made to be seen. The location of the slab-tombs beside the road into the castle and *faubourg* would support the proposition that the slab-tombs were the more important burials, though this assumes that the Crusader cemetery was located purposefully in a highly visible place.

The identification of the people buried in the Crusader cemetery will be discussed in the next section, but suffice to say that the tomb slabs normally had some kind of decoration that would be readily visible to someone passing by. Obviously, the tombs with crosses and other decorations carved in relief were more visible than those with incised decorations, but the incised tombs were large enough that it was possible to see that they were decorated, even if the details of the decoration were not readily apparent.

The other tombs are a little more problematic in their interpretation. It seems likely that all of the tombs were covered in plaster when they were first constructed, though not all of the tombs now show evidence of that plaster covering. The plaster covering seems to be a vital part of the tomb construction, since the stone used for the tombs was kurkar sandstone, which is very easily eroded. Erosion of the tombs is very evident when one looks at the photos of the tombs from 1934 and the state of the tombs today. It is obvious from the size and construction of most of the tombs in the Crusader cemetery that the tombs were meant to last. If they were left unplastered, then wind and blown sand would quickly have worked to erode away the decoration of the tombs, as well as the stone itself. The stonemasons who built the tombs must have known this, and would likely have covered all of the tombs with plaster to preserve them.

Some of the larger boulder-covered tombs are very well built, with nicely squared corners and, in form, appear to be mimicking the slab tombs (Plate 42). They are found concentrated in the centre section of the southern half of the cemetery, though smaller numbers are found throughout the eastern half of the cemetery. It is unclear if these tombs were found in the south-eastern corner of the cemetery and along the southern half of the eastern wall, since this area is covered with bushes, which could not be removed during the surface survey of 2004.

It seems that the large boulder-covered tombs served much the same purpose as the slab-covered tombs, in that they were large enough that they would draw the eye of people passing by on the road. They were both large and of good quality construction, and were placed in the areas near the road, where visibility was at its highest. It is unclear if there was any decoration of these tombs, since there are no

incised or carved decorations to be found. It is possible that the plaster was painted, since some red-coloured pieces of plaster were found in 1934 (Johns 1947: 92; Bird 1934: 6).

Of the other tomb types, the larger, well-built tombs, namely the boulder and rubble-covered and the rubble-covered tombs were concentrated in the eastern half of the cemetery. The western half of the cemetery was almost completely occupied by row tombs and the unmarked graves that were excavated in 1934. This separation of tomb types is too distinct to be accidental. The people who were in charge of the cemetery made a conscious decision to divide the cemetery as they did.

Why would the cemetery be divided like this? What was the meaning behind the different tomb types and where they were located within the Crusader cemetery? These are the questions that will be discussed in the next section.

3. Who was buried in the Crusader cemeteries?

Who were the people buried in the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit? And what can their tombs and graves tell us about them? It seems undeniable that the cemetery would have served the Templars of Pilgrims' Castle as well as their slaves and the townspeople of the *faubourg*. But there must have been more people buried there as the total number of burials has been estimated to be around 1900 (Bird 1934: 19). It is unlikely, barring plague or some natural disaster, for which there is no evidence, that the normal death rate could be so high at 'Atlit so as to fill this cemetery in that short time.

It has also been suggested that many of those buried in the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit were associate members of the Order. There were several levels of association with the Knights Templar, and all of them seemed to have included the right to be buried by the Templars (Nicholson 2001:132-34).

Unfortunately, all of the Templars' records for their activities in the Latin East were lost following the dissolution of the Order, meaning that we do not have a list of associate members from the Crusader territories. With this lack of documentary

evidence, it can only be assumed that many of those buried at 'Atlit were associate members and that they were given the prestige of having the larger, grave slab burials.

Why were so many people buried at this site when it was not situated in a major centre like Acre or Jerusalem? It is possible that the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit may have served as the Templars' main cemetery in the Latin East following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187. There is no evidence that the Templars had a cemetery in Acre, or at least not one dedicated to their own use. Prior to the building of Pilgrims' Castle, the Templars at Acre may have used the communal cemetery of St. Nicholas, or buried their dead in Jerusalem pre-1187.

Where did all of the bodies at 'Atlit come from? Along with the suggestion that many of the deceased were associate members of the Templar Order, comes the suggestion that the deceased may have been transported to Pilgrims' Castle by ship from Acre. The castle and *faubourg* lay on a sheltered harbour, making it an ideal location to anchor ships. It is possible that the bodies could have been brought overland, but it would have been more expedient to have transported them by ship.

Who were the people that were buried beneath the different tomb types? The slab tombs were the largest and most elaborate of the types found in the Crusader cemetery. Since the cemetery belonged to the Templar Knights, it might be a reasonable assumption that some of these tombs might belong to the Masters of the Order. In order to determine if this could be true, it is necessary to look at both the Rule of the Templars and at the example of the burial of Masters of other military Orders.

According to the *Rule*, all members of the Templar Order were to be buried in the same manner, whether Master or serving brother. The Templars based their Order on the Augustinian Order, and all of the members of the Order were to be seen as equal. Presumably, this would mean that none of the graves would have a tomb covering, and, if they did, that tomb covering would have no marker on it which would indicate who was buried in that grave. We know that Greek monks were said to have been buried in the Akeldama cemetery in Jerusalem, presumably in anonymous graves (Pringle 2007: ?).

Rather than hypothesising, a better way to determine to whom the slab tombs belonged is to look at the decoration on the slabs. All of the complete or nearly complete slab tombs in the Crusader cemetery were decorated in some way, most with a cross of some description. However, no two tombs were alike in their decoration, suggesting that each one was individualised rather than being mass-produced.

Perhaps the best-known tomb from the Crusader cemetery is the so-called “Mason’s Tomb”, which is currently located at the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem (Plate 50). The decoration on this tomb consists of a large incised cross and an incised hammer and set square. The hammer and set square indicate that this tomb belonged to a stonemason, since it was common in the Middle Ages for symbols of the deceased’s profession to be placed on a tomb.

There were a number of traditions of stonemasonry that are found in the Near East in the Crusader period. Each of these traditions used its own tools and carving techniques. This makes it possible to determine to what tradition the tools depicted on the “Mason’s tomb” belong. This does not necessarily help in determining to whom the tomb belonged, since the tools may only indicate the tradition of the stonemason who carved the tomb. Even this knowledge, however, can tell us about the people who lived and worked at Pilgrims’ Castle.

Kalayan identified three tool groups, each identified with a different geographical area (see Plates 78-80). Group A belonged to the Lebano-Syrian-Palestinian coast, with two subsets from the north and the south. Group B came from Greece and its territories and Group C was called the Etruscan-Anatolian-Armenian group. This last group was used in Europe during the Roman Empire and continued to be used in Armenia, Anatolia, and Mesopotamia during the post-Roman period (Kalayan 1968: 4).

The tools that were unique to each group were used during the final dressing of stones and each tool left its own, characteristic mark on the stone. Group A used an adze-like tool, which is still used in Lebanon and Syria and is called a “Shahouta”.

According to Kalayan, “[t]he handle of the tool is perpendicular to the plane of the cutting edge” and the “dressing edge has teeth (1968: 5).” On the other hand, the Greeks stonemasons of Group B used a chisel and hammer to dress stones. During the Middle Ages, the chisel had a toothed edge (Kalayan 1968: 6).

Group C stonemasons used an axe or hatchet-like tool, with the handle in the plane of the dressing edge. As stated previously, this style of tool was used in Europe during the Roman Empire, but it came back into use in the eleventh century, and, by the second half of the twelfth century, was used extensively for dressing stones.

According to Kalayan, this type of tool was used in the Crusader period in Lebanon (1968: p 7-8), and, it can be assumed, was used in the rest of the Near East during this period, as well.

From the descriptions given by Kalayan, it appears that the tool depicted on the “Mason’s tomb” belonged to Group C. It cannot belong to Group A, since the hammer does not have teeth, and the tool is not a hammer, which negates the possibility that it belonged to a Group B stonemason. This only leaves Group C, and the tool depicted matches the description of the axe that was used by the Group C stonemasons.

What this tells us is that either the stonemason who fashioned the tomb belonged to the Group C school or that the deceased used the tools of a Group C stonemason. It is more likely that it was the stonemason who carved the tomb slab who used the type of tools depicted on the slab. If the stonemason who carved the slab did not know the deceased, then it makes sense that the tools incised onto the slab would be the tools familiar to the stonemason, rather than what the deceased stonemason would have used.

The largest tomb slab that is still present in the Crusader cemetery is Sb 11.1 (Plates 46 and 48, Figure 97). This slab has a large cross carved in high-relief, and is strikingly familiar to the cross on the “Mason’s tomb”. This may have been a common motif or it may be an indication that the same stonemason carved both tomb slabs. The similarity of the two crosses is so striking that it seems reasonable that the same stonemason was responsible for the carving of both slabs.

The shaft of the cross is carved in what could be called double relief. There is a large rectangular shaft with a second smaller shaft on top of it. The second smaller shaft appears to either be a second cross lying on top of the larger cross, or perhaps a sword with a pommel. The stone is too eroded to make a clear distinction on the meaning of the decoration. In the context of the Templar Knights, a sword on a cross would seem to be a reasonable motif to find on a tomb.

Sb 4.2 is similar to the "Mason's tomb" as it also has a set square, carved in relief, as part of its decoration, but that is the only similarity between the two (Plate 49, Figure 89). In addition to the set square, the slab also has a plumb bob carved in relief. This slab is much smaller than either of the other slabs, measuring only 0.62m by 0.46m. Sb 4.2 does not appear to have been part of a larger slab, since it partially rests on what may have been its base.

The plumb bob suggests that this tomb may have belonged to either a carpenter or a stonemason, since the plumb bob was essential to both these professions. In order to determine if a wall or some other type of construction was vertical, a plumb bob was used. The plumb bob was a conical shaped piece of stone with a pointed end, which would be hung from a piece of string or rope and held perpendicular to the ground. This would show the workman how straight his construction was.

What is so striking about this slab tomb is the fact that it is so much smaller than the other slab tombs in the *Crusader cemetery*. While the other slabs are rectangular in form and long enough to cover the length of the actual grave, this stone is more squared and would only cover a small portion of the grave. Is it possible that this could be a child's grave, perhaps that of an apprentice, hence the smaller tomb slab? Unfortunately, this question will have to remain unanswered until a full excavation of the *Crusader cemetery* can take place.

There is only one other extant slab tomb in the *Crusader cemetery* that may indicate the profession of the deceased whom it commemorates. This is Sb 2.2, which is a badly deteriorated slab tomb with a cross carved in relief as decoration (Figure 82). The cross has been badly eroded over the years, although its form is still plainly

visible. What is unique about this cross is the fact that the bottom of the cross has been carved in a barbed shape, almost like an anchor². There was a second slab tomb with a similar cross carved in relief photographed in 1934, though it was not found during the 2004 survey (see Plate 75).

Could this tomb actually be depicting a medieval anchor or is the cross simply being depicted in a fashion that is reminiscent of an anchor? Two depictions of Venetian ships show that they used anchors similar in style to the base of the cross depicted on the “Anchor” tombs (Plates 76 and 77). The curvature of the anchor does not exactly match that of the base of the cross, but this discrepancy could be due to the size of the tomb slab, which would have restricted the mason from depicting the full curvature of the anchor.

If this cross was carved in imitation of a ship’s anchor, then it seems likely that these tombs belonged to sailors, possibly a ship’s captain. The harbour at Pilgrims’ Castle was well situated for boats to come ashore and its continued use as a harbour from Pheonician times to the present attests to its usefulness. It is likely that, in the Crusader period, it saw significant use, even if it was only as a stopping off point during storms or rough seas. As well, if the Templars did bring bodies for burial from Acre to Pilgrims’ Castle by ship, then the harbour likely was used quite frequently.

Why would these tombs have belonged to a ship’s captain and not to a common sailor or even a ship’s officer? It is unlikely that a common sailor would be afforded the honour of being commemorated with a slab tomb, which would have been quite costly and time consuming to produce. It is possible that a ship’s officer below the rank of captain could have been buried with a tomb such as this, but it still seems less than likely. All of the evidence seems to point to this slab tomb belonging to a ship’s captain, who was likely an associate member of the Templar Order.

² I have to thank Ehud Galili, a marine archaeologist from the Israel Antiquities Authority, who is based out of ‘Atlit. Dr. Galili escorted me to the Crusader cemetery on my first visit to ‘Atlit and was of great help in giving me some background on the site and advice about the work I later conducted on the site. He pointed out the similarity of the cross on Sb 2.2 to a ship’s anchor and was the first to suggest that the tomb may have belonged to a ship’s captain.

Could the sailor have been a member of the Templar Order? There is evidence that the Order owned ships from the early 13th century on. In the 11th century, the Templars seemed to have contracted their shipments with regular commercial operators. It is known that the Templars carried pilgrims on their ships, in addition to supplies. In 1233, consuls from Marseille complained that their own shippers were losing money because both the Templars and Hospitallers were undercutting their prices (Barber 1994: 237-238).

It is unclear if the Templars' ships were crewed by members of the Order or if they hired sailors. There was a 'Master of Passages' based in the port of Marseille, who was a Templar official (Barber 1994: 238). Two Templar sea-captains are known, Roger of Flor from Brindisi and Frey Vassayll from Marseille. Roger was brought into the order as a boy by Vassayll, who was a sea-captain and a Templar sergeant. When he was older, Roger was made a sergeant brother of the Order and given command of a Templar ship named *The Falcon* (Barber 1994: 240).

Could the "Anchor tomb" at the Crusader cemetery belong to one of these Templar sea-captains? It seems unlikely, since the Templars were all supposed to be buried in the same manner. It is more likely that the sailor was an associate member of the Order, as was suggested earlier.

The remaining slab tombs were all either decorated with some form of cross, or were so badly deteriorated that no decoration could be seen. Of these slabs, only the cross incised on G2 gives any indication of the identity of the deceased person, which it commemorates (Figure 76). The cross on G2 is an incised double-barred Cross of Lorraine, situated inside a circle. The Cross of Lorraine is known from other sites in the Latin East, notably in the Armenian Gardens in the Old City of Jerusalem (Bahat and Broshi 1975: 56).

The Armenian Garden is located south of the Citadel of Jerusalem and was the site of two ancient palaces, that of Herod and later that of the Crusader kings of Jerusalem. Within the Crusader palace were a number of large hewn cisterns. On the wall of one of these cisterns, a Cross of Lorraine was found carved in relief. It should be noted

that the Cross of Lorraine is also called a Patriarchal cross and a Cross of Anjou (Bahat and Broshi 1975: p 55-56).

The Cross of Lorraine suggests that the deceased was from the area of Anjou or Lorraine in modern-day France. This is not surprising, since a large number of Crusaders were French or of French background. Lorraine was one of the areas where the Crusades were originally preached and a number of the members of the First Crusader were from Lorraine, including Godfrey of Bouillon, the Duke of Lower Lorraine (Riley-Smith 1987: 21). In addition to this, the Templars established at least three houses in Lorraine, namely at Metz, Gelucourt, and Pierrevillers (Barber 1994: p 380-381).

The only problem with this theory is that the double-barred cross was used for a number of purposes in the Latin East. The double-barred cross, such as the Cross of Lorraine, were used to represent the True Cross in a number of Latin East contexts. Folda gives a number of examples of reliquaries in the shape of a double-barred cross. These reliquaries were being produced in Jerusalem after about 1125 and continued into the 1150s (Folda 1995: 290-294).

As well, the Hospitallers had a connection to the double-barred cross. On a number of their seals, one will see, on the obverse, the figure of a Master of the Order kneeling before the True Cross, which is in the form of a double-barred cross. The earliest seal of this type is dated to 1134 (Folda 1995: 294). In addition to seals, the same figure of a master kneeling before the True Cross has been found on a number of coins from the island of Rhodes and the double-barred cross is a design found on some anonymous coins from the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, called the MONETA REGIS coins (Metcalf 1995: 75-76, 296-297; see also de Sandoli 1974: 81, 98).

In light of this evidence, the double-barred Cross of Lorraine depicted on G2 is probably better identified as a depiction of the True Cross. Unfortunately, this means that the identity of the deceased is once more unknown. The tomb could belong to anyone.

It was stated earlier that the majority of the slab tombs were located in the north-eastern quarter of the cemetery. There is one notable exception to this, namely tomb G3, which was located in the south-western quarter of the cemetery. G3 was the only slab tomb located in this area, which is occupied mainly by simple row-tombs.

G3 is a slab tomb with a cross carved in high relief. What makes this slab unique is that the whole of the slab is carved with the cross, rather than just part of the slab (Plate 68, Figure 77). In addition, the slab is smaller than the other slab tombs. It is of a similar size to Sb 4.2, which was discussed earlier, though G3 is the longer of the two.

At first glance, this tomb seems to be the appropriate size for the burial of a young child or infant. Could part of the Crusader cemetery have been put aside for the burial of infants and children? This has been seen at other Crusader sites, such as Tel Jezreel. At Jezreel, the burials of infants and children were grouped by the west wall of the Crusader church, away from the adult burials (Ussishkin and Woodhead 1991: 44).

During the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery, one burial of a child was uncovered near the western wall. There was a group of skeletons found in this area, all of which were in a disturbed context. The child was found in association with the skeleton of a woman, whom Bird took to be the child's mother. These burials were unmarked, so it does not tell us what kind of monument a child would be given (Bird 1934: 11-12).

The relationship between Sb 4.2 and G3 may complicate matters further. Because both of these slab tombs are smaller than the rest of the tombs of their type, the suggestion has been made that they may have been used to commemorate the burial of children. If this is so, why are they on opposite sides of the cemetery? Why is G3 not in the north-eastern quarter of the cemetery with the majority of the slab tombs? And if a section of the cemetery was set aside for the burial of infants and children, why is Sb 4.2 not in this area? The only way these questions can be answered is by excavating the burials under these two slab tombs and determining if the deceased were children or adults.

The final slab tomb that will be discussed in detail in this section is a partial slab, with no apparent decoration on it, with the exception of the fact that it was carved in a gabled shape. During the 2004 survey of the cemetery, this stone was labelled Sb 3.3, and was believed to have been associated with Sb 3.2, which would have formed the base of the slab tomb.

In 1934, Johns photographed Sb 3.3 resting on top of Sb 3.2. Today, the gabled slab rests on its top, on the ground beside Sb 3.2. The slab is not complete, and there is no sign of the other part of this slab in the Crusader cemetery. Sometime prior to 1934, the remainder of this slab must have been removed from the site.

The gabled slab is associated with Sb 3.2 based on its current location, but also on the photo taken in 1934, showing it resting on top of the base. The only problem with this identification is that the gabled slab, Sb 3.3, is smaller than the base it is supposedly associated with. The base, Sb 3.2, measures 1.15m in width, while the slab measures 0.79m in width. All of the other slabs in the cemetery were flush with the edge of their base. Why was Sb 3.3 smaller than Sb 3.2, its supposed base?

The obvious answer is that they are not actually associated with each other. In fact, Bird relates that this slab was once part of a hut, which was located in the Crusader cemetery prior to the 1934 excavation (1934: 4). Johns and his excavation team must have placed Sb 3.2 on Sb 3.3, with no evidence that they were ever associated with each other. A more appropriate foundation would have been one that was the same width as the gabled slab, based on the foundations of the other slab tombs.

The situation of Sb 3.3, the gabled slab tomb, brings up a worrying question: can the location of the slab tombs be taken to be accurate or were they arbitrarily placed by Johns and his team during the 1934 excavation? The answer, in some cases, seems to be no but in others, yes. Bird kept good notes of the excavation and its progress, including a description of where some of the slab tombs were found. He does not record where, exactly, they were relocated to but we do know the general area. All of the slab tombs that were found in relation to the hut in the north-west corner were moved to the north-east quarter of the cemetery, where they remain to this day. Bird

records that they moved the slab tombs to the north-eastern corner because that was where “the heavy type of base required to take such large slabs occur[ed] in the greatest number” (1934: 4).

Johns and Bird recognised that the tomb slabs needed to have a large base to support them, because they had earlier found 4 other tomb slabs *in situ* in the north-eastern corner (Bird 1934: 2). Based on this evidence they relocated the other tomb slabs from the hut. These slabs may not be in the exact place that they originally were, but they were likely in the same general area. Because of this, we should be able to accept that the slab tombs were mostly located in the north-eastern corner of the Crusader cemetery, even if some of them are no longer in the exact location they were originally placed in the thirteenth century.

There was one other tomb type in the Crusader cemetery that had decoration on it: Type 2, tombs with an upstanding stone/s at the head and/or foot. The best example of this is a tomb that was photographed in 1934. It is unclear whether the upstanding stone was at the head or foot of the tomb, though it is apparent that there was only one upstanding stone in this tomb. The decoration on the upstanding stone was an incised cross, below which was an incised cross-bow (Plate 51).

The cross-bow makes it likely that this tomb belonged to a soldier, specifically an archer. It is difficult to tell from the photo where in the cemetery this tomb was located, but Bird places it in the south-eastern corner of the cemetery (1934: 6). The tomb is no longer visible, because that part of the Crusader cemetery is now almost completely covered with vegetation. From the photo, it is possible to see that the rest of the tomb was made up of rubble, rather than squared stones. This seems to indicate that this tomb belonged to someone who was either less wealthy or of a lower social standing than those who warranted a slab tomb.

A second tomb with a decorated upstanding cross is known only from a photo taken by Johns in 1934. This photo shows that the tomb was located in the middle of the cemetery, close to the southern wall. The upstanding stone is at the foot of the tomb and has a narrow, incised cross on its face (Plate 52). The construction of this tomb is odd, because it appears to incorporate a nicely squared stone directly behind the

upstanding stone, and another, rougher stone standing behind the squared one. As well, the base of the remainder of the tomb appears to be squared, unlike the cross-bow tomb.

Four other Type 2 tombs are known from photos taken in 1934. Of these four, two appear to have been constructed of nicely squared stones, while the other two were rougher constructions of rubble. As well, one of the squared tombs has an upstanding stone at both the head and foot, while one of the rubble tombs also has two upstanding stones. The remaining two tombs only have one upstanding stone, though it is impossible to determine if the stone is at the head or foot of the tomb.

Two Type 2 tombs were found during the 2004 survey of the Crusader cemetery, namely F 13.4 and F 14.2. Neither of these tombs carried any form of decoration on them. In this case, both of the tombs were constructed with a border mainly composed of squared stones. F 13.4 had an upstanding stone at its head, while F 14.2's upstanding stone was at the foot of the tomb.

The Type 2 tombs seem to be a very random group of tombs. There is no correspondence between the number of upstanding stones and the quality of tomb construction. With the exception of the cross-bow tomb, the decoration on the upstanding stones is a simple cross, either incised or carved in relief. The exact location of four of the upstanding stone tombs is known, while the other four cannot be placed in the cemetery, as the photos they are shown in give no indication of their location within the site.

The four unlocated tombs all have upstanding stones that would make them readily apparent to the eye. This suggests that they may be located in the south-eastern quarter of the cemetery, specifically in the area closest to the eastern wall. This is the area that is most heavily covered with vegetation, to the extent that many of the tombs are only visible as mounds of bushes. This would explain why none of these four tombs was located during the 2004 survey.

What does this tell us about the people who were buried with upstanding stone tombs? In the case of the cross-bow tomb, we know that the deceased was likely an

archer. The other tombs tell us little about the deceased. The crosses are all Latin crosses, giving us no indication of any special geographical affiliation. The only indication as to the identity of the deceased is the location of the tombs within the Crusader cemetery.

The upstanding stone tombs all appear to have been located in the south-east quarter of the cemetery, or perhaps in the south-west quarter close to the southern wall. This puts them in an area that was more visible to the road than the western half of the cemetery was. The cross-bow tomb is in the south-east corner of the cemetery, close to the walls, meaning that, of all of the upstanding stone tombs, it likely had the most visibility. This may explain why it was the only one of its type to have a symbol of the deceased's profession carved on it.

The fact that half of the upstanding stone tombs had some form of decoration on them, indicates that this type of tomb would have been used for people who had a fairly high social standing, though not as high as those who had slab tombs. Carving the crosses would have taken time, although the crosses were plain and would have been easy to complete. In fact, not all of the crosses were of the same quality of workmanship, indicating differences in rank even within the same tomb type. The crosses carved in relief were of finer quality than those that were incised. Even the cross-bow, which was incised on the upstanding stone, rather than being carved in relief, was very simple.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of the Type 2 tombs is their relation to Muslim burials. Bird states that Johns had thought that some of the upstanding stone graves may have been Muslim, but Bird refutes this by pointing out that some of the upstanding stone graves were found in an area of the cemetery that was, beyond doubt, from the Crusader period (1934: 2).

Is it possible that there was a Muslim influence on the tomb types in the Crusader cemetery, which manifested itself in the tombs with upstanding stone/s at the head and/or foot? It is possible that this style of tomb may have been influenced by Muslim tombs, though the small number of Type 2 tombs in the Crusader cemetery suggests that this was not a popular style of tomb. The Templars at Pilgrims' Castle

probably had Muslim slaves, and it is possible that one or more of these slaves may have worked with the stonemasons at the cemetery, passing on their knowledge of tomb construction. Could these graves have been Muslim? Definitely not. Could they have been influenced by Muslim burial customs? Certainly, though where that influence came from is open to debate.

So far, there seems to be a hierarchy of tomb types, with slab tombs at the top of the hierarchy, and flat-plaster covered tombs and tombs with an upstanding stone/s at the head and/or foot below that. This leaves the rubble and boulder-covered tombs without plaster, and the row tombs to fit into this tomb hierarchy that is found in the Crusader cemetery.

The flat plaster-covered tombs have already been discussed in relation to their similarity to the slab tombs, but the rubble and boulder plaster-covered tombs have not been discussed in relation to their place in the tomb hierarchy. If we continue to view the hierarchy in terms of both appearance and work involved in constructing the tombs, then the rubble and boulder plaster-covered tombs seem to fit below the upstanding stone tombs and the flat plaster-covered tombs.

A distinction has been made between the flat plaster-covered tombs and the other rubble and boulder plaster-covered tombs, but it may be that all of these types of tombs had a flat profile once the plaster covering was applied. From the examples found in photos taken in 1934, it seems more likely that the rubble and boulder-covered tombs would have had a more rounded profile when they were covered in plaster (Plates 35 and 36).

As part of the 1934 excavation, Johns chose to experiment with applying plaster to two of the graves in the cemetery. Bird refers to these tombs as “trial exhibits”, which were plastered over with mud. Plate 36 shows the two trial tombs, and shows that the plaster formed a rounded top, rather than a flat surface. It is possible that these tombs could have had painted decoration applied to the plaster, but the poor quality of tomb construction still places these tombs lower in the hierarchy than the flat plaster-covered tombs.

The rubble and boulder-covered tombs that did not appear to have been plastered are a bit of an anomaly. When the tombs were being catalogued during the 2004 survey, a number of characteristics were recorded, the presence of plaster being one of these. Later, when the data was being collated, the presence of plaster seemed to be one of the major components that separated the different types of tombs. For this reason, it was decided that the rubble and boulder-covered tombs that did not show signs of being plastered would be divided into a separate type from those which did have remains of plaster on them. This lack of plaster of a number of tombs was also noted during the 1934 excavation, leading more credence to the separation of the types.

However, it seems likely that all of the tombs in the cemetery would have been plastered during the Crusader period. It makes sense that all of the graves in the Crusader cemetery would be covered with plaster, rather than just a portion of them. Even the row tombs, the simplest form of tomb found in the cemetery show signs of being plastered. The best explanation for the lack of plaster in the Type 5 tombs, the dry masonry-covered tombs, is that the plaster had completely eroded off by 1934, making it appear that there were two different types of tombs, when, in fact, they were really part of the same type. However, without further evidence to support this hypothesis, it is prudent to keep the two types separate.

This leads us to the discussion of the last type of tomb in the Crusader cemetery: the row tombs. As stated, this is the simplest type of tomb in the cemetery, consisting of a simple row of from three to five stones, which rested on a plaster base and were covered with a plaster coating. The row tombs are also the most common type of tomb in the cemetery, and are concentrated in the western half of the cemetery. In fact, the row tombs are almost exclusively the only tomb type found in the western part of the cemetery, marking a very distinct separation of types.

The row tombs are divided into two groups: the simple row tombs and the slab row tombs. The slab row tombs resemble the slab tombs of Type 1, but are smaller. As well, there is no question that the slab row tombs were originally constructed of a number of different stones, rather than being one slab that later broke into a number of pieces. The stones that comprise the slab row tombs are too squared to have been

broken by erosion, unlike some of the slab tombs, which are now in more than one piece.

The slab row tombs were all found either in the same area as the slab tombs, or very close to that area. Once they were plastered over, the slab row tombs probably gave the appearance of a slab tomb, though their construction was much simpler and would have required less effort to produce. The stones that comprised the tomb, while being squared, were rougher than the slab tombs and less care was taken to make sure that all of the stones matched in width, making the row slab tombs appear a bit lopsided. The rougher and simpler form of construction suggests that the row slab tombs, while mimicking the slab tombs in appearance, were not on the same level as the slab tombs in the hierarchy. Rather, the row slab tombs should be placed at the same level as the rubble and boulder-covered tombs.

The simple row tombs should be placed at the bottom of the hierarchy. It should be noted that some care was taken in ensuring that the stones in the simple row tombs were all *similar in width, but their construction was still very rough*. This fact, and the fact that the simple row tombs are the most numerous type of tomb in the cemetery suggests that these tombs belonged to the common people, and perhaps even to the Templars, themselves.

It may seem like an oxymoron to say that the simplest tombs bring up the most questions, but in this case it is true. The western half of the Crusader cemetery was occupied mainly by two types of burials: those associated with the simple row tomb and those in unmarked graves. After much consideration, it seems that these two types of burials must be linked in some way. The question is, though, how were they linked?

The western half of the cemetery is the most sparsely populated part of the site. This may be because the simple row tombs take less space than the other types of tombs, or it may be because this is the area where most of the unmarked burials were located. To better understand the relationship between the simple row tombs and the unmarked graves, we must take a closer look at the unmarked graves and try to determine who might have been buried in them.

One unmarked burial has already been mentioned, that of a mother and her child, located near the western wall. This burial was in a disturbed area, with many of the burials being incomplete or associated with extra bones. This was a common feature of the unmarked burials at the Crusader cemetery.

The disturbed nature of the unmarked burials seems to have been caused by the practice of intercutting graves, which was a common practice in medieval burial sites. Normally intercutting of graves occurred when a site was becoming full, usually after a generation or two, when people had forgotten where previous burials were located. At the Crusader cemetery, on the other hand, intercutting seems to have been common, surprising for a site that was only in use for 74 years.

The frequency of intercutting of burials in the cemetery lends credence to the belief that the unmarked burials were not marked in the Crusader period. The burials could have had non-permanent markers, such as a wooden cross, and this cannot be summarily dismissed, as not all of the unmarked burials were disturbed. In fact, a number of them were complete, when they were excavated in 1934. Either these burials had been marked during the Crusader period, and the markers had since disappeared, or they were lucky enough not to have been disturbed by secondary burials.

The best record of the unmarked burials that still exists is the photos taken by Johns during the 1934 excavation of the cemetery. These photos show a number of the unmarked burials and indicated the complexity of the burials. It also points to the presence of multiple burials, which may help us to determine the purpose of the unmarked burials.

When do multiple burials most often occur? Normally multiple burials are associated with times of high mortality, such as a battle or a period of disease. Without an osteological study of the bones, it is difficult to determine what the exact cause of the deaths was. Despite this lack of evidence, the fact that multiple burials were present in the Crusader cemetery does give us some clues as to the nature of the burials.

The best example of a multiple burial is shown in Plate 21. In this photo, it is clear that at least four bodies were buried in this grave at the same time. The remaining bones may either be the remains of earlier burials or were from other graves, which just happened to be located close to this multiple burial. It is clear that two of the bodies were buried one on top of the other, which is the best evidence for a multiple burial. The fact that the other two burials to the left were placed on their backs, very close to the two on top of each other, and in line with them, suggests that all four bodies were buried at the same time.

If these burials belonged to the Templar Knights, then this may be an indication that a battle had occurred and that the bodies were brought to Pilgrims' Castle for burial, rather than being buried at the site of the battle. Or, it could be that these were people who died from their injuries following a battle or skirmish, and were buried together. Without physical evidence, we simply do not know.

Neither do we know if these multiple burials are an indication of an illness that may have killed a number of people at one time. In light of this lack of evidence, it may be best to simply say that these people were buried together, indicating that their deaths occurred around the same time. Rather than the deaths actually being associated with one another, it may be that the bodies arrived at the same time and were placed in one grave, rather than being given separate burials.

There is no evidence to show that this could not be the case. It is not stated that each person must be given their own grave, and it may have been easier for the grave diggers to open up one large grave, rather than a number of smaller graves. If this was the case, though, why are there not more multiple burials?

It is possible that the Templars brought bodies for burial to Pilgrims' Castle by ship. However, this theory does present a number of problems. First, how often did the Templars send a ship from Acre to Pilgrims' Castle with bodies for burial? And how did the Templars store the bodies? And what was the rate of mortality among the population at Pilgrims' Castle? Was the rate of mortality high enough to account for all of the bodies in the Crusader cemetery?

To answer the first question, it does not make financial sense to send a ship each time someone dies and requires burial in a Templar cemetery. It would make more sense for a ship to be sent when a number of people required burial, though the logistics of storing the bodies would be difficult. However, the journey from Acre to Pilgrims' Castle would not have taken that long and the return trip could possibly have been done in a day, providing the weather conditions were favourable. If the Order did have their own ships, would they have used one to transport bodies exclusively, or would the bodies have been included as part of the cargo?

There is no simple answer to that question. We simply do not have enough information about the Templars and their fleet to be able to determine if bodies were transported on ships or not. One way that the transport of bodies might be seen is through the excavation of the skeletons in the cemetery.

As discussed in Chapter 1, there were a number of ways that a body could be prepared for transport during the medieval period. If a number of the bodies were found in a complete but disarticulated state, this may indicate that the bodies were boiled and the bones were transported to Pilgrims' Castle for burial. There is no indication of this practice from the 1934 excavation and only a new excavation of the site could determine if this was used at the Crusader cemetery or not.

As to the question of whether the population of the Crusader cemetery could be drawn entirely from the resident population of Pilgrims' Castle, it is possible but I do not believe that it is likely. The total number of burials in the Crusader cemetery was estimated to be around 1900 (Bird 1934: 19). If we estimate that the average life span of a person living in the Latin East in the 13th century was 20 years and that the Crusader cemetery was used for 74 years, this means that almost four generations of citizens could be buried in the Crusader cemetery. This would mean that the population of Pilgrims' Castle and the *faubourg* would have to be 475 for all of the deceased in the Crusader cemetery to be from the area.

This number seems too large for the size of the castle and the *faubourg*. As well, the small number of child and infant burials in the Crusader cemetery, as excavated in 1934, is suspicious if the Crusader cemetery was only used for burying residents of

the castle and its surroundings. If there was a resident population at Pilgrims' Castle, one would expect to find more burials of infants and children. A recent analysis of burials from Tel Jezreel, where the majority of the burials were infants and children, show that 60% of child deaths occurred by the age of 1 (Mitchell 2006: 37). If the Crusader cemetery had been used for the burial of the residents of the *faubourg* of the castle, where the local workers would have lived, then there should be more infant and child burials represented in the population of the cemetery.

It is my belief that not all of the bodies could belong to the residents of Pilgrims' Castle and its *faubourg*. Some of the bodies must have been brought from elsewhere. The transport of bodies by sea seems to be logical as Pilgrims' Castle was on a natural harbour and it would have been easier to transport them by ship than overland. Further research will need to be done to help elucidate this point.

Returning to the question of multiple burials, could the simple row tombs have been used to mark a number of burials, either a number of single burials that took place at one time or a multiple burial? At first, this seemed to be a reasonable assumption, and would explain why the two types of burials were located in roughly the same area. The evidence, however, seems to negate this. In the photos from the 1934 excavation, there is no sign that the unmarked burials were in association with a simple row tomb. As well, Bird does not record anything that would suggest this was the case.

Perhaps there was no actual association between the simple row tombs and the unmarked burials. Perhaps they were simply the burials of common people and the Templars and they just happened to be placed in the same area of the cemetery. We will now move to other questions that relate to the two types of burials.

If the western half of the cemetery represents the burials of the common people and of the people of Pilgrims' Castle, would the Templars have buried their slaves in the cemetery or elsewhere? This would depend on the identity of the slaves, and their religion. If the slaves were Christian, which is unlikely, then they could have been buried in the Crusader burial. If they were Muslim or Jewish, this probably was not the case.

The question of Muslim burials in the Crusader cemetery was briefly discussed earlier and will be considered in more detail here. Bird recorded that some burials seemed to have some Muslim attributes. An uncovered burial was found in which the skeleton had its head to the west with the face to the south, which is the traditional Muslim burial position. Bird also identifies the Type 2 graves, those with upstanding stones at the head and/or feet of the grave, as being Muslim in fashion (1934: 6). Johns also identified some burials in the western part of the Crusader cemetery as being Muslim, though the reasoning for his assertion is not given (Bird 1934: 2).

The first consideration is whether Muslims would be buried in a Christian cemetery. The most obvious answer to this, and most likely the correct one, is that Muslims would not be buried in a Christian cemetery. It would have been considered sacrilegious to bury a non-believer in holy ground and, though the rule of who could and could not be buried within a Christian cemetery was broken on occasion, it seems unlikely that this rule would have been disregarded by the Knights Templar.

It is unlikely that Muslim burials would have taken place at the Crusader cemetery following the abandonment of the site in 1291 by the Templars. After 1291, the castle was destroyed and the site was given over to some nomadic Mongols but there was never any permanent settlement at 'Atlit (Johns 1997:31). Therefore, all of the burials in the Crusader cemetery likely date to the period of Templar occupation of the site.

As well, Riley-Smith suggests that any Jews or Muslims who died in Jerusalem during the Frankish occupation were likely taken to the nearest settlement with either a Jewish or Muslim cemetery. This was because, at the time of the Frankish occupation, there were no Jewish or Muslim cemeteries in use around Jerusalem (2006: 14). If there were Muslims or Jews at Pilgrims' Castle, it is likely that their dead were likewise transported to the nearest appropriate cemetery.

If the unmarked burials and the simple row tombs represent the burials of the people who lived and worked at Pilgrims' Castle, with the exception of any Jews or Muslims, then why were burials found at the town church? Why would there have been two

burial sites at a place as small as Pilgrims' Castle, and one that was occupied for so short a time?

The town church was located in the southern part of the fortified town, about three quarters of the way down the town wall. The church was unfinished when Pilgrims' Castle was evacuated in 1291, and work on it may have stopped even earlier than this. Johns suggests that work on the church may have stopped in 1264, following the sack of the town by Baybars and his army (1947: 137).

We know that the church was unfinished when the site was abandoned in 1291 for several reasons. One reason is that the end of the main walls of the church was unbonded. It appears that a continuation of the church was planned but never built. Also, the southwestern wall, called the west wall by Johns, was less well built than the other walls, being "of slighter and hastier construction (Johns 1947: 125)." There are other signs that the church was not completed, such as the covering up of the bases of decorated shafts (Johns 1997: 125). As well, the interior components, such as the benches and steps, were hastily made and did not fit with the construction of the shell of the church (Johns 1947: 127).

The main question in regards to the town church is, what was its relation with the Crusader cemetery and with the castle chapel? Was the church used for funeral services for the deceased who were buried in the Crusader cemetery or was it intended only for the use of the town residents? And why were there only a dozen people buried at the town church, when there were over 1700 people buried in the Crusader cemetery?

When discussing the burials at the town church, we face the same problems as we do when we discuss the burials in the Crusader cemetery. That is, there has been no osteological study of the people buried at either site. This means that we do not have any extensive details about the age and sex of the deceased, nor do we know how they died. This lack of evidence makes it difficult to make many conclusions about the church and the burials associated with it.

Johns uncovered a dozen graves when he excavated the town church. 11 of these were in the churchyard, while the other burial was actually found in the nave of the church. Johns believed that the burial within the church was that of a priest, though no artefacts were found that would confirm this belief (Johns 1947: 135).

The other burials were found in a churchyard that extended around 9.15m from the church on the north, west, and south sides. The churchyard was surrounded by a low wall, which met the town wall on the east and was entered by a gate opposite the west door of the church. Six graves were found on the north side of the church, with three of them lying beside the church wall and the other three lying about 3 or 4m from the wall. Only one of these six was fully excavated, and it appeared to be at a similar depth and in a similar position to the burial in the church (Johns 1947: 134). This makes it almost certain that the burials took place in the same period.

The other five burials are a little more difficult to interpret. They were found when a trench was dug along the northwest wall of the church. Johns was trying to locate the foundations of the continuation of the northwest wall of the church. Rather than the foundations, he found two extended skeletons about a metre below the original ground level of the church. Above these two burials were the remains of two other skeletons. Johns does not specify if they were also complete or if the bones were the result of disturbed burials (Johns 1947: 125).

It appears that none of the four skeletons found in the trench was fully exposed. Two of the bodies lay along the trench, which would mean that they were oriented east to west. The other two burials were perpendicular to the first two burials, meaning that they were oriented north to south (Johns 1947: 134). This suggests that all four burials were complete, and that the two burials on top were not from disturbed graves but were laid there after the first two bodies.

These four burials were at a lower depth than the six burials along the north wall. Despite this, Johns thought it impossible that these burials could predate the Crusader occupation of the site. Johns states that "it was one of the essential preliminaries to dedicating a church to throw out any pagan burials from its site (Johns, 1947: 135)." He follows this comment with the assertion that these burials could not have been

missed by the builders, as they were right by the end of the northwest wall and would have been seen when the foundation of the church was dug (Johns 1947: 135).

Nor could the burials have post-dated the collapse of the church, as they were covered by fallen masonry, which had not been disturbed. Again, Johns discounts the possibility that they were buried after the Crusaders left the site in 1291. It does seem unlikely that the Mamluks would choose to bury their dead by a church but it is possible that other Christians could have done this. As it stands, there is nothing to indicate whether these four burials dated to the Crusader period or not. Johns does not mention any artefacts or pottery being found in association with these burials, leaving only their association with the church to give us a clue as to their origin.

It does seem likely that the four burials date to the Crusader period, only because there is no record that the site was occupied again after 1291. The apparent inclusion of four burials in one grave suggests that this was a mass burial, though the difference in orientation between the bodies is strange. In the Crusader cemetery, the burials found in mass graves are normally oriented in the same direction, even though they may lay on top of one another. Here, the bodies appear to have been put in the grave with no concern that they were all lying in the same direction.

The question of where the townspeople were buried has been raised on a number of occasions. It seems likely that the burials at the town church were those of the town residents, or at least of some of the residents. When the town was sacked by Baybars in 1264, it is likely that at least some of the residents were killed. It could be that the four burials at the southwestern end of the church were people who were killed during the 1264 sacking. The residents may have been worried about another attack but needed to bury their dead. It would make sense that they would be in a hurry to bury the deceased and the difference in the orientation of the bodies may be due to the haste of their burial.

It also has to be considered whether or not the town residents were Orthodox or Latin Christians. It is likely that most of the townspeople were Orthodox Christians, as the number of Latin Christians in the Latin East was relatively low. However, Johns points out that the fortified town was used by the Templars as a sort of farm. It was

here that the cattle were likely kept, and the farm servants would have had their accommodations within the town walls. It is also likely that the town accommodated a number of artisans and traders, since a court of burgesses existed at Pilgrims' Castle (Johns, 1947, 67).

The farm servants were likely Orthodox Christians, as the Templars probably would have employed local people to look after the farming rather than importing Westerners. However, the artisans could have been Latin Christians and it is probable that the traders would have been from the West. This would mean that the town residents were a mixture of Orthodox and Latin Christians. They couldn't have all worshipped in the same church, since the rites for the two groups were different. Only one church has been found, however. Since the entire town site has not been excavated, though, it is possible that there was a second church, but it does not seem likely, given the small population.

If there was only one church for the town and it was not completed before the town was abandoned, who worshipped in the town church? Johns describes the town church as being "conspicuously French (Johns, 1947: 135)." The town church is compared to churches in Cyprus that were constructed by the French during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The shape of the church is only represented in one or two Cypriot churches from the fourteenth century but the decoration of the church is much more common (Johns, 1947: 135-136).

Johns compares the decoration of the town church at Pilgrims' Castle with several larger churches along the Syrian coast and in Cyprus, all of which date to the first half of the thirteenth century. Johns saw a clear French Gothic influence in the decoration of the town church. The moulding of the diagonal ribbing of the town church is compared to a voussoir from Nazareth, which Johns dates as coming from a building built sometime between 1229 and 1244 (Johns, 1947: 136). But the religious structure with the closest parallels to the town church is, appropriately, the chapel within Pilgrims' Castle (Johns, 1947: 136).

The town church obviously has French influences and is similar in construction to the castle chapel. As well, the bodies buried by the church were buried in a manner

similar to those buried at the Crusader cemetery. This evidence suggests that the town church was meant for Latin Christians residing within the fortified town. As well, it suggests that perhaps the same person was involved in the building of the town church as with the building of the castle chapel.

Does this mean that there were not any Orthodox Christians in the town? No. It is almost impossible that some of the residents of the town were not Orthodox Christians. The question of where the Orthodox Christians were buried still remains. The answer to this question is impossible to answer for certain. There is no indication that there was a significant difference in the treatment of the burials at the town church and at the Crusader cemetery. If there were any Orthodox Christians buried at the site, as there must have been, then they were treated the same as the Latin Christians.

Does this fit with what we know occurred at other sites where there was a combination of Latin and Orthodox Christians? The best site to look at in regards to this is Frankish Corinth. The excavations at Corinth were discussed earlier, in Part 1. The Latin and Orthodox burials from Frankish Corinth were almost identical, though the Frankish burials tended to include grave goods. The use of glazed bowls during the burial rites was a Frankish tradition that was incorporated into the Orthodox customs, making it even more difficult to distinguish the burials of the two rites.

The burials at Corinth support the idea that any Latin and Orthodox burials at Pilgrims' Castle would be almost impossible to tell apart. Could the presence of grave goods be an indicator of the Latin burials? It would not be an accurate indicator, since not all Latin burials included grave goods. There does not seem to be an accurate way of distinguishing Latin burials from Orthodox burials. The only sure way to know what rite a burial belongs to is if it is associated with a church.

What was the exact relationship between the cemetery at the town church and the Crusader cemetery? If we accept that the Crusader cemetery was used by the Templars as their main cemetery in the Latin East following the loss of Jerusalem in 1187, then the exceedingly large number of burials in the cemetery makes sense. Then why was a cemetery needed at the town church? Surely any of the town

residents who died could have been buried in the Crusader cemetery, rather than establishing a second cemetery in the area.

There are several possibilities. One suggestion is that the Crusader cemetery could have been too full by the end of the occupation of the site and a second cemetery was deemed necessary. This seems a highly unlikely suggestion since the church was never completed and may have been abandoned by 1264. Burials at the Crusader cemetery would have to have continued after 1264, since the site was occupied until 1291. There is no evidence to suggest that burials here stopped following the sack of 1264. Therefore, it cannot be that a second cemetery was needed since the Crusader cemetery continued to be used until 1291.

The only other suggestion that seems to have any credence is that the cemetery at the town church was used for the burial of some of the town's residents. It is possible that the people who were buried at the church had contributed to its construction and chose to be buried there rather than in the Crusader cemetery. There were no children recorded being buried at the church, but there were children buried in the Crusader cemetery. If the site was occupied for at least 47 years, then it would be expected that at least some children from the town would have died. No women were mentioned among the dead found at the church cemetery, but Johns did not conduct an osteological study of the deceased so this does not necessarily mean anything.

Without a re-excavation of the church and its associated cemetery, it appears that only some of the town's residents were buried at the cemetery of the town church. It is unknown if they were Eastern or Latin Christians, as there is nothing to differentiate between the burials at the town church and the obviously Western burials in the Crusader cemetery. Whether or not any of the burials in the Crusader cemetery are those of residents of the town is still unknown. It seems likely that at least some of the women and children buried in the Crusader cemetery came from the town at Pilgrims' Castle, though some of them probably came from elsewhere, as well.

4. Artefacts and their presence in Crusader burials - Pottery

Medieval graves were not supposed to contain artefacts, but this was one rule that was not always followed. Pottery has been a common find in cemeteries in France that date from the medieval period. Other artefacts are also found on a regular basis, usually those associated with burial shrouds or coffins. As well, priests were usually buried with the symbols of their profession (Hadley 2001: 113-115). These types of artefacts are not common in the Latin East, but have been found at a few sites.

What do artefacts tell us about the Crusader cemetery? What was their purpose in the cemetery? Did they play a role in the burial rites? What was so special about these artefacts that they would be found in association with burials? These are just some of the questions that can be posed in regard to this subject.

The most common type of artefact found associated with burials is pottery. In the study of artefacts found during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, 113 pieces of pottery were found to be extant, compared to 65 extant artefacts of other categories. Some of these pottery vessels were found complete or almost complete, while only one or two fragments represented other vessels. It should also be noted that a number of pottery fragments were not included in the pottery typology for the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. This was because it was impossible to determine where or when the fragments were found, as Johns put them into a single group called 'AT 34-5'. As explained in the pottery typology found in the appendix of this work, AT 34-5 was a mixed group of pottery fragments, with fragments from all types of pottery. The existence of this group means that pottery was even more prevalent in the Crusader cemetery than the 113 individually categorised pottery vessels suggests.

The pottery found in the cemetery presents an interesting set of questions for the archaeologist. Most of the material is commonly found in other 13th century sites in the Latin East, such as the Port Saint Symeon ware and the Zeuxippus ware, thus leaving no problem in the dating of the site. The problem comes in trying to determine the purpose for the pottery in the Crusader cemetery. Why was the pottery there in the first place? And why was pottery found in greater quantities than other types of artefacts?

What role did pottery play in the burial rites of the Latin East? Johns suggested that the pottery at the Crusader cemetery was used to hold flowers (1947: 92), but there is no evidence that this was the case. Bird mentions one bowl that was found containing a “black and grey ashy substance (1934: 16).” Unfortunately, this bowl was cleaned by one of the workers before the substance could be collected for testing. This was, however, the only mention of any substance being found in a piece of pottery.

The presence of the ashy substance in the one bowl suggests that there may be a parallel with Frankish graves from Corinth and with medieval French burial customs. In medieval French burials pierced *flammulé* pots were a common feature and Ivison believes that this tradition carried over to burials in Frankish Corinth (1992: 120).

According to Young, the use of *flammulé* pots in graves was a medieval Parisian practice, though the presence of the pots in burials in l’Oise shows that the practice spread beyond the borders of Paris itself (Young 1978: 328; Durand 1988: 181). In addition to evidence from burials, the use of *flammulé* pots in burial rites is attested to in a bas-relief showing the funeral procession of Prince Louis, the son of Saint Louis. The funeral took place in 1260 and the bas-relief shows smoking pierced pots being carried in the procession. Young suggests that the smoking was a result of incense being sprinkled on hot coals that were contained within the pots (1978: 328).

The *flammulé* pots found at Montmartre were associated with burial that dated to the end of the 13th and middle of the 14th centuries. This fits with the date of the bas-relief of Prince Louis’ funeral procession. This dating also matches with the ceramic finds from the cemeteries in Bouteilles, near Dieppe, and with the evidence from l’Oise (Cochet 1970: 319-320, 330; Durand 1988: 181).

There is one difference between the ceramic vessels found in medieval French burials and those found in Frankish Corinth: in the former, pots were used, while in the latter it was bowls. The bowls found in the Frankish burials at Corinth were glazed and were in the same location in relation to the body as were the *flammulé* pots in the French burials. Furthermore, one of the bowls at Corinth, when it was excavated, contained ashes (Ivison 1992: 120).

Is there enough evidence to support the connection between the glazed bowls of the Frankish burials and the *flammulé* pots of the French burials? The hard evidence for the bowls being used for the burning of incense is slim, with only one bowl found containing traces of ashes or evidence of being burnt. With this in mind, the inclusion of the vessels in the same location in the grave in relation to the body as is seen in French burials does support the claim of a connection between the two traditions. As well, the use of pottery in burials appears to have been a Frankish tradition, as it was not found in the Byzantine burials at the site and seems to have been incorporated into the Byzantine burial rites sometime during the Frankish period (Iverson 1992: 120-121).

Based on the evidence from Frankish Corinth, it seems likely that the bowls found in the burials at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit are also linked to the medieval French tradition of the *flammulé* pots. As at Corinth, only one bowl from the Crusader cemetery was found containing an ashy substance. Unlike at Corinth, however, it is more difficult to determine the location of the bowls in association to the bodies.

The surviving documents from the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery indicate that a number of bowls were found in association with burials, but that is the extent of our knowledge about their exact location within the grave. The photos from the excavation are likewise unhelpful in determining the location of the pottery. There is only one photo that shows pottery in association with skeletons (Plate 29). In this case, there are three visible pottery vessels, two of which are clearly bowls, while the third appears to be part of a cooking vessel. One of the bowls and the cooking vessel are both located on the left-hand side of two different burials. The second bowl does not appear to be associated with a burial.

This brings up a difficult question: why were not all of the pottery vessels in the Crusader cemetery associated with burials if they played a role in the burial rites? It may be that some of the pottery vessels were once associated with burials that were later disturbed to make room for more burials. If this was the case, though, you would expect to find some of the bones of the first burial *in situ*, rather than wholly absent.

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Could there be another reason for the inclusion of pottery with the burials at the Crusader cemetery? Could they have been used for flowers, as Johns has suggested (1947: 92)? It is possible, though there is no evidence either supporting or refuting this hypothesis. If the vessels were used for flowers, it is expected that they would have been placed on top of the grave, rather than with the burial itself. Why then, were the vessels found at the same level as the skeletons, rather than above them?

If the vessels were found above the burials, then it could be argued that they had a memorial purpose to be used by those who were still living. If they were found at the same level as the burial, then they could be considered as grave goods. It is also possible that, over time, the bowls that may have been on the surface subsided to the same level as the burials but it is questionable whether or not they would have survived intact.

Would the dead buried at the Crusader cemetery have been remembered by the living by placing flowers on the graves? If the majority of the those buried at the Crusader cemetery were not from 'Atlit, would there have been anyone to place flowers on their graves? The answer is likely no. And if residents from the town were buried in the Crusader cemetery, would their graves account for the number of pottery vessels found in the cemetery. Again, the answer seems to be no. In light of this, it seems more likely that the tradition of using bowls for incense during the burial rites was used at the Crusader cemetery, in imitation of the French burial rites of the time.

Not all of the pottery was found in the form of complete or almost complete vessels. A large number of pottery sherds were found, some in association with burials. It is no surprise that some of the pottery was broken when it was found. It would be more surprising if it was not broken. However, it does raise the question of whether the pottery was intentionally broken or if the breakage was a result of a different process.

There is no indication that the *flammulé* pots or the bowls from Frankish Corinth were intentionally broken prior to their interment. The fact that so many of the pottery vessels from the Crusader cemetery were found intact or almost intact suggests that it was not necessary to break the pottery before it was buried. It is possible that the

pottery may have been broken inadvertently during the burial process. It is also possible that the pottery was broken prior to being placed in the cemetery.

It seems likely that a portion of the pottery found in the Crusader cemetery was not associated with the burials. Some of the sherds may have been thrown there as trash or were lost at some point in the thirteenth century.

Why were glazed bowls used to hold incense instead of the traditional pierced *flammulé* pots? A *flammulé* pot can be found in a variety of forms. During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there were two main forms of *flammulé* pots. The first was what can only be called a vase, with holes pierced along the upper body of the vessel. The second type was a one-handled jug, again with holes pierced in the upper body of the vessel (Durand 1988: 181; Young 1978: 325). Bowls do not come to be found in burials until the mid- to late-fourteenth century, at least not in the south-east of l'Oise (Durand 1988: 181).

