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Sabine Fourier, Anna Georgiadou, Bérénice Chamel, Nathalia Denninger, Armelle Gardeisen, Katerina Papayanni, Tatiana Theodoropoulou

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# The death of infants in Early Iron Age Cyprus

## A jar burial from Kition-*Bamboula*

### Abstract

During recent excavations of the French Archaeological Mission at Kition-*Bamboula*, in modern day Larnaka, Cyprus, an infant jar burial was discovered. It was found under a floor layer in a domestic context, and is dated to the beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIB period (end of the 12th–early 11th century BC). This jar burial is part of a series which seems to be attested, at least in the present state of documentation, only in eastern Cyprus (Enkomi, Salamis and, on a lesser scale, Kition) during a period that spans the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age. The Kition-*Bamboula* jar burial is notable for its wealth (jewellery, vase offerings, and food deposit). This article proposes a detailed and multidisciplinary study of the burial, as well as a comprehensive consideration of the treatment of infants' dead bodies in Early Iron Age Cyprus.\*

*Keywords:* burial, Cyprus, infant, Iron Age, Phoenician, Kition, Salamis

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### Introduction

Recent excavations by the French Archaeological Mission at Kition (Mission archéologique de Kition) focused on the northern part of the *Bamboula* site, to the north of the Larnaka District Museum (*Figs. 1, 2*). The aim of the excavation was to enlarge a trench, opened in 1976–1977 (during the mission's first campaigns on the site), in order to check the recorded stratigraphy and its interpretation.<sup>1</sup> The results largely confirm the published observations, while specifying certain points. The excavated area, which is located at the northern end of the plot that constitutes the archaeological site of *Bamboula*, marks a steep slope from west to east where it abuts on the harbour basin: at that point the bedrock, which has been exposed over a small surface, ends in a cliff. This area is roughly in line with the western limits of the shipshed building (*neos-oikos*) of the Cypro-Classical period: this line thus defines the western border of the harbour basin. Excavation brought to light a series of five circular wells (one of which remained unfinished) and floors on the bedrock, not associated with any building (*Fig. 3a*). This first phase of the settlement is dated to the end of the Late Cypriot IIC period (13th century BC), which roughly corresponds to the foundation horizon of the ancient city of Kition. The following phases are documented by a continuous stratigraphy made of successive floor layers, up to the 11th century BC (Late Cypriot IIIB, which marks the beginning of the Iron Age).<sup>2</sup> The remains of the subsequent phases were destroyed during modern terracing works:<sup>3</sup> only pits and trenches survive from later occupations, up to the Hellenistic period.

At the end of the 12th–beginning of the 11th century BC (a period which corresponds to a transitional phase between the Late Bronze Age and the Iron Age), the area was occupied by a

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<sup>1</sup> Yon & Caubet 1985.

<sup>2</sup> Iacovou 1999; Georgiadou 2017, 99.

<sup>3</sup> Presumably the 1879 British demolition of the hill: Kiely & Fourrier 2012.



Fig. 1. Aerial view of the Kition-Bamboula site and of the main areas excavated by the French Mission. The settlement is located to the north of the site. Illustration: Alexandre Rabot.

settlement that is now poorly preserved. It consisted of a series of rooms that were delimited by walls of large pebbles and irregular limestone rubble supporting an elevation of mudbricks (Fig. 3b). One of the rooms was excavated in 1976 but its western wall was only exposed in 2016 (Wall 862); it had retained

some of its contents *in situ* (Fig. 4).<sup>4</sup> The thick Wall 305 was

<sup>4</sup> Yon & Caubet 1985, 28–29. The artefacts found *in situ* are: two Cypriot jars, which were placed upright, wedged with pebbles, three



