Weiss-Krejci, Estella
2004 ,Mortuary representations of the noble house. A cross-cultural comparison between collective tombs of the ancient Maya and dynastic Europe'. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 4/3:368-404.

Journal of Social Archaeology

Journal of Social Archaeology   **A R T I C L E**

Mortuary representations of the noble house

A cross-cultural comparison between collective tombs of the ancient Maya and dynastic Europe

ESTELLA WEISS-KREJCI

Departamento de Ciências e Técnicas do Património, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, Portugal

ABSTRACT
Seventy years of archaeological research in the Maya area have brought to light a series of tombs and crypts that hold more than one individual. The patterns regarding age, completeness and articulation of skeletons and sequence of deposition in some of these tombs suggest different burial traditions. These traditions include the placing of sacrificial victims with a deceased tomb principal, sequential burial of family members, or reburial of curated or exhumed ancestral remains. In medieval and post-medieval Europe, collective tomb burial was also very common. The investigation of tomb formation in the Habsburg dynasty shows that similar patterns can result from mortality, mobility and territorial shifts in a noble house. Maya multiple tombs and crypts simply may have been the final resting-places for the deceased members of noble houses who were deposited and redeposited in both simultaneous and sequential fashion.

■ **INTRODUCTION**

Proper treatment and placing of the dead has always been of great concern
to people around the world. While choice of burial location and treatment
of the corpse usually depend on beliefs and ritual standards within a specific
cultural context, they are as well of a strategic nature. Burial decisions are
affected by cultural norms regarding the deceased's age, gender, vertical or
horizontal status and by the relationship of people to places and other
people. Ideas concerning proper burial also apply to those who have been
defunct for quite some time. Dead bodies have been exhumed, reburied
and desecrated in order to redefine – elevate or degrade – the status of their
owners, construct new affiliations, rewrite history and to retrieve or
construct social memory (Verdery, 1999: 1–3).

   This article discusses strategic burial decisions and processes that might
be responsible for the presence and state of dead bodies in ancient Maya
collective tombs and crypts. These élite mortuary chambers, which have
been discovered at various sites in the Maya highlands and lowlands within
the last 70 years, lack uniform patterns regarding age, gender, complete-
ness and articulation of skeletons (Table 1). A few tombs appear to be the
result of a one time multiple deposition, others were used for sequential
deposition for one or two centuries or even display sporadic reuse over
much longer time periods (Weiss-Krejci, 2003). Some researchers have
suggested familia relations among occupants in sequentially used tombs
(Hammond et al., 1975; Healy et al., 1998), but the general lack of stan-
dardized patterns throughout the Maya area as well as other parts of
Mesoamerica has resulted in the notion of different mortuary rites: depo-
sition of a tomb principal accompanied by sacrificial victims, simultaneous
deposition of temporarily stored family members, sequential deposition of
family or lineage members, body processing, two-stage burials and second-
ary burial rites, tomb re-entry and the extraction of bones during commem-
orative rites and the caching of tomb contents as part of ancestral rituals
(Becquelin and Baudez, 1979; Chase and Chase, 1996, 2003; Coe, 1990;
Fitzsimmons, 1998; Houston et al., 1998; Kidder et al., 1946; McAnany,
1998; Middleton et al., 1998; Ruz, 1955; Smith and Kidder, 1943; Stuart,
1998; Tiesler et al., 2002; Welsh, 1988).

   In this article, I propose that Maya collective tombs hold members of

Table 1 Multiple burials in elaborate crypts and tombs in the Maya area.

Site and burial number	Type[a]	Period[b]	Age (years)[c]				No. of people	Reference
			<1–4	5–14	15–19	>19		
Caledonia								
Structure A-1	Tomb	elaborate crypt	E. Cl. – L. Cl.	–	1	–	8	9+	Healy et al., 1998
Caracol								
Structure A-34	Lower Tomb	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl.	–	–	–	4	4+	Chase and
Structure A-38	Tomb	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl.	–	–	–	3	3	Chase, 1996
Chiapa de Corzo								
Mound 5b	Burial 120	elaborate crypt	L. Cl.	–	–	–	1+?	7	Agrinier,
	Burial 121	elaborate crypt	L. Cl.	–	–	–	4	4	1964
	Burial 122	elaborate crypt	L. Cl.	–	–	–	3?	3?	– " –
Copan								
Structure 10L-26	Chorcha Tomb	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl.	–	1	–	1	2	Fash et al., 1992
Guaytan								
Mound 24	Tomb II	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl.	–	–	–	11	11	Smith and
	Tomb III	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl. – E. Postcl.	–	–	–	37	37	Kidder, 1943
Kaminaljuyu								
Mound E-III-3	Tomb II	tomb cut into adobe structure	L. Precl.	–	2	–	2	4	Shook and Kidder, 1952
Mound A	Tomb I	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	2	2	5	9	Kidder et al.,
	Tomb II	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	1	1	2	4	1946
	Tomb III	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	3	–	1	4	– " –
	Tomb IV	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	–	2	1	3	– "––

Table 1 continued

Site and burial number		Type[a]	Period[b]	Age (years)[c]				No. of people	Reference
				<1–4	5–14	15–19	>19		
	Tomb V	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	1	–	3	4	– " –
	Tomb VI	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	–	1	1	2	– " –
Mound B	Tomb I	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	3	–	1	4	– " –
	Tomb II	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	1	2	1	4	– " –
	Tomb III+IV	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	1	–	5	6	– " –
	Tomb V	sand-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	1	–	1	2	– " –
Lubaantun									
Structure 146	Tomb	elaborate crypt	L. Cl.	–	–	–	18	18	Hammond et al., 1975
Nebaj									
Mound 1	Tomb I	stone-lined tomb	E. Cl. – L. Cl.	2	5	1	4	12	Smith and
Mound 2	Tomb I	stone–lined tomb	E. Cl.	–	7	–	3	10	Kidder, 1951
	Tomb II	elaborate crypt	E. Cl.	–	1	–	1	2	– " –
	Tomb IIA	elaborate crypt	E. Cl. – L. Cl.	–	3	–	1	4	– " –
	Tomb IV	elaborate crypt	L. Cl.	–	3	–	4	7	– " –
	Tomb VIII	elaborate crypt	E. Postcl.	–	1	–	2	3	– " –
Palenque									
Temple XVIII-A	Tomb III	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl.	–	–	–	2	2	Ruz, 1962
Temple XIII	Tomb	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl.	–	1	–	2	3	Tiesler et al., 2002
Piedras Negras									
Acropolis	Burial 5	stone-lined tomb	L. Cl.	–	2	–	1	3	Coe, 1959

Table 1 continued

Site and burial number		Type[a]	Period[b]	Age (years)[c]				No. of people	Reference
				<1–4	5–14	15–19	>19		
Tikal									
North Acropolis	Burial 166	stone-lined tomb	L. Precl.	–	–	–	2	2	Coe, 1990
	Burial 167	stone-lined tomb	L. Precl.	1	–	–	2	3	– " –
	Burial 10	rock-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	7	2	1	10	– " –
	Burial 48	rock-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	–	2	1	3	– " –
Structure 7F-30	Burial 160	rock-cut tomb	E. Cl.	–	–	2	1	3	Coe, 1965
Mundo Perdido	PNT-019	stone-lined tomb	E. Cl.	–	–	–	2	2	Laporte and Fialko, 1987
Tonina									
Str. E 5-10	Sep. IV-2	elaborate crypt	L. Cl. – E. Postcl.	1	–	–	5	6	Becquelin and
South of Str. E 15	Sep. IV-3	elaborate crypt	L. Cl. – E. Postcl.	–	–	–	2	2	Baudez, 1979
Str. E 5-13, sub.1	Sep. IV-6	elaborate crypt	L. Cl.	–	–	–	4	4	– " –
Tzicuay									
Mound 7	Tomb	stone-lined tomb	E. Cl. – E. Postcl.	–	1	–	10	11	Smith, 1955
Uaxactun									
Mound B-VIII	Burial 1	stone-lined tomb	E. Cl.	2	1	–	2	5	Smith, 1950
Zaculeu									
Structure 1	Tomb	rock-cut tomb	E. Cl. – L. Cl.	1	3	–	3?	7	Woodbury and
	Grave 4	elaborate crypt	E. Cl.	1	–	–	1	2	Trik, 1953
	Grave 14	elaborate crypt	E. Postcl.	–	–	–	10	10+	– " –
Structure 4	Grave 1	elaborate crypt	E. Postcl.	–	1	1	9	11	– " –
Structure 11	Grave 1	stone-lined tomb	E. – L. Postcl.	–	1	–	12	13+	– " –
Structure 13	Grave 22	elaborate crypt	E. – L. Postcl.	–	1	–	3	4	– " –
Structure 15	Grave 1	elaborate crypt	E. Postcl.	–	1	–	4	5	– " –

Table 1 continued

Site and burial number		Type[a]	Period[b]	Age (years)[c]				No. of people	Reference
				<1–4	*5–14*	*15–19*	*>19*		
Structure 16	Grave 2	elaborate crypt	E. Postcl.	–	–	–	2	2	– " –
Structure 37	Grave 3	elaborate crypt	L. Postcl.	–	–	–	2	2	– " –

[a] Classification follows Welsh (1988: 18).
[b] L. Precl., Late Preclassic (300 BC–AD 250), E.Cl., Early Classic (AD 250–600), L.Cl., Late Classic (AD 600–900), E. Postcl., Early Postclassic (AD 900–1200), L. Postcl., Late Postclassic (AD 1200–1500).
[c] Individuals up to age 19 are classified as sub-adults (<1–4 = infants, 5–14 = children, 15–19 = adolescents).

ancient Maya noble houses. There now exist several lines of evidence that ancient Maya nobility was organized into houses (Gillespie, 2000a,b,c, 2001; Joyce, 2000) and probably displayed all the characteristics of these types of corporate groups: the passing down of material and immaterial wealth, the substitution of affinity for blood ties or the use of fictive kinship, the combination of agnatic and uterine principles of succession, and close and distant marriage (Carsten and Hugh-Jones, 1995: 7; Chance, 2000; Gillespie, 2000b,c; Lévi-Strauss, 1982: 174–87; Schmid, 1957; Waterson, 1995a: 49–50). Variability in Maya collective tombs may not result from random, site-specific, contingent factors, but from strategic decisions that are determined by the relationship of persons to one another and persons to locations through membership in or affiliation with noble houses.

The argument is supported by a cross-cultural comparison with houses of medieval and post-medieval Europe, where burial into collective tombs was one common form of disposing of the dead. Patterns regarding age distribution, number of people buried, completeness, articulation of skeletons, sequence of deposition, and reburial and reuse are just as variable as in the Maya area. The cross-cultural comparison of élite Maya tombs with European collective chambers may help identify different processes and strategies that shape variability in Maya burial patterns. The use of analogy is based on similarity of cultural form and a common determining structure that links the properties that are compared to those that are inferred (Wylie, 1988, 2002: 136–53). Since Classic Maya aristocracy was likely organized into social units structurally equivalent to European royal houses, practices of burial may have followed the same strategizing decisions. The analogy also serves as a step towards bringing history and anthropology together to bridge the study of Us and the Other (Lévi-Strauss, 1983).