What, exactly, were the *flammulé* pots actually used for? According to Durand, the pots were used to cense the bodies either to get rid of the bad odour of the corpse or so that the deceased is able to offer to the Lord the agreeable odour of his or her good works, or even to show that the priests were serving the deceased (1988: 182). The incense was used in conjunction with holy water, which was used to chase off the demons (Durand 1988: 182).

The burials from l'Oise show that pottery was placed both at the head and feet of the deceased, often with more than one piece of pottery present. This is consistent with the one example we have from the Crusader cemetery, giving a correlation between the two traditions even more support. What is most interesting, however, is the origin of the pots.

According to Durand, the *flammulé* pots all had a domestic origin. This comes from the fact that the pots all showed traces of usage, suggesting that the pots were not manufactured specifically for use in burial rites. This may explain why bowls were used in the Latin East in the thirteenth century, when they did not come into usage in France until the fourteenth century (Durand 1988: 181-182).

In the majority of published excavations in the Latin East, cooking and common wares are notably less prevalent in pottery assemblages than are the more highly decorated wares. This imbalance carries over to the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. Here, 22 of 113 identified pieces of pottery belonged to the categories of unglazed and common and kitchen wares. It is unclear why there would be such an imbalance in the pottery assemblages. Perhaps the more common wares were sturdier than the more decorated pieces, and thus were used for a longer period of time than the other types of pottery.

At the Crusader cemetery, none of the pottery found was perforated, not even the jugs, jars, and pitchers. This suggests that the people of Pilgrims' Castle were not attempting to directly copy the style of the *flammulé* pots. Instead, they seem to be adapting the French tradition to their own usage. In a way, the Franks were ahead of their time, since glazed bowls were not used in French burials until a century later than they are found in the Latin East.

How does the pottery assemblage from the Crusader cemetery compare to the assemblage from the rest of Pilgrims' Castle and the *faubourg*? In general, the assemblages are similar, though the assemblage from the *faubourg* included water jugs and storage jars in a larger number than were found at the Crusader cemetery. The stables produced the most pottery, with an assemblage similar to that of the Crusader cemetery (Johns 1936: 46-49).

The similarity between the pottery assemblages of the Crusader cemetery and of the castle and the *faubourg* tells us that the wares used in burial rites were in common usage within the community. The pottery found in the Crusader cemetery was not manufactured to be used specifically in burial rites. Instead, the pottery was likely used in a domestic setting first, and then reused in the burials, as was done in medieval French burials.

Why was the pottery chosen for usage in burials, instead of continuing to be used in a domestic setting? It is possible that pottery was chosen that was already damaged, and it was recycled for use in a funerary setting. There is no indication that the

pottery was damaged prior to be buried, since the broken edges all showed roughly the same degree of weathering. It makes economic sense to choose pottery that was either damaged or was older than the rest of the pottery used in the domestic setting.

Would damaged pottery affect the significance it played in the burial rites? The answer to this question is unclear. There is no indication in the work on the medieval French burials if the pottery was whole prior to it being placed in the graves. Some of the pottery, both from France and from the Latin East, was whole when it was excavated. A closer examination of medieval French liturgy and burial rites is needed in order to definitively answer this question.

What does the lack of pottery in the burials at the town church mean? Could this be a sign that the town church was used for the burial of Eastern Christians? We know from the Byzantine burials at Corinth, that pottery was not normally included in Orthodox burials and the custom of using pottery in the burial rites only came to be used during and after the Frankish period. Other than the usual smattering of pottery sherds in the fill, no other grave goods were found in association with the burials at the town church (Johns 1935: 125, 134-135).

This lack of pottery may be an indication that the local Eastern Christian residents of the faubourg used the town church, but it is not definitive proof of this. Not all of the graves in the Crusader cemetery had associated pottery finds, so the lack of pottery does not prove anything one way or another. The smaller sample size of burials at the town church may account for the lack of grave goods, and it should be noted that Johns did not excavate all of the burials at the town church (1935: 134).

Why is pottery so common in the burials in the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, when it is not found so often in other burial sites in the Latin East? This trend is obvious when you read excavation reports for burials from other Crusader sites in the Latin East. Frankish Corinth is one of the only sites in the Latin East that revealed grave goods. Caesarea Maritima, another of the major sites with Crusader burials, was rebuilt at the same time as Pilgrims' Castle was being built. Despite this, the burials found at Caesarea showed no evidence of burials being associated with pottery.

What made the Crusader cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle unique out of the other burial sites in the Near East? The only variable that distinguishes the Crusader cemetery from other burial sites is that Pilgrims' Castle belonged to the Templar Knights. Could the use of pottery in the burial rites be the distinguishing feature of Templar burial sites?

That would be a wonderful hypothesis if it were not for the Frankish burials in Corinth. Since the burials in Frankish Corinth were not related to the Templar Knights, the hypothesis fails. A better conclusion is that the Templars at Pilgrims' Castle, or at least those responsible for burials, were from the area of the Île-de-France, which includes Paris and l'Oise. Frankish Corinth was ruled over by the Villehardouins, who came from the present day region of Champagne-Ardenne, which is just to the east and north of the Île-de-France. The custom of placing pottery in graves was brought to the Latin East by people from this area of France, and this may explain why it is found in such isolated pockets of the Latin East.

In all of this, Crusader burials on Cyprus have been ignored. Du Plat Taylor noted that a number of the burials she excavated at the churches of Ayios Mamas and Chrysanayotissa had associated pottery finds. These churches were located in the vicinity of the village of Episcopi, which had been a fief of the Ibelins during the Lusignan period in the thirteenth century (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 55).

The burials in Cyprus are more difficult to deal with than those in Corinth and Pilgrims' Castle, because the identity of the deceased is more difficult to pin down. As has already been shown, there is little to no difference in the burial techniques of the Western and Eastern Christians. As well, the presence of pottery in Eastern Christians burials has already been attested to in Frankish Corinth, again leaving us with no definitive way to tell the difference between the two burial rites.

We know that the church of Ayios Mamas was formerly called "Catholiki", allowing us to make the assumption that this was a Latin church and that those buried in its cemetery belonged to the Latin rite. It is unclear which rite the church of Chrysanayotissa followed (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 55, 61).

What is most striking about the pottery recovered from the graves at Ayios Mamas and Chrysanayiotissa is the predominance of slip-wares over the more common wares. It has already been stated that slip-wares were more common in the Crusader cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle, but the difference in numbers of slip-wares and common wares at the Cypriot sites is larger than at the Crusader cemetery. As well, the pottery associated with burials was almost always in the form of a bowl, rather than in the form of a jar or a jug. In fact, there were no jugs or jars found in association with any of the Cypriot burials. This deviates from both the French pattern and the pattern found at Pilgrims' Castle.

Evidence from Ayios Mamas suggests that the use of pottery in burial rites was introduced by the Franks. This church originally belonged to the Byzantine rite, roughly dating to the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The burials Du Plat Taylor dates to this period did not have pottery associated with them. In contrast, 11 of the 16 burials dating to the later Latin church did contain pottery. Two other graves contained one or two sherds of pottery, while the other graves tended to contain only fragmented remains of skeletons (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 55-61).

In contrast, Du Plat Taylor dated the Chrysanayiotissa church to the twelfth to sixteenth centuries. At the first site excavated at the church, seven of the 14 burials contained pottery. Three layers of burials were identified, all of which contained burials with associated pottery. The second site showed the same pattern, with 14 of the 20 burials containing pottery. It seems likely that this church followed the Latin rite, though it is not certain. There were no other artefacts found which would suggest that these were Orthodox burials (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 61-72).

5. Artefacts and their presence in Crusader burials – Metal, Glass, Paste, and Bone and Ivory Artefacts.

Other types of grave goods are found in Crusader burials in the Latin East, as well, though they are found less frequently than is pottery. These tend to be smaller artefacts, normally made of either metal, glass, or bone and ivory. Most of the artefacts are related either to the clothing that the deceased was buried in, or to coffins.

The small finds from the Crusader cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle seem to be mainly objects that would be associated with clothing or with the personal adornment of the person being buried. Other than the twenty-four recorded coins, the metal objects were mainly rings, buckles, pins, and buttons, though nails were also found. These are the types of artefacts that would be expected to be found in a cemetery, even though there were proscriptions on the inclusion of grave goods in Christian burials. The nails could have been associated with coffins, but there is no other indication that coffins were used in burials. The amulets and pendant crosses are, again, artefacts that are not unexpected in the context of a Christian cemetery.

A spear socket, flint knife, and bone die were also found. These are finds that would not be expected in a cemetery. It is possible that they were lost by their owners while in the cemetery or they could have been artefacts from an earlier period that were mixed in with the thirteenth century material. These finds do not seem to indicate any sort of social activities taking place in the cemetery, such as a market. It is possible that these items belonged to the grave diggers, as they may have needed protection when they were outside of the city walls. As well, they may have played games while they were at the cemetery. No game boards were found in the Crusader cemetery, but two were found during the excavation of the stables at Pilgrims' Castle (Johns 1936: 32-33, plate XXV).

The most puzzling aspect of the metal artefacts found in the Crusader cemetery is the purpose of the nails. Both bronze and iron nails were found during the excavation of the site. Five iron nails, catalogued as AT 34-30, IAA ascension #47.3199, were found associated with burial 45. This was located in square X5, which covered the areas named Sb, E, and F during the 2004 survey. The nails were found lying across the legs of the skeleton.

Normally, if nails are found associated with a burial, it is assumed that they are the remains of a coffin. However, in this case all five of the nails were located in one general area. If these nails were related to a coffin, one would expect to find more

nails located around the skeleton and not centred in one area. As well, there were no remains of wood found anywhere in the Crusader cemetery.

The lack of remains of wood is not so worrying, since organic material is only preserved under certain conditions. Wooden coffins could have been used at the Crusader cemetery and the wood may not have been preserved. The lack of more than five nails in association with burial 45, though, suggests that coffins were not used. And the lack of more burials with associated nails further supports this supposition.

It is more likely that the deceased were buried either in their clothes or in shrouds. Five buckles and one pin from a buckle were found in the Crusader cemetery. Only one of these buckles was big enough to be used on a belt, while the others seem to have been better suited for fastening clothing. One pin fragment was found, which may have been used to fasten a shroud. Another artefact that may have been used to fasten a shroud was AT 34-117, which has tentatively been identified as a bronze ear pick. This ear pick had a rounded end, but it could have been used to fasten a shroud.

The buckles could either have come from the clothing the deceased were buried in or they could have been used to secure a shroud. If they were used to secure a shroud, they would probably have been used to secure a strip of cloth around the shroud. As stated, though, only one of the buckles, AT 34-99, was large enough to have been used in conjunction with something as large as a belt.

Most of the remaining metal artefacts constitute personal jewellery. Six finger rings were found, as were two bronze crosses. There was nothing exceptional about these pieces, except for the delicateness of the crosses and the attention to detail in their construction. A wooden amulet was also found, suggesting that conditions at the Crusader cemetery were such that wood could be preserved. Two other crosses were found, these in mother-of-pearl, bringing the total number of crosses up to four. The last category of artefact that could be considered as personal adornment is beads, four of which were found.

What do these artefacts tell us about the people buried in the Crusader cemetery? In truth, they do not tell us much about the people themselves. They do tell us about the burial customs of the Latin East, though. The small number of artefacts in relation to the number of burials excavated suggests that the deceased were wrapped in shrouds prior to their burial. These shrouds were secured in one of three ways: pinned, wrapped with a belt, or tied. Only the first two methods of securing a shroud would leave evidence in the archaeological record. If a shroud was tied, there would be nothing left to indicate this, unless the shroud itself survived.

There is little physical evidence for the use of shrouds in the Latin East. The best evidence for their use is rather the lack of physical evidence. That is not to say that some pieces of textiles have not survived. At the Crusader cemetery, a number of pieces of linen were found, along with a bronze buckle and a bronze ring. The linen had been stained green from the contact with the bronze. It is possible that these pieces of linen could have been part of clothing but it is more likely that they were once part of a shroud. Furthermore, it seems logical that the bronze buckle could have been used to secure the shroud.

There is also evidence for the use of shrouds from the excavations at Tel Jezreel. One of the burials appeared to contain fragments of a shroud. As well, Bradley suggests that the position of the skeletons reflects the use of shrouds to wrap the bodies. The skeletons at Tel Jezreel followed the normal burial position for Christian burials in the medieval period: lying supine, with the legs together and hands on the pelvis. Bradley believes that the tightness of this positioning, and its survival in a post-burial context, shows the use of a shroud to keep the body in that position. If a shroud was not used, then the limbs would spread out, although this can also happen when the shroud has decayed enough to allow the body to move (Bradley 1994: 64).

At Caesarea Maritima, the Crusader burials in the vicinity of the cathedral did not show any sign of being buried in shrouds, nor was there evidence of clothing. Yule and Rowsome suggest that shrouds were used but that they were tied rather than pinned. As well, there was evidence for the use of wooden coffins. The wood had

decayed but nails were found *in situ*, even allowing the excavators to partially reconstruct the size and shape of the coffin used (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34).

A number of the burials at Caesarea Maritima showed evidence of either having been buried in a coffin, or having had a wooden box placed under the head. This was because, in these burials, a large quantity of nails and wood fragments were found located around the skull of the deceased (Gundelman and Armon 1993: 47). The fact that the nails and wood were only located around the head of the skeleton is unusual. The idea of a wooden box being placed under the head is more believable than a coffin, since the coffin would either have been just around the head or the remains of the rest of the coffin would have disappeared in a number of cases.

The wooden box under the head may be reminiscent of the custom of placing a stone under the head of the deceased, almost like a pillow. This type of burial treatment was found in other graves at Caesarea Maritima. Another type of burial that gave the same effect was to bury the body lower than the head, raising the skull slightly (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34).

The Frankish graves at Corinth contained very few artefacts. Some buckles were found, along with crosses, rings, and buttons (Williams *et al* 1998: 241). In all, the artefacts from Frankish Corinth were similar to those found in the Crusader cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle. There was no evidence of wooden coffins, nor of the head being raised by any means.

Finally, we will turn to the burials in Cyprus. Very few artefacts were recovered from the burials around Episcopi, with the exception of the pottery. A few pieces of bronze mounting, a bronze pin, and six pairs of bronze hooks and eyes were recovered. Four of the eyes were found with some cloth still attached. The hooks and eyes and the pin were found in association with the same grave (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 58, 62).

Normally when you find a pin in a burial, this is taken as evidence that a pinned shroud was used to cover the body. The presence of the hooks and eyes is suggestive of clothing, however. It is possible that the pin may have been part of the clothing, rather than having been used to hold a shroud together.

The majority of the metal artefacts found in the Cypriot burials were coins. Twelve coins were found in the burials, all but one from the cemetery at Ayios Mamas. The coins all date to the fourteenth century or later, with the exception of the coin from Chrysanayotissa, which could only be dated to the Lusignan period (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 56-62).

Coins also played a relatively large role in the burials at the Crusader cemetery. A recent study has been done on all of the coins recovered from 'Atlit. The majority of the coins date to the first half of the thirteenth century. It's likely that these coins arrived at Pilgrims' Castle in the first thirty years of the castle's existence, according to Metcalf *et al* (1999: 92*). There are very few coins that date to the latter half of the thirteenth century, less than 10% of the total number of coins. Metcalf *et al* suggest many reasons for this decline in coinage at Pilgrims' Castle. Their conclusion is that the *faubourg* did not fully recover following Baybars' sack of the *faubourg* in 1265 (Metcalf *et al* 1999: 92*). This conclusion seems to be the right one, especially considering the evidence from the *faubourg* church, which was never completed.

There is one mention of the Crusader cemetery in this article. In one section, the authors are describing a mini-hoard of coins that were found in a grave that was located within the Crusader cemetery (Metcalf *et al* 1999: 105). The coins were found next to the femur of one of the skeletons in an unmarked grave that was found in square X4. This mini-hoard consisted of three deniers of the *Amalricus* immobilized type. These coins are dated to the second quarter of the thirteenth century (Metcalf *et al* 1999: 105*-106*). This is the only discussion of coins from the Crusader cemetery in Metcalf *et al*'s article, likely because it was the only large find from the Crusader cemetery.

It should be noted that, in the index of coins that is labelled as figure 2, there are only eight coins listed as being found in the Crusader cemetery (Metcalf *et al* 1999: 149*). This is just one third of the total number of coins listed in the following typology. It is possible that Johns did not keep all of the coins excavated at the Crusader cemetery, and chose these eight as the best pieces to be studied and kept by the authorities. Of

these eight, six are listed as being from the Crusader period, one is an Islamic coin and one is a Pre-Islamic coin (Metcalf *et al* 1999: 149*).

Metcalf *et al* support this theory, since they were not able to find all of the coins that were excavated from Pilgrims' Castle. Johns made a detailed catalogue of the coins from the 1930 to 1933 seasons, with the coins divided into the squares they were excavated from. Even with this catalogue, however, Metcalf *et al* were not able to find all of the coins listed on it. Some of the coins were not able to be matched with Johns' original numbering system while others had been labelled as unidentifiable by Johns and were "discarded". It should be noted that many of the "discarded" coins were kept in the collection, and not actually thrown away (Metcalf *et al* 1999: 90*-91*).

It is no surprise, then, that not all of the coins from the Crusader cemetery were included in Metcalf *et al*'s study of the coinage of Pilgrims' Castle. It is interesting to note that the mini-hoard from the Crusader cemetery was attributed to square X4 (Metcalf *et al* 1999: 105*). There is no record of this hoard in the excavation cards, however. It is likely that these coins were recorded on one of the missing cards.

The purpose of the coins in relation to the burials is uncertain. It is easy to say that the coins may have simply been lost in the cemetery, rather than being placed in the graves on purpose. In fact, it would be surprising if this was not the case with at least some of the coins. However, the fact that so many coins were found in direct association with burials in Cyprus suggests that there must have been a motive behind their placement.

In pagan times, it was traditional to include money in burials. Coins have been found in Anglo-Saxon and Viking burials, and Christian writers warned against being buried with money (Daniell 1997: 150). Why would coins be found in these Christian burials?

Coins have been found in Merovingian burials from l'Oise, though their exact meaning is a subject of debate. There is the possibility that the coins were a

continuation of the Roman practice of offering payment to Charon. Durand and others question the veracity of this argument, but do not offer a satisfactory explanation of the practice. Durand does not believe that the coins found in the Merovingian graves could be a resurgence of pagan practices because the priests would not have approved and would have prohibited any such practice (1988: 183-184).

In light of this, the question of the purpose of the coins in Crusader burials will have to be left open. The practice appears to have had French origins, in much the same way that the use of pottery in the burial rites is likely a French import to the Latin East. The purpose of the coins, however, will remain a mystery.

6. Type of graves

Having established a typology for the tombs at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, it is necessary to look at the types of graves that are found in the Latin East. There is a distinct difference between the terms 'tomb' and 'grave': a tomb is the structure found above the surface, while a grave is the burial structure found below the surface. Just as there were a number of tomb types used in Crusader burials, there were also a number of types of graves used.

The only grave type found at the Crusader cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle was the unmarked burials, or the Type 3 tombs. During the excavation, none of the marked burials were excavated, meaning that there is no evidence for the type of grave used for those burials. It appears that the unmarked burials were placed in graves dug out of the sand.

The photos from the 1934 excavation of the cemetery show some signs of discolouration around the unmarked burials, though not in all cases. Due to the lack of evidence for the use of coffins, it seems the dead were placed in the graves either in their clothes or in shrouds. The fact that most of the skeletons were found with their arms lying tight to the body and the legs straight and close together. This positioning

of the skeletons is similar to that observed at Tel Jezreel, where Bradley believed the positioning of the skeletons suggested the use of shrouds (1994: 64).

Even though the marked burials were not excavated, we can extrapolate the type of grave that would be found beneath the tombs if they were to be excavated. The Crusader cemetery is located on the shore of the Mediterranean and has a sandy soil. The unmarked burials revealed that there is not a stone layer below the sand, at least not at the depth of the burials. This lack of stone suggests that the graves underneath the tombs would have been dug out of the sand and probably did not have a stone lining, since this would have had to have been transported from the quarries, along with the stones used to construct the tombs themselves.

The burials at the town church at Pilgrims' Castle were similar to those at the Crusader cemetery. This was to be expected, since the same type of soil was present in both locations. The burials found outside the church, as well as the one burial located within the church, were all in graves dug out of the sand. In the case of three of the graves, they were located next to the north wall of the church, with the stone wall of the buttresses forming one side of the grave (Johns 1935: 125, 134-135).

Earth-cut graves were found at other Crusader sites in the Latin East, such as Tel Jezreel and Caesarea Maritima. Unfortunately, there is little information on the earth-cut graves from Tel Jezreel. According to Ussishkin and Woodhead, the earth-cut graves at Tel Jezreel contained the bodies of babies, infants and children and were the most common type of grave at the site (1991: 44).

More is known about the graves at Caesarea Maritima. Here, the earth-cut graves were used in conjunction with wooden coffins (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34). Unfortunately, the excavators did not go into detail about which graves were earth-cut and which were stone-lined. It is this detail that is important in determining if there is a pattern to the use of earth-cut graves in contrast to stone-lined graves.

Stone-lined cist graves are very common throughout the Latin East. They occur at all Crusader sites where burials have been excavated, with the exception of Pilgrims'

Castle. At Caesarea Maritima, there were three types of burials that included a stone-lined cists: burial in a wooden coffin within a stone cist, burial in a stone cist without a coffin, and burial in a wooden coffin against an existing structure, such as an Arab drain (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34).

Yule and Rowsome record that, during the 1993 excavation season, 12 of the cist burials were excavated. All of them were built with reused kurkar stone slabs, which were laid on their edge. The slabs were not mortared but the cist itself was sealed with a coat of plaster on the bottom and sides. In many of the burials, a kurkar slab was laid on top of the cist (Yule and Rowsome 1994: 34). Reports of earlier excavations at Caesarea Maritima show that the stone-lined cist graves were the common form of burials. These burials were situated around the cathedral built on the ancient temple platform (Gundelman and Arnon 1993: 47; Raban *et al* 1999: 224).

A site that has yet to be discussed is Tripoli. There, Salamé-Sarkis excavated two sites with Crusader burials: the necropolis of the Crusaders in the Castle of Tripoli and the necropolis of Saint-Jean of Mont-Pelerin. Salamé-Sarkis identified five types of graves that occurred at the two sites. They were: rectangular graves, oval graves, trapezoidal graves, trapezoidal graves with an accommodation for the head, and trapezoidal graves with an accommodation for the head and a superstructure in the form of a parallelepiped rectangle (Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 92, 110).

All of the graves from Tripoli were stone-lined and were referred to as stone coffins by Salame-Sarkis. This reference is misleading, since the graves were constructed using several slabs of stone, which may or may not have been cemented together with mortar or plaster (Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 91). It is better to refer to this type of grave as a stone-lined cist.

Salamé-Sarkis identifies the trapezoidal grave as the one, uniquely Crusader grave type. He says that this type of grave “allows, in the absence of reliable documents, one to directly recognise a Crusader tomb (1980: 92).” This conclusion seems to have been made because of the similarity in form of these graves with stone coffins or sarcophagi found in the Provençal region of France (Salamé-Sarkis 1980: 93). It is

true that the trapezoidal form of grave was common in Merovingian and later burials in France, as shown by the site of Saint-Pierre-de-Montmartre in Paris (Young 1978: 326-327).

Salamé-Sarkis makes a convincing argument for identifying the trapezoidal grave as a uniquely Crusader type of grave. However, before this can be confirmed, it would be better to study the late Roman and Byzantine graves of the Near East to determine if this form of grave was found prior to the Crusader period. Unfortunately, this study has not yet been done, so the confirmation will have to wait.

The Cypriot burials excavated by Du Plat Taylor were buried in both earth-cut graves and stone-lined graves. The main difference with the Cypriot graves is the presence of rock-cut graves. The graves were cut into the rock to form narrow trenches and were then covered over with large slabs of stone. The rock-cut graves at Ayios Mamas church were only found in Level 3, which was dated to the Byzantine period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 56-61).

The rock-cut graves were also found at the Chrysanayiotissa church. There they were dated to between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. At Site 2, the graves of this period were found both cut into the rock, but also lying just above the rock (Du Plat Taylor 1938: 61-71). There was not enough evidence to date the graves to either the Crusader or the Byzantine period, as there was at Ayios Mamas.

The graves in Frankish Corinth present a more complex picture than those found at other Crusader period sites. Earth-cut graves, or pit graves as Ivison refers to them, were used throughout the Frankish period. Tile graves are a type of grave that is unique to Frankish Corinth, at least in relation to the other Crusader era sites that have been discussed in this work. In this type of grave, tiles were piled over the body to form a gable, while the head and foot of the grave were sealed with more tiles. There were also some cist graves, though they were less common than the two previous types of grave (Ivison 1992: 119).

From all of this evidence, it is possible to construct a grave typology, along the same lines as the tomb typology developed for the Crusader cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle. Its general form would look something like this:

1. Earth-cut graves
2. Stone-lined cist graves
 - a. Rectangular
 - b. Oval
 - c. Trapezoid
 - d. Trapezoid with an accommodation for the head, also known as anthropomorphic
 - e. Trapezoid with an accommodation for the head and a superstructure in the form of a parallelepiped rectangle
3. Tile graves
4. Rock-cut graves

Of these four types of graves, it is possible that only the tile graves and the trapezoid stone-lined cist graves could be grave types unique to the Crusader period. This supposition will have to be tested, since the evidence for its veracity is currently slim. However, one must question whether a grave typology is of any use to an archaeologist working on Crusader era burials.

While some of the grave types are found in all areas of the Latin East, others are confined to only one or two sites. The grave type or types used at a site seems to be determined more by the type of ground in which the graves are being dug, than by any cultural considerations. For example, the burials at Pilgrims' Castle were all in earth-cut graves because the site was located on sandy soil. If there were any stone-lined cist graves at the Crusader cemetery at Pilgrims' Castle, then they are likely to be found under the tombs, which have not been excavated. However, from all of the evidence available, it seems more likely that all of the deceased at Pilgrims Castle were buried in earth-cut graves.

It is these geographical factors that make a grave typology for Crusader burials seem unnecessary. The type of grave used at a site will be determined by the type of soil at the site and by the resources available to the people digging the graves. There may be

some cultural aspects to the graves, such as the French connection to the trapezoidal form of the stone-lined cist graves. This cultural aspect, however, will always have to give way to the geographical position of a burial site.

Another problem with determining the usefulness of a grave typology is the lack of data found in excavation reports. In researching the grave types found in the Latin East, it was difficult to match up burials with their grave types. What is needed is a new type of recording system, where all the data for a burial is recorded in such a way that a researcher can determine the type of grave used, the type of tomb, the sex and age of the person found in a grave, and the artefacts found in association with the burial, to name just a few of the variables that could be recorded.

One of the best recording systems for burials that I have come across was developed for use in the excavations at Tell el-Hesi, in southern Israel. In Toombs' report on excavation work done on the Muslim cemetery at the site, there is a chapter on field reporting of burials. This chapter includes an example of forms used by the excavators to record the particulars of the graves, as well as a list of all the variables that could be found (Toombs 1985: 48-59).

I believe that a standardised recording system for burials, such as the one presented by Toombs, should be used by all those excavating Crusader burials. Otherwise, the data for Crusader burials will remain fragmentary and it will make it more difficult, if not impossible to study Crusader burials from a number of different sites.

Part 4

Conclusion

5

Conclusion

In conclusion, I will turn to the two questions posed in the preface: 1) what were the cultural influences involved in Crusader burials? and 2) are there any distinctively Crusader burials customs that can be seen in the archaeological record?

Cultural influences on Crusader burials

This is one of the main questions relating to Crusader burials because of the many cultural influences that converged in the Latin East. In addition to the local people, who were a mixed cultural group to begin with, there were Crusaders and merchants from many parts of Europe. If today's world and its multicultural mix is anything to go by, then the hugely multi-cultural group that inhabited the Latin East must have had an influence on each other. Is there any evidence for cultural mixing in the Crusader burials?

At first glance, the answer seems to be no. The main cultural influence on Crusader burials in the Latin East seems to be from the area of modern-day France. The use of both pottery and coins in Crusader burials has similarities with French burials of the same period. However, these grave goods are only found at some Crusader sites and not at others.

The fact that pottery and coins are only found at some Crusader sites and not at others suggests that this was not a practice used by all of the people inhabiting Crusader sites. It is more likely that the presence of pottery and coins in burials is indicative

that the inhabitants of a particular site, or at least the people conducting the burial, were originally from modern-day France, in particular the area around Paris.

What about sites where pottery and coins do not occur? These sites seem to be inhabited by people from other areas of Europe, such as Germany or even from areas of France other than around Paris. The pottery assemblages from sites such as Caesarea Maritima, where pottery is not found in burials, is similar to the assemblage from Pilgrims' Castle, where pottery is found in burials. The pottery being used at the sites is not different, therefore it must be the burial customs of the people that are different.

Could we be seeing differences in burial between Western and Eastern Christians? No, this does not make sense. If we were seeing this difference, you would expect to see a proportion of the burials at a site with pottery and coins associated with them, since there would have been Western Christians at sites like Caesarea Maritima.

Differences in burials between Western and Eastern Christians appear to be minimal. In burials from Frankish Corinth, the main difference between the Latin and Orthodox burials was the presence of pottery in the Latin burials and its absence in the Orthodox ones. In fact, the one of the only signs we have of cultural interaction in burial customs is from Frankish Corinth. Prior to the Frankish period, the Orthodox burials did not include pottery. During and following the Frankish period, pottery was found in the Orthodox burials. The tradition of using pottery in burial rites, which originated in France, spread from the Franks to the Orthodox population at Corinth.

Latin burials in Greece seem to show a number of signs of cultural mixing. The sarcophagus of Guy II at Galata shows both Frankish and Byzantine influences, a funerary inscription from Athens contains both Latin and Greek and the tomb of Princess Agnes of Achaia combines Western and Byzantine traditions. These combinations of Western and Byzantine traditions are something that is not found in most sites in the Latin East, not even in the tombs of the Latin kings of Jerusalem, with the possible exception of the tomb of Baldwin V.

Why were the burial traditions of the Latin East so static, with the exception of the Latin burials in Greece? It is difficult to give an answer to this question without more evidence. Perhaps the Crusaders were attempting to hold on to their traditions, so that they did not forget where they came from and why they were in the Latin East to begin with. It also may be that these were people who had not yet had time to adopt the traditions of the other cultures in the Latin East.

It is unfortunate that we are not able to determine who the people buried at the Crusader cemetery were. In five or six cases, we have an indication of the profession of the deceased based on the tomb slab decorations. But out of a total of over 1700 burials, five or six does not seem like a large number.

And we cannot say that all of them were of French descent, either. Since burials are conducted by the living, the burial rites may reflect the rites familiar to the people conducting the burial, rather than of the deceased. In light of this, one could reasonably ask if evidence from burials reflects anything about the deceased at all?

The answer cannot be yes in all cases but in some of the cases it most certainly is yes. As described in Part One, the dying person often wrote a will and could specify what kind of burial they wished. In cases such as this, it has to be assumed that the deceased's wishes were followed and the burial reflects their beliefs.

There may be indications of a Muslim influence on the burials at the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, but only in the case of one of the tomb types, that of Type 2: Tombs with an upstanding stone at the head and/or foot. This tomb type is similar to Muslim burials but only in a rudimentary way. There is no indication that any of the burial in the Crusader cemetery belonged to Muslims, negating the possibility that these graves were either from after the Crusader period or that Muslims were buried in the cemetery during the Crusader period.

Distinctive Crusader burials customs

Are there any distinctive Crusader burial customs that can be seen in the archaeological record? This is a more complicated question than it might seem at first. The answer is both yes and no.

Yes, because there is some evidence of burial customs that differentiate the Crusaders from the local population of the Latin East. The presence of pottery and coins in Crusader burials separates them from other burial traditions. However, because these grave goods are not present in all Crusader burials, they cannot be seen as a distinctive feature of all Crusader burials.

As well, the burials from Tripoli suggest that the trapezoidal grave shape is one unique to Crusader burials. There is no evidence that contradicts this, though the evidence for death and burial of other cultural groups in the Latin East has not yet been studied in depth.

The answer to the question can also be no, because there is not one feature that defines all Crusader burials. The fact that the Crusaders were not from one cultural background, but from many means that Crusader burial traditions come from the same myriad of cultural backgrounds. Is it possible to define a set of distinctly Crusader burial traditions when the people you are studying come from such a varied cultural background?

There does not seem to be a way to define traditions that are uniquely Crusader. And that may be the answer to the question. Rather than looking for similarities between the burial sites, perhaps it is the differences we should be looking for. Perhaps it is the differences that define the Crusader burials.

Final Remarks on the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit

The Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit has served as the type site for this study of death and burial in the Latin East. The excavation and survey of the site has allowed us to better understand the components of a Crusader cemetery, such as the tomb types and the artefacts that can be found within a Crusader burial site. The fact that the Crusader

cemetery is so complete gives the researcher a unique view into the world of death and burial in the Latin East. I would argue that this is a site like no other in the Latin East.

The uniqueness of the site makes its preservation all the more important. At present, the Crusader cemetery is left open to the elements, and erosion is taking its toll. The amount of damage to the tombs that has occurred in the last 70 years is incredible. Most of the plaster coverings are gone, or have been covered over by blown sand. The decoration of the tomb slabs is quickly being eaten away by the blown sand. In the case of the "Anchor tomb", the bottom of the shaft of the cross has almost been eroded away.

It is sad to see a site as amazing as the Crusader cemetery being neglected and left to erode away. The survey of 2004 presented me with a number of problems and quandaries, of which the main one was whether to uncover the tombs or to leave them as they were and study only what was visible on the surface.

Under Israeli law, I was allowed to excavate to a depth of 10cm, when working under a permit for surface survey. In a few cases, I did uncover parts of tombs that were covered over by sand. This was mainly in the north-west corner of the cemetery, where a number of the simple row tombs were partially covered by sand. In these cases, I felt that determining the actual number of stones in the tomb was important.

In other cases, however, I felt that it was in the best interests of the tombs and of future research to leave the tombs covered. Much of the Crusader cemetery is covered over with vegetation, either in the form of bushes or of low-lying thorns. This vegetation is a nuisance for anyone working in the cemetery, as you have to be careful when taking measurements or doing any work with the tombs.

On the other hand, the vegetation does help to keep the sand that is covering the tombs in place. If I were to cut away the vegetation, which would be an extensive task in itself, and excavate the tombs down to 10cm, then I would leave the tombs

exposed to the elements. They would be eroded even more than they already have been and would deteriorate at an even faster rate.

In between my first session of survey work in May 2004 and my second session in November 2004, I was able to detect a difference in the tombs. Even in the space of six months, I was able to see that erosion had taken place and some of the tombs were in worse shape than they had been before. I will admit that these changes might not have been visible to other people, but I was able to see them because I had spent so much time getting to know the cemetery and the tombs within the site.

In this case, I do not believe that there was a right answer to the question of clearing the tombs or not clearing them. By not clearing them, I did not gain all of the data that I could have and this study may have been harmed by that. On the other hand, by clearing them, I may have left the tombs open to further damage from erosion, which may impact on any future studies of the site. Other researchers may have made a different decision, but I have to stand by the one I made.

What can be done to protect the Crusader cemetery? At the present time, I don't believe there is much that can be done. Following the excavation of 1934, Johns and his team rebuilt the walls of the cemetery. These walls are currently crumbling, and this is allowing erosion to occur, and is giving human visitors easier access to the site. The dumping of garbage is a large problem in the site, since the beach around the cemetery is in heavy use by surfers, windsurfers, and other visitors to the beach.

And it is not just wind erosion that is causing damage. The north-west corner of the Crusader cemetery is being damaged by water erosion. The wall in this corner has been destroyed and the tide is sweeping away sand. So far, only one burial has been uncovered. This corner of the cemetery was not heavily populated, and at this time only the one burial has been affected.

The burial has since been covered over by the Israel Antiquities Authority, but this is only a stop-gap measure. The most reasonable solution to the problem seems to be to

repair the walls of the cemetery, and perhaps to cover the whole site over with soil to prevent further erosion.

The ideal solution would be for the IAA to allow a full excavation of the site, so that the tombs and graves can be studied before any further data is lost. Due to political and religious reasons, however, this is not likely to occur in the foreseeable future. At the present, this study will have to suffice.

Further work on death and burial in the Latin East

This thesis is only the beginning. The subject of death and burial in the Latin East is a complex one that will require more study before it can be completely understood.

What further work can be done?

In order to understand Crusader burials, it is necessary to understand the burials of the cultures who were already occupying the Holy Land prior to 1096. Little work has been done to study the Muslim and Byzantine burials of the Near East. Studies on both those subjects need to be completed before we can truly understand the impact those cultures had on the burial rites of the Crusaders in the Latin East.

As well, we need a better understanding of Continental European burial rites from the medieval period. This is a huge topic and one that will require many years and work from many researchers. There is so much information on medieval burials on the Continent, and this may be the reason why comprehensive studies on the subject have not been done: the topic is just too big.

If the recent works on medieval death and burial in England are any indication, there may be a resurgence of interest in the topic. As with the burial traditions of the pre-Crusader populations of the Near East, a better understanding of burial traditions from southern France and Germany would help to determine the background of the Crusader burial traditions.

Summary

There does not appear to be one distinctive burial tradition for the Crusaders in the Latin East. The presence of pottery and coins in Crusader burials seems to indicate a northern French origin for either the deceased or the people burying them, or perhaps both. Other Crusader sites where pottery and coins do not play a prominent role in burials likely reflect the fact that the occupants were from other parts of Western Europe.

The Crusaders did not appear to incorporate other burial traditions into their own burials, with the exception of Latin burials found in Greece. As well, at Corinth, the enculturation went the other way and the Orthodox burials show Frankish influences. It is unknown if this was an isolated incident or if it happened at other sites, as well.

The study of death and burial in the Latin East is at an early stage. There is still a great deal of background work that needs to be done before we can fully understand the burial customs of the Crusaders in the Latin East. This thesis is just the beginning of that process, one that I hope continues for many years.

Appendix

Appendix 1

The Artefacts from the 1934 Excavation of the Crusader Cemetery

Introduction

The artefacts recovered from the Crusader cemetery were found during the 1934 excavation of the cemetery and were catalogued by C. N. Johns. They were then taken to Jerusalem for storage, where they remain to this day, under the care of the Israel Antiquities Authority and stored at the Rockefeller Museum in East Jerusalem.

The majority of the artefacts found during the excavation were pottery sherds. These will be discussed in the following pages as the pottery typology for the Crusader cemetery is developed. In addition to the pottery, a number of small finds were also found. Coins were a significant portion of the small finds but they were not studied in detail for this dissertation as a detailed article has already been produced (Metcalf, Kool and Berman, 1999, p. 89-164).

Pottery typology

This typology of the pottery from the Crusader cemetery is a combination of Johns' typology and my own work on the pottery. Johns never fully published the pottery from the Crusader cemetery but he had started to write an article on the pottery. In this, he laid out his division of the pottery. This current typology takes Johns' divisions and combines them with current research into the pottery of the Crusader period.

Johns divided his typology into two main groups: pottery with a buff body and pottery with a red body. The buff body group had five sub-types and the red body group had six sub-types. In more modern typologies, the types have been based on decoration

and not so much on the type of body. The following typology of the pottery from the Crusader cemetery will be based on the decoration orientated typologies.

During excavation of the Crusader cemetery in 1934, Johns recorded the pottery finds in an artefact catalogue. These excavation cards are found in the archive of the Palestine Exploration Fund in London. There were nineteen excavation cards for the Crusader cemetery, of which sixteen are extant. The cards record a brief synopsis of the work done for the day as well as any finds that were recovered, where they were found, if they were associated with a particular grave, and often a short description of the artefact. They do not, however, give much detail and it is impossible to tell for certain what type of pottery was found from the excavation cards alone.

To compensate for the lack of detail in Johns' catalogue, a research trip was made to the Rockefeller Museum in Jerusalem in late July and early August 2003 to study the finds at first hand. A second trip was made in May and June 2004, which afforded a more detailed study of the artefacts stored in the Rockefeller Museum. Not all of the pottery from the 1934 excavation of the cemetery was found in the Rockefeller Museum storehouse. It is possible that some of it was lost or misplaced during the last seventy years. It is more likely that some of the pottery sherds that were recorded separately in the excavation cards were actually part of the same piece of pottery. In many cases, pieces of pottery have been wholly or partially reconstructed and this may be where many of the missing pieces are.

All of the pottery that Johns recorded or that was seen in the Rockefeller Museum has been included in this typology, with the exception of pottery that was classed as AT 34-5 and 34-2. AT 34-5 seems to have been a general group into which pottery from a number of different periods was placed and the excavation cards record 32 separate entries for this number. A number of pieces were examined at the Rockefeller Museum, which were labelled as AT 34-5, as well as two boxes containing sherds from this group. These included pieces of Port Saint Symeon Ware, slip painted ware of various types, Zeuxippus ware, and Champlévé ware. Most of the sherds were body sherds that were too small to tell the decoration type and were probably considered of little value to the study of the pottery, as they were not representative of a certain type of pottery. As the sherds are not individually classed they are not

included in this typology, even if one is able to classify them based on their decoration. AT 34-2 is recorded only as being sherds, thus is not included in the typology.

This catalogue contains all of the pottery from the cemetery and not just the medieval material. The Crusader cemetery was used in the thirteenth century and the assumption has been made that all of the material found in the excavation was either deposited there in the thirteenth century or had already been deposited there and was mixed with the Crusader wares during the digging of the graves. As there is no stratigraphic sequence for the Crusader cemetery, it is impossible to determine if all of this material came from the Crusader contexts or if it was found below or above the Crusader level. Thus it is all being considered as having come from the thirteenth century occupation of the site.

There must be some explanation of the designation system for the pottery and small finds. The first designation, which begins with AT 34-, is taken from Johns' excavation cards and relates to the sequence in which the artefacts were found. The second designation, which begins with 47, is the piece's accession number given to it by the Israel Antiquities Authority. Both designations have been given here because it is impossible to cross-reference Johns' records and the Israel Antiquities Authority's records without having both designations available.

Some of the pieces only have Johns' designation. This notes that the piece was not found in the Rockefeller Museum storehouse or in the Israel Antiquities Authority's records during the course of research. In some cases, the piece was found in the IAA's storehouse, but it did not have an IAA designation.

Type 1: Unglazed Pottery.

Type 1a: Fine Fabrics. This is unglazed pottery that has a fine, hard fabric and is characteristic of Early Islamic ceramic assemblages in the Near East, though many types continued to be produced into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Pringle 1997: 138). Individual pieces of unglazed ware are difficult to date, although pieces that are complete or almost complete can usually be roughly dated.

1. AT 34-15; 47.3460. Jug, partial. Red body, small white inclusions, no decoration.
2. AT 34-92; 47.3320. Body sherd. Buff body, slipped on exterior and decoration painted in black. Decoration consists of series of lines, some crossing, and spiral.
3. AT 34-140; 47.3357. Juglet, complete. Very small, no decoration. Two handles with holes through each.
4. AT 34-156; 47.3187. Jug, almost complete. Buff body, top spout missing and hole in base. Remnants of one and possibly two handles. Smoothed but no decoration.
5. AT 34-94. Bowl, base. White body with black painting, no apparent slip. Decoration consists of lines around the base and spots on the base, some with running paint.
6. AT 34-42. Bowl, base and body. White body, a few dark inclusions, small orange dots painted around base and a few squiggly lines.

Type 1b: Coarse Fabrics. The medium to large storage jars are commonly found in the Near East and unlikely to be datable. The lamp is likewise undatable, as the top, which may have contained a datable decoration, is missing and the drainpipe is undatable as they have been in use for centuries before the Crusader period. The remaining pieces have been dated to the medieval period by C. N. Johns.

7. AT 34-39; 47.3139. Jar, mouth. Buff body, rough with no decoration. Medium sized with three handles, though only two are currently extant, small mouth.
8. AT 34-98. Jar, twenty pieces. Red body, rough, large with no decoration.
9. AT 34-150; 47.3263. Lamp, base and body, top missing. Buff to grey body, large inclusions, no decoration, rough.
10. AT 34-168; 47.3192. Drain pipe, fragment. Johns was unsure if this was Medieval or Roman.
11. AT 34-14; 47.3102. Pitcher, mostly complete. Buff body, few large inclusions, thickly potted, rough. There is a spout on one side of the vessel and the remnant of a possible handle on the other side.
12. AT 34-26. Jug. Rough. Associated with burial M.25.32.
13. AT 34-38. Pot, mouth. Red body, Medieval.

14. AT 34-40; 47.3260. Mortar, part of the side. Very rough light ware, well baked, red body. The fragment has been perforated for suspension, according the Johns. Found between graves in the topsoil of X4 or X5.

15. AT 34-164; 47.3347. Jug, neck and handle missing. Red ware, rough. Found in X4, near the line of the west wall, isolated find.

16. AT 34-131; 47.3362. Jar. Rough red ware, encrusted with mortar. Contained iron scraps (34-132). Found in X5 lying on its side between graves, about 0.15m below the original surface.

Type 2: Glazed Pottery.

Type 2a: Common and Kitchen Wares. As Pringle has stated, there has been no definitive work done on glazed cooking wares from medieval Palestine and Syria (1997: 139). Shallow dishes or frying pans and globular cooking pots have been found in the stable at 'Atlit as well as at Yoqne'am, al-Qubaiba, and the courthouse site in Acre (Pringle 1997: 139; Stern 1997: 40-43). A few pieces have also been found at the Monastery of St. Mary of Carmel, just south of Haifa (Pringle 1984: 99).

17. AT 34-139. Cup. Brown glaze.

18. AT 34-24; 47.3301. Cup, half of whole. Red body, brown glaze, 1 handle extant. Was found in association with burial X5.32, in the topsoil.

19. AT 34-22. Partial, cracked. Brown glaze. Due to the simple brown glaze on this piece, it has been included in this sub-type.

20. AT 34-163; 47.3141. Cooking pot. Brown glaze, coarse red ware. Complete, except for one handle. Found in X4, just inside the line of the west wall, about 0.40m above a burial.

21. AT 34-169; 47.3142. Cooking pot, fragment. Smooth red ware, very thin, brown glaze on the inside bottom of the pot. Found in the topsoil of X4.

22. AT 34-167; 47.3191. Bowl, chipped but complete. Coarse red body, brown glaze. Found in X5, near the road and above a skeleton, though probably not in association with it.

Type 2b: Green-Glazed Wares.

23. AT 34-130. Jar, fragment. Green glaze.
24. AT 34-143; 47.3255. Bowl, almost complete. Plain, red body, cream slip, emerald green glaze. Associated with burial W.5.282, lying close to the left side of the pelvis.
25. AT 34-158; 47.3131. Dish, fragments of the base, rim and body. Red body, plain, green glaze with some of the glaze dripped on the exterior. Carinated rim.
26. AT 34-159; 47.3348. Bowl, whole base and part of the rim and body. Light red body, dark green glaze, plain.
27. AT 34-82; 47.3312. Bowl, whole base and part of the rim and body. Red body with small white inclusions, plain, green glaze. Exterior is rough, not smoothed.
28. AT 34-19. Bowl, fragment. Green.
29. AT 34-7. Cup, base. Red body, green glaze on interior and exterior to just above the foot.
30. AT 34-58; 47.3266. Bowl, rim and upper body. Red body, few inclusions. Green glaze on upper part of the exterior of the rim.

Type 2c: Brown-Glazed Wares

31. AT 34-36; 47.3138. Bowl, complete though chipped. Red body that fires buff, glaze fires khaki brown on the body. Found in X4 in the sand, about 0.15m deep.

Type 3: Glazed Slip Wares. These wares were coated with a white slip before the lead-glaze was added, in contrast to the glazed wares of Type 2.

Type 3a: Monochrome Glazed Slip Ware. This type encompasses pottery with a uniformly coloured glaze and it is likely that the pieces are of a mixed origin.

32. AT 34-62; 47.3327. Bowl, partial. Buff to red body, finely potted, white slip, green glaze. Exterior is slipped and glazed on the top of the body. Found in X5 beside the skull of a skeleton.
33. AT 34-149; 47.3262. Bowl, complete. Red body, glaze fires yellow on the slip and brown on the body, white slip, plain. Associated with burial W.4.3a, found 0.10m below the left foot of the burial, which was a total of 0.30m below the surface.
34. AT 34-20. Bowl. Plain slip, yellow.

35. AT 34-134; 47.3361. Bowl, base, 3/4 rim and body. Red body, thinly potted. White slip, green glaze, glaze and slip on exterior of rim and drips down the body. Small in size, fits in the palm of a hand.
36. AT 34-125; 47.3136. Bowl, base, rim and body. Red body, thinly potted, white slip, green glaze, glaze and slip on exterior of rim.
37. AT 34-126; 47.3358. Bowl, base, rim and body. White slip, no decoration.
38. AT 34-64; 47.3328. Bowl, broken and base missing. Red body, white slip, glaze gone. Found between graves in the topsoil of X5.
39. AT 34-148; 47.3355. Bowl, cracked but complete. Red body, plain, slip-covered, green glaze. Found in X4 near a stone trough where 34-4 was found; was within 0.90m of a disturbed skeleton and 0.10m below the surface.

Type 3b: Glazed Slip Ware with Monochrome Decoration.

40. AT 34-33; 47.3399. Bowl, foot, body and rim sherds. Red body, medium white inclusions, white decoration on red, cross hatch design in thick white lines, slip on exterior of bowl.
41. AT 34-43; 47.3401. Bowl, base. Red body, brown glaze with yellow lines. Decoration in form of triangles, some intersecting.
42. AT 34-37; 47.3400. Bowl, base. Red body, brown glaze with yellow decoration, star design with eight lines radiating from the middle of the base. Large bowl.
43. AT 34-114; 47.3384. Bowl, base and part of rim. Buff to red body, small to medium inclusions, green glaze with white decoration. Decoration in form of leaves around the well of the bowl and a zigzagging line on interior and exterior of rim. Glazed on exterior, covers lip and rim and down to the top of the body.
44. AT 34-144; 47.3256. Plate, base and half of the rim. Red body, small white inclusions, cream slip, brown glaze with white decoration. Half moon decoration on rim and parallel lines on base. Associated with burial W.5.282, lying 0.25m from the left shoulder of the body.
45. AT 34-146; 47.3126. Bowl, base and rim. Buff to red body, white inclusions, green glaze with white decoration. Decoration in form of squiggly line on interior and exterior of the rim. Part of the exterior slipped.

46. AT 34-147; 47.3356. Bowl, half of the whole bowl. Red body, small white inclusions, brown glaze with white decoration in form of concentric circles. Fairly small.
47. AT 34-154. Plate. Brown glaze with slip decoration.
48. AT 34-127; 47.3359. Bowl, foot, body and rim. Red body, small white inclusions, greenish white glaze with white decoration. Decoration in form of zigzagging line on rim, decoration on body is indiscernible. Half of the exterior is slipped. This bowl is very small in size, with a diameter of 12.5 cm. It was found in W4 under a stone between graves, along with other odd sherds of pottery.
49. AT 34-89; 47.3259. Bowl, base, rim and body sherds. Red body, large to small white inclusions, white decoration with white glaze. Very rough on the exterior.
50. AT 34-157; 47.3188. Small plate, complete. Red body, brown glaze with buff slip decoration.
51. AT 34-170; 47.3323. Bowl, base and half of rim and body. Red body, brown glaze with white decoration in no apparent pattern. Drips of white slip on exterior.
52. AT 34-48. Bowl, base. Red body, small white inclusions, brown glaze with lime green decoration in form of swirls and indiscernible decoration on well of bowl.
53. AT 34-68. Bowl, base. Dark green glaze with light green decoration in form of swirls around the body of the vessel. Can see the tripod marks from firing.
54. AT 34-74; 47.3258. Bowl, base. Red body, clear glaze with yellow decoration, four swirls around the well of the bowl.
55. AT 34-90; 47.3305. Complete bowl. Red body, white line decoration in no discernible pattern, ribbing on interior. Small.
56. AT 34-91; 47.3374. Bowl, three quarters of the whole. Red body, medium white inclusions. Fully slipped on interior and exterior, decoration indiscernible.
57. AT 34-59. Bowl, base. Yellow decoration on brown glaze. 2 pieces.

Type 3c: Glazed Slip Ware with Spotchy Monochrome Decoration.

58. AT 34-137. Bowl. Yellow glaze, splashed brown.

Type 4: Sgraffito Wares. The characteristic of sgraffito wares is the decoration that is incised through the slip prior to the glaze being applied.

Type 4a: Zeuxippus and Related Cypriot Wares. Zeuxippus ware is a fine sgraffito ware. It normally has a buff red body and the most common forms are dishes and plates (Megaw 1968: 67). This is a Byzantine ware, produced in the late twelfth century to early thirteenth century. The production centre is not yet known (Pringle 1997: 143). There are a number of Zeuxippus ware derivatives or imitations, some of which were made in the Aegean area and in Italy (Berti and Gelichi 1997: 94). The classes of Zeuxippus ware are Classes IA, IB, IC, and II. Class IA has a colourless or slightly greenish or yellowish glaze. Class IB is characterised by an orange-brown glaze and a dark green glaze is characteristic of Class IC. Class II is classed as having a colourless or pale glaze, which is sparsely stained with yellow-brown (Megaw 1968: 69-73). The Cypriot imitations of Zeuxippus ware date to the thirteenth-century. The main types of Cypriot wares are classed as follows: Cypriot IC when the glaze is clear or yellow; Cypriot X when the glaze is green; Cypriot IIIA when there is sgraffito with one colour added; Cypriot IIIB consists of pottery with brown and green internal sgraffito; and Cypriot IIIC consists of pottery with external sgraffito (Dikigoropoulos and Megaw 1957: pp. 81-84). Zeuxippus ware has been found at a number of sites in the Levant, including Caesarea (Pringle 1985: p. 190), Acre (Pringle 1997: p. 143-44), and the Monastery of St. Mary of Carmel (Pringle 1984: p. 104).

59. AT 34-28; 47.3042. Bowl or pedestal dish, whole except for one piece of the rim. Red body, sgraffito, greenish-white glaze, rather slipshod decoration. Associated with burial M.25.33. Finely potted.

60. AT 34-172; 47.3324. Bowl, sherd. Red body, small white inclusions, white slip, green glaze. Sgraffito decoration in form of squiggly lines radiating from the base alternating with what appears to be the frond of a plant, likewise radiating from the base; rather slipshod decoration.

61. AT 34-104; 47.3261. Bowl, base, body, and part of rim. Dark body, almost black. White slip, green glaze, splashed brown and green. Exterior glazed dark brown. Four parallel lines on rim and decoration on body not able to be determined. Splashes of glaze on exterior or foot and base. Cypriot IIIB.

62. AT 34-10. Bowl, base. Red body, small white inclusions, yellow glaze, splashed with yellow and brown. Sgraffito decoration is series of half circles with dots in the middle, forms two concentric circles around the interior of the bowl.

63. AT 34-57; 47.3168. Bowl, base and body sherds. Red body, large white inclusions, yellow glaze with green splashes. Sgraffito decoration in form of zigzagging and straight lines radiating out from the foot of the bowl.

64. AT 34-8. Bowl, partial base. Red body, green glaze. Sgraffito decoration in form of cross-hatching within a circle.

Type 4b: Port Saint Symeon Ware. Port Saint Symeon Ware is a fine sgraffito ware produced in the area of Antioch from the twelfth century to the fall of Antioch in 1268. An exact production site has yet to be found, although the type-site for this ware is Al Mina, the current name for Port Saint Symeon (Lane 1937: 45-53). This ware has been found at a number of sites in the Near East other than Al Mina, including Acre, Caesarea, and Tel Jezreel (Pringle 1985: 193; Pringle 1997: 144-45; Grey 1994: 59).

