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Similar but different – Displaying social roles of subadults in burials from the late Pre-Pottery Neolithic site of Ba’ja, Southern Jordan

Marion Benz, Julia Gresky, Hala Alarashi

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ACTES DES 40^{es}

RENCONTRES INTERNATIONALES D'ARCHÉOLOGIE ET D'HISTOIRE
NICE CÔTE D'AZUR



L'ART DU PARAÎTRE

Apparences de l'humain, de la Préhistoire à nos jours
The art of human appearance, from prehistory to the present day

sous la direction de
HALA ALARASHI & ROSA MARIA DESSI

L'ART DU PARAÎTRE

apparences de l'humain,
de la Préhistoire à nos jours

*The art of human appearance:
from prehistory to the present day*

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Sous la direction de
Hala Alarashi, Rosa Maria Dessì

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DANSER SES PEAUX

INTRODUCTION

Hala Alarashi^a, Rosa Maria Dessi^b

Les Rencontres internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire, qui se sont tenues entre 1983 et 2018 à Antibes et qui sont désormais organisées à Nice, reposent sur deux piliers : l'échange entre disciplines au sein des sciences humaines et sociales, et la perspective diachronique, de la Préhistoire à l'actuel. La 40^e édition de ces Rencontres, accueillie au sein du Musée d'Art Moderne et d'Art Contemporain de Nice les 22, 23 et 24 octobre 2019, ont eu pour thème « l'art du paraître : les apparences de l'humain de la Préhistoire à nos jours ». Une réflexion collective a ainsi été mise en œuvre sur les multiples formes d'enveloppement, de marquage et de mise en scène des corps dans les cultures humaines à travers les âges, en s'attachant aux objets, images et représentations.

Dans une perspective anthropologique aussi large, une première question d'ordre terminologique a très vite surgi. Faut-il parler de vêtement ou de costume, de parure ou d'ornement ? On sait que si les historiens évoquent le plus souvent le « vêtement » et, dans une optique normative, le « costume », les ethnologues et les archéologues, spécialistes du plus lointain et du plus ancien, parlent plus volontiers de la « parure », tandis que l'« ornement » fait partie du vocabulaire des historiens d'art. Ces usages différents ne doivent pas entraver l'effort commun pour décrypter le sens social des manières de se vêtir ou de mettre en valeur les corps. Afin d'éviter des termes qui ont une signification plus ou moins précise au sein d'une discipline ou impliquent une approche particulière, voire exclusive, qu'il s'agisse par exemple de la dimension technique ou institutionnelle, c'est la notion d'*apparences* qui nous a paru la plus apte à rendre compte des travaux menés lors de ces Rencontres. Les apparences comprennent l'habillement et ses accessoires, le marquage, les modifications et les attitudes ou gestes du corps. Elles sont

bien la manifestation d'un *art du paraître*, où le paraître résulte d'une volonté, d'actes ou des conventions socioculturelles, médiatisés par l'*ars*, un terme qui désigne tout à la fois les techniques, les mises en scène du corps et la production artistique. En précisant que nous nous intéressons aux apparences de l'humain, nous ne voulons pas signifier que le souci du paraître constituerait un invariant ou un universel qui seul importerait dans une vision eurocentrique, mais indiquer que toutes les cultures humaines, dans leur diversité, entrent dans nos préoccupations.

Les Anciens faisaient de l'art de se vêtir le propre de l'humain et, dès le XVI^e siècle, en Europe, des auteurs de « livres de costumes » ou de « recueils d'habits » ont entrepris de classer les cultures et les groupes sociaux en fonction des apparences des hommes et des femmes. Tout en manifestant un intérêt pour l'altérité, leurs catalogues constituaient aussi, sinon davantage, un discours « sur soi », c'est-à-dire sur l'homme occidental civilisé, bien distinct des « autres » dont les vêtements et les attitudes étaient répertoriés et illustrés. Ce n'est guère qu'à partir du début du XX^e siècle, avec les fondateurs des sciences sociales, héritiers des ethnographes du siècle précédent, Marcel Mauss, André Leroi-Gourhan, Claude Lévi-Strauss ou Roland Barthes (pour ne citer que quelques classiques et se limiter à des auteurs français), qu'ont été élaborés des démarches et des concepts – des « techniques du corps » à la « sémiologie du vêtement » – destinés à rendre compte de la façon dont les hommes et les femmes ont, au fil du temps et jusqu'à aujourd'hui, communiqué par l'art du paraître leur statut ou identité : ethnie, clan, genre, âge, rang social et/ou croyances... Plus récemment, et on en trouvera des échos dans cet ouvrage, l'ontologie naturaliste occidentale, au sein de laquelle se sont construites les sciences sociales et tout particulièrement les recherches sur

a. Spanish National Research Council (IMF-CSIC), Egiptciaques 15, 08001 Barcelona, Spain.

b. Université Nice Côte d'Azur, CEPAM UMR 7264, CNRS.

les apparences de l'humain, a été mise en cause au profit d'interrogations nouvelles : sur les phénomènes d'hybridations culturelles d'une part, et sur le problème des frontières de l'espèce humaine de l'autre. Dans le cas des sociétés anciennes et préhistoriques, ce sont les méthodes, protocoles et approches innovantes d'analyse des parures, de reconstitution des pratiques de marquage, d'habillement et d'apparat qui mobilisent, comme le lecteur s'en apercevra, une bonne partie de l'énergie et de l'inventivité des chercheurs.

Selon des approches et des contextes variés, les contributions de ce volume s'intéressent aux codes des apparences, tout en relevant les capacités d'intégration et d'innovation des sociétés humaines, ainsi que les expressions individuelles qui échappent à l'*habitus*. L'art du paraître et ses images sont abordés en tant que création et faculté de composition, à l'aune de tensions : entre être et paraître, normes et pratiques sociales, communauté et singularité, semblance et dissemblance, apparence et dissimulation. Si ces questions ont déjà fait l'objet d'études spécifiques, elles n'ont guère été traitées de manière transverse, pluridisciplinaire, ni dans une large diachronie. En réunissant des préhistoriens, des historiens et des archéologues, des ethno-anthropologues et des spécialistes de sémiologie et d'esthétique, des historiens de l'art et des images, ainsi que des artistes, nous souhaitons voir expliciter les objectifs et les outils de ces diverses approches, afin d'engager une réflexion collective sur les modalités et les formes du paraître au sein des sociétés humaines.

Les chapitres de cet ouvrage, qui ne reprennent pas l'ensemble des communications présentées lors de ces Rencontres, ont été distribuées en trois sections. La première regroupe des contributions mettant en évidence les enjeux épistémologiques des travaux sur l'art du paraître. On y verra que la démarche anthropologique actuelle s'attache moins à définir des faciès culturels qu'à saisir les échanges interculturels et les phénomènes de transfert ou d'imitation entre groupes sociaux, entre sociétés, entre humains et non-humains. Par ailleurs, les pratiques du paraître et les interventions sur les corps y sont moins analysées en termes de représentation ou en tant que symboles, comme dans les théories classiques, qu'à l'aune des relations et des logiques sociales. Enfin, si les apparences de l'humain relèvent aussi de l'art et de l'*artification* des corps, c'est la connexion entre histoire de l'art, esthétique et anthropologie qu'il convient d'explorer.

La deuxième section de l'ouvrage s'intéresse à la façon dont les apparences, reconstituées à travers la culture matérielle, les normes et les images, manifestent des identités culturelles, sociales et de genre. Ici, les recherches menées dans le domaine de la préhistoire s'efforcent de décrypter les relations entre le paraître et les expressions identitaires, en analysant les phénomènes de persistance ou, au contraire, les nouveaux usages survenus dans les usages corporels au fil du temps, notamment dans les moments de transition, et cela pour ce qui concerne les adultes et les enfants, les vivants et

les morts. La question des acteurs de la production d'objets de parure est également posée. À propos de l'Occident antique et médiéval, la complexité des relations entre les pratiques et les discours est révélée grâce à la multiplicité et la variété des sources – archéologiques, textuelles et iconographiques – qui montrent une construction des identités participant à un jeu social qui n'est jamais figé. Si quand bien même, les apparences vestimentaires distinguaient les hommes et les femmes, les clercs et les laïcs, les représentations qui leur étaient associées faisaient en outre l'objet de lectures plurielles.

