CHAPTER 27

CREMATIONS IN CULTURE AND COSMOLOGY

TERJE OESTIGAARD

Introduction

Hindu cremation is often seen as a classic type of cremation. The deceased is burnt on a pyre along a holy river, whereupon the ashes are immersed in the river when the cremation is complete. The cremation unites the micro and macro cosmos. The body and the world consist of five elements—air, water, fire, earth, and ether. During cremation the fire dissolves the body and the elements return to their origin. When the cremation is complete, the ashes are immersed in the holy river and the deceased attains salvation and liberation from the cycle of rebirth or he/she is reincarnated according to his or her past deeds. Although this type of Hindu cremation has shaped many perceptions of the nature of cremation as a funeral practice, Hindu cremations are nevertheless strikingly different from many cremation practices in European prehistory.

A characteristic feature of prehistoric cremations is the low frequency of burnt bones in urns or deposited in cremation patches where a grave or mound has been built. Based on several analyses, only 10–20% of the deceased's bones are buried, and often the urns are intentionally made too small to contain all the cremated remains. Hence, not all the remains of the dead were intended to be buried in one context, and the rest has been used for other purposes. One reason for the general absence of cremated remains could have been that the bones were immersed in rivers in a similar way to Hindu cremations. Although this is a possibility, it seems that cremated bones were actively used in other complex, cultural, and cosmological spheres.

With fire as the medium in cremations, it has been possible to manipulate and use the body and the bones for cultural purposes and cosmological ends in numerous ways, which include both the deceased's destiny as well as the re-constitution of society and cosmos. Through empirical case studies mainly from Northern European Bronze and Iron Age contexts, the chapter will discuss how *cremation is not one, but many funeral practices.* The chapter begins with an introduction to contemporary Hindu cremations, with an emphasis on the role of fire, before turning to European Bronze and Iron Age contexts, identifying the

characteristics of cremations, highlighting the different temperatures at which the dead have been cremated. The focus will then shift from the dead to the living, finally presenting contemporary Hindu and Buddhist examples of the relation between cremation and other types of funerals, which may have implications for archaeological interpretations.

Hindu Cremations and the Role of Fire

Fire and water are in most cultures and religions irrespective of time and place used as transformative mediums to express both complementary and contradictory ideas of humans, social relations, divine qualities, how interactions between humans and gods take place, and the creation and character of the cosmos itself. Fire and water are natural elements, but they are also cultural constructs used as metaphors for and even as proofs of various philosophical or religious explanations of cosmos, the world order, and human nature. Within certain religions and time periods people (and gods) have employed fire and water as symbols and agencies more pervasively and elaboratively than in others, and in Hindu cremations this symbolic pair is fundamental in the transformation of the dead to further life. Hindu cremations as ethnography are therefore a good point of departure for studying cremation not only because they are performed in open air, but also because they gives insight into technological processes, which may deepen understanding of prehistoric cremations and their uniqueness.

The most auspicious place for a Hindu to be cremated is along the banks of the Ganges in Varanasi, India at the Manikarnika and Harishchandra ghats. Some 40,000 people are cremated here annually, and other holy places along the tributaries to Ganges, such as Pashupatinath in Kathmandu (Fig. 27.1), Nepal, are seen as equally holy by devotees, who believe they will attain salvation if the cremation is conducted appropriately and the ashes immersed in the holy river.

FIG. 27.1 Cremation at Pashupatinath, Nepal

Source: Photo: Terje Oestigaard.

Death and Hindu cremations are related to both birth and ancestors. The father gives the lineage a son and thereby pays his debt to his forefathers, and the son repays his debts to his father by conducting the funeral. Thus, although it does not always happen, it is the son's ritual obligation to crack open his father's skull in order to release the 'vital breath' or the soul. The father is not dead and the body is not a corpse before this happens and it is only after the cremation that his wife becomes a widow. A cremation is therefore life-giving and necessary, but still a human sacrifice, and it is the son's duty to commit this symbolic homicide from which life re-emerges. The soul has been released, but since this is a ritual murder, the mourning period is a purification period for having killed and burnt a human (Parry 1994:151–2).

