# HETERARCHY AND EMERGENT COMPLEXITY IN THE MIDDLE BRONZE AGE SOUTHERN LEVANT: A MORTUARY PERSPECTIVE

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# ABSTRACT

The re-appearance of Southern Levantine urbanism as well as settlement and social hierarchies during the Middle Bronze Age (c. 1,950-1,550 BCE) stands as one of the great enigmas of archaeological research in the region. This phenomenon has predominantly been attributed to foreign invasions and changes in economic strategies among other factors. However, the role of the Southern Levant's native subaltern population is largely overlooked in previous works. In this paper I intend to examine the how the lives of subalterns fit into the centralization of socio-economic power within urban regional centers in the Middle Bronze Age Southern Levant. I will approach this question through the lens of collective action theory and the use of mortuary remains.

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Michael was born and raised in and around Sacramento, California. It is at California State University Sacramento where Michael received his bachelor's degree in anthropology with a focus in archaeology and bioanthropology. He has conducted fieldwork with Tel Aviv University's Megiddo Expedition as well as the Jezreel Valley Regional Project and on a University of Giessen project in the Negev desert. Michael is continuing his research in the University of California Los Angeles's Near Eastern Languages and Cultures PhD program.

This thesis is dedicated to my family who have supported me throughout my career and who continue to be my greatest source of inspiration.

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Introduction:

The advent of the Middle Bronze Age (MBA), circa 1,950 BCE, altered the social landscape of the Southern Levant in ways that had not been seen in the region for centuries. It had been five hundred years since the last urban regional centers with their towering walls, palaces, and temples had been abandoned (Regev et al. 2012). During the deurbanized interlude preceding the MBA, the people of the Southern Levant had adopted simpler small-scale agro-pastoral lifestyle without the presence of any centralized authority (Prag 2013). While inequalities between genders and ages existed, there seems to be little evidence of economic disparity at this time (Shay 1983; Greener 2012). Around 1,950 BCE, however, the process of "urbanization" and the appearance of inequalities between elites and non-elites, subalterns henceforth, began to take place once again. Some scholars have argued that this shift was brought on by a migration of foreign warriors from the Syrian steppe (Albright 1922; Kenyon 1966; Burke 2020). Others have pushed theories involving indigenous economic changes as the root cause of the MBA transition (Gerstenblith 1983; Dever 1987; Cohen 2016). Within the latter group, evidence has been found that the processes inciting the transition may be more complicated than a simple replacement of the local pre-MBA practices by cunning elites. This leads to questions regarding the role of subalterns in the development of the MBA economy and rising inequality of the period. Subalterns' lives are often difficult to understand archaeologically due to the traditional focus of research on flashier material remains such as palaces and temples. This is not an issue at the site of Tel Megiddo due to the site's excavators recording a vast assemblage of elite and subaltern mortuary remains. By analyzing the spatial distribution of elite and subaltern burials at Tel Megiddo, I will determine whether there is any evidence for

collective action and heterarchical organization. The presence of collective action and heterarchical social organization will confirm whether subalterns had any significant agency in the emergence of social complexity in the Middle Bronze Age Southern Levant.

Terminology:

Throughout this paper I will be referring to a group of people from the MBA Southern Levant as subalterns. Because this term has multiple meanings, it is relevant for me to explain which meaning I will be using and why. Marxist author Antonio Gramsci originally coined the term "subaltern" in the early twentieth century as a way to describe the proletariat's place in society (Green 2011). The subaltern, then, is a person located outside of the social group holding most of the power in a society while an elite would be someone who was part of the privileged social group (Green 2011). Post-colonial scholars influenced and intrigued by Gramsci's concept of the subaltern later used the term in a more specific context (Green 2011). The post-colonial subaltern is no longer any non-elite member of society, but is specifically a member of a colonized group of peoples outside of colonial authority and who do not benefit from the colonial project (Spivak 2010; Misir 2018: 5-6). With that said, I will be using the term subaltern in its original Gramscian sense as a reference to a generalized non-elite section of society because I am researching a period before European colonialism.

The Site:

Tel Megiddo is an archaeological site located in the Jezreel Valley of today's Israel-Palestine. Megiddo's placement in the Jezreel Valley was key to its long life as a human settlement from the Neolithic, circa 5,000 BCE, to its final abandonment in the Persian period,

circa 538-333 BCE (Cline 2020). The valley was and still is a major agricultural production center as well as a crossroads between Africa and Southwest Asia. As with most regional centers in the Southern Levant, Tel Megiddo was abandoned at the end of the EBIII around 2,500 BCE (Finkelstein et al. 2006). Despite sporadic settlement during the Intermediate Bronze Age (IBA) between 2,500 and 1,950 BCE, Megiddo would not return to its position as a regional center until the MBA (Finkelstein et al. 2006; Regev et al. 2012). During this period, Megiddo reached the size of 10 ha., had immense fortifications, a cultic quarter, and possibly palatial structures (Loud 1948; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2006). Thus, Megiddo became the typical MBA regional center seen in the Southern Levant. Archaeological investigations of the tell began in the early 20th century and continued sporadically under the Deutscher Palästinaverein, University of Chicago, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, and Tel Aviv University. Throughout these excavations over 308 burials dating to the MBA have been uncovered. The majority of these burials are located in the cultic and palatial center, areas BB/J and M, of Megiddo. Other burials are found in the residential quarters, areas AA/S, CC, and F, as well as the cemetery on the eastern slope of the tell and in an undefined area on the southwestern edge of the site. Tel Aviv University has uncovered MBA burials in other areas of the tell as well, but for this thesis I will only be covering the burials fully published before February 2022.

Historical Background:

The advent of the Middle Bronze Age in the Southern Levant is still, in many ways, a mysterious phenomenon that is little understood by archaeologists. What archaeologists do know is that the MBA is marked by stunning social evolution resulting in the centralization of socio-political power within regional centers after a period of collapse and decentralization (Cohen

2013; Finkelstein and Langgut 2014; Burke 2013). It is important that I first explain the preceding period, known as the Intermediate Bronze Age, before describing the developments of the MBA. The IBA began around 2,500 to 2,300 BCE with the abandonment of the Southern Levant's Early Bronze Age (EBA), circa 3,700-2,500 BCE, regional centers (Regev et al. 2012; Cohen 2002; Weiss 2014). These EBA regional centers, often called urban sites or cities, were relatively large settlements containing monumental and administrative structures such as palaces, fortifications, and storage facilities (Regev et al. 2012; Yasur-Landau et al. 2015). Theories regarding the abandonment of these regional centers have not yet reached a consensus among scholars. Evidence for a possible climatic event, causing drought, circa 2,300 BCE remains one cited cause for the EBA collapse (Weiss 2014). However, up-to-date radiocarbon data from Regev et al. places the start of the collapse closer to 2,500 BCE. Other climatic data considered by Israeli scholars has also brought the environmentally deterministic theory of collapse into question (Langgut, Adams, and Finkelstein 2016; Regev et al. 2012). Regardless of where, how, and why the collapse of EBA society occurred, the cultural changes that followed are seen clearly within the archaeological record. No longer do heavily fortified regional centers reign over the land by the start of the IBA (Regev et al. 2012). Temples, palaces, and their associated settlements fall into misuse and are, in many cases, completely abandoned (Regev et al. 2012; Weiss 2014). The people of the IBA began living in small and unfortified inland villages dispersed across the landscape (Regev et al. 2012; Cohen 2002). One can see this process clearly in the Jezreel Valley. For example, surveys have shown that the Jezreel Valley contained two major sites between five and nine hectares in size, four mid-sized settlements between three and four hectares in size, and two small settlements less than three hectares in size during the Early Bronze III period (Finkelstein et al. 2006). However, by the IBA the Jezreel Valley held no

settlements greater than four hectares in size, two settlements between three and four hectares in size, and thirteen settlements under three hectares in size (Finkelstein et al. 2006). Alongside this shift, both EBIII sites greater than five hectares in size, Tel Megiddo and Tel Shimron, were abandoned and had little to no reuse in the IBA. It is not until the MBA that the people of the Jezreel Valley and the rest of the Southern Levant begin to re-urbanize.