La troisième section rassemble des recherches qui explorent les usages et les « biographies » (reconstituées à partir de protocoles analytiques précis) d'objets de parure : perles en coquilles préhistoriques, couronnes antiques, accessoires de mode de la modernité industrielle. Les différentes formes du traitement du corps, comme les pratiques de modification crânienne et de mutilation dentaire ou encore la fixation de labrets, font aussi l'objet de recherches inédites. Les corps, que ni la parure ni aucun artifice ne peut embellir (et socialiser), font parfois l'objet d'exclusion.

Si la question des gestes corporels a été un peu négligée lors de ces Rencontres, une conférence performée de danse, dont on trouvera la trame et la trace à la fin du volume, a convié tous les participants à réfléchir à la présence des corps et aux rapports entre le corps nu et ses enveloppes.

*

Nous voudrions remercier les institutions et les personnes qui ont soutenu et permis l'organisation des 40^{es} Rencontres internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Nice Côte d'Azur : le laboratoire CEPAM « Cultures et Environnements. Préhistoire, Antiquité, Moyen Âge » (UMR 7264), en particulier sa directrice Isabelle Théry-Parisot, et l'Université Côte d'Azur ; le Service Archéologie de la Ville de Nice et de la Métropole Côte d'Azur, notamment son directeur, Fabien Blanc, et Élodie Sanchez qui nous a guidé, lors des Rencontres, dans l'église médiévale Saint-François récemment redécouverte ; l'Association pour la Diffusion des Connaissances Archéologiques (APDCA) et particulièrement Isabelle Rodet-Belarbi.

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Les participants et quelques auditeurs des 40^{es} Rencontres internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire Nice Côte d'Azur, lors de la réception offerte par la Ville de Nice, devant l'abside de l'ancienne église Saint-François de Nice, 23 octobre 2019.

SIMILAR BUT DIFFERENT

Displaying social roles of subadults in burials from the late Pre-Pottery Neolithic site of Ba`ja, Southern Jordan

Marion Benz^a, Julia Gresky^b, Hala Alarashi^c

Résumé

L'augmentation de différences sociales et l'émergence des identités collectives sont considérées comme des changements fondamentaux de la Néolithisation. L'engagement et la loyauté envers le groupe – et donc la socialisation – devinrent des critères décisifs pour les communautés néolithiques. Dès lors, l'identité personnelle était probablement profondément déterminée par le groupe et l'attribution des rôles sociaux commençait sans doute dès l'enfance. Dans le cadre du projet *Household and Death – Commodification and Identities in Ba`ja during the Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (LPPNB) of the Southern Levant*, plus de dix-huit squelettes d'enfants furent découverts dans des sépultures individuelles, doubles et collectives. D'une part, ces sépulcres montrent des similitudes frappantes dans leurs rites funéraires, reflet probable de conventions sociales bien définies. D'autre part, des différences considérables relatives à la disposition des corps et à l'organisation de l'espace funéraire sont observées. Parallèlement à la construction généralement complexe des tombes, la variabilité des parures corporelles et le mobilier funéraire suggèrent une mise en scène des différences sociales des individus enterrés. La localisation et l'association de certaines tombes peuvent indiquer un concept de « groupe social » au sein de cette société néolithique. Nos études intégrales des rites funéraires, de l'apparence du corps et des offrandes tentent d'expliquer ces différences sociales rendues visibles au sein des inhumations d'enfants du site néolithique de Ba`ja.

Mots clés

Néolithique, Proche-Orient, Mega-Site-Phenomenon, rites funéraires, ornements

Abstract

Increasing social differentiation and the emergence of collective identities are considered to be fundamental changes brought about by Neolithisation. Commitment and loyalty – and therefore socialization within the group – became important elements in Neolithic agricultural communities. Henceforth, personal identities were probably mainly determined by the group and the ascription of social roles will have begun at quite an early age. Within the framework of the project *Household and Death – Commodification and Identities in Ba`ja during the Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (LPPNB) of the Southern Levant*, more than eighteen subadult interments in single, double and collective burials were discovered. On the one hand, these burials show striking similarities in their rituals, obviously adhering to distinct social rules, but on the other hand, there are many differences in the way the bodies are displayed and in the organization of the funerary space. Besides grave constructions of differing complexity, jewelry and so-called grave goods were used as diacritical means with which the community indicated social differences during burial rituals. The locations and associations of certain burials could be indicative of Neolithic concepts concerning social groups. We will compare the burial rituals, the appearance of the bodies and the objects within the graves to seek reasons for these differences, and thereby assess the social roles ascribed to subadults at the Neolithic site of Ba`ja.

Keywords

Neolithic, Near East, Mega-Site-Phenomenon, burial rituals, ornaments

a. Institute of Near Eastern Archaeology, Free University, Fabeckstrasse 23-25, 14195 Berlin, Germany.

b. German Archaeological Institute, Natural Sciences, Anthropology, Im Dol 4-6, 14195 Berlin, Germany.

c. Spanish National Research Council (IMF-CSIC), Egipcíacques 15, 08001 Barcelona, Spain.

INTRODUCTION

Decoration of the body is known to have existed since the earliest prehistoric periods (*e.g.* PETTITT 2011; VANHAEREN & D'ERRICO 2011; BELFER-COHEN, GORING-MORRIS 2017). In our contribution we will show how, in a context of increasing social differentiation during the early Neolithic (*see e.g.* GEBEL 2004; GORING-MORRIS 2005; ROLLEFSON 2017), adornments were used to demonstrate belonging to a group and corporate identities, as well as serving as diacritical means to emphasize social differences. In 2018 and 2019 two lavishly decorated subadult burials were discovered at the late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (LPPNB; 7,500-6,900 [?] cal. BCE)¹ site of Ba`ja, Jordan (GEBEL *et al.* 2019, forthcoming). Both burials date to the end of this period and show structural similarities with other graves on the site. They contain bead types and pendants of which isolated similar examples have been found in other graves and on other Pre-Pottery Neolithic sites. However, both burials also contrast strongly with other burials discovered at Ba`ja between 2016 and 2019. They contain jewelry which to date has not yet been observed in a LPPNB context and, despite some similarities, both lavishly decorated subadult burials present their very own specificities concerning the choice of colors, raw materials, ornaments and bead types. These observations of striking differences and similarities initiated research on the social meaning of the presentation of these subadults during the burial rituals.

We will first describe these two outstanding burials and then discuss their possible interpretations in the light of socio-economic processes and in the context of the LPPNB. Our discussion should be considered as preliminary, since research on the graves and their interpretation is still ongoing. The research has been carried out within the framework of the *Household and Death* Project, funded by the German Research Foundation (BO 1599/16-1) and embedded in the longterm research project of H.G.K. Gebel in the Greater Petra Area since 1981 (GEBEL *et al.* 2017 with further references).

The late Pre-Pottery Neolithic site of Ba`ja

The LPPNB site of Ba`ja is located in rugged sandstone mountains, on an intermontane plateau at about 1,190 m.a.s.l. and is surrounded by deep gorges. Wherever excavations have been carried out, substantial architectural remains have been discovered (BIENERT & GEBEL 2004;

GEBEL *et al.* 2019). It is therefore fairly certain that the entire plateau of 1.5 ha was once densely populated. Despite its rather small surface, similarities in architecture and material culture indicate that Ba`ja belonged to the so-called Mega-Site Phenomenon (GEBEL 2004). It was a time when due to increasing sedentism and population densification, new ways of social coexistence needed to be developed. On the one hand it appears that supra-regional networks became intensified (*e.g.* CARTER *et al.* 2013; ALARASHI 2014; ALARASHI, ORTIZ & MOLIST 2018), on the other hand there is some evidence that corporate identities also increased with enhanced sedentism (BENZ 2010, 2012; GEBEL 2010a, 2017; ALT *et al.* 2013; BELFER-COHEN & GORING-MORRIS 2017). As we will show below, objects discovered in the graves of Ba`ja amply illustrate the close economic and cultural relationships with other LPPNB villages. In order to understand the role of body decoration within the increasing social differentiation and territorial segregation of early Neolithic communities (BENZ, WATKINS & GEBEL 2017), we will briefly outline the theoretical considerations on which our interpretations are based.

THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS THE EXTENDED SELF

Since the 1990s, research in ethnography, cognitive sciences and social neuroscience has increasingly demonstrated that the human self is always an extended self (*e.g.* STRATHERN 1988; CLARK & CHALMERS 1998). Infants only develop a concept of themselves by imitating and taking over parts of the identities of others (BAUER 2019); they therefore need and assimilate with others. Sympathy and commitment are gained and enhanced by imitation and assimilation (LAKIN, CHARTRAND & ARKIN 2008; HAUN, REKERS & TOMASELLO 2014; HIRST *et al.* 2018). Nothing could be more revealing than the two words “like you”, turning loving someone and being similar to someone into an inseparable pair. These often unconscious processes of assimilation can be so strong that being different can lead to stigmatization. Over 100 years ago, EMIL DURKHEIM elegantly described these invisible social forces: “If I do not submit to the conventions of society, if in my dress I do not conform to the customs observed in my country and in my class, the ridicule I provoke, the social isolation in which I am kept, produce, although in attenuated form, the same effects as a punishment in the strict sense of the word (DURKHEIM 1895/1964, pp. 2-3)” (cited in BRENNAN 2017: 16-17). At the end of the 19th century, DURKHEIM was not able to know the neurobiological reasons why being isolated hurts so much, but research in social neurosciences has shown that social deprivation, being bullied or stigmatized, activates the same neuronal networks as physical pain (BAUER 2013).

1. Radiocarbon dates of the 2nd major occupation phase at Ba`ja to which the burials belong have been dated recently (BENZ *et al.* 2019): MAMS 30314: 8039 ± 27 BP (2σ 7,071-6,830 cal. BCE), MAMS 30315: 7928 ± 29 BP (2σ 7,028-6,684 cal B.C.E.).



Fig. 1. Extraordinary Burial C1 :46 of a 8 ± 2 -year-old child in Room CR36.1, Ba`ja, southern Jordan. (Photo: M. BENZ).

On the other hand, every individual is different. In respect to mating at the very least, differentiation and individualization become important aspects of personal identities. Humans are thus born into a lifelong struggle between assimilation and individualization – irrespective of whether he/she is born in a more collective or a more individualistic cultural context (HORNSEY & JETTEN 2012). As suggested by GEBEL (2017), the Neolithic people of the southern Levant were probably deeply embedded in Neolithic habitus communities, dominated by informal social rules and confined in informally defined territories. He therefore suggested considering the Neolithic self as a “relational self”.

Furthermore, if the human self is developed in relation to others, and if humans ascribe symbolic meaning – and thereby agency – to things, things cannot only be used as diacritical devices to express identities with the body as the mediator (TREHERNE 1995), but as objects that can influence or even form personal identities to a considerable extent (BENZ 2017: fig. 1).

We therefore surmise that decorating the body – besides functional and possibly various other reasons for clothing

(GILLIGAN 2019) – is based on two fundamentally social reasons: the wish to display or even to achieve assimilation, the desire “to be like you” and to demonstrate belonging as well as to express differentiation and competition. Ornamentation and dress can serve both ends. Body decoration or transformation may be used to embellish the body according to social norms or to express protest and individuality, to enhance personal self-esteem or to completely deny it by masking and thus visually (and perhaps also empathetically) adopting the identity of others (BROSIG *et al.* 2014). As will be shown below, the two richly decorated subadult burials at Ba`ja comprise aspects of both facets of dress, assimilation and distinction. Dress, *i.e.* symbolically meaningful clothing, would have gained in importance when face-to-face intimate knowledge of group members faded, when the size of the group passed the crucial threshold of about 150 ± 50 persons and when corporate identities played an increasingly decisive role (DUNBAR 2009; BENZ, WATKINS & GEBEL 2017).

The importance of our outward appearance is underlined by the dominant role of our visual capacities. Our visual system is “linked to emotions in a much stronger way than verbal communication” (SÜTTERLIN 2017, translation MB). That is why outward appearance has played and still plays a crucial role for empathy (or antipathy) and the creation of memories. We remember sounds, smells and touches, but our brain immediately relates them to pictures from the past.

The Role of Burial Rituals

In the growing permanent villages of the early Neolithic Near East, which faced increasing social differentiation and perhaps even hierarchization, loyalties and successful mitigation became vital aspects for these communities (KUIJT 1996; GEBEL 2010b; BENZ & BAUER 2013). Diacritical means gained importance to mark increasing social differentiation and specialization. Thus, personal identities were increasingly determined by the group and the ascription of social roles would have begun at quite an early age (ROLLEFSON 2017). The importance of rituals for the display, creation, stabilization and enhancement of group identities has been emphasized by ethnographers, archaeologists and sociologists alike (*e.g.* ASSMANN, MACIEJEWSKI & MICHAELS 2007; KUIJT 2008; HAYDEN 2018). Synchronized movement (dancing), music, and communal meals, often accompanied by intense emotional arousal, considerably enhance commitment and memories of these events (WINKELMAN 2002; WILTERMUTH & HEATH 2009; TARR *et al.* 2015). Whereas in ordinary feasting, cooperation and commitment is promoted, burial rituals trigger memory in a special way; they create a virtual connection with deceased members of the community. Factual relationships are turned into fictive ones and can gain

omnipresence, when continuously remembered, irrespective of time and place. Burial rituals are thus social events in which collective memories, identities and a sense of belonging are forged, enhanced and recalled. There is no resistance on the part of the late “individual” at all. On the contrary, the display of the corpse disregards the self-image of the dead person, his/her “I”. Instead, “the body and its treatment becomes an artefact of and a canvas for symbolic and social impressions” (KNÜSEL *et al.* 2010: 306), a screen for the display of social norms, traditions and of the ideas and expectations of other members of the group, how they conceive the identity of the dead and that of their group.

Based on these theoretical aspects, we will focus our analyses on the following questions:

1. Which objects and rituals in the two extraordinary subadult burials may represent group identities, and *vice versa*, which objects and rituals may have also served as diacritical means, emphasizing ascribed personal identities – although for early prehistory, the self remains for us difficult to grasp.
2. Were there objects or ritual elements in the display of the corpse that may have expressed status (according to gender/age or other criteria)?
3. Were there objects or rituals that may have expressed and enhanced relationships beyond death between the living community and the deceased subadult individuals?

TWO EXTRAORDINARY SUBADULT BURIALS

The two elaborate burials of subadults here discussed are the most lavishly decorated burials known for the LPPNB in the Near East (fig. 1-5). Both were situated in the ground floor/basement of houses in burial pits that were cut through the plaster floor into the natural sediment. They were separated about six meters from each other only by two adjacent rooms. Since the building had been transformed and rebuilt several times, it is not clear whether both graves were once accessible at the same time. There are, indeed, old window-like passages in the walls next to both burials, but we do not know the exact moment when these were blocked up. The outstanding character of both burials is not only seen in the elaborate grave constructions and burial ritual, but above all by the ornaments that were buried with these subadults.

Red and white

The extraordinary burial of an eight-year-old child

The extraordinary child grave (C1:46) discovered in 2018 enables a detailed reconstruction of the burial ritual. As it has been described elsewhere in detail (GEBEL *et al.* 2019), it suffices here to summarize the main steps and characteristics. The child, according to preliminary anthropological