In the following sections, I will first strengthen the validity for analogy by comparing major common traits among European and Maya houses. I will then use one specific house, the House of Habsburg, for a more detailed investigation. After displaying the political motivations for rapid shifts of burial locations in this house, I will present the results of an investigation of mortuary behaviour of 389 individuals. The analysis shows how political circumstances, residence at the time of death, vertical and horizontal status of the deceased, and mortality have influenced differential funerary treatment and created distinct mortuary patterns. I will also show how changing political circumstances and shifts in burial location have motivated exhumation and reburial and thus additionally added to variability in the composition of collective crypts (Weiss-Krejci, 2001: 775–8). The analogy with the House of Habsburg serves as a basis to reassess patterns in collective Maya tombs and stands as a model for processes in multiple tomb formation.

■ NOBLE HOUSES

The house as an institution has been recognized in many types of societies at both commoner and aristocratic level (Waterson, 1995a: 62). Although some principles, like tracing of descent through male and female lines or a separate name to designate the group and its members operate on both levels, I herein will exclusively focus on processes in aristocratic houses. In Europe, noble house names either refer to individuals, usually the ancestor of the house (e.g. Welf), to ancient landholdings and castles (e.g. Habsburg, Wittelsbach), or to geographical regions (e.g. Savoy, Lorraine). Genealogies and the emphasis on bloodlines in noble houses played an essential role for claiming and securing rights, property and legitimizing status. Ancestry was not necessarily based on real biological or affinal relations, but could be constructed (Becker, 2000: 109). Joint residence was also not a precondition for sharing membership in a house. Members of the same house, but of different branches, were often geographically separated: sometimes by hundreds or thousands of kilometres, although visits were frequent and temporary cohabitation was also common.

The politics of medieval and post-medieval Europe can only be understood through the struggle for continuation of bloodlines, reproductive success, and the role of women in royal houses. Marriage between royal houses and reproduction were both principles of alliance as well as antagonism between closely related kin. The lack of a male heir has frequently caused wars of inheritance between different houses that claimed their rights through female connections (Bonney, 1991: 524). Inheritance through the female line explains why houses could bring distant territories under their influence (e.g. Staufens in Sicily, Habsburgs in Spain), why houses were merged (e.g. Habsburg-Lorraine) or why new houses were founded. The incoming husband assumed the woman's titles upon 'coming into the house' (Lévi-Strauss, 1982: 178). As infant and childhood mortality was high (Ulrich-Bochsler, 1997: 9), male succession was secured by producing as many male children as possible. But if too many males survived, territorial splits, rivalry, and wars between collateral relatives often arose.

The advances in deciphering the Maya script allow recognition of characteristics described for European noble houses (Gillespie, 2000a: 470–1, 2001: 94–8). At the site of Tamarindito, Guatemala, the mother and the father of a ruler are said to come from different 'houses', *naah* (Houston, 1998: 521), and the reference to Copan kings as 'nth of the house' (Stuart, 2000: 493) could also refer to the 'house' as social unit. Marriage patterns, alliances and wars (Fox and Justeson, 1986; Martin and Grube, 1995; Schele and Mathews, 1991), the repeated reference to emblem glyphs from other sites (Palka, 1996) and the recurrence of taking brides from defeated foes (Martin and Grube, 2000: 77) mirror the struggle for power in European

houses. Cycles of decentralization and centralization in ancient Maya political history and the tensions between kinship and kingship (Iannone, 2002; McAnany, 1995: 125–56) can be understood through the changing dynamics of succeeding houses. The so-called *Entrada* of AD 378, during which 'strangers' probably arrived from distant Teotihuacan in the Maya lowlands (Stuart, 2000), the accession of Yax Nuun Ayiin I to the throne of Tikal one year later and the subsequent spurt of dynastic foundation and accessions within 50 years throughout the Maya lowlands could be seen as actions of members of one new house. Stela 31 of Tikal traces the descent and legitimacy of the ruler Siyaj Chan K'awiil II to the throne of Tikal through Lady Une' B'alam of Tikal, who shows some connection to Siyaj Chan K'awiil II's grandfather Spearthrower Owl, who probably was from Teotihuacan. The 'strangers' may not have been so strange to Tikal after all (Martin, 1999). A sculpture called 'Hombre de Tikal' mentions events between AD 403 and 406 performed by Yax Nuun Ayiin I of Tikal and K'uk' Mo', the latter possibly identical to K'inich Yax K'uk' Mo', the ancestor of the Copan dynasty. Siyak K'ak', the protagonist of the Entrada, is mentioned on the 'Xukpi' stone at Copan and in a seventh-century inscription from the Palenque Palace (Martin and Grube, 2000: 33, 156, 196; Sharer et al., 1999: 20). Such networks of interrelated dynastic lines that crosscut ethnic and national identities are well known from Europe (Iglesias, 2003: 194). As in Europe, establishment of burial places and mortuary practices may have been affected by these political conditions.

## ■ REGIONAL DYNAMICS OF BURIAL PLACES IN EUROPE

The House of Habsburg

In Europe, the deposition of dead bodies in specific territories firmly linked noble houses to their land. Houses of lesser rank usually held house burial places within a confined region. Possession of more distant and separate territories by royal houses such as the House of Habsburg contributed to considerable dispersion in burial locations (Figure 1). I will briefly outline the dynamics of this change. The House of Habsburg entered world history in AD 1273, when Count Rudolph from Switzerland was elected German Roman king and given Austria and Styria. When Rudolph (Figure 2, ID 1) received his call to the German Roman throne his family resided at Habsburg castle or *Habichtsburg* (hawk's castle) in present-day Switzerland, while Muri monastery served as a burial place. After Rudolph's accession as German Roman king, the royal family adapted to their new status and burial at Muri and residence at the Habsburg were given up (Gut, 1999: 96–7). Nevertheless, the name 'Habsburg' remained to designate the family and its origin.
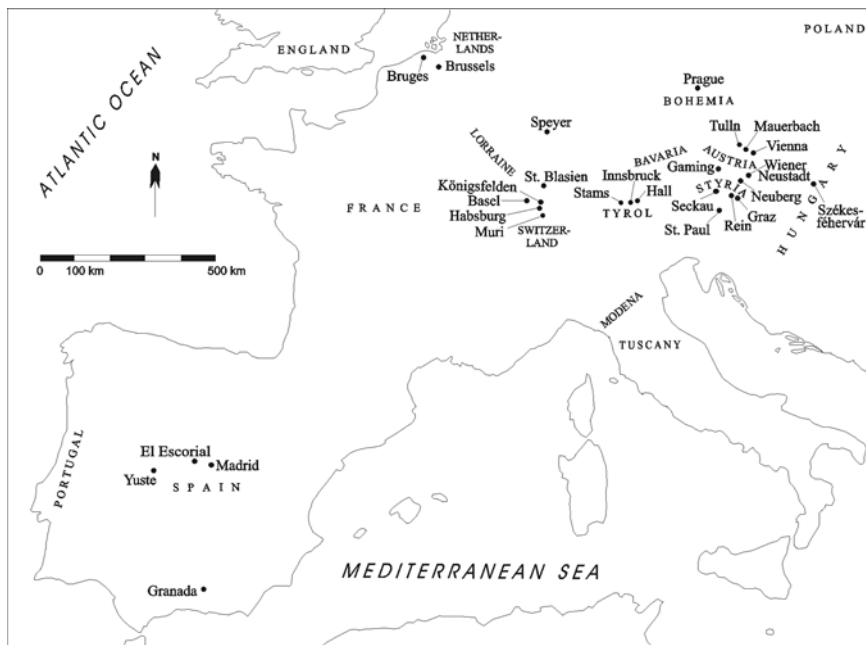
Figure 1   Part of Europe showing burial and residential sites of members of the Habsburg dynasty