The gradual re-centralization of people around regional centers, such as Tel Megiddo, is likely to have begun around 1,950 BCE (Marcus 2003; Marcus 2010; Höflmayer 2017). According to a study carried out by Tel Aviv University researchers, the Middle Bronze Age began with a period of dry climate, albeit not as extreme as the 2,300 BCE drought, that initiated population movements throughout the region (Finkelstein and Langgut 2014). While the arid areas of the Southern Levant seem to lose population density at this time, areas with higher rainfall per annum grow in both site density and size (Finkelstein and Langgut 2014). An example of this can be seen in the Megiddo Expedition's survey conducted in the fertile region of the Jezreel Valley. In comparison with the IBA settlement data discussed above, the Jezreel Valley during the MBA had two settlements over ten hectares in size, four settlements between five and nine hectares in size, eight settlements between three and four hectares in size, and twenty-seven settlements less than three hectares in size (Finkelstein et al. 2006). What this survey does not detail, however, is that these settlements did not all appear at the beginning of the MBA. Another survey conducted by Yasur-Landau et al. in the Western Galilee, northwest of the Jezreel Valley, showcases a more complex view of the MBA settlement process. Yasur-Landau et al. initially divided the survey area into two halves which corresponded with the hypothesized hinterlands of the western Galilee's major MBA regional centers Tel Kabri and Akko. In the northern half, around Kabri, the evolution of a settlement hierarchy did not take

place until the end of the MBI (Yasur-Landau, Cline, and Pierce 2008). Kabri itself appeared as a fortified settlement at this time and seems to have held sway over other neighboring sites in the northern portion of the Western Galilee (Yasur-Landau, Cline, and Pierce 2008). By the MBII, these neighboring sites can be divided into the five different settlement categories of large forts, small forts, secondary/specialty centers, villages, and farmsteads while Kabri played the role of a regional center (Yasur-Landau, Cline, and Pierce 2008). Some of these sites, such as the cultic center Nahariya, did not develop their specializations under Kabri's influence. Instead, the specialized purposes they had before becoming part of the Kabri polity were co-opted and maintained by Kabri (Yasur-Landau, Cline, and Pierce 2008). Thus, it would be safe to assume that the Jezreel Valley also developed its settlement hierarchy over the course of the MBA as regional centers, such as Megiddo, spread their influence and either co-opted or developed new satellite sites in their hinterlands.

Theoretical Background:

The data on the development of Southern Levantine regional centers and their respective hinterlands during the MBA brings the questions of how and why these socio-political changes occurred to the fore. Multiple archaeologists past and present have attempted to answer these questions, but the cause of the MBA synthesis remains shrouded in uncertainty (Kenyon 1966; Gerstenblith 1983; Cohen 2016; Burke 2020). Archaeologists' theories regarding the onset of the MBA in the Southern Levant can be divided into two major categories that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. These categories are the migration and economic theories. Those subscribing to the migration theories generally believe the evolution of the MBA societies in the Southern Levant is predominantly due to non-local populations moving into the area. On the other hand,

scholars that adhere to economic theories believe the MBA settlement hierarchies appeared mostly due to local Southern Levantine populations taking advantage of the expansion of trade networks through the region.

The most well-known and followed theory within the migration category is that of the Amorite Hypothesis. The Amorites were a group of Northwest Semitic language speaking people who were first mentioned in historical records during the third millennium BCE (Kenyon 1957; Kenyon 1966; Burke 2020). Unlike many other groups at the time such as Akkadians and Egyptians, the Amorites of the third millennium were not the rulers of vast regional empires. Rather, the Amorites are regarded as an agropastoral group living predominantly in what is now considered Northern Mesopotamia with sporadic satellite communities in Southern Mesopotamia (Burke 2020). These Amorites begin to appear as rulers of some sedentary states in Southern Mesopotamia during the twentieth century BCE (Burke 2020). By the eighteenth-century BCE, however, the Amorites were the dominant ethnocultural group in control of Mesopotamian and Northern Levantine polities. Some of these polities include Babylonia, Assyria, Mari, Yamhad, and Qatna (Burke 2020).

So, why then did Kenyon believe that the Amorites of the Northern Levant and Mesopotamia were also ruling in the Southern Levant during the MBA? The first reason is the Hebrew Bible. Multiple passages within the Hebrew Bible point to a presence of Amorites within the Southern Levant, but Kenyon points specifically to Numbers 13:29 to make this clear (Kenyon 1966). This passage states that “the Jebusites and Amorites dwell in the hill country” of the Southern Levant during the arrival of the Israelites to the region (Numbers 13:29). Kenyon believed that the biblical Israelites arrived in the Southern Levant sometime around 1,100 BCE, during the early Iron Age, thus the Amorites must have settled in the region before then (Kenyon

1966). This offered a loose fit with Albright's idea that a foreign group, bringing with them socio-cultural change, arrived in the region before the Iron Age. And though the biblical references to Amorites were key in Kenyon's hypothesis, she did not rely on textual sources alone. In fact, one of the reasons Kenyon chose to assert the Amorites as being the dominant culture of the MBA over other groups mentioned in Numbers is that she saw parallels in material culture between areas known to be Amorite, such as the Northern Levant, and Jericho (Kenyon 1966). Kenyon also tied the appearance of these material cultural elements to her discovery of Jericho's destruction at the end of the EBA (Kenyon 1957; Kenyon 1966). These pieces of information led Kenyon to hypothesize that a group of migrating Amorites arrived in the Southern Levant at the end of the EBA and violently replaced the previous population. This replacement is what accounted for the distinct cultural change between the end of the EBA, circa 2,500 BCE, and the beginning of the MBA, circa 1,950 BCE. At the time of this theory's appearance, Kenyon's points appeared both archaeologically and historically sound. However, from the 1980's onward, some scholars sought alternatives to the Amorite Hypothesis to explain the onset of the MBA in the Southern Levant (Gerstenblith 1983; Tubb 1983; Dever 1987; Falconer and Savage 1995; Cohen 2002:20; Maeir 2010).

During the latter half of the twentieth century, great changes were occurring in the realm of archaeological theory. The initial paradigm shift, known as the processual paradigm, occurred in response to the lack of scientific rigor and emphasis on human behavior in archaeology (Trigger 2006). Processualists of the time believed that the evolution of societies was heavily influenced by everyday human behavior rather than just major events such as migrations and invasions (Dever 1987). Because of this, the focus of some scholars in the Southern Levant after the 1980's shifted away from traditional narratives, such as the Amorite Hypothesis, that did not

grant much agency to societies' capacity for internal development. This change in thinking was also compounded by the gradual acceptance that the Biblical stories previously used as evidence in Levantine archaeology cannot be taken at face value. Biblical stories are especially problematic in earlier periods of history, such as the MBA, that occurred long before the stories as we have them today were written down (Davies 1995; Lauren Monroe 2020). An example of these changes at work can be seen in Gerstenblith's 1983 dissertation "The Levant at the Beginning of the Middle Bronze Age". In her dissertation, Gerstenblith points out the fact that the Amorite Hypothesis relies on three major assumptions. These assumptions are that artifact assemblages represent ethno-linguistic groups, a large population movement occurred at the beginning of the IBA or MBA, and that the population moving must have been from the Syrian interior (Gerstenblith 1983). It is the collapse of the assumption that artifact assemblages represent ethno-linguistic groups and the lack of evidence for the violent destruction of most regional centers that led to the economic hypotheses of the late twentieth and twenty first centuries (Gerstenblith 1983).

The economic hypotheses of the Southern Levantine MBA's origins are by no means a unified monolith, but all the economic hypotheses do share the notion that changes in the Southern Levantine economy were the primary factors in shaping the socio-cultural fabric of the MBA. This consensus has been reached mainly due to the appearance and or proliferation of foreign trade goods and artistic feats such as scarab seals, ceramics, and Aegean-style palatial paintings respectively (Gerstenblith 1983; Cohen 2002; Cohen 2013; Cline, Yasur-Landau, and Goshen 2011). Evidence for renewed economic prosperity during the MBA is not unique to the Southern Levant either. In Mesopotamia, cuneiform tablets reference a strong period of economic activity which was, in part, due to the privatization of businesses that would then be

hired to produce on the state's behalf (Van De Mieroop 2015: 98-99). Egypt too was experiencing an economic boom. Under the relatively stable Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt began a renewed effort of trading with the Levantine coast, Mesopotamia, and Nubia (Simpson 2001). Egypt's relationship with the Levant during this period is explored in the unique, and likely fictitious, "Story of Sinuhe" (Parkinson 1997). While Egypt's coastal trade with the Levant is often the focus of scholars, the inland route through the Jezreel and Jordan Valleys into Syria was also a major trade corridor in which Egypt, and the Southern Levant, were connected with the greater Near East (Maeir 2010: 7-8).

Most scholars involved in research on the Southern Levantine MBA also agree that the material culture of Syria had an influence on the material culture of the region (Gerstenblith 1983; Tubb 1983; Falconer and Savage 1995; Cohen 2002; Maeir 2010; Burke 2020). What is not agreed upon, however, is whether the influence from Syria was due to trade or migration. Traditionally, inland Syria had been cited as the point of origin for many of the Southern Levant's ceramic traditions, but it was Johnathan Tubb that first asserted that the southern traditions actually represented a separate typological group (Tubb 1983). Rather than belonging to an inland Syrian, or Amorite, cultural continuum, the "Levantine Painted Wares" of the Southern Levant matched other ceramics found along the Levantine coast from Anatolia to Gaza (Tubb 1983). Tubb and other scholars refuting the claims of the Amorite Hypothesis also note many of the supposedly foreign cultural elements of the MBA such as weapon styles, temple architecture, and mortuary practices actually have local precedents in the EBA (Tubb 1983; Cohen 2002; Homsher and Cradic 2017). Thus, Tubb argues that the MBA culture of the Southern Levant developed along coastal trade routes and involved an exchange of ideas as well as indigenous innovation. This is not to say that inland Syrian culture was not influential or that

it did not reach the Southern Levant, but that it was not as influential as the Levantine Coast and that MBA Southern Levantine material culture was not just a foreign import.