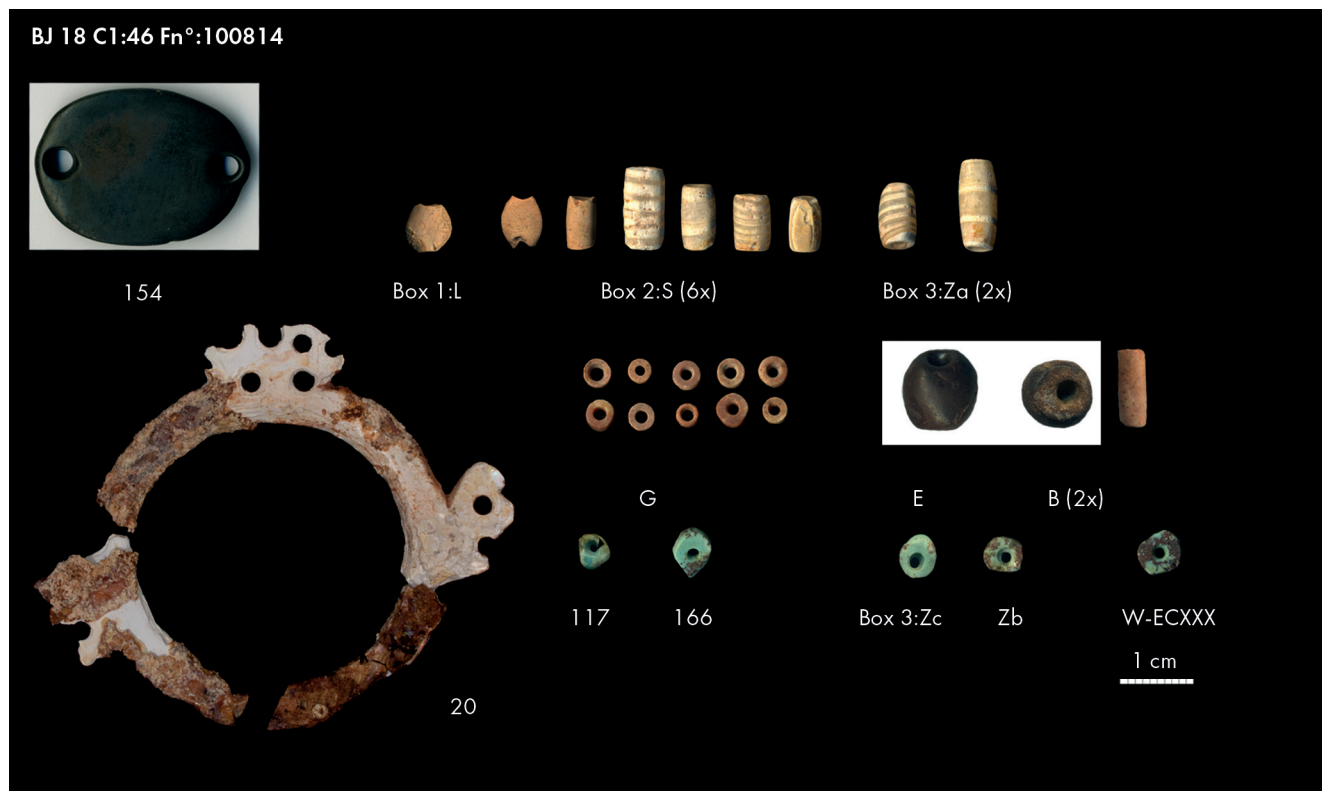


Fig. 2. Bead types and mother-of-pearl ring of the child’s necklace in Burial C1 :46. (Scans : H. ALARASHI/A. COSTES).

Loci age/sex (f = female; m = male)	CR28.2:122/123 4× <i>infans</i> I, indet	C1:46 8 ± 2yrs, f(?)	CR35:408 25-35yrs, m	Other grave contexts
Burial construction	Earth pit	Grave cist inside earth pit	Grave pit with two vertical aligned slabs	Grave pits or collective burials on floors
Large covering slabs	0 or 1 (?)	2	3	0-2
Broken stone slabs cover	>5	>20	None, but large fist-sized stones	Various types, from broken slabs to stones
White plaster sealing	Not preserved?	Yes	Yes	None
Embedded broken objects in grave cover	miniature limestone vessel	5 broken grinding tools	dagger, vessel fragment, projectile points; complete bone spatula and a pestle	Various objects, e.g. dagger, stone vessel fragments, grinding tools
Further constructional elements of the grave	None	Small stone wall	Small stone wall	Generally none; but vertical slabs in the collective tomb in Area D
Number of beads	>1149	>2584	~10	0-4 ²
Upper arm bracelets			1 (right, MOP), 5 (left 1 MOP, 4 marl)	Sandstone ring fragments
Nerites	141			35 [2, Loc. CR6:39/41; 1, Loc. DR19:110]
Cowries	267			4
Conidae	118	4		3 [1, Loc. CR6:39; 1, Loc. DR19:110]
Dentalium	1?	1?		
Rhomboid/spherical Tri/Sp	72			
Barrel-shaped/cylindrical Tri/Sp	170	232		7 [3, Area D, collective tomb]
Red limestone beads	min. 1 (of flat rhomboid shape)	2337		
Sand-/marl-/limestone beads of various colours	324			[1, Loc. CR6:23a]
Carnelian	1		1	
Turquoise		5	min. 6	[33, Loc. CR6:23a; 1, Area D, collective tomb; 1, DR19:110]
Chrysocolla	32			1?
Hematite		2 beads, 1 buckle		
Other green stone beads	2		2	
Other/unidentified beads	20	2	1	1 [3, Area D, collective tomb; 1, Loc. CR5:49A]
Bone beads				[10, Loc. CR6:40/41; 4-5, Loc. C10:152]
MOP-Pendants A) cross-shaped B) ring-shaped	A	B		A and B
Pigments	Yellow	Red	Red	Red and yellow

Tab. 1. Comparison of both subadult burials Loci CR28.2:122/123 and C1:46 with an adult burial (Loc. CR35:408) and other grave contexts. MOP = mother-of-pearl; Tri/Sp = *Tridacna*/*Spondylus*. Greenstone is used in the archaeological sense of the word, including all minerals and stones of green appearance, and not in the geological sense (Maier 2008).

analyses, was probably an 8 ± 2-year-old girl, and was deposited in a grave cist made of two vertical slabs and one large greyish-red sandstone covering slab (fig. 1). On top of the main covering slab of the grave, three layers of fragmented, shiny white Ordovician sandstone slabs were placed and fixed in mortar. Additionally, five grinding stones were deposited within this cover. The grave comprised the whole eastern part of Room CR36.1 and was separated from the western part by a small wall. Because some of the white Ordovician sandstone slabs fitted neatly together, but some of them were found upside down, it has been suggested

that these slabs were deliberately broken shortly before the burial. The entire grave was hermetically sealed by a white plastered layer of small limestone and flint gravels that closely resembles the plaster floors of the houses.

The contrast between the differently colored sandstones, red and white, was repeated in the sophisticated necklace

2. The beads listed in this column below the general number of beads refer to the beads from the collective burial in CR17, because the other collective tombs have not yet been analyzed in detail; numbers in square brackets refer to other grave contexts.

[%]	CaO	SiO ₂	SO ₃	Al ₂ O ₃	Fe ₂ O ₃	MgO	Na ₂ O	K ₂ O	P ₂ O ₅
C1 :46, Fn.: 100814; Box G N° 1	94.47	2.32	0.30	0.76	0.58	0.29	0.17	0.16	0.87
C1 :46, Fn.: 100814; Box G N° 2	92.65	2.46	1.23	1.16	0.36	0.4	0.27	0.23	1.07
C1 :46, Fn.: 100814; Box G N° 3	91.11	3.07	1.47	1.24	0.55	0.65	0.23	0.23	1.44
CR28.2.: 123/122; Fn.: 110825.346.2	80.83	5.19	0.32	2.40	4.45	0.54	0.17	0.37	4.87
R1 (Dabba Marbles raw material)	49.70	6.40	0.00	1.20	1.17	0.40	0.90	0.00	7.00

Tab. 2. Raw material analyses of the red limestone beads from Ba`ja compared to red Dabba Marbles. Analyses of reference beads from Ba`ja were carried out by M. MARTIN and M. GERLITZKI, State Department of Geology, Freiburg; for the red Dabba Marbles see Wright *et al.* (2008: 159, tab. 6). NB: The Dabba Marbles contained other elements that have not been the subject of analysis for the beads of Ba`ja, which is why the percentage for the Dabba Marbles does not amount to 100 %.

worn by the child (tab. 1; fig. 2). The necklace was made of several chains comprised of 2337 red limestone beads. Most of them are tiny disc beads with an average diameter of less than half a centimeter, arranged in series of 10 to 20 specimens interspaced by cylindrical and oval/rhomboid flat beads in the same red limestone. The latter are identical to those typical of northern Levant and Mesopotamia (ALARASHI 2016), although smaller. The red limestone beads were also interspaced by 232 barrel- to cylindrically-shaped white shell beads. The raw material of these bead types is under discussion. Neither the limestone nor the shells are local materials. For the red limestone, mineralogical analyses show that it is a slightly silicified limestone enriched with iron, but different from the red Dabba Marbles (WRIGHT *et al.* 2008: tab. 8) (tab. 2). Further research is needed to locate the origin of this raw material. It is also under discussion as to whether the shell beads were made of fossilized *Tridacna* or *Spondylus*. Both shells exist in the Red Sea, but the *Spondylus* may have also come from the Mediterranean. Aside from these unanswered questions, the selective use of red and white is striking. This bi-chromatic series of beads was intersected only by two spherical hematite beads, a flat black ovoid hematite pendant with double perforation and five turquoise beads. The turquoise was probably imported from the Sinai Peninsula about 200 km southwest of Ba`ja (HAUPTMANN 2004), and according to mineral analyses, possibly from a second source, of unknown location³. The black double-perforated pendant was found behind the neck of the child and presented intensive wear. Use-wear analyses show a strong thinning of the outer edges of both perforations which are also highly polished. The distribution of the wear stigmata and the location of this object behind the cervical spine suggest that this object was used as a buckle. Moreover, several disc beads were in contact with the buckle and directly aligned with its perforations. The chains of the necklace were spaced by a sophisticated mother-of-pearl ring (fig. 2), that was discovered on the chest of the child. It has an outer diameter estimated

to be 4.86 cm. The three preserved appendices of the ring have several perforations, in one of which a tiny disc bead was still adhered when it was excavated.