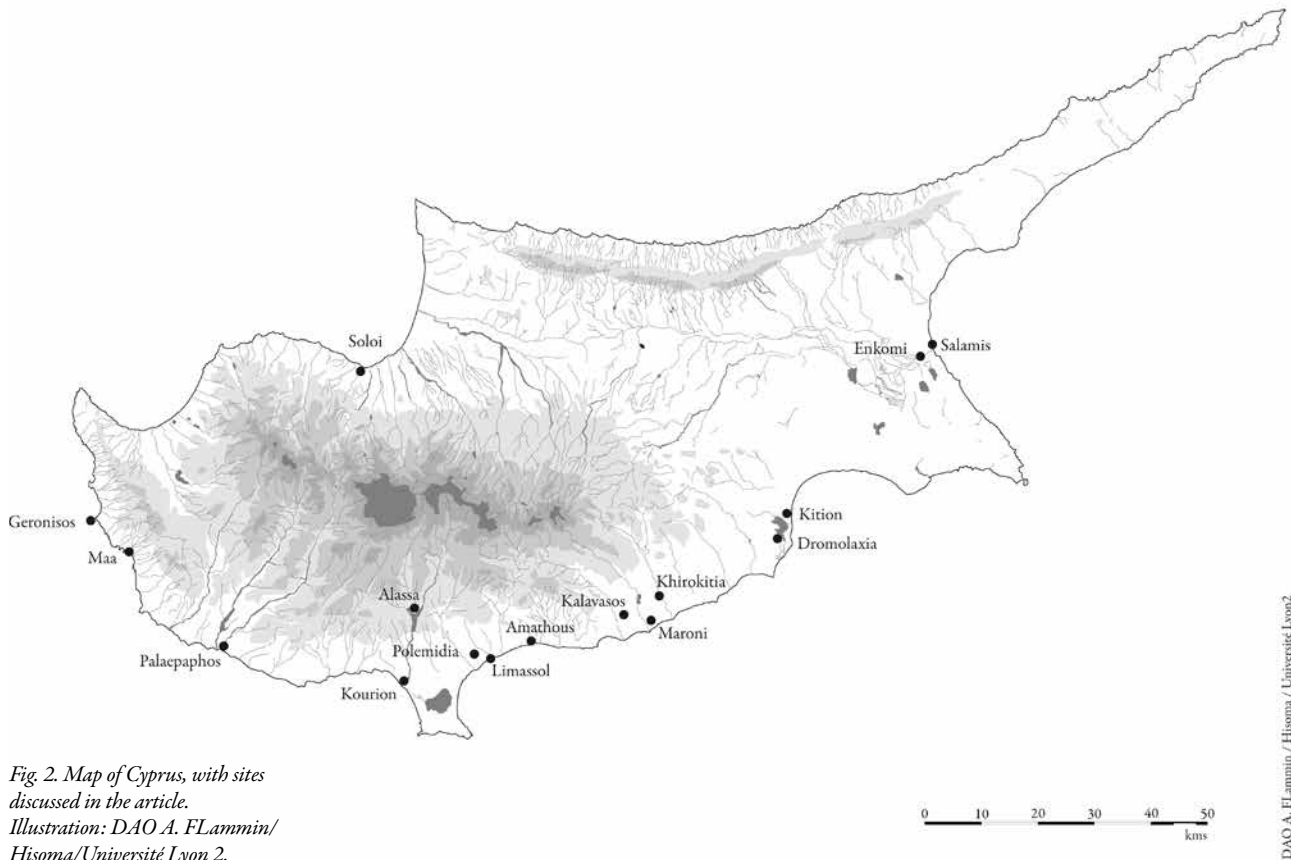


Fig. 2. Map of Cyprus, with sites discussed in the article.  
Illustration: DAO A. FLammin/  
Hisoma/Université Lyon 2.

DAO A. FLammin / Hisoma / Université Lyon2

interpreted as the southern limit of this house.<sup>5</sup> However, remains of a long western wall (Loci 917 and 916) suggest that the building continued towards the south. Moreover, the indentation of Wall 305 in the alignment of Wall 306 implies that the latter continued further south. Only remains of walls, punctured by pits and looters' trenches, indicate the extension of the settlement towards the north, where the well-dressed corner of a building (Loci 907 + 905, and 903), of the same orientation, is preserved. The latter is probably the exterior wall of another house, separated from the first by an open space (perhaps a street). The excavation was not pursued further north. Towards the east, the coeval levels were destroyed: what still remains, discovered just below topsoil, is a pit containing a jar burial (Jar 115, Fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> Its orientation, supposedly in line with

the orientation of a now-destroyed wall, helps to reconstruct a closing wall to the north.

This jar burial was unearthed in 1977, when excavation was extended to encompass the sections.<sup>7</sup> Discovered just below topsoil, the jar was poorly preserved.<sup>8</sup> It is a Phoenician jar, which was found crushed *in situ*, base pointing to the north, mouth to the south. It contained the remains of a foetus. This Early Iron Age jar burial, hitherto considered an isolated example (at Kition-Bamboula, and more broadly in Cyprus, with the notable exception of Salamis, to which we shall return below), belongs in fact to a series of such burials, as revealed by the renewed excavations of 2017 when another similar jar burial was unearthed further north. The latter (Lo-

cooking vessels (two amphorae and a pot), at least three Proto-White Painted bowls, and a ceramic ladle.

<sup>5</sup> Yon & Caubet 1985, 27.

<sup>6</sup> On the use of the word "jar" rather than "amphora", see Marangou 2014, 26–28. The author suggests the use of "jar" for designating the Levantine wine container, and "amphora" for the Greek wine container. Functionally, however, there is no difference between them: they were commercial containers for storage and transport. The Levantine form is attested as of the Early Bronze Age in domestic contexts and evolved into a maritime transport container in the course of the 2nd millennium BC (Grace 1956, 82–83); the Greek form is attested as of the 8th century BC only.