Still, cremation as a sacrifice is cosmogony, and it is from the flames and the immersion in the river that life reappears or salvation is attained. 'Do not burn him entirely, Agni, or engulf him in your flames. Do not consume his skin or flesh. When you have cooked him perfectly, O knower of creatures, only then send him forth to the father' (Rig Veda 10.16.1, see O'Flaherty 1994). Agni—the Vedic God of Fire—is not burning the corpse during a cremation, but cooking it. Cooking is regarded as the opposite of eating and raises the corpse to a higher state (to heaven), whereas eating reduces the dead body to a lower state (to animals). Thus, Agni prepares the corpse for the gods by cooking it (O'Flaherty 1994: 49): The souls become the food of the gods (Brahma-Sutras n.d.: 3.1.7).

However, the cosmogony does not end there. The ashes after a cremation, which are immersed in the holy rivers, are often referred to as 'bones'. Bones are seen as the product of the father's semen and as a source of future fertility, and the fire destroys the sinful and female flesh (Parry 1994: 188). When the bones and ashes are immersed in the river, they unite the male and female qualities in a symbolic copulation recreating life. Ganga is eternally pure and concentrates the sanctity of all rivers: 'Not only is the Ganges said to be present in other rivers, but other rivers are present in her' (Eck 1983: 214). Ganges is the 'nectar of immortality', which brings life to the dead cremated on the banks of the River of Heaven (Eck 1983: 215).

Hence, the funeral is a cosmogonic and life-giving ritual, which ensures rebirth for the deceased by uniting him or her with the gods just as it restructures society by installing the son in his father's place as a householder through the son's ritual commitment to conduct the cremation. The Hindu cosmology is of course different from other religions' cosmologies, and in particular those of prehistoric Europe, but there are still some structural similarities in the way a cremation takes place as a technological performance. In Hindu cremations all the cremated remains are immersed in the river a short distance from where the actual cremation took place, and the river can be seen as the final resting place for the cremated remains, which have important cosmological consequences. In prehistoric cremations not all of the cremated remains were deposited, and in many cases the final place where the bones were deposited might have been far away from the actual site where the pyre burnt.

Characteristics of Cremations

Throughout history a challenging question is how cremation relates to other funeral practices, and in particular inhumation, since different funeral practices often exist at the same time in a given community, which implies that variation in mortuary treatment sometimes relates to religion, ethnicity, gender, age, or other status categories, whereas in other cases it

does not. Importantly, in many cases it is impossible to distinguish between culture and cosmology because what the descendants do, on the one hand, affects their future destiny in the other world, but on the other hand, their cultural practices are believed to be defined by religion and cosmology.

Cremation as a funeral practice has certain characteristics as opposed to other mortuary rituals and, in particular, inhumation. A large number of cremation burials are not deposited at the place where the actual cremation took place. Thus, it is possible to distinguish three stages or sequences in a cremation (Hertz 1960, Oestigaard 1999):

1. The place where a corpse was burnt.
2. The intermediate period in time and space. After the cremation was completed, the bones could be collected, cleaned, and deposited in an urn. This interval can be long in time and space; it is possible to carry urns or cremated remains over large areas, which is more difficult with a physical corpse because it will start to rot unless preserved in some way.
3. The place where the cremated bones were buried or deposited. This place could be the same site where the cremation took place, but most often the urn with the bones is transported to another place or cemetery, or used in other contexts.

The intermediate period in cremation as a funeral practice opens up huge varieties in ritual uses and manipulations of the deceased. Cremated bones may be deposited all together at one place as with the Hindu example, but cremated remains are also found in ceramics, post holes, hearths, cooking pits, property borders (Gansum 2004a), heaps of fire-cracked stones, and in cultivated fields (Kaliff and Oestigaard 2004) and in furnaces (Goldhahn and Oestigaard 2008).