The material culture of the Southern Levant is not the only distinction the region has with the Amorite homeland to the north. Falconer & Savage's rank-size analysis of both Mesopotamian and Southern Levantine urbanism showed vast differences between the urban development of each region. While the Mesopotamian rural village sites' development appeared to be directly linked to the development of the region's urban centers, this was not the case for the Southern Levant (Falconer and Savage 1995). Rather, the two settlement phenomena developed separately from one another. This finding seems to point toward greater autonomy being held by hinterlands in the Southern Levant, and this is something that is corroborated in other research as well. One such example is seen in Lawrence Stager's publication on the port power model. Although Stager himself was a proponent of the Amorite Hypothesis, his port power model heavily influenced further research by supporters of the economic hypotheses. In his model, Stager proposed that the Southern Levant had a network of "communities-of-exchange" during the MBA in which ports funneled foreign goods into market centers located within the interior in exchange for products produced further inland (Stager 2001). In this way, the ports and market centers grew wealthy and attracted political clout that allowed them to loosely control subaltern populations (Stager 2001). This means that although there is an opening for foreign Amorites to take advantage of this system, it is equally possible for the indigenous population to have re-urbanized on its own.

Stager's theory is heavily influenced by the substantivist ideology of Karl Polanyi. According to Polanyi's substantivist view of economics, societies outside of contemporary capitalist markets operate on redistribution and reciprocity within the bounds of said societies'

cultural values (Polanyi 2011). This view is opposed to the formalist idea that individuals within all economies have the goal of maximizing financial gain while negating the strains of scarcity placed on them by their environments (Prattis 1987). For the substantivist view of economics, acts of redistribution by authorities and reciprocity between individuals or groups are meant to forge lasting socio-economic relationships as well as basic exchange of goods and services (Polanyi 1944: 24-32). Trade in such economies is also not conducted with the singular goal of financial gain, but is influenced by complex cultural values (Polanyi 2011). Therefore, economic choices that may not directly enhance the security and survivability of oneself or one's social unit are not illogical in a society where such decisions may provide social acceptance, clout, or other non-financial benefits (Polanyi 1944; Polanyi 2011; Prattis 1987). This is demonstrated by Polanyi in his paper on ports of trade, another basis for Stager's work (Polanyi 1963). Thus, in the case of the Southern Levant, access to foreign goods may have gained both elites and subalterns access to social acceptance and or clout within the rapidly "globalizing" world of the MBA. The exchanges between elites and subalterns, as hypothesized by Stager, would have endeared the groups towards working with one another in the early stages of the MBA. This is not to say, however, that the formalist ideas of financial gain and guarding against scarcity was not present in the economic strategies of the MBA Southern Levant. In fact, the presence of a burgeoning elite class in charge of regional centers seeking to gain socio-economic power over neighboring peoples and settlements confirms financial gain was important to the peoples of the Southern Levant as well.

A complementary argument is made by Yasur-Landau et al. in the 2015 paper "Rethinking Canaanite Palaces? The Palatial Economy of Tel Kabri during the Middle Bronze Age". This paper is not concerned with the migration or economic theories, nor does it argue for

the port power model. Yasur-Landau et al. do propose an economic model, the synoikos system, that explains how regional centers would have interacted with their hinterlands in a loose manner similar to that put forth by Stager. Unlike the redistributive/command economy of early pre-second millennium Mesopotamian regional centers, the synoikos system followed by the Kabri elite would have allowed for relative economic freedom in its hinterland (Yasur-Landau et al. 2015; Van De Mieroop 2015: 60-63). Rather than having a highly specialized production cycle based on the needs of a palatial elite, the hinterlands of Kabri produced goods that would have ensured their own economic security (Yasur-Landau et al. 2015; Marom et al. 2014). The palace itself also seems to have refrained from becoming a center for mass producing secondary goods with the intent of redistribution into the hinterland or trade market (Yasur-Landau et al. 2015). In fact, the secondary products, such as ceramics, produced in or near the palace were contained within relatively humble storage areas for the house's own use rather than redistribution (Yasur-Landau et al. 2015). This decentralized economy is similar in some ways to the second millennium economy of Mesopotamia, albeit with even less control by the palatial elite as there is no evidence of state control over the items produced by their hinterlands (Van De Mieroop 2015; Yasur-Landau et al. 2015). The one exception to this lack of evidence of redistribution can be observed in the faunal assemblage of Kabri. Research undertaken by Marom et al. uncovered indicators of meat from large mammals being redistributed by Kabri's palace compound. This redistribution is hypothesized to have occurred during communal feasting events that included the subaltern population of Kabri (Marom et al. 2014). If this is true, these feasting events could be indicative of attempts by the MBA elite to reinforce ideas of cooperation between themselves and their subjects.

Theoretical Approach:

In this thesis, I do not seek to override either the migration or economic theories regarding the synthesis of the MBA Southern Levant. With that said, both the migration and economic theories lack convincing evidence within either one or both key areas of subaltern agency and material evidence to back up their claims. For example, the majority of agency in the migration theories is placed within the migratory group. These newcomers are the ones who imposed their culture and re-urbanized the region while the indigenous population remained passive bystanders. It is possible for one socio-cultural group to impose its culture upon another group, but I find it unlikely that this process can explain the entirety of cultural development in the MBA. The economic theories do fare better in allocating agency to the local pre-MBA Southern Levantine population and, in the case of Stager's and Lawrence & Savages' papers, subalterns. However, these economic hypotheses which do allow for subaltern agency tend to shy away from showing concrete material evidence of the subaltern activity they purport is occurring. This is not to say that the research is faulty, but that further research is needed to back up said claims. Rather than attempting to fully answer the question of how the MBA regional centers developed, I intend to instead examine whether there is indeed any material evidence of subaltern agency in this process.

Traditional methods of political economic analysis tend to focus on social change from either top-down or bottom-up perspective that are not completely useful for understanding the development of the Southern Levantine MBA. Before the advent of the processual paradigm, archaeologists often viewed social change as occurring due to grand actions that were usually led by elites (Furholt et al. 2020). After the mid-twentieth century, however, Marxist and Anarchist theories began to focus instead on the subaltern agency and its effects on social change (Furholt

et al. 2020). The combination of old top-down and the Marxist-Anarchist bottom-up perspectives by analyzing the dialectic between elite and subaltern actions has gained traction in the last half-century (Monroe 2015; Furholt et al. 2020). While unilinear paths of change can and have happened historically, the research of Stager, Lawrence & Savage, and Yasur-Landau et al. hint at a more complicated dialectical process occurring during the MBA. This process can be explained through the application of heterarchy and collective action theory. Unlike simple hierarchy models applied to archaeological reconstructions, heterarchy allows for the presence of multiple social groups that hold variable amounts of power within the system (Crumley 1995). These social groups act according to their own goals and ambitions which may align with or abrade against the will of other groups (Crumley 1995; Furholt et al. 2020). Groups' ability to negotiate within the heterarchical system determines the amount of success each group will have in maintaining or expanding their social standing (Furholt et al. 2020). It is possible then that actual hierarchies will form within heterarchies if one group is able to succeed more effectively than others in monopolizing control.

While heterarchy explains the system in which subalterns can express agency, collective action theory defines the processes in which these systems form as well as how subalterns are able to use their agency to negotiate within the system. According to collective action theory, collective societies are feasible under the circumstance that public goods are disseminated by authorities, agency is decentralized, previously developed social institutions are not under direct control of authorities and both used and maintained, and trust between social groups is promoted (Crumley 1995). In this system, subalterns are able to negotiate levels of privileges through their possible control over food/tax production, ability to migrate, martial prowess, entrepreneurship, and more (Crumley 1995; Furholt et al. 2020).

Scholars have already asserted that at least some MBA regional centers of the Southern Levant relied upon the goods produced by semi-autonomous hinterlands and that community building practices like feasting took place (Stager 2001; Falconer and Savage 1995; Marom et al. 2014; Yasur-Landau et al. 2015). This information alone satisfies three of the four factors present within collective heterarchical societies. The feasting seen at Kabri is an act of dissemination of goods that would have likely been produced by the public for the elite back to the public. Stager, Lawrence & Savage, and Yasur-Landau et al.'s conclusions that MBA regional centers relied on their hinterlands' chosen production cycles rather than a production cycle that would have directly benefitted the palatial household, is a sign of both decentralized agency and maintenance of previously developed social institutions. It can be argued that the public feasting seen at Kabri is also an act of building trust, but other evidence of trust or community building between the elite and subaltern populations of the MBA Southern Levant is lacking. Therefore, an investigation into whether other social practices reflect trust and or different collective behavior is pertinent to determine whether ideas of heterarchy and collective action theory can be applied to understanding the MBA transition. One such social practice that can be used in answering this question is mortuary behavior.