Although Rudolph and his family were often present in the new territory of Austria, adults from generation 1 or 2 were not buried there. Rudolph's first wife, for example, although she had died in Vienna, was transported back to Basel in 1281. Another Swiss burial place, the monastery of Königsfelden, founded by Rudolph's daughter-in-law (ID 10), was only given up for burial as the influence of the Habsburgs faded in their homeland. Habsburg burial shifted to Austria only slowly. First, it was children (Figure 2, ID 49, 57–65) and foreign wives (ID 34, † 1305; ID 37, † 1330) that were buried there, but eventually adult males followed. Three brothers from generation 3 (ID 36, † 1330, ID 45, † 1358 and ID 54, † 1339) founded three monasteries between 1316 and 1330 (Figure 2 and Figure 3A,B) to house their own and their families' bodies. When in 1379 the Habsburg holdings were divided into Austria and Styria by two brothers, and in 1406 a further split between Styria and the Tyrol occurred, burial more or less followed the new political partition. The oldest brother from generation 4, the duke of Austria (ID 78, † 1365), founded a multiple burial vault in Austria at St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna (Figure 2; Table 2). His nephew, the Styrian duke (ID 117, † 1424), chose the Styrian monastery of
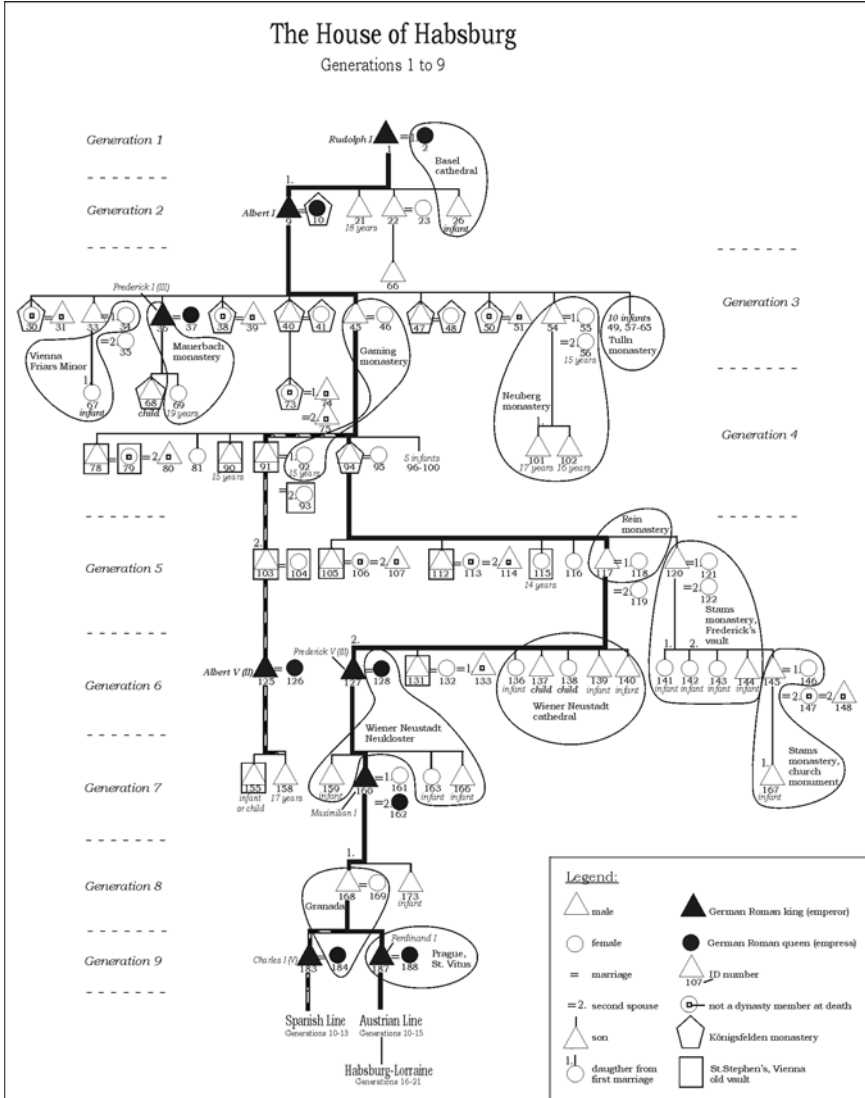
Figure 2   Genealogy of the Habsburg dynasty (Generations 1–9). Women from the house that died as members of other dynasties and were not buried with the House of Habsburg have been omitted. Collective tombs are highlighted
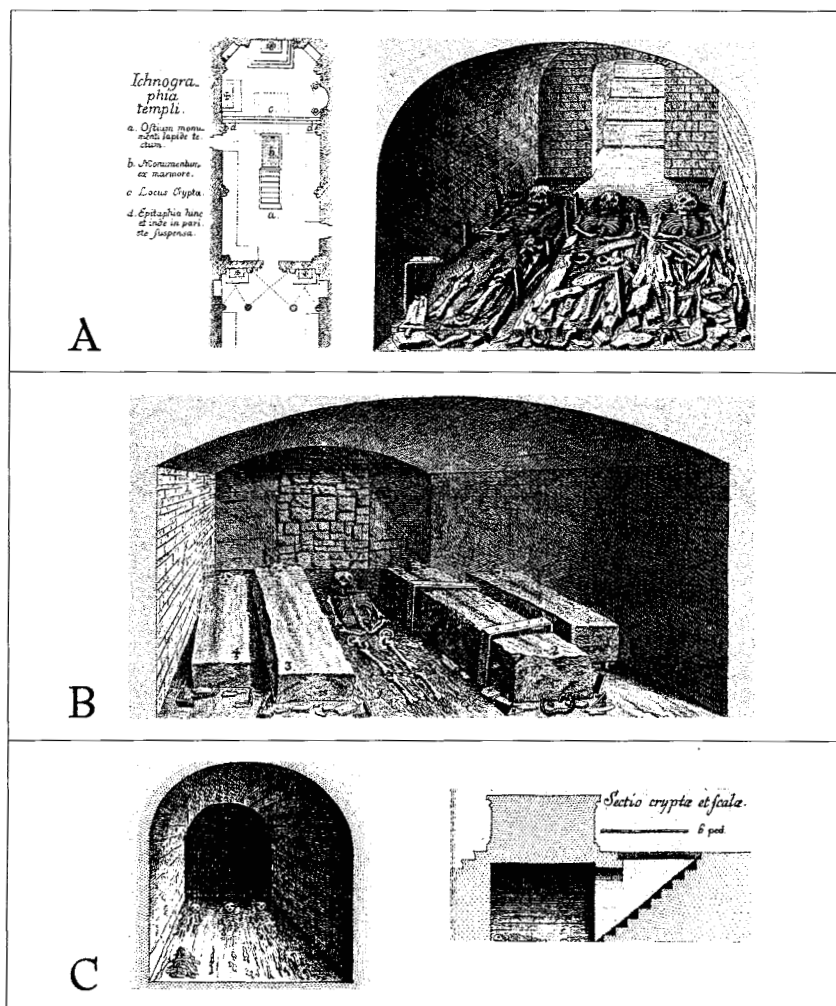
Figure 3   Medieval Habsburg subterranean crypts. (A) Gaming monastery holds the crypt founder (1), his wife (2) and adolescent daughter-in-law (3) (Gerbert et al., 1772/4, 2: Plate XIV); (B) Neuberg monastery holds the founder (1), two young wives (2 and 3) and two adolescent sons (4 and 5) (Gerbert et al., 1772/4, 2: Plate XIII); (C) Five infants share a crypt at Wiener Neustadt cathedral (Gerbert et al., 1772/4, 2: Plate XII)

Rein, though his prematurely deceased children (ID 136–140) from the second marriage were buried without adults in residential Wiener Neustadt (Figure 3C). The Tyrolean branch took residence at Innsbruck in the Tyrol and chose nearby Stams for burial (Figure 4), the burial place of the former

Table 2 Subterranean burial crypts of the House of Habsburg

Burial vaults	Deposition dates	Death dates	Generations	Deposition time span (years)	Age (years)				No. of people[a]
					<1–4	5–14	15–19	>19	
El Escorial, Royal Pantheon (Martínez Cuesta, 1992)	1654–1700	1539–1700	9,10,11, 12,13	46	–	–	–	10	10
El Escorial, total (Martínez Cuesta, 1992)	1573–1740	1530–1740	9,10,11, 12,13	167	15	4	3	21	43
Gaming monastery (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1352–1373	1351/52– 1373	3,4	21	–	–	1	2	3
Granada, Royal Chapel (Anonymous, n.d.)	1521–1555?	1500–1555	7,8,9	34?	1	–	–	4	5
Hall, Damenstift (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1573–1621	1567–1621	10,11	48	–	–	–	5	5
Innsbruck, Jesuit church (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1636–1705	1629–1705	11,12 13,14	69	6	1	–	5	12
Innsbruck, Servite Sisters (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1621–1649	1621, 1649	10,11	28	–	–	–	2	2
Königsfelden monastery (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1316–1386	1313–1386	2,3,4	70	–	1	–	10	11
Neuberg monastery (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1330?–1344	1330–1344	3,4	14?	–	–	3	2	5
Prague cathedral, crypt (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1590, 1612	ca. 1351– 1612	?–7, 11,	214	1	1	1	9+	12+
Rein monastery (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1407–1424	1407, 1424	5	17	–	–	–	2	2
Seckau monastery (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1587–1616	1572–1616	10,11,12	29	4	1	2	2	9

Table 2 Continued

Burial vaults	Deposition dates	Death dates	Generations	Deposition time span (years)	Age (years)				No. of people[a]
					<1–4	5–14	15–19	>19	
St Paul (Gut, 1999)	1936	1276–1386	1,2,3,4	<1	1	1	1	11	14
Stams, Frederick's crypt (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1408–1439	1408–1439	5,6	31	4	–	–	3	7
Stams, Sigismund's crypt (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1672	1480–1543	6,7, 10,11	<1	4	–	–	3	7
Vienna cathedral, old crypt (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1363?–1566	1362–1566	4,5,6, 7,11	203	3	1	2?	9?	15?
Vienna cathedral, new crypt (Timmermann, 1996)	1754–1783	1330–1655	3,4,5, 6,7,11	29	3	1	2	10	16
Vienna, Capuchins, total (Wolfsgruber, 1887)	1633–1780	1617–1780	11,12,13, 14,15	147	15	2	3	21	41
Vienna, Dominican church (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1676	1676	12,13	<1	–	–	–	2	2
Wiener Neustadt cathedral (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1421–1432	1421–1432	6	11	3	2	–	–	5
Wiener Neustadt, Neukloster (Gerbert et al., 1772)	1456–1467	1456–1467	6,7	11	3	–	–	1	4

[a] Numbers refer to the entire crypt population including non-house members. Exceptions are El Escorial and Capuchin Vault, Vienna, where only members of the House of Habsburgs up to generation 15 have been counted. Number of individuals reflects the state in the eighteenth century with the exception of St Paul (twentieth century). Several crypts in this list do not exist any more or have been considerably altered.

lords of the Tyrol (Gut, 1999; Hamann, 1988; Jahn, 2001; Jäschke, 1997; Lein, 1978; Vocelka and Heller, 1997: 306–8).

For over one century, the Habsburgs only ruled as dukes of Austria, Styria and the Tyrol, but through intermarriage with the House of Luxembourg (which died out in the male line in 1437), the House of Habsburg became an Imperial house again. Intermarriage with more distant houses and inheritance from thereon determined the political development and shift in burial locations. After the House of Habsburg had inherited Spain in 1516, and Bohemia and Hungary in 1526, two separate family branches developed in two distant areas. The descendants of Charles V (ID 183, † 1558), 'Casa de Austria', were buried in Spain until the line died out in 1700 (Martínez Cuesta, 1992: 101; Weiss-Krejci, 2001: 776). Members of different branches of the Austrian line, the descendants of Ferdinand I (ID 187, † 1564), were buried in a variety of places of the Habsburg Empire such as Bohemia, the Tyrol, Styria and present-day Belgium (Jahn, 2001). Under Emperor Ferdinand III (generation 12, † 1657), burial shifted back to Vienna. The Capuchin Crypt was used as collective burial place for the majority of the Austrian line. After 15 generations of patrilineal descent, the Habsburg dynasty died out (in the male line) in 1740 and descent was passed on through Maria Theresa of Habsburg and Francis of Lorraine. The Capuchin Crypt in Vienna remained the primary burial place though members of the younger lines who ruled as lords of Tuscany, Modena and Hungary founded their own burial crypts in their respective territories (Hawlik-van de Water, 1993).

■ THE FORMATION OF COLLECTIVE HOUSE BURIAL PLACES

Collective house burials are historically and ethnographically known from many world regions. The contexts for deposition of house members can vary considerably and range from collective interment in one tomb or connected chambers, to burial in a structure or a confined compound (Bloch, 1971: 115–17; Metcalf and Huntington, 1991: 120–2; Ucko, 1969: 269; Waterson, 1995a: 55–6, 1995b). Tomb burial in European ceremonial structures such as cathedrals, churches, monasteries, convents or castle churches was a privilege of noble houses, though not necessarily of ruling families. The dead members of European noble houses were deposited into stone or metal monuments in front of the altar, in chapels, or brought in subterranean crypts and encased in wooden or metal coffins (Binski, 1996; Störmer, 1980). While church monuments often hold only one or a few individuals, subterranean chambers usually hold a higher number. Tomb inscriptions frequently name only the more important members of the house and tomb lids often display the founders' image, but many tombs

hold corpses of subadults or other individuals whose status within the house was too low to give them their own tomb or inscription. However, not every assembly of collective bones in a church in Europe is evidence for a house burial place. It was also a frequent custom to exhume bodies from over-crowded churchyards after corpses had decomposed and to store the bones in charnel houses or underneath churches (Binski, 1996: 55; Daniell, 1997: 123). These collective bone chambers look very different from house burial places, usually comprising a high number of very fragmentary remains.

The choice of burial place

The strategic aspects of burial and reburial have been well documented for societies with houses. Individuals usually have a choice of burial places. Where the corpse is buried depends on a variety of factors such as place of residence, place of death, burial place of the spouse, or a person's last wish. Deposition of a corpse in a specific house burial place links a person to that house and thus stakes claims for the descendants. As a result, decisions about where and how to bury a corpse can cause disputes among groups and, sometimes, burial decisions are revised years after and corpses are subsequently exhumed and reburied (Fox, 1987; Waterson, 1995a,b). Similar strategies are visible in burial place selection of the House of Habsburg. For the present investigation, I have chosen the first 15 generations, the patriline descending from Rudolph I. The sample is entirely pre-industrial spanning both Middle Ages and modern times. It contains 389 individuals that died between AD 1256 and 1780 and were connected to the House of Habsburg through birth or marriage at some point in their lives. The sample is divided into five sub-samples to distinguish between patrilineal blood relatives, affinal relatives, non-house members and house-members at point of death (Table 3). The group of patrilineal blood relatives includes eight illegitimate sons and two daughters from extra-marital affairs and morganatic marriages. This group is only a small fraction of a much larger group of illegitimate offspring.