<sup>7</sup> The aim was to expose the whole extension of a pebble floor. Following the published interpretation, this floor was a deposit, which was dumped in the 11th century against the rampart (on its internal face), and which contained material from Late Bronze Age looted tombs (Yon & Caubet 1985, 41–45). Our excavations, in 2016–2018, led us to revise this conclusion: the layer, which extends towards the west, is a floor, which was purposely laid to cover the floors of the Late Bronze Age. It corresponds to a "closing rite" for which parallels can be found in other Cypriot sites, during the Late Bronze Age as well as the Iron Age, for example at Enkomi, Salamis, and Amathous (Fourrier 2019, 400–406 with references). The archaeological remains (wells and floors) demonstrate that there was no rampart there.

<sup>8</sup> Yon & Caubet 1985, 29.



Fig. 3a. The excavation of the settlement at the end of the 2018 campaign. Illustration: Alexandre Rabot.

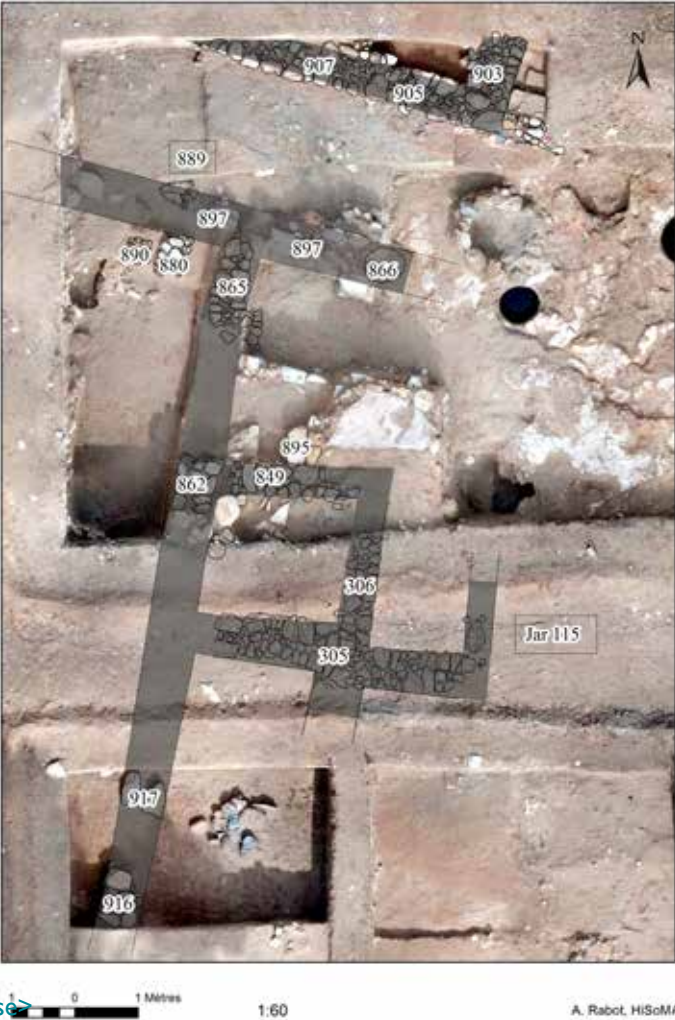


Fig. 3b. The remains belonging to the late 12th–early 11th century BC phase. Illustration: Alexandre Rabot.



Fig. 4. Room with material in situ, during the 1976 excavation. In the foreground, Wall 306. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.



Fig. 5. Jar 115 during the 1977 excavation. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.

cus 889), much better preserved, confirms the dating of the first burial (Jar 115) to the early 11th century BC. This latter jar burial is the subject of this article, and gives us the opportunity to study anew how Ancient Cypriots dealt with the death of newborn children and infants<sup>9</sup> in the Early Iron Age.

## The burial pit

The jar burial (*enchytrism*, Locus 889) was found to the north-west of the trench, in a space of undetermined nature (probably a street), between a house (partially excavated in 1976) and another house, the southern wall of which was designated Locus 907 + 905 (Figs. 3b, 6). Its north-west/south-east direction probably followed the orientation of a wall perpendicular to Wall 862 + 865. This wall is partially preserved to the east (Wall 897), where it is associated with levels dated to the previous phase (12th century BC). It is doubtful whether the latter survived in its eastern section in the following phase: at that time, a pit containing a pithos was dug through its length (Locus 866). The jar was probably in line with the remaining western portion of this wall (now destroyed). It was thus placed outside the house, under the street, and not under the floor inside a room. To the south, inside the house, a coeval

floor is preserved (Fig. 7). It is made of large fragments of amphorae (Locus 890) and a paving of irregular limestone blocks (Locus 880). Still further south, a large pit dug in the 9th century BC destroyed all former levels. The floor of stones and sherds delineates a work surface inside the room: parallels indicate that this type of floor was most often built near the walls, but such “hearths”, as they are often described