Methodology:

The Middle Bronze Age strata of Tel Megiddo have provided researchers an immense amount of information regarding burial practices in the region. Over three hundred burials dating to the MBA have been recovered by Megiddo's excavators. Scholars who have worked with the mortuary assemblage of Megiddo have divided the burials into multiple types based on their physical appearance. Some of the major burial types include pits, stone-lined pits, rock-cut, shaft,

masonry-built, and jar (Guy 1938; Hallote 1994: 51-55; Cradic 2017). An agreement on which labels are useful for describing the burial types has not been reached. For example, some scholars may define both stone-lined and simple (non-lined) pit burials under the general category of pit burials. Others may see the lining of the pits with stones as a distinct practice that warrants a separate category. This is not the only way that MBA burials have been divided though. For example, Rachel Hallote, while acknowledging the diversity of tomb types, divided the tombs of the MBA into the two broad categories of constructed and cut tombs (Hallote 1994: 51-55). Thus, in Hallote's paper, any tombs that utilize stones in their construction such as masonry-built, stone-lined, and tumuli would form the "constructed" group. On the other hand, those tombs which do not use stones such as shaft, pit, cave, and jar burials are coalesced together by Hallote under the "cut" category. However, in order to understand the social implications of each tomb type one must group them differently.

As my research is focused on the socio-political relations between the elite and subaltern members of Megiddo's population, I will concentrate on the amount of energy expended on burials as a deciding factor on dividing the tomb types. My choice in doing so is based on Christopher Carr's observation that the amount of energy put into a burial is often related to the social rank of the individual or individuals interred (Carr 1995). Another researcher, Joseph Tainter, described energy expenditure as being marked by the size and elaborateness of a burial, caretaking of the dead, and the nature of grave associations (Tainter 1978). I will be utilizing all the categories except caretaking of the dead to determine whether a burial type required high or low energy expenditure. I will begin my categorization with the size and elaborateness of the tomb types. The idea that grand construction projects are used for expressing social rank is also often considered outside of taphonomy by those researching Near Eastern architecture (Heinz

and Feldman 2007; Burke 2008). One of the burial types which I will exclude from this division are Megiddo's jar burials because they are strictly reserved for infants and fetuses (Hallote 1994: 58). Therefore, it seems that jar burials are not associated with the socioeconomic status or lineage of the individuals within them, but rather their age. I've also left cave burials out of my classification as there are no cave burials dating to the MBA at Tel Megiddo. Besides jar and cave burials, the rest of the tomb types at Megiddo will be grouped under the categories of low or high energy expenditure. Tomb types in the low expenditure category are simple pits, stone-lined pits, and rock-cut burials. While these burials are grouped under the low expenditure category, I do not want to give the impression that I am stating the energy spent on simple pits, stone-lined pits, and rock-cut burials is equal. Rather, I am stating that the energy spent on these burials is low compared to those in the high expenditure category as they are often small and less elaborate in style. It should also be noted that I will be separating pit-style rock-cut tombs, hereby referred to as rock-cut, from shaft-style rock-cut tombs. I will be including the latter tomb type with the other shaft tombs of Megiddo. With that said, burials of the shaft and masonry-built types will form the high expenditure group of tombs within this study. I have elected to place these three tomb types within the high expenditure category due to their relatively large sizes, more complex building techniques, and tendency to be reopened and reused over long periods of time (Guy 1938; Cradic 2017).

This categorization of tombs by the amount of energy spent will not be met without criticism. In fact, in her analysis of Megiddo's tombs, Hallote explicitly states that the use of energy expenditure in determining the social status of interred individuals is unwise (Hallote 1994: 21-26). Hallote bases her argument in the research of Tainter who conducted multiple statistical analyses of mortuary data in order to understand whether any would determine the

amount of energy expended on mortuary remains was indeed a viable factor in understanding social organization (Hallote 1994: 21-26; Tainter 1975). While Tainter does in fact find monothetic-divisive procedures sufficient in his study, Hallote highlights that Tainter's exclusive use of architectural features and post-mortem wear on bones, stemming from caretaking, as markers for energy expenditure are problematic when used in a Southern Levantine context (Hallote 1994: 23; Tainter 1975). This is because non-elaborate tombs built by subaltern individuals, such as simple pits, could be reused by descendants of a higher social status and post-mortem wear on bones could be from more than just caretaking (Hallote 1994: 23). Hallote also claims that generalizations about Southern Levantine tombs' social meaning cannot be done rationally unless researchers conduct a huge regional survey including mortuary remains from multiple small and large sites (Hallote 1994:10 & 26). Her given example of such a project is Ian Morris' study of Classical Greek cemeteries (Hallote 1994: 9; Morris 1989). However, Hallote continues stating that cross regional or cross site comparisons would be problematic since "two different large sites within a region may yield conflicting results" (Hallote 1994: 8-9).

Although I agree with Hallote that using post-mortem wear on skeletal remains as a marker of energy expenditure is not wise in a Southern Levantine context, I do not agree that mortuary architecture should also be ignored. It is indeed possible that low-expenditure burials of subaltern individuals would be reused at a later date by elites if a familial tie to the burial plot is present. Unfortunately, most low expenditure burials of Megiddo have not been examined closely to determine whether they are strictly primary in nature or contain secondary inhumations too. The only other way to confirm whether low-expenditure tombs contain high status individuals from possible secondary burials is to analyze the amount and type of prestige burial goods within. While defining prestige goods can be tricky, I will be considering any goods

that were not used for necessary tasks in daily life as prestigious (Hayden 1998). This excludes items used for basic subsistence such as cooking pots or sickle bladelets. I will also be following precedents set by other researchers in the region in question. For example, Hallote defined specific types of burial goods such as scarabs, jewelry, metalwork, weapons, and ivory inlays as being markers of prestige within the Southern Levant (Hallote 1994: 78-79). Narrow necked juglets, believed to hold valuable liquids such as perfumes due to their small size, as well as precious metals and imported goods are listed by various authors as prestigious goods placed in MBA Levantine tombs (Gitin 2019: 18; Hallote 1994: 83). One would expect that if low-expenditure tomb types were used by elites, both low and high-expenditure tombs would contain similar levels of prestige burial goods. However, if the average amount of prestige goods within high-expenditure tombs is higher than low-expenditure tombs, Carr and Tainter's hypotheses hold true for Megiddo.

To test Carr and Tainter's hypotheses and determine whether tomb architecture at Tel Megiddo is a reliable proxy for understanding the tomb owners' social status, I have taken a sample of Megiddo's low and high-expenditure tombs and analyzed their contents for prestige goods (see Fig. 1-2). While a complete survey of Megiddo's tombs' contents would be preferred for testing Carr and Tainter's hypotheses, such a thorough study is not within the scope of this paper. Instead, I have elected to collect two stratified random samples of Megiddo's tombs' contents. The first sample contains ten percent of the low-expenditure tomb types relative to their representation within the entire population. Thus, pit tombs make up about 71 percent of the entire population of low-expenditure tombs at Tel Megiddo and 71 percent of the sample I collected. This ensures that the whole sample will not be skewed if, for example, pit tombs contain less prestige goods than the other category of low-expenditure tombs within the

population. So, in total there are two stone-lined pits and six simple pit burials in the low energy sample. The second sample follows the same logic but contains ten percent of the high-expenditure tombs. One of the four high energy tombs sampled is a masonry-built tomb and the remaining three are shaft tombs. Upon an examination of the data, it is immediately apparent that there is a difference between the amount of prestige goods in low and high expenditure tomb types at Megiddo. The most common prestige good found within both low and high expenditure tombs is the juglet. However, outside of juglets only two of the eight low expenditure tombs sampled have one or more type of prestige good present, and four of the tombs have no prestige goods at all. This is drastically different than the high expenditure tombs sampled. None of the high expenditure tombs lack prestige goods, and three out of the four tombs have more than two types of prestige goods present. Thus, it would be relevant to move forward under the assumption that the energy expended on a burial is indeed a marker of the lived social status of buried individuals.