Adults >age 19   Of 60 adult male house members in sub-sample E, 53 were buried with relatives and only seven were buried without relatives (Table 4). Of the men buried away from the house, two were emperors (ID 160, † 1519 and ID 183, † 1558) who had both survived their wives. One was an older high-ranking master of the Teutonic order, the other had murdered his uncle (John the Parricide, ID 66) and three were natural sons and clerics. Of the remaining 53 men, 28 married men were buried with their wives, 13 married men were not buried with their wives, but with other house members (parents, children, etc.) and 12 unmarried adult men were also buried with the house (Table 4). Of the 28 men buried with wives, four men were buried with their first, not with their last wife.

Table 3 Age and gender distribution in the House of Habsburg by sub-samples

Age (Years)	< 1			1–4		5–9		10–14		15–19		20–24		25–34		35–54		≥55		≥20		Total
Sex[a]	M	F	?	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	
Sub-sample A[b]																						
Sub-sample B	23	20	14	9	10	4	4	3	4	8	6	4	4	12	23	24	19	19	27			237
Sub-sample C											3		3	9			21	1	15			52
Sub-sample D										6	4	5	1	8	3	23	6	22	4	10	8	100
Total	23	20	14	9	10	4	4	3	4	14	13	9	8	20	35	47	46	42	46	10	8	389
Sub-sample E	23	20	14	9	10	4	4	3	4	8	8	4	5	12	15	24	23	20	21			231

[a] M, male; F, female; ?, sex unknown.
[b] *Sub-sample A* (*n* = 289) combines sub-samples B and C and consists of all individuals that were members of the House of Habsburg at some point in their lives. *Sub-sample B* are 237 patrilineal blood relatives that were born between 1218 and 1724 and died between 1276 and 1780. *Sub-sample C* is a group of 51 female affinal house members plus the male ancestor of the House of Habsburg-Lorraine. *Sub-sample D* contains 100 individuals, who were never members of the House of Habsburg (74 men who were married to blood or affinal house members, 26 of their spouses from other houses). *Sub-sample E* includes 231 individuals that were house members only at point of death. These are 104 male and female patrilineal sub-adult blood relatives (one female married to another house member), 27 male and female unmarried adult patrilineal blood relatives, 53 male and female married adult blood relatives, 46 female sub-adult and adult affinal relatives and one male affine (Francis of Lorraine). Not included in *Sub-sample E* are 53 female patrilineal blood relatives who married out of the dynasty and 5 of the female affinal relatives, who also remarried again.

Of 54 adult married women from sub-sample E, 31 were buried with the last husband, one with an earlier husband and two with parents and husbands (Table 4). Fifteen married women were buried without the husband but with other related persons and five women were buried without other house members. These five older affinal relatives (between 38 and 75 years old) survived their spouses by 14 to 31 years. Like men buried without relatives, they shared a special status. Three were queens, two had numerous offspring and eventually became direct ancestors of the dynasty. Of 10 adult unmarried women, six were buried in convents with other female relatives (two with their mother). Two were buried in tombs with both parents; the burial place for the other two is uncertain.

Although collective burial crypts rarely hold only a conjugal couple, the analysis indicates that choice of being buried with a spouse was of some relevance in the selection of the place for both married men and women (Table 4). While men were usually not buried in a tomb which belonged to the house of their wives – exceptions are the 'incoming males', Philip of Habsburg (ID 168) and Francis of Lorraine – women were more flexible in the choice of their burial place. Whether a woman was buried with the house of origin or the house she had married into often depended on her success and status within the affinal house (especially whether she had produced an heir), affection for her husband, whether she died as a widow, how long she survived her husband and, finally, the status of her house of origin. As Imperial House, the House of Habsburg attracted married or widowed female patrilineal blood relatives that had died as members of other dynasties. Of 53 female Habsburg patrilineal blood relatives that had married out, nine were nevertheless buried with their house of origin (e.g. ID 30, 38, 50, 73). From the remaining 46 women who had married into the House of Habsburg, only three women were buried at places associated with their original house. All three, Mary of Burgundy (ID 161), Joanna the Mad (ID 169) and Mary Tudor, second wife of Philip II, were heirs of their fathers' lands and titles.

Regarding kings, the decisions for burial place followed yet other principles. A dead king's body was an ideal means to stake a claim and has been used to such ends more than once. When Albert II (ID 125), who had been crowned king of Bohemia and Hungary and elected king of the Holy Roman Empire in 1438, fell mortally ill in Hungary, he expressed his wish to be buried in the Habsburg vault at St Stephen's, Vienna. But his wife, Elizabeth, overruled this decision and redirected the funeral procession towards Székesféhervár cathedral, the burial place of the Hungarian kings. Elizabeth's decision was undoubtedly influenced by her fear of losing Hungary. She was pregnant, but without a living male heir (Meyer, 2000: 161).

Sub-adults <1–19   Within a group of 107 sub-adult house members (Table 4) at death (104 patrilineal blood relatives and three adolescent affinal

Table 4 Choice of burial place for individuals who died as members of the House of Habsburg (*n* = 231). For this chart the unit of examination is not the individual crypt, but the entire building. Though burial in the same building hardly merits the designation 'collective' it was also important and very rarely were members buried away from other relatives

| Buried with	<1–14	14–19		Married	>19 years old		Married	
		Unmarried			*Unmarried*		*Married*	
		M	F	F	M	F	M	F
Spouse(s)	–	–	–	3 (75%)	–	–	19 (44%)	32 (59%)
Spouse(s) and parent(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	9 (21%)	2 (4%)
Parent(s)	52 (57%)	5 (63%)	4 (100%)	–	9 (53%)	4 (40%)	4 (9%)	3 (6%)
Grandparent, affinal or collateral relative	5 (6%)	1 (12%)	–	1 (25%)	2 (12%)	4 (40%)	6 (14%)	4 (7%)
Son(s) or daughter(s)	–	–	–	–	–	–	3 (7%)	6 (11%)
Sub-adult brothers and sisters	15 (16%)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Distant relatives	6 (7%)	2 (25%)	–	–	1 (6%)	–	–	2 (4%)
Without relatives	2 (2%)	–	–	–	5 (29%)	–	2 (5%)	5 (9%)
Unknown	11 (12%)	–	–	–	–	2 (20%)	–	–
Total	91 (100%)	8 (100%)	4 (100%)	4 (100%)	17 (100%)	10 (100%)	43 (100%)	54 (100%)

relatives) the majority was buried with one or both parents (often including brothers and sisters). Three married sub-adult women were buried with their husbands, one with her parents-in-law. Seventeen infants were buried without adults (two alone, others with baby brothers and sisters). Fourteen sub-adults were buried without parents, but with grandparents, uncles, aunts, or adult brothers (e.g. ID 68), or with distant relatives.

Both different choice mechanisms and different status as a result of age can explain the differences between adult and sub-adult burial places. For sub-adults, especially younger ones, survivors made the decision for burial place – whereas adults usually decided for themselves. Due to travels through the vast empire, children often died long distances from home. Whereas adults were either transported immediately or temporarily stored and transported later, a deceased sub-adult was usually interred in the next available crypt. For this purpose, older crypts, sometimes out of use for some time, were reopened. The crypt at St Stephen's cathedral for example, in disuse since 1463, was reopened in 1552, 1564 and 1566 to receive the corpses of the three infants of Emperor Maximilian II who had died while the royal family stayed in Vienna (Weiss-Krejci, 2001: Fig. 4).

Of 81 sub-adults in the overall sample for whom age, place of death and first burial place are known 45 (56 percent) were buried in the city they died in. An additional 23 (28 percent) were transported between 20 and 40 km. Only 13 individuals (16 percent) were transported more than 40 km and no sub-adult was transported more than 300 km. In contrast to sub-adults, 25 percent of 224 adults were transported over 40 km and 12 percent over 180 km. The largest transport distance for an adult corpse is 640 km. If no patrilineal contemporary tomb was available, a sub-adult could be buried with matrilineal relatives. While this did not happen with any sub-adult Habsburg patrilineal blood relative, it explains why several non-Habsburg sub-adults – and young adult unmarried males – were buried in Habsburg tombs. Although members of another house, they were children of Habsburg-born women and through this connection of blood the permission for burial was granted.

Regulations

In many areas where collective mortuary rites are performed, the mixing of unrelated people (or people of unequal rank) is regarded as polluting (Hutchinson and Aragon, 2002: 32; Waterson, 1995b: 210). Similar concepts can be found in the House of Habsburg. Within the first 15 generations under investigation, no adult individual from sub-sample D (Table 3) was ever buried in a Habsburg tomb. Nevertheless, after the House of Habsburg became the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, a few exceptions were made. The husband of Maria Theresa's favourite daughter Maria Christine, the duke of Saxony-Teschen, was buried in the Capuchin crypt. Maria Theresa also
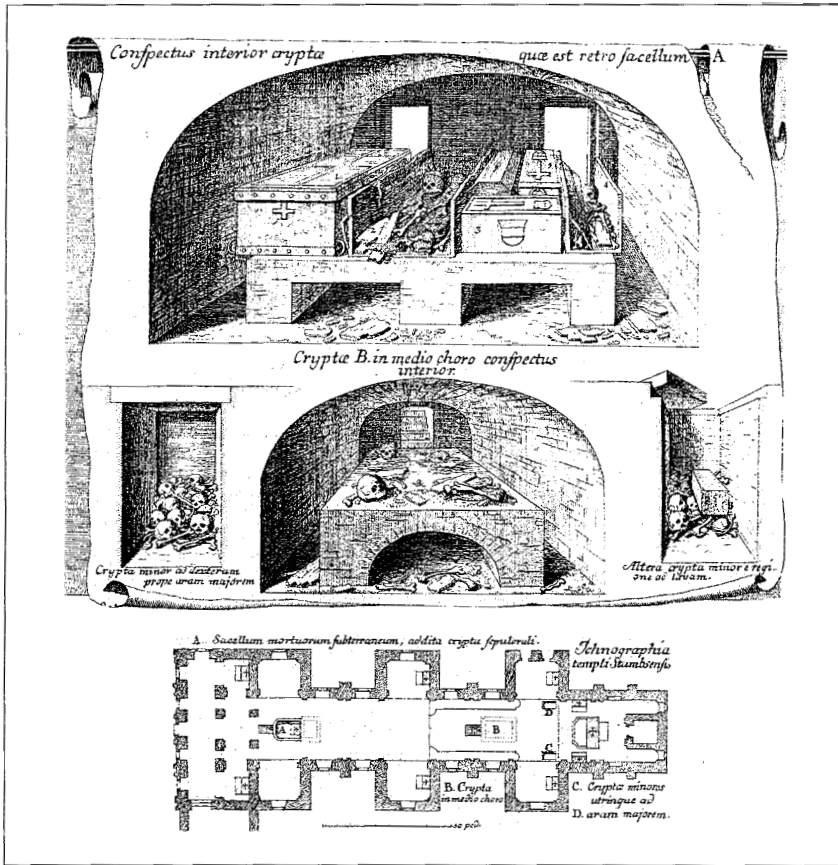
Figure 4   Stams monastery: members of three houses are buried in four separate burial crypts. Crypts (A) and (B) belong to the Habsburg dynasty and hold three adults and four sub-adults each. The two smaller crypts hold approximately 14 members from the preceding Houses of Tyrol and Gorizia. All three houses are related to each other through women (Gerbert et al., 1772/4, 2: Plate XVIII)

insisted that countess Fuchs-Mollard, her children's governess, be buried in the Capuchin crypt. Maria Theresa's reasoning – 'she was united with us in life, she shall also be with us in death' [author's translation] (Hawlik-van de Water, 1993: 76) – recalls tomb selection among the Merina where 'those who live in one house should be buried in one tomb' (Bloch, 1971: 165).