Moreover, as the anthropological investigations show, the bones of the child were stained red on their surfaces. Traces of red pigment were also found on some of the beads. It could be that either the skin had been stained red or that she was covered with or wore red-dyed cloths or clothing. The use of red liquid, as has been suggested for the collective graves at Ba`ja (GEBEL, HERMANSEN, KINZEL 2006: 15) appears unlikely for this grave, because the sand of the fill did not present intense coloring, except for the area near the legs, where a fairly large lump of red pigment was discovered. However, it cannot be excluded that the red pigments had been leached from the sand, but remained on the bones.

An amazing play of colors The subadult burial of Room CR28.2

In 2019, only about six meters north of Loc. C1:46, close to the southern wall of Room CR28.2, another richly decorated subadult burial was discovered (CR 28.2:122/123, fig. 1; GEBEL *et al.* forthcoming). The burial construction recalls the grave in Room CR36.1, although it did not comprise a grave cist. White Ordovician stone slabs had also been broken for this grave cover. On top of the northernmost slab a small chamois-colored miniature limestone bowl was discovered. It had been broken in two halves which were separated from each other by several centimeters. Close to the burial pit, a large greyish stone slab was discovered; however due to later disturbance, it remains unclear whether it once covered this grave of subadults or not.

The grave pit contained the remains of two 3-to-4-year-old children and of two more infants of 0-6 months. Associated with their poorly preserved bones were about 1150 beads (tab. 1; fig. 3). Beneath their crania and their torsos, a triangular-shaped space containing aligned nerite shells and cowries was found. In addition, rows of shells were found on and within their cranial bones. The same barrel-shaped shell beads as in grave Loc. C1:46 and some

3. The turquoise and chrysocolla mineral beads were identified by M. MARTIN and M. GERLITZKI (State Department of Geology, Freiburg), but in-depth investigations are still ongoing to identify the possibly different raw material sources.

diamond-shaped shell beads of the same material were aligned and formed the border of this exceptional display. A few pale pink limestone and chrysocolla beads punctuated the plain white appearance. All the beads were probably sewn onto some kind of cloth, on which the two older children rested and which covered their heads. Near the chest of one of the older children a small mother-of-pearl cross-shaped pendant was discovered. It was also possibly part of the white shell-beaded cloth (fig. 5a). In its upper part it has two horizontally parallel perforations, akin to eyes.

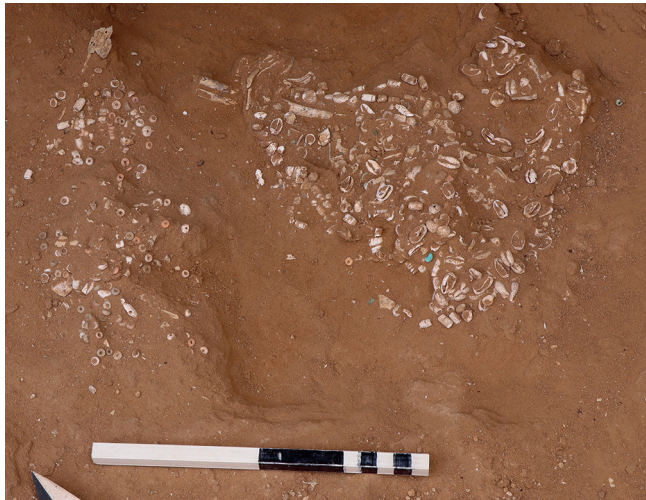


Fig. 3. Distribution of shell and stone beads in the area of the cranial bones (right) and the pelvis (left) in the multiple subadult Burial CR28.2:122/123. (Photo: M. BENZ).

Both holes and “the bridge” between them show intense use-wear traces, indicative of the pendant’s threading. This shiny white adornment is in strong contrast to the assemblage of beads discovered in the pelvis area of the older child. These beads are vivid in color, from anthracite to olive green, through various shades of orange-pink-red and purple to blue, grey and white. Several white *Conidae* ring beads, rhomboid and barrel-shaped shell beads and four small mother-of-pearl pendants in diamond, rhomboid and amorphous shapes were aligned with the stone beads. The play of colors of this garment, possibly a belt or a beaded border, must have been even more impressive 9,000 years ago, before the colors had faded. To the east and west of the head of one of the older children two large lumps of yellow ochre were deposited in the grave pit.

SIMILAR BUT DIFFERENT – A COMPARISON

Tab. 1 lists the differences and similarities of both graves. Although the grave constructions and the respective burial rituals share some similarities and possibly followed the general concept of how a ritualized burial should look, the burial of the single child C1 :46 is more elaborate than the burial in Room CR28.2; the former shares many similarities in grave construction with the elaborate burial of a young adult man in the adjacent Room CR35, about three meters north of Room CR36.1 (BENZ *et al.* 2019). The time invested in this grave construction was probably much longer than

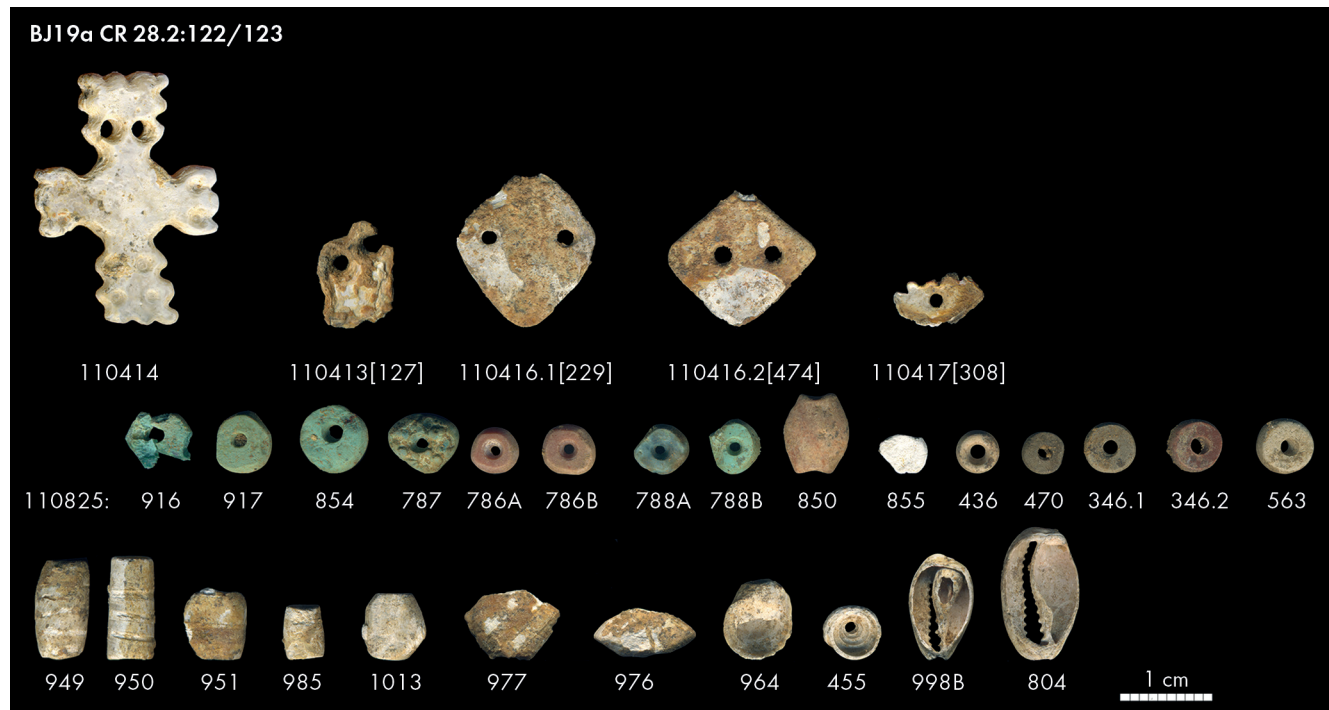


Fig. 4. Selected bead types of the multiple subadult Burial CR 28.2:122/123. (Scan: H.G.K. GEBEL).

that for the subadult burial in CR28.2. The burial ritual, with the primary deposition of corpses in a pit and the deliberate destruction of stone slabs for the grave cover, resembles other single and double subadult burials at Ba`ja, but is in contrast to the four collective burials of the site (GEBEL & HERMANSEN 2001 ; GEBEL, HERMANSEN & KINZEL 2006 ; GEBEL *et al.* 2019, forthcoming).