Fig. 1: Presence/Absence of Prestige Goods in Low Energy Tombs

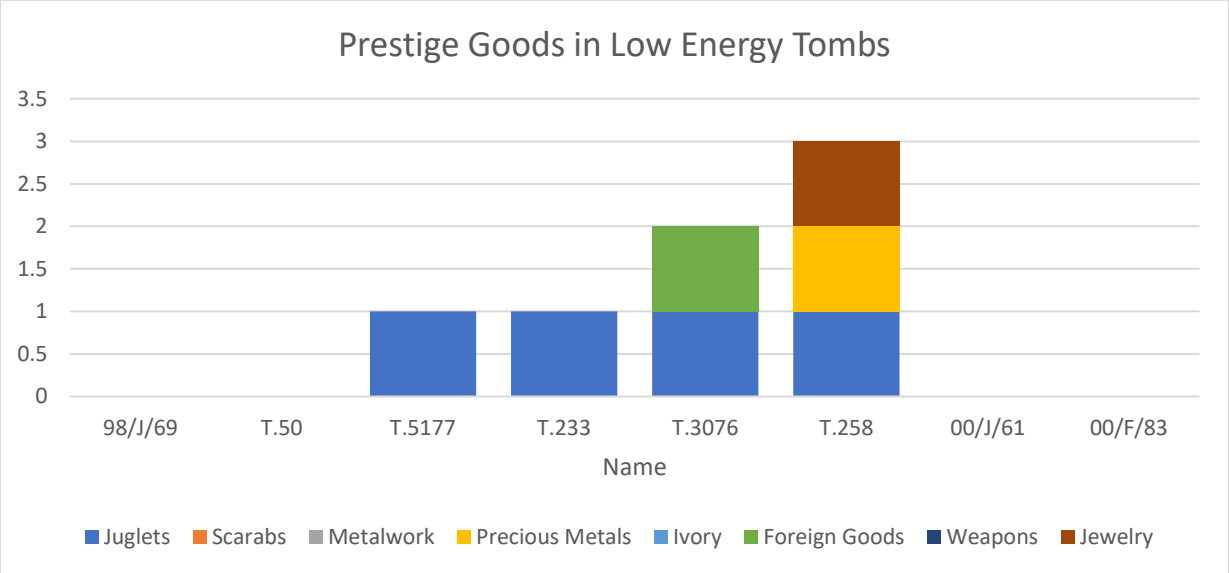
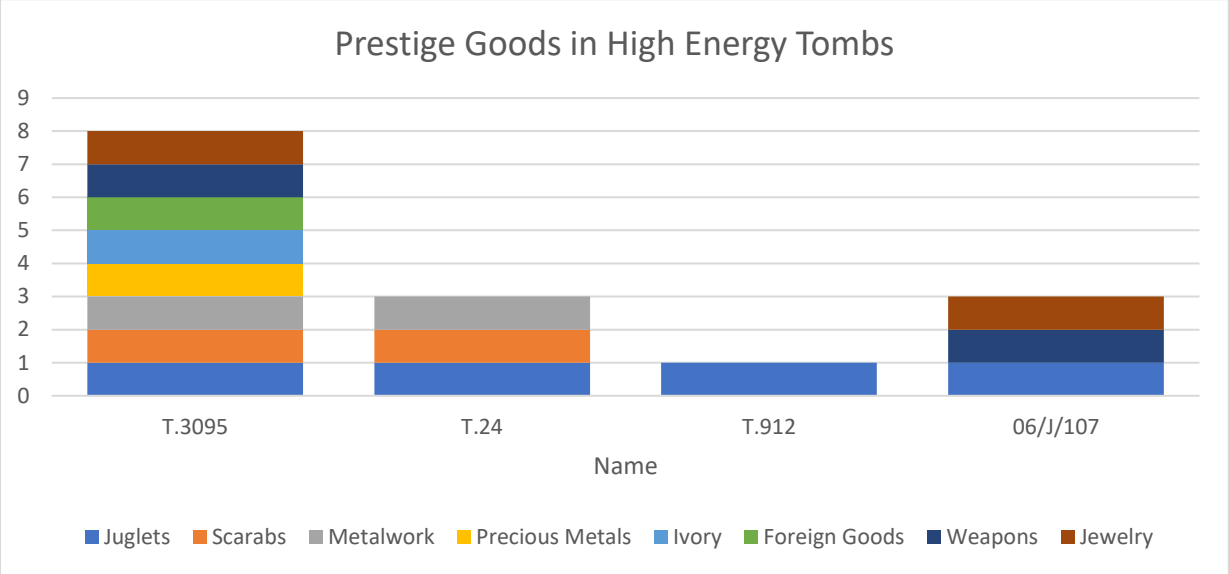


Fig. 2 Presence/Absence of Prestige Goods in High Energy Tombs

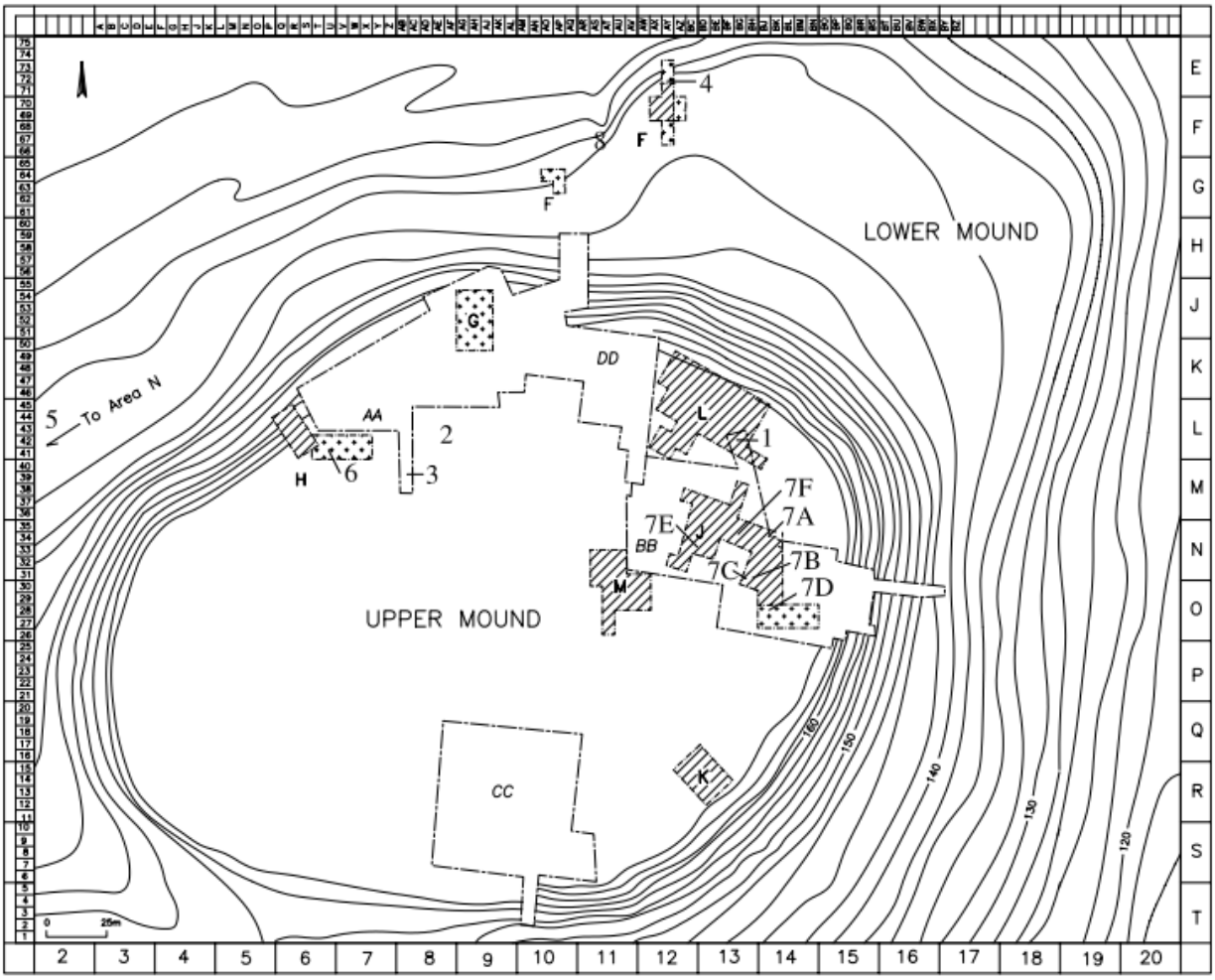



Data:

Now that I have delineated my theoretical and methodological approaches to the burials at Megiddo, I will delve into the burial data itself. Tel Megiddo's Middle Bronze Age burial repertoire is one of the most extensive in the Southern Levant, and the data of these burials is spread across multiple publications (Schumacher 1908; Guy 1938; Loud 1948; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2006; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Cline 2013; Adams and Cradic 2022). The data set I will be using does not include every MBA burial uncovered at Tel Megiddo, but rather every relevant burial excavated before 2008. This is because none of the burials excavated post-2008 had been fully published at the time I was collecting data for this thesis. However, I was fortunate to have been granted use of one chapter of the, at the time, unpublished Megiddo VI book thanks to one of the site's excavation directors, Matthew J. Adams.