65. AT 34-32; 47.3386. Bowl, partial base. Red body, small white inclusions, white slip, clear glaze, green and brown splashes. Sgraffito decoration in form of a rounded cross with leaves radiating out from the four angles of the cross. Tripod marks present from firing.

66. AT 34-86; 47.3388. Bowl, sherds of rim and body. Red body, small white inclusions, white slip, clear glaze. Sgraffito decoration, black lines running around the rim, two lines above and two below, with rectangles between the lines, the rectangles are alternately splashed green and brown. Carinated rim.

67. AT 34-87. Bowl, base. Pale buff to buff body, thickly potted. Green and brown splashed with sgraffito in no discernible pattern.

68. AT 34-142; 47.3397. Bowl, partial base and rim. Red body, white slip, green and brown splashed, incised blazon.

69. AT 34-123; 47.3405. Bowl, base. Buff body, white slip, clear glaze, green and brown splashed. Twisted rope sgraffito decoration.

70. AT 34-124; 47.3404. Bowl, body sherds. Red body, white slip, clear glaze. Three parallel lines just below the rim. There is no colour on this vessel but the other characteristics place it as Port Saint Symeon Ware.

71. AT 34-119; 47.3398. Bowl, base. Red body, small white inclusions, white slip, clear glaze, green and brown splashed. Sgraffito decoration in form of bottom part of a bird.

72. AT 34-88; 47.3389. Bowl, partial base, body and rim. Red body, small white inclusions, white slip, clear glaze, splashed green. The decoration is rather haphazard in the base of the bowl, appearing to be random lines; around the sides of the bowl there are four circles, each containing a square with a cross superimposed over it; alternating with the circles are two elongated v-shapes with a square and cross above them.

73. AT 34-81; 47.3267. Bowl, body sherd. Buff body, white slip, clear glaze, yellow and purple splashes. Green glaze on exterior. Sgraffito decoration in form of head of bird.

Type 4c: Champlévé Ware. The champlévé decoration is created by applying a slip of light coloured clay to the vessel, either to the interior or exterior or perhaps to both. When the slip has dried, it is carved away to reveal the desired design in relief. Once the decoration is completed, the vessel is then covered with a transparent, clear or coloured lead glaze. Some examples of this ware have also been splashed with colour before being fired. This type of ware has been found at Caesarea and in a shipwreck in Serce Limani, which was dated to the eleventh century (Pringle 1985: 183-187; Jenkins 1992: 56).

74. AT 34-31; 47.3392. Bowl, fragment. Buff body, white flowers done in relief, arabesque design.

Type 4d: Unclassifiable Sgraffito Wares. These are vessels that could not be classified due to the lack of details recorded by Johns in his excavation records. Many of these pieces were not found in the Rockefeller Museum storehouse and are only known through Johns' records. Most of these can be identified as Port Saint Symeon Ware based on the decoration types but without further information this supposition cannot be substantiated.

75. AT 34-69. Bowl, base. Sgraffito.

76. AT 34-113. Bowl. Sgraffito, three parallel lines.

77. AT 34-136. Bowl. Sgraffito, hawk decoration.

78. AT 34-133. Base. Sgraffito, blazon. Possible Port Saint Symeon Ware as blazon was found inscribed on AT 34-142.

79. AT 34-105. Base. Sgraffito, splashed.

80. AT 34-97. Bowl. Red body, sgraffito.

81. AT 34-67. Bowl. Sgraffito, cream

82. AT 34-166. Bowl, base. Sgraffito.

Type 5: Syrian Under-Glaze Painted Wares. The technique of painting under a colourless or turquoise glaze arrived in Syria from Iran in the late twelfth century and is well known from its production centre in Raqqa. Later derivations of this type were made in Hama and Damascus from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries (Pringle 1997: 140). This ware was found at both Caesarea and Acre (Pringle 1985: 196; Pringle 1997: 140-41).

Type 5a: Wares with Black Painting under a Colourless Glaze. This type of pottery corresponds to Hama types VII-VIII, dated to the thirteenth century (Pringle 1985: 196).

83. AT 34-96. Base. White body, painted black.

84. AT 34-72. Bowl, base. Buff body, small white inclusions, white slip, black painted decoration.

Type 5b: Wares with Black and Blue Painting under a Colourless Glaze. The blue and black colour scheme is associated with the Hama type XIa (Pringle 1985: 196).

85. AT 34-83. Jug, partial, handle missing but can see where it was attached. Pale buff body, small white inclusions, black and blue painting on white slip. Decoration is on the exterior of the jug, triangles with dots.

86. AT 34-84; 47.3395. Bowl, carinated rim, small. Buff body, black and blue painting on white slip. Decoration consists of lines and blue dots.

87. AT 34-85. Bowl, base. Buff to red body, black and blue painting on white slip with slight glaze. Decoration is black crosshatch pattern surrounded by black lines and blue dots.

88. AT 34-103; 47.3394. Bowl, rim and base sherds. White body, painted black. Decoration consists of arcs on rim and lines and interlinking circles on the interior of the bowl.

89. AT 34-138. Bowl. White painted blue and black.

90. AT 34-162. Body sherd. Pale buff body, white painted blue and black, thickly potted. Decoration scheme consists of thick lines in black, thin lines in blue, and circles in blue.

91. AT 34-129. Bowl, two rim sherds. Pale buff body, white slip, blue and black painted decoration. Decoration consists of lines around the rim and beneath the rim.

92. AT 34-17; 47.3302. Plate, fragment of the base. Soft buff ware, white slip painted blue and black in the form of blobs or fruit, black dots on the fringe. Found in the topsoil of X5.

Type 5c: Other Under-Glaze Painted Wares. These two pieces are under-glaze painted but they are not able to be typed at this time.

93. AT 34-155. Sherd. White painted blue.

94. AT 34-71; 47.3390. Possible jug, base sherds. White body, white slip, clear glaze, painted blue and purple, paint has run.

Type 6: Other Glazed Wares.

Type 6a: Proto-Maiolica. Proto-Maiolica is a polychrome tin-glaze ware that was produced in southern Italy and Sicily from the twelfth century to the fifteenth century. The decoration is done in dark brown-black, blue, and yellow-brown paint, which is done over an opaque white tin glaze. The fabric tends to be rather coarse and of a buff or cream colour (Pringle 1982: p. 104). This ware has been found at a number of sites in the Near East, including Acre (Pringle 1997: 146), Caesarea (Pringle 1985: p. 200), and in large quantities in the *faubourg* of 'Atlit (Pringle 1982: p. 104-05). Proto-Maiolica has also been found at Famagusta in Cyprus, Fustat in Egypt, and Hama in Syria (Pringle 1982: p. 108). Pietro Riavez has done work on the relationship between Port Saint Symeon Ware and Proto-Maiolica (1999-2000). Riavez has also completed a study of the Proto-Maiolica from 'Atlit (2000).

95. AT 34-73; 47.3391. Bowl, base and rim sherds. Buff body, white slip, clear glaze. Decoration in black lines with green and yellow splashes, feathers of bird on base and intersecting crescents with dots on the rim.
96. AT 34-141. Bowl, rim and body sherds. Pale buff body, white slip, clear glaze, decorated in brown or black lines and splashed in green and brown, black 'xxx' on rim.
97. AT 34-11; 47.3300/47.336813. Bowl, body sherds. Buff to pink body, white slip, clear glaze, painted with black lines, splashed with green and brown. Decoration too small to be able to tell a pattern, though there is some cross-hatching. Partially slipped on exterior.
98. AT 34-46; 47.3385. Plate, fragment. Buff body, white slip, clear glaze, painted in green and yellow with black lines.

Type 7: Unclassifiable Pottery. This consists of pottery that is not able to be typed with any accuracy. This is because the pottery was not found in the stores of the Rockefeller Museum and Johns' description of the pottery is too vague to make a positive identification.

99. AT 34-1. Pot, sherds. Slipware
100. AT 34-21. Cover. Painted slip.
101. AT 34-41. Bowl, fragment. Buff body, painted, Medieval.
102. AT 34-25. Red ware, plain. Associated with burial M.25.32.
103. AT 34-23. Large bowl, part. Red body.
104. AT 34-70. Bowl, base. Red body, slip decoration.
105. AT 34-110. Base. Emblazoned with two keys.
106. AT 34-112. Plate. White body, painted.
107. AT 34-120. Pot, fragment. Red body.
108. AT 34-145. Jar, fragment. Associated with burial W.5.281.
109. AT 34-115. Bowl. Slip decorated.
110. AT 34-173. Water pot. Red body. Found near a child burial in W.4.
111. AT 34-6. Jug, base. Probably belongs in the unglazed ware but without more detail we cannot know for sure.
112. AT 34-47. Bowl, partial. Buff body, painted.
113. AT 34-174. Sherds, base.

Catalogue of Small Finds from the Crusader Cemetery

Coins

The coins from 'Atlit were published in 1999 by David Michael Metclaf, Robert Kool and Ariel Berman in *'Atiqot*. A total of 481 coins were found during the excavations at 'Atlit, 227 of which were Crusader (Metcalf *et al* 1999: p. 91*). Twenty-four coins were recorded in the excavation cards for the Crusader cemetery. Not all of these were from the Crusader period, with the records showing a number of Roman coins having been found in the Crusader cemetery. Of these 24 coins, only seven coins were catalogued by Metcalf *et al* and none of these can be accurately linked with those recorded in the excavation cards.

1. 34-3.a. Gold, Armenian. Found in M.20, near grave X.5.6.
2. 34-3.b. Silver. Found in the topsoil.
3. 34-3.c. Silver. Found in X-4.
4. 34-3.d. Billon, Cyprus, Henry I. Found in X.5.
5. 34-3.e. Silver, Byzantine. Found in X.5.
6. 34-3.f. Fragment. Found in X.4.
7. 34-3.g. Silver, late Roman. Found in Y-5.
8. 34-3.h. Silver, Diocletian. Found in X.5.
9. 34-3.i. Silver, late Roman. Found in X.5.
10. 34-3.j. Silver. Found in X.5.
11. 34-3.k. Gold. Found in X.5.
12. 34-3.l. Billon. Found in W.5.
13. 34-3.m. Gold, Sicily, Henry VI. Found in W.4.
14. 34-3.n. Silver, Byzantine. Found in X.5.
15. 34-3.o. Silver, Roman. Found in W.5 or W.6.
16. 34-3.p. Gold, 2, Mongol. Found in W.5 or W.6. The records are unclear as to whether there are two coins or if the '2' has a special meaning.
17. 34-3.q. Gold. Found in W.5 or W.6.
18. 34-3.r. Billon. Found in W.4.
19. 34-3.s. Billon. Found in W.5.

20. 34-3.t. Billon, Amalricus. Found in W.5 dump.
21. 34-3.u. Silver. Found in W.4.
22. 34-3.v. Billon. Found in W.5.
23. 34-3.w. Billon. Found in W.5.
24. 34-3.x. Silver. Found in Y.5.

Metal Objects other than Coins

The majority of these metal objects are personal items that would either have been part of the clothing of the deceased or was personal jewellery. The items associated with clothing were most often buckles and pin fragments. The only pieces of metal jewellery that were found were four finger-rings and one pendant cross. It is likely that one of the finger-rings was a modern loss and does not date to the Crusader period.

25. 34-16. Silver fragment.
26. 34-29. Iron, possible spear socket. Found in N.35.
27. 34-45; 47.1336. Bronze appliqué. Measured 0.015m by 0.006m, 0.001m thick; three visible holes, possibly for nails. Found in X.5.
28. 34-55; 47.1346 and 47.1347. Bronze bolts and nails. The two pieces found in the Rockefeller Museum are labelled 34-55.1 and 34-55.3. They are both nails, though 34-55.1 is the larger nail, even with its end broken off; it measures 0.059m long, with a head diameter of 0.018m and a shank width of 0.017m; the shank is squared. 34-55.3 is a bronze nail that is still quite sharp and was hand made; it is 0.059m long with a head thickness of 0.001m and a diameter of 0.01m. In total, there were 3 bolts and 2 nails found in squares X4, X5, and Y5.
29. 34-77; 47.3198.2. Bronze buckle. Rather small, probably belonged on a piece of clothing rather than being used as a belt buckle. Measures 0.021m long by 0.017m wide; one end is rounded while the other is straight.
30. 34-78; 47.3198.1. Bronze pin fragment, point. Measures 0.083m long by 0.005m wide by 0.004m thick.
31. 34-79; 47.3198.3. Bronze, possible tube. This is a hollow tube and it is not known what use this had; measures 0.025m long, with a diameter of 0.007m.

32. 34-106; 47.1344. Gold, buckle. Very small; measures 0.02m in diameter, 0.03-0.04m thick; pin measures 0.022m long. Found in W.6.
33. 34-107; 47.3196.1. Bronze finger ring. Measures 0.021m in diameter and is 0.004m thick. Found in W.5, in association with 34-108.
34. 34-108; 47.3196.2. Bronze nail. Bolt head and shank; shank may not be complete. Found in W.5 in association with 34-107. The shank measures 0.042m long and 0.004m wide; the shank is squared. The head has a diameter of 0.012m.
35. 34-111; 47.3207. Silver fragment. Found in W.4, in the debris of a grave. It measures 0.015m long and 0.012m high.
36. 34-116; 47.3197. Bronze finger ring, bezel incised. The incised decoration on the bezel is an arrow; bezel is a sextagon shape. Measures 0.011m in length, 0.012m in diameter, with the top measuring 0.011m across. Found in W.5.
37. 34-117; 47.1345. Bronze, possible ear pick. Measures 0.059m in length, 0.005m wide at the top and 0.001m wide at the bottom; 0.001m thick. Found in W.5.
38. 34-121; 47.3209. Bronze button, gilded. Found in W.5, between graves. It measures 0.041m by 0.024m and is very thin.
39. 34-122; 47.3209. Bronze binding or plate. Found in W.5, between graves.
40. 34-128; 47.1340. Bronze ring. This is a large ring, likely belonging to a man, with an inner diameter of 0.02m and an outer diameter of 0.022m; it is 0.001m thick. Found in W.5.
41. 34-132. Iron scraps, including a ring. Found inside 34-131, a jar found in W.5.
42. 34-151; 47.1333. Bronze cross. 4mm thick. Found in association with burial W.3.3b.
43. 34-153. Iron nail. Found in W.5.
44. 34-160; 47.1339. Bronze buckle. Small, probably used for clothing rather than for a belt. Measures 0.021m in diameter, with a pin 0.016m long but with the end broken off. Found in W.5.
45. 34-165; 47.3203. Possibly silver, pin from a buckle. Found in W.6, near the wall, in the topsoil. It measures 0.023m long and 0.002m wide.
46. 34-175. Gold finger ring. Possibly found in X.5.
47. 34-65; 47.1335. Bronze pendant cross. Measures 0.022m long by 0.016m wide; top of the cross is 0.004m thick with a hole of 0.002m diameter. This was probably worn around the neck, as the hole shows signs of wear.

48. 34-99; 47.1330. Large bronze buckle, likely for a belt. Diameter of 0.042m, 0.005m thick, with a pin 0.048m long.
49. 34-30; 47.3199. Iron nails, fragments of five nails. Found in square X5, associated with burial 45 (3 May 1934). The nails measure from 0.07m to 0.10m long with rounded heads. The nails were found across the legs of burial 45.
50. 34-99; 47.3200.1. Bronze buckle, very little eroded. Found in W4, near the surface in the vicinity of unmarked burials.
51. 34-100; 47.3200.2. Bronze ring, diameter of 0.034m. Found in W4, near the surface in the vicinity of unmarked burials. This is not a ring that you would wear, as it is too large; measures 0.033m in diameter and 0.004m thick.
52. 34-9; 47.3208. Bronze finger ring, likely recent. Found in X5, in the topsoil. Has a broken red stone in its setting. It measures 0.021m in diameter and 0.003m wide on the top of the ring.

Stone and Flint.

The stone and flint finds are a very mixed group of artefacts. Of the three stone and flint objects, two are stone bezels that would have been used as the setting for rings. Finger-rings were the most common type of personal jewellery found in the Crusader cemetery, and, of the rings listed in the metal finds section, only one was found with its stone setting intact. The two stone bezels recorded in this section may have come from one of the finger-rings in the previous section, though it is possible that they are unrelated finds. It is very possible that the stones came loose from their settings and were lost in the Crusader cemetery without their owners' knowledge. Likewise, the stones could have belonged to people buried in the cemetery.

The flint blade is an isolated find and it is possible that it does not date to the Crusader period. Stone blades are almost impossible to date, because they have been used from antiquity up to the present day. Because the blade was not found on the surface of the Crusader cemetery, it is likely that the blade dates to either the Crusader period or to a time prior to the Crusader occupation of the site.

53. 34-34; 47.3202. Stone, bezel from ring. Dark green and black in colour; measures 0.013m in diameter and 0.002m thick. Found in the topsoil near burial X.5.40.

54. 34-35. Flint blade.

55. 34-109. Stone, possible bezel. Measures 0.021m in length by 0.012m in width, 0.003m thick, oval shape. Found in W5, in the topsoil between graves.

Wood.

Wood is the least common find in the Crusader cemetery. Either very little wood was used by the people buried in the cemetery, or the wood has not survived in the archaeological record. It is possible that wood was not common in the Latin East, since much of the area does not support the growth of trees. Also, the lack of metal nails in the burials suggests that the dead were not buried in coffins, but in shrouds or even in their clothing.

56. 34-44. Amulet, found in X.4.

Bone and Mother-of-Pearl.

Both of these items are very delicate and are beautifully made. The pendant crosses were likely personal ornaments that were buried with their deceased owners. The bone die, though, does not seem to be the sort of object that would have been included in a burial. It is most likely that this object was lost by its owner in the Crusader cemetery. It is possible that workmen may have been playing games in the cemetery or in the area around the cemetery and the die was lost in the process. The Templar Knights were not supposed to play games of chance and the *Rule of the Templars* sets out in detail the types of games that the Templars were allowed to play (Upton-Ward 1992: p. 89-90). The only game that the Templars were allowed to play was something called *marelles*, which Upton-Ward identifies as a board game played using counters (1992: p. 90). It is unknown if dice were involved in this game or not.

57. 34-75. Mother-of-pearl pendant cross in fragments.

58. 34-152. Bone die, found in W.5.

59. 34-161. Mother-of-pearl pendant cross, found in W.5.

Glass.

The glass fragments that Johns and his team found in the Crusader cemetery in 1934 were not found in the storehouse of the Rockefeller Museum during research work in 2003 and 2004. Since there is no further description of them other than what is listed here, there is no way to tell what these glass fragments were originally part of. It is possible that they were not associated with the burials uncovered in 1934, but were lost sometime in the Crusader period or earlier.

60. 34-95. No details are given of this find, found in X.4. Finds from more than one date are included in this category.

61. 34-118. Fragments found in W.5.

Beads.

The finds of beads in the Crusader cemetery were recorded in a confusing manner. All but one of the beads were grouped into AT 34-66, even though they were found on different dates. As well, the Rockefeller Museum's archives have the beads from AT 34-66 listed in two groups, though Johns combined them into one. This discrepancy in itemizing the beads makes it difficult to tell which beads are being discussed in the records of Johns and the Israel Antiquities Authority.

All of the beads would have been part of clothing at one time and probably all of them dated to the Crusader period. They are all similar in make and design, though these two factors can be deceiving. The beads could either have been part of the clothing in which the deceased were buried, or they could have been lost by people walking in the cemetery at some date during the Crusader period.

62. 34-66; 47.3204. Paste, white, possibly found in X.5. Stratified cup, found in X.5. This number was given to a number of beads found during the excavation. There was at least one other bead found, which was recorded on one of the excavation cards which is now missing. There are four beads stored at the Rockefeller Museum in

Jerusalem, all found between 16 May 1934 and 22 May 1934. They will be referred to by their found date:

- a. 16 May. Glass, opaque blue, short circular.
- b. 17 May. X5 topsoil, eastern part of the square. Paste, hexagonal barrel, 0.03m long, white.
- c. 21 May. X5 topsoil, western part of the square. Carnelian, long barrel.
- d. 22 May. X5, 0.10m below former surface. Glass and paste, standard circular, stratified eyes, white edged with blue or black.

63. 34-66; 47.3206. 3 carnelian beads, 1 white hexagonal, and 1 blue with white dots outlined in black. These were catalogued separately from the beads above. The white and blue beads are paste, while at least one of the carnelian beads seems to be glass; these three beads are labelled 47.3206.1-3.

64. 34-80; 47.3210. Pottery bead. Found in topsoil in X5.

Textiles.

The only example of textiles from the Crusader cemetery is not to be found in the Rockefeller Museum storehouse. Because the linen was in scraps, it is impossible to know if it was part of an item of clothing or if it was the remains of a shroud. The bronze buckle does not sway the argument either way, because a buckle is just as likely to be found on a piece of clothing as it is on a shroud. If the linen did belong to a shroud, then the buckle would likely have been part of a belt that was used to fasten the shroud around the body.

65. 34-102; 47.3360. Scraps of linen found with 34-99 and 34-100, which were a bronze buckle and ring, respectively. These were found in W.4 near the north wall where a group of skeletons was uncovered. The linen was stained green by contact with the bronze.

Appendix 2

Figures

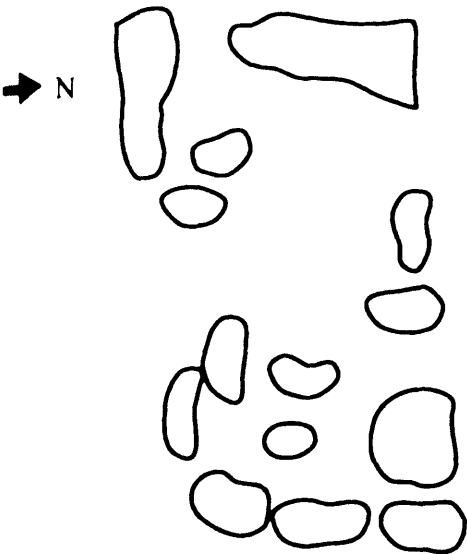


Figure 1. AT C 7.1 - Type 4a:
Plaster cobble-covered tomb.
Scale 1:14.

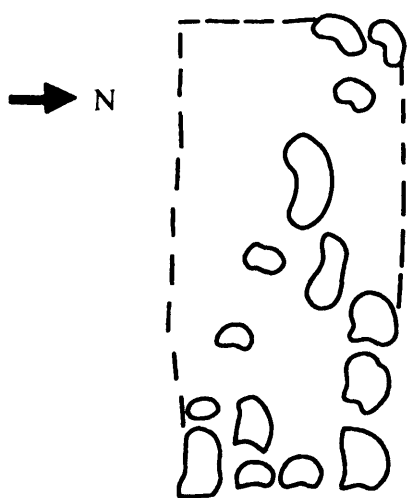


Figure 2. AT C 7.2 - Type 5a:
Cobble-covered tomb. Scale
1:21.

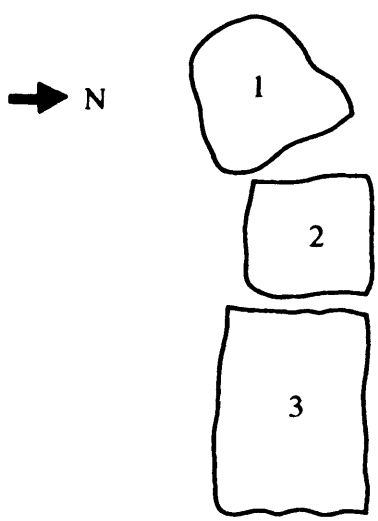


Figure 3. AT C 7.3 - Type: 6b:
Slab row tomb. Scale 1:24.

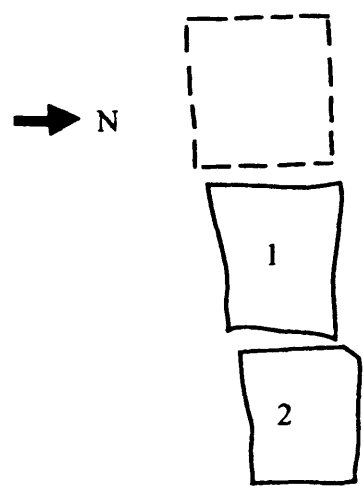


Figure 4. AT D 2.1 - Type
6a: Simple 3-row tomb.
Scale 1:20.

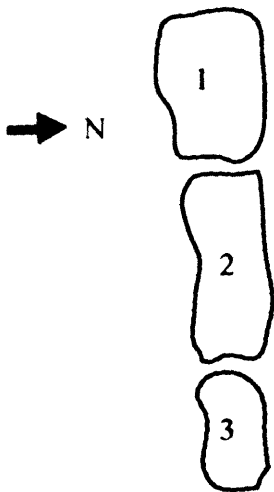


Figure 5. AT D 2.2 - Type 6a: Simple 3-row tomb. Scale 1:20.

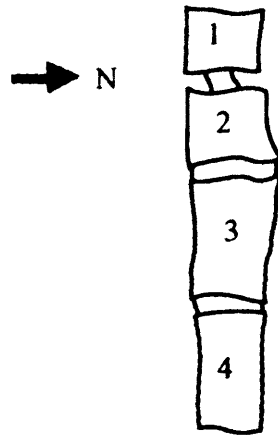


Figure 6. AT D 3.1 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones. Scale 1:20.

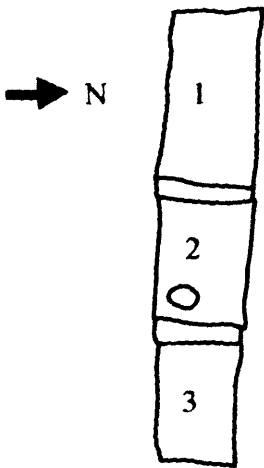


Figure 7. AT D 3.2 - Type 6a: Simple 3-row tomb, with plaster between the stones and on top of stone #2. Scale 1:20.

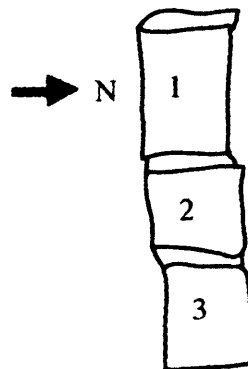


Figure 8. AT D 4.1 - Type 6a: Simple 3-row tomb, with plaster between the stones and on one end. Scale 1:20.

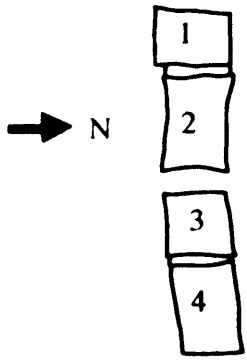


Figure 9. AT D 4.2 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster
between the stones. Scale
1:25.

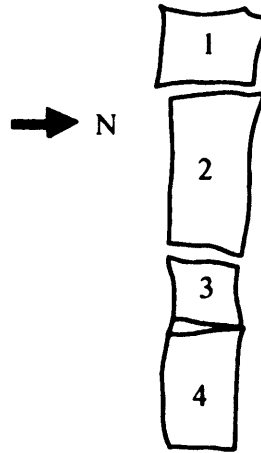


Figure 10. AT D 4.3 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb. Scale 1:18.

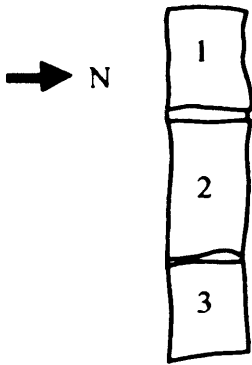


Figure 11. AT D 4.4 - Type 6a:
Simple 3-row tomb, with plaster
between the stones. Scale 1:22.

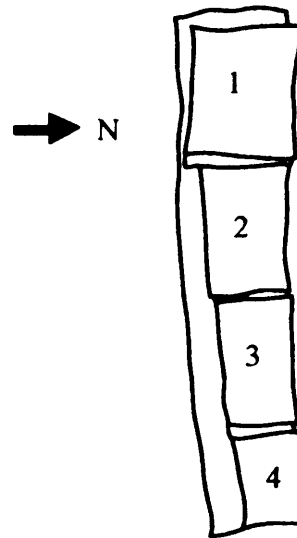


Figure 12. AT D 4.5 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster
base and between the stones.
Scale 1:18.

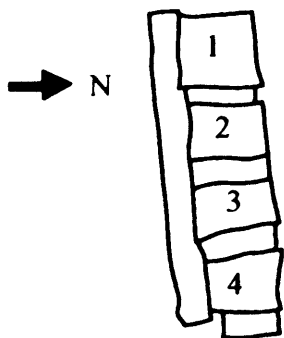
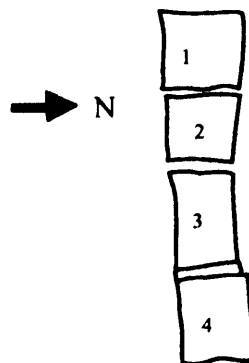


Figure 13. AT D 4.6 - Type 6a: Simple
4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones
and on one side. Scale 1:18.



□
Figure 14. AT D 4.7 - Type 6a: Simple
4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones.
Scale 1:24.

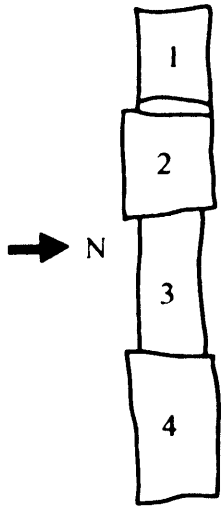


Figure 15. AT D 4.8 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb, with
plaster between the stones.
Scale 1:22.

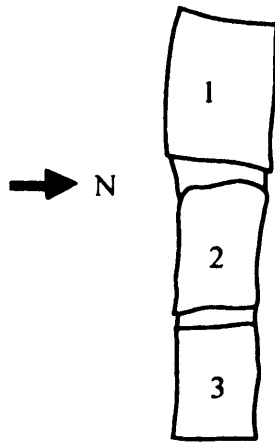


Figure 16: AT D 4.9 - Type 6a: Simple
3-row tomb, with plaster between the stones.
Scale 1:16.

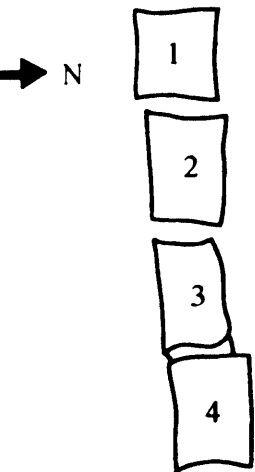


Figure 17. AT D 5.1 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb, with
plaster between the stones.
Scale 1:23.

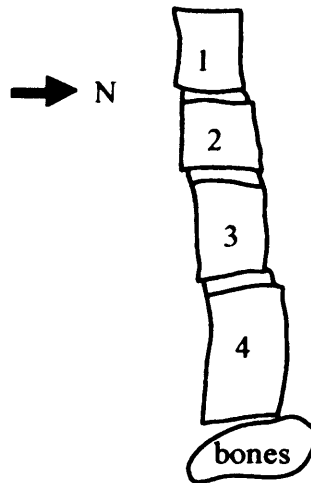


Figure 18. AT D 5.2 - Type 6a: Simple
4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones.
Scale 1:24.

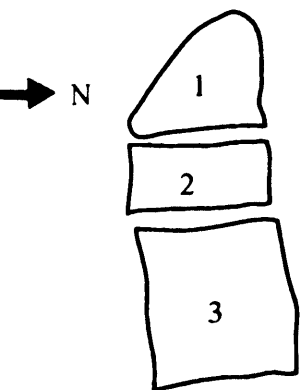


Figure 19. AT D 5.3 - Type 6b:
3-row slab tomb. Scale 1:24.

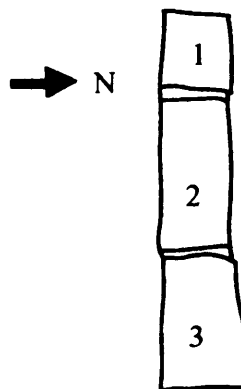


Figure 20. AT D 5.4 - Type 6a: Simple
3-row tomb, with plaster between the stones.
Scale 1:19.

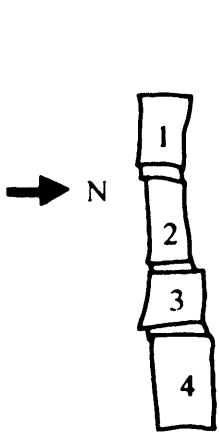


Figure 21. AT D 5.5 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster
between the stones. Scale 1:25.

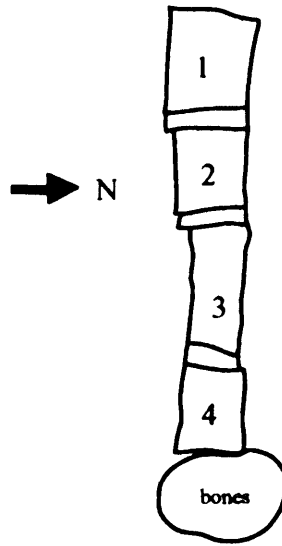


Figure 22. AT D 5.7 - Type 6a: Simple
4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones
and bones at the foot of the tomb. Scale 1:27.

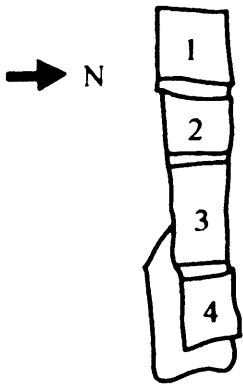


Figure 23. AT D 5.8 - Type 6a: Simple
4-row tomb, with plaster between the
stones and at the base. Scale 1:23.

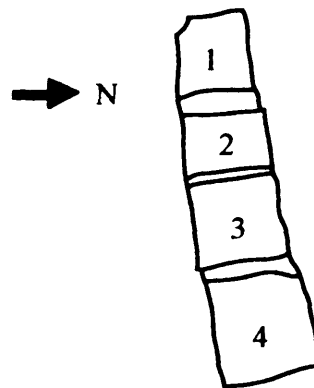


Figure 24. AT D 6.1 - Type 6a: Simple
4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones.
Scale 1:22.

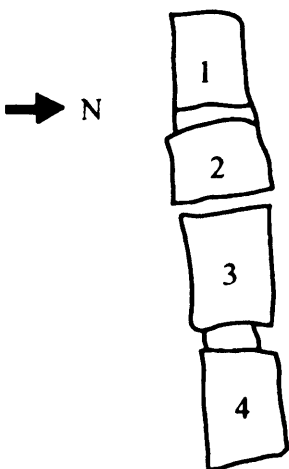


Figure 25. AT D 6.2 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster
between the stones. Scale 1:18.

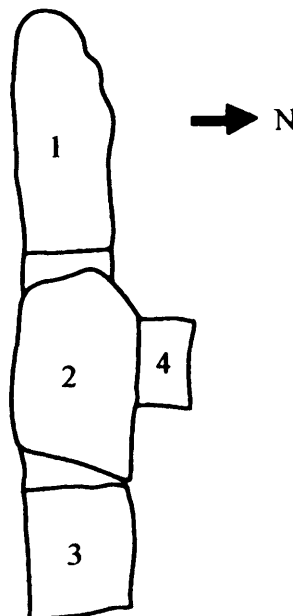


Figure 26. AT D 6.4 - Type 6a:
Simple 3-row tomb, with plaster
between the stones. Stone 4 is
between D 6.4 and 6.3, possibly
connecting the two tombs.
Scale 1:13.

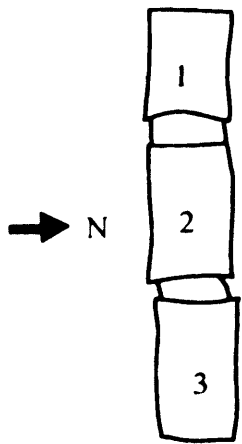


Figure 27. AT D 6.5 - Type 6a: Simple 3-row tomb, with plaster between the stones. Scale 1:19.

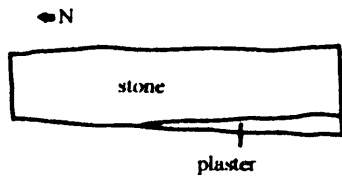


Figure 28. AT D 6.8 - side view. Note the south end of the tomb has been more exposed than the north end.

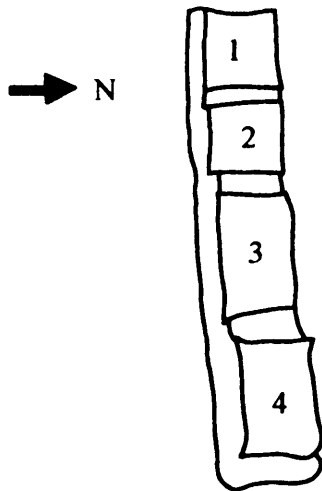


Figure 30. AT D 6.9 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb with plaster between the stones and at the base. Scale 1:19.

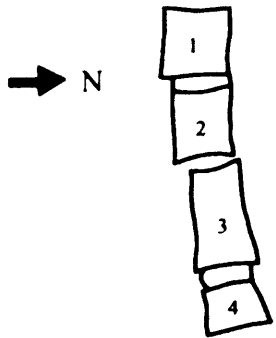


Figure 29. AT D 6.8 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones. Scale 1:25.

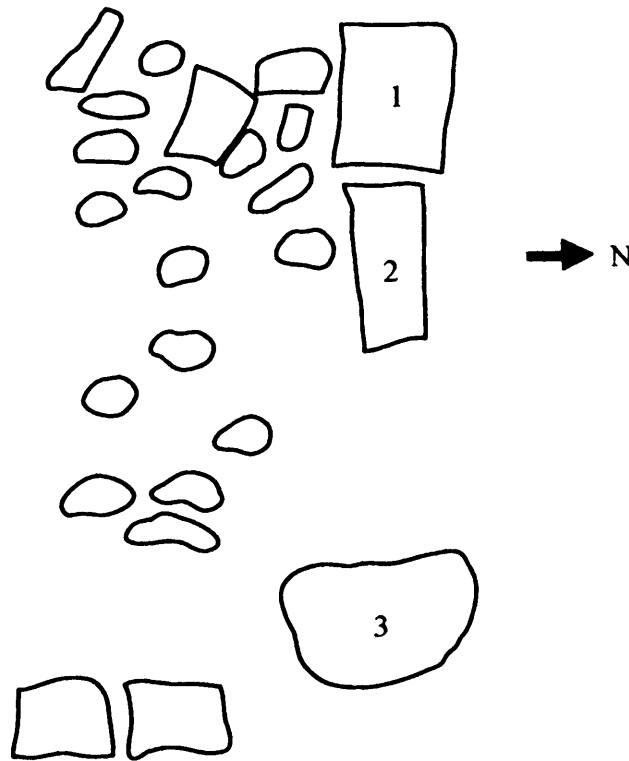


Figure 32. AT D 7.2 - Type 5c: Cobble and boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:22.

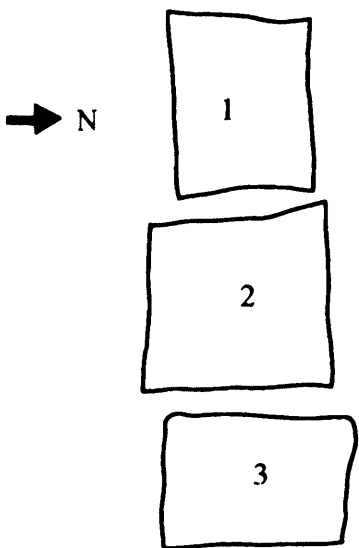


Figure 31. AT D 7.1 - Type 6b: 3-row slab tomb. Scale 1:21.

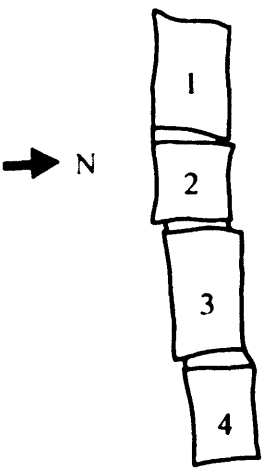


Figure 33. AT D 7.4 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb slab, with plaster between the stones. Scale 1:12.

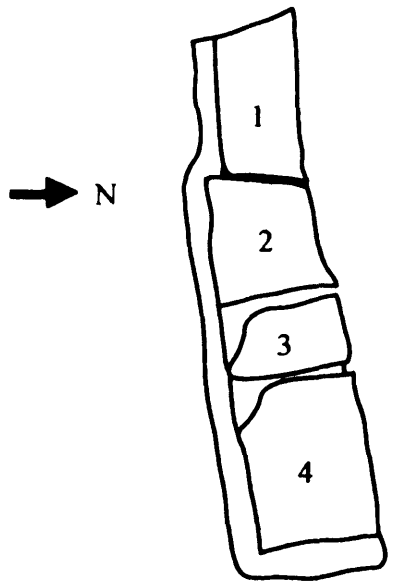


Figure 34. AT D 7.6 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row slab tomb, with plaster between the stones and at the base. Scale 1:16.

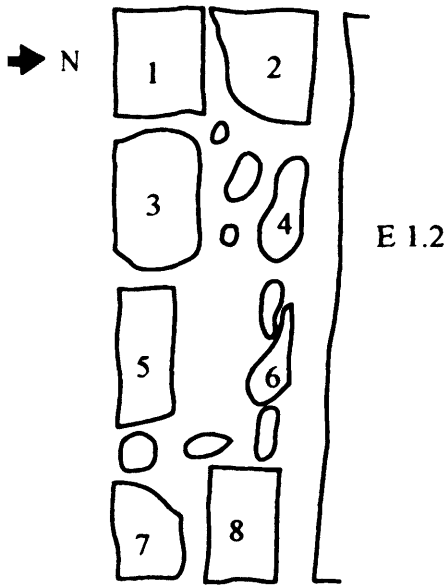


Figure 35. AT E 1.1 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Note the proximity of this tomb to the one next to it. This was a common occurrence in this section of the Crusader cemetery. Scale 1:25.

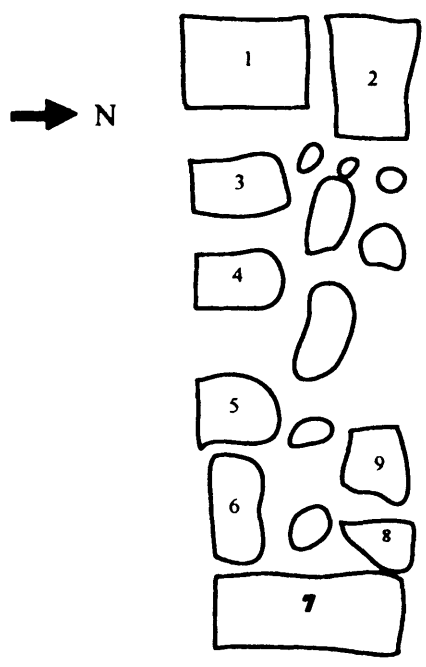


Figure 36. AT E 1.2 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:23.

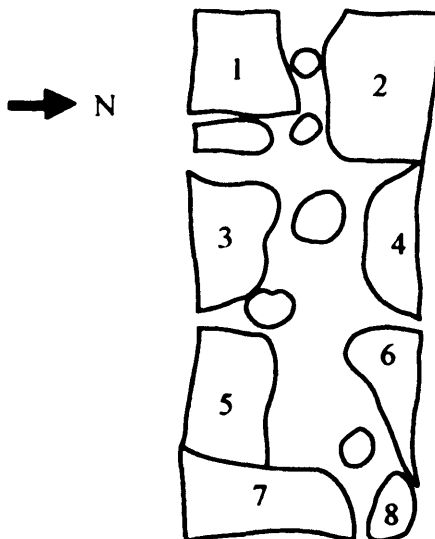
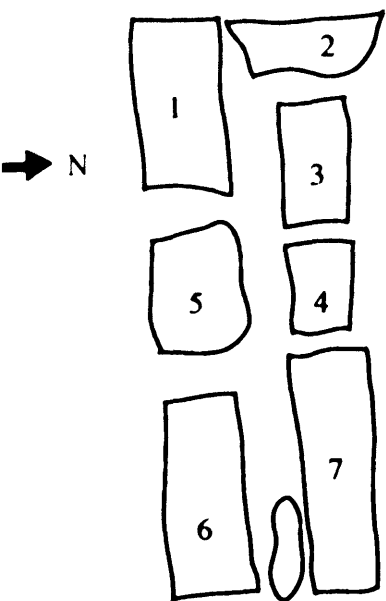


Figure 37. ATE 1.3 - Type 4d:
Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale
1:15.

Figure 38. ATE 1.4 - Type 4d:
Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale
1:19.

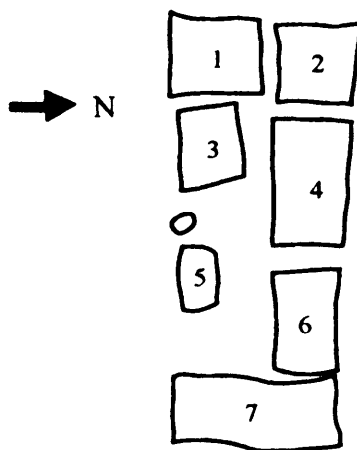
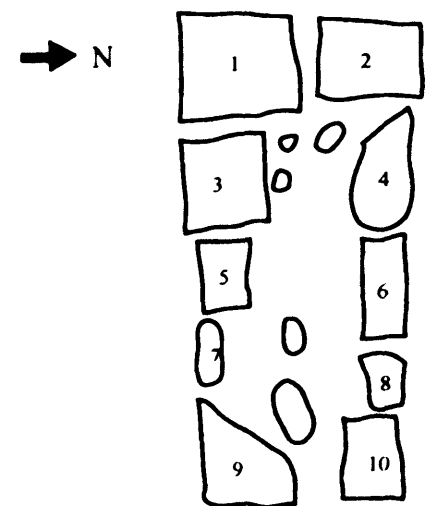


Figure 39. ATE 1.7 - Type 4d:
Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale
1:28.

Figure 40. ATE 2.4 - Type 4d:
Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale
1:25.

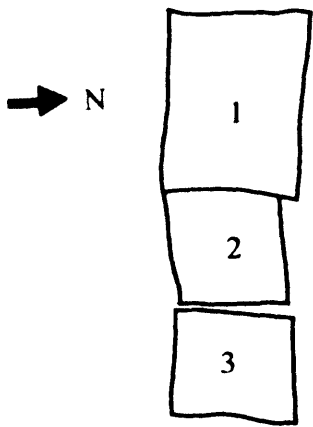


Figure 41. AT E 2.5 - Type 6b:
3-row slab tomb. Scale 1:22.

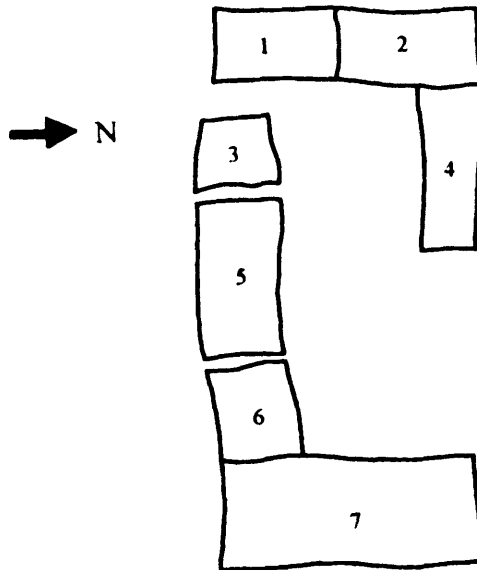


Figure 42. AT E 2.7 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered
tomb. Scale 1:19.

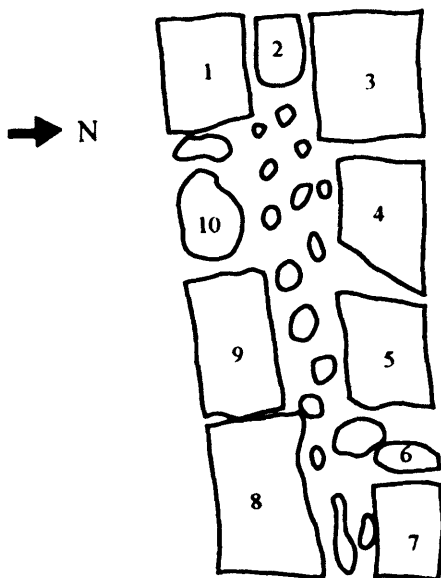


Figure 43. AT E 4.3 - Type 4d:
Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale
1:23.

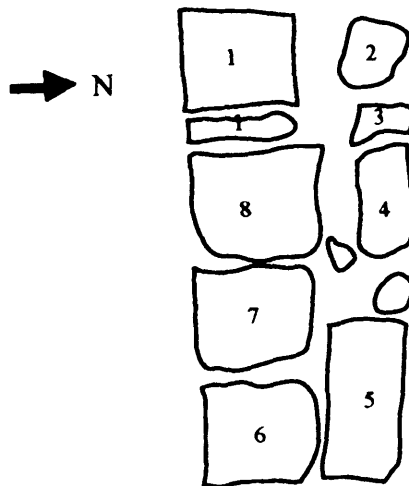


Figure 44. AT E 5.2 - Type 4d:
Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale
1:24.

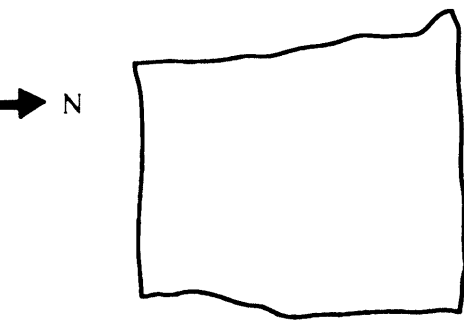


Figure 45. AT E 5.3 - Type 1: Slab tomb.
Part of a stone slab. Scale 1:18.

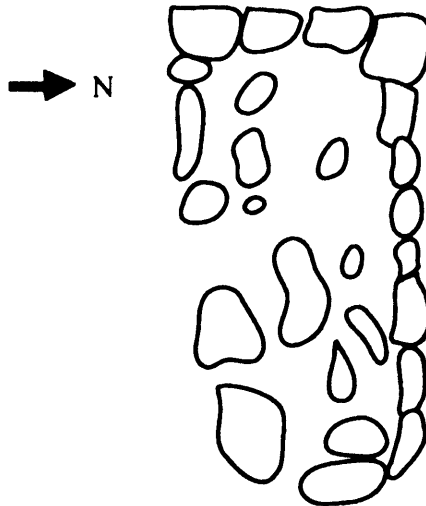


Figure 46. AT E 5.7 - Type 5a: Cobble-covered tomb. Note the rounded foot.
Scale 1:28.

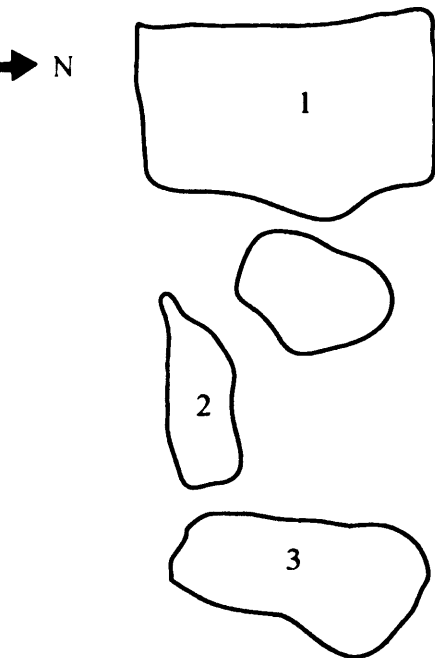


Figure 47. AT E 5.8 - Type 1: Slab tomb, now broken. Scale 1:16.

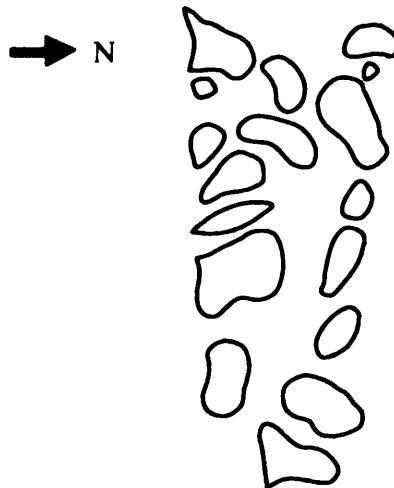


Figure 48. AT E 6.1 - Type 5b: Boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:34.

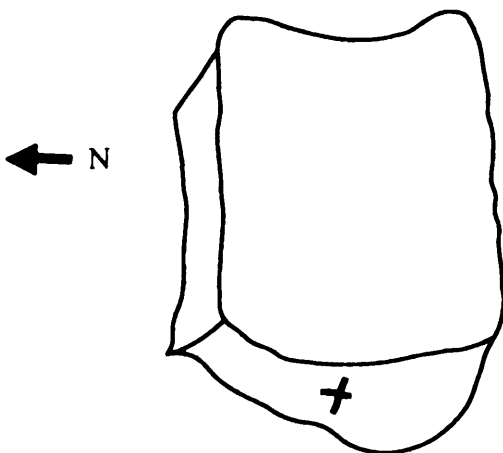


Figure 49. AT G7. Type 7: Unclassifiable tomb with an engraved cross on one side.
Scale 1:10.

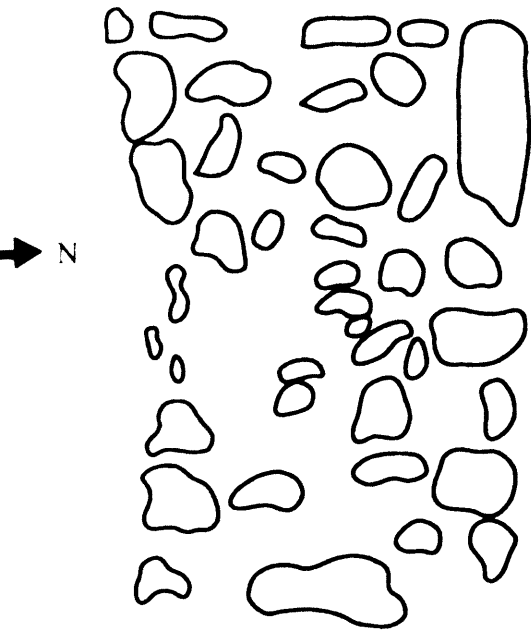


Figure 50. AT F 9.4 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:25.

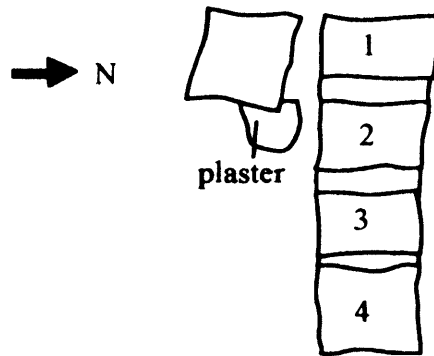


Figure 51. AT F 5.1 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones. The stone to the side of the tomb appears to be in situ, as it is in association with the plaster directly below it. Scale 1:26.

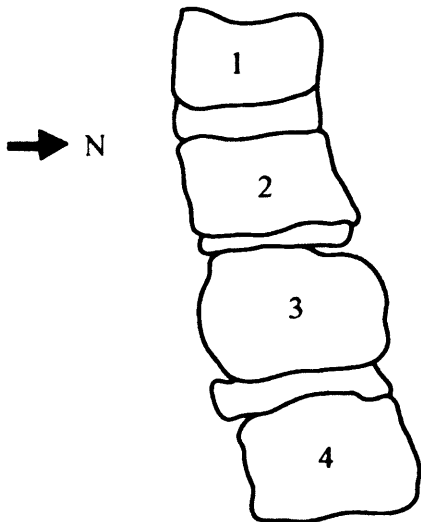


Figure 52. AT F 5.2 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones. Scale 1:14.