Rules that applied to deposition of a recently deceased were less rigid during reburial of corpses. At St Vitus' cathedral in Prague, Emperor Rudolph II from the House of Habsburg commissioned the construction of

a subterranean burial vault in the sixteenth century and reburied earlier members of the House of Habsburg – as well as former kings and queens of Bohemia from other houses (Meyer, 2000: 111–13). Such collective burial of members from different houses would have been quite unthinkable at the time of death, but by the sixteenth century these houses had long died out and burial in one narrow space could be legitimated through the principle of rulership and very distant affinal relationship.

Composition of multiple tombs

Death was a frequent event in any family in medieval and early-modern Europe (Lockyer, 1974: 2; Ulrich-Bochsler, 1997) and the House of Habsburg was no exception. Within the 500 years under investigations, death of a relative occurred almost every other year (not counting many uterine relatives). Of the 237 patrilineal blood relatives (sub-sample B, Table 3) 57 (24 percent) died in the first year of life, another 19 (8 percent) perished between age one and four. Of all patrilineal blood relatives 113 (48 percent) were dead before the age of 25. Only eight people (3 percent) died over 70 years old. If one looks at the age distribution in sub-sample E very similar rates appear (33 percent up to age 4; 6 percent between 5 and 14; 7 percent between ages 15 and 19). While mortality rates in general explain the presence of sub-adults in tombs, there exists no direct correlation between mortality and age patterns in individual tombs (Table 2). Some tombs hold a majority of infants, children and adolescents, while others hold only adults. Correlation with mortality (combined from sub-samples B and E: 32–33 percent for ages <5, 6 percent for age groups 5–14, 6–7 percent for ages 15–19 and 54–56 percent for individual >19 years) is only met if one adds all individuals buried in separate chambers in large house vaults. Age distribution for infants, children, adolescents and adults at El Escorial is 35 percent – 9 percent – 7 percent – 49 percent (43 patrilineal blood relatives), at the Capuchin vault it is 37 percent – 5 percent – 7 percent – 51 percent (41 patrilineal blood relatives). These two tombs were used over longer time periods and were located close to permanent residences.

While no correlation between mortality and individual tomb composition exists, there is a certain correlation between number of individuals and number of generations buried. If used by one or two generations, between two and seven people were typically buried in subterranean crypts or church monuments. The combinations include two adults (husband and wife), one adult and children (mother or father and offspring, one daughter-in-law), two or three adults and children (parents, second wife and offspring), only children (baby brothers and sisters or related infants), or only adults (women in convents). Time spans for deposition in one- or two-generation crypts range from a few months (Vienna, Dominican Church) to half a century

(Hall, Damenstift). Since the number of buried individuals was low, the deceased were usually buried beside each other (Figure 3). In some of these smaller tombs individuals had been stored before burial (Table 2).

In multigenerational crypts, corpses were often stacked or buried in rows behind or beside each other or around the wall. Multigenerational tombs are complex and combine several different traits such as reburial of temporarily stored corpses, reburial of exhumed individuals (post-funeral relocation), sequential interment of individuals, and disturbance or removal of bodies from the crypt. The smallest multigenerational tomb is the tomb at the Royal Chapel in Granada (sixteenth century) containing five related individuals from three houses (Table 2). The three-generation crypt at Seckau holds nine individuals from the House of Habsburg. At the old crypt at St Stephen's cathedral in Vienna, 10 to 12 individuals spanning four generations had been buried within a century (one died before crypt construction), but three infants from generation 11 were added a hundred years later and deposited close to the entrance (Weiss-Krejci, 2001: Fig. 4). All corpses were reburied in a new crypt in 1754 (Weiss-Krejci, 2001: Fig. 6), into which four additional bodies in three coffins (exhumed from other places) were added between 1782 and 1783. At Stams monastery, four crypts hold approximately 28 members from three houses that were buried in the monastery over 279 years (Figure 4). Death dates of some individuals from the Houses of Tyrol and Gorizia precede the deposition by three decades. From generation 11 to generation 15, 41 Habsburg house members were buried at the Capuchin Crypt in Vienna within 147 years. The founders were deposited in the crypt only one and a half decades after death. Through further use by the House of Habsburg-Lorraine, the use span of the entire crypt, which now consists of 10 connected chambers and holds 143 corpses, is 356 years. The maximum number of house members related in a patriline was buried at El Escorial where 43 people from five generations were deposited within 167 years. The first ten individuals that were deposited in the crypt had been exhumed from other places.

Reburial and tomb re-entry

The state of the skeletons in European collective tombs is also rather variable for corpses were often moved as part of various ritual and non-ritual processes. Some were temporarily stored and placed into the tomb a considerable time after death, others were buried directly after death, but then disturbed through the entry of new burials. Some tombs were not only sequentially used within a limited time period but also opened and reused at a much later point in time. Some tombs were entirely emptied out and the remains deposited into a new tomb, sometimes hundreds of kilometres away, and post-dating the death by centuries.

As I have shown for the Habsburgs, not only sequential use, but also the

presence of reburied bodies is a hallmark of collective tombs. In all multi-generational sequential crypts at least one body had been exhumed and reburied, although even in a historical context it is not always easy to determine whether exhumation was originally intended or the decision to exhume and rebury was made later by a descendant. Relocations from one site to another in the majority involved bones of adults. Of 43 individuals in the sample that were exhumed and transported from one city to another a considerable time after death, only 11 were sub-adults (five infants, two children, four adolescents). Almost all were exhumed and reburied together with adult house members. Such external relocations were often correlated with political and social events throughout Europe (Weiss-Krejci, 2001: 775–8). After Rudolph I's son German Roman king Albert I (Figure 2, ID 9) had been assassinated in 1308 by his nephew John (ID 66), Albert was buried at Wettingen. But soon the family sought permission from the new German Roman king Henry VII from the House of Luxembourg to rebury the corpse at Speyer cathedral where Albert's father Rudolph I and the Holy Roman Emperors from the Salian and Staufen dynasties were buried. Since Albert had ordered the murder of the preceding German Roman king Adolph of Nassau in the battle of Göllheim in 1298, Henry VII considered it a propitiating gesture to have the mortal remains of both kings transferred. There was no empty sarcophagus left, so Adolph was buried with Emperor Frederick Barbarossa's little daughter and Albert with Barbarossa's wife (Gut, 1999: 103–4; Klimm, 1953: 52–9; Meyer, 2000: 19–52).

Habsburg King Philip II (generation 10, † 1598) after moving his court to Madrid created a burial place at El Escorial and reburied his parents, aunts, baby brothers, former wives and children in 1573 and 1574. In 1770, 14 Habsburgs who had been buried in Switzerland between 1276 and 1386 were exhumed and reburied in the Black Forest and later in Carinthia. During wars and riots tombs were often desecrated, but remains usually later reburied (Weiss-Krejci, 2001: 775–8). Coffins also have been opened to create links with a past dynasty. Charlemagne's grave was disturbed by Emperor Otto III in AD 1000 and by Frederick Barbarossa in AD 1165. Otto removed grave goods and took fingernails and a tooth (Ohler, 1990: 142).

■ MAYA TOMBS

The ancient Maya were buried predominantly – in the flesh – in or around commoner or elite residences, in ceremonial structures such as household shrines, ceremonial platforms and temples, under plazas, or in caves. Collective burial deposits have been found in all of these contexts (Brady, 1995; Robin and Hammond, 1991; Ruz, 1968; Welsh, 1988: 93–4), but as in

Europe, not every collective assembly of bones is necessarily a sign for house burial. Individuals buried under domestic structures could have been members of houses too, but herein I will refer only to Maya burial chambers with multiple individuals in non-residential structures such as temples and shrines (Table 1). The large number and quality of grave goods, size, and inscriptions on ceramics, jades, bones, stingray spines or tomb walls which often name known Maya rulers indicate the noble status of the tomb occupants (Martin and Grube, 2000; Welsh, 1988: 157). Though the individual identities of the skeletal remains are sometimes unclear (Gillespie, 2001; Joyce, 2000), multiple elaborate crypts and tombs in ceremonial contexts are the appropriate category for this cross-cultural comparison.

Mortality and tomb composition

Similar to Habsburg tombs, there exists no direct correlation between age patterns in Maya tombs and expected mortality. However, like in Europe, sub-adult mortality is most likely responsible for burial of children and adolescents in multiple Maya tombs. At Preclassic Cuello (n = 166) 22 percent of the site's burial sample are younger than 20 years (7 percent < 5 years, 13 percent 5–14, and 2 percent 15–19) (Saul and Saul, 1997: Table 3.1). At Altar de Sacrificios (n = 90) sub-adult mortality is 30 percent (18 percent < 5 years, 10 percent 5–14, 2 percent 15–19 years; Saul, 1972: Table 1). At Dzibilchaltun (Andrews and Andrews, 1980: 318–20) 38 percent of 95 sexed individuals died before age 20 (7 percent <1 year, 25 percent 1–12, 6 percent 12–20). Of 264 individuals recovered from the late Classic compound 9N-8 at Copan, 46 percent had died before age 15, the majority (40 percent) younger than 5 years old (Storey, 1992: 164). The age breakdown for 492 individuals at the colonial site of Tipu (Jacobi, 2000: Table 6.3) shows that 50 percent of the burial population had died by age 20 (24 percent < age 6, 18 percent age 6–15, 8 percent 16–20 years).

One striking characteristic of Maya collective elaborate crypts and tombs is the low number of infants. This may indicate that this age group was treated differently. The separate (and often collective) burial of infants was practised by the medieval Habsburgs (Figure 3C). This practice is recorded from other European medieval and post-medieval contexts (Ulrich-Bochsler, 1997: 88–9) as well as other parts of the world (Antonaccio, 1995: 23). At some Maya sites 'caches' with infants have been discovered at the centre base of ceremonial structures such as simple crypt Cache IV-1 at Tonina (Becquelin and Baudez, 1979), but these caches may be burials (Becker, 1992).

Formation processes of Maya tombs

Archaeological research confirms that the depositional history for Maya tombs is complicated and combines multiple entries with placement of new

articulated bodies, movement of tomb occupants within the chamber during rites of re-entry, extraction of tomb contents, or reburial of exhumed bones (Chase, 1994: 125; Chase and Chase, 1996, 2003). Clearly some mortuary structures in the Maya region served for burials over an extended time, a fact underlined by the presence of tomb corridors and stairways. Stone-lined tombs at Nebaj, Guaytan, and the rock cut tomb at Zaculeu (Table 1) display such characteristics. But continuous sequential use or sporadic reuse can also take place without stairways or passages (Chase, 1994: 126). Tombs could have been left open to receive burials, covered by temporary structures or a roof or been sealed and reopened.

It is possible that sequential use (not sacrifice) is responsible for the disarticulated female corpse in Tomb III in Temple XVIII-A at Palenque (Figure 5A). Sequential use (not reburial from another place) probably also contributed to the layout in Chiapa de Corzo Burial 121 (Figure 5B), where the adult male in the centre was buried last, and long bones, skulls and small bones of three adults were grouped around his body (Agrinier, 1964: 57–8). In the large Kaminaljuyu Tomb A-I (Figure 5C) it is obvious that earlier interments had been disturbed through later ones. But in this tomb, a combination of reburial from elsewhere and disturbance of other corpses through sequential burial should also be taken into account. The two isolated skulls of two children in Kaminaljuyu Tomb A-I could have been reburied. Another example of possible sequential burial is the Chorcha Tomb at Copan. Smoke Imix of Copan was buried two days after death, which is seen as 'a sure sign that his tomb lay ready to receive him' (Martin and Grube, 2000: 203). This also opens the possibility that the 12-year-old child that was found at the north end of the tomb (Fash et al., 1992: 111) had been deposited earlier. Given that the ruler was over 79 years old when he died, it could have been his grandchild and possibly child of Waxakla-juun Ub'aah K'awil. The events that surrounded the death of the latter king and the fact that his son did not succeed him do indeed point to some repro-ductive problem. At the re-entered Preclassic Tikal Burial 166, age patterns could point to sequential burial of two queens – based on the paintings in the tomb – who might have been sisters and foreigners, since both displayed a rare pseudo-circular head shaping (Coe, 1990: 238–41).

Some tombs at Nebaj, Zaculeu, Guaytan and Tonina display evidence for reuse at some later point in time. The large rock cut tomb at Zaculeu was successively used in the Early Classic probably to receive the corpses of a noble family (one adult, one infant, one child, one unidentified), which were carried down the stairway into the tomb chamber. At the tomb entrance, the isolated mandible of a young adult and complete skeletons of two children were found. A polychrome seventh-century vase, 'one of the finest pieces of pottery in the tomb' (Trik, 1953: 83), was deposited with one of the children. This vase is later in style than the rest of the ceramics in the tombs and the only ceramic vase at Zaculeu with an inscription. Since
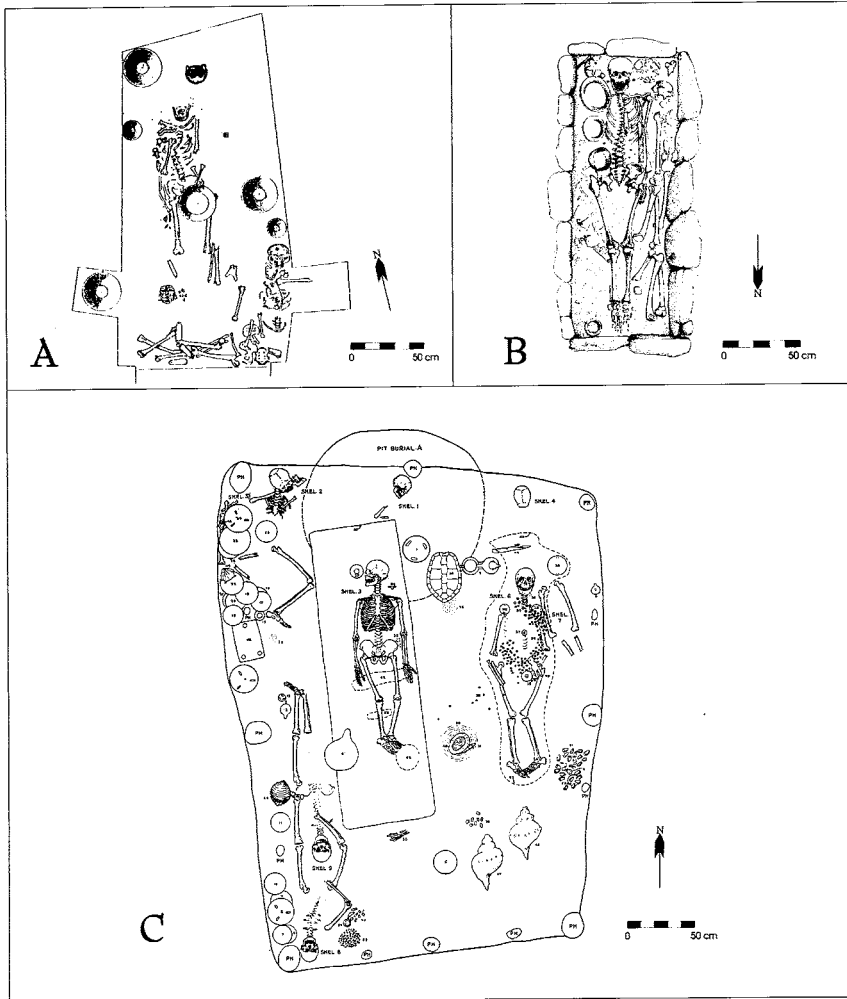
Figure 5   Sequential deposition in multiple Maya crypts and tombs. (A) Palenque Tomb III, Temple XVIII-A (Ruz, 1962: Fig. 5); (B) Chiapa de Corzo Burial 121 (Agrinier, 1964: Fig. 125); (C) Kaminaljuyu Tomb A-I (Kidder et al., 1946: Fig. 17)

Zaculeu, like the other highland sites, went out of use in the Late Classic – what could explain the deposition of individuals who could not have been children of the adults in the tomb? Using an analogy from Europe, the tomb at St Stephen's where infants were deposited a century later at the entrance (Weiss-Krejci, 2001: Fig. 4), the children may have been of high status, had died at or close to Zaculeu, and were interred in the tomb of their

ancestors. At Nebaj the Tomb in Mound 1 was used in the Early Classic to deposit two infants, five children, one adolescent and three adults, but the tomb passage leading away from the tomb held Late Classic ceramics and one young adult (Smith, 1951: 22) who may also have been a distant relative. Classic tombs were also sometimes reused by new groups, especially in the Postclassic, not only in the Maya area but also in other parts of Mesoamerica (Middleton et al., 1998: 299–301). This could imply either some distant relation or some other kind of claim to that specific burial location.

Sequential use and sporadic reuse are not the only processes that can explain collective burial assemblages. The simultaneous deposition of wrapped and possibly embalmed corpses after temporary storage best explains the state of bones at Kaminaljuyu Tomb B-II and Tonina (Figure 6A,B). As a bundle, the corpse becomes more portable and can be temporarily stored and later moved to the tomb (McAnany, 1998: 276). The way artefacts and bones spread on the tomb floor in Kaminaljuyu Tomb B-II (Figure 6A) suggests that the bodies had additionally been placed in wooden containers (Kidder et al., 1946: 89). Simultaneous re-deposition of untied corpses in different states of decomposition, some probably exhumed from elsewhere, is the more likely scenario for the Zaculeu Grave 4–1 (Figure 6C). The skull of an adolescent rested on a stone (A), a complete though disarticulated female adult (B) and partially articulated adult male (C) had been deposited together with longbones and scattered fragments of seven adults and one child (Trik, 1953: 96).

Finally, not every bone in a grave has to be necessarily a house member or ancestor. Especially with respect to isolated skulls, mandibles, teeth, or long bones, alternative interpretations have to be considered (Becker, 1996: 706). Skulls in graves could be trophies and some other bones may have been amulets. The deposition of relic bones (exhumed from distant holy places) and bone amulets in graves was also a characteristic of medieval Europe (Armendariz et al., 2000: 394).

■ CONCLUSION

Corpse storage, corpse transport, the deposition of sub-adults in tombs of distant relatives, exhumation, and collective reburial of house members (as well as related non-house members) centuries after death in different areas, and the reburial of looted or desecrated remains, could all have characterized Maya mortuary behaviour. Like tombs in Europe, élite Maya collective chambers show large variation and thus tomb formation may have been the result of similar strategies. Both monuments and archaeological evidence suggest that the ancient Maya, like the nobles of Europe, not only fulfilled ritual obligations but used dead
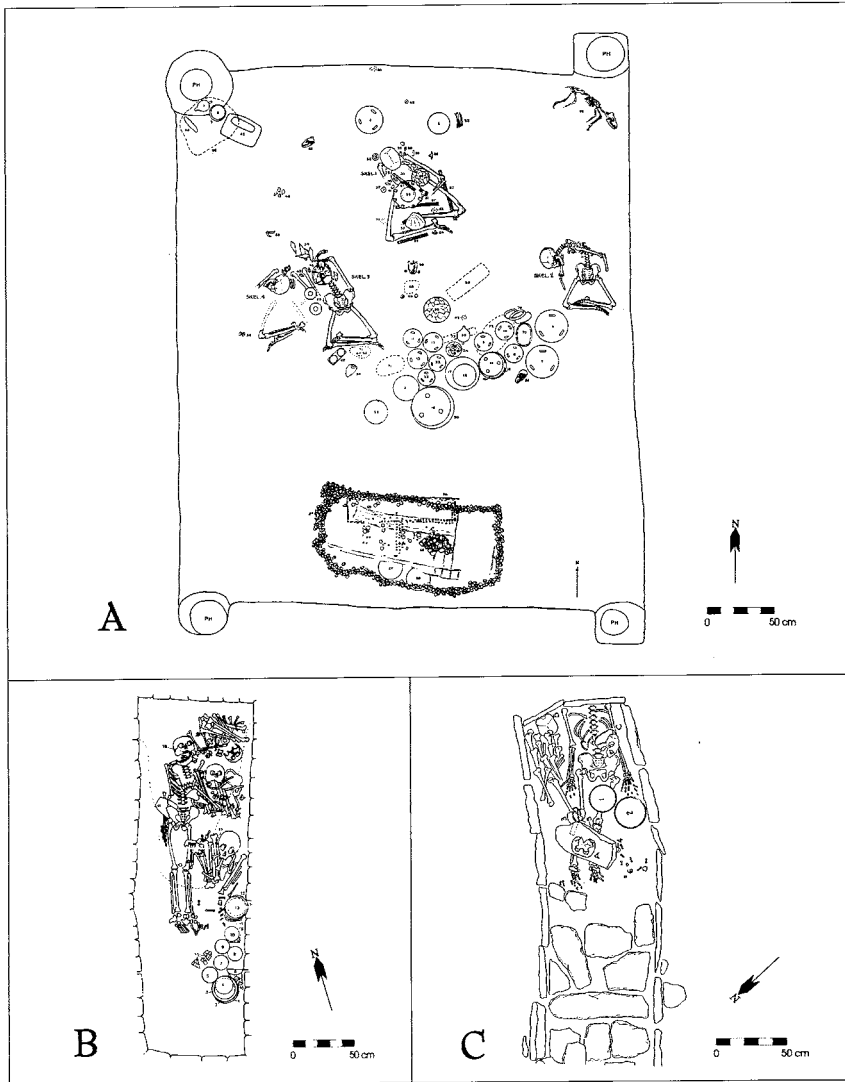
Figure 6   Simultaneous deposition into multiple Maya crypts and tombs. (A) Kaminaljuyu Tomb B-II (Kidder et al., 1946: Fig. 32); (B) Tonina Burial IV-6 (Becquelin and Baudez, 1979: Fig. 59); (C) Zaculeu Grave 4–1 (Woodbury and Trik, 1953: Fig. 47)

bodies to redefine or create relations and to legitimize status and rights (Fitzsimmons, 2002; McAnany, 1995). It is their concrete and complex quality that makes dead bodies highly effective political symbols. Bones, corpses, coffins and urns can be moved around, displayed, strategically located in specific places to localize a claim and their life stories – as individuals or as a group – can be used by different people to very different ends (Verdery, 1999: 27–9). Piedras Negras Stela 40 depicts Ruler 4, who was not Ruler 3's son, performing a ceremony at his mother's tomb exactly 83 Tzol'kin after Ruler 2's death. Tikal Altar 5 shows Jasaw Chan K'awiil I (Ruler A) of Tikal and a lord from Maasal, one of Tikal's enemies in the Early Classic, exhuming the bones of a noble lady in AD 711 (Martin and Grube, 2000: 37, 46, 149). A Late Classic Tikal ruler, most likely Nuun Ujol Chaak, used Temple 33 for burial, a structure that for more than 200 years only housed the tomb of Siyaj Chan K'awiil (Fitzsimmons, 2002: 399).

Unfortunately, at present, a firmer link between burials and Maya politics and therefore a more satisfying interpretation of Maya tombs (especially for those excavated long ago) is often not possible. In the future, physical anthropologists will hopefully play a more important role during excavation of human remains (Saul and Saul, 2002) and be able to clarify the question of reburial versus disturbance of bones in situ. Additionally, it might be desirable to date reburied bones since reburials often bring together bones from different places and time periods after hundreds of years. Not only are tomb composition and patterns of reburial material witnesses to social conditions and political events, but artefacts and architecture can also serve as a means to track group identity through time and space. When European high-ranking women got married and had to move to distant areas they were often responsible for the rapid spread of new art styles and cultural traditions (Duggan, 1997). Intermarriage with foreign women, for example, may explain the rare appearance of Pre-classic pentagonal tombs at Tikal and Nakbe, a tomb type that is common in Oaxaca (Hansen, 1998: 93). The presence of almost identical ceramics in Maya tombs that are hundreds of kilometres apart may not just reflect trade, but could also indicate that these items were brought by new house members or deposited by related inhabitants of distant regions when attending the funeral.

To examine collective élite tombs and crypts from the perspective of the house opens exciting new paths for interpretation and leads far beyond broad generalizations of burial deposits. Clearly the understanding of burials and 'dead-body politics' (Verdery, 1999: 3) must rest on a specific understanding of the society that produced them, understanding of political symbolism, of death rituals and beliefs, and a society's ideas about what constitutes a proper burial. It must also be taken into account that unique historical circumstances have contributed to shape each deposit. In this

process, analogy (Wylie, 2002: 152–3), if justified on the basis of parallel structural features, can be a powerful tool to tackle questions for which no empirical answers exist.

Acknowledgements

References

Agrinier, P. (1964) 'The Archaeological Burials at Chiapa de Corzo and their Furniture', *Papers of the New World Archaeological Foundation* No. 16, Publication 12. Provo: Brigham Young University.

Andrews, E.W., IV and E.W. Andrews, V (1980) *Excavations at Dzibilchaltun, Yucatan, Mexico*. Middle American Research Institute, Publication 48. New Orleans: Tulane University.

Anonymous (n.d.) *The Royal Chapel and Cathedral of Granada*. Barcelona: Editorial Escudo.

Antonaccio, C.M. (1995) *An Archaeology of Ancestors: Tomb Cult and Hero Cult in Early Greece*. London: Rowman and Littlefield.

Armendariz, A., F. Etxeberria and L. Herrasti (2000) 'Los Restos Humanos de San Juan de Ortega', in V.O. Jorge (ed.) *Contributos das Ciências e das Tecnologias para a Arqueologia da Península Ibérica, Actas do 3*. Congreso de Arqueologia Peninsular Vol. IX, pp. 391–98. Oporto: Adecap.

Becker, M.J. (1992) 'Burials as Caches, Caches as Burials: A New Interpretation of the Meaning of Ritual Deposits among the Classic Period Lowland Maya', in E.C. Danien and R.J. Sharer (eds) *New Theories on the Ancient Maya*, pp. 185–96. University Museum Monograph 77. Philadelphia, PA: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Becker, M.J. (1996) 'Medieval Mortuary Customs in Italy: Skull Relocations and other Unusual Burial Procedures', *Archeologia Medievale* XXIII: 699–714.

Becker, U. (2000) 'Genealogie Karls V., väterliche Linie', in W. Seipl (ed.) *Kaiser Karl V (1500–1558): Macht und Ohnmacht Europas*, p. 109. Vienna: Kunsthistorisches Museum.

Becquelin, P. and C.F. Baudez (1979) *Toniná, Une Cité Maya du Chiapas (Mexique). Etudes Mesoamericaines, Vol. 6, Tome 1*. Mexico: Mission Archeologique et Ethnologique Française au Mexique.

Binski, P. (1996) *Medieval Death: Ritual and Representation*. London: British Museum Press.

Bloch, M. (1971) *Placing the Dead: Tombs, Ancestral Villages, and Kinship Organization in Madagascar*. London: Seminar Press.

Bonney, R. (1991) *The European Dynastic States 1494–1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brady, J. (1995) 'A Reassessment of the Chronology and Function of Gordon's Cave #3, Copan, Honduras', *Ancient Mesoamerica* 6: 29–38.

Carsten, J. and S. Hugh-Jones (1995) 'Introduction', in J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones (eds) *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, pp. 1–46. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chance, J.K. (2000) 'The Noble House in Colonial Puebla, Mexico: Descent, Inheritance, and the Nahua Tradition', *American Anthropologist* 102: 485–502.

Chase, D.Z. (1994) 'Human Osteology, Pathology, and Demography as Represented in the Burials of Caracol, Belize', in D.Z. Chase and A.Z. Chase (eds) *Studies in the Archaeology of Caracol, Belize*, pp. 123–38, Monograph 7. San Francisco: Pre-Columbian Art Research Institute.

Chase, D.Z. and A.F. Chase (1996) 'Maya Multiples: Individuals, Entries, and Tombs in Structure A34 of Caracol, Belize', *Latin American Antiquity* 7: 61–79.

Chase, D.Z. and A.F. Chase (2003) 'Secular, Sagrado y "Revisitado": La Profanación, Alteración y Reconsagración de los Antiguos Entierros Mayas', in A. Ciudad Ruiz, M.H. Ruz Sosa and M.J. Iglesias Ponce de León (eds) *Antropología de la Eternidad: La Muerte en la Cultura Maya*, pp. 255–77. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas y Centro de Estudios Mayas.

Coe, W.R. (1959) *Piedras Negras Archaeology. Artifacts, Caches, and Burials*. *University Museum Monographs*, 4. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Coe, W.R. (1965) 'Tikal. Ten Years of Study of a Maya Ruin in the Lowlands of Guatemala', *Expedition* 8: 5–56.

Coe, W.R. (1990) *Excavations in the Great Plaza, North Terrace and North Acropolis of Tikal. University Museum Monograph, 61. Tikal Report, 14*. Philadelphia: The University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

Daniell, C. (1997) *Death and Burial in Medieval England: 1066–1550*. London: Routledge.

Duggan, A.J. (1997) 'Introduction', in A. Duggan (ed.) *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, pp. xv–xxii. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Fash, W., R. Williamson, C. Larios and J. Palka (1992) 'The Hieroglyphic Stairway and its Ancestors: Investigations of Copan Structure 10L-26', *Ancient Mesoamerica* 3: 105–15.

Fitzsimmons, J.L. (1998) 'Classic Maya Mortuary Anniversaries at Piedras Negras, Guatemala', *Ancient Mesoamerica* 9: 271–78.

Fitzsimmons, J.L. (2002) 'Death and the Maya: Language and Archaeology in Classic Maya Mortuary Ceremonialism', PhD dissertation, Dept. of Anthropology, Harvard University.

Fox, J.A. and J.S. Justeson (1986) 'Classic Maya Dynastic Alliance and Succession', in R. Spores (ed.) *Ethnohistory. Supplement to the Handbook of Middle American Indians, Vol. 4*, pp. 7–34. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

Fox, J.J. (1987) 'The House as a Type of Social Organization on the Island of Roti, Indonesia', in C. Macdonald (ed.) *De la Hutte au Palais: Sociétés 'à Maison' en Asie du Sud-Est Insulaire*, pp. 171–8. Paris: Editions du CNRS.

Gerbert, M., M. Herrgott and R. Heer (1772) *Monumenta Augustae Domus Austri-acae Vol. 4: Taphographia Principium Austriae, Monumenta Augustae Domus*. St Blasien: Austriae.

Gillespie, S.D. (2000a) 'Rethinking Ancient Maya Social Organization: Replacing "Lineage" with "House" ', *American Anthropologist* 102: 467–84.

Gillespie, S.D. (2000b) 'Beyond Kinship: An Introduction', in R.A. Joyce and S.D. Gillespie (eds) *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, pp. 1–21. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gillespie, S.D. (2000c) 'Lévi-Strauss: Maison and Société a Maisons', in R.A. Joyce and S.D. Gillespie (eds) *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Repro-duction in House Societies*, pp. 22–52. Philadelphia, PA: University of Penn-sylvania Press.

Gillespie, S.D. (2001) 'Personhood, Agency, and Mortuary Ritual: A Case Study from the Ancient Maya', *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 20: 73–112.

Gut, J. (1999) 'Memorialorte der Habsburger im Südwesten des Alten Reiches: Poli-tische Hintergründe und Aspekte', in Württembergisches Landesmuseum Stuttgart (ed.) *Vorderösterreich nur die Schwanzfeder des Kaiseradlers? Die Habsburger im deutschen Südwesten*, pp. 94–113. Ulm: Süddeutsche Verlagsge-sellschaft.

Hamann, B. (1988) 'Die Herrscherdynastie Habsburg', in B. Hamann (ed.) *Die Habsburger*, pp. 11–25. Vienna: Ueberreuter.

Hammond, N., K. Pretty and F. Saul (1975) 'A Classic Maya Family Tomb', *World Archaeology* 7: 57–78.

Hansen, R.D. (1998) 'Continuity and Disjunction: The Pre-Classic Antecedents of Classic Maya Architecture', in S.D. Houston (ed.) *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, pp. 49–122. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Hawlik-van de Water, M. (1993) *Die Kapuzinergruft*. Vienna: Herder.

Healy, P., J. Awe and H. Helmuth (1998) 'An Ancient Maya Multiple Burial at Cale-donia, Cayo District, Belize', *Journal of Field Archaeology* 25: 261–74.

Houston, S.D. (1998) 'Finding Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture', in S.D. Houston (ed.) *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, pp. 519–38. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Houston, S.D., H. Escobedo, D. Forsyth, P. Hardin, D. Webster and L. Wright (1998) 'On the River of Ruins: Explorations at Piedras Negras, Guatemala, 1997', *Mexicon* 20: 16–22.