The 308 MBA burials of Tel Megiddo used in this study are located across six different areas of the site. These areas are AA/S, BB/J, CC, F, M, the Eastern Slope, and the Southwestern Edge of the tell (see Fig. 5). For the purpose of understanding how elite and subaltern members of Megiddo interacted, I will group these areas based on how they were used by the residents of Megiddo. For example, areas AA/S, CC, and F were listed as predominantly containing residential structures (Loud 1948: 6-57, 105; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2000: 75-103; Finkelstein, Ussishkin, and Halpern 2006: 54-65). This information does not clarify whether the areas would have held an elite presence or not. However, as I shall later explain, other areas of the site have more evidence of an elite presence and have thus been assumed to be elite quarters by some excavators. The residential area AA/S has a total of 41 MBA burials. Four of the area's burials are of the low energy expenditure type while three are high expenditure, two are jar burials, and 32 are undefined. Areas CC and F both contain two low expenditure burials each, but none of the high expenditure group. CC also has one jar burial and five unattributed burials, while F has none of the former group and only one of the latter. It is possible that the Southwestern Edge area was also residential, but the one jar burial and unattributed burial in the area were uncovered without a full excavation of the surrounding context. The presence of elite burials alongside subaltern burials in at least one of the three residential areas of Tel Megiddo, area AA/S, already seems to imply intermingling of different socio-economic groups at the site. However, without examining other areas, the data from area AA/S could be interpreted as an anomaly.

Fig. 3: Map of Megiddo (Finkelstein, Ussishkin, & Halpern 2000)




Unlike areas AA/S, CC, and F, Megiddo's Eastern Slope held little to no residential structures alongside its multitude of burials during the MBA. Thus, one of the Eastern Slope's main excavators, P.L.O. Guy, concluded that the area was used as a cemetery (Guy 1938). The burial pattern of this area is similar to area AA/S as there is a mixture of low and high energy expenditure burials. In fact, there are 16 low energy burials and six high energy burials on the Eastern Slope as well as three jar burials. It is already apparent from the data of the Eastern Slope that the presence of elite and subaltern burials alongside one another is more than just an anomaly within area AA/S.

Of Megiddo's areas, BB/J and M on the eastern side of the tell's summit are the only areas considered by past scholars as elite regions of Megiddo. This evaluation is based on the presence of a sacred precinct in area BB/J as well as possible palatial structures in both area BB/J and M (Schumacher 1908; Loud 1948: 57-105; Epstein 1965; Dunayevsky and Kempinski 1973). Area BB/J holds 218 burials in total which is the highest proportion of MBA burials out of all the areas of Megiddo. The reason for this high concentration of burials is yet unknown and could possibly be due to more extensive excavations in the area compared to others. Of the burials in BB/J, 53 are within the low expenditure category, 32 are high expenditure, seven are jar burials, and the remaining 126 are unattributed. Area M, on the other hand, has seven low expenditure burials, two high expenditure burials, and two unattributed burials. The patterns here again seem to match those of areas AA/S and the Eastern Slope.

Analysis:

At first glance, Megiddo's Middle Bronze Age burial assemblage data does not show signs of a sharp separation of the areas in which elites and subalterns were able to be buried. This is quite unlike some Northern Levantine sites. One example of this distinction can be found in the MBA cemeteries of Ebla. Located in contemporary North-Western Syria, Ebla was the center of a powerful regional kingdom during the MBA (Matthiae and Marchetti 2013). Although the entire settlement has not been excavated, excavators have uncovered the remains of palatial structures and associated mausoleums (Polcaro 2008). These mausoleums strictly contain elite burials that belonged to the royal families and courtiers of Ebla (Polcaro 2008). The presence of a cordoned off burial ground for a royal family is not something that is present at Megiddo.

Fig. 4: Burial Types by Area

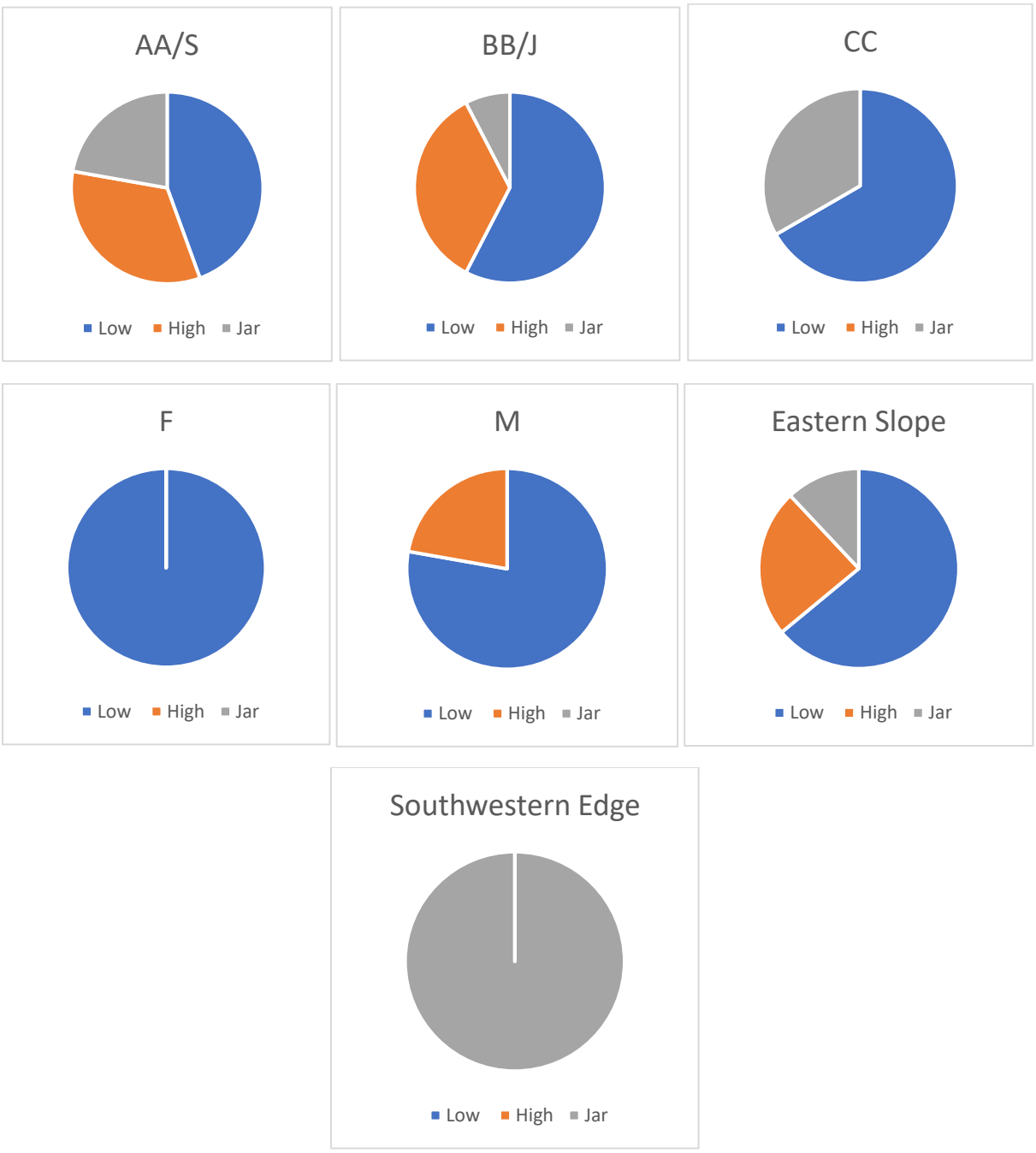
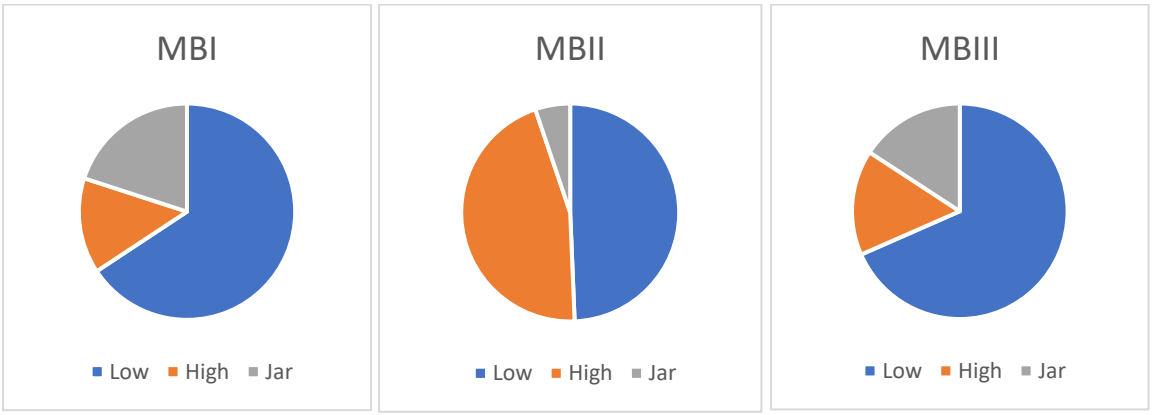