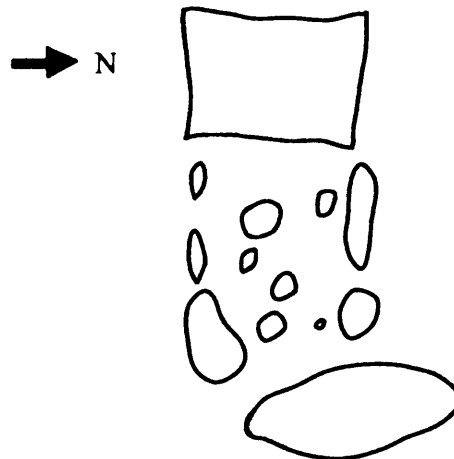


Figure 53. AT F 5.3 - Type 1: Slab tomb. Scale 1:25.

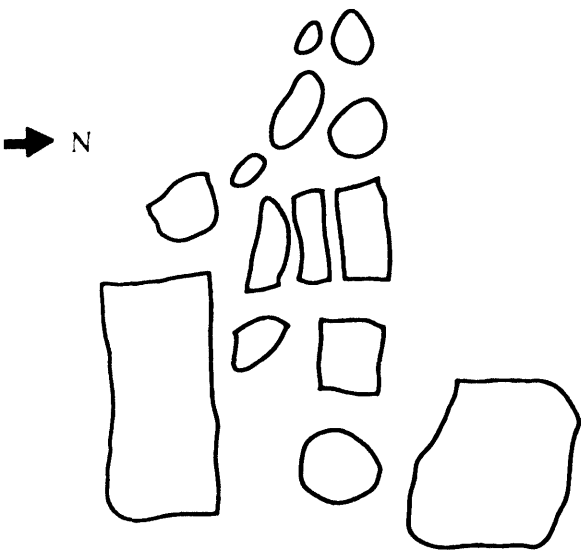


Figure 54. AT F 5.4 - Type 5b:
Boulder-covered tomb. Scale
1:26.

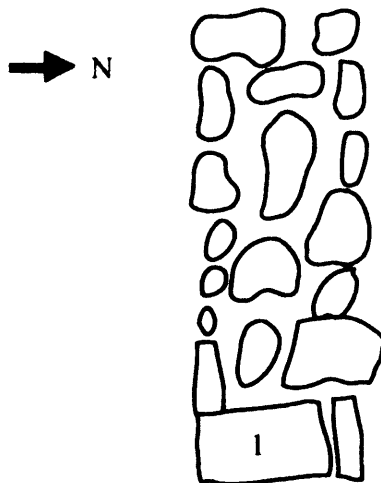


Figure 55. AT F 5.5 - Type 5c:
Cobble and boulder-covered tomb.
Scale 1:35.

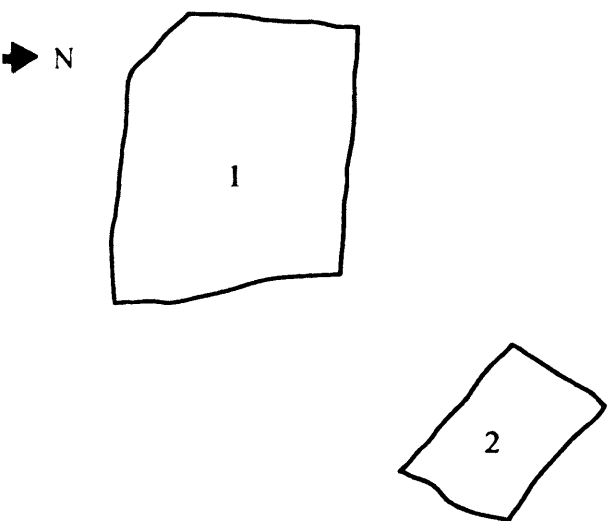


Figure 56. AT F 6.1 - Type 1: Broken
slab tomb. Scale 1:12.

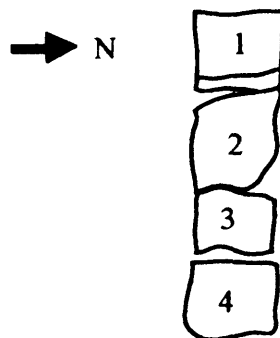


Figure 57. AT F 6.2 - Type 6a:
Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster
between stones 1 and 2. Scale
1:25.

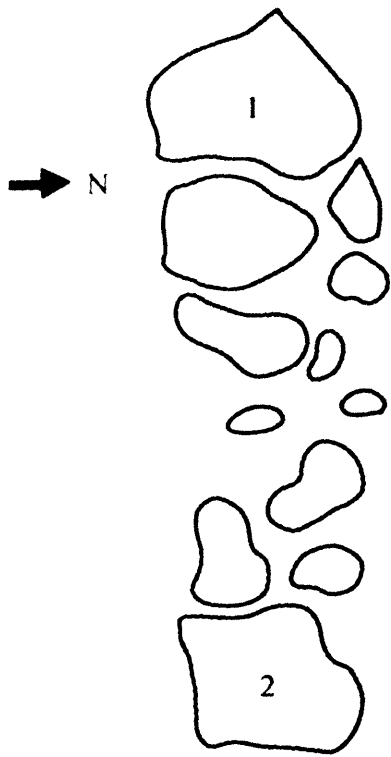


Figure 58. AT F 6.4 - Type 5b: Boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:19.

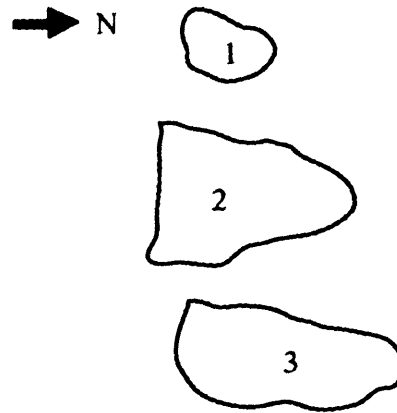


Figure 59. AT F 6.5 - Type 5b: Boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:19.

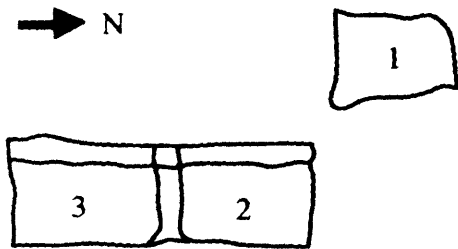


Figure 60. AT F 6.7 - Type 6a: Simple 3-row tomb. Plaster present between stones 2 and 3, and along the bottom and part of the side of the tomb. Scale 1:12.

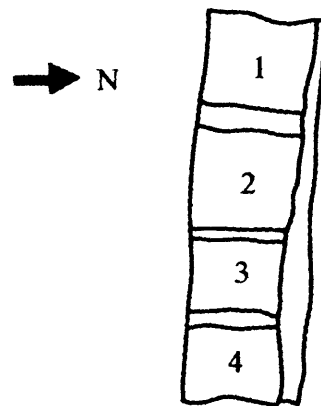


Figure 61. AT F 7.1 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones and forming a base. Scale 1:25.

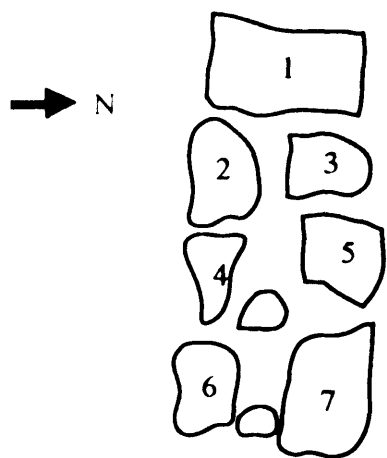


Figure 62. AT F 7.2 - Type 4b: Plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:21.

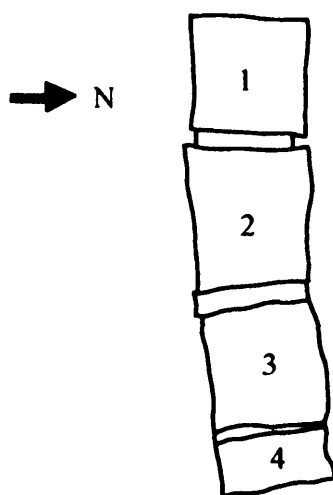


Figure 63. AT F 7.3 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster between the stones. Scale 1:20.

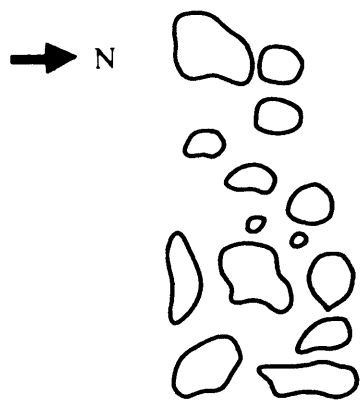


Figure 64. AT F 7.4 - Type 5a: Rubble-covered tomb. Scale 1:29.

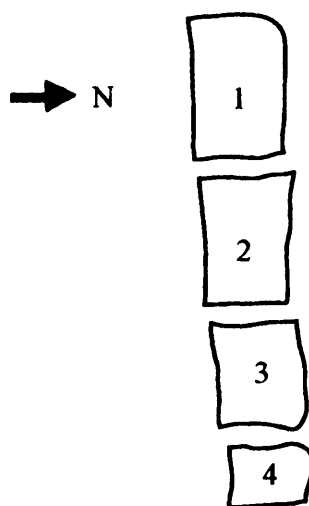


Figure 65. AT F 7.6 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb. Scale 1:19.

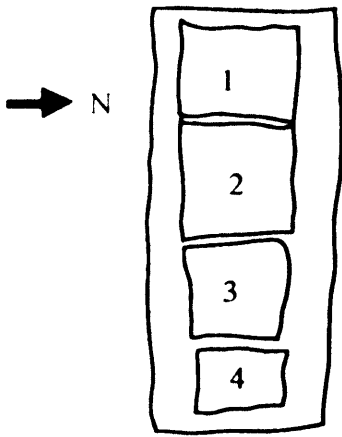


Figure 66. AT F 7.7 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster base and plaster between the stones. Scale 1:20.

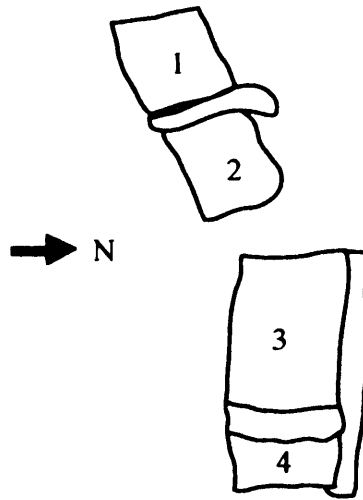


Figure 67. AT F 7.8 - Type 6a: Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster base and plaster between the stones. Scale 1:12.

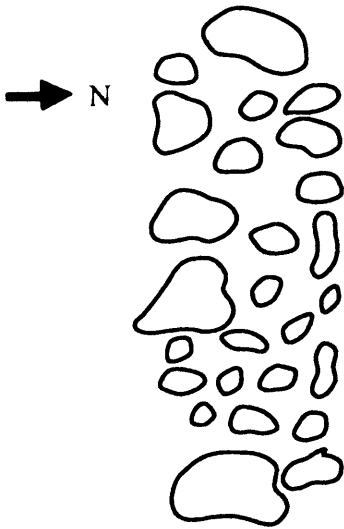


Figure 68. AT 34 F 8.1 - Type 5c: Cobble and boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:20.

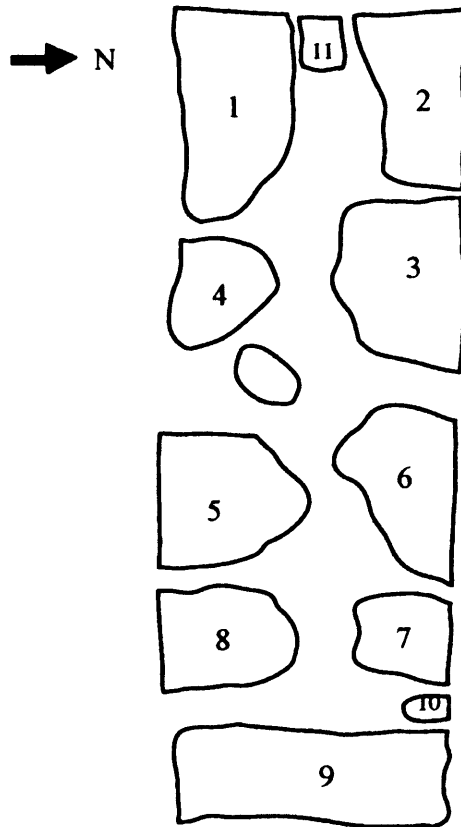


Figure 69. AT F 8.2 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:19.

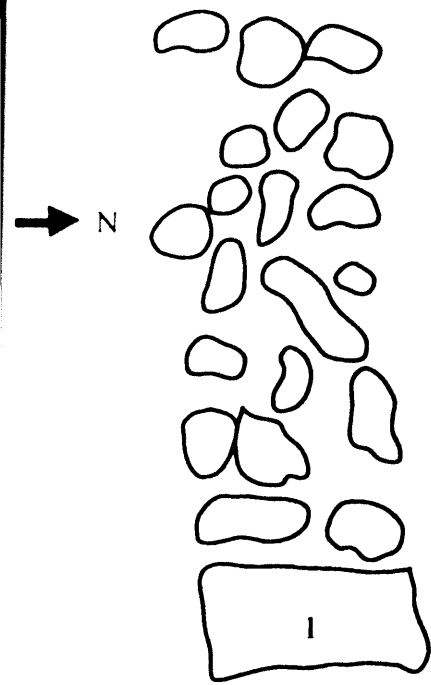


Figure 70. AT F 8.3 - Type 5c: Cobble and boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:16.

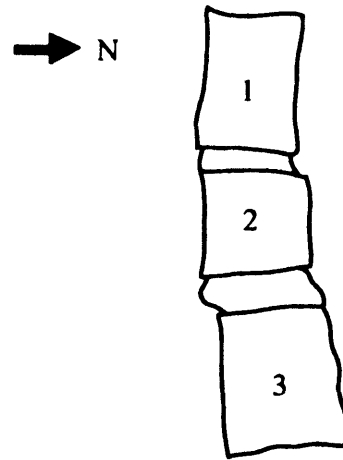


Figure 71. AT F 8.5 - Type 6a: Simple 3-row tomb, with plaster between the stones. Scale 1:17.

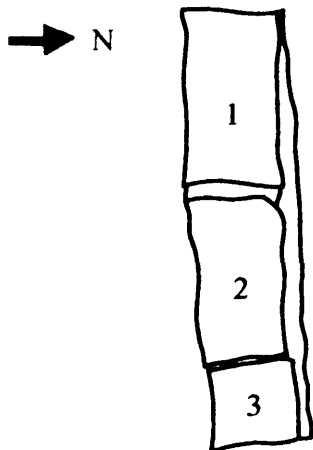


Figure 72. AT F 9.1 - Type 6a: Simple 3-row tomb, with plaster base and plaster between the stones. Scale 1:20.

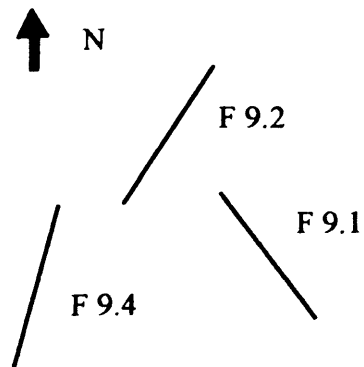


Figure 73. Plan showing orientation of tombs in F 9.

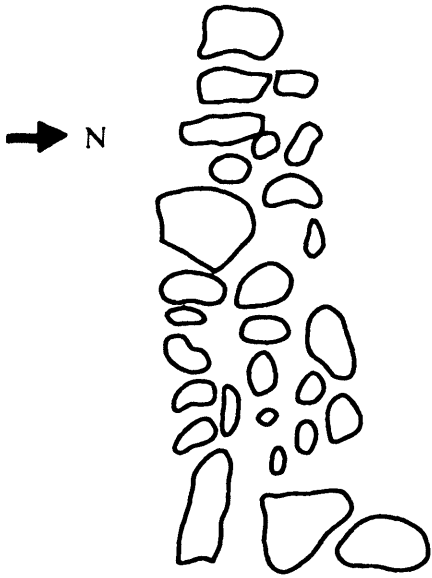


Figure 74. AT F 9.2 - Type 5a: Cobble-covered tomb. Scale 1:21.

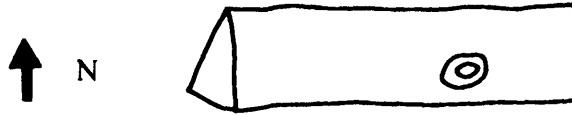


Figure 75. AT G1 - Type 7: Unclassifiable tomb. Note the hole that runs through the tomb. Scale 1:23.

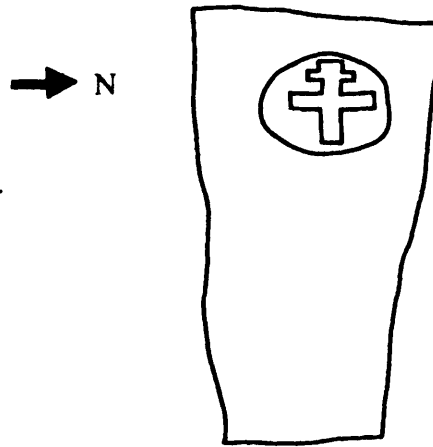


Figure 76. AT G 2 - Type 1: Slab tomb, with incised Lorraine Cross enclosed by a circle. Scale 1:30.

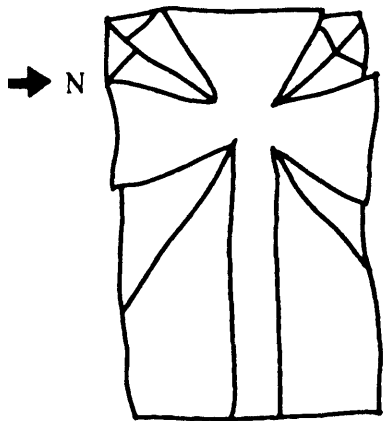


Figure 77. AT G 3 - Type 1: Slab tomb, with cross in high relief. Scale 1:17.

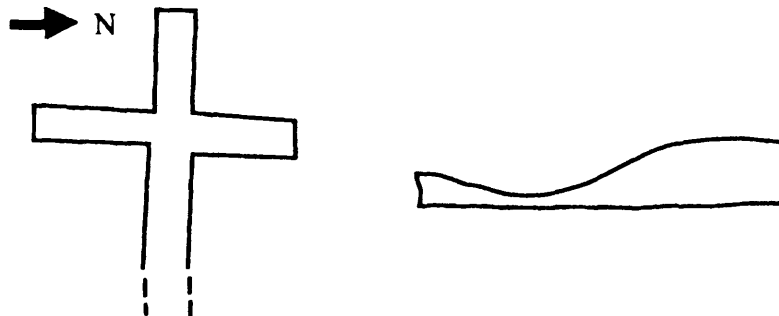


Figure 78. AT G 4 - Type 1: Slab tomb, with cross carved in relief. The shaft of the cross has eroded away (left). The profile of the slab shows the effects of erosion, with the lower half of the slab almost completely eroded away (right). Scale 1:38.

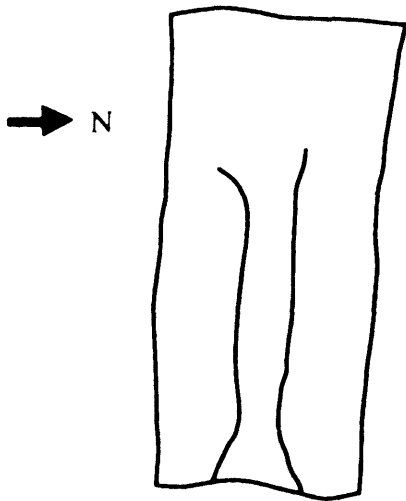


Figure 79. AT G5 - Type 1: Slab tomb, with partial cross carved in relief. Erosion has erased the upper part of the cross. Scale 1:27.

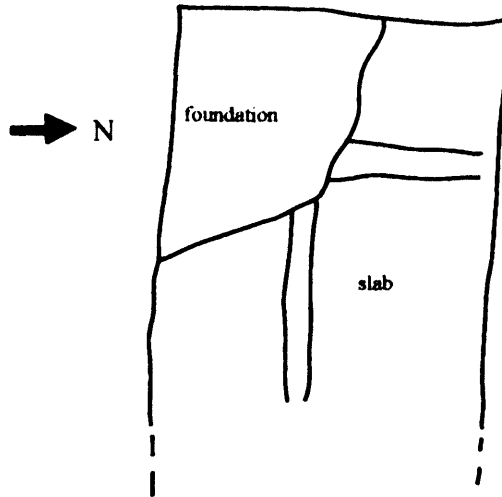


Figure 80. AT Sb 1.1 - Type 1: Slab-covered tomb, with incised cross. Scale 1:23.

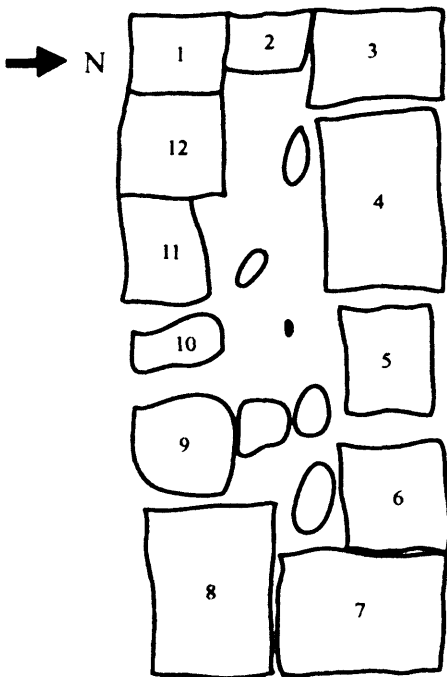


Figure 81. AT Sb1.3 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:28.

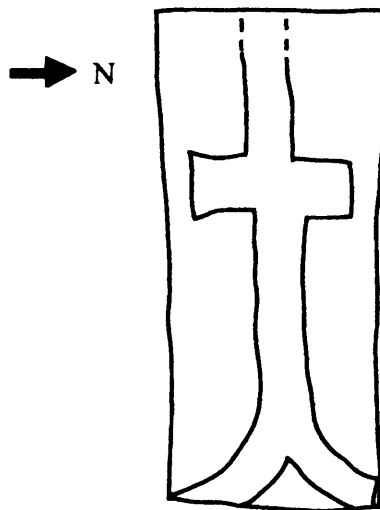


Figure 82. AT Sb 2.2 - "Anchor" tomb. Type 1: Slab tomb, decorated with a cross carved in relief, in imitation of an anchor. The top of the cross has been eroded away. Scale 1:26.

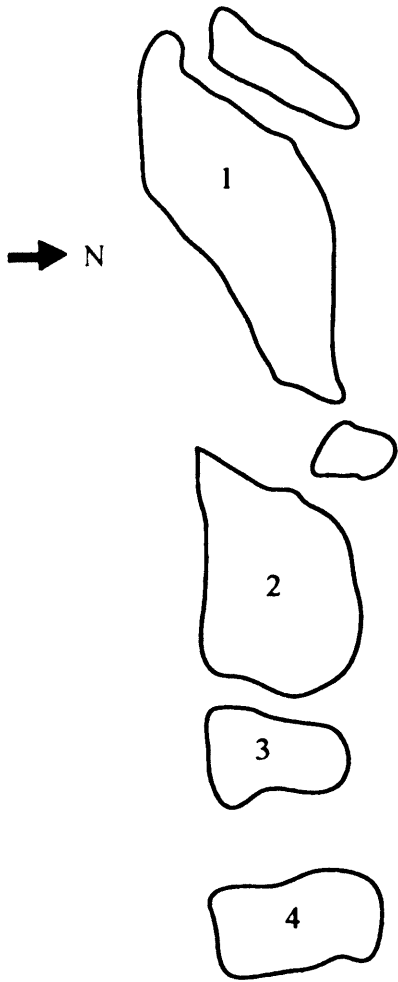


Figure 83. AT Sb 2.5 - Type 6b: 4-row slab tomb. Scale 1:13.

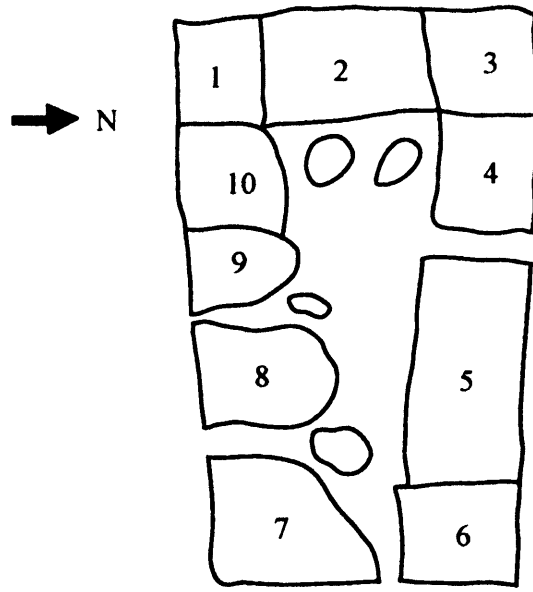


Figure 84. AT Sb 3.1 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:25.

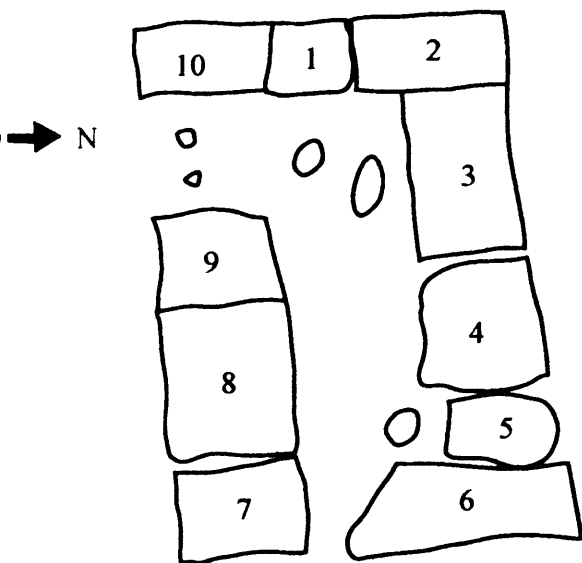


Figure 85. AT Sb 3.2 - Type 1: Slab tomb. Scale 1:32.

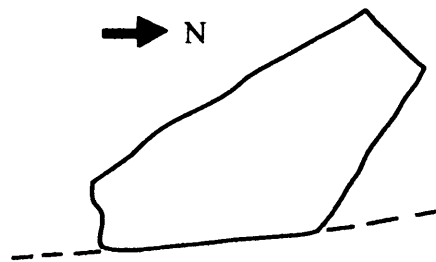


Figure 86. AT Sb 3.3 - Type 1: Slab tomb; note that the slab was found lying on the ground. Associated with Sb 3.2, which is assumed to be the base for this slab. Scale 1:31.

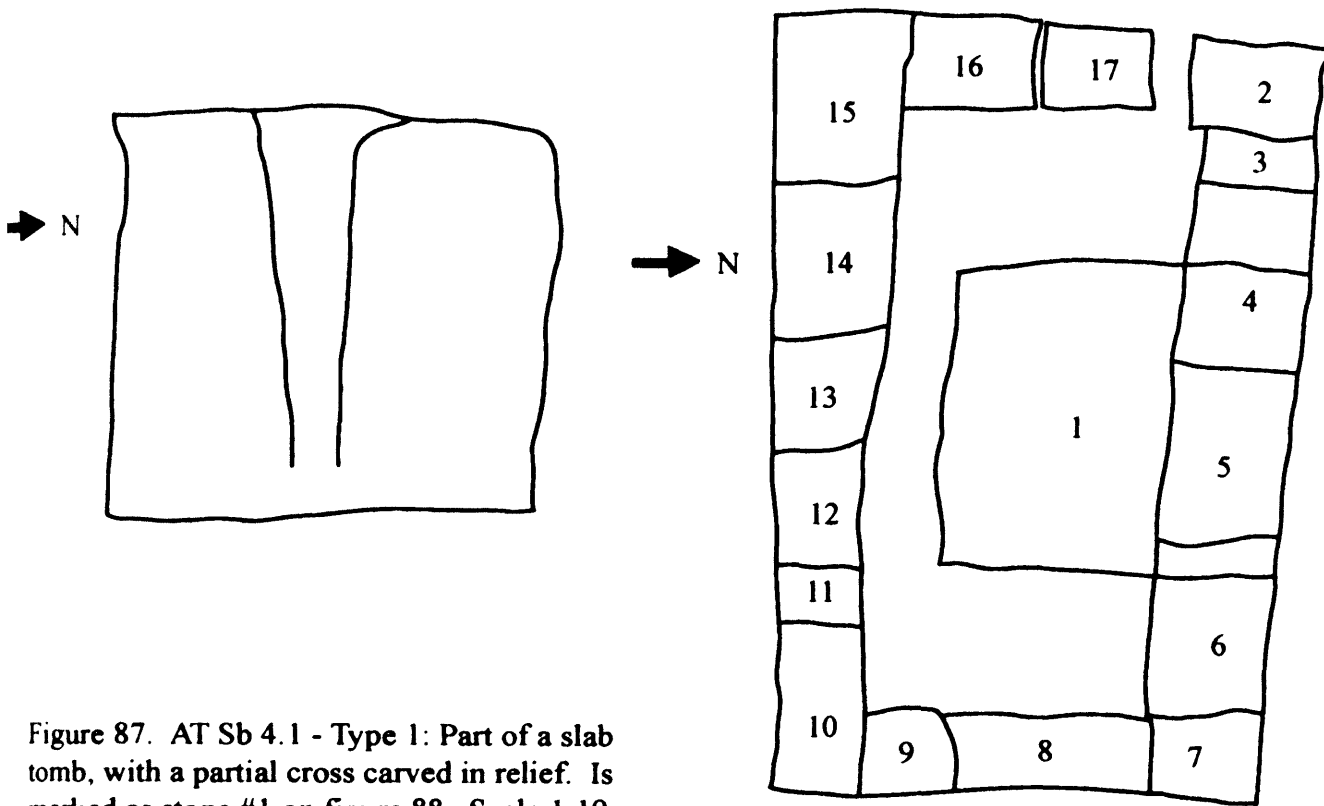


Figure 87. AT Sb 4.1 - Type 1: Part of a slab tomb, with a partial cross carved in relief. Is marked as stone #1 on figure 88. Scale 1:19.

Figure 88. AT Sb 4.1 - Type 1: Slab tomb. Stone 1 is the remaining part of the slab. Scale 1:27.5.

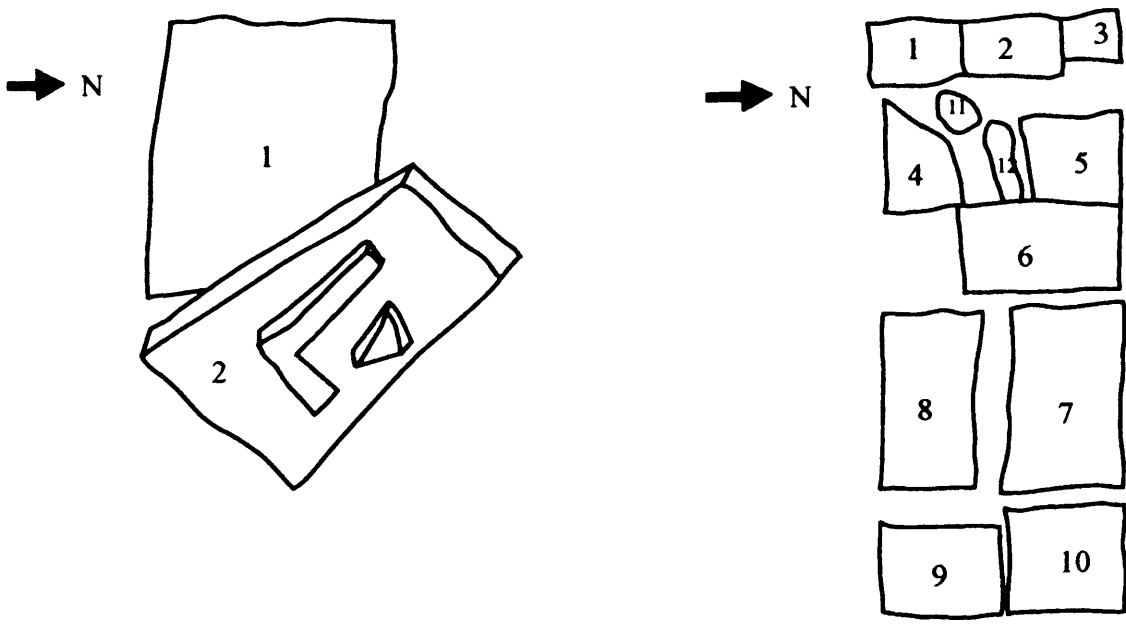


Figure 89. AT Sb 4.2 - Type 1: Slab tomb. Stone 1 is the base of the tomb, while stone 2 is the slab. Scale 1:11.

Figure 90. AT Sb 4.3 - Type 5b: Boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:28.

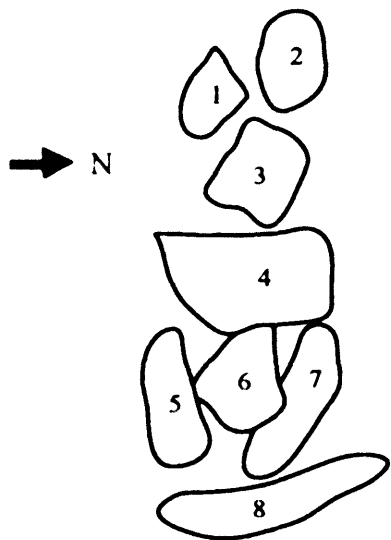


Figure 91. AT Sb 4.4 - Type 5a: Cobble-covered tomb. Scale 1:21.

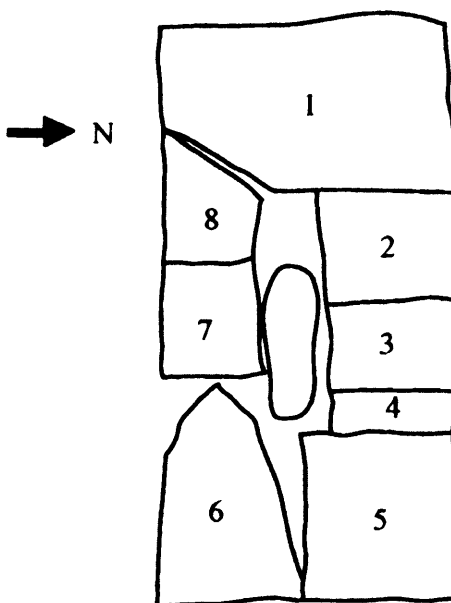


Figure 92. AT Sb 5.1 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:35.

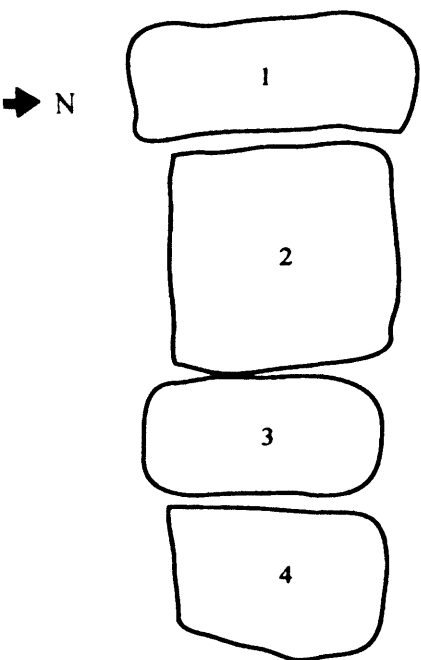


Figure 93. AT Sb 5.2 - Type 6b: 4-row slab tomb. Scale 1:18.

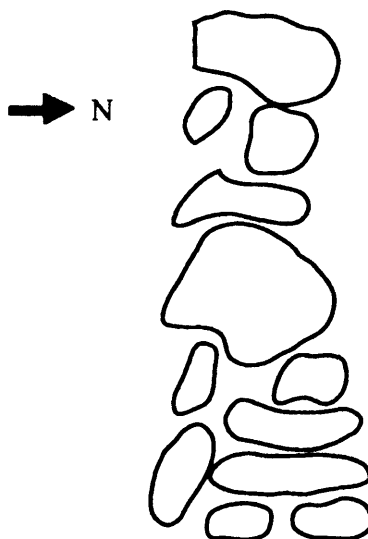


Figure 94. AT Sb 5.4 - Type 4c: Plaster cobble and boulder-covered tomb. Scale 1:32.

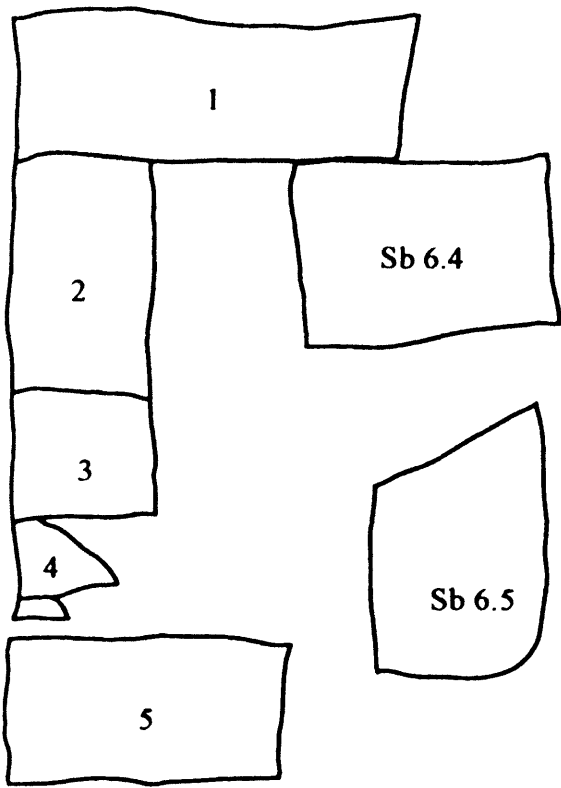


Figure 95. AT Sb 6.1 - Type 1: Slab tomb, with parts of the slab marked as Sb 6.4 and 6.5. Scale 1:26.

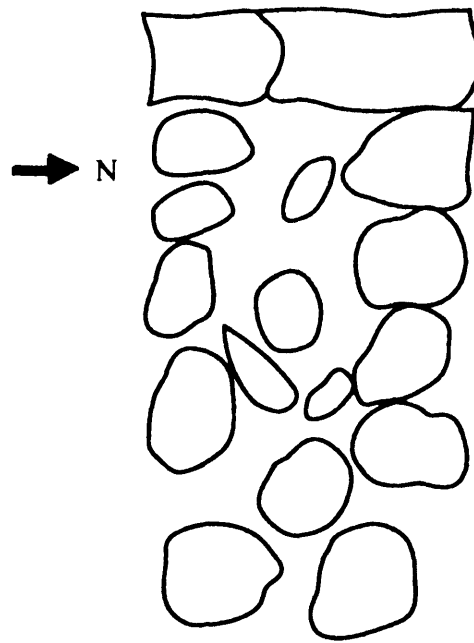


Figure 96. AT Sb 9.2 - Type 4d: Flat plaster-covered tomb. Scale 1:15.

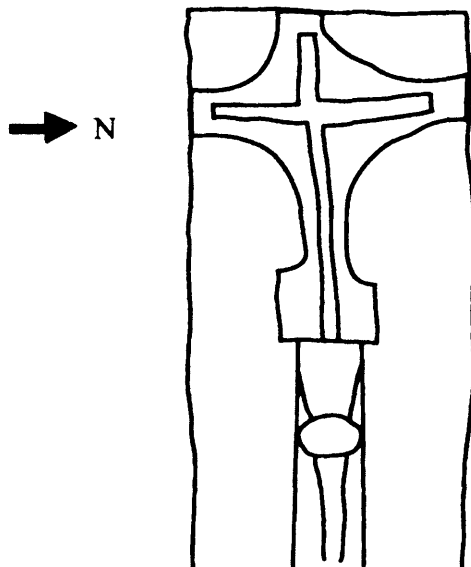


Figure 97. AT Sb 11.1 - Type 1: Slab tomb, with cross carved in high relief, one cross on top of another. The shaft of the main cross appears to have been carved in imitation of a sword. Scale 1:28.

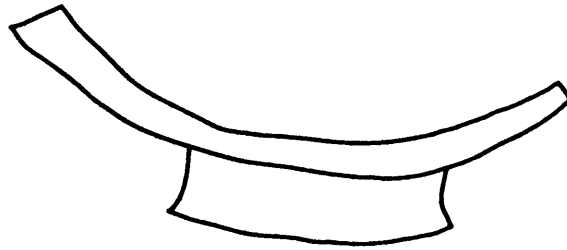


Figure 98. AT 34-48 - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration. Green decoration on brown glaze. The diagram on the left shows the decoration on the inside of the base, while the diagram on the right shows the cross-section of the vessel. Scale 1:2.

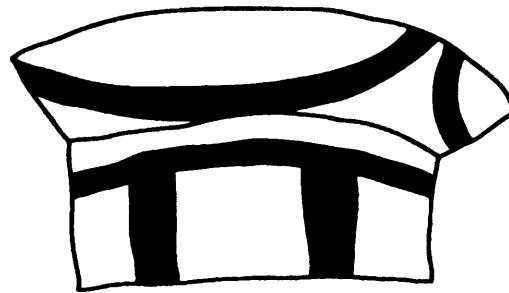
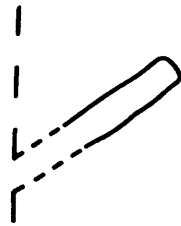
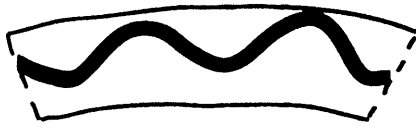


Figure 99. AT 34-127; 47.3359 - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration. White decoration on greenish-white glaze. Scale 1:2.

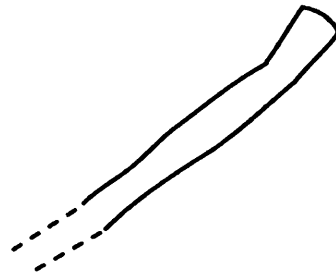


Figure 100. AT 34-144 - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration. White decoration on brown glaze. Scale 1:2.

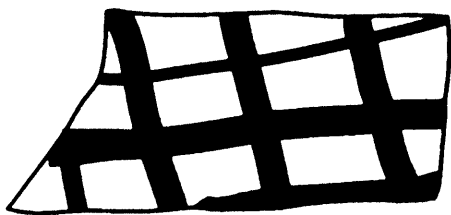


Figure 101. AT 34-33; 47.3399 - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration (white on red). Scale 1:2.



Figure 102. AT 34-68.1 (left) and 34-68.2 (right) - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration. Green decoration on green glaze. On 34-68.1, note the marks from the tripod that was used during the firing process. Scale 1:2.

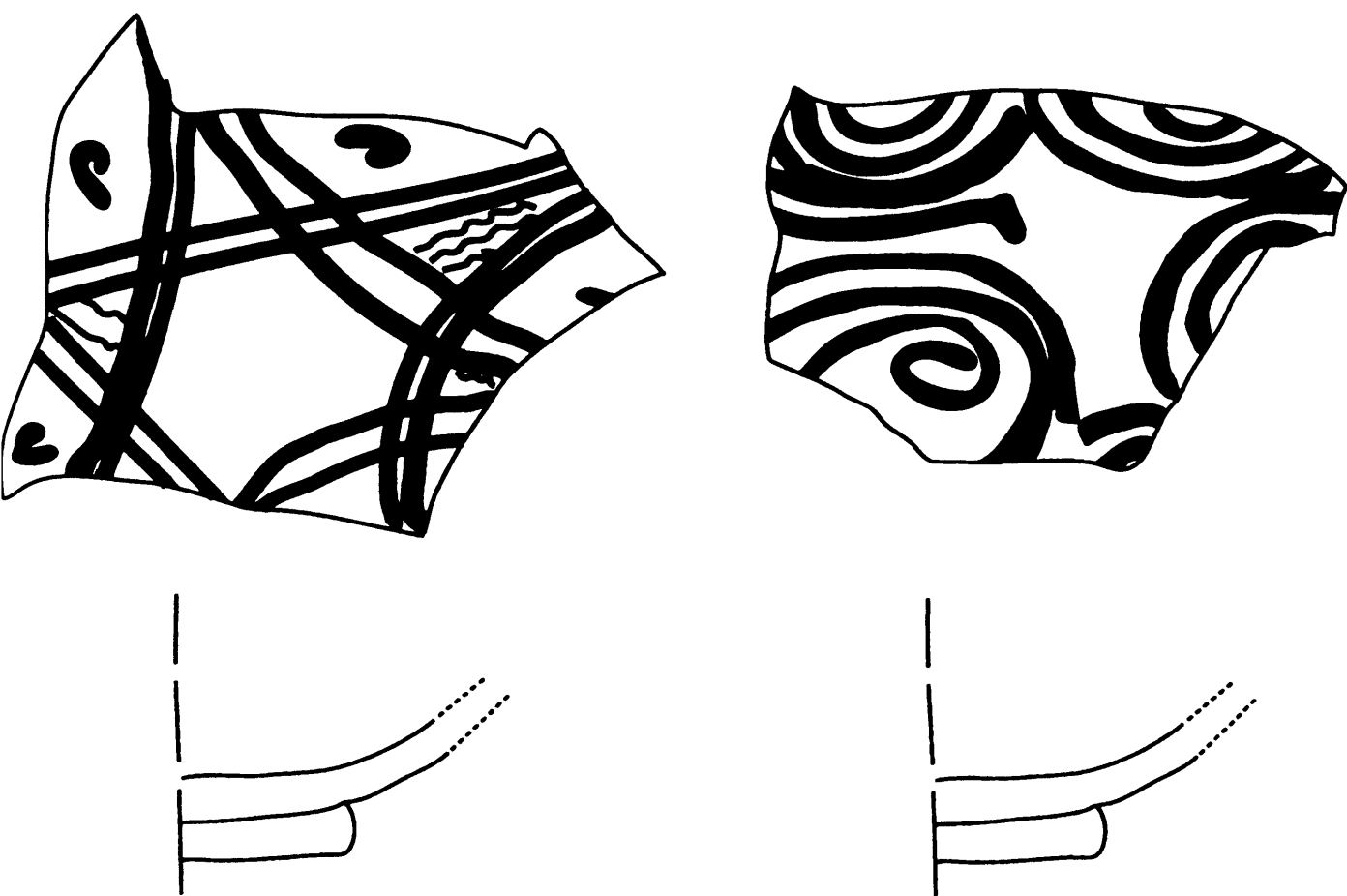


Figure 103. AT 34-43; 47.3401 - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration. Yellow decoration on brown glaze. Scale 1:2.

Figure 104. AT 34-74; 47.3258 - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome design. Yellow decoration on clear glaze. Scale 1:2.

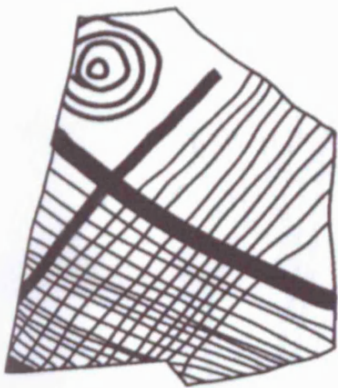


Figure 105. AT 34-92 - Type 1a: Unglazed pottery - fine fabrics. Black decoration on white body. Scale 1:1.

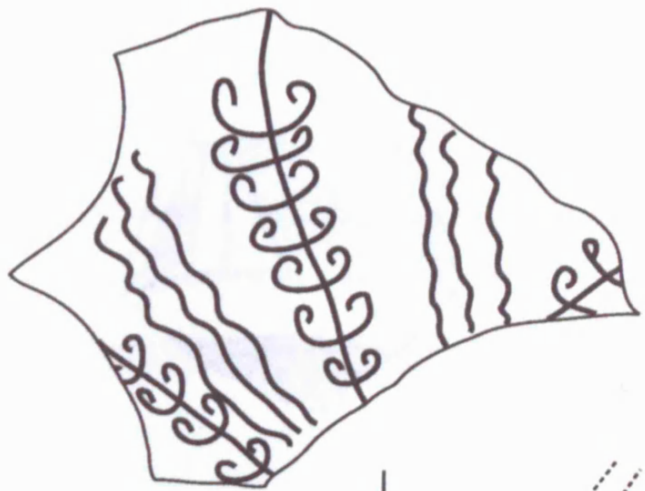


Figure 106. AT 34-172; 47.3324 - Type 4a: Zeuxippus ware. Scale 1: 1.5.

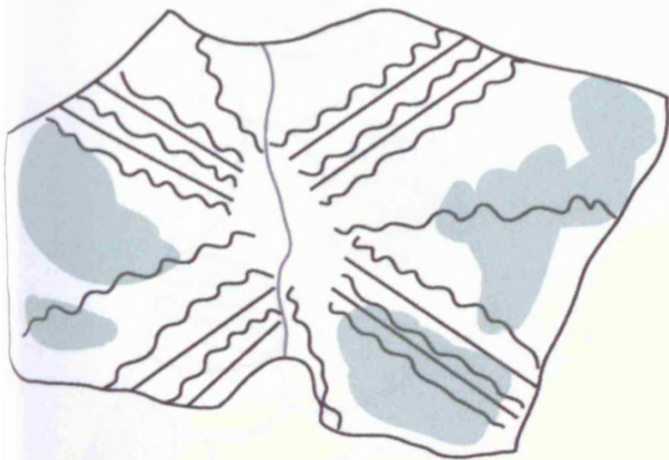


Figure 107. AT 34-57 - Type 4a: Zeuxippus ware. Note this is two pieces that were once part of the same vessel. Scale 1:2.

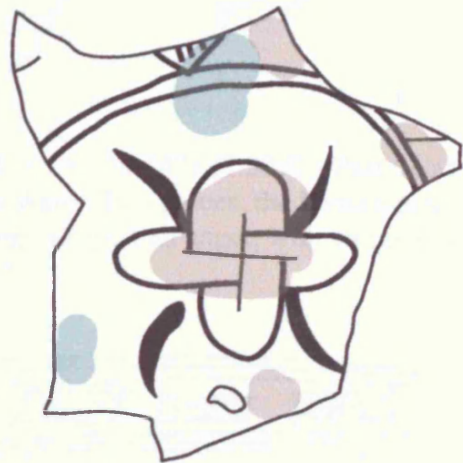


Figure 108. AT 34-32 - Type 4b: Port Saint Symeon Ware. Scale 1:1.



Figure 109. AT 34-119; 47.3398 - Port Saint Symeon Ware. Scale 1: 1.5.

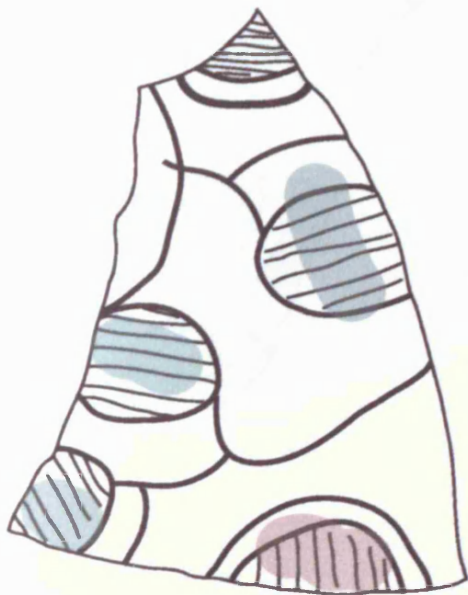
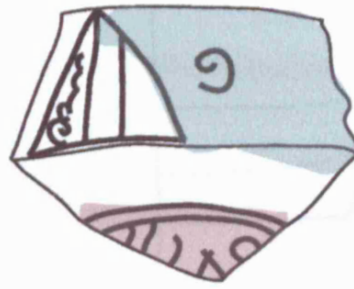


Figure 110. AT 34-123 - Port Saint Symeon Ware. Scale 1: 1.5.

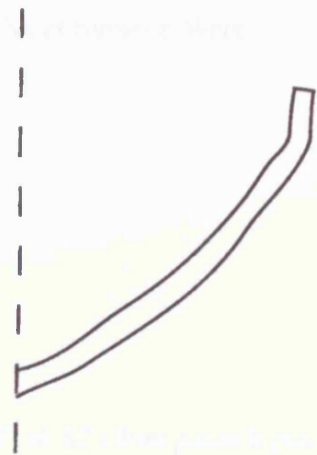
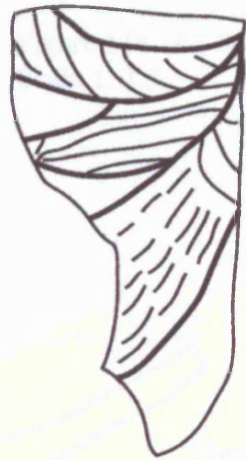


Figure 111. AT 34-142; 47.3397 - Port Saint Symeon Ware. Two pieces, the bottom piece appearing to depict an angel, with wings spread. Scale 1:1.

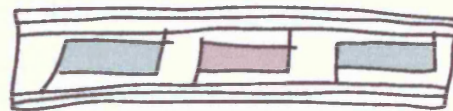


Figure 112. AT 34-81; 47.3267 - Port Saint Symeon Ware. Scale 1: 1.5.

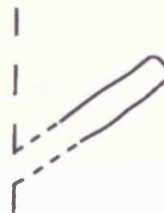


Figure 113. AT 34-86 - Port Saint Symeon Ware, rim sherd. Scale 1:1.5.

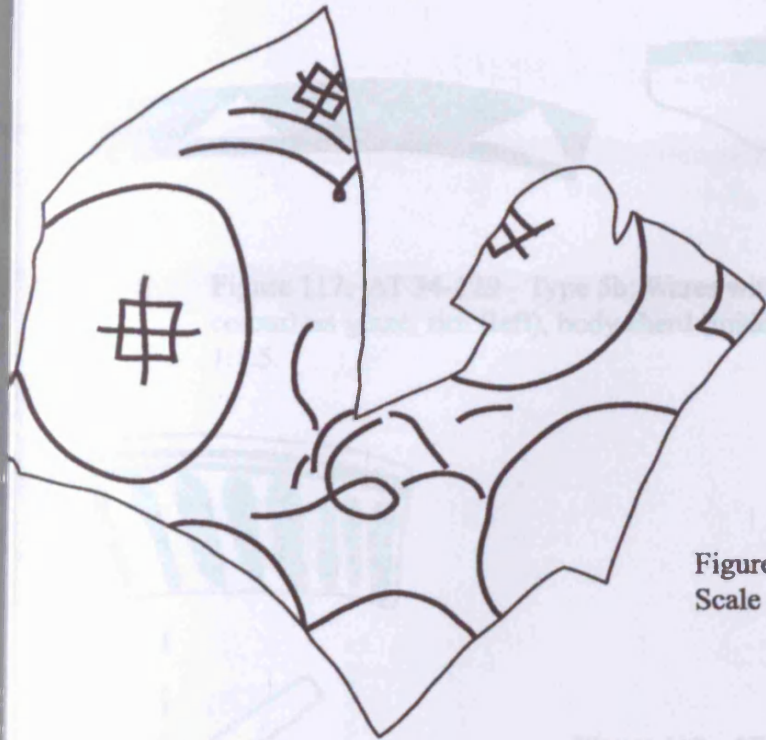


Figure 114. AT 34-88 - Port Saint Symeon Ware. Scale 1: 1.5.