The burial of the cremated remains may take place long after the actual cremation of the deceased and it opens up the possibility of double cremations (a second burning of the ashes as a ritual closing of the intermediate period) as well as other uses of the bones in ancestral cults. Cremation is not only the last funerary rite for the deceased, but the body and bones are also a means to other cultural and cosmological ends. Whereas an inhumation presents the body as a unit or a totality in the grave, unless it is mutilated in one way or another, a cremation may dissolve or separate the deceased's social identities, and the remains can be incorporated in numerous spheres. From the perspective of analysing death as a cultural and cosmological process, cremation enables descendants to actively use and manipulate the dead in the reconstitution of society and cosmos. This is also evident in the amount of bones deposited in cremation burials.

Depending upon the size of a person, based upon measurements made by Per Holck at Asker Crematorium in Oslo, Norway (Holck 1987: 71–3), the average weight of the cremated bones was 3,075 grams (3,375 grams for men and 2,625 grams for women). Based on further analyses of cremated bones from 1,082 case studies from the Bronze Age and Iron Age in southern and eastern parts of Norway, the average weight of cremated bones, including those cases where it was impossible to determine the sex, was 269.7 grams. In those contexts where it was possible to identify the sex (generally where there were more bones), the average weight for men was 637.9 grams (with variation from 10 to 3,175 grams) and for women the average weight was 455.6 grams (with variation from 30 to 1,950 grams) (Holck 1987: 119). Similar patterns are visible in other places as well. From the Late Bronze Age and the Early

Iron Age cemetery Ringeby in Östergötland, Sweden, cremated bones varied from 0.2 grams to 983 grams at a maximum, with an average of 159 grams (Kaliff 1997: 90). In Hungary during the Middle Bronze Age, the average from the Encrusted Ware Culture cemetery of Környe-Fácánkert was 307 grams (*c.*660 grams for men, *c.*300 grams for women, and 70–80 grams for children) (Sørensen and Rebay-Salisbury 2008: 58). In the latter case the amount of male bones deposited after cremation was twice that for women.

In general, the actual amount of the deceased's burnt bones deposited and buried was only 10–20% of the complete body or skeleton. Although some parts of the bones may have deteriorated or not been collected by descendants or by excavators, the absence of the majority of the deceased's bones in the graves must have been intended. The volume of the deceased's bones cremated in modern crematoriums before they are ground is almost 8 litres (Holck 1987: 71–3). In both the Bronze Age and the Iron Age many of the urns are intentionally made or selected to be so small that they could never have been intended to contain all of the deceased's bones. During the Migration period in Norway, for example, bucket-formed pottery is used as urns and the height of the jars varies between 4.3 cm to 15.5 cm, with an average volume of 1.5 litres (Fredriksen 2005: 188–9). Similar urn patterns are found during the Late Bronze Age (see Stjernquist 1961, Olausson 1987, Feveile and Bennike 2002).

Thus, what characterizes a cremation burial in European prehistory is the absence of the majority of the deceased's bones in the actual deposit. On the one hand, this opens up the possibility that the deceased's remains are buried in several places. On the other hand, which does not contradict the practice of multiple burials, it indicates that the corpse was intentionally used for other purposes. Together, this stresses that cremation opens up a wide range of ancestral and funeral practices. In order to understand these cultural and cosmological processes one has to address the actual temperatures the dead have been exposed to.