Concerning the decoration of the corpses, both burials share some features. They were both richly decorated with some of the same shell and stone bead types and raw materials. Both burials contained one large mother-of-pearl pendant. Despite these similarities there were remarkable differences. Whereas in Grave Loc. C1 :46 red and white played a dominant role, in Grave Loc. CR28.2 :122/123 white and yellow appear to have prevailed. In the latter tomb, the bright appearance of the beaded cloth would have contrasted with the vivid color play of the belt/border. Whereas the jewelry in Grave Loc. C1 :46 comprised a very distinctive selection of only a few bead types, in Grave Loc. CR28.2 : 122/123 almost all available stone and shell raw materials were used. Interestingly, the five greenstones in Loc. C1 :46 were exclusively of turquoise, whereas the cloth of CR28.2 : 122/123 only comprised chrysocolla and chrysocolla containing a very small fraction of phosphates (P_2O_5) akin to turquoise, but no other greenstones as have been discovered in other contexts at Ba`ja (*i.e.* amazonite and malachite, fig. 6).

The most striking difference and possibly the one with the most important symbolic meaning concerns

the mother-of-pearl pendants found in both cases on the subadults' chests. The necklace of the supposed girl was arranged around the mother-of-pearl ring, whereas in the other grave, the central part of the body decoration was a cross-shaped pendant. Both items have parallels at Ba`ja (tab. 1): Another larger and slightly different cross-shaped pendant was discovered in a collective grave in Room CR17 without any clear association to a specific skeleton (fig. 5b). This larger version has six holes on its upper and lower branches respectively and two on each side branch. It appears as though the person who made the small pendant had a clear idea of how such a pendant should have looked, but realized that the tiny version would break when perforated with too many holes. He/she therefore added four non-perforated 'holes' on the lower branch and two on each side branch (fig. 5a), as though the small pendant should imitate the larger version. These cross-shaped pendants are so far unique to Ba`ja.

In contrast, other mother-of-pearl rings such as that of Grave Loc. C1 :46 were found in a collective grave near a newborn in Area D at Ba`ja, and in an infant burial at the LPPNB site of Basta. Simpler mother-of-pearl ring pendants were found in the collective graves at Ba`ja, in Area D and in Room CR17 and at Basta (GEBEL & HERMANSEN 2001 ; GEBEL *et al.* 2004, forthcoming).

It should be noted that none of the raw materials or bead types were exclusive to one or the other grave (fig. 6). Similar beads have been found in low numbers in other

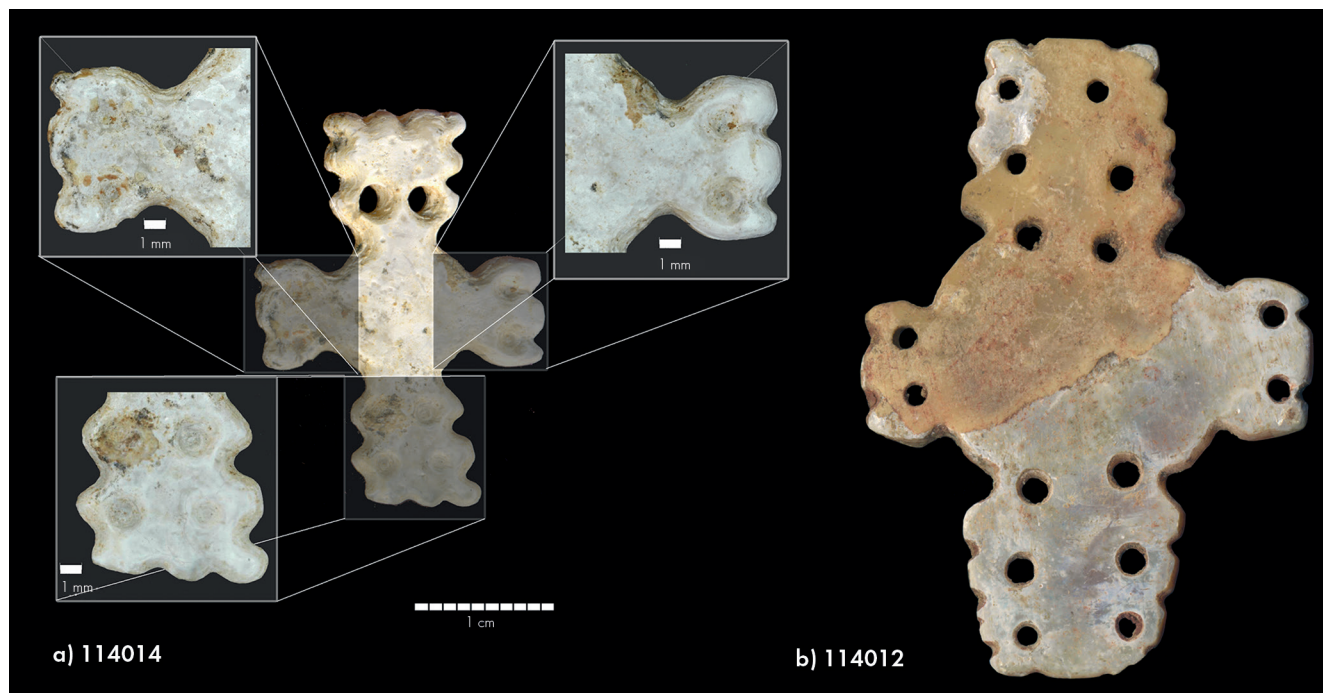


Fig. 5. Cross-shaped mother-of-pearl pendants that are unique at Ba`ja : a) from multiple subadult Burial Loc. CR 28.2:122/123, b) from the collective Burial Loc. CR17:136/137. (Photos/Scans : C. PURSCHWITZ, M. BENZ).