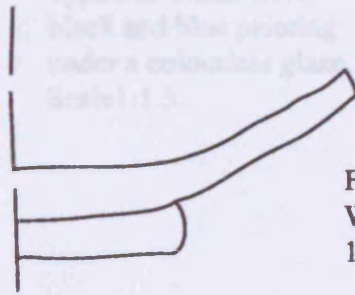


Figure 115. AT 34-87 - Port Saint Symeon Ware. Decoration detail and profile. Scale 1: 2.

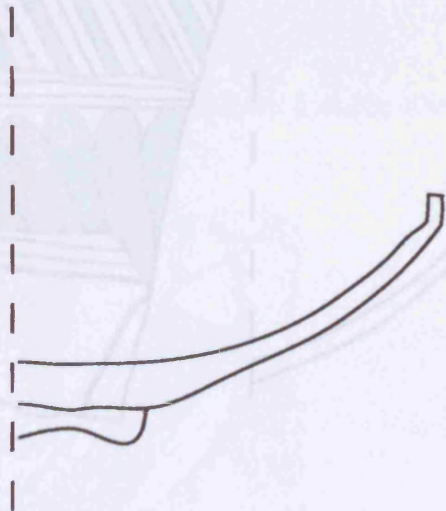
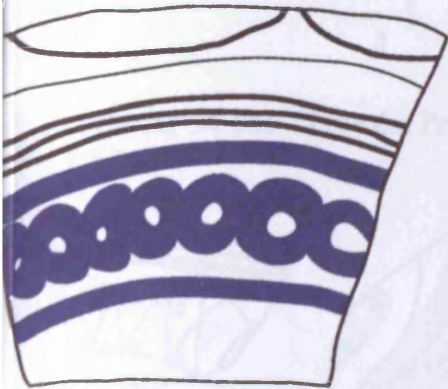


Figure 116. AT 34-103.2 - Type 3b: Wares with black and blue painting under a clear glaze. Scale 1: 1.5.

Figure 117. AT 34-85 - Type 5a: Wares with black and blue painting under a clear glaze. Scale 1: 1.5.

Figure 118. AT 34-85 - Type 5a: Wares with black and blue painting under a clear glaze. Scale 1: 1.5.

Figure 119. AT 34-85 - Type 5a: Wares with black and blue painting under a clear glaze. Scale 1: 1.5.

Figure 120. AT 34-85 - Type 5a: Wares with black and blue painting under a clear glaze. Scale 1: 1.5.

Figure 121. AT 34-85 - Type 5a: Wares with black and blue painting under a clear glaze. Scale 1: 1.5.

Figure 122. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 123. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 124. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 125. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 126. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 127. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 128. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 129. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 130. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

Figure 131. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Isidoriata. Scale 1: 1.

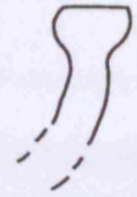
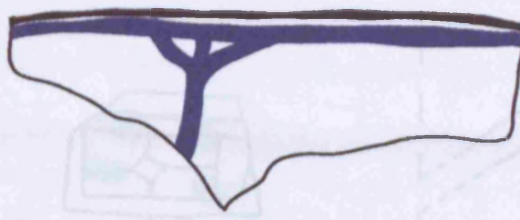


Figure 117. AT 34-129 - Type 5b: Wares with black and blue painting under a colourless glaze; rim (left), body sherd (middle), and profile (right). Scale 1:1.5.



Figure 119. AT 34-85 - Type 5b: Wares with black and blue painting under a colourless glaze. Scale 1:1.5.

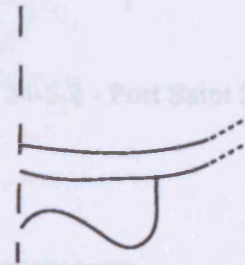


Figure 118. AT 34-84 - Type 5b: Wares with black and blue painting under a colourless glaze. Scale 1:1.

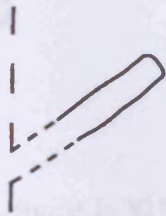


Figure 120. AT 34-141 - Type 6a: Proto-Maiolica. Scale 1:1.5.

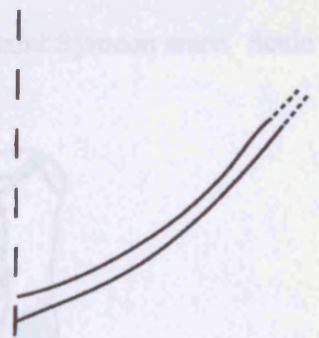


Figure 121. AT 34-73; 47.3391 - Type 6a: Proto-Maiolica. Scale 1:1.5.



Figure 122. AT 34-46 - Type 6a: Proto-Maiolica. Scale 1:1.

Figure 123. AT 34-113 - Post Saint Simeon ware. Scale 1:1.5.



Figure 123. AT 34-5.c - decoration on a carinated rim. Scale 1:1.5.



Figure 126. AT 34-5.1 - Port Saint Symeon ware. Scale 1:1.



Figure 127. AT 34-5.2 - Port Saint Symeon ware. Scale 1:1.

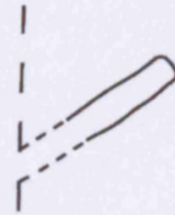


Figure 124. AT 34-5 - found in X-5. Scale 1:2.



Figure 128. AT 34-5.3 - Port Saint Symeon ware. Scale 1:1.

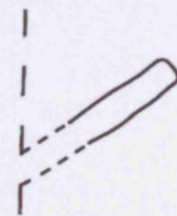


Figure 125. AT 34-5.4 - Green-glazed sgraffito ware. Scale 1:1.



Figure 129. AT 34-5.5 - Port Saint Symeon ware. Scale 1:1.5.

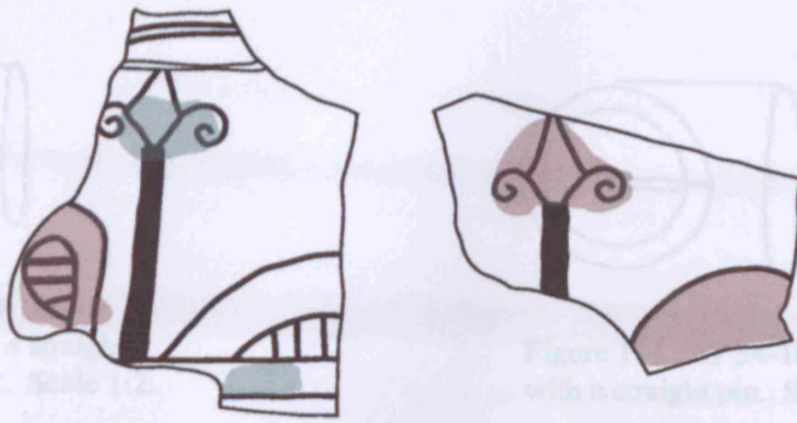


Figure 130. AT 34-5.a - Port Saint Symeon Ware.
Scale 1:1.



Figure 131. AT W-5 - Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with
monochrome decoration. Scale 1:1.



Figure 132. X4 - Green glazed, sgraffiato, base of bowl.
Scale 1:2.

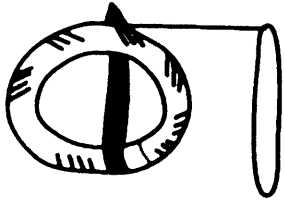


Figure 133. AT 34-106 - round buckle with a straight pin; note the break. Scale 1:2.

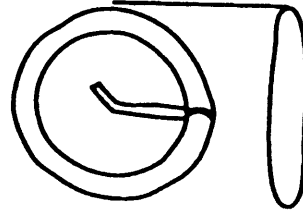


Figure 134. AT 34-160 - Buckle with a straight pin. Scale 1:2.

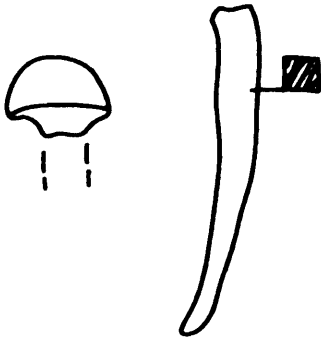


Figure 135. AT 34-108; 47.3196.2 - Bronze bolt head and point. Scale 1:1.

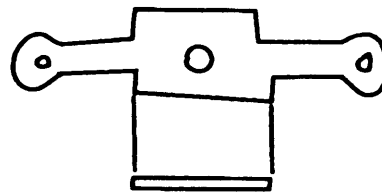


Figure 136. AT 34-45; 47.1336 - bronze applique. Scale 2:1.

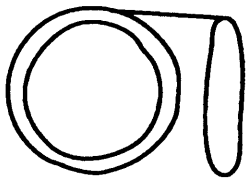


Figure 137. AT 34-107; 47.3196.1 - Bronze finger-ring. Scale 1:1.

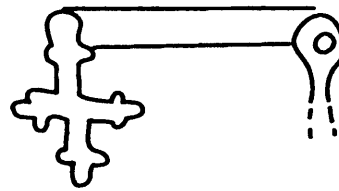


Figure 138. AT 34-65; 47.1335 - Bronze pendant cross. Scale 1:1.

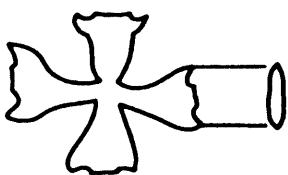


Figure 139. AT 34-151; 47.1333 - Bronze cross. Sacke 1:1.

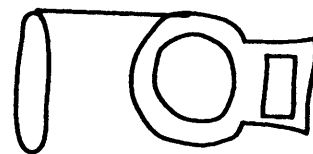


Figure 140. AT 34-77 - Bronze buckle. Scale 1:2.

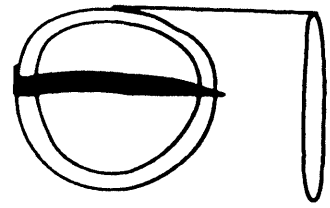


Figure 141. AT 34-99 -
Large bronze buckle. Scale
1:2.



Figure 142. AT 34-111 -
Silver fragment. Scale 1:1.

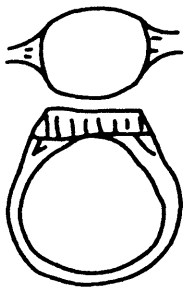


Figure 143. AT 34-9 -
Bronze finger-ring. Scale
1:1.5.

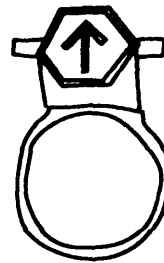


Figure 144. AT 34-116 -
Bronze finger-ring, incised bezel.
Scale 1:1.5.

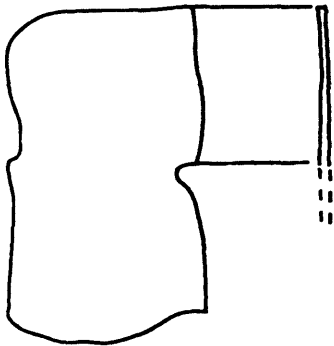


Figure 145. AT 34-122 -
Bronze binding or plaste.
Scale 1:1.



Figure 146. AT-55.1,2-
Bronze nail. Scale
1:1.



Figure 147. AT 34-55.3 -
Bronze nail. Scale 1:1.

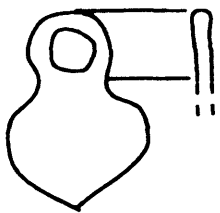


Figure 149. AT 34-121 -
Bronze button. Scale 1:1.



Figure 148. AT 34-30 -
Iron nail. Scale 1:1.

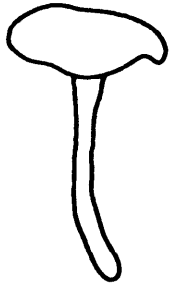


Figure 150. AT 34-55.4 -
Bronze nail. Scale 1:1.

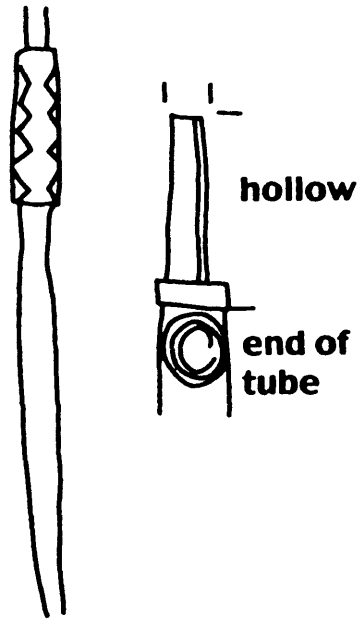


Figure 151. AT 34-78 - Bronze pin fragment.
Scale 1:1.

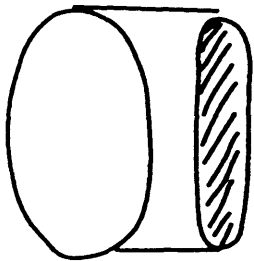


Figure 152. AT 34-109 -
Stone, possible bezel.
Scale 1:1.



Figure 153. AT 34-117 - possible
ear pick. Scale 1:1.5.

Appendix 3

Plates

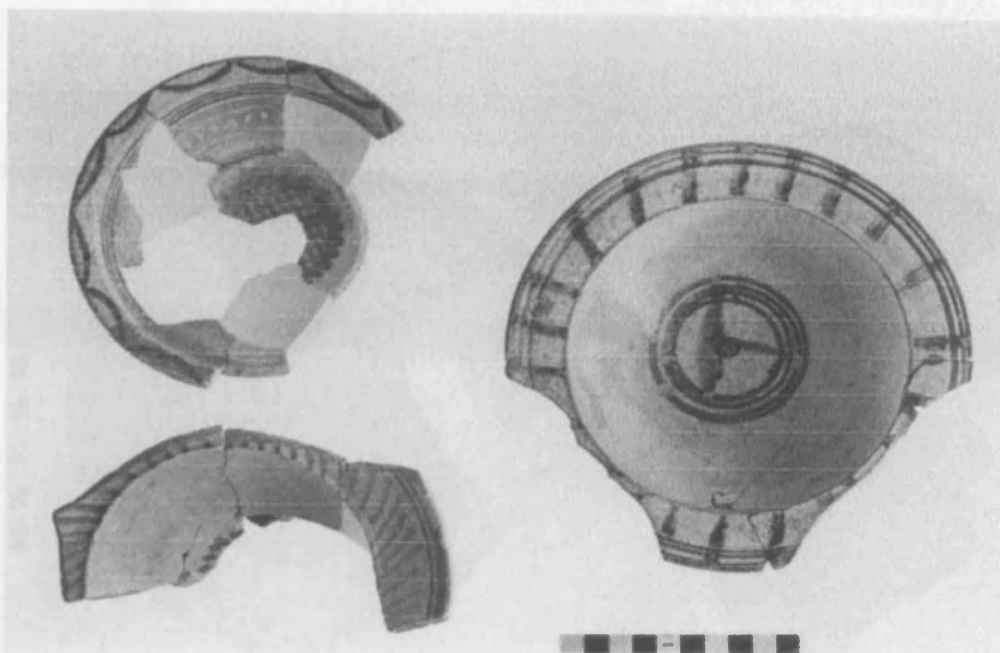


Plate 1: Type 5 pottery: Syrian under-glaze painted wares. The two pieces on the left both belong to the Type 5b, wares with black and blue painting under a colourless glaze. From the Palestine Exploration Fund photo archive, PEF/P/CNJ Atlit – 039.644.

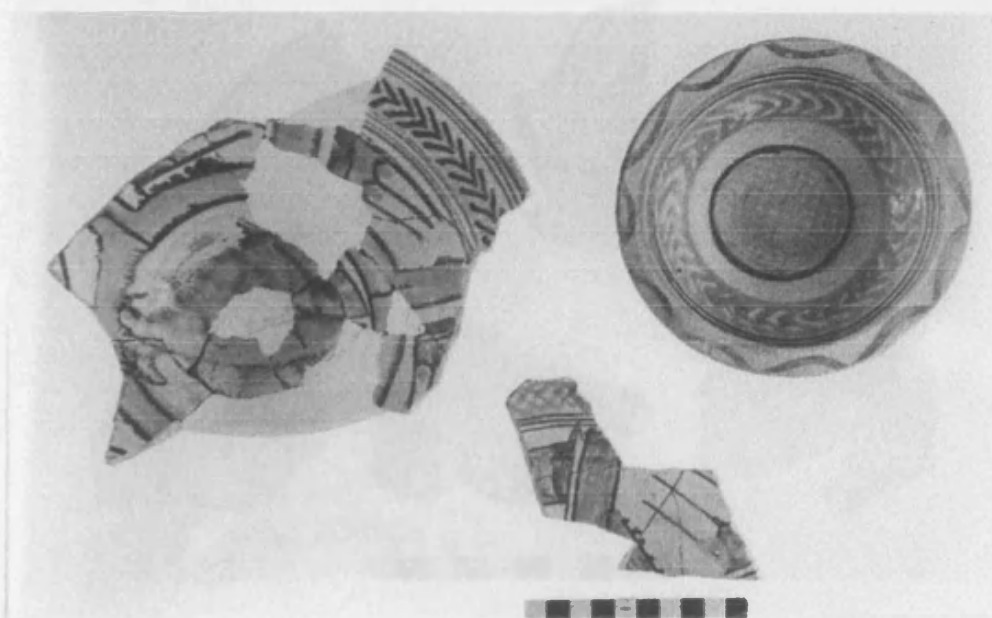


Plate 2: Type 5 pottery: Syrian under-glaze painted wares. Note the piece at the top right, and its similarity to the top left piece from Plate 1. From the Palestine Exploration Fund photo archive, PEF/P/CNJ Atlit – 039.647.



Plate 3: Type 4b pottery: Port Saint Symeon Ware. From the Palestine Exploration Fund photo archive, PEF/P/CNJ Atlit – 039.646.



Plate 4: Type 4 pottery: Sgraffito wares. All of the pieces except the bottom left piece are type 4b pottery, Port Saint Symeon ware. The bottom left piece is Champlevé ware. From the Palestine Exploration Fund photo archive, PEF/P/CNJ Atlit – 039.652.



Plate 5: Type 4b pottery: Port Saint Symeon Ware. From the Palestine Exploration Fund photo archive, PEF/P/CNJ Atlit – 039.655.

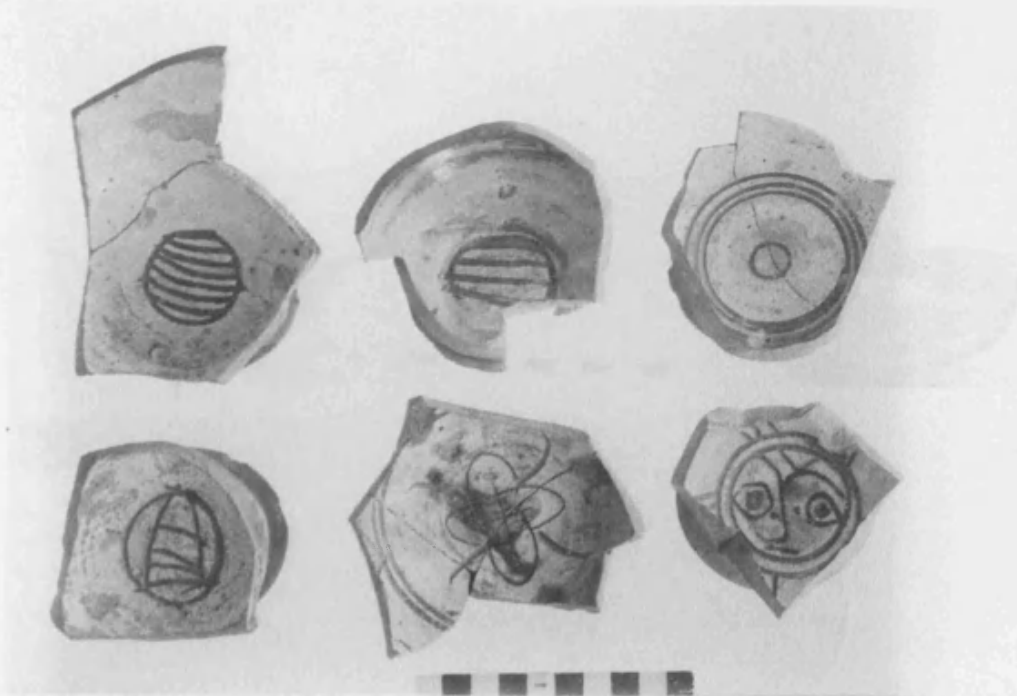


Plate 6. Top right and bottom row – Type 4b pottery, Port Saint Symeon Ware. Top left and top middle are type



Plate 7. AT 34-167; 47.3347 (left) – Type 1b: Coarse fabrics, jug. AT 34-24; 47.3301 (right) – Type 2a: Common and Kitchen Wares, cup



Plate 8. AT 34-127; 47.3359 (left) – Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome design. AT 34-159; 47.3348 (right) – Type 2b: Green-glazed ware.

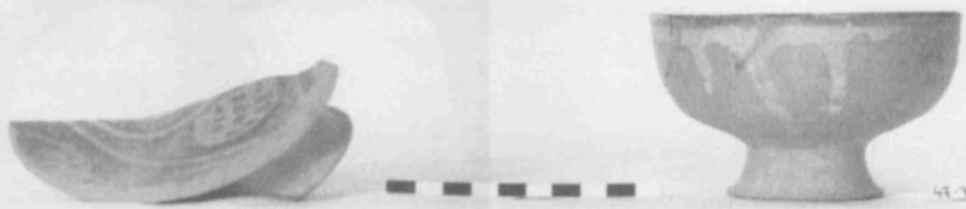


Plate 9. AT 34-59 (left) – Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration.
AT 34-170; 47.3323 (right): Type 3b: Glazed slip ware with monochrome decoration.

Plate 11 AT 34-14; 47.3192 –
Type 1b: Cassis fabrica, pitcher.



Plate 10. AT 34-149; 47.3262 – Type 3a: Monochrome glazed slip ware.

Plate 12 AT 34-78; 47.3198.1 –
Bronze, possible tube.



Plate 11. AT 34-14; 47.3102 –
Type 1b: Coarse fabrics, pitcher.

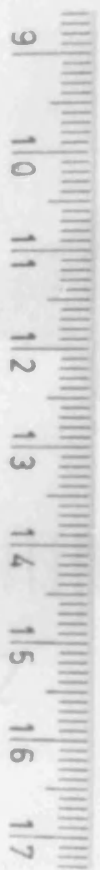


Plate 12. AT 34-78; 47.3198.1 –
Bronze, possible tube.



Plate 13. AT 34-116; 47.3197 – Bronze
finger ring, bezel incised.

Plate 15. AT 34-122; 47.3207 – Bronze binding or plate.



Plate 14. AT 34-116; 47.3197 – Bronze
finger ring, bezel incised.

Plate 16. AT 34-113; 47.3207 – Silver fragment.

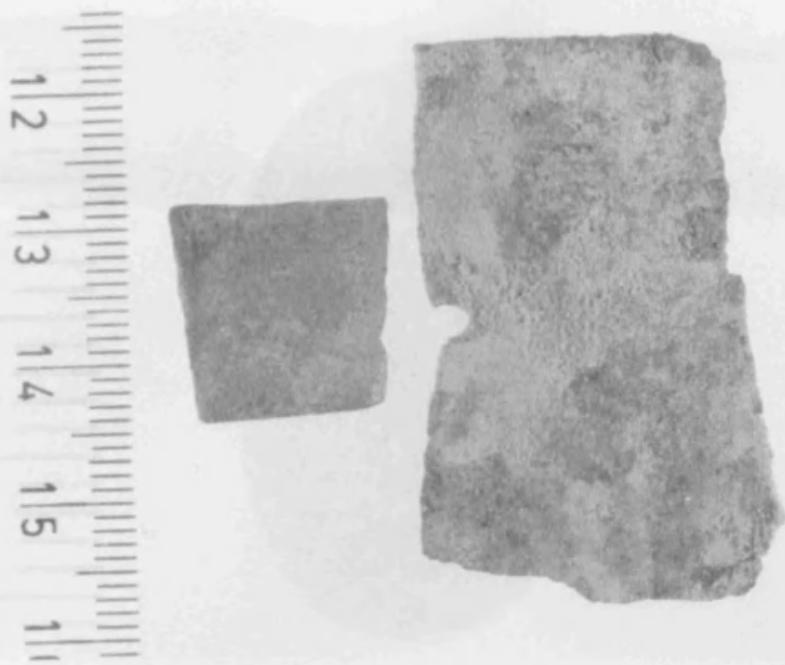


Plate 15. AT 34-122; 47.3209 – Bronze binding or plate.



Plate 16. AT 34-111; 47.3207 – Silver fragment.

Plate 18. AT 34-128; 47.3240 – Bronze ring



Plate 17. AT 34-34; 47.3202 – Stone, bezel from a ring.

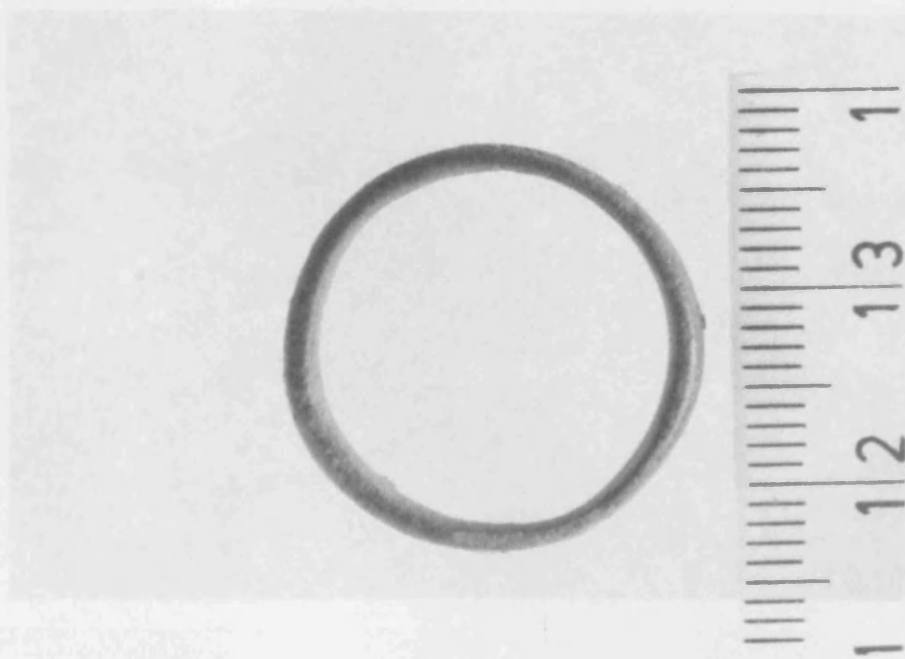


Plate 18. AT 34-128; 47.1340 – Bronze ring.



Plate 19. An unmarked burial uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 14329.



Plate 20. Unmarked burials uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 7117.



Plate 21. Unmarked burials uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA Photo archive, negative number 7115.



Plate 22. Unmarked burials uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 7277.

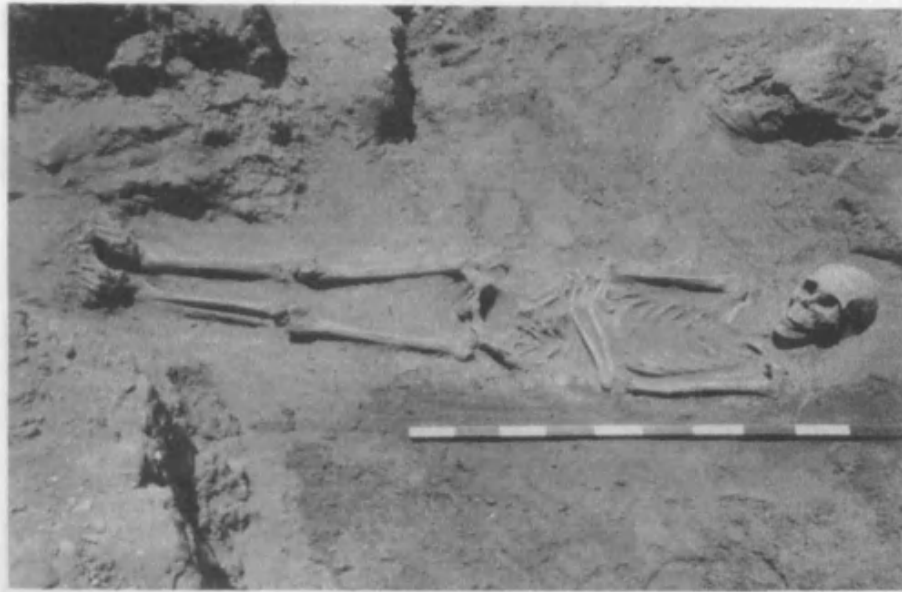


Plate 23. An unmarked burial uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 14130.



Plate 24. An unmarked burial uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 14126.



Plate 25. Unmarked burial uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. Note that the burial at the bottom of the photo appears to have been truncated by the north wall of the cemetery. IAA photo archive, negative number 14016.



Plate 26. Unmarked burial uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 14011.



Plate 27. Unmarked burials uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 7774.



Plate 28. Unmarked burials uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 7114.



Plate 29. Unmarked burials uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 7609.



Plate 30. An unmarked burial uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 7120.



Plate 31. A view of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit following the 1934 excavation season. This photo was taken from the north-western corner of the cemetery looking towards Pilgrims' Castle. IAA photo archive, negative number 7902.

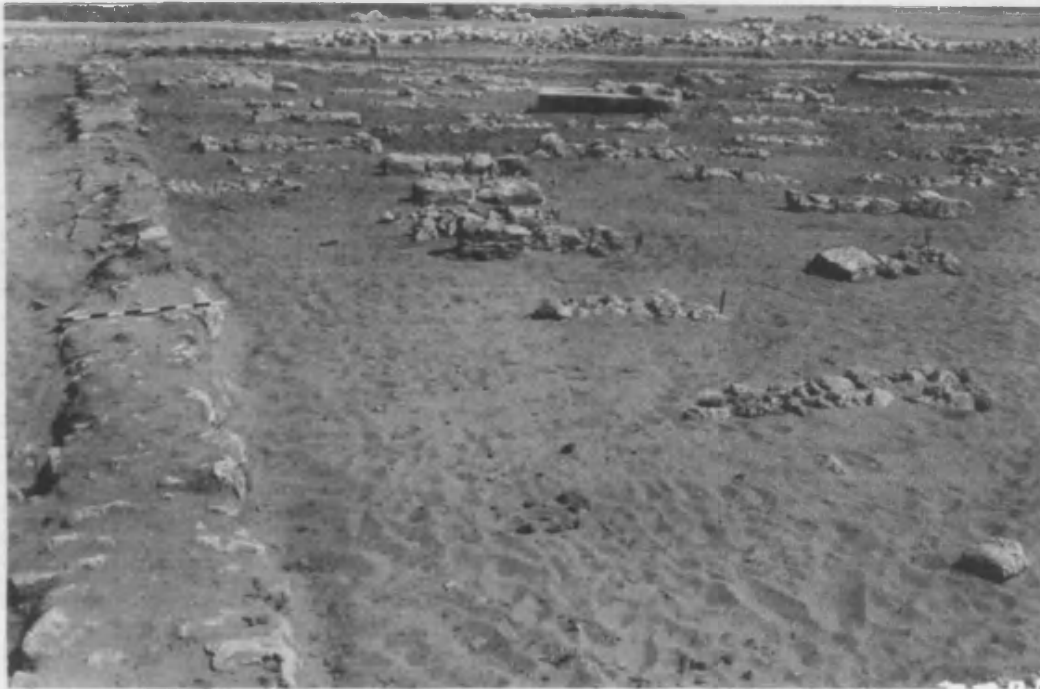


Plate 32. A view of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit during the 1934 excavation season, looking along the northern wall of the cemetery. IAA photo archive, negative number 7781.



Plate 33. View of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit during the 1934 excavation season. This photo was taken from the south-west corner of the cemetery, looking towards Khirbet Dustrey in the top right of the photo. IAA photo archive, negative number 7775.



Plate 34. Unmarked burials uncovered during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. Note the pottery found beside the skeleton on the far left of the photo. IAA photo archive, negative number 14014.

negative number 14014



Plate 35. Tombs in the middle of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, at the end of the 1934 excavation season. Note the two tombs, one in the middle of the photo and the other on the far left, which have been recovered with plaster. IAA photo archive, negative number 9045.



Plate 36. Tombs in the middle of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, at the end of the 1934 excavation season. Note that the replastered tomb at the top right of this photo is the same tomb as the one on the far left of plate ... above. IAA photo archive, negative number 9050.

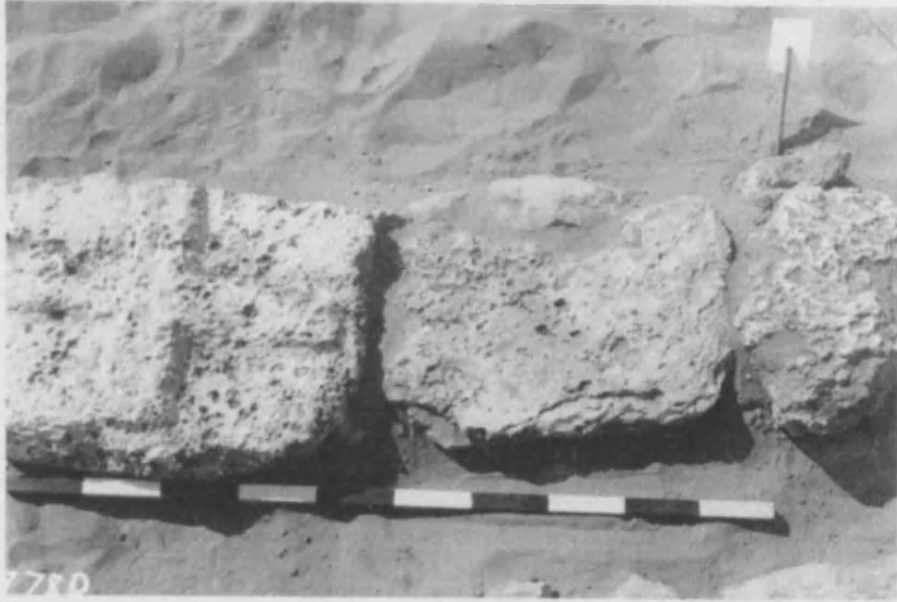


Plate 37. Slab tomb with a cross carved in relief. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo was taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7780.



Plate 38. Slab tomb with a cross carved in relief. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo was taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7682.



Plate 39. Possible slab tomb. Crusader cemetery, Atlit. Photo was taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7612.



Plate 40. The tomb at the top of the photo is a boulder-covered tomb, while the middle tomb appears to be the base for a larger tomb, with plaster remains on the surface. At the bottom of the photo is a small tomb slab, with an incised cross at the head. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Taken by C.N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7773.



Plate 41. Slab tomb with an incised cross. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 9042.



Plate 42. Slab tomb (left) with a large incised cross, now broken into three pieces. On the right is a flat plaster-covered tomb. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7767.



Plate 43. Three slab tombs, as photographed by C. N. Johns in 1934. The bottom tomb is the foundation of a slab tomb, with a piece of a slab lying on top of it. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 14010.



Plate 44. Slab tomb, with at least two incised crosses. Crusader cemetery, Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 9014.



Plate 45 (left). Slab tomb, same as seen in plate 44. Note the incised cross on the side of the slab. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 9052.



Plate 46 (right). Slab tomb, with large cross in relief. The shaft of the cross is in the form of a sword. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7121.

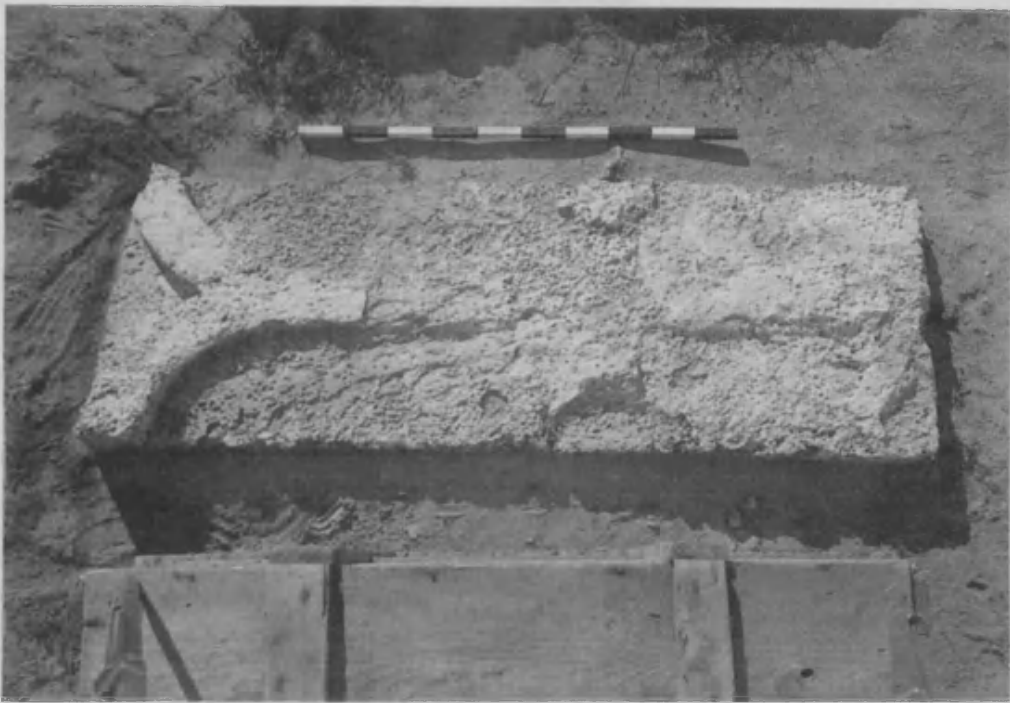


Plate 47. The "Anchor tomb". Sb 2.2 – Type 1: Slab tomb. Photo taken by C. N. Johns, 1934. PEF/P/CNJ Atlit Ant. Figure 50.

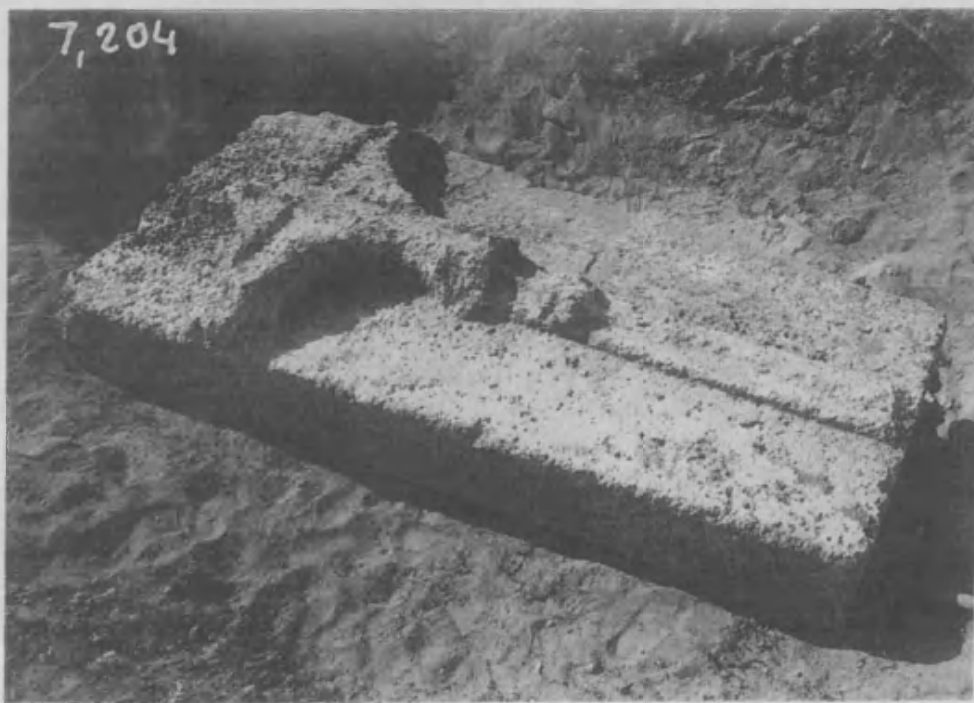


Plate 48. Sb 11.1 – Type 1: Slab tomb. PEF/P/CNJ Atlit Ant. Figure 56.



Plate 49. Sb 4.2 – Type 1: Slab tomb. PEF/P/CNJ Atlit Ant. Figure 55.

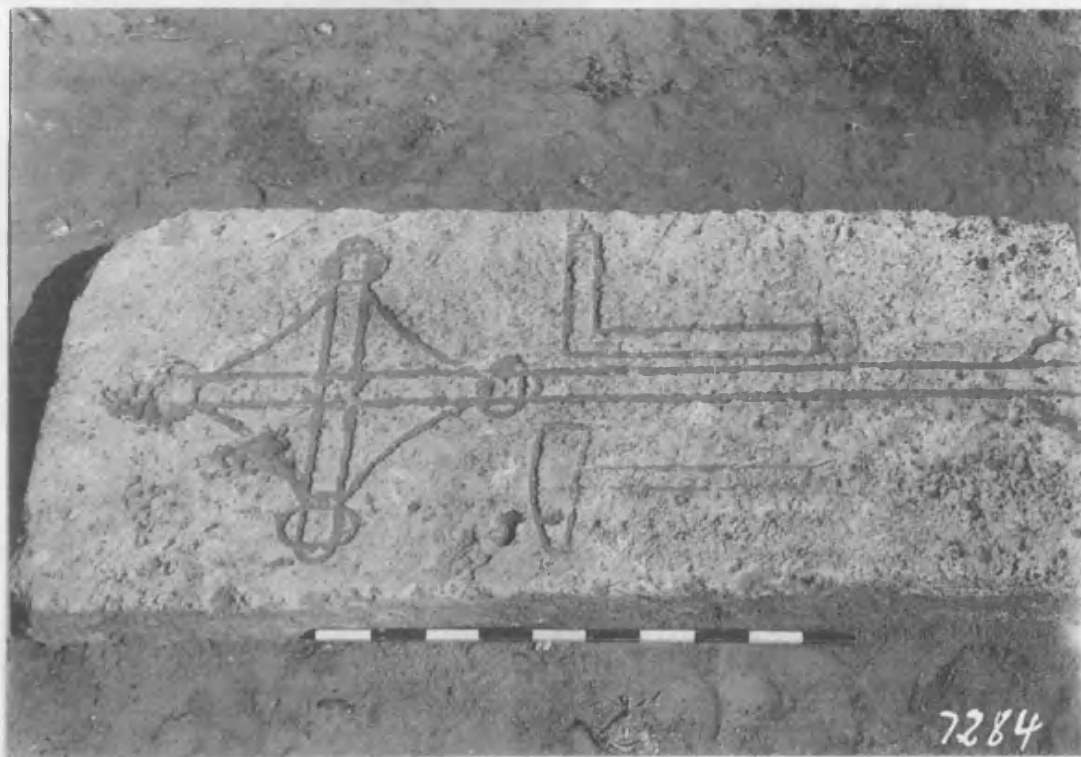


Plate 50. The “Mason’s tomb”. Currently housed in the Rockefeller Museum, Jerusalem. PEF/P/CNJ Atlit Ant. Figure 53.



Plate 51. Crossbow tomb.
Type 2: tomb with an
upstanding stone at the head
and/or foot. Photo taken by
C. N. Johns, 1934. IAA
photo archive, negative
number 9000.



Plate 52. Type 2: Tomb
with an upstanding stone at
the head and/or foot. Photo
taken by C. N. Johns, 1934.
IAA photo archive, negative
number 8999.



Plate 53. Boulder-covered tomb, as excavated in 1934. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 7280.



Plate 54. Cobble and boulder-covered tomb (left foreground), flat and probably plaster-covered tomb (middle foreground), and cobble and boulder-covered tomb (right foreground), as excavated in 1934. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. IAA photo archive, negative number 8960.



Plate 55. Plaster-covered tomb, with broken remains of plaster on top of the tomb. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns, 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7282.



Plate 56. Plaster-covered tomb, with broken remains of plaster on top of the tomb. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns, 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 7281.

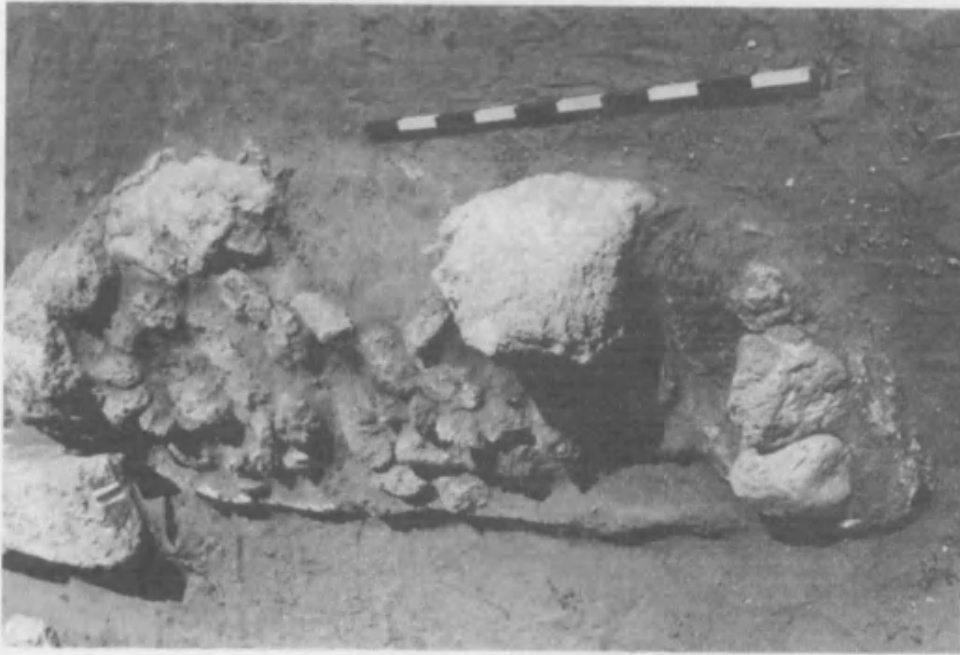


Plate 57. Cobble and boulder-covered tomb. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns, 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 8962.



Plate 58. The tomb on the right appears to be a tomb with an upstanding stone at either the foot or head, and the middle tomb is a cobble-covered plaster tomb. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns, 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 9047.

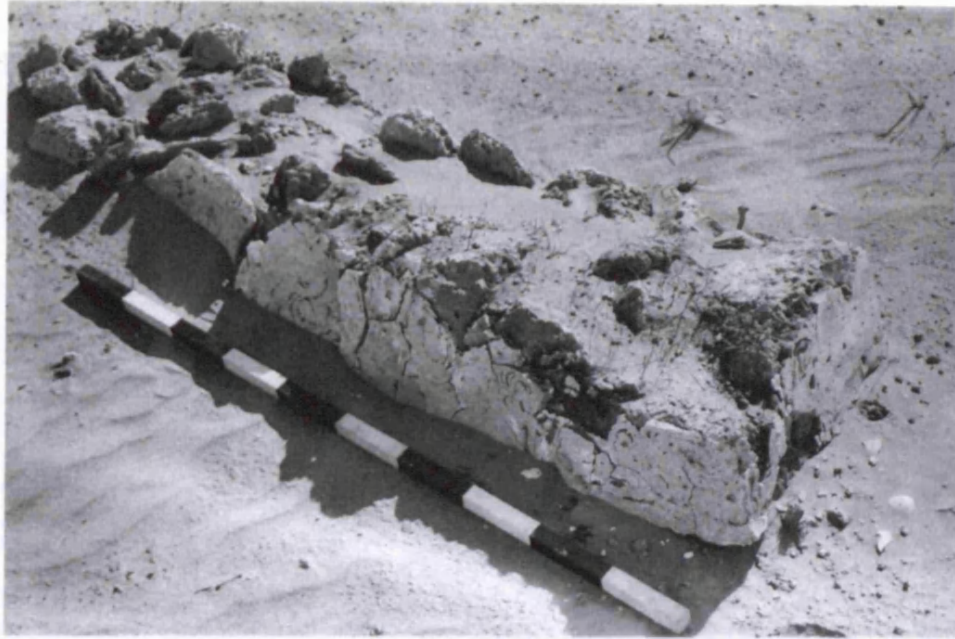


Plate 59. Plastered cobble-covered tomb. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit. Photo taken by C. N. Johns, 1934. IAA photo archive, negative number 9001.



Plate 60. The Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit as it appeared in 2004, looking south-east.



Plate 61. Simple 4-row tomb, with plaster base and plaster between the stones.
Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit.



Plate 62. Simple row tombs along the north wall of the Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit.



Plate 63. Flat plaster-covered tomb. Note the vegetation that covers the tomb. Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit, 2004 survey.



Plate 64. Looking towards the east wall of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit.



Plate 65. The northeast corner of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, with Haifa in the background.

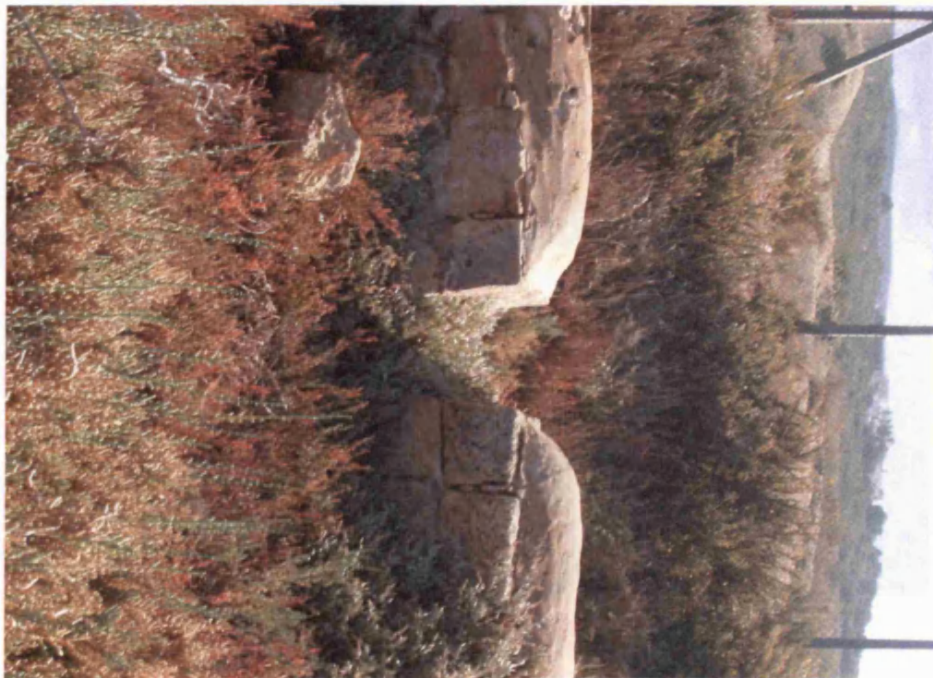


Plate 66. A break in the south wall of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit. Bird tentatively identified this as the main entrance to the cemetery.



Plate 67. G1, an unclassifiable tomb. Note that the hole runs through the stone.



Plate 68. G3, Type 1: Slab tomb.



Plate 69. G5, a stone that was possible used to mix plaster. IAA photo archive, negative number 7681.

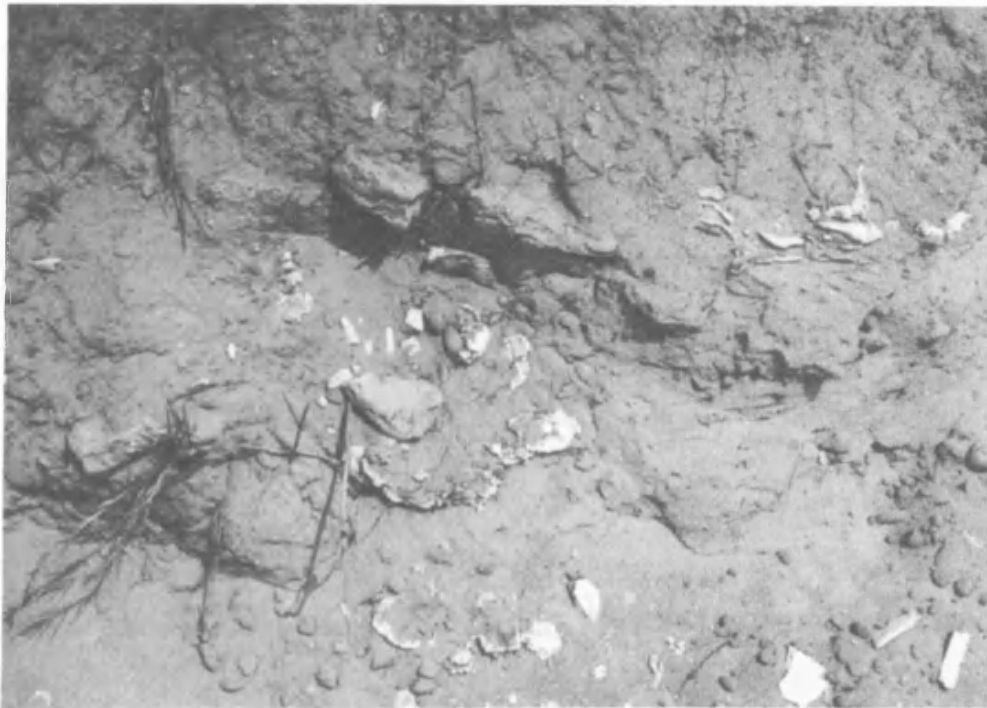


Plate 70. Remains of a skeleton that was found eroding out of the sand in the north-west corner of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, 2004.

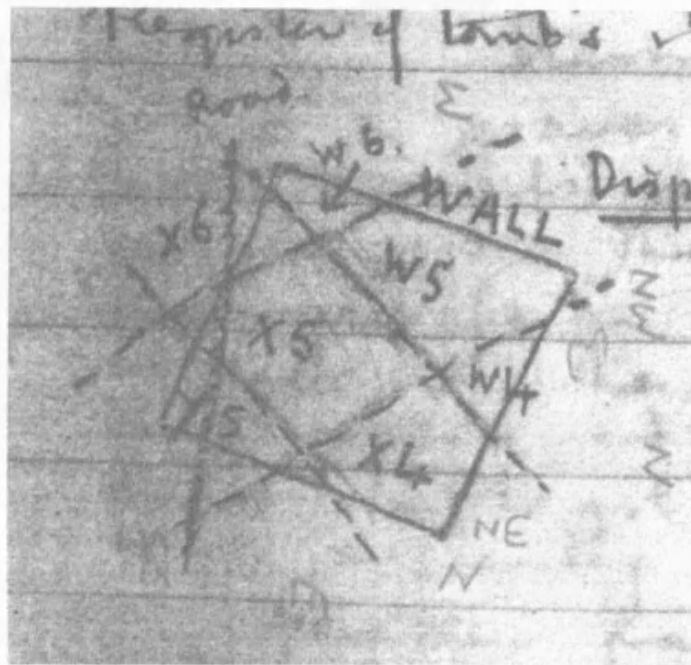


Plate 71. A drawing of the squares laid out during the 1934 excavation of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit (Bird 1934: 10).