Cremation and Temperatures

A striking feature of cremations is the huge span in temperatures at which the deceased has been cremated. In modern crematoriums the cremation starts at around 700 degrees Celsius. In a closed oven, the body will self-combust at this temperature and the temperature increases up to 1,000 degrees (Fig. 27.2). Returning to Per Holck's analyses of the 1,082 cremation contexts from southern and eastern Norway, there are some striking features. He classified the cremated material in five categories according to the temperatures the bones had been exposed to based on the character of the bones after burning and not on colour variations as such, since the latter classification is encumbered with several possibilities of errors (Holck 1987: 131–46):

- Grade 0: *Apparently unburnt.* The bones have been on the pyre and exposed to fire, but they are so slightly affected by the heat that they show no signs of being burnt. Therefore, the temperature has probably not reached more than 200 degrees Celsius.
- Grade 1: *Sooting.* The bones are very slightly and imperfect cremated due to lack of oxygen. The temperatures have probably hardly exceeded 400 degrees Celsius because changes in the bone substances occur at these temperatures.

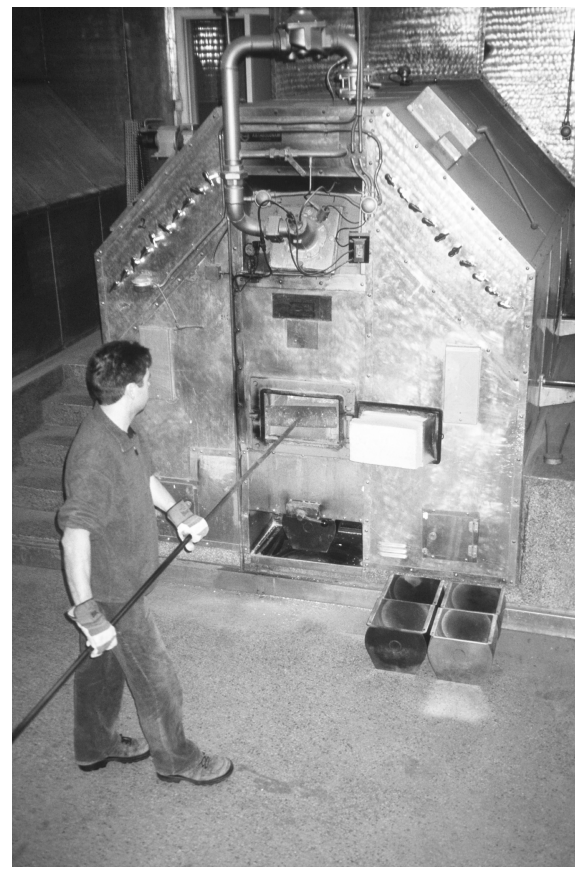

FIG. 27.2 Modern crematorium, Møllendal Crematorium, Bergen, Norway

Source: Photo: Terje Oestigaard.

- Grade 2: *Slight burning.* The bones are clearly burnt, but have a pale colour. These cremations have reached a maximum temperature of approximately 700–800 degrees Celsius.
- Grade 3: *Moderate burning.* The cremated bones appear more or less as in the previous group, but they are somewhat paler in colour. The bones have been exposed to temperatures of 1,000–1,100 degrees Celsius.
- Grade 4: *Hard burning*. The bones are almost white and have porous, chalk-like consistency. Bones burnt at grade 4 have probably been exposed to temperatures of between 1,200–1,300 degrees Celsius.

Based on the analysis of these 1,082 finds, the percentage of cremated bone material at extremely high temperatures is striking (Holck 1987: 134–46):

- Grade 0: 6.5%
- Grade 1: 11.9%
- Grade 2: 28%

- Grade 3: 73.5%
- Grade 4: 37.5%

The reason why the total percentage is higher than 100% is that a single bone may have been burnt at for instance both grades 2 and 3, and consequently classified in both groups. Therefore, in this case the total percentage is 157.4%. The most intriguing aspect of this statistic is that the majority of the dead in prehistory were cremated at grade 3 or 4, or in other words: almost two-thirds of all the cremated remains were exposed to temperatures equalling the maximum of modern crematoriums (*c.*1,000–1,100 degrees Celsius) or at grade 4 (1,200–1,300 degrees Celsius), which exceeds modern crematoriums. Its is not possible to obtain such temperatures at open-air pyres because, even though oxygen nourishes the flames, the air will also cool the pyre, and in general it is very difficult to keep the body burning at open-air pyres as is evident from Hindu cremations (Oestigaard 2005).