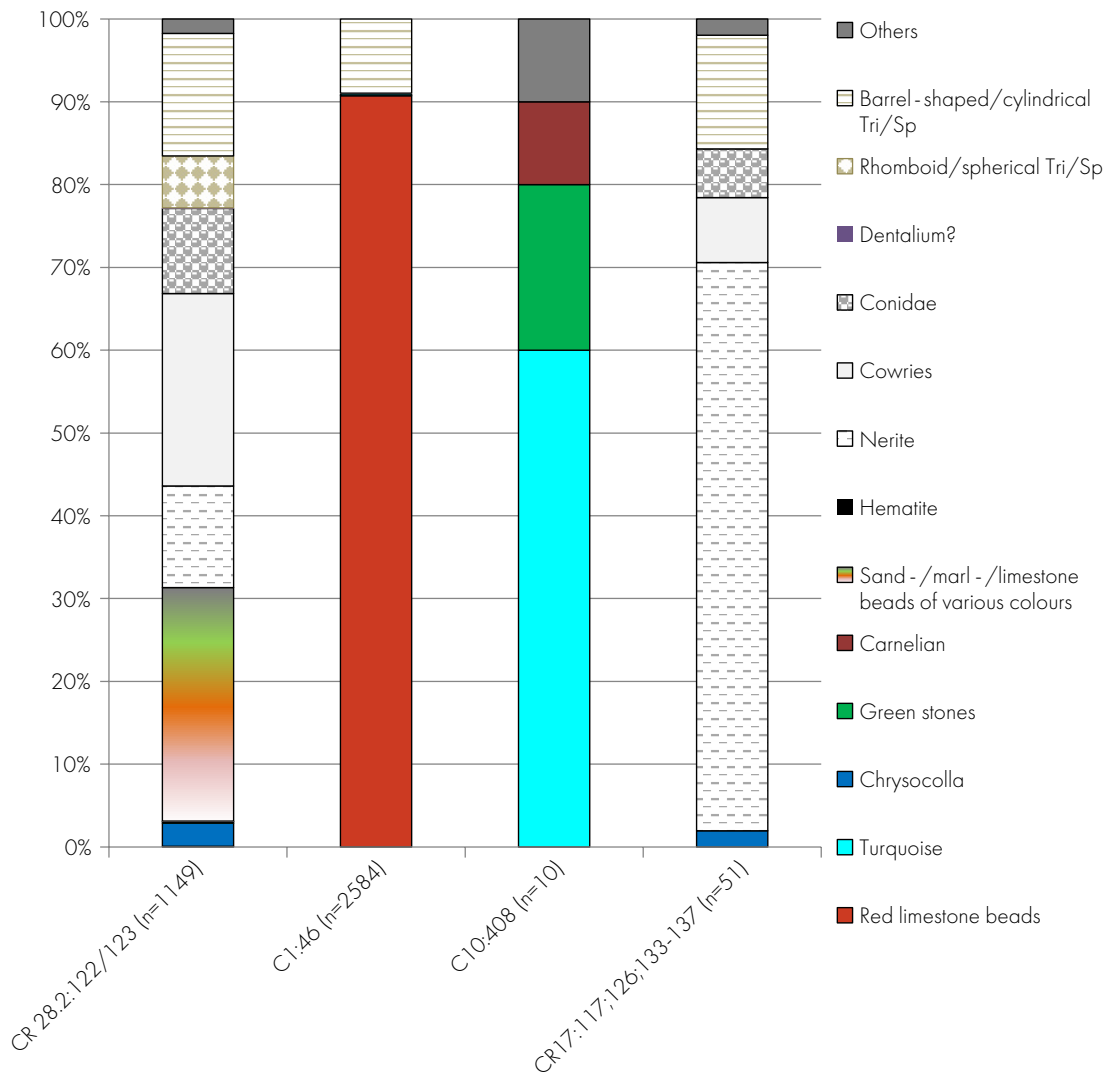


Fig. 6. Graph of the distribution of bead types in different burials from the late Pre-Pottery Neolithic site of Ba`ja, southern Jordan. (Graph: H. ALARASHI/M. BENZ).

graves. However, the hematite⁴ beads and buckle and the small red limestone disc beads of Loc. C1:46 may be exceptions. The raw material source of the latter remains unidentified so far. Though of similar outward appearance, one of the red limestone disc beads of CR28.2:122/123 in mineralogical analyses presents a different composition to those of Grave Loc. CR1:46 (tab. 2). It appears that there is only one flat rhomboid bead (N° 110825.850, fig. 4) of the same red raw material from Grave CR28.2:122/123. Finally, it should be mentioned that none of the graves contained any beads made of bone, although a few bone beads were found in another single infant grave in Area C, Loc. CR6:40/41, and in the collective burial in Room CR35, Loc. C10:152 (GEBEL, HERMANSEN & KINZEL 2006; GEBEL *et al.* forthcoming).

4. Three hematite beads were discovered at Basta. Their raw material source is possibly located in the Palaeozoic sandstone formations of the Greater Petra Area (HERMANSEN 2004).

On top of the cover of Burial Loc. CR28.2:122/123, only one small miniature chamois-colored limestone vessel was found, whereas the grave cover of Burial Loc. C1:46 presented five grinding tools. At Ba`ja, stone vessel fragments in the grave cover have been observed in many different types of burial. An association with grinding tools is also quite common.

DISCUSSION

Our comparison has shown that the two lavishly decorated burials of subadults at Ba`ja followed *grosso modo* a standardized burial ritual which comprised the deliberate breaking of the shiny white Ordovician sandstone slabs, of other stone objects and probably also the use of fire, as remains of charcoal and ashes near the burials attest (BENZ *et al.* 2019; GEBEL *et al.* 2019, forthcoming). As opposed to other burials, the corpses of these subadults were richly decorated, with a necklace made of multiple chains and

a cloth/clothing/belt decorated with many beads, respectively. With these results in mind, we will now return to the questions of the theoretical section:

Assimilation vs. segregation:

The people of Ba`ja selected specific bead types, raw materials and colors for both burials. Especially for the tomb of the supposed girl (C1:46), the selection of only a few colors, dominated by red and white, is striking and in strong contrast to the white garment and colorful belt/border of the other infants' burial. Joanne CLARK (2012) has convincingly demonstrated the symbolic meaning of white in the early Neolithic communities of the Levant, concluding that “whiteness and redness may well have acted as a visual mnemonic device for evoking remembrance, or the precipitation of remembering” (2012:181). The importance of the color red at Ba`ja is a research topic on its own and will be investigated elsewhere. Its high symbolic value is exemplified by some isolated skulls that were painted with red ochre at Aswad (KHAWAM 2014: 407), and with ochre and cinnabar at Kfar HaHoresh, Abu Hureyra, and later Catalhöyük (GORING-MORRIS 2005:96). This is in contrast to the supposed increase of the color green in early Neolithic beads (HAUPTMANN 2004:169; BAR-YOSEF & PORAT 2008).

The mother-of-pearl objects that are part of the jewelry have parallels at Ba`ja and – for the ring jewelry – also at Basta (GEBEL & HERMANSEN 2001; NISSEN, MUHEISEN & GEBEL 1987). Whereas the cross-shaped pendant is unique and possibly symbolized relations to other inhabitants of Ba`ja who were buried in a collective tomb nearby, the ring appears to be a typical object of the LPPNB for subadults, not only at Ba`ja but for the region. Similarly, the high variety of stone beads, as in the belt/border of Grave CR28.2:122/123, and the presence of hematite beads are reminiscent of the bead assemblages of Basta (HERMANSEN 2004). Almost all these bead types were discovered – although in low numbers – in other graves.

The ornaments of both burials thus reflect aspects of assimilation and segregation. By selecting specific combinations of beads from a common repertoire, cultural affinities were expressed not only with the local group but with communities of the wider region. However, the high number of beads, the specific selection and the different combinations indicate that these jewelries were unique diacritical means to emphasize social differentiation.

Ornaments as expression of social roles

Before discussing this point, it is important to understand that we do not consider the ornamentation of corpses as

a 1:1 mirror of social identities, but of concepts that the burying community held concerning the dead persons and their social roles within the community. Furthermore, interpersonal criteria, such as affection, grief or fear, may have led to specific practices and ornamentation. Above all, cultural paradigms strongly determine burial rituals (GRINDELL 1998). It is beyond the scope of this paper to provide a comprehensive overview on burial practices of the LPPNB. However, a short description of the development of ornamentation in burials during the Early Holocene may enable assessment of the relevance of the two richly decorated burials from Ba`ja.

In the southern and central Levant during the PPNB, ornaments were generally very rare in burials. The thorough study on early Neolithic burial customs by Beth GRINDELL (1998) lists a handful of burials containing a few grave goods for PPNB sites such as Jericho, Horvat Galil, Beisamoun, Yiftahel and Wadi Shu`eib. At PPNB 'Ain Ghazal, the burial of a female adult with a necklace of +90 beads represents the individual with the highest number of beads (GRINDELL 1998). The collection of beads and shells from Nahal Hemar Cave is spectacular, with about 120 beads and 514 shell items, even though their relationship to the buried skulls is not clear (BAR-YOSEF & ALON 1988). Despite new excavations, complete ornaments remain remarkably rare (*e.g.* GORING-MORRIS 2005; KHALAILY *et al.* 2008; BOCQUENTIN *et al.* 2014; THUESEN & KINZEL 2018). The same holds true for Aswad, where a juvenile (10-14yrs) was buried with a necklace of 45 pieces which retained most of the beads (ALARASHI 2014; KHAWAM 2014: Fig. V). It appears that most communities of the early agricultural villages used other diacritical means in burial rituals, among which the most prominent was probably the so called “skull cult” (see KUIJT this volume).

The rather low number of beads in tombs stands in strong contrast to the developments in the Upper Tigris region. There, the amount of jewelry in burials increased enormously during the early Holocene, with sites such as Körük Tepe and Boncuklu Tarla producing several thousand beads (ÖZKAYA & COŞKUN 2011; KODAŞ 2019).

In the Middle Euphrates region, ornaments only began to appear in funerary contexts during the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B. In general, the total number of beads per burial remains low, with the M/LPPNB site of Halula being exceptionally “rich” (ALARASHI 2014). At this site, the percentage of burials with beads/shells increases from about ≤40% (phases 8-10, MPPNB) to 50%-80% (phases 11-13 LPPNB). Burials of subadults contain most of the beads in all phases. Only during phase 12 were a few adults buried with up to 64 beads and shells. A subadult of the latest phase who was buried with 444 beads, was the most lavishly decorated individual (ALARASHI 2014: Tab. 10.1). The uneven distribution of ornaments in the tombs (MOLIST, GUERRERO

& ANFRUNS 2013: Tab. 2) is indicative of an increase in body decoration for some individuals and supports observations by KUIJT *et al.* of the “emergence of more powerful households” (2011: 521).