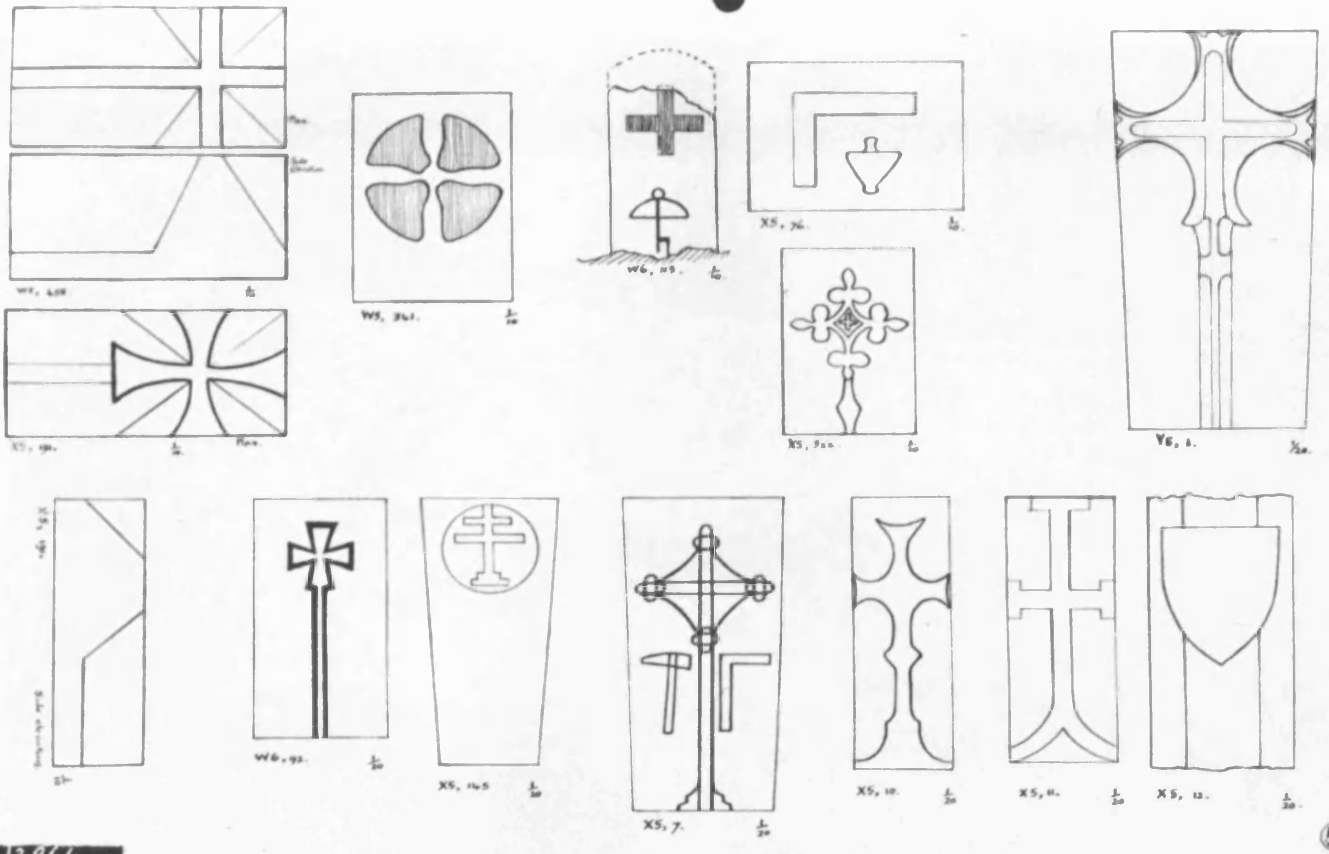


C.N.J. 437

Plate 72. Plan of 'Atlit, as drawn by C. N. Johns in 1937 (PEF/P/CNJ/Aerial Sketch).



Plate 73. An aerial view of the Crusader cemetery at 'Atlit, taken following the 1934 excavation of the site (PEF/P/CNJ Atlit/ Aerial photograph).



12.964

Plate 74. Drawings of the carved decorations on the slab and upstanding stone tombs, by C. N. Johns, based on drawings by H. E. Bird (PEF/P/CNJ Atlit/12.964 – tomb slab decorations).

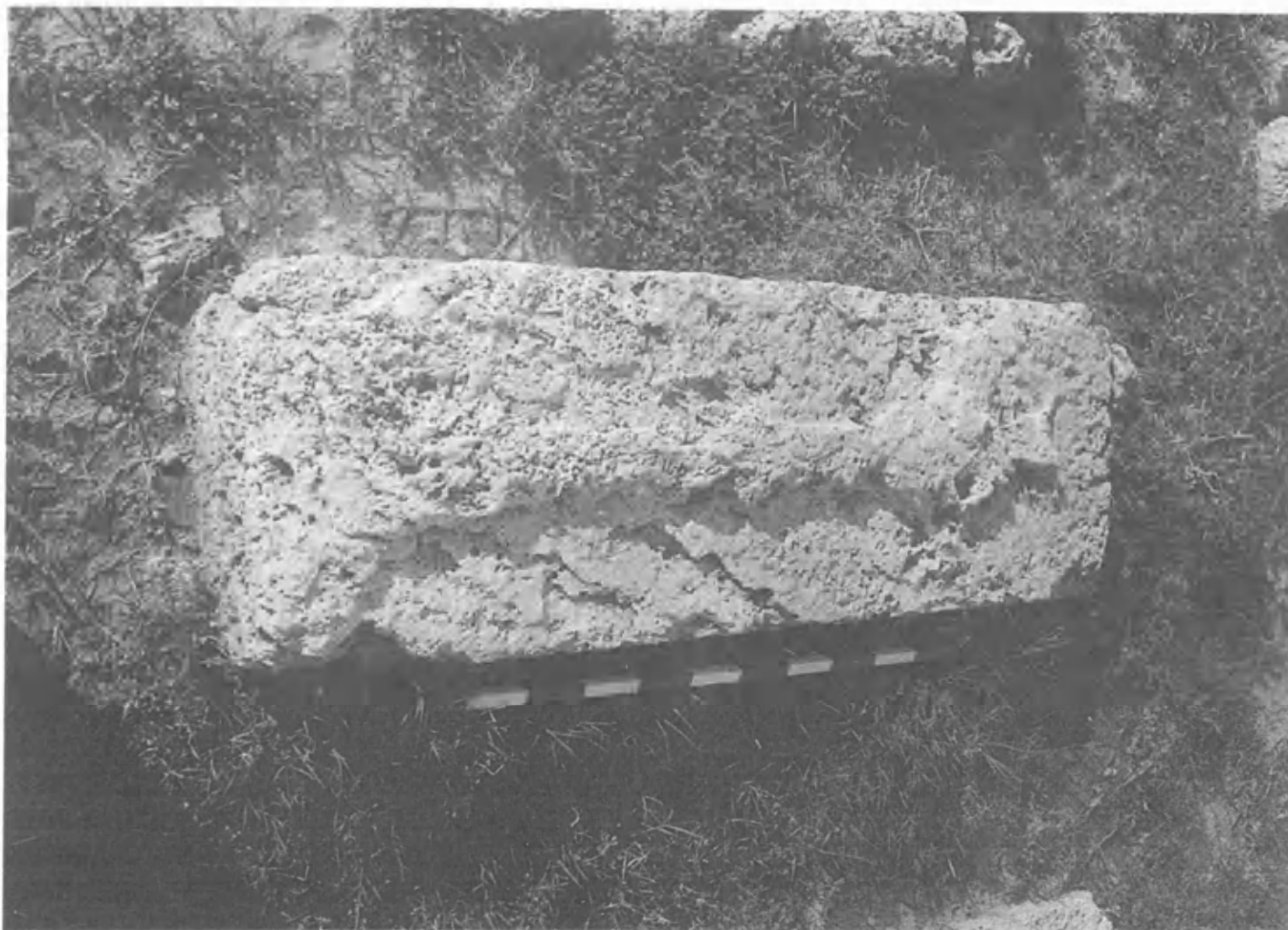
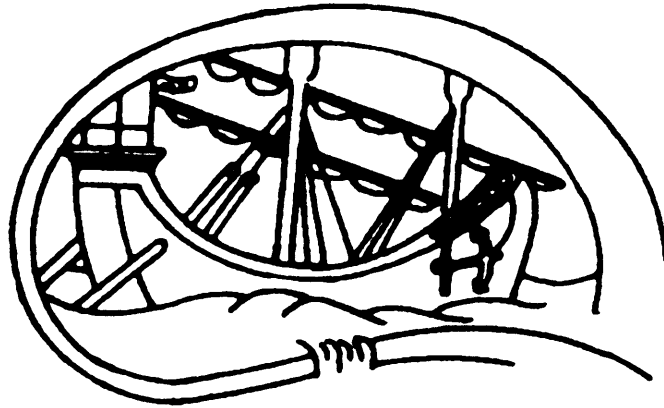


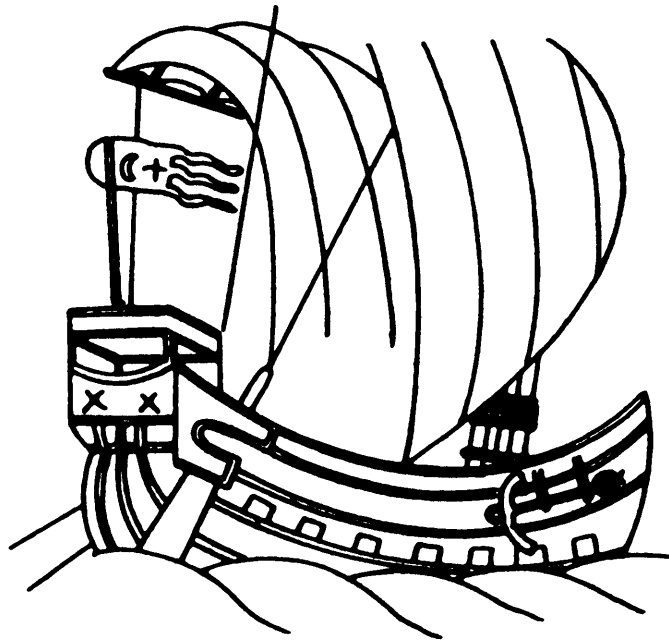
Plate 75 – This is a photo of a second potential “Anchor” tomb, though it is much more deteriorated than the tomb in plate 47. Photo taken by C. N. Johns in 1934. PEF/P/CNJ 12.369.

Venetian and Pisan



I – *Capitolarium nauticum pro navis*

Plate 76 – Depiction of a medieval Venetian or Pisan ship. Note the anchor on the side of the ship (Pryor 1984: 173).



G – S. Isidoro

Plate 77 - Depiction of a medieval Venetian ship. Note the anchor on the side of the ship (Pryor 1984: 172).



Plate 78 – Group C tool, belonging to the Etruscan-Anatolio-Armenian tradition of stonemasonry. Note that one end has teeth and the other is a chisel. Alternatively, tools of this tradition can also be found with a straight edge, rather than a toothed-edge (Kalayan 1968: 14).

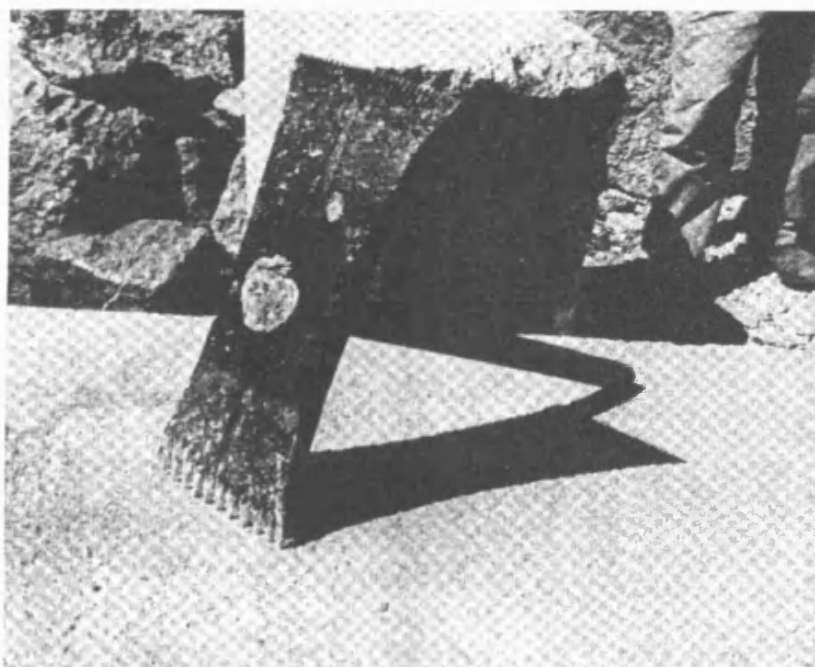


Plate 79 – Group A tool, called a 'Shahouta'. Note the handle of the tool is perpendicular to the plane of the cutting edge (Kalayan 1968: 3).

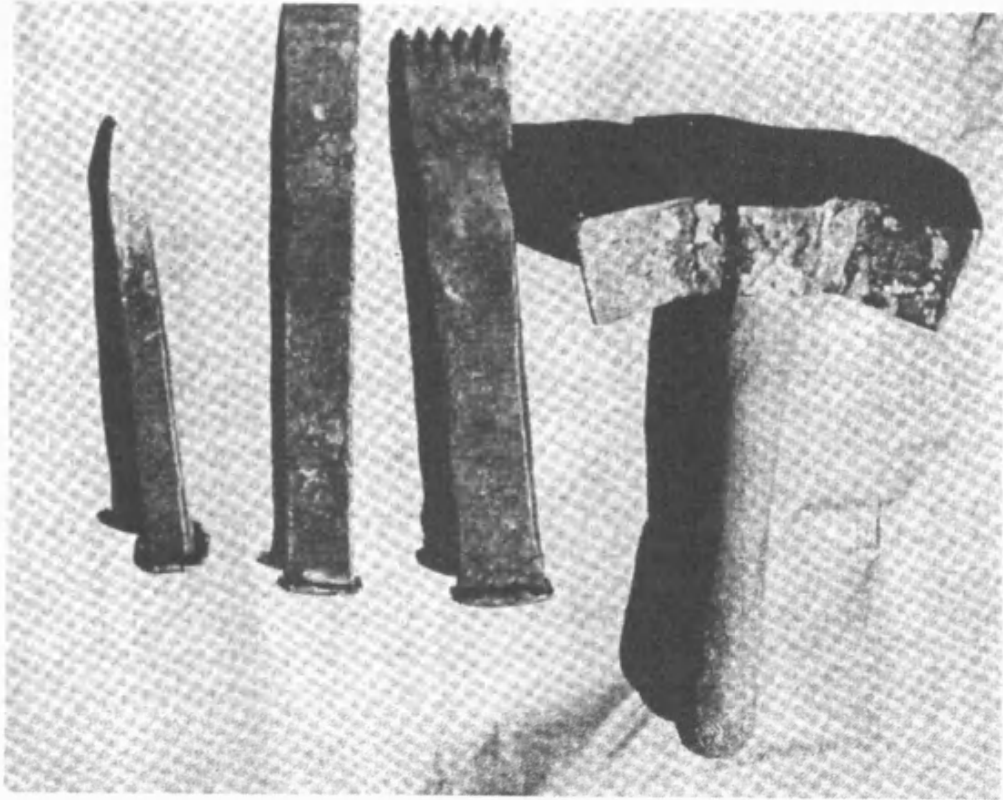
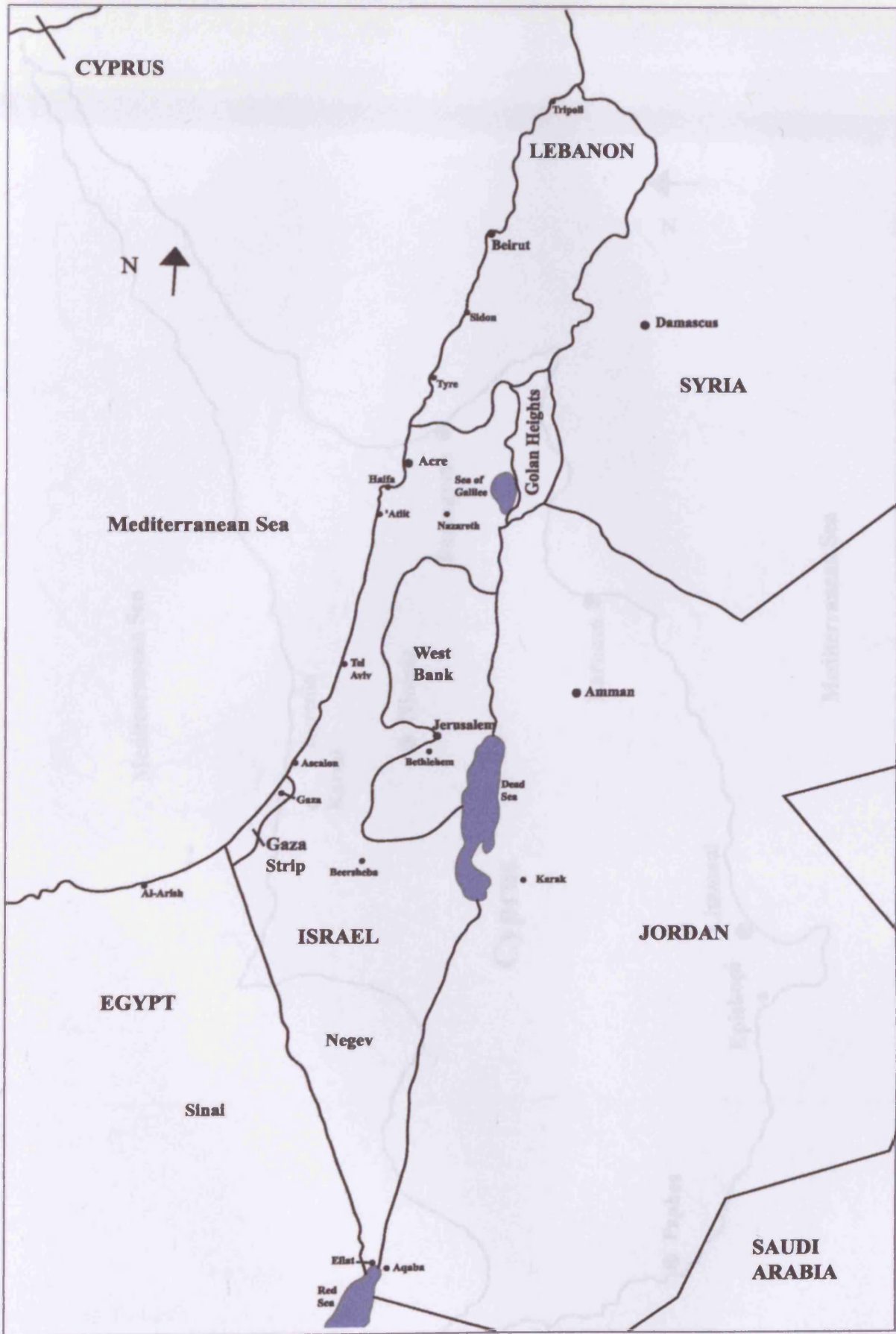


Plate 80 – Type B tools, chisels and hammer (Kalayan 1968: 8).

Appendix 4

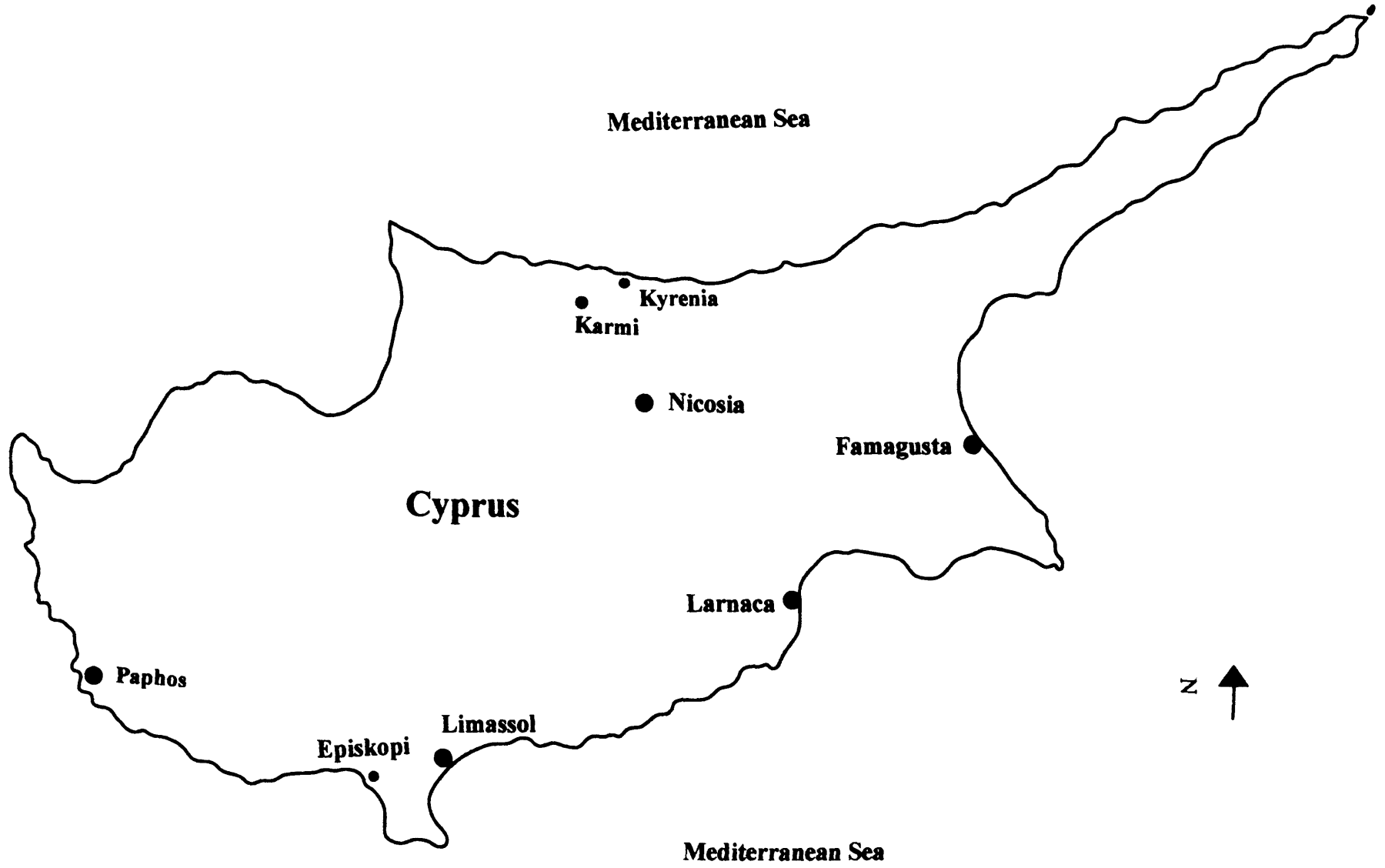
Maps

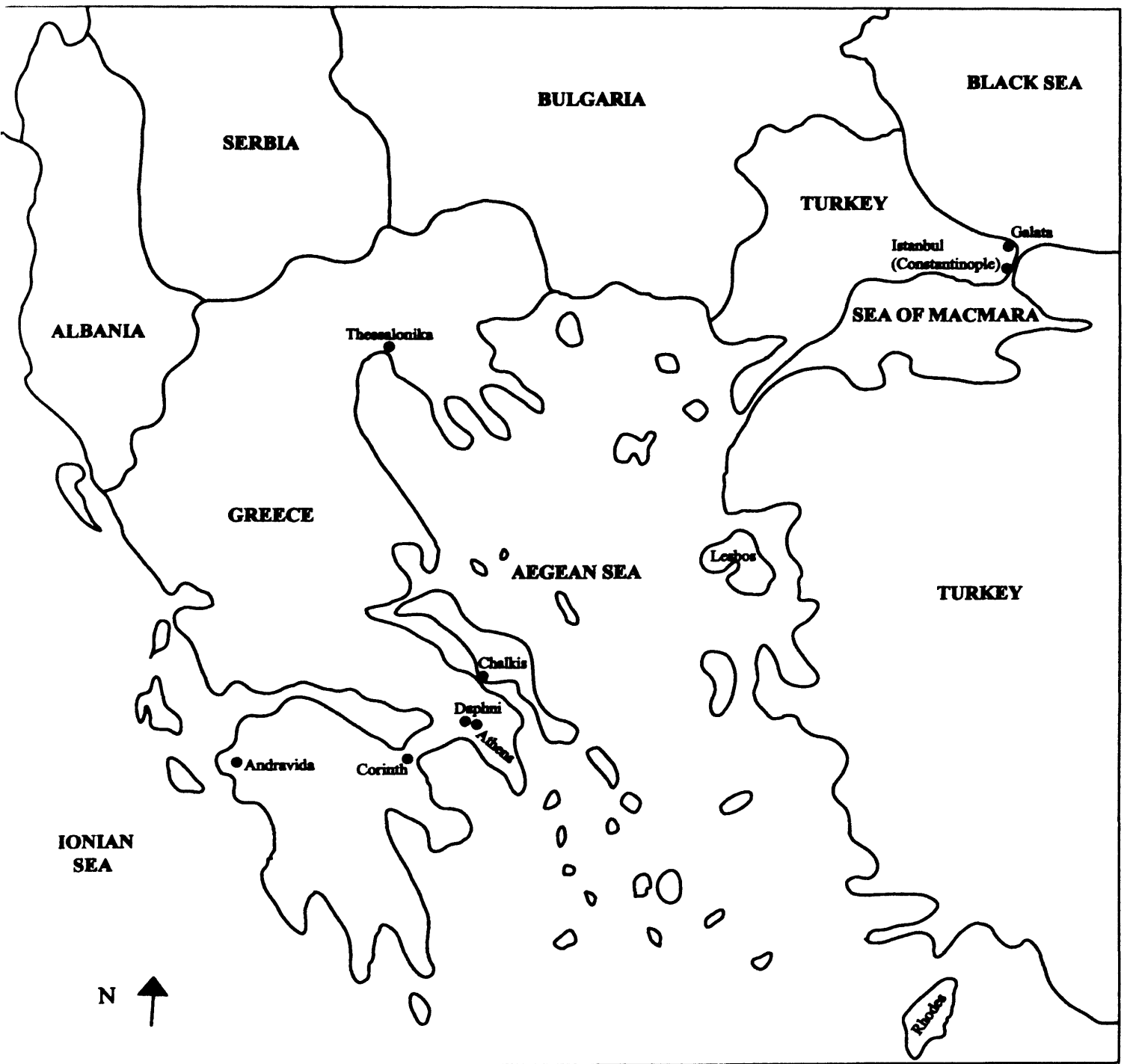


Map 1 - Map of the Near East

Map 2 - Map of Cyprus

Map 2 - Map of Cyprus

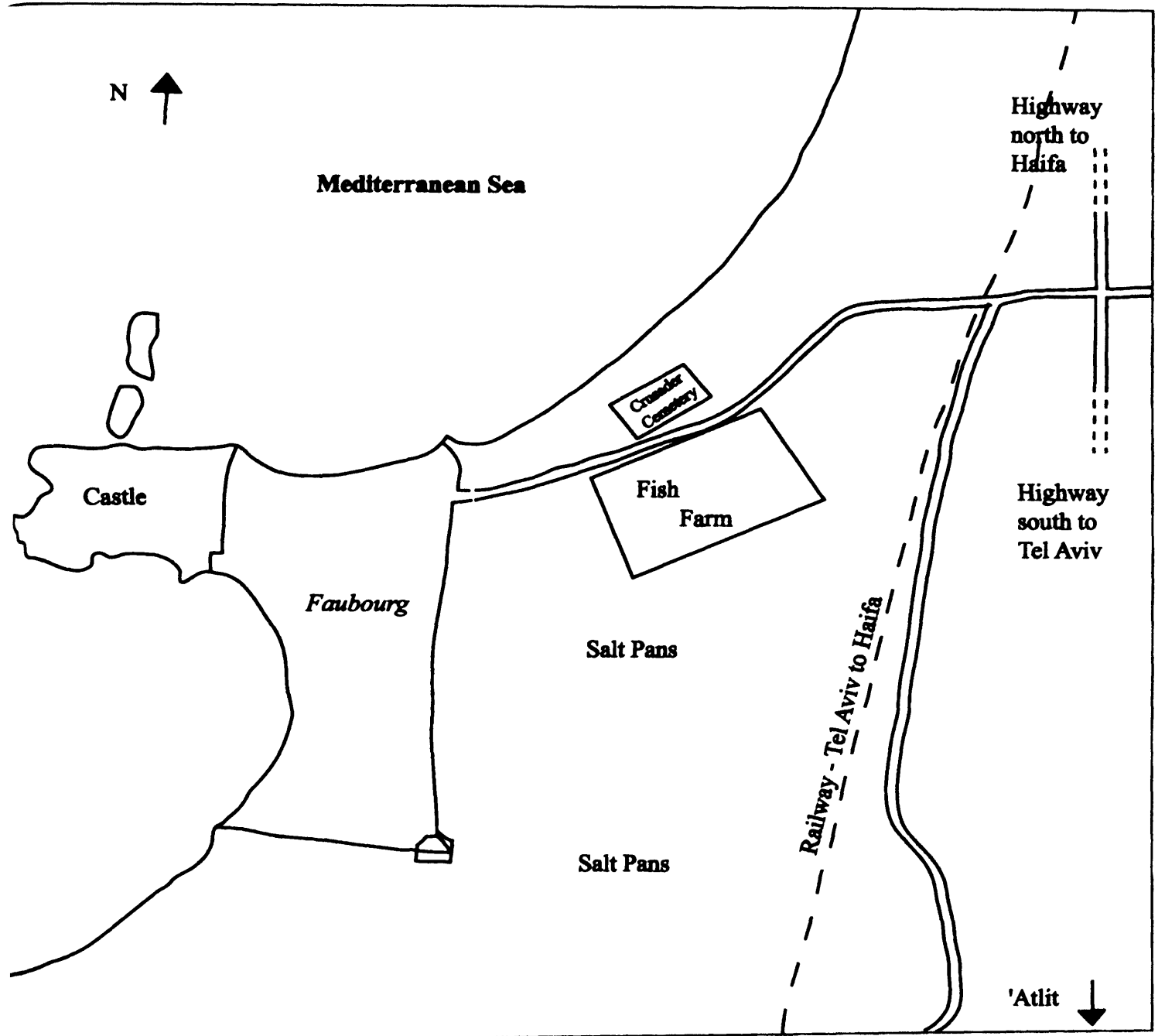




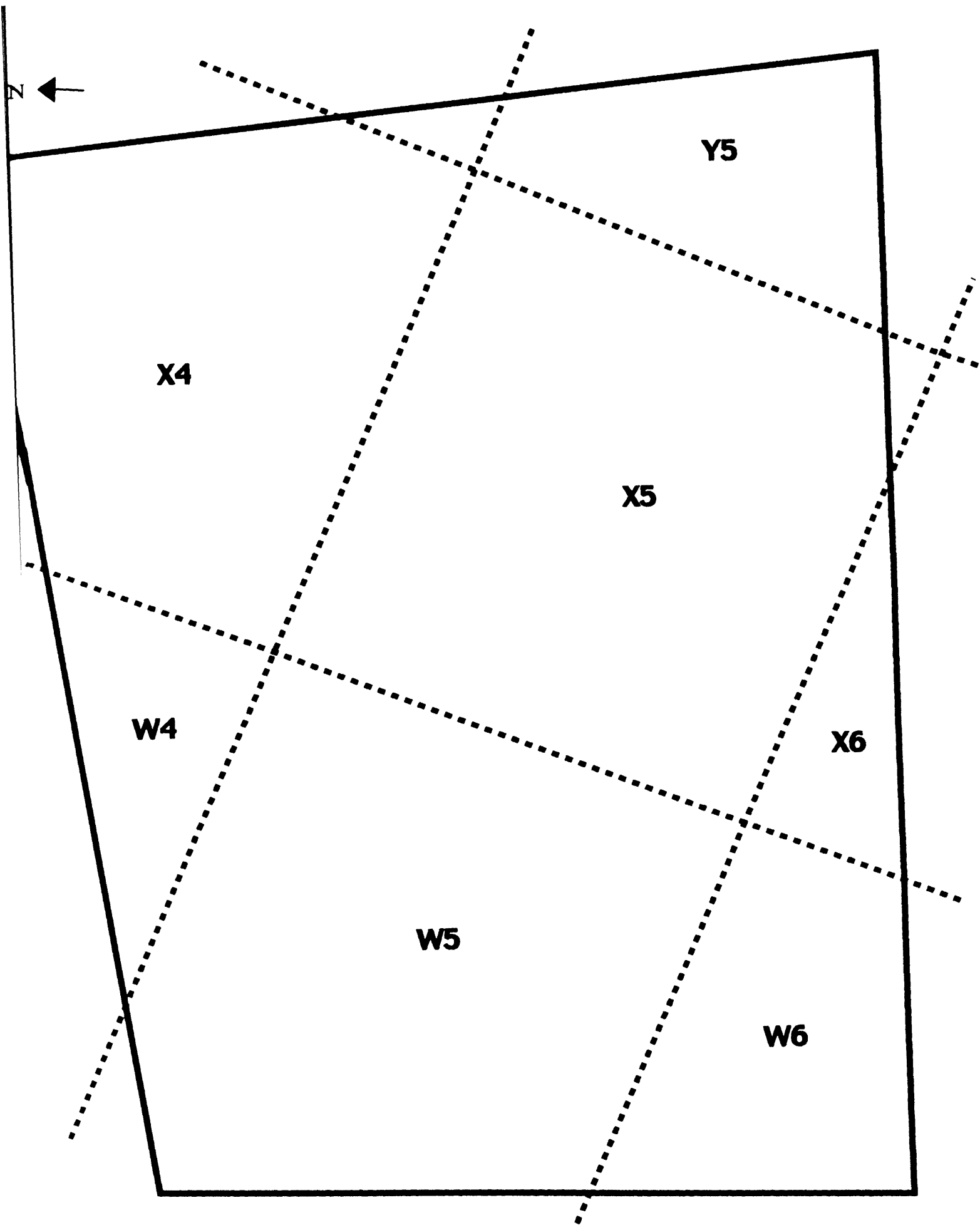
Map 3 - Greece and Turkey



Map 4 - Israel

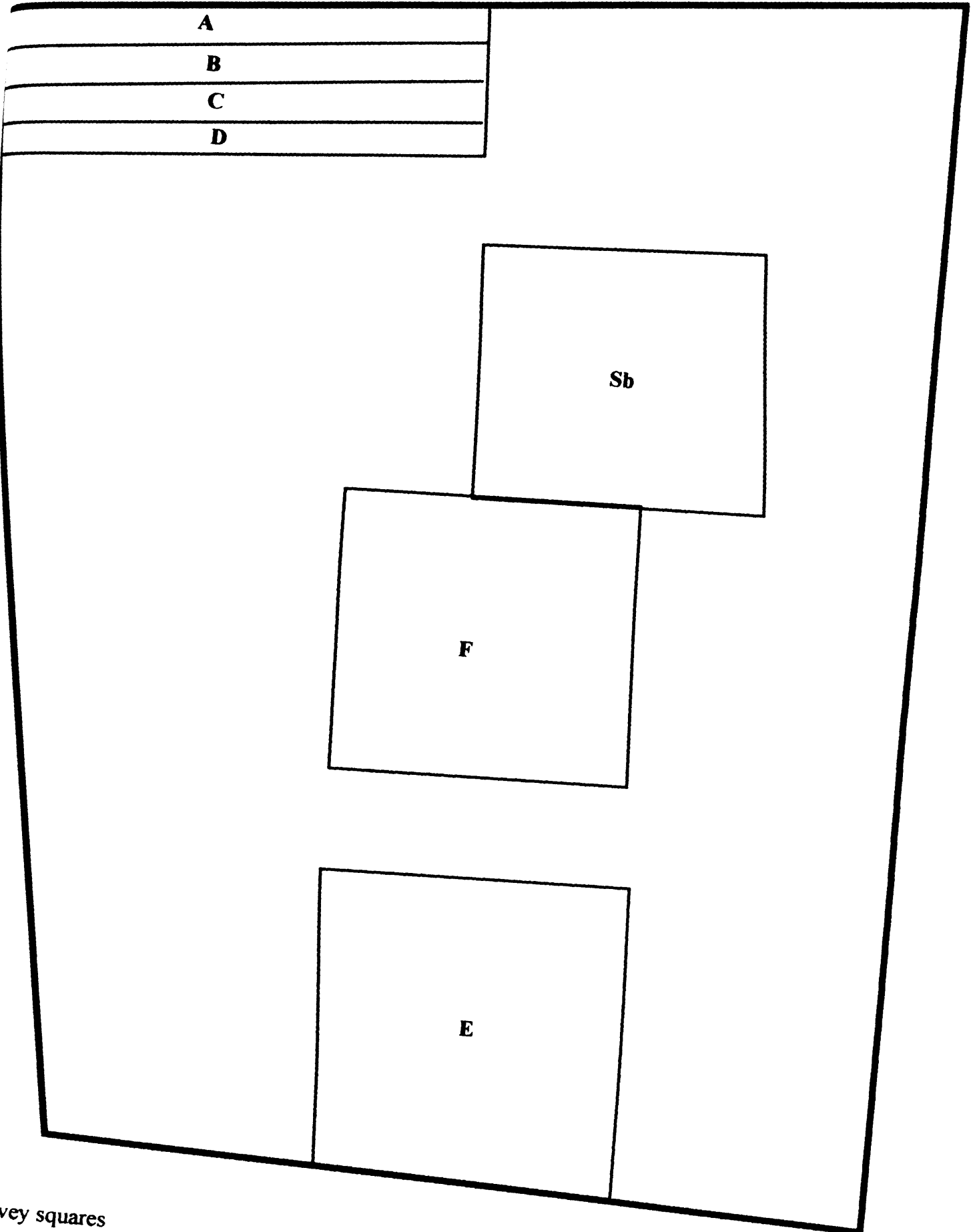


Map 5 - Location map of Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit, Israel. Not to scale.

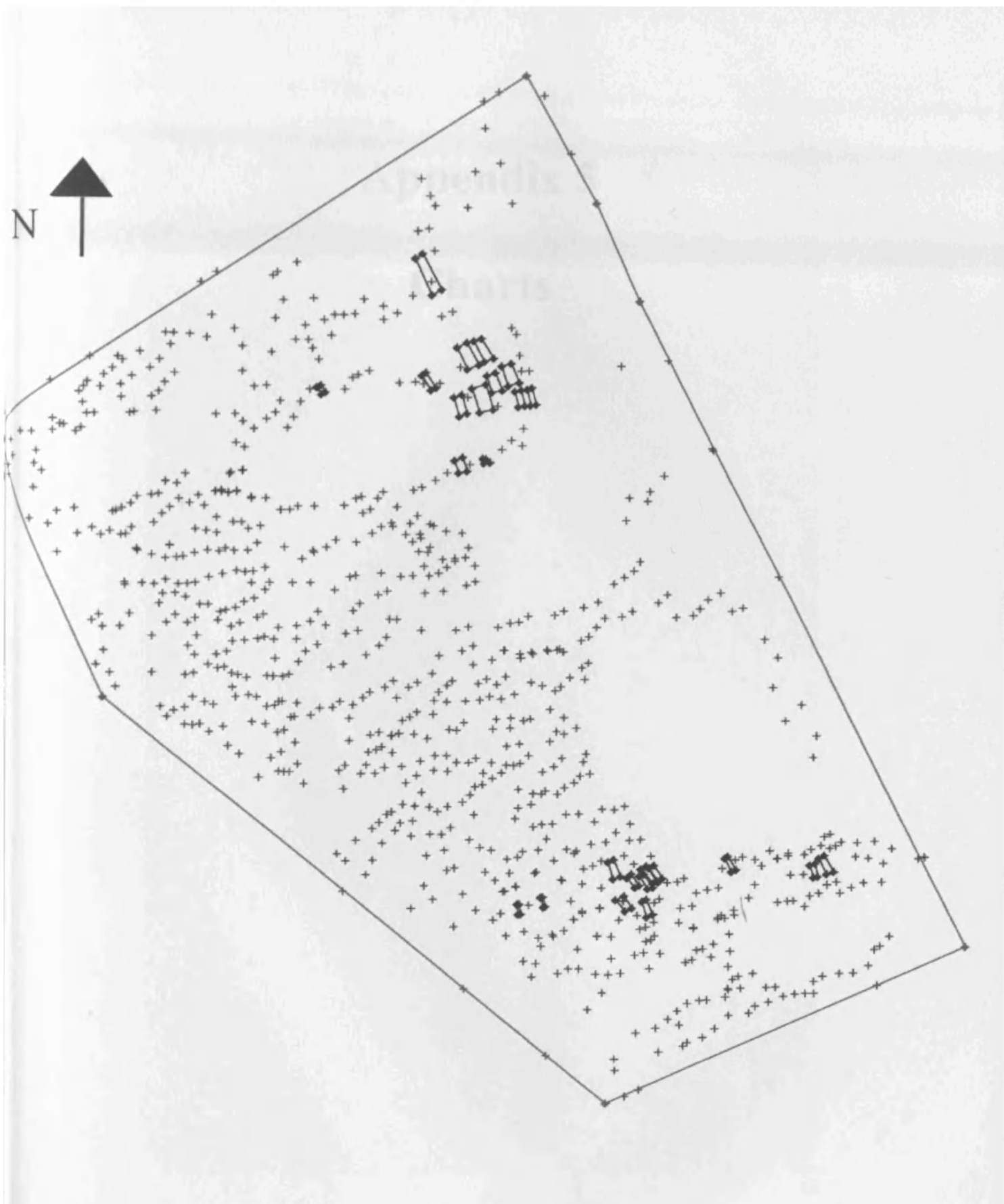


6 - Plan of the 1934 excavation squares, based on a drawing by H. E. Bird (1934):