Thus, by exposing the dead to different temperatures, cremation is not one, but many funeral practices, because these differently cremated bones open up further possibilities for use in culture, ancestral cult, and cosmology. On the one hand, in some prehistoric cremations the deceased have been exposed to such low temperatures that they can be described as 'cooked', 'roasted', or 'toasted' (Oestigaard 2000a). In other cremations, the dead are burnt at temperatures exceeding modern crematoriums. Consequently, the different funeral practices relate to what the cremated bones were intended to be used for in a wider cultural and cosmological context. This emphasizes a shift from the dead to the living by analysing what the cremated, human remains have been used for, by whom, and why.

The Transformation from the Dead to the Living

Corpses decay and in all cultures the problem of rotting flesh has to be solved. The soft parts of the body are perishable and in many religions the transformation from the living to the dead has been seen as an impure process (Hertz 1960: 43). Apart from mummification, which is a special treatment of the flesh, most funeral practices aim to solve the problem of the flesh by destroying it. In particular a cremation is a very rapid way of decomposing the flesh, and fire is often seen as a purifying agent or medium. Still, the flesh is literally embodied with identities and qualities, and these powers have been actively transformed in cremation funerals.

Cremations at low temperatures may indicate that the dead were prepared and sacrificed to the gods as a meal, which the gods devoured, and many of the urns were food jars in one way or another. Thus, it was possible to sacrifice and eat humans raw, cooked, or burnt (Oestigaard 2000a), which could have included endo-cannibalistic practices by the descendants (Hertz 1960). Moreover, cooking of corpses can be a metaphor, a symbolic aspiration, and an actual practice stressing social relations between the living and the dead, although it may be difficult to distinguish these practices in the archaeological record.

In any case, the preparations of the dead put the emphasis on the flesh as culture and cosmology.

As indicated, it is difficult to achieve extremely high temperatures at open-air cremations and, therefore, these must have taken place in a closed oven. The one person who controlled such locales and high temperatures was the smith, and the furnace was a place where people were cremated (Goldhahn and Oestigaard 2007, 2008). The corpse is both technology and cosmology. When the flesh combusts at around 700 degrees, there is a rapid increase in temperature and, with successive additions of flesh, the temperature rises to temperatures at which it is possible to smelt and cast bronze and iron:

> … a corpse creates a considerable surplus of heat … the measuring begins after the oven has been ignited, and we see that the temperature rises slowly to 700°C. From the moment the corpse is put in a steep rise in temperature occurs (exothermal reaction). This is caused by the ignition of the most combustible parts of the body (and the coffin), despite a constant supply of energy to the oven. After about 4–60 minutes the temperature will decrease during the cremation of the less combustible parts of the body … (Holck 1987: 38)

The temperature of a furnace in which a human body is being burned can easily reach 1,100 degrees and more. Copper melts at 1,083 degrees Celsius, but experiments indicate that the preferred temperature for casting is around 1,300 degrees Celsius. Bronze containing 8–13% tin smelts at around 830–1,000 degrees Celsius, carbonized iron smelts at 1,145 degrees Celsius, whereas pure iron smelts at 1,537 degrees Celsius. The slag of iron, however, smelts at 1,200–1,300 degrees, which fits well with creations at 1,200–1,300 degrees and early metallurgy of both bronze and iron. Thus, the flesh as a fuel smelts together technology and cosmology. The cremator and the smith became ritual specialists who controlled the fire and the procreative forces transforming death into further lives and existences, which also included material objects. In the Scandinavian Bronze Age there are finds of human remains in furnaces at sites such as Stum and Hjälm in Halland and Hallunda in Södermanland, and from the Iron Age there are finds from Gavleån in Gästrikland and Bo Gård, Östergötland, Sweden. Burnt bones, graves, and hearths have been found in the vicinity of these metal production sites, and only small quantities of bones have been found within the furnaces (for details, see Goldhahn and Oestigaard 2007, 2008).