Fig. 5 Burial Types by Chronological Periods




One of the three residential areas excavated, area AA/S, contains both high and low energy expenditure type burials. It is possible that the lack of high energy type burials in areas CC and F is because they were less valued regions of the settlement, but it could also be due to the overall low number of burials recovered from the areas, relative to other areas, as well. They are not proof, however, that area AA/S is abnormal. Both areas associated with elite structures, BB/J and M, as well as the cemetery on the Eastern Slope area contain a mixture of high and low energy burial types. Area BB/J has the highest overall percentage, 54 percent, of high energy burials. The other areas, M and AA/S, have high energy burials at rates of 29 and 33 percent respectively. This implies that area M has a similar number of subalterns as area AA/S despite the former area having grand architecture and the latter not having any. If area M was a predominantly elite or strictly elite area, one would expect to see a majority of high energy burials, but this is not the case. Outside of the cemetery on the Eastern Slope most of the burials of Megiddo would have been intramural (Hallote 1994: 90). This means that the elite and subaltern populations of Megiddo were living side by side near the sacred precinct, around possible palatial structures, and in residential areas away from grand architecture.

The organization of mortuary, and by association, residential structures throughout Megiddo fits well with what has been determined by scholars about the political economy of the MBA Southern Levant. Both the port power model of Stager and the synoikos model of Yasur-Landau et al. hinge on the interdependence between palatial elites and the subaltern members of their polities. This interdependence matches some of the requirements for collective heterarchical societies as outlined by Crumley & Levy and Furholt et al. in their respective publications. According to collective action theory, the regional centers' elites' reliance on, and support of, subaltern economic agency is indicative of subalterns' ability to engage in negotiations with those very elites that ruled over them. This is depicted well in Yasur-Landau et al.'s synoikos model where the MBA regional center Kabri is demonstrated as leaving its hinterland's economy be rather than controlling it as tightly as Syro-Mesopotamian cities did. Both the palatial elite and subalterns desired the services of one another and used their control over said services, as in the port power model, to negotiate their positions in the social order. In the case of the port power and synoikos models, trade is maintained as being the primary agent in spurring on these economies. Researchers have shown that there were major influences from abroad during the MBA, but there is little evidence of subalterns gaining access to the markets (Cohen 2013; Maeir 2010: 63-130). The only written examples of trade occurring in the region during the MBA are one lexicographical cuneiform text from Hazor, one text directly concerning a list of items being sent to Mari from Hazor, and two texts from Mari focused on trade with Hazor (Tadmor 1977; Malamat 1960; Malamat 1983; Horowitz and Wasserman 2000). None of these texts mention direct subaltern involvement in trade, however, Horowitz & Wasserman state that the text in their publication specifically showcases direct palatial trade rather than trade as a whole (Horowitz and Wasserman 2000). It is possible that subalterns were able to become traders semi-

independent of the palatial elite as seen in the Late Bronze Age (LBA), circa 1,500-1,200 BCE, or at least were able to exchange goods they produced for foreign goods within regional/market centers (Christopher Monroe 2020). Although it is not enough data to cement a case for trade being the main pull factor in drawing subalterns into the MBA polities, the presence of some elite goods within the low energy burials of Megiddo (Fig. 1) does mean that subalterns had access to valuables distributed through trade. Evidence of communal feasting, a collective behavior, taking place at Kabri also supports the idea that the MBA palatial elite were still attempting to build a sense of community with their subaltern neighbors through the redistribution of goods despite the lack of a redistribution focused economy (Marom et al. 2014; Yasur-Landau et al. 2015). With the mortuary data from Megiddo, it is now evident that there was a common ground between the elite and subalterns in terms of property rights as well. Regardless of whether a family was considered elite, they were able to utilize both residential and mortuary property in the same areas as one another. There was no delineated "elite" residential quarter or burial ground despite the presence of grand architecture in some areas. The people of Megiddo would have had to interact with each other on a day-to-day basis, thus forming a continuous community with some modicum of mutual respect regardless of socio-economic differences. Curiously, a similar situation can be seen in the lower city of Kanesh, an MBA Assyrian merchant colony in Anatolia, where burials of varying styles and varying amounts of wealth are located near one another (Hoy 2019). This analogy should be taken cautiously because the eclectic composition of burial types near one another at Kanesh may be in part due to the multiethnic nature of the settlement and intermarriages between differing groups (Yazicioglu-Santamaria 2015). The decentralized distribution of wealth and power among Kanesh's merchant community, however, can provide a better comparison since these merchants

were not fully under the control of the local Anatolian rulers or their Assyrian homeland and were able to self-govern without a central figurehead (Van De Mieroop 2015: 100; Larsen 2015). At Kanesh, both "big men" and "small men" had legal power in the settlement's governing body even though that power was not equal (Larsen 2015). It would not be far-fetched to see the decentralized layout of Megiddo as also acting in favor of balancing against the total consolidation of socio-political power within a single wealthy family or individual.

There is, however, a noticeable shift in the types of burials built over time at Megiddo. In the beginning of the MBA, about 66 percent of attributed burials were of the low energy type while only around 14 percent were high energy (Fig. 4). This means that the majority of the people with access to burial grounds were subaltern during the MBI. The pattern changed during the MBII, however, when the amount of low energy burials drops to 49 percent and the amount of high energy burials rises to 46 percent. Although subaltern burials are still in the majority, they do not dominate the assemblage as during the MBI. The pattern changes yet again in the MBIII when 68 percent of newly constructed burials are low energy and only 16 percent are high energy. Thus, it would appear that the elite population of Megiddo rose during the height of the MBA before dropping back down to MBI levels during the MBIII. One must be careful with this information though as many of the MBII high energy burials were reused during the MBIII and most of the excavations before Tel Aviv's did not differentiate between the MBII and MBIII. With that said, there was an increase in elite burials after the MBI, but it is impossible to say whether this was due to subalterns gaining elite status, elite families migrating to Megiddo, or a natural increase of the already present MBI elites. This data fits well with previous findings by archaeologists which point to an increase in economic prosperity within the Southern Levant after the MBI (Gerstenblith 1983; Dever 1987; Burke 2013).

In combining the conclusions of my research alongside the port power and synoikos models, one could hypothesize that the inland MBA regional centers were able to form when entrepreneurial families took advantage of the expansion of trade through the Southern Levant and began developing market centers. These market centers would then cooperate with nearby villages to exchange local goods for foreign valuables. Gradually, the market centers attracted settlers who saw benefit in providing goods or services to others in the area. Those in control of the markets could have taxed visitors and new settlers and grown wealthy from the trade. This newly generated wealth allowed the burgeoning elite to exert control over others wanting to benefit from the market. However, rather than operating through heavy handed coercion, the new elite worked collectively with their subaltern neighbors. Thus, when the grand defensive fortifications that mark the MBA were built, it was not just for the protection of the elite, but also for the rest of the polity. Regional centers were constructed with the land rights, protection of, and servicing of subalterns in mind, not just the elite. This is evident due to the ability of the subaltern members of Megiddo to maintain their properties despite the growing power of their elite neighbors. Subalterns were not simply relegated to the edges of the settlement away from centers of political and religious power, and elites were not ensured properties near these locations either. These concessions made on the part of the elite secured the trust and business of their subaltern neighbors and hinterlands and allowed the polities of the MBA Southern Levant to develop further over time.

## Conclusion:

The transitional period between the Intermediate Bronze Age and Middle Bronze Age in the Southern Levant remains one of the most controversial subjects for archaeologists in the

region. After a 500-year period of urban decline and a return to decentralized small scale agro-pastoralism, the people of the Southern Levant quickly reorganized back into "urban" regional centers that held political sway over vast hinterlands. Alongside this socio-economic change, new technologies, ceramic types, and other aspects of material culture appeared in the region. Previous attempts at understanding the phenomenon are often split between theories of migration and economic development. Advocates of the migration theories argue that the change was brought on by foreigners from the Syrian steppes who replaced the existing social order. On the other hand, those who support the economic theories argue that the local population took advantage of newly reenergized trade in order to develop internally. Though I do not deny the possibility of migrations or other influences from Syria, the research of Stager, Falconer & Savage, and Yasur-Landau et al. have provided clear and consistent evidence that a shift in economic strategies was at the heart of the IBA-MBA transition. Although the authors never directly use the terms, all of these papers point towards some sort of collective action occurring between elites and subalterns in a heterarchically organized society during the MBA. The overall lack of research on the material evidence of subalterns' role in the transition, however, leaves more to be desired. Because mortuary remains allow archaeologists to understand social relations within a society, burials provide an important insight into the lives of subalterns. Utilizing Tel Megiddo's vast mortuary assemblage, I have demonstrated that a cooperative behavior was occurring between the settlement's elite and subaltern populations. Both groups were able to reside within the same areas of the settlement regardless of whether those areas were associated with elite architecture or not. This trend continued throughout the MBA and subalterns were able to hold their place despite the growing economic gap between them and their elite neighbors. Combined with what was concluded by Stager, Falconer & Savage, and Yasur-Landau et al., it is

evident that the development of Southern Levantine Middle Bronze Age regional centers was done through collective action within a heterarchical framework rather than a top-down process. Although this conclusion does not answer all questions regarding the origin of the MBA elites, it does bring the role of subalterns to the fore and provides a base for further studies.