T



7-2004 survey squares



Map 8 - Location of tombs within the Crusader cemetery, 'Atlit, Israel

Appendix 5

Charts

Chart 1 - Tomb Types in Area A

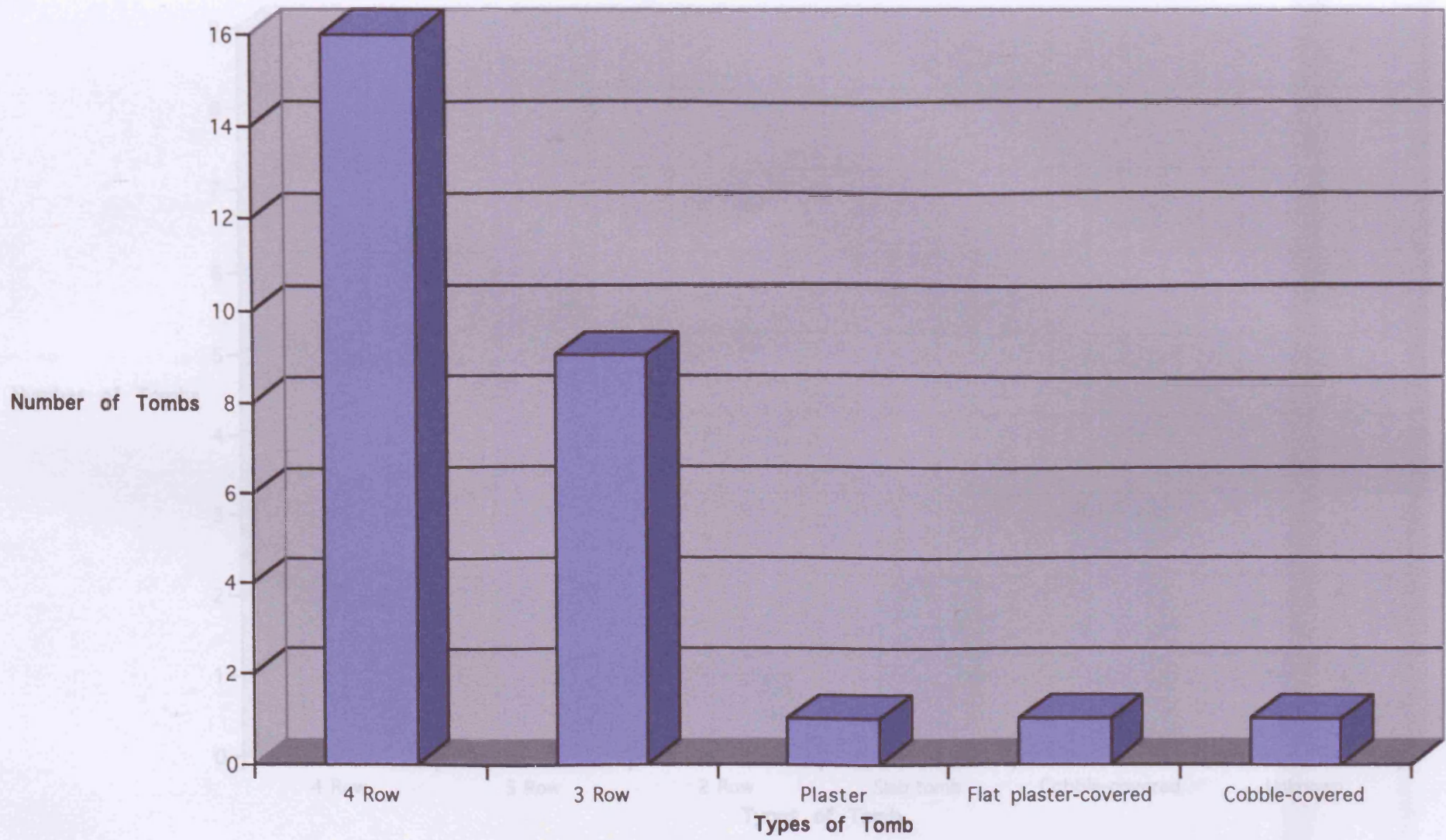


Chart 2 - Tomb Types in Area B

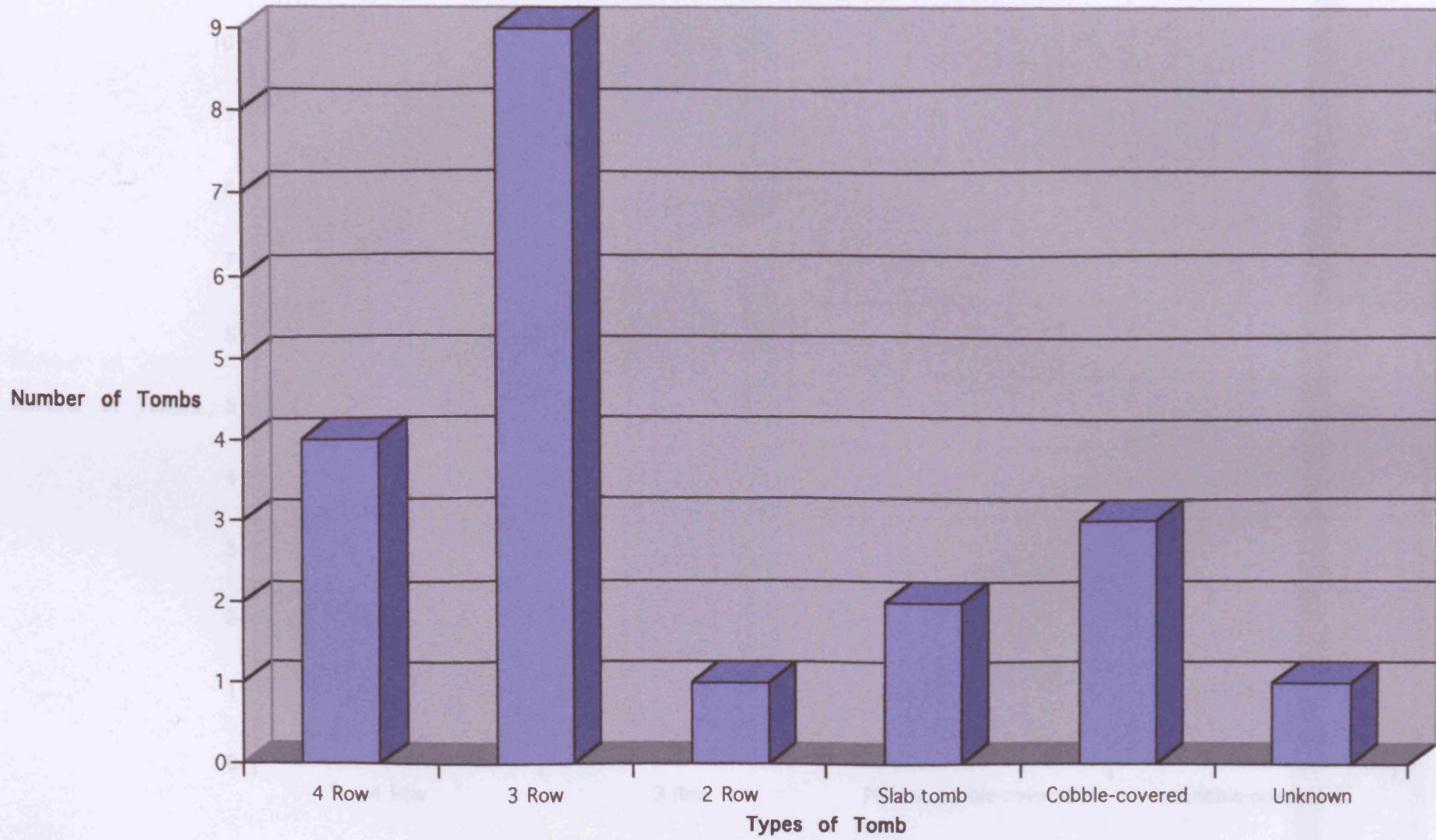


Chart 3 - Tomb Types in Area C

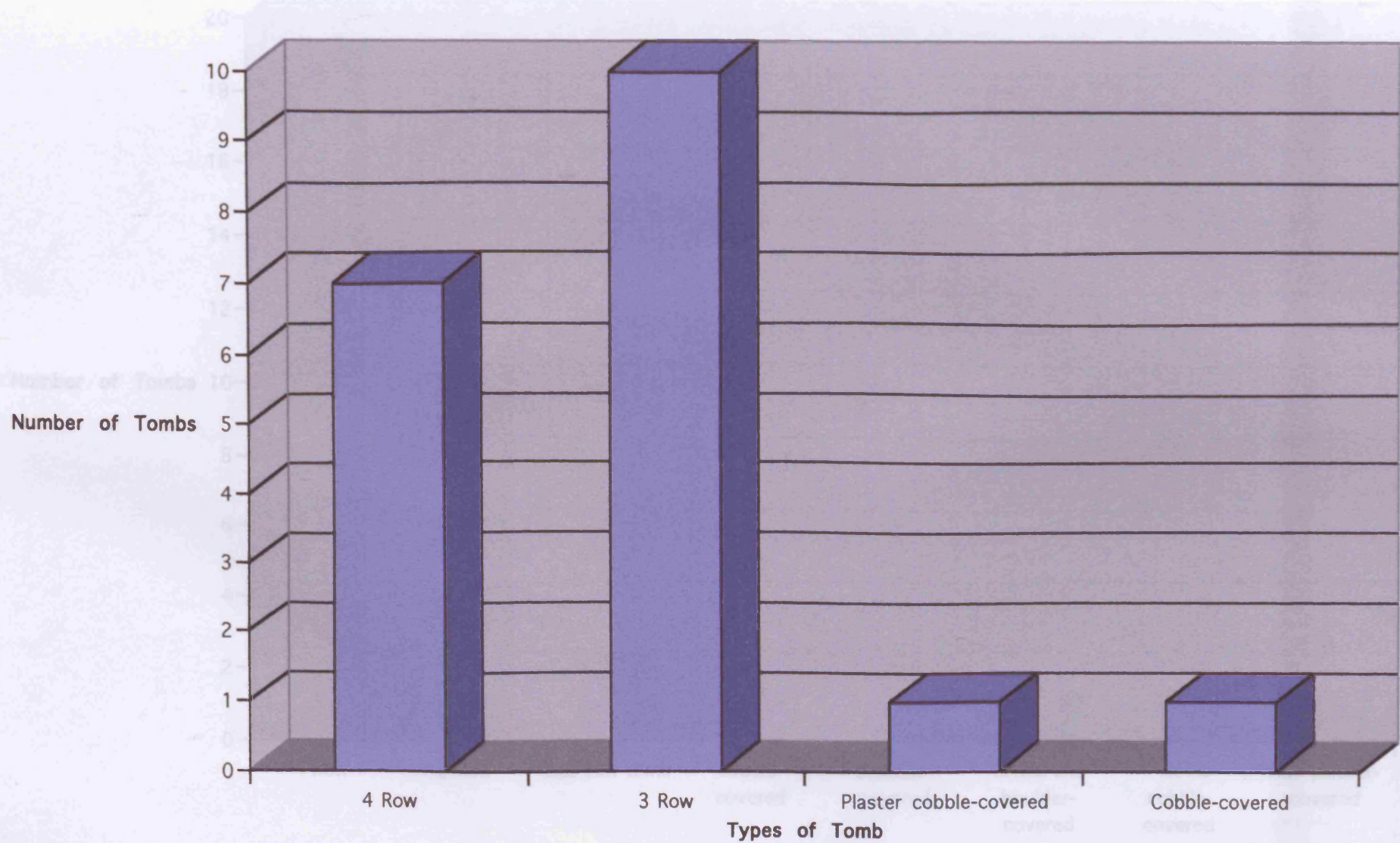


Chart 4 - Tomb Types in Area D

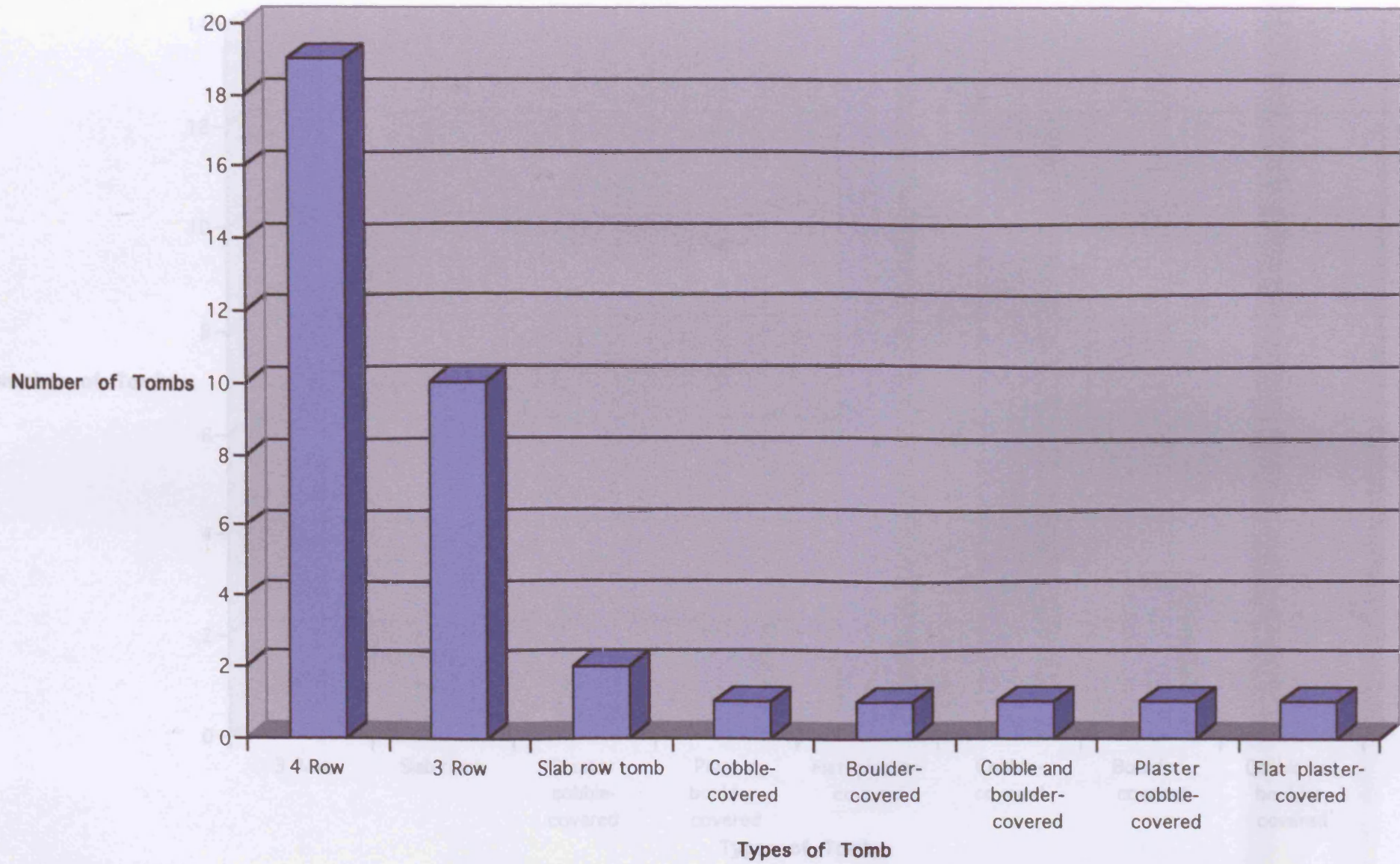


Chart 5 - Tomb Types in Area E

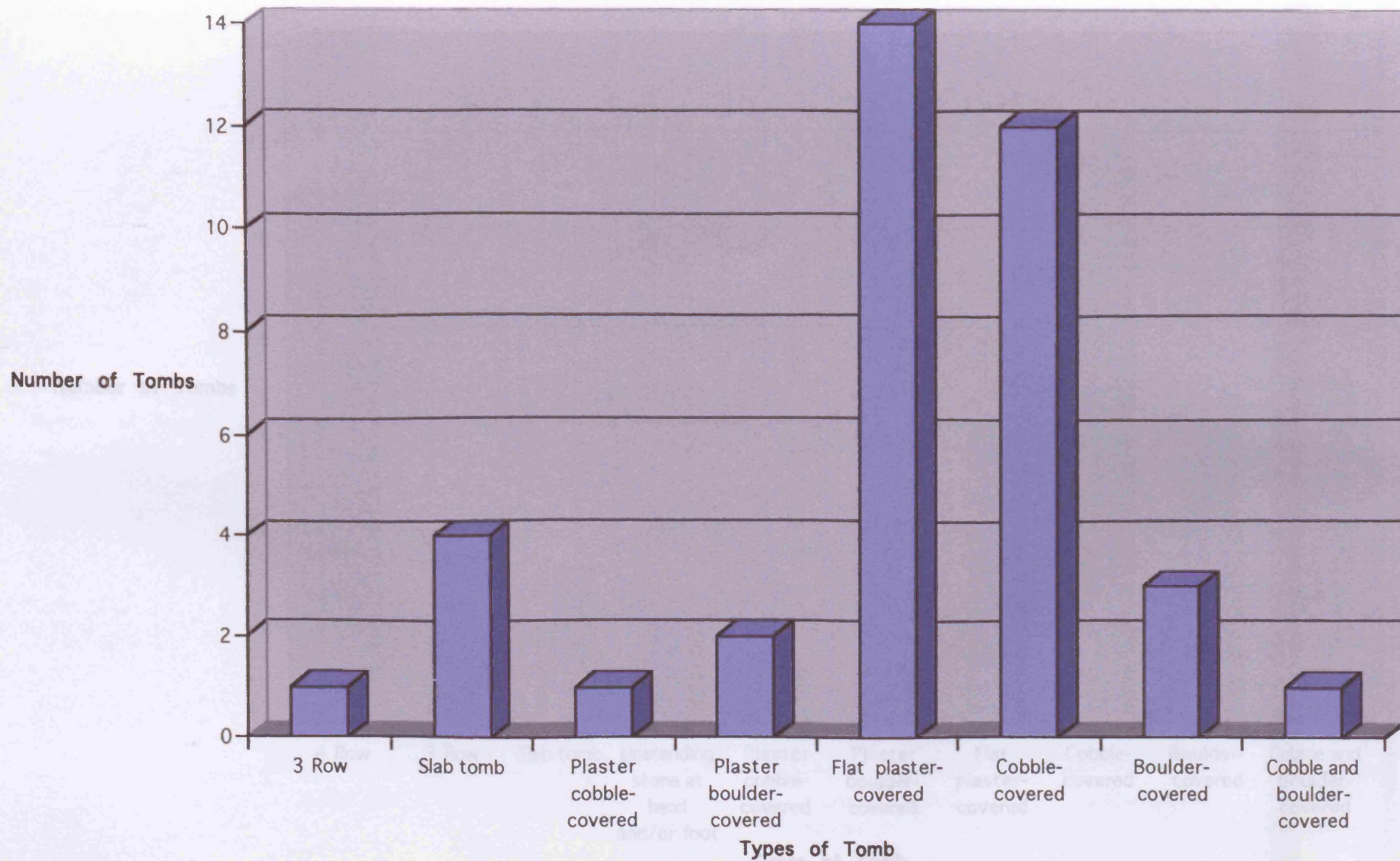


Chart 6 - Tomb Types in Area F

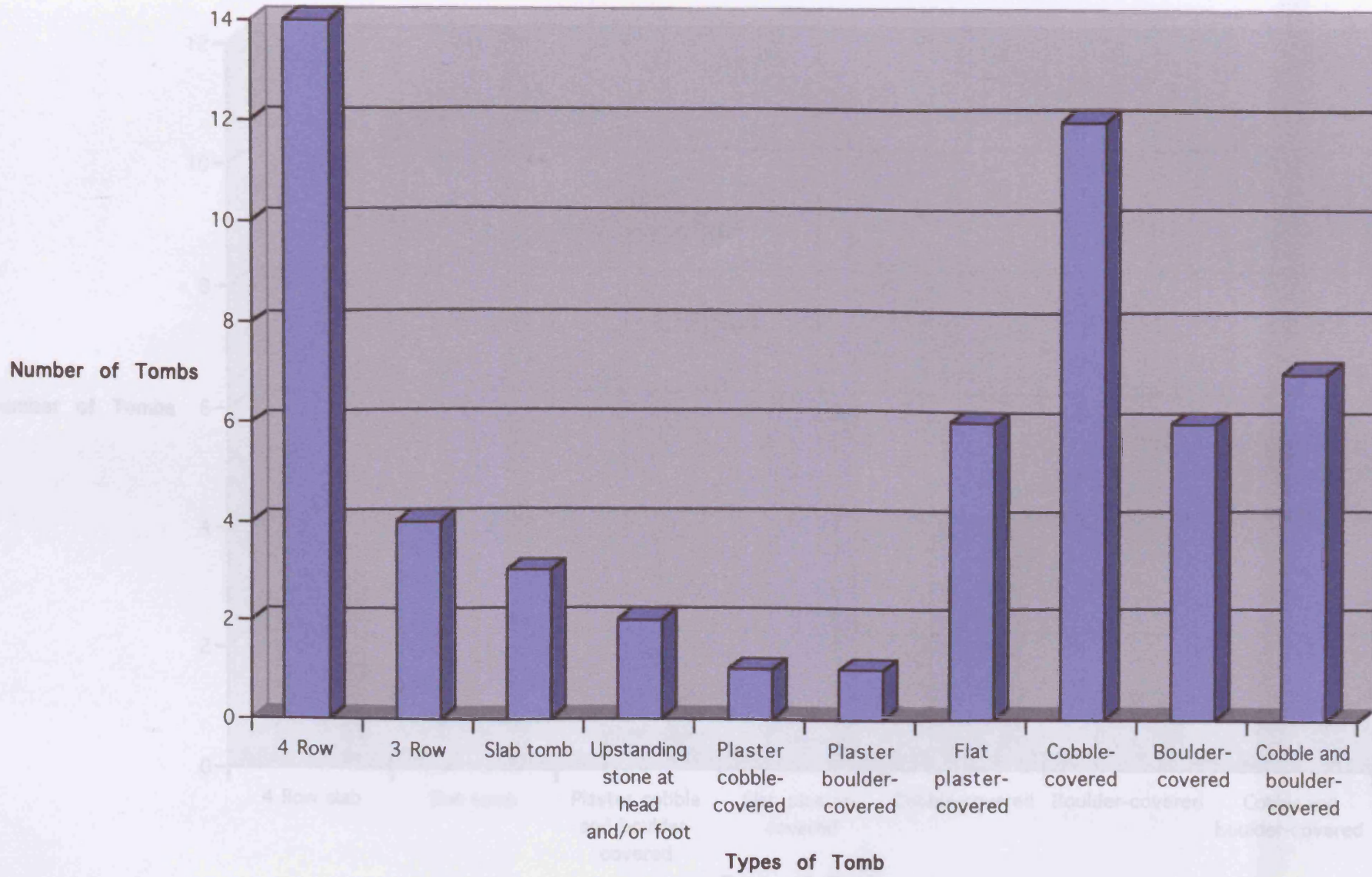


Chart 7 - Tomb Types in Area Sb

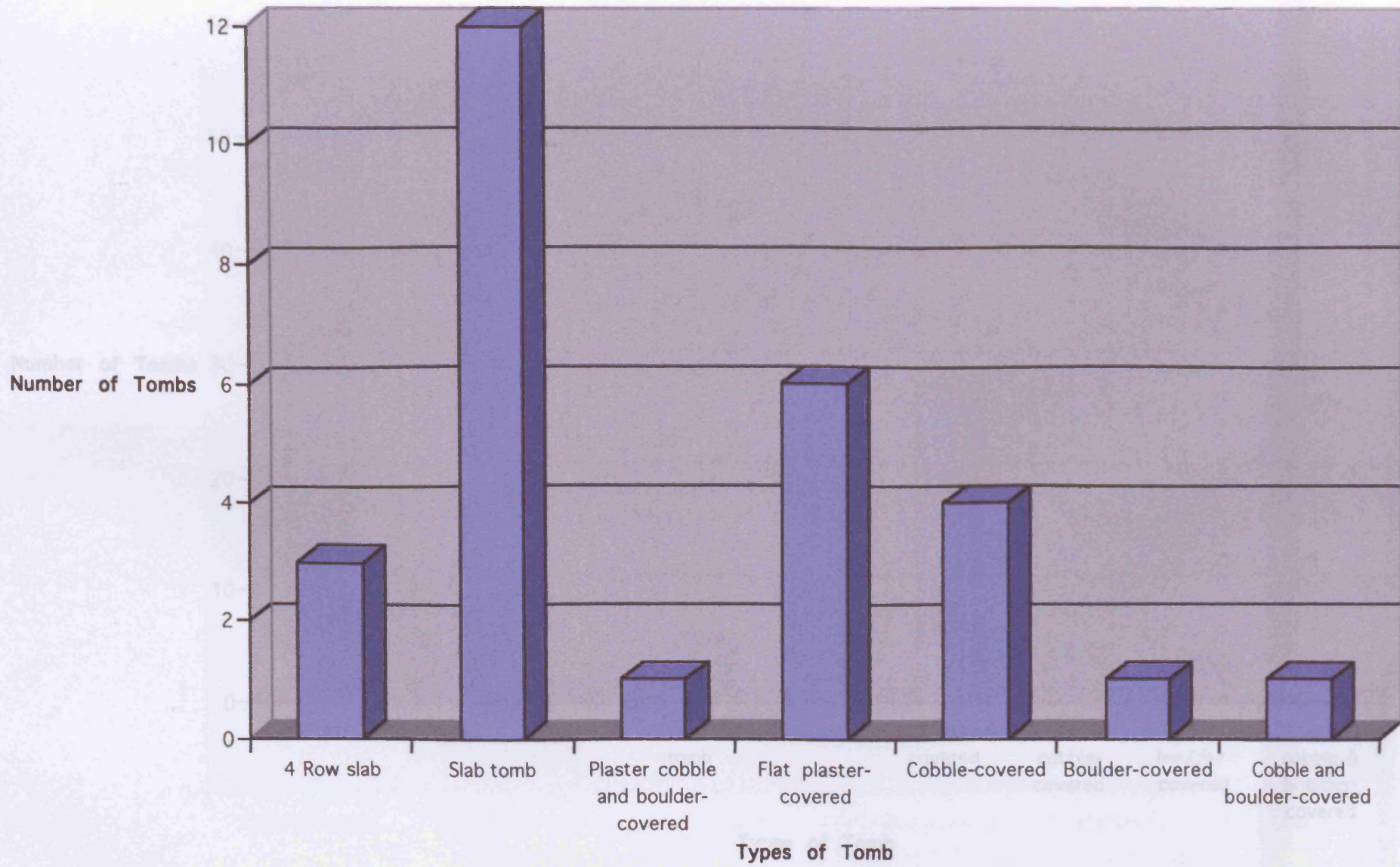


Chart 8a - Total Tomb Types in the 2004 Survey Squares of the Crusader Cemetery, 'Atlit

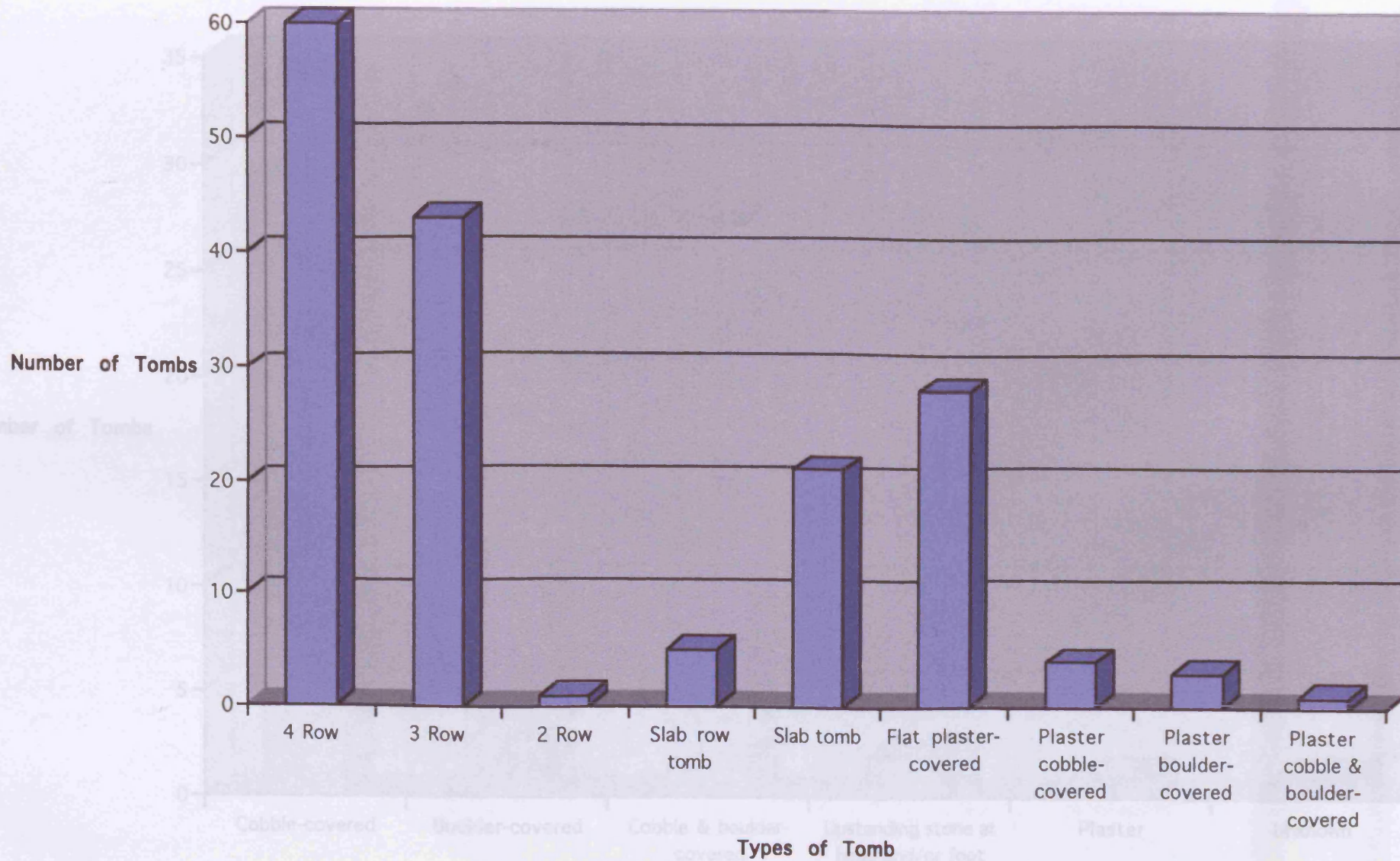


Chart 8b - Total Tomb Types in the 2004 Survey Squares of the Crusader Cemetery, 'Atlit

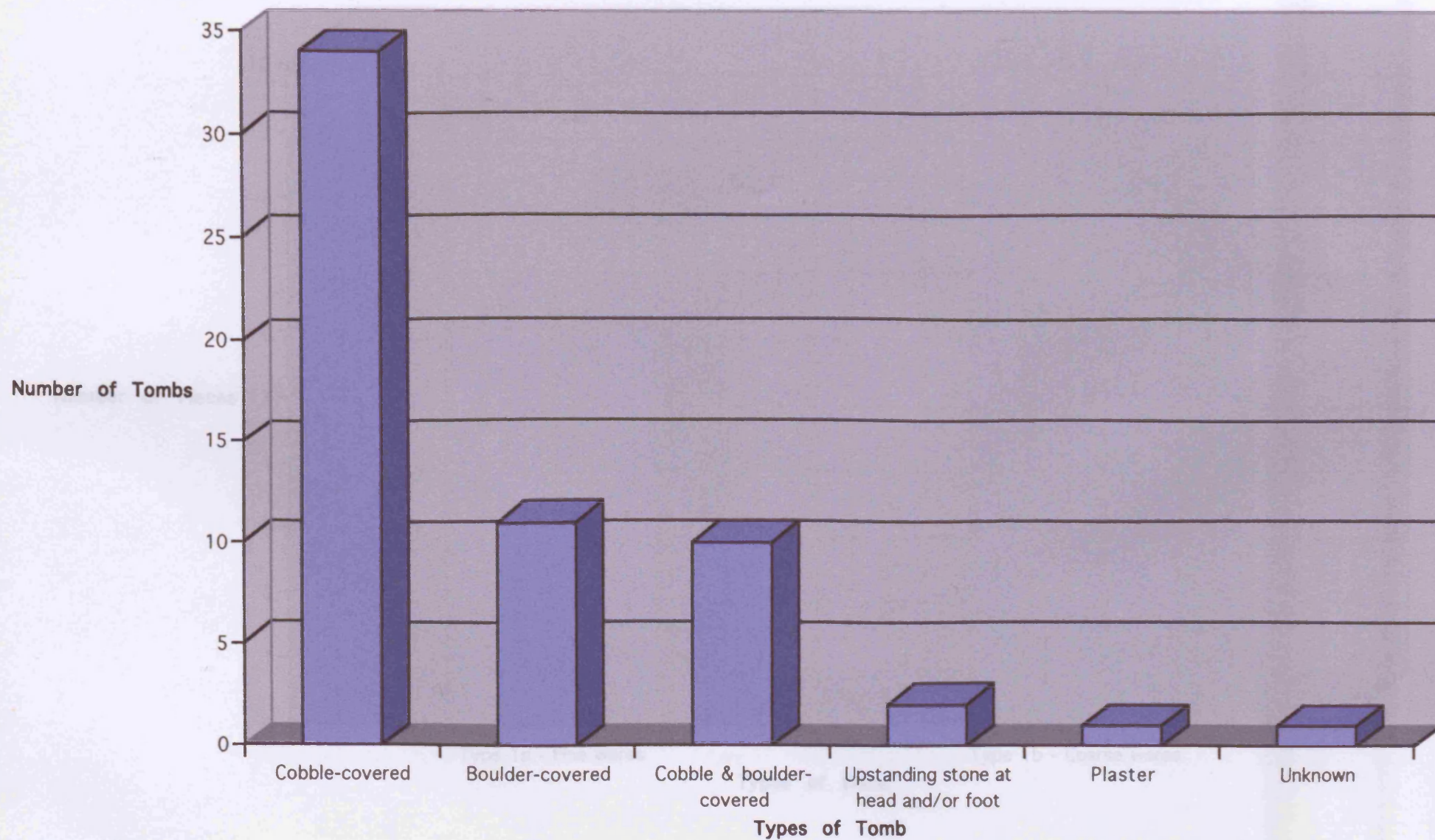


Chart 9 - Unglazed Wares

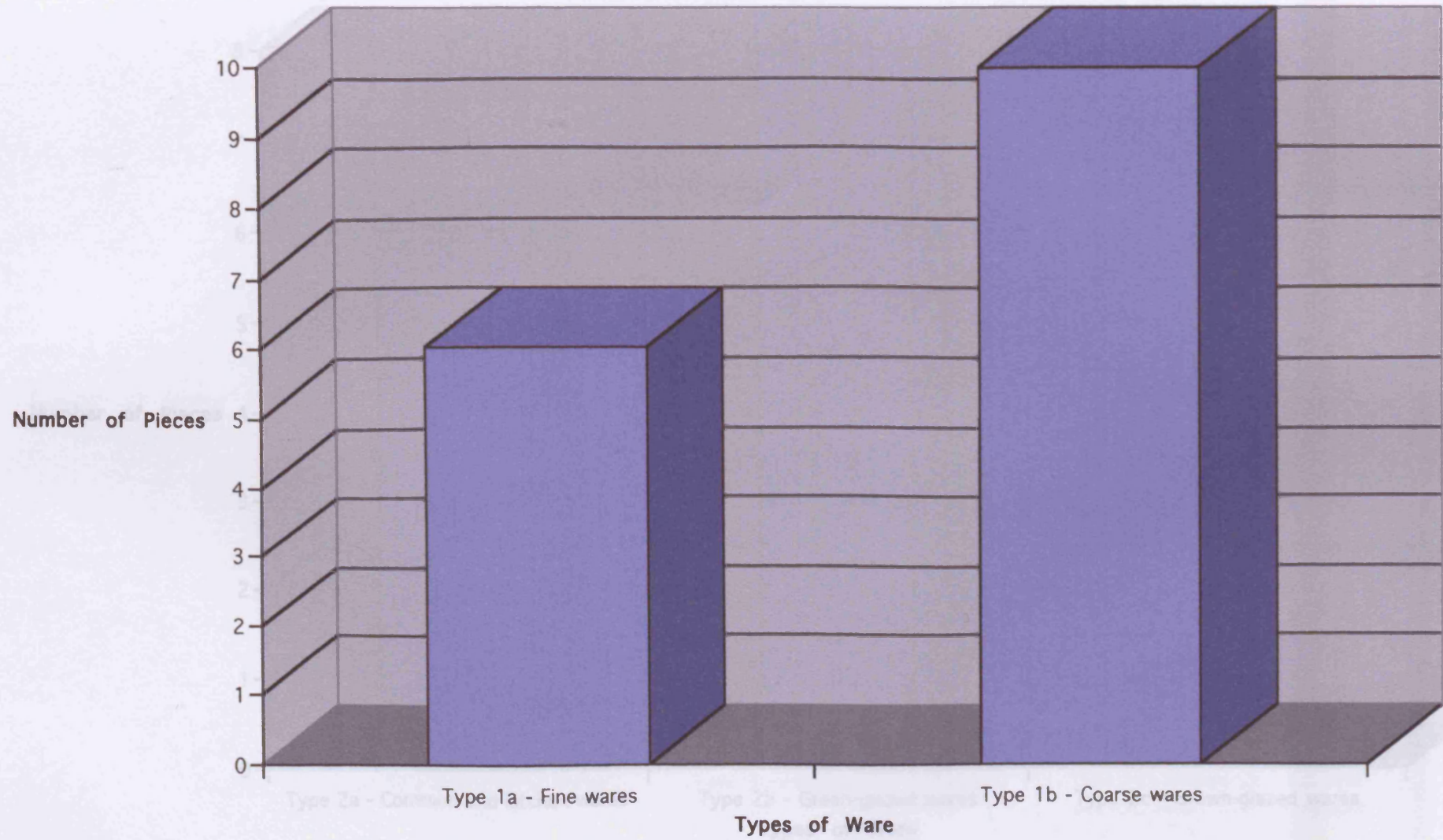


Chart 10 - Glazed Wares

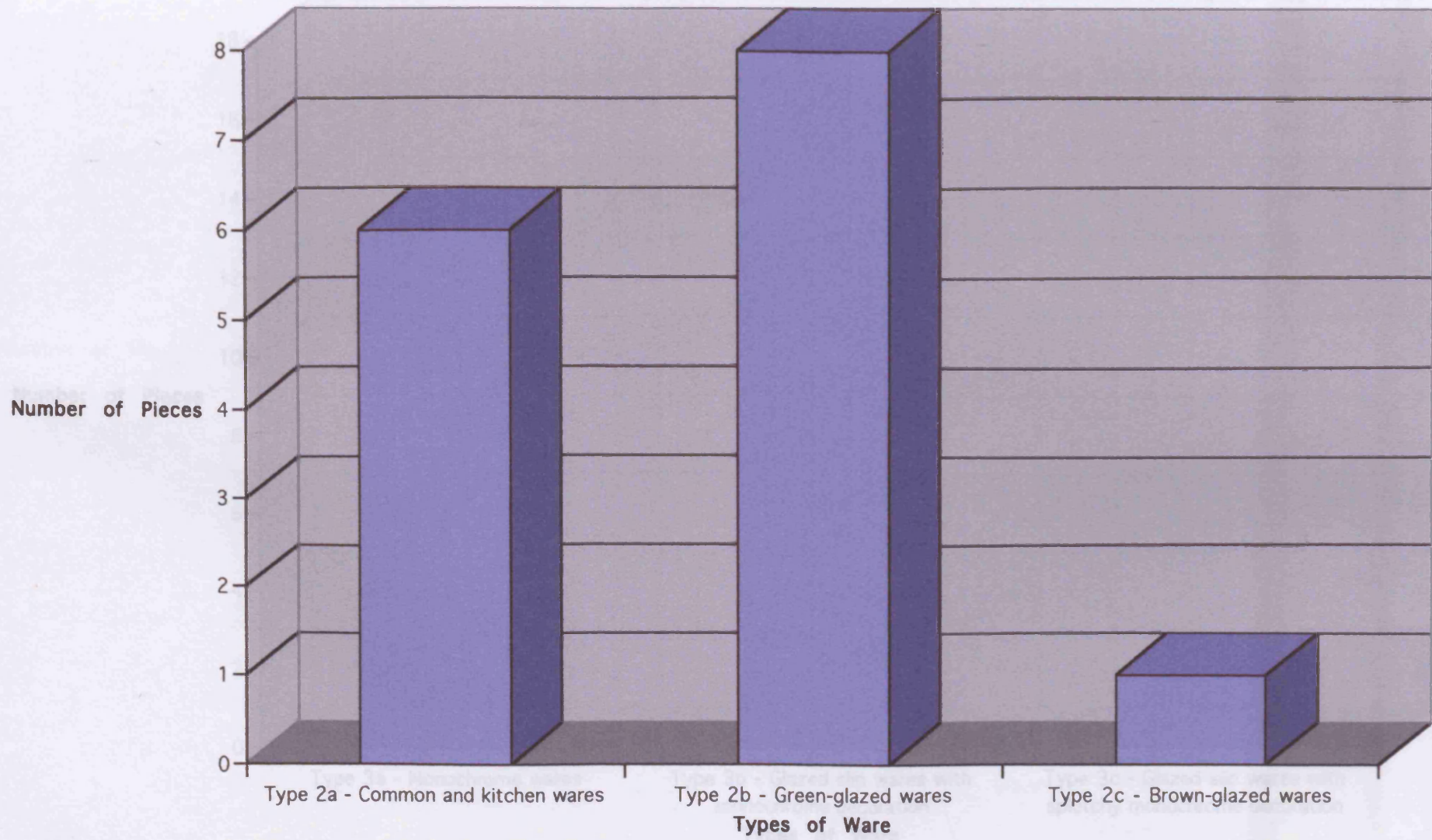


Chart 11 - Glazed Slip Wares

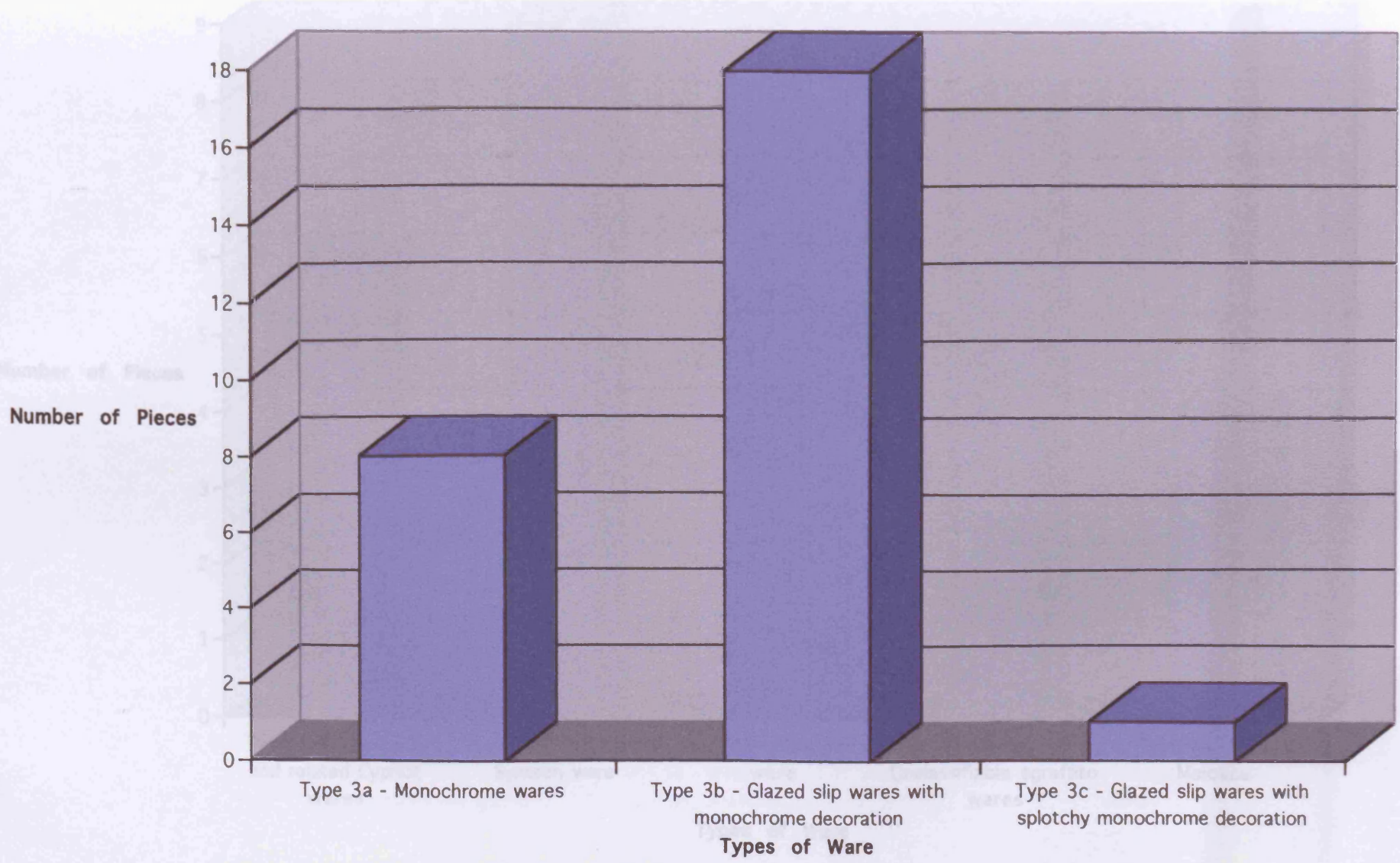


Chart 12 - Sgraffito and Other Glazed Wares

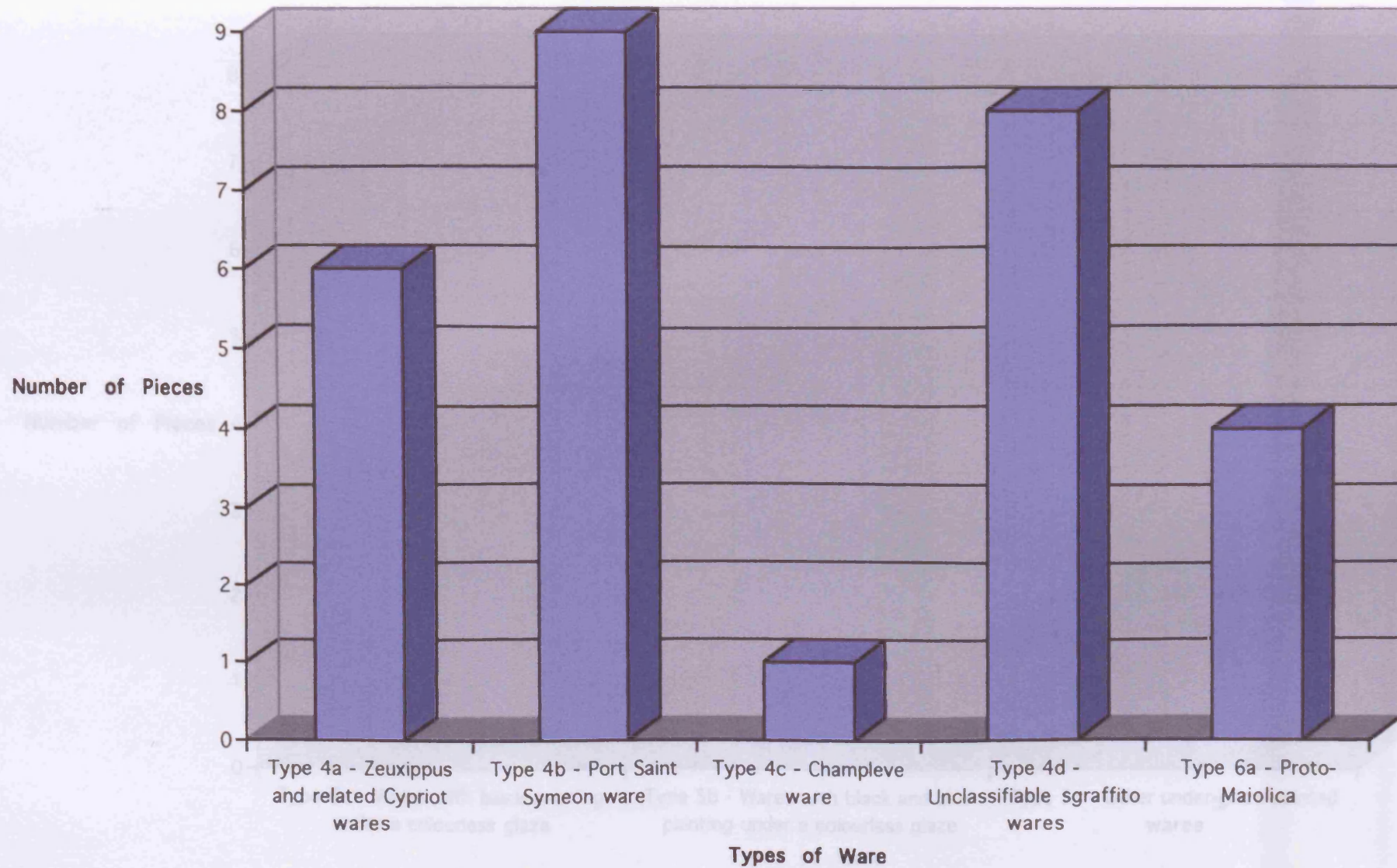


Chart 13 - Syrian Under-Glaze Painted Wares

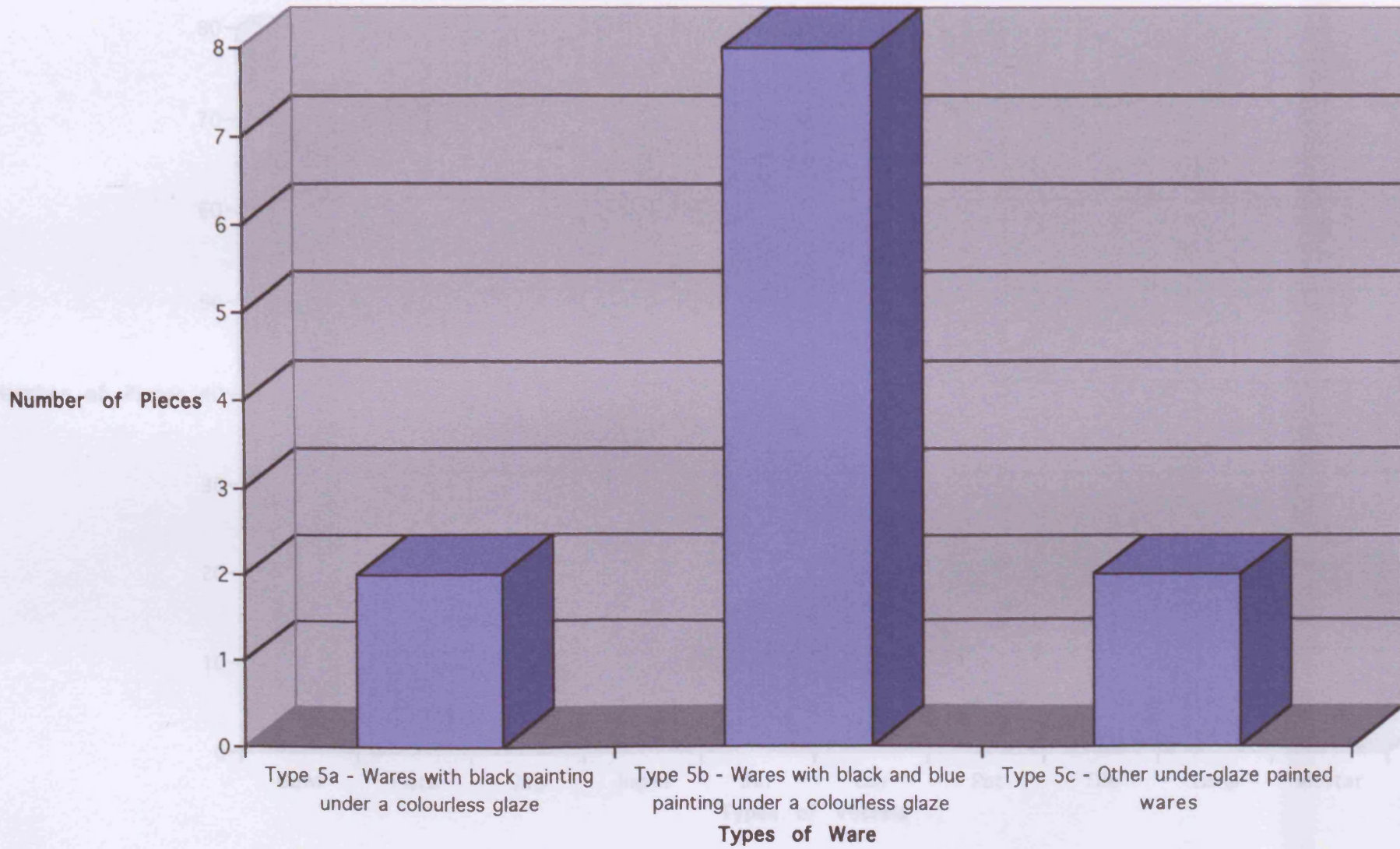


Chart 14 - Types of Pottery Vessels from the Crusader Cemetery, 'Atlit

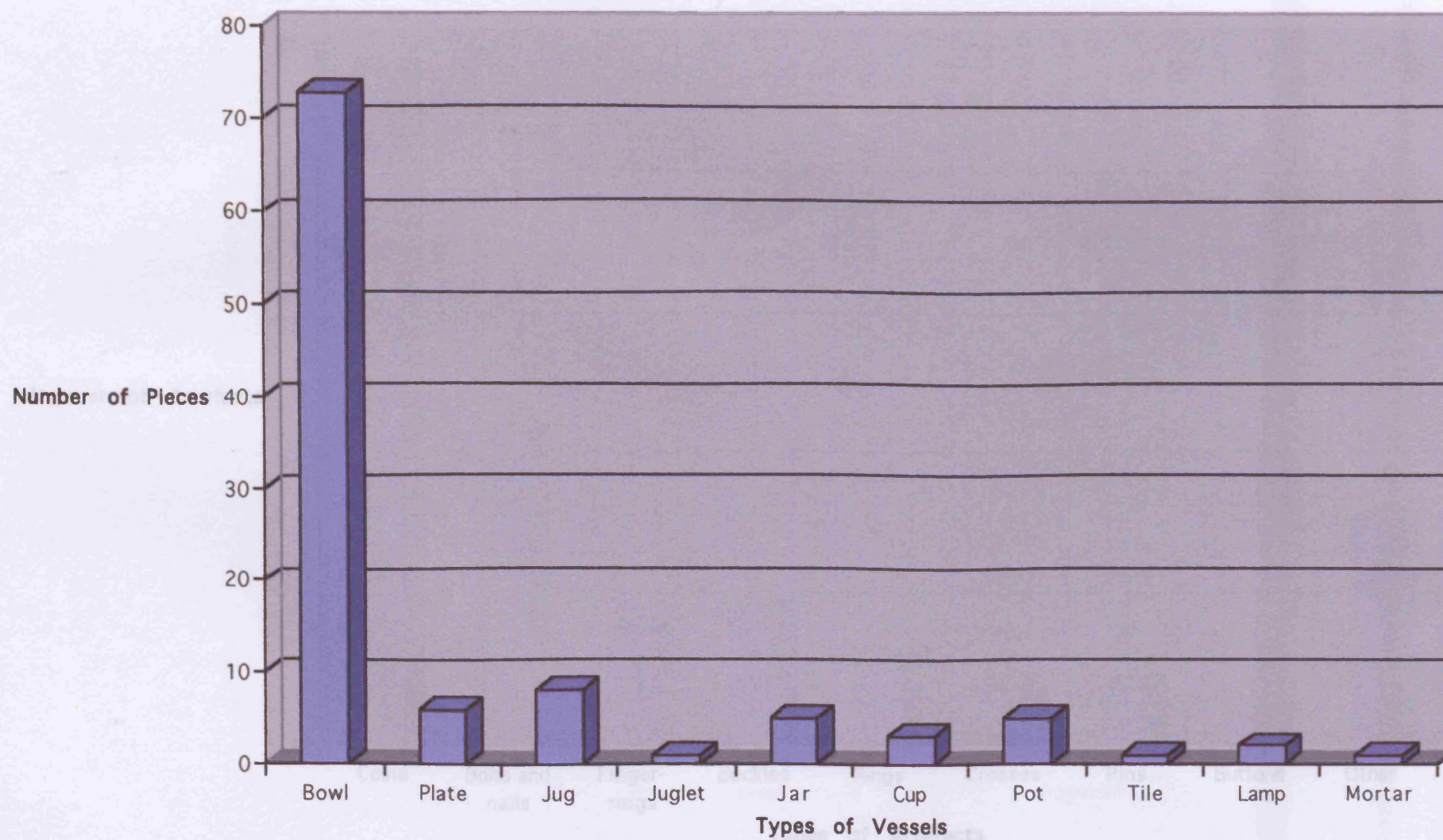


Chart 15 - Metal Artefacts

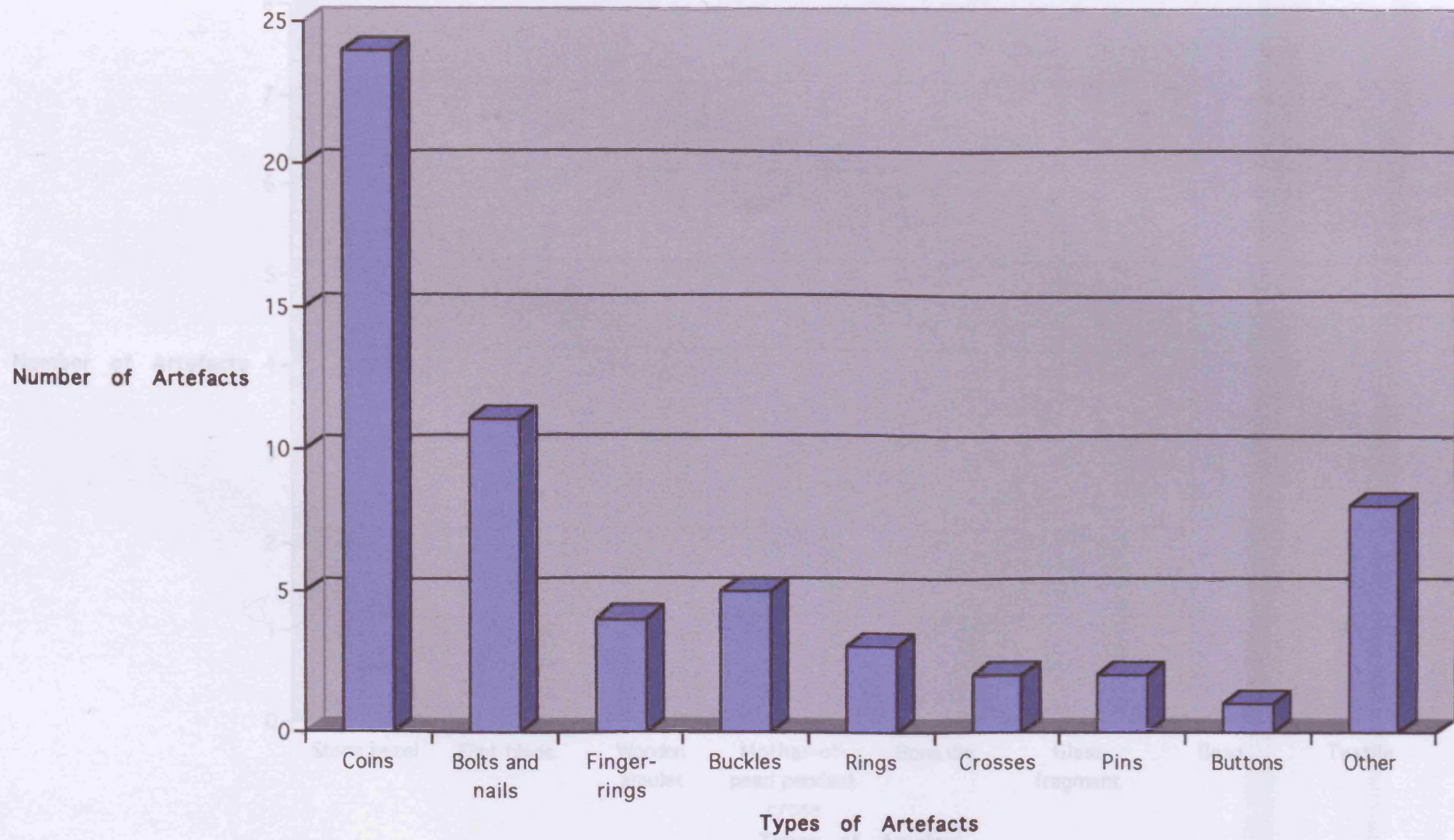
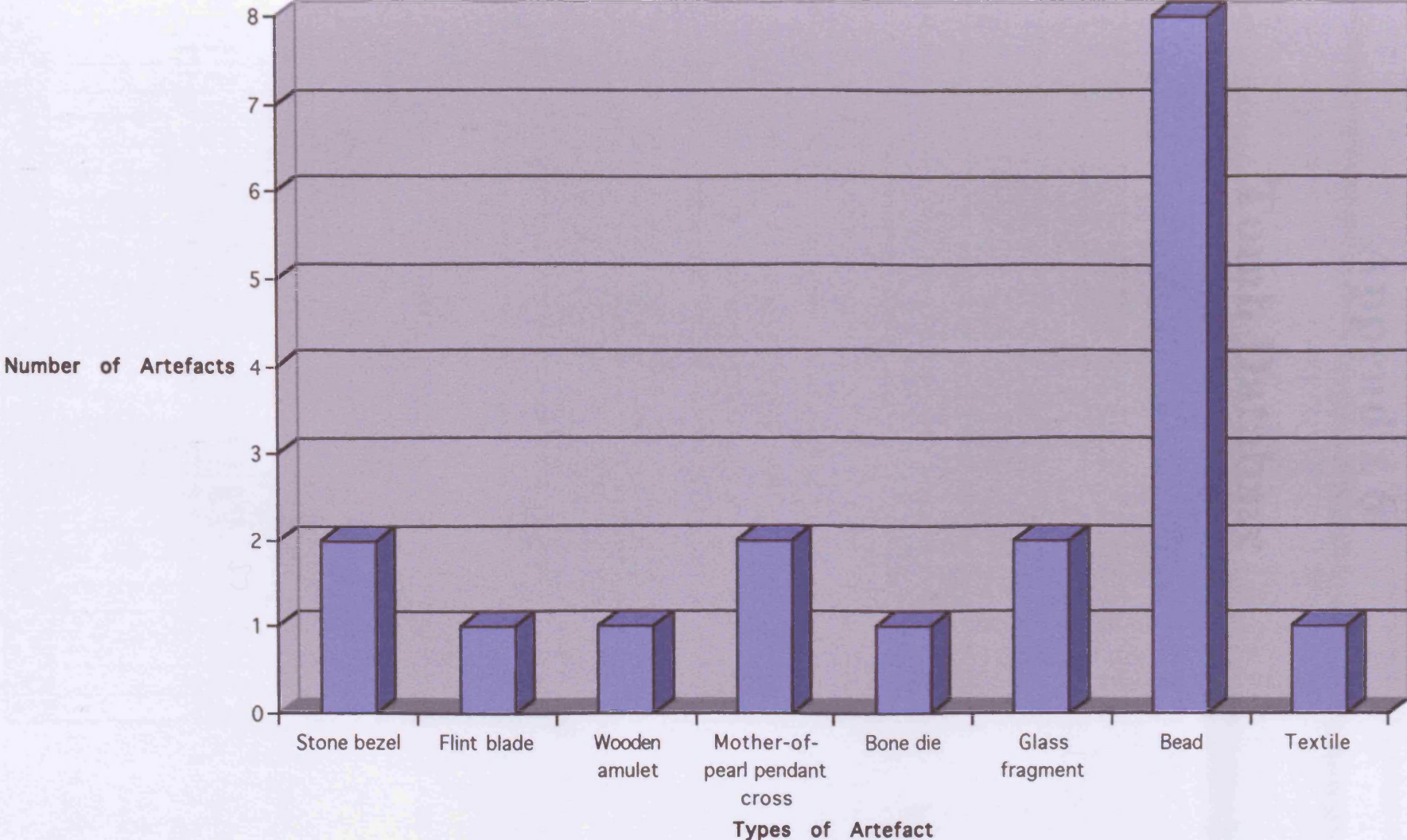