Not only humans, but also animals were used in this process. Animals have often been sacrificed in cremations and may symbolize the transcendence of borders between the living and the dead. One reason why humans and animals were cremated in the smithy can be found in the use of the flesh of the deceased as fuel, but more importantly, in the control and power of the deceased's identity. The deceased and his or her powers have literally been incorporated in ancestral cults by smelting them into objects such as swords and brooches. In the process of making steel from iron, bone-coal from humans and animals has been used to carbonize iron. In this process identities have been smelted into objects and, in the Viking period, for instance, swords had immanent powers, identities, and names such as *Tyrving, Gråsida, Kvernbitt, Gram, Fetbrei, Bastard*, and *Skrep*, among others (Gansum 2004b). This may also explain why weapons were ritually destroyed and (re)created in cremation burials; if personhood was smelted into weapons, these had

separate lives and the identities could be smelted out of them if the objects 'died' or when the owner passed away.

Thus, death is not limited to the dead, but the deceased is equally important for the descendants and the social reconstitution of society and cosmos. The dead are used as transactions in renegotiations both within society but also on a wider cosmological scale (Oestigaard and Goldhahn 2006). Cremation enabled the dead to be used as agents in culture and cosmology (Williams 2004, 2008).

In this process, since cremation is a highly complex, technological process (e.g. Kaliff 1997, Williams 2004), in some cases cremations were conducted by ritual specialists. The smith as a cremator is just such a ritual specialist, and many cremations were conducted by experienced cremators because the material culture left after the cremation often shows a high degree of uniformity. The descendants or relatives as inexperienced cremators would typically have had difficulty cremating the corpse at a high or equal temperature because pyres are uneven and bodies burn at different temperatures (cf. Holck 1987), leaving a highly heterogeneous material culture after the funeral (Oestigaard 2005, Goldhahn and Oestigaard 2007, 2008).

Whether the cremations were conducted by ritual specialists or by laymen as relatives does not necessarily have any cosmological consequences because there is a 'paradoxical character of the prescription of ritual. Ritual is prescribed action, you have to get it right, and yet sometimes it seems that as long as you try, as long as you accept the ritual commitment, it is almost impossible to get it wrong' (Humphrey and Laidlaw 1994: 128). Therefore, cremation as a ritual practice opens up a lot of different uses of the dead for the living within their worldview of how culture and cosmos are constituted. This will be exemplified with two case studies from Hindu and Buddhist cremations. These show how and why the relationship between cremations and other types of funerals may be actively used in cultural and cosmogonic processes by the descendants.

Cremation in Context: Hindu and Buddhist Examples

In Nepal, whether the deceased is buried or cremated depends upon which life-cycle rituals they are initiated into. Before boys have been initiated into manhood, which enables them to read the sacred texts and consequently to become responsible for their own ritual purity, they should be buried, but if they have gone through this ritual, they are cremated. Women, on the other hand, only achieve this socio-religious status by being married; unmarried women are buried and married women are cremated. Thus, marriage is a cultural status with cosmological implications. If the wife's husband dies before her, she leaves one social position in society and becomes a stigmatized widow, who is partly blamed for her husband's death because she has allegedly not been obedient enough. Consequently, she marks this transition by disposing of all the things she was given by her husband, symbolizing and marking the wedding. In the house she takes off her jewellery and breaks her bracelets, which she places upon her deceased husband's chest

FIG. 27.3 A widow has disposed of her jewellery on her husband's chest before he was cremated, Nire Ghat, Western Nepal

Source: Photo: Terje Oestigaard.

(Fig. 27.3), and the husband is cremated together with her former, social position. Since the life-cycle rituals in Hinduism are religious by nature, one's personal and social status is part of the cosmological order. Hence, death is as important for the living as it is for the dead because the descendants also change their social and religious status (Oestigaard 2000b, 2005).