Table 1: Burial Data (repeat names are due to multiple burials in the same locus)

| Name | Stratum | Age | Area | Type | Source |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grabkammer I | M-8 | MBIII/LBI | M | Masonry-Built | Schumacher 1908 |
| Grabkammer II | M-8 | MBIII/LBI | M | Masonry-Built | Schumacher 1908 |
| Grab A | N/A | MB | M | Stone-Lined Pit | Schumacher 1908 |
| Grab B | N/A | MB | M | Stone-Lined Pit | Schumacher 1908 |
| Grab C | N/A | MB | M | Stone-Lined Pit | Schumacher 1908 |
| Grab D | N/A | MB | M | Stone-Lined Pit | Schumacher 1908 |
| Grab E | N/A | MB | M | Stone-Lined Pit | Schumacher 1908 |
| Grab F | N/A | MB | M | Stone-Lined Pit | Schumacher 1908 |
| Chamber F | M-10 | MBI | M | Stone-Lined Pit | Schumacher 1908 |
| T.24 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Shaft | Guy 1938 |
| T.42 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Shaft | Guy 1938 |
| T.43 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.44 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.45 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.46 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.49 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.50 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Stone-lined Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.51 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Masonry-Built | Guy 1938 |
| T.53 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.56 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Masonry-Built | Guy 1938 |
| T.233 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.234 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.244 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Stone-lined Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.247 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Jar | Guy 1938 |
| T.251 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Stone-lined Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.252 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Stone-lined Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.253 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Jar | Guy 1938 |
| T.254 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.255 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Rock-Cut | Guy 1938 |
| T.257 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Jar | Guy 1938 |
| T.258 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.644 | N/A | MBII | SW. Edge of Mound Summit | N/A | Guy 1938 |
| T.645 | N/A | MBII | SW. Edge of Mound Summit | Jar | Guy 1938 |
| T.868 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Pit | Guy 1938 |
| T.911 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Shaft | Guy 1938 |
| T.912 | N/A | MBII | E. Slope | Shaft | Guy 1938 |
| T.4110 | XIV | MBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5121 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5181 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.4016 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| T.5188 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5177 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5171 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5130 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.2152 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3138 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3143 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3144 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3147 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3148 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3149 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3150 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3153 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3155 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3157 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3162 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3168 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4046 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5074 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5118 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5128 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5147 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5156 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5158 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5176 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5178 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5179 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5180 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5183 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5185 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5186 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5275 | XIV | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5114 | XIIIB | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5148 | XIIIB | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5166 | XIIIB | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5268 | XIIIB | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5063 (?) | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | Jar | Loud 1948 |
| T.5094 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5062 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | Jar | Loud 1948 |
| T.5252 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5102 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5090 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5075 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |

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| T.5084 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5088 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5097 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5103 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5104 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5113 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5152 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5270 | XIIIA | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4105 | XIII | MBI/II | AA/S | Jar | Loud 1948 |
| T.4088 | XIII | MBI/II | AA/S | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.4095 | XIII | MBI/II | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4112 | XIII | MBI/II | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3093 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3146 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.2146 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2151 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3109 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3118 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3125 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3126 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3127 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3130 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3132 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3134 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3140 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3141 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4010 | XIII | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2120 | XIII | MBI/II | CC | Jar | Loud 1948 |
| T.2119 | XIII | MBI/II | CC | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4091 | XII | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4094 | XII | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4099 | XII | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4100 | XII | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4101 | XII | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4102 | XII | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4107 | XII | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5106 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5142 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5261 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5255 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5137 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3145 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5267 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |

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| T.2138 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5067 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3084 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.2135 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5259 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3092 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.2031 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2142 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2145 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2147 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3086 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3087 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3095 | XII | MBII | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.3111 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3114 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3117 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3122 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3123 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3128 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3129 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3133 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3137 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5068 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5111 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5112 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5134 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5232 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5241 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5242 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5254 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5257 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5274 | XII | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2125 | XII | MBII | CC | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2143 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2144 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3175 | XI | MBII | AA/S | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.4053 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4055 | XI | MBII | AA/S | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.4056 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4070 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4071 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4074 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4075 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |

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| T.4077 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4078 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4079 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4096 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4098 | XI | MBII | AA/S | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.4109 | XI | MBII | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3058 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5250 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3110 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.5133 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5041 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3076 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5249 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5050 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.2129 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.2130 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2141 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3064 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3072 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3075 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.3077 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3080 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.3081 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3082 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3083 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3085 | XI | MBII | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.3090 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3107 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3120 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5042 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5046 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5053 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5086 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5230 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5231 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5234 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5243 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5248 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5271 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.5272 | XI | MBII | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2026 | XI | MBII | CC | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.2027 | X | MBIII/LBI | CC | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2028 | X | MBIII/LBI | CC | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |

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| T.2029 | X | MBIII/LBI | CC | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2034 | X | MBIII/LBI | CC | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.2126 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.2140 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3026 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Jar | Loud 1948 |
| T.3029 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3030 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3033 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3034 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3035 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3039 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3040 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3042 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3046 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3047 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3048 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3050 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3052 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3054 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Jar | Loud 1948 |
| T.3055 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.3056 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3059 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3060 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3063 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3065 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3066 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3070 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Masonry-Built | Loud 1948 |
| T.3074 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3139 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3167 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.3170 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4007 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4018 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4022 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4043 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.4051 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.4054 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4069 | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| T.4106 (1) | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | Jar | Loud 1948 |
| T.4106 (2) | X | MBIII/LBI | AA/S | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5240 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | Pit | Loud 1948 |
| T.5244 | X | MBIII/LBI | BB/J | N/A | Loud 1948 |
| 96/J/26 | N/A | MB | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2000; Adams & Cradic 2022 |

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|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 00/F/66 | F-11 | MBIII | F | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 00/F/83 | F-11 (?) | MBIII | F | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 00/F/103 | F-11 (?) | MBIII | F | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 94/J/65 | J-8/J-10 | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 96/J/26 | J-11/J-12 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 98/J/69 | J-8/J-10 | MBI | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 98/J/74 | N/A | MB | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 98/J/74 | N/A | MB | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 98/J/77 | J-10 | MBI/II | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 98/J/74 | N/A | MBI | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 98/J/83 | J-8/J-10 | MBI | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 00/J/61 | N/A | MB | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 00/J/104 | J-8/J-10 | MBI | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 04/J/30 | N/A | MB | BB/J | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2006 |
| 04/J/56 | N/A | MB | BB/J | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 04/J/75 | N/A | MB | BB/J | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 04/J/86 | N/A | MB | BB/J | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2006; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 04/J/9 | J-10a | MBI/II | BB/J | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/107 | J-10b | MBI/II | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 04/J/56 | J-8/J-10 | MBI/II | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 04/J/75 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 04/J/77 | N/A | MB | BB/J | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2013 |
| 04/J/75 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 04/J/86 | J-12/J-13 | MBII/III | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/8 | J-12/J-13 | MBIII | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/17 | N/A | MBII/III | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2013 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/107 | J-12/J-13 | MBII/III | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/37 | J-8/J-10 | MBII | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/75 | J-12/J-13 | MBII/III | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/17 | N/A | MBII/III | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2013 |
| 06/J/129 | J-8/J-10 | MBI/II | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/J/107 | J-12/J-13 | MBII/III | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |

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| 06/J/129 | J-8/J-10 | MBI/II | BB/J | Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 10/J/100 | J-9 | MBI | BB/J | Jar | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 10/J/113 | J-9 | MBI | BB/J | Jar | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 10/J/126 | J-8 | MBI | BB/J | Jar | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 10/J/136 | J-10 | MBI | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 10/J/171 | J-8/J-10 | MBI | BB/J | Shaft | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 10/J/173 | J-8 | MBI | BB/J | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 10/J/190 | J-8 | MBI | BB/J | Stone-Lined Pit | Finkelstein et al. 2013; Adams & Cradic 2022 |
| 06/M/56 | M-7a | MBIII/LBI | M | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2013 |
| 06/M/73 | M-7a | MBIII/LBI | M | N/A | Finkelstein et al. 2013 |

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