Chart 16 - Non-Metal Artefacts



Appendix 6

Tomb Database

grave number	tomb type	length	width	height	number of stones	shape of tomb	orientation	position in cemetery
A2.1	4 row	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A2.2	4 row	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A2.3	4 row	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A3.1	4 row	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A3.2	3 row	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A3.3	3 row	n/a	n/a	n/a	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A3.4	4 row	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.1	3 row	0.93m	0.26m	0.12m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.2	3 row	1.11m	0.29m	0.06m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.3	4 row	1.14m	0.26m	0.12m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.4	3 row	1.26m	0.34m	0.13m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.5	4 row	0.98m	0.30m	0.22m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.6	3 row	1.29m	0.46m	0.06m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.7	4 row	1.04m	0.27m	0.07m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.8	4 row	1.12m	0.23m	0.02m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A4.9	4 row	1.13m	0.21m	0.01m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A5.3	plaster	n/a	n/a	n/a		rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A5.4	4 row	1.15m	0.26m	0.14m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A5.5	3 row	0.65m	0.28m	0.12m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A5.6	4 row	0.97m	0.29m	0.07m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A5.7	4 row	1.06m	0.27m	0.10m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A6.1	2 row-poss 3?	0.37m	0.18m	n/a	2	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A6.2	FS?	1.50m	0.57m	0.13m	10	squared	east-west	north-west corner
A6.3	4 row	1.16m	0.28m	0.08m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A6.5	unknown	n/a	n/a	n/a	4	squared	east-west	north-west corner
A7.1	rubble tomb	1.30m	0.52m	n/a		rectangular	east-west	north-west corner
A7.3	4 row-4th displaced	1.17m	0.26m	0.19m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A7.4	4 row	1.26m	0.25m	0.14m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
A7.5	3 row	1.26m	0.32m	0.19m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner

is it in a row?	position in row	in group with similar tombs?	stones robbed?	plaster?	foundation visible?	decoration?	slab on top?
		yes	no			no	no
		yes	no			no	no
		yes	no			no	no
		yes	no			no	no
		yes	no			no	no
		yes	no			no	no
		yes	no	yes		no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	yes	no	no	no
		yes	no	no		no	no
		yes	no	yes		no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	yes		no	no
		yes	no	yes		no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	yes		no	no
		yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	yes		no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	no	perhaps at one time
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		no	no	no	no	no	no
		no	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	yes	yes-1.13m long	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no	no

shape of slab	stone 1 (LxW)	stone 2	stone 3	stone 4	stone 5	stone 6	stone 7	stone 8
n/a	0.34x0.30m	0.25x0.25m	0.25x0.25m	0.25x0.25m				
n/a	0.20x0.20m	0.20x0.20m	0.20x0.25m	0.33x0.20m				
n/a	0.20x0.32m	0.20x0.25m	0.28x0.30m	0.30x0.26m				
n/a	0.34x0.24m	0.38x0.22m	0.26x0.23m	0.14x?m				
n/a	0.15x0.30m	0.37x0.20m	0.35x0.28m					
n/a	0.25x0.23m	0.28x0.23m	0.39x0.25m					
n/a	0.30x0.23m	0.10x0.23m	0.29x0.25m	0.23x0.30m				
n/a	0.37x.25m	0.25x0.25m	0.26x0.25m					
n/a	0.18x0.28m	0.47x0.27m	0.38x0.25m					
n/a	0.43x0.30m	0.33x0.25m	0.18x0.27m	0.14x0.28m				
n/a	0.60x0.33m	0.37x0.30m	0.25x0.29m					
n/a	0.34x0.33m	0.22x0.28m	0.17x0.27m	0.15x0.28m				
n/a	0.45x0.40m	0.35x0.48m	0.30x0.38m					
n/a	0.20x0.24m	0.20x0.25m	0.30x0.23m	0.32x0.26m				
n/a	0.33x0.26m	0.32x0.23m	0.26x0.23m	0.23x0.22m				
n/a	0.30x0.26m	0.30x0.24m	0.23x0.25m	0.33x0.25m				
n/a								
n/a	0.39x0.29m	0.27x0.23m	0.25x0.23m	0.14x0.27m				
n/a	0.18x0.24m	0.19x0.22m	0.22x0.18m					
n/a	0.35x0.30m	0.24x0.32m	0.20x0.29m	0.20x0.28m				
n/a	0.26x0.22m	0.24x0.26m	0.22x0.26m	0.30x0.28m				
n/a	0.16x0.13m	0.12x0.10m						
n/a	0.22x0.30m	0.20x0.30m	0.32x0.23m	0.22x0.20m	0.26x0.26m	0.27x0.30m	0.10x0.30m	0.20x0.30
n/a	0.33x0.23m	0.30x0.26m	0.18x0.26m	0.24x0.23m				
n/a	0.30x0.26m	0.13x0.19m	0.20x0.15m	0.24x0.22m				
n/a								
n/a	0.30x0.25m	0.28x0.24m	0.30x0.24m	0.22x0.20m				
n/a	0.32x0.25m	0.26x0.21m	0.29x0.21m	0.33x0.19m				
n/a	0.37x0.28m	0.32x0.26m	0.25x0.41m					

stone 2	stone 3	stone 4
0.28x0.27m	0.29x0.30m	
0.26x0.33m	0.32x0.35m	
0.23x0.25m	0.23x0.25m	0.22x0.27m
0.20x0.22m	0.33x0.25m	0.37x0.26m
0.28x0.23m	0.39x0.25m	
0.38x0.25m	plaster 34cm long	
0.15x0.26m	0.30x0.26m	
0.28x0.26m	0.18x0.27m	
0.36x0.23m	0.21x0.22m	
0.36x0.26m	0.36x0.27m	
0.44x0.29m		
0.45x0.40m	0.40x0.43m	0.33x0.50m
0.33x0.26m	0.16x0.26m	0.33x0.23m
0.42x0.43m	0.58x0.46m	
0.30x0.43m	0.73x0.43m-plaster	

grave number	tomb type	length	width	height	number of stones	shape of tomb	orientation	position in cemetery
C2.1	3 row	1.29m	0.22m	0.08m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C2.2	3 row	1.19m	0.28m	0.18m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C3.2	4 row	1.12m	0.26m	0.12m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C4.1	4 row	1.37m	0.28m	0.09m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C4.2	3 row	1.14m	0.28m	0.12m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C4.3	3 row	1.12m	0.26m	0.08m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C4.4	4 row	1.17m	0.31m	0.10m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C4.5	3 row	0.97m	0.28m	0.15m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C4.6	3 row	0.92m	0.27m	0.09m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C5.1	4 row	1.20m	0.28m	0.18m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C5.2	4 row	1.29m	0.28m	0.14m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C5.3	3 row	1.11m	0.28m	0.10m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C5.4	3 row	1.10m	0.39m	0.10m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C5.5	4 row	1.40m	0.30m	0.09m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C5.6	4 row	1.43m	0.30m	0.11m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C5.7	3 row	1.18m	0.28m	0.08m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner
C7.1	plaster rubble tomb	0.85m	0.40m	0.04m	14	squared	east-west	north-west corner
C7.2	rubble tomb	1.26m	0.49m	0.09m	15	squared	east-west	north-west corner
C7.3	3 row-1 disaligned	1.59m	0.48m	0.13m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west corner

is it in a row?	position in row	in group with similar tombs?	stones robbed?	plaster?	foundation visible?	decoration?
		yes	no	yes		no
		yes	no	yes	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	yes	no	no
		yes	no	yes	no	no
		yes	no	yes	yes	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	yes	no	no
		yes	no	yes	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
		yes	no	no	no	no
yes	W end of row	no	no	yes	no	no
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	no
no	n/a	yes	no	no	no	no

slab on top?	stone 1	stone 2	stone 3	stone 4	Column1
no	0.32x0.23m	0.43x0.26m	0.50x0.25m		
no	0.50x0.27m	0.30x0.24m	0.36x0.24m		
no	0.17x0.26m	0.19x0.26m	0.34x0.26m	0.38x0.26m	
no	0.31x0.26m	0.31x0.21m	0.30x0.19m	0.32x0.23m	
no	0.28x0.26m	0.36x0.27m	0.32x0.28m		
no	0.47x0.26m	0.40x0.35m	0.20x0.25m		
no	0.30x0.30m	0.30x0.26m	0.32x0.29m	0.17x0.24m	
no	0.34x0.29m	0.23x0.26m	0.35x0.25m		
no	0.27x0.25m	0.30x0.22m	0.32x0.26m		
no	0.32x0.26m	0.30x0.25m	0.49x0.25m	0.19x0.21m	
no	0.20x0.21m	0.39x0.27m	0.28x0.25m	0.36x0.27m	
no	0.42x0.29m	0.29x0.25m	0.28x0.24m		
no	0.40x.039m	0.35x0.27m	0.37x0.28m		
no	0.40x.029m	0.28x0.26m	0.27x0.26m	0.36x0.26m	
no	0.29x0.30m	0.44x0.26m	0.35x0.25m	0.32x0.26m	
no	0.32x0.28m	0.37x0.28m	0.40x0.26m		
no					
no					
no	0.41x0.41x0.13m	0.42x0.38x0.18m	0.59x0.48x0.13m		

grave number	tomb type	length	width	height	number of stones	shape of tomb	orientation	position in cemetery	is it in a row?
D2.1	3 row	n/a	n/a	0.09m	probably 3, only 2 visible	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	
D2.2	3 row	1.30m	0.23m	0.07-0.11m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D3.1	4 row	1.13m	0.27m	0.09-0.13m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D3.2	3 row	1.21m	0.26m	0.14m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D4.1	3 row	0.90m	0.28m	0.15m	3, prob was 4th	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D4.2	4 row	1.15m	0.30m	0.02-0.10m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D4.3	4 row	1.12m	0.26m	0.01-0.06m	4, but used to be 3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D4.4	3 row	1.02m	0.28m	0.06-0.10m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D4.5	4 row	1.28m	0.25m	0.09-0.12m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D4.6	4 row	0.83m	0.26m	0.13-0.18m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D4.7	4 row	1.10m	0.24m	0.03-0.08m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D4.8	4 row	1.35m	0.28m	0.06-0.13m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D4.9	3 row	0.92m	0.26m	0.07-0.08m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D5.1	4 row	1.43m	0.28m	0.08-0.12m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D5.2	4 row	1.35m	0.29m	0.01-0.09m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D5.3	3 row-large	1.09m	0.39m	0.04-0.09m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D5.4	3 row	1.08m	0.27m	0.04-0.09m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D5.5	4 row	1.15m	0.27m	0.07-0.08m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D5.6	boulder tomb	1.51m	0.48m	0.04m	12	squared	east-west	north-west comer	no
D5.7	4 row	1.13m	0.25m	0.14-0.16m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D5.8	4 row	1.16m	0.26m	0.04-0.07m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D6.1	4 row	1.12m	0.28m	0.09-0.18m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D6.2	4 row	1.12m	0.25m	0.11-0.13m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D6.3	4 row	1.08m	0.27m	0.11-0.13m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D6.4	3 row	1.13m	0.28m	0.10-0.13m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D6.5	3 row	1.06m	0.28m	0.05-0.13m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D6.6	plaster-was prob 3 row	1.04m	0.42m	0.10m	prob 3, now gone	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D6.7	4 row	1.19m	0.25m	0.13-0.17m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D6.8	4 row	1.16m	0.25m	0.10-0.13m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D6.9	4 row	1.26m	0.29m	0.14-0.17m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	no
D7.1	3 row-large	1.50m	0.43m	0.05-0.12m	3	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D7.2	rubble tomb	1.98m	0.74m	0.18m	24	squared	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D7.3	rubble/boulder tomb	1.84m	0.48m	0.18m	14	rectangular	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D7.4	plaster covered	1.98m	0.64m	0.05m	10	rectangular	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D7.5	plaster rubble tomb	1.49m	0.60m	0.07m		rectangular	east-west	north-west comer	yes
D7.6	4 row	1.13m	0.32m	0.15-0.18m	4	rectangular row	east-west	north-west comer	yes

position in row	in group with similar tombs?	stones robbed?	plaster?	foundation visible	decoration?	slab on top?	shape of slab	stone 1
	yes	no	no		no	no	n/a	0.26x0.22x0.09m
n/a	yes	no	no		no	no	n/a	0.32x0.22x0.07m
n/a	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.17x0.27x0.09m
n/a	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.47x0.26x0.14m
n/a	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.31x0.25x0.15m
E end of row	yes, in group with 2 others	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.16x0.24x0.02m
mid row	yes, in group with 2 others	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	0.21x0.25x0.04m
W end of row	yes, in group with 2 others	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.28x0.25x0.09m
n/a	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.30x0.25x0.11m
W end of row	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.15x0.24x0.15m
E end of row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.22x0.24x0.06m
n/a	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.23x0.22x0.13m
n/a	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.26x0.25x0.07m
E end of row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.33x0.26x0.12m
n/a	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.36x0.25x0.01m
n/a	yes-though they are smaller	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.33x0.25x0.07m
n/a	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.27x0.25x0.04m
n/a	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.25x0.23x0.08m
n/a	no	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
W end of row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.28x0.23x0.15m
E end of row	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.25x0.25x0.06m
E end of row	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.26x0.24x0.11m
mid row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.28x0.20x0.12m
mid row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.24x0.23x0.11m
mid row	yes-right beside 6.3	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.46x0.23x0.10m
W end of row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.30x0.26x0.05m
n/a	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	
n/a	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.27x0.21x0.14m
n/a	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.27x0.25x0.10m
n/a	yes	no	yes	yes	no	no	n/a	0.27x0.21x0.15m
W end of row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.56x0.34x0.12m
mid row	no	no	no	no	no	possibly was	n/a	0.32x0.24x0.10m
mid row	no-right beside 7.4	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
mid row	no	no	no	no	no	possibly was	n/a	
W end of row	no	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	
E end of row	yes	no	yes	no	no	no	n/a	0.30x0.24x0.15m

stone 2	stone 3	stone 4	stone 5
0.26x0.26x0.09m			
0.42x0.23x0.10m	0.50x0.22x0.11m		
0.18x0.25x0.09m	0.33x0.26x0.09m	0.38x0.26x0.13m	
0.31x0.24x0.14m	0.34x0.24x0.14m		
0.24x0.25x0.15m	0.34x0.28x0.15m		
0.30x0.29x0.04m	0.30x0.26x0.05m	0.29x0.30x0.10m	
0.33x0.23x0.04m	0.19x0.23x0.01m	0.33x0.26x0.06m	
0.35x0.26x0.06m	0.33x0.28x0.10m		
0.32x0.20x0.09m	0.31x0.18x0.10m	0.32x0.23x0.12m	
0.25x0.25x0.18m	0.16x0.26x0.13m	0.18x0.23x0.15m	
0.22x0.24x0.03m	0.34x0.24x0.03m	0.28x0.24x0.08m	
0.31x0.28x0.11m	0.36x0.22x0.06m	0.40x0.25x0.08m	
0.30x0.22x0.08m	0.32x0.26x0.07m		
0.35x0.26x0.08m	0.35x0.26x0.08m	0.30x0.28x0.08m	
0.26x0.26x0.03	0.26x0.26x0.08m	0.39x0.29x0.09m	
0.24x0.35x0.04m	0.37x0.39x0.09m		
0.37x0.25x0.04m	0.42x0.27x0.09m		
0.29x0.21x0.08m	0.21x0.27x0.08m	0.34x0.27x0.07m	
0.16x0.25x0.14m	0.33x0.23x0.16m	0.30x0.25x0.16m	
0.20x0.24x0.04m	0.40x0.26x0.05m	0.33x0.26x0.07m	
0.19x0.27x0.09m	0.30x0.28x0.12m	0.30x0.28x0.18m	
0.21x0.22x0.13m	0.27x0.25x0.13m	0.30x0.25x0.11m	
0.17x0.23x0.13m	0.88x0.22x0.12m	0.34x0.27x0.12m	
0.32x0.25x0.12m	0.33x0.28x0.10m	0.20x0.12x0.13m	N.B. stone 4 is between 6.3 and 6.4
0.37x0.27x0.09m	0.37x0.28x0.13m		
0.23x0.24x0.16m	0.28x0.23x0.17m	0.35x0.25x0.13m	
0.26x0.24x0.11m	0.33x0.25x0.13m	0.25x0.25x0.13m	
0.28x0.23x0.14m	0.27x0.26x0.16m	0.41x0.29x0.17m	
0.49x0.40x0.10m	0.32x0.43x0.05m		
0.43x0.19x0.09m	0.26x0.43x0.18m		
0.28x0.28x0.16m	0.11x0.25x0.16m	0.36x0.32x0.18m	

grave number	tomb type	length	width	height	number of stones	shape of tomb	orientation	position in cemetery
E1.1	plaster covered	1.80m	0.54m	0.10-0.00m	9	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.2	plaster covered	1.84m	0.61m	0.10-0.00m	9	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.3	plaster covered	1.14m	0.39m	0.06-0.00m	7	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.4	plaster covered	1.36m	0.61m	0.15-0.05m	8	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.5	rubble covered	1.37m	0.90m	0.19m	25	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.6	rubble covered	1.14m	0.77m	0.14m	19	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.7	plaster covered	1.83m	0.60m	0.05-0.00m	10	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.8	rubble covered	2.00m	0.89m	0.14m	21	rectangular	east-west	south central
E1.9	rubble covered	1.81m	0.82m	0.10m		rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.1	plaster covered	1.69m	0.59m	0.03m	8	rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.10	rubble covered	n/a	n/a	n/a		rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.2	plaster covered	2.12m	0.76m	0.05m	6	rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.3	plaster covered	1.57m	0.77m	0.05m	14	rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.4	plaster covered	1.42m	0.49m	0.14-0.00m	7	rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.5	3 row	1.10m	0.42m	0.17-0.05m	3	rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.6	plaster rubble covered	1.45m	0.67m	0.06m	13	rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.7	plaster covered	1.48m	0.64m	0.13-0.00m	7	rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.8	rubble covered	n/a	n/a	n/a		rectangular	east-west	south central
E2.9	rubble covered	n/a	n/a	n/a		rectangular	east-west	south central
E3.1	rubble/boulder covered	1.33m	0.70m	0.14m	21	rectangular	east-west	south central
E3.2	plaster boulder covered	1.58m	0.82m	0.18m	unknown	rectangular	east-west	south central
E3.3	rubble covered	1.38m	0.61m	0.08m	unknown	rectangular	east-west	south central
E4.1	rubble covered?	1.46m	0.79m	0.14m	unknown	rectangular	east-west	south central
E4.2	boulder covered	1.34m	0.69m	0.19m	unknown	rectangular?	?	south central
E4.3	plaster covered	1.67m	0.72m	0.16-0.04m	10	rectangular	east-west	south central
E4.4	possible slab tomb	?	?	0.15-0.10m	3	formerly rectangular	east-west	south central
E5.1	tomb slab	0.96m	0.55m	0.10m	1	squared	east-west	south central
E5.2	plaster covered	1.48m	0.55m	0.13-0.06m	8	rectangular	east-west	south central
E5.3	part of stone slab	0.66m	0.61m	0.15m	1	squared		south central
E5.4	rubble covered	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	rectangular?	east-west	south central
E5.5	plaster covered	1.56m	0.60m	n/a	unknown	rectangular	east-west	south central
E5.6	plaster covered	1.48m	0.56m	n/a	unknown	rectangular	east-west	south central
E5.7	rubble covered	1.83m	0.77(hd)-0.60(ft)m	0.11m	22	rounded at foot	east-west	south central
E5.8	probably slab tomb	1.43m	0.60m	0.05-0.12m	3	rectangular	east-west	south central
E6.1	boulder covered	2.04m	0.65m	0.12m	19	rectangular	east-west	south central
E6.2	boulder covered	2.49m	0.69m	0.09m	unknown	rectangular-very long	east-west	south central
E6.3	plaster boulder covered	1.34m	0.94m	0.17m	many missing	rectangular	east-west	south central
E6.4	rubble covered	1.56m	0.70m	0.14m	22	rectangular	east-west	south central
E6.5	rubble covered	n/a	n/a	n/a	many missing	rectangular	east-west	south central

is it in a row?	position in row	in group with similar tombs?	stones robbed?	plaster?	decoration?	slab on top?	shape of slab	stone 1
yes		yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.39x0.34x0.10m
yes		yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.25x0.34x0.05m
		yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.36x0.16x0.03m
		yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.26x0.24x0.05m
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	0.31x0.25x0.03m
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
yes	end of row	yes	no	unknown	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	no	unknown	no	no	n/a	
yes	mid row	yes	no	unknown	no	no	n/a	
yes	E end of row	yes	no	unknown	no	no	n/a	
yes	mid row	yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.26x0.21x0.03m
yes	mid row	no	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.53x0.42x0.08m
yes	mid row	no	no	yes	no	no	n/a	
yes	mid row	yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.10x0.13x0.00m
no	n/a	yes	no	unknown	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	no	unknown	no	no	n/a	
yes	E end of row	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
yes	mid row	no	no	yes	no	no	n/a	
yes	mid row	no	no	no	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	no	no	no	possibly	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	
yes	W end of row	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	0.33x0.29x0.10m
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	possibly	n/a	0.62x0.47x0.10m
no	n/a	no	no	yes	no	is a slab	no	
no	n/a	yes	no	yes	no	no	n/a	0.30x0.31x0.12m
no	n/a	n/a	n/a	yes	no	probably part of slab	squared	
no	n/a	no	unknown	unknown	no	no	n/a	
yes	end of row beside E5.6	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	
yes	end of row beside E5.5	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	may have been slab	n/a	
no	n/a	no	no	no	no	possibly	rectangular	0.35x0.58x0.05m
yes	end of row beside E6.2	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	
yes	end of row beside E6.1	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	probably	yes	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	no	no	no	no	n/a	
no	n/a	yes	probably	no	no	no	n/a	

grave number	tomb type	length	width	height	number of stones	shape of tomb
F10.1	rubble/boulder covered	1.80m	0.48m	0.10m	15	rectangular
F10.2	possible slab tomb	1.60m	0.60m	0.25m	more than one	rectangular
F10.3	4 row	1.16m	0.26m	0.11-0.18m	4	rectangular
F10.4	4 row	1.28m	0.29m	0.09-0.14m	4	rectangular
F10.5	rubble covered	2.03m	0.53m	0.10m	19	rectangular
F10.6	boulder covered	2.16m	0.65m	0.14m	12	rectangular
F10.7	rubble/boulder covered	1.66m	0.55(hd)-0.44(ft)m	0.11m	27	rounded at foot
F11.1	3 row	1.17m	0.32m	0.16-0.19m	3	rectangular
F11.2	rubble covered?	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	rectanuglar?
F11.3	4 row	n/a	0.27m	0.16-0.22m	4-2 in situ	was rectangular
F11.4	rubble/boulder covered	1.42m	0.42m	0.15m	13	rectangular
F11.5	4 row	1.10m	0.34m	0.21-0.26m	4-1 missing	rectangular
F11.6	rubble covered?	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	rectangular?
F12.1	rubble covered	2.45m	0.76m	mainly 0.00m	25	rectangular
F12.2	4 row	1.10m	0.27m	0.13-0.18m	4	rectangular
F12.3	4 row	n/a	0.33m	0.21-0.25m	4-2 in situ	was rectangular
F12.4	rubble covered	1.70m	0.55m	0.19m	19	rectangular
F13.1	boulder covered	1.69m	0.57m	0.14m	6	rectangular
F13.2	plaster covered	1.66m	0.83m	0.03-0.22m	12	rectangular
F13.3	plaster covered	1.47m	0.94m	0.04-0.18m	13	rectangular
F13.4	standing stone (head)	2.15m	0.77m	0.05-0.22m	22	rectangular
F13.5	possible tomb slab	1.91m	1.37m	0.14m	12 to 14	rectangular
F14.1	plaster covered?	1.64m	1.11m	0.02-0.11m	13	rectangular
F14.2	standing stone (foot)	1.48m	0.53m	0.05-0.26m	11	rectangular
F14.3	rubble covered	1.21m	0.68m	0.07m	7	rectangular
F14.4	rubble/boulder covered	1.25m	0.57m	0.05m	10	rectangular
F5.1	4 row	1.20m	0.30m	0.16-0.20m	4	rectangular
F5.2	4 row	0.95m	0.29m	0.15-0.18m	4	rectangular
F5.3	possible slab tomb	1.40m	0.44m	0.11m	12	rectangular
F5.4	boulder covered	unknown	unknown	unknown	14	rectangular?
F5.5	rubble/boulder covered	2.15m	0.66m	0.16m	19	rectangular
F5.6	rubble/boulder covered	1.93m	0.82m	0.12m	26	rectangular
F6.1	slab tomb	n/a	0.59m	0.23-0.28m	2	was rectangular
F6.2	4 row	1.03m	0.27m	0.06-0.11m	4	rectangular

F6.3	rubble covered	1.70m	0.46m	0.13m	unknown	rectangular
F6.4	boulder covered	1.87m	0.43m	0.12-0.16m	12	rectangular
F6.5	boulder/poss slab	0.96m	0.49m	0.00-0.11m	3	rectangular
F6.6	boulder covered	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	rectangular
F6.7	3 row	n/a	0.25m	0.20m	3-1 in situ	rectangular
F7.1	4 row	1.29m	0.31m	0.21-0.22m	4	rectangular
F7.2	plaster boulder covered	1.18m	0.50m	0.03-0.13m	7	rectangular
F7.3	4 row	1.20m	0.26m	0.14-0.16m	4	rectangular
F7.4	rubble covered	1.47m	0.54m	0.06m	14	rectangular
F7.5	rubble covered	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	rectangular
F7.6	4 row	1.25m	0.28m	0.12-0.15m	4	rectangular
F7.7	4 row	1.11m	0.26m	0.13-0.18m	4	rectangular
F7.8	4 row	n/a	0.32m	0.21-0.23m	4-2 in situ	rectangular
F8.1	rubble covered	1.33m	0.45m	0.08m	27	rectangular
F8.2	plaster covered	2.03m	0.63m	0.03-0.12m	11	rectangular
F8.3	rubble covered	1.43m	0.50m	0.13m	21	rectangular
F8.4	plaster rubble covered	unknown	unknown	un known	unknown	rectangular?
F8.5	3 row	0.95m	0.28m	0.17-0.21m	3	rectangular
F9.1	3 row	1.12m	0.32m	0.17-0.21m	3	rectangular
F9.2	rubble covered	1.52m	0.43m	0.07m	31	rectangular
F9.3	pile of rubble	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown	unknown
F9.4	plaster covered	2.07m	0.96m	0.05m	48	rectangular

orientation	position in cemetery	is it in a row?	position in row	in group with similar tombs?	stones robbed?	plaster?
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	E end of row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	mid row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	W end of row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	E end of row		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	mid row		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	W end of row		yes	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	E end of row		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	W end of row		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	E end of row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	W end of row	no	no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	E end of row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	mid row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	mid row	yes	possibly	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	unknown	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	no	no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	no	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	no	yes

east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		possibly	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	W end of row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	E end of row	yes	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	W end of row	yes	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	yes	E end of row		no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	possibly
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
?	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	yes	no	yes
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no
no orientation	middle of cemetery	no	n/a	no	no	no
east-west	middle of cemetery	no	n/a		no	no

decoration?	slab on top?	shape of slab	stone 1	stone 2	stone 3	stone 4	stone 5
no	no	n/a					
no	part of slab	rectangular	0.42x0.41x0.28m				
no	no	n/a	0.29x0.26x0.18m	0.29x0.22x0.16m	0.32x0.26x0.11m	0.26x0.26x0.16m	
no	no	n/a	0.32x0.29x0.14m	0.19x0.28x0.13m	0.34x0.28x0.09m	0.35x0.26x0.11m	
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.35x0.25x0.19m	0.43x0.32x0.16m	0.37x0.26x0.16m		
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.27x0.27x0.19m	0.26x0.24x0.22m	0.34x0.24x0.16m	0.17x0.26x0.17m	
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.25x0.34x0.26m	0.21x0.31x0.24m	0.28x0.26x0.21m	robbed	
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.53x0.21x0.18m				
no	no	n/a	0.27x0.25x0.18m	0.32x0.27x0.15m	0.32x0.24x0.15m	0.17x0.25x0.13m	
no	no	n/a	0.27x0.33x0.25m	0.28x0.31x0.24m	0.33x0.29x0.21m	0.17x0.30x0.23m	
no	no	n/a	0.32x0.39x0.19m				
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.42x0.42x0.15m	0.48x0.32x0.12m	0.22x0.27x0.04m	0.36x0.35x0.22m	0.09x0.16x0.07m
no	no	n/a	0.32x0.35x0.12m	0.43x0.34x0.04m	0.42x0.28x0.07m	0.20x0.29x0.04m	0.41x0.38x0.10m
no	no	n/a	0.41x0.19x0.15m	0.12x0.27x0.22m	0.26x0.34x0.08m	0.36x0.18x0.14m	0.34x0.15x0.10m
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.30x0.23x0.11m	0.54x0.19x0.09m	0.42x0.10x0.02m	0.33x0.15x0.08m	
no	no	n/a	0.54x0.14x0.17m	0.48x0.21x0.10m	0.47x0.15x0.12m	0.17x0.37x0.26m	0.18x0.19x0.05m
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.27x0.30x0.17m	0.22x0.29x0.16m	0.22x0.31x0.16m	0.40x0.29x0.20m	
no	no	n/a	0.20x0.28x0.18m	0.19x0.29x0.17m	0.23x0.31x0.17m	0.23x0.30x0.15m	
no	possibly	n/a					
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.28x0.47x0.16m				
no	no	n/a					
no	slab broken in two	rectangular	0.82x0.59x0.23m	0.47x0.33x0.28m			
no	no	n/a	0.19x0.28x0.11m	0.32x0.26x0.11m	0.26x0.24x0.06m	0.24x0.24x0.10m	

no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.40x0.39x0.12m	0.24x0.25x0.16m			
no	possible slab	n/a	0.23x0.25x0.00m	0.31x0.41x0.09m	0.21x0.42x0.11m		
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.23x0.25x0.20m	0.43x0.19x0.23m	0.33x0.24x0.18m		
no	no	n/a	0.34x0.26x0.22m	0.29x0.25x0.21m	0.28x0.30x0.22m	0.32x0.31x0.22m	
no	no	n/a	0.26x0.40x0.09m	0.26x0.19x0.03m	0.26x0.24x0.08m	0.33x0.22x0.06m	0.23x0.24x0.13m
no	no	n/a	0.32x0.26x0.14m	0.34x0.24x0.16m	0.26x0.26x0.14m	0.18x0.22x0.16m	
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.39x0.28x0.14m	0.32x0.26x0.15m	0.32x0.27x0.15m	0.17x0.26x0.12m	
no	no	n/a	0.27x0.24x0.18m	0.33x0.26x0.16m	0.32x0.26x0.13m	0.15x0.24x0.13m	
no	no	n/a	0.27x0.32x0.23m	0.28x0.29x0.21m	0.30x0.28x0.22m	0.15x0.31x0.21m	
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.49x0.26x0.05m	0.36x0.24x0.07m	0.43x0.28x0.03m	0.39x0.25x0.03m	0.28x0.27x0.07m
no	no	n/a	0.23x0.34x0.13m				
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a	0.32x0.25x0.19m	0.26x0.27x0.17m	0.26x0.28x0.21m		
no	no	n/a	0.36x0.27x0.21m	0.44x0.28x0.21m	0.27x0.32x0.17m		
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a					
no	no	n/a					

0.20x0.16x0.08m	0.39x0.19x0.10m				
0.33x0.26x0.04m	0.28x0.25x0.04m	0.22x0.25x0.08m	0.25x0.46x0.12m	0.13x0.18x0.08m	0.17x0.10x0.07m

grave number	tomb type	length	width	height	number of stones	dressed stone?
Sb1.1	slab tomb	2.10m	0.81m (foot), 1.07m (head)	0.25m	1 on base, 1 slab	
Sb1.2	4 row slab tomb	1.97m	0.50m	0.12-0.16m	4	
Sb1.3	plaster covered	2.44m	1.10m	0.02-0.16m	12	
Sb11.1	large tomb slab	2.53m	0.98m	0.25m	1(slab)	yes
Sb2.1	slab tomb	1.72m	0.57m	0.06m	1	
Sb2.2	slab tomb	1.71m	0.61m (foot), 0.63m (head)	0.04m	1	
Sb2.5	4 row slab tomb	1.70m	0.30m	0.05-0.15m	4	
Sb2.6	unknown	0.74m	0.67m	0.33m	1	
Sb3.1	plaster covered	1.90m	0.93m (foot), 1.19m (head)	0.12-0.29m	10	
Sb3.2	slab - with Sb3.3	2.26m	1.15m	0.07-0.22m	10	
Sb3.3	slab - now off foundation	0.94m	0.79m	0.31m	1	
Sb4.1	slab tomb	2.75m	1.54m	0.60m	17(incl pt of slab)	
Sb4.2(Mason's tomb)	slab tomb	0.66m	0.56m	0.29m	2 (incl slab)	
Sb4.3	boulder tomb	2.24m	0.71m	0.07-0.25m	12	
Sb4.4	rubble tomb	1.36m	0.72m	0.06-0.19m	8	
Sb4.5	part of slab	0.51m	0.72m	0.21m	1	
Sb5.1	plaster covered	2.65m	0.96m	0.02-0.20m	8	
Sb5.2	4 row slab tomb	1.50m	0.51m	0.12-0.17m	4	
Sb5.4	plaster rubble/boulder tomb	2.14m	0.49m	0.25m	11	
Sb6.1	large tomb slab	2.62m	1.15m	0.04-0.15m	5	
Sb6.3	rubble tomb	n/a	n/a	n/a	?	
Sb6.4	part of slab	0.50m	0.79m	0.15m	1	
Sb6.5	part of slab	0.76m	0.53m	0.25m	1	
Sb7.1	rubble tomb	1.70m	0.59m	n/a	20	
Sb7.2	rubble/boulder tomb	1.60m	0.69m	0.14m	16	
Sb7.3	rubble tomb	1.55m	0.38m	0.15m	12	
Sb7.4	plaster covered	2.49m	1.30m	0.09m	?	?
Sb9.1	plaster covered	1.47m	0.52m	n/a	?	?
Sb9.2	plaster covered	1.23m	0.51m	0.10m	12	no

shape of tomb	orientation	position in cemetery	is it in a row?	position in row	in group with similar tombs?
square	east-west	north-east comer	yes	1st of 3 from west to east	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	yes	2nd of 3 from west to east	no
roughly squarish	east-west	north-east comer	yes	3rd of 3 from west to east	no
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	yes	1st of 2 from east to west	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	yes	2nd of 2 from east to west	yes
irregular	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	no
rounded with square end	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
gabled stone	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	yes	mid row	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	yes	mid row	
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	yes	start of row	
rectangle		north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	yes	mid row	yes
rectangle	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	possilby
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	yes	mid row	
rectanlge	east-west	north-east comer	yes	mid row	yes
	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	
rectangular		north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangular		north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	yes	mid row	
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	yes	mid row	
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	yes	start of row	yes
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes
rectangular	east-west	north-east comer	no	n/a	yes

grave number	tomb type	length	width	height	number of stones	shape of tomb	orientation
G1	unknown	0.92m	0.39m	0.21m	1	gabled	
G2	slab tomb	1.65m	0.33m	0.20m	1	rectangular	east-west
G3	slab tomb	0.87m	0.46m	0.21m	1	gabled	east-west
G4	slab tomb	1.75m	0.69m	0.18m	1	rectangular	east-west
G5	unknown	0.53m	0.43(S)-0.36(N)m	0.30m	1	rectangular	east-west
G7	unknown	0.45m	0.35m	0.28m	1	unknown	east-west
skeleton	3 row	0.81m	n/a	n/a	3	rectangular	east-west
G6	slab tomb				1	rectangular	east west

position in cemetery	is it in a row?	position in row	in group with similar tombs?	stones robbed?	plaster?
beside Sb1.1	no	n/a	unknown	no	no
in middle towards west	yes	mid row	no	no	no
in SW corner	no	n/a	no	no	no
in south central area	yes	end of row	no	no	no
in SW corner	no	n/a	n/a	no	no
19.05m from N wall	no	n/a	unknown	no	no
in SW corner	no	n/a	yes	no	no
				no	

decoration?	slab on top?	shape of slab	stone 1	stone 2	stone 3
yes-hole 0.11m diam	no	n/a			
incised cross in circle	yes	rectangle, tapering to foot			
cross in high relief	yes	rectangle			
cross in relief	yes	rectangle			
hole-0.24m(diam)x0.21m(depth)	no	n/a			
incised cross 0.11x0.08x0.005m	no	n/a			
no	no	n/a	0.23x0.28x0.00m	0.28x0.29x0.00m	0.25x0.29x0.00m
yes-eroded cross	yes	rectangular			

Appendix 7

Artefact Database

number	type of find	location	description	association with tomb or body	associated with another object	comments made by excavator	new info
34-66	Bead	X.5	paste, white				
34-66	Bead	X.5	carrollan				
34-66	Bead	X.5	stratified cup				
34-152	Bone	W.5	die				
34-106	Bronze	W.6	buckle				
34-100	Bronze	W.4	ring				not for wearing
34-101	Bronze	?	hinge for strap				
34-107	Bronze	W.5 top earth	finger ring	between graves			
34-108	Bronze	W.5 top earth	nail	between graves			
34-116	Bronze	W.5	finger ring, bezel incised				head broken off shank, squared quite small, prob womens
34-117	Bronze	W.5 top earth	ear-pick?	between graves	34-116		
34-121	Bronze	W.5 top earth	button, gilded	between graves			
34-122	Bronze	W.5	binding	between graves			
34-128	Bronze	W.5	ring				very thin
34-151	Bronze	W.3.3b	cross	with 3b			
34-160	Bronze	W.5	buckle				
34-45	Bronze	X.5	applique				
34-55	Bronze	X.4, X.5, Y.5 top earth	3 bolts, 2 nails				
34-55.1	Bronze	unknown	nail				end broken off, squared shank
34-55.3	Bronze	unknown	nail				hand made, end still quite sharp
34-65	Bronze	unknown	pendant cross				
34-77	Bronze	X.5 top earth	buckle		34-78, 34-79	medieval	
34-78	Bronze	X.5 top earth	long pin		34-77, 34-79	medieval	
34-79	Bronze	X.5 top earth	unknown, tube?		34-77, 34-78	medieval	hollow
34-9	Bronze	X.5 top earth	finger ring			recent, red stone in setting	
34-93	Bronze	W.5	binding, engraved				
34-99	Bronze	W.4 near surface	buckle	near burials in sand	34-100	complete, very little corrosion	
34-171	Charcoal	X.4.29	...(?)	fd with blackened skull beside grave 29		P. 7779	
34-3	Coin	M.20	Ar., Armenia	Near grave X.5.5		pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	?	Ac			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.4	Ac.			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.5	billon, Cyprus, Henry I			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.5	Ac., Byzantine			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.4	fragment			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.4.5, Y.5	Ac., late Roman				
34-3	Coin	X.5	Ac, Diocletian			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.5	Ac, late Roman			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.5	Ac.			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	X.5	Ar.			pub. Atiqot 37	
34-3	Coin	W.5	billon (?)			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.4	Ar., Henry VI, Sicily			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	X.5	Ac., Byzantine			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.5 or 6	Ac., Roman			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.5 or 6	Ar., 2, Mongol			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.5 or 6	Ar.			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.4	billon			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.5	billon			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.5 dump	billon, Amalricus			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.4	Ac.			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.5	billon			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-3	Coin	W.5	billon			pub. Atiqot 37 (1999)	
34-35	Flint	?-earth	blade				
34-50	Flint	T5-surface	worked			PICA land, trial excavations, fd at surface	
34-118	Glass	W.5	fragments				
34-95	Glass	X.4					
34-95	Glass	X.4	fragment, broken				

34-175	Gold	?X.5	finger-ring			
34-132	Iron	X.5 below 12,15	scraps, including ring	below 12, 15		
34-153	Iron	W.5	nail			
34-29	Iron	N.35	spear socket?	near skeleton in Shambles?		
34-30	Iron	X.5	nails	burial 45		rounded heads, frags of 5 across legs of buria 2 of largest clutched (?)
34-135	Lead					
34-161	Mother-of-pear	W.5	pendant cross			
34-75	Mother-of-pear	X.5	pendant cross, fragments			
34-76	Mother-of-pear	X.5	bead			
34-	Plaster		fragments			
34-16	Silver	?	fragment			
34-3	Silver	Y.5	coin			
34-111	Silver	W.4	unknown, fragment	found in debris of grave		
34-165	Silver?	W.5	pin from buckle			
34-109	Stone	W.5	...?			
34-34	Stone	X.5 top earth	bezel from ring	near grave 40		dark green and black
34-102	Textile	W.4	scraps linen		34-99, 34-100	
34-44	Wood	X.4	amulet			
34-59						neg. 138890
34-61						neg. 138896
						47.3329

measurements	date found
	May 17
	May 21
	May 22
	June 12
0.02m outer rim diam, 0.013m inner rim diam, 0.03-04m thick circle, pin 0.022m long	May 23
0.033m outer diam, 0.025m inner diam, 0.004m thick	May-22
	May 22
0.021m outer diameter, 0.018m inner diameter, 0.003m wide	May 23
shank 0.042m long, 0.004m wide in middle, head 0.012m diameter	May 23
0.011m top to bottom, 0.012m diameter, top 0.011m across	May-25
0.059m long, 0.005m wide top, 0.001m wide bottom, 0.001m thick	May 25
	May 26
0.041mx0.024m	May 26
0.02m inner diam, 0.022m outer diam, 0.002x0.001m thick	May 29
0.033mx0.033m, 0.004m thick	June 12
0.021m outer diam, 0.016m inner diam, pin 0.016m long, 0.002m thick	June 16
0.015mx0.006m, 0.001m thick	May 7
	May 11
0.059m long, head 0.018m diameter, shank 0.017m wide	unknown
0.059m long, shank 0.058m long, head 0.001m thick, head 0.01m diameter	unknown
0.022m long, 0.016m wide, 0.002m thick, top 0.004m thick, hole 0.002m diameter	unknown
0.021mx0.017m, 0.002m thick, other measurements in book (p. 52)	May 18
0.083m long, 0.005m wide, 0.004m thick	May 18
0.025m long, top 0.007m diameter	May 18
0.024m high, 0.021m outer diam, 0.018m inner diameter, 0.003m wide	April 30
	May 21
0.042m outer diam, 0.031m inner diam, pin 0.048m long, 0.005m thick	May-22
	June 27
	April 26
	May 1
	May 7
	May 7
	May 7
	May 8
	May 9
	May 11
	May 17
	May 17
	May 17
	May 17
	May 19
	May 21
	May 22
	May 23
	May 23
	May 23
	May 23
	May 23
	May 24
	May 24
	May 24
	May 25
	May 26
	May 26
	May 26
	May 29
	May 29
	May 4
	May 11
	May 25
	May 21
	June 20

	June 27
	May 31
	June 12
	May 3
0.07-0.10m long	May 3
	May 30
	June 16
	May 18
	May 18
	May 19
	May 1
	June 20
0.015m long, 0.012m high	May 24
	June 20
	May 23
0.013m diameter, 0.002m thick	May 4
	May 22
	May 7
	May-15
	May-15

Artefact number	Artefact type	Location of find	Johns' description
34-1	Pottery	N of road	sherds, slip-ware, part of pot
34-103	Pottery	W.5 or 6	bowl, white body, painted
34-104	Pottery	W.5 or 6	bowl, graffiato, splashed
34-105	Pottery	W.5 or 6	base, graffiato, splashed
34-110	Pottery	W.5	base emblazoned with 2 keys
34-112	Pottery	W.5	plate, white body, painted
34-113	Pottery	W.5	bowl, graffiato, three parallel lines
34-114	Pottery	W.5	bowl, slip decoration, green
34-115	Pottery	W.4	bowl, slip decorated
34-119	Pottery	W.4	base, bowl, graffiato bird
34-120	Pottery	W.5	fragmentary pot, red ware
34-123	Pottery	W.4,5	base, bowl, twisted rope graffiato
34-124	Pottery	W.4,5	fragmentary bowl, graffiato
34-125	Pottery	W.4,5	fragmentary bowl, slip
34-126	Pottery	W.4,5	fragmentary bowl, slip
34-127	Pottery	W.4	broken bowl, red body, white slip decoration inside, glaze gone
34-129	Pottery	X.4	fragmentary bowl, white and blue
34-130	Pottery	W.5	fragmentary jar, green glaze
34-131	Pottery	X.5 below 12,15	jar, rough red ware, encrusted with mortar, medieval
34-133	Pottery	W.5	base, graffiato blazon
34-134	Pottery	W.5	bowl, plain, glaze green
34-136	Pottery	W.5	bowl, graffiato, hawk
34-137	Pottery	Y.5	bowl, splashed brown, glaze yellow
34-138	Pottery	W.5	bowl, white painted black and blue
34-139	Pottery	W.5	cup, glazed brown
34-140	Pottery	W.5	juglet
34-141	Pottery	X.5	frags, bowl, brown with green XXX
34-142	Pottery	W.5	sherd, graffiato blazon
34-143	Pottery	W.5.282	bowl, plain, green glaze
34-144	Pottery	W.5.282	plate, slip decoration, brown glaze, medieval
34-145	Pottery	W.5.281	fragment, jar
34-146	Pottery	W.5	bowl, slip decorated, green glaze
34-147	Pottery	W.5	bowl, slip decorated, brown glaze
34-148	Pottery	W.5	bowl, cracked but entire, red body, covered slip, formerly glazed green
34-149	Pottery	W.4.3a	bowl, plain, glaze yellow, medieval
34-15	Pottery	?	part, jug, red ware
34-154	Pottery	W.5	plate, slip decoration, brown glaze
34-155	Pottery	W.4,5	fragment, white painted blue
34-156	Pottery	W.4,5	jug, buff ware
34-157	Pottery	X.4	small plate, entire, red body, decorated buff slip, formerly glazed but worn off
34-158	Pottery	W.5	fragment, dish, plain, green glaze
34-159	Pottery	W.5	bowl, light red ware

34-162	Pottery	W.5	sherd, white painted blue ...(?)
34-163	Pottery	X.4	cooking pot, coarse red ware, glazed inside, brown, complete except for one handle, medieval
34-164	Pottery	X.4	jug, red ware, rough, neck and handle missing
34-166	Pottery	Y.5	base, bowl, graffiato...(?)
34-167	Pottery	X.5	bowl, chipped but entire, coarse red body, glazed inside brown, medieval
34-168	Pottery	Y.5	fragment, drain pipe
34-169	Pottery	X.4 top earth	fragment, cooking pot, smooth red ware, very thin, brown glaze inside at bottom
34-17	Pottery	X.5 top earth	frag, base, plate, soft buff ware, white slip, painted blue and brown blobs or fruit, black dots on fringe
34-170	Pottery	X.4	frag, bowl, slip decoration, brown
34-172	Pottery	W.5	frag, bowl, slipshod graffiato, green
34-173	Pottery	W.4	water pot, red ware
34-174	Pottery	?	sherds, base...(?)
34-19	Pottery	N.35	fragmentary bowl, green
34-2	Pottery	X.5	sherds, E. 1 2
34-20	Pottery	N.25	bowl, plain slip, yellow
34-21	Pottery	N.25	cover for (?), painted slip
34-22	Pottery	N.25?	part, crack, brown glaze
34-23	Pottery	N.25?	part, large bowl, red ware
34-24	Pottery	M.25	cup, glazed, red ware
34-25	Pottery	M.25	?, plain red ware
34-26	Pottery	M.25	jug, rough
34-28	Pottery	M.25	bowl, graffiato
34-31	Pottery	?-earth	fragmentary bowl, champleve
34-32	Pottery	?-earth	fragmentary bowl, graffiato
34-33	Pottery	?-earth	fragmentary bowl, slip decoration
34-36	Pottery	M.15	bowl, complete though chipped, red body, firing buff, glaze firing khaki brown on body
34-37	Pottery	M.15	partial bowl, slip decorated, Med.
34-38	Pottery	M.15	mouth, pot, red ware, Med.
34-39	Pottery	M.15	mouth, buff, Med.
34-4	Pottery	X.4	broken bowl, slip ware
34-40	Pottery	X.4 or X.5 top earth	side, mortar, red, Med.
34-41	Pottery	top earth	fragmentary bowl, buff, painted, Med.
34-42	Pottery	top earth	fragmentary bowl, painted, Med.
34-43	Pottery	top earth	base, bowl, red, slip decorated, Med
34-46	Pottery	X.5?	frag plate, painted, buff body
34-47	Pottery	X.5	partial bowl, buff body, painted
34-48	Pottery	X.5	part bowl, red body, slip decoration
34-49	Pottery	surface	sherds: M1, Pers., Med.
34-5	Pottery	M.60	sherds
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, slip ware, and ?
34-5	Pottery	X.5	sherds
34-5	Pottery	N.35?	sherds - M.1, Pers, Hell, Med
34-5	Pottery	?-earth	sherds, M.1, Hell, Med

34-5	Pottery	top earth	sherds, M1-Pers or Med
34-5	Pottery	top earth	sherds - Pers.-Hell. and Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.5	sherds - R.1 etc and Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.4,5	sherds - M1 to Hell and Med
34-5	Pottery	X.5, Y.5	sherds, N.1-Pers, Hell, and Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.4,5,Y.5	sherds, N.1-Romand and Medieval
34-5	Pottery	X.4,5,Y5	sherds, N.1-Pers and Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.5	sherds: R.1, Hell., and Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.5, W.5	sherds: R.1-Hell and Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.4,5,W.5	sherds, ? Pers and Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.4,5,W.5	sherds: R.1 to Hell and Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.4, X.5	sherds: M.1-Pers and Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5 or 6	sherds: R.1-Hell to Med
34-5	Pottery	W.5,6	sherds: R.1, Pers., Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5,6	sherds, some Pers., chiefly Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.4,5	sherds: Pers to Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.4,5	sherds: some Pers., mostly Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, chiefly Med.
34-5	Pottery	Y.5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherd, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.4,5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	W.5	sherds, Med.
34-5	Pottery	X.4?	sherds, Med.
34-51	Pottery	T2	sherds
34-52	Pottery	T3	sherds: Pers, Hell.
34-53	Pottery	M.50	sherds, red ware, ribbed, Rmn.
34-53	Pottery	IM.50	sherds, red ware, thick Pers.
34-54	Pottery	X.4,5,Y.5	partial, base, buff body, painted
34-6	Pottery	X.4	base of jug
34-62	Pottery	X.5	bowl, frag of rim missing, red body, cream slip, glaze firing emerald green, mottled, medieval
34-63	Pottery		red on white, medieval (I believe it was more recent)
34-64	Pottery	X.5 top earth	bowl, broken, base missing, red body, white slip, glaze gone, medieval
34-67	Pottery	X.5	bowl, graffiato, cream
34-68	Pottery	X.5	base, bowl, slip decorated, green
34-69	Pottery	W.5	base, bowl, graffiato
34-70	Pottery	W.5	base, bowl, red, slip decoration
34-71	Pottery	X.5	base, jug?, buff, painted
34-72	Pottery	X.5	base, bowl, painted

34-73	Pottery	X.5	base, bowl, buff, painted, bird
34-74	Pottery	X.5	base, bowl, red, slip decorated
34-80	Pottery	X.5 top earth	bead
34-81	Pottery	X.5	fragments, graffiato bowl, bird
34-82	Pottery	X.5	fragment, bowl, glazed green
34-83	Pottery	W.5	partial jug, black and blue on white
34-84	Pottery	W.5	bowl, black and blue on white
34-85	Pottery	W.5	base, bowl, black and blue on white
34-86	Pottery	W.5	partial, bowl, graffiato, splashed
34-87	Pottery	W.5	base, bowl, graffiato, splashed
34-88	Pottery	X.4	frag. bowl, graffiato, splashed green
34-89	Pottery	X.4	fragmentary bowl, slip decoration
34-90	Pottery	X.4	bowl, slip decoration
34-91	Pottery	X.4	bowl fragment, slip decoration
34-92	Pottery	W.5	sherd, unglazed, black on white, M.1
34-94	Pottery	X.4	base, bowl, painted
34-96	Pottery	W.4	base, white body, painted
34-97	Pottery	W.4	bowl, red body, graffiato
34-98	Pottery	W.4	jar, red ware
?	Pottery	X.5	fragment
34-150	Pottery	W.4	lamp ...(?)
34-27	Pottery?	M.25	glass lamp
34-14, 47.3102	Pottery	unknown	
34-7	Pottery	unknown	
34-58, 47.3266	Pottery	unknown	
34-59	Pottery	unknown	
34-10	Pottery	unknown	
34-57, 47.3168	Pottery	unknown	
34-8	Pottery	unknown	
34-11, 47.3300	Pottery	unknown	

Association with other finds	Detailed description of location of find	Date of find	Type of Vessel	Type of find
		April 24		
		May 23	bowl	rim, base sherds
		May 23	bowl	base, body, part of rim
		May 23		
		May 24		
		May 25		
		May 25		
		May 25	bowl	base, part of rim
		May 25		
		May 26		
		May 26		
		May 28		
		May 28	bowl	body sherds
		May 28	bowl	base, rim, body
		May 28	bowl	base, rim, body
found under stone between graves with other sherd	medieval	May 29		foot, body, rim
		May 29		
		May 29		
below 12, 15	found lying on side between graves, c. 0.15m below original surface	May 31		
		June 1		
		June 1		base, 3/4 rim, body
		June 1		
		June 5		
		June 6		
		June 7		
		June 7		
		June 7		body, rim sherds
		June 8	bowl	partial base and rim
with burial 282	lying close to left side of pelvis	June 9		almost complete
with burial 282	lying 0.25m from left shoulder of burial	June 9		base, 1/2 of rim
near burial 281	cf. Ph. 7609, 7611	June 9		
		June 11		base, rim
		June 11	bowl	half of whole
within 0.90m of disturbed skeleton, 10cm _ with 3a	near stone trough where 34-4 found found 0.10m below left foot of fural, 30cm _	June 11		
		June 12		complete
		May 1		
		June 14		
		June 15		
		June 15		almost complete
	near surface, slightly above lowest corner of N wall	June 16		
		June 16		frags of base, rim, body
		June 16		whole base, part rim & body

		June 18		body sherd
	just inside line of N wall (presumed), about 0.40m above burial	June 20		
	near line of N wall, isolated	June 20		
		June 21		
found above skeleton, though prob not in associatio	near road	June 21		
		June 22		
		June 23		
		unknown	plate	
		June 27		
		June 13	bowl	sherd
near disturbed child burial		June 13		
		June 27		
above them (?)	from top earth, X.4 or 5	May 3		
		April 26		
		May 3		
		May 3		
		May 3		
		May 3		
32		May 3		half of whole
32		May 3		
32		May 3		
33		May 3	bowl/pedestal dish	missing one piece of rim
		May 4		
		May 4		partial baase
		May 4	bowl	foot, body, rim
	found in sand about 0.15m deep	May 5		
		May 5	bowl	base
		May 5		
		May 5	jar	
	fd in situ in basin inside N wall	April 26		
	very rough light ware but well baked, frag perforated for suspension	May 5		
		May 7		
		May 7		
		May 7		
		May 8		
		May 9		
		May 9	bowl	base
	PICA land, surface of tell W of bank b/t T1 & 2	May 10		
	?	April 27		
		April 27		
		April 28		
		May 3		
		May 4		

		May 5	
		May 7	
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		May 22	
		May 23	
		May 24	
		May 25	
		May 26	
		May 28	
		May 29	
		June 1	
		June 5	
		June 6	
		June 7	
		June 8	
		June 9	
		June 12	
		June 15	
		June 18	
		June 27	
	PICA land, trial excavations	May 9	
	PICA land, trial excavations	May 10	
	PICA land, trial excavations (T4)	May 11	
	PICA land, trial excavations (T4)	May 11	
		May 11	
		April 28	
beside skull of burial		May-16	partial
		?	
between graves		May-16	
		May 17	
		May 17	base
		May 18	
		May 18	
		May 18	possible jug
		May 18	

		May 18		base, rim sherds
		May 18	bowl	
		May 18		
		May 19		body sherds
		May 19		whole base; part rim, body
		May 21		
		May 21		
		May 21		
		May 21		rim, body sherds
		May 21		
		May 21		partial base, body, rim
		May 21		base, rim, body sherds
		May 21		whole
		May 21		3/4 of whole
		May 21		
		May 21		
		May 22		
		May 22		
		May 22		20 pieces
		May 18		
		June 12	lamp	base, body; top missing
near 32 and above		May 3		
		unknown	pitcher	mostly complete
		unknown	cup	base
		unknown	bowl	rim, upper body
		unknown	bowl	base, 2 pieces
		unknown	bowl	base
		unknown	bowl	base, body sherds
		unknown	bowl	parital base
		unknown	bowl	body sherds

Body type	Slip	Glaze	Inclusions
white			
dark, almost black	white	green glaze; dark brown on exterior	
buff to red	yes	green glaze	small-medium
red	white	clear	small white
buff	white	clear	
red	white	clear	
red	white	green	
	white		
red		greenish white	small white
red	white	green	
pale buff	white	clear	
red	white		
red	cream	emerald green	
red	cream	brown	small white
buff to red	yes	green	white
red		brown	small white
red	white	yellow on slip; brown on body	
buff			
red		green	
light red		dark green	

	white		
red	white	green	small white
red		brown	
red		greenish-white	
buff			
red	white	clear	small white
red			medium white
red		brown	
buff			
white			few dark
		brown	
buff	white	clear	
red		brown	small white

buff	white	clear	
red		clear	
buff	white	clear	
red		green	small white
pale buff	white		small white
buff			
buff to red	white	slight	
red	white	clear	small white
pale buff to buff			
red	white	clear	small white
red	white		large-small white
red			
red	yes		medium white
buff	yes		
white	no		
red			
buff to grey			large
buff			few large
red		green	
red		green	few
		brown	
red		yellow	small white
red		yellow	large white
red		green	
buff to pink	white	clear	

Decoration

painted black; arcs on rim, interlinking circles on interior

splashed green & brown; 4 parallel lines on rim, indiscernible decoration on body

white decoration; leaves around well of bowl, zigzagging line on interior & exterior of rim

green and brown splashed

green and brown splashed

3 parallel lines below rim; no colour on vessel but appears to be Port Saint Symeon Ware

no decoration

white decoration; zigzagging line on rim, indiscernible on body

no decoration

brown or black lines; splashed green and brown; black 'xxx' on rim

green and brown splashed; incised blazon

plain

white decoration; half moon on rim, parallel lines on base

white decoration; squiggly line on interior & exterior of rim

white decoration; concentric circles

plain

smoothed but no decoration

plain

plain

black & blue painted; lines around & beneath rim

sgraffito; squiggly lines radiating from base, alternating with fronds of plant, also radiating from base

sgraffito; slipshod decoration

white flowers done in relief; arabesque design

splashed brown & green; sgraffito; rounded cross with leaves radiating from 4 angles of cross

white on red; cross-hatch design in thick white lines

yellow decoration; star design with 8 lines radiating from middle of base

rough with no decoration

small orange dots painted around base, few squiggly lines

yellow lines; triangles, some intersecting

painted in green and yellow with black lines

lime green decoration; swirls and indiscernible decoration on well of bowl

light green decoration; swirls around body of vessel

painted blue and purple; paint has run
painted black

black lines with green & yellow splashes; feathers of bird on base; intersecting crescents with dots on rim
yellow decoration; 4 swirls around well of bowl
yellow & purple splashes; sgraffito; head of bird
plain; exterior rough, not smoothed
black & blue painting; decoration on exterior; triangles with dots
black & blue painting; lines and blue dots
black & blue painting; black cross-hatching surrounded by black lines & blue dots
sgraffito; black lines running around rim, 2 lines above, 2 lines below; rectangles between lines, alternately splashed green & brown
green & brown splashed sgraffito; no discernible pattern
splashed green; random lines in base; 4 circles around sides of bowl, each with square with cross over it; alternating with circles are 2 elongated v-shapes with square & cross above them
white decoration on white slip
white line decoration in no discernible pattern; ribbing on exterior
fully slipped on interior and exterior; decoration indiscernible
black painting; series of lines, some crossing ; spiral
black painting; lines around base; spots in base, some with running paint
no decoration
no decoration
yellow decoration
splashed yellow and brown; sgraffito; series of half circles with dots in middle, forming 2 concentric circles around interior of bowl
green splashes; sgraffito; cross-hatching within a circle
sgraffito; cross-hatching within a circle
painted with black lines; splashed green & brown; too small to tell pattern; some cross-hatching

Other
splashes of glaze on exterior of foot & base; Cypriot III B
part of exterior slipped
thinly potted; glaze & slip on exterior of rim
small in size; diameter of 12.5cm
contained iron scraps (34-132)
glaze & slip on exterior of rim, drips onto body; small
2 handles with holes in each, very small
part of exterior slipped
fairly small
top spout missing; hole in base; remains of 1, possibly 2 handles
some glaze dripped on exterior; carinated rim

Johns was unsure if medieval or Roman

1 handle extant

finely potted

tripod marks

slip on exterior of bowl

large bowl

medium sized; 3 handles, 2 extant; small mouth

perforated for suspension; between graves in topsoil, X4/X5

green glaze on exterior
handle missing, but can see where it was attached
carinated rim; small
carinated rim
thickly potted
very rough on exterior
small
rough; large
rough
rough; thickly potted; spout on side; remnant of handle on other
glaze on interior & exterior to just above foot
glaze on upper part of exterior of rim
partially slipped on exterior

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