Among Buddhists in Manang village in the High Himalayas in Nepal, air-burials were the common practice until three decades ago, and these funerals included culture and cosmos in another way. It was believed that the gods would be angry if they cremated their dead and as a penalty the gods would refuse to give humans the life-giving and precious water in the form of rain. Consequently, cremation was forbidden and air-burials were part of rain-making ceremonies. All funerals were air-burials during the spring, summer, and autumn. However, during the winter, cremation was the common practice because the funerals would withhold the precipitation, which would come as snow. Therefore, funerals were part of the process of controlling the weather; as little snow as possible during the winter was desirable because harsh winters were a threat to society and the people; and as much rain as possible was required during the rest of the year because the life-giving water was a prerequisite for health, wealth, and successful harvests (Oestigaard 2005).

Due to tourism, contamination, and globalization, the practice of air-burials has declined, and today cremation is the dominant type of funeral. Some days after the cremation the cremated bones are ground to powder together with ingredients like wheat, buckwheat, chilli, garlic, rice, and ashes (Fig. 27.4). This powder is mixed with clay and made into 108 small figures called *chatafars*, which symbolize the original *stupa* where Buddha's bodily remains were buried. The *chatafars* are placed at different natural and holy places and in family memorials (Oestigaard 2005). Thus, the deceased's bones are incorporated into statues which symbolize the origin of Buddhism and thereby the dead partake in Buddhahood.

FIG. 27.4 Bone-grinding of cremated bones before the cremated remains are mixed with clay from which figures are made, Tore cemetery, Manang, Nepal

Source: Photo: Terje Oestigaard.

Conclusion

Cremation presents complex funerary practices involving various interactions with and pro-creations on behalf of cosmology, with implications for ancestral cults in society and cultural re-constitutions. The deceased is both a means and an end, and cremation enables the body and the bones to be used in multiple ways in culture and cosmology, which is more difficult with inhumation or other burial practices. The intermediate period in time and space and the different temperatures the corpse can be exposed to render possible a huge variety of opportunities to incorporate death in spheres transcending the actual grave. Whereas an inhumation has practical limitations due to decaying flesh and the totality of the body, even if it is partly dismembered, a cremation enables the dead to be used by the descendants in numerous ways where the grave as the last resting-place is but one sphere. Thus,

cremation is not one, but many funeral practices, with different cultural and cosmological implications in various contexts. The complexity of cremation may in the future enable identification of new types of funeral practices based on actual finds in the archaeological record. In order to increase our knowledge of complex cremation contexts it is therefore important to use a wide range of sources, including osteological, experimental, and ethnographic data. With such a background one is also better equipped to understand the uniqueness of the past in general and cremation practices in particular.

Suggested Further Reading

Davies, D. J., and Mates, L. H. (eds.) 2006. *Encyclopedia of Cremation.* Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing.

This is a useful dictionary for various aspects of cremation.

Goldhahn, J., and Østigård, T. 2007. *Rituelle spesialister i bronse- og jernalderen.* Vols. 1–2. Gothenburg: Gotarc Series C, No. 65. Göteborg University.

This work gives a detailed analysis of ritual specialists in the Scandinavian Bronze and Iron Ages and explains how smiths cremated the dead in furnaces and smelted them into objects. NB—only in Swedish and Norwegian; for an English summary see Goldhahn and Oestigaard (2008).

Holck, P. 1987. *Cremated Bones: A Medical-anthropological Study of Archaeological Material on Cremated Burials*. Oslo: Antropologiske skrifter nr. 1, Anatomisk Institutt, Universitetet i Oslo.

This is a unique study of the degrees of burning, weight, and gender analysis as well as providing a full appendix of cremated material from southern and eastern parts of Norway.

Kaliff, A. 1997. *Grav och kultplats. Eskatologiska föreställningar under yngre bronsålder och äldre järnålder i Östergötland*. Uppsala: Aun 24.