Similar observations have been made at the LPPNB site of Basta, in southern Jordan. Most of the adult burials only contained a few or no grave goods. Of exceptional value is a multiple burial comprising among others a mature woman who was buried with jewelry consisting of about 184 shell and >230 coral beads, and a newborn close to whom a hoard of >400 mother-of-pearl beads was uncovered. Moreover, one complete mother-of-pearl ring pendant (“paillette”) and three fragments of pendants were associated with these individuals (GEBEL *et al.* 2004). Another infant, buried inside a wall, was decorated with 351 *Conidae* beads and a mother-of-pearl ring similar to those of C1:46 and of the collective burial of Area D at Ba`ja (NISSEN, MUHEISEN & GEBEL 1987; GEBEL & HERMANSEN 2001).

This overview – although far from complete – shows that both subadult burials at Ba`ja corroborate observations made at Halula and Basta of the increasing ornamentation of a few selected individuals, with subadults being decorated the most. It also highlights the very high number of beads found in both subadult burials at Ba`ja, >2,584 and >1,149 pieces respectively. However, it remains an open question as to whether these differentiations also occurred in non-funerary contexts (see *e.g.* MAIER 2008; SPATZ *et al.* 2014).

The *in situ* position of many beads in both burials suggests that even the sequence of beads was subject to a specific choice beyond mere aesthetic preferences. To draw on ethnographic data, it is obvious that the color and type of beads and their combinations had highly symbolic meanings, indicating age, gender, status and family or clan identities (FISHER 1984). Although we do not dare to speculate about the meaning of the choice of colors and bead patterns, the specific selection of colors and bead types (dominantly red and white and dominantly white/yellow and multi-colored) leads us to suppose that this was indicative for the specific ascribed social identities of the buried subadults. A caveat for our reasoning remains, of course the lack of the various perishable materials that may have been used for body decoration and the possible use of pigments to color the various raw materials. There is evidence, for example from Nahal Hemar Cave (BAR-YOSEF & ALON 1988), that pigments were used to color wooden beads and possibly also skins and cloths. Moreover, it cannot be excluded that the nerites and cowries had retained some of their original coloring and were not as white as today.

The mother-of-pearl rings that are regularly associated with subadults may be considered a symbol for particular

ages. It goes without saying that the preliminary identification of sex for subadult burials (without valid results of aDNA) hampers any identification of gender-specific attributes.

The high value conferred upon the ornaments from Ba`ja is emphasized by their long use, at least for some of the beads and pendants. Production and further use-wear analyses as well as investigations to clarify the provenience of the raw materials should advance our understanding of the value and significance of these extraordinary ornaments.

Although there could be many reasons as to why some of the subadults of Ba`ja were differentiated in the burial rituals by elaborate jewelry and grave constructions, *e.g.* unusual death, special skills or pathologies, the two extraordinary burials of Ba`ja require reconsideration of the egalitarian concept of early Neolithic communities. They corroborate the idea of the existence of selected individuals or groups with high social status in “ranked communities” or “chiefdoms” (*e.g.* ROLLEFSON 2000; GEBEL 2002, 2004; GORING-MORRIS 2005; BENZ 2010, 2012 *cf.* SPATZ *et al.* 2014). The rather poor preservation of the bones hampers any preliminary conclusion concerning any possible pathologies that may have caused the special treatment of these subadults. At Tell Aswad, the only cowrie bead found in a burial context was associated with an individual suffering from tuberculosis (ALARASHI *et al.* 2018; BAKER *et al.* 2008; KHAWAM *et al.* 2016).

The creation of collective memories

The burial of the lavishly decorated subadults probably caused intense moments of memory. Besides any possible deep grief for the lost child, this would also have been caused by the high amount of work necessary for the construction of the graves and the provision of the ornaments, and by the specific rituals that included the deliberate destruction of the *white* sandstone slabs, the use of *red* pigments and of fire (GEBEL *et al.* 2019, forthcoming). Taken together, this evidence is certainly out of the ordinary. Moreover, the exotic raw materials of the ornaments are indicative of social relationships far beyond the local community. The burial with the dead of such objects with long histories of procurement, production and use would have enhanced emotional effects, linking the past and the present, the living and the dead. Last but not least, the burying of such valuable objects would also have meant that their material value was turned into social prestige by the act of giving them away, visible for everyone present during the ritual. The memories and stories of these acts probably lasted after the deaths, thus enhancing collective memories and identities.

CONCLUSION

During the LPPNB in the southern Levant, “L’Art de Paraître”, being remembered by the community even after death, became an important “social fact” (DURKHEIM). How the inhabitants of Ba`ja buried and decorated their dead provides us with important clues concerning their society, their social relations and their collective memory. The sub-floor burials at Ba`ja indicate the increasing importance of communal relationships after the occurrence of death and of burial rituals practiced in order to strengthen collective identities. Our considerations address the tensions and conflicts these people must have experienced: sedentism, for the first time in human history, enabled the amassing of objects and allowed them to become parts of the extended self, of the identity and the prestige of humans. However, the deliberate destruction and the ex-commodification of valued goods would have counteracted this trend. This meant the devaluation of objects and the turning of their material value into social prestige. The hermetic sealing of the graves and the withdrawal of beads from use by the living corroborates this act.

Moreover, the burials of Ba`ja provide evidence for emerging social differentiation, some individuals being ascribed outstanding roles which were manifested *inter alia* by extraordinary adornment (BENZ *et al.* 2019; GEBEL *et al.* 2019). We suggest that the use of types of beads similar to those used by the group but combined in specific selections mirrors the tension between collective and individual identities, between assimilation and differentiation. The standardized burial ritual to which the subadults were subject and the close proximity to other burials indicate that even the dead subadults were considered to be an integral part of the community. The highly symbolic mother-of-pearl pendants, both ring-shaped and cross-shaped, emphasized this and probably represented the subadults’ belonging to specific social groups and perhaps age groups. Emerging individualization becomes obvious with the child of Grave Loc. C1:46. Her jewelry is extraordinary; although it combines items typical for the LPPNB of the region, the rare hematite objects and the red limestone beads, the specific selection of only a few bead types and – last but not least – the elaborate burial ritual, conferred upon her a special status.

However, the most striking observation concerning the objects of jewelry remains their preservation. In contrast to other deliberately destroyed objects within the graves or embedded into the grave covering, the beads were not in disarray in the tombs. The state of preservation, and thus the conservation of the patterns in which they were combined, may have symbolized the existing social identities and the integrity of roles ascribed by the community that persisted after the occurrence of death. The ornamentation of subadults for their final journey in this way may have

demonstrated their extraordinary status, but above all, their jewelry represented their strongly-knit relationships to the community, fixed in the collective memory by the appearance of the subadults during the burial rituals.

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L'ART DU PARAÎTRE

Apparences de l'humain, de la Préhistoire à nos jours
The art of human appearance, from prehistory to the present day

L'illustration de couverture est un montage constitué, de haut en bas et de gauche à droite, des éléments suivants :
Tête ornée et visage peint d'un homme de Papouasie Nouvelle-Guinée ;
Visage avec piercing et torse tatoués d'un homme « neo-punk » ;
Parties du visage de la statue-reliquaire médiévale de sainte Foy de Conques dans l'Aveyron ;
Visage peint sur un crâne surmodélé néolithique de Tell Aswad en Syrie (© L. Dugué).
Conception : H. Alarashi.
Réalisation : S. Sorin.

Les 40^{es} Rencontres Internationales d'Archéologie et d'Histoire ont porté sur les pratiques du paraître de l'humain, de la préhistoire à l'actuel, à travers le monde. De ce thème ambitieux est né un recueil d'études aux approches et réflexions très diverses, émanant d'archéologues, de préhistoriens et d'historiens, d'anthropologues, de philosophes et d'artistes. L'art du paraître est ici exploré à travers le corps, ses modifications, ses enveloppes, ses artifices et ses parures ; dans le temps, au cours du cycle de vie et au moment de la mort ; dans l'espace, à travers les images, les œuvres d'art, les représentations en mouvement ou statiques. En se fondant sur des exemples éloquents, la lecture pluridisciplinaire que propose ce livre met en évidence des formes d'apparence de soi d'une grande richesse et tente d'en saisir les significations socio-culturelles.

The 40th International Meetings of Archaeology and History have focused on the practices of human appearance from Prehistory to the present day throughout the world. This ambitious theme has brought forth a collection of scientific papers with multiples approaches and reflections emanating from archaeologists, prehistorians and historians, anthropologists, philosophers and artists. The art of human appearance was explored throughout the body, its modifications, envelopes and adornments ; in time, during the life cycle and at the moment of death ; in space, through images, artworks, static or moving representations. Based on eloquent examples, the multidisciplinary reading proposed in this book highlights forms of the extremely rich self-representations and attempts to grasp their socio-cultural meanings.

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