Hutchinson, D.L. and L.V. Aragon (2002) 'Collective Burials and Community Memories: Interpreting the Placement of the Dead in the Southeastern and Mid-Atlantic United States with Reference to Ethnographic Cases from Indonesia', in H. Silverman and D.B. Small (eds) *The Space and Place of Death*, pp. 27–54. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 11. Arling-ton: American Anthropological Association.

Iannone, G. (2002) 'Annales History and the Ancient Maya State: Some Obser-vations on the "Dynamic Model" ', *American Anthropologist* 104: 68–78.

Iglesias Ponce de León, M.J. (2003) 'Problematical Deposits and the Problem of Interaction: The Material Culture of Tikal during the Early Classic Period', in G.E. Braswell (ed.) *The Maya and Teotihuacan: Reinterpreting Early Classic Interaction*, pp. 167–98. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Jacobi, K.P. (2000) *Last Rites for the Tipu Maya. Genetic Structuring in a Colonial Cemetery*. Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press.

Jahn, A. (2001) *Das Haus Habsburg Vol. 2/2: Die Grabstätten der Habsburger und der mit ihnen verwandten Häuser in Österreichs Kirchen*. Vienna: Alois Jahn.

Jäschke, K.-U. (1997) 'From Famous Empresses to Unspectacular Queens: The Romano-German Empire to Margaret of Brabant, Countess of Luxemburg and Queen of the Romans (d. 1311)', in A. Duggan (ed.) *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, pp. 75–108. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.

Joyce, R.A. (2000) 'Heirlooms and Houses: Materiality and Social Memory', in R.A. Joyce and S.D. Gillespie (eds) *Beyond Kinship: Social and Material Reproduction in House Societies*, pp. 189–212. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Kidder, A.V., J.D. Jennings and E.M. Shook (1946) *Excavations at Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 561*. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Klimm, F. (1953) *Der Kaiserdom zu Speyer*. Speyer: Jaeger.

Laporte, J.P. and V. Fialko (1987) 'La Ceramica del Clásico Temprano Desde Mundo Perdido, Tikal. Una Reevaluación', in P.M. Rice and R.J. Sharer (eds) *Maya Ceramics, papers from the 1985 Maya Ceramic Conference*, pp. 123–81. BAR International Series 345 Part 1. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Lein, E. (1978) *Begräbnisstätten der Alt-Habsburger in Österreich. Rudolf I. – Karl VI*. Vienna: Lein-Neubacher.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1982) *The Way of the Masks.* Sylvia Modelski [trans]. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1983) 'Histoire et ethnologie', *Annales* 38: 1217–31.

Lockyer, R. (1974) *Habsburg and Bourbon Europe 1470–1720*. London: Longman.

Martin, S. (1999) 'The Baby Jaguar: Dynastic Legitimation and Matrilineal Descent at Early Classic Tikal', paper presented at the Palenque Round Table.

Martin, S. and N. Grube (1995) 'Maya Superstates', *Archaeology* 48(6): 41–6.

Martin, S. and N. Grube (2000) *Chronicle of the Maya Kings and Queens*. London: Thames and Hudson.

Martínez Cuesta, J. (1992*) Guide to the Monastery of San Lorenzo El Real*. Madrid: Editorial Patrimonio Nacional.

McAnany, P. (1995) *Living with the Ancestors: Kinship and Kingship in Ancient Maya Society*. Austin TX: University of Texas Press.

McAnany, P. (1998) 'Ancestors and the Classic Maya Built Environment', in S.D. Houston (ed.) *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, pp. 271–98. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Metcalf, P. and R. Huntington (1991) *Celebrations of Death: The Anthropology of Mortuary Ritual*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Meyer, R.J. (2000) 'Königs- und Kaiserbegräbnisse im Spätmittelalter. Beihefte zu J.F. Böhmer', *Regesta Imperii* 19. Cologne: Böhlau.

Middleton, W.D., G.M. Feinmann and G. Molina Villegas (1998) 'Tomb Use and Reuse in Oaxaca, Mexico', *Ancient Mesoamerica* 9: 297–307.

Ohler, N. (1990) *Sterben und Tod im Mittelalter*. Munich: Artemis.

Palka, J.W. (1996) 'Sociopolitical Implications of a New Emblem Glyph and Place Name in Classic Maya Inscriptions', *Latin American Antiquity* 7: 211–27.

Robin, C. and N. Hammond (1991) 'Burial Practices', in N. Hammond (ed.) *Cuello:*

An Early Maya Community in Belize, pp. 204–25. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ruz Lhuillier, A. (1955) 'Exploraciones en Palenque: 1952', *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* 6(34): 79–112.

Ruz Lhuillier, A. (1962) 'Exploraciones arqueológicas en Palenque: 1957', *Anales del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia* 14(43): 35–90.

Ruz Lhuillier, A. (1968*) Costumbres Funerarias de los Antiguos Mayas*. Mexico: Unam.

Saul, F.P. (1972) 'The Human Skeletal Remains of Altar de Sacrificios. An Osteobiographic Analysis', *Papers of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology* 63, No. 2. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University.

Saul, J.M. and F.P. Saul (1997) 'The Preclassic Skeletons from Cuello', in S.L. Whittington and D.M. Reed (eds) *Bones of the Maya: Studies of Ancient Skeletons*, pp. 28–50. Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Saul, J.M. and F.P. Saul (2002) 'Forensics, Archaeology, and Taphonomy: The Symbolic Relationship', in W.D. Haglund and M.H. Sorg (eds) *Advances in Forensic Taphonomy: Method, Theory, and Archaeological Perspectives*, pp. 71–97. Boca Raton: CRC Press.

Schele, L. and P. Mathews (1991) 'Royal Visits and other Intersite Relationships among the Classic Maya', in T.P. Culbert (ed.) *Classic Maya Political History*, pp. 226–52. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schmid, K. (1957) 'Zur Problematik von Familie, Sippe und Geschlecht, Haus und Dynastie beim mittelalterlichen Adel', *Zeitschrift für Geschichte des Oberrheins* 105: 1–62.

Sharer, R.J., L.P. Traxler, D. Sedat, E. Bell, M. Canuto and C. Powell (1999) 'Early Classic Architecture beneath the Copan Acropolis: A Research Update', *Ancient Mesoamerica* 10: 3–23.

Shook, E.M. and A.V. Kidder (1952) 'Mound E-III-3, Kaminaljuyu, Guatemala', *Contributions to American Anthropology and History, 53.* Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 596. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Smith, A.L. (1950) *Uaxactun, Guatemala: Excavations of 1931–1937*, Publication 588. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Smith, A.L. (1951) 'Field Work' *Excavations at Nebaj, Guatemala*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 594, pp. 10–31. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Smith, A.L. (1955) *Archaeological Reconnaissance in Central Guatemala*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 608. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Smith, A.L. and A.V. Kidder (1943) *Explorations in the Motagua Valley, Guatemala. Contributions to American Anthropology and History, 41*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 546. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Smith, A.L. and A.V. Kidder (1951) *Excavations at Nebaj, Guatemala*. Carnegie Institution of Washington Publication 594. Washington DC: Carnegie Institution of Washington.

Storey, R. (1992) 'The Children of Copan', *Ancient Mesoamerica* 3: 161–7.

Störmer, W. (1980) 'Die Hausklöster der Wittelsbacher', in H. Glaser (ed.) *Die Zeit*

der frühen Herzöge: Von Otto I. zu Ludwig dem Bayern, pp. 139–50. Munich: Hirmer.

Stuart, D. (1998) ' " The Fire Enters His House": Architecture and Ritual in Classic Maya Texts', in S.D. Houston (ed.) *Function and Meaning in Classic Maya Architecture*, pp. 373–425. Washington DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection.

Stuart, D. (2000) ' " The Arrival of Strangers": Teotihuacan and Tollan in Classic Maya History', in D. Carrasco, L. Jones and S. Sessions (eds) *Mesoamerica's Classic Heritage: From Teotihuacan to the Aztecs*, pp. 465–513. Boulder, CO: University Press of Colorado.

Tiesler Blos, V., A. Cucina and A. Romano Pacheco (2002) 'Vida y Muerte del Personaje en el Templo XIII-sub, Palenque: I. Culto Funerario y Sacrificio Humano', *Mexicon* 24: 75–8.

Timmermann, B. (1996) *Die Begräbnisstätten der Habsburger in Wien*. Vienna: Modulverlag.

Trik, A.S. (1953) 'Architecture, Graves', in R.B. Woodbury and A.S. Trik (eds) *The Ruins of Zaculeu, Guatemala Vol. 1*, pp. 24–111. Richmond: The William Byrd Press.

Ucko, P.J. (1969) 'Ethnography and Archaeological Interpretation of Funerary Remains', *World Archaeology* 1: 262–80.

Ulrich-Bochsler, S. (1997) *Anthropologische Befunde zur Stellung von Frau und Kind in Mittelalter und Neuzeit*. Bern: Berner Lehrmittel und Medienverlag.

Verdery, K. (1999) *The Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Vocelka, K. and L. Heller (1997) *Die Lebenswelt der Habsburger: Kultur- und Mentalitätsgeschichte einer Familie*. Graz: Styria.

Waterson, R. (1995a) 'Houses and Hierarchies in Island Southeast Asia', in J. Carsten and S. Hugh-Jones (eds) *About the House: Lévi-Strauss and Beyond*, pp. 47–68. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Waterson, R. (1995b) 'Houses, Graves and the Limits of Kinship Groupings among the Sa'dan Toraja', *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde* 151: 194–217.

Weiss-Krejci, E. (2001) 'Restless Corpses. "Secondary Burial" in the Babenberg and Habsburg Dynasties', *Antiquity* 75: 769–80.

Weiss-Krejci, E. (2003) 'Victims of Human Sacrifice in Multiple Tombs of the Ancient Maya: A Critical Review', in A. Ciudad Ruiz, M.H. Ruz Sosa and M.J. Iglesias Ponce de León (eds) *Antropología de la Eternidad: La Muerte en la Cultura Maya,* pp. 355–81. Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Mayas y Centro de Estudios Mayas.

Welsh, W.B.M. (1988) *An Analysis of Classic Lowland Maya Burials*, BAR International Series, 409. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.

Wolfsgruber, C. (1887) *Die Kaisergruft bei den Kapuzinern in Wien*. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.

Woodbury, R.B. and A.S. Trik (1953) *The Ruins of Zaculeu, Guatemala*. Richmond: The William Byrd Press.

Wylie, A. (1988) ' " Simple" Analogy and the Role of Relevance Assumptions: Implications of Archaeological Practice', *International Studies in the Philosophy of Science* 2: 134–50.

Wylie, A. (2002) *Thinking from Things: Essays in the Philosophy of Archaeology*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.

ESTELLA WEISS-KREJCI holds a PhD from the University of Vienna, Austria and is currently conducting research at the University of Oporto, Portugal. Her work includes cross-cultural investigations of mortuary behaviour with emphasis on the ancient Maya, medieval and post-medieval Europe and Neolithic and Chalcolithic Iberia. Her other field of research is ancient Maya water storage facilities, which she has investigated during several field seasons in Belize.
[email: estellawk@hotmail.com]