This work is one of the first in-depth analyses of cremation and the archaeology of religion.

Oestigaard, T. 2005. *Death and Life-Giving Waters—Cremation, Caste, and Cosmogony in Karmic Traditions.* Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1353.

This book is a study of death rituals, mainly cremations, in Nepal, India, and Bangladesh.

Parry, J. 1994. *Death in Banaras*. The Lewis Henry Morgan Lectures 1988. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

This is a seminal work on the role of cremation in the culture and cosmology of Benares, the holiest city in Hinduism.

Additional References

Brahma-Sutra (n.d.). *According to Sri Ramanuja*. 3rd impression 1995. Calcutta: Advaita Ashrama.

Eck, D. E. 1983. *Banaras—City of Light*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Feveile, C., and Bennike, P. 2002. Lustrupholm: Et brandgravfelt fra ældre bronzealder under flad mark. *Kuml*: 103–41.

Fredriksen, P. D. 2005. *Karet/kroppen/identiteten.* Bergen: UBAS Hovedfag/Master 1. Universitetet i Bergen.

Gansum, T. 2004a. *Hauger som konstruksjoner—arkeologiske forventninger gjennom 200 år.* Gothenburg: Gotarc Series B. Gothenburg Archaeological Thesis No. 33.

—— 2004b. Role of the Bones—from Iron to Steel. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 37(1): 41–57.

Goldhahn, J., and Oestigaard, T. 2008. Smith and Death—Cremations in Furnaces in Bronze and Iron Age Scandinavia. In: K. Childis, J. Lund, and C. Prescott (eds.) *Facets of Archaeology: Essays in Honour of Lotte Hedeager on her 60th Birthday*. Oslo: OAS 10. Oslo Academic Press: 215–42.

Hertz, R. 1960. *Death and the Right Hand*. Aberdeen: Cohen & West, The University Press Aberdeen.

Humphrey, C., and Laidlaw, J. 1994. *The Archetypal Actions of Ritual.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Kaliff, A., and Oestigaard, T. 2004. Cultivating Corpses—A Comparative Approach to Disembodied Mortuary Remains. *Current Swedish Archaeology* 12: 83–104.

O'Flaherty, W. D. 1994. *Rig Veda*: *An Anthology. One Hundred and Eight Hymns, Selected, Translated and Annotated by Wendy Doninger O'Flaherty*. New Delhi: Penguin Books.

Oestigaard, T. 1999. Cremations as Transformations: When the Dual Cultural Hypothesis was Cremated and Carried away in Urns. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2(3): 345–64.

—— 2000a. Sacrifices of Raw, Cooked and Burnt Humans. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 33(1): 41–58.

—— 2000b. *The Deceased's Life Cycle Rituals in Nepal: Present Cremation Burials for the Interpretations of the Past*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, International Series 853.

—— and Goldhahn, J. 2006. From the Dead to the Living: Death as Transactions and Re-negotiations. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 39(1): 27–48.

Olausson, D. 1987. Piledal and Svarte: A Comparison between Two Late Bronze Age Cemeteries in Scania. *Acta Archaeologica* 57: 121–52.

Sørensen, M. L. S., and Rebay-Salisbury, K. 2008. Landscapes of the Body: Burials of Middle Bronze Age in Hungary. *European Journal of Archaeology* 11(1): 49–74.

Stjernquist, B. 1961. Simris II. *Bronze Age Problems in the Light of the Simris Excavation*. Lund: Acta Archaeologica Lundensia No. 5.

Williams, H. 2004. Death Warmed Up: The Agency of Bodies and Bones in Early Anglo-Saxon Cremation Rites. *Journal of Material Culture* 9(3): 263–91.

—— 2008. Towards an Archaeology of Cremation. In: C. W. Schmidt and S. Symes. (eds.) *The Analysis of Burned Human Remains*. London: Academic Press: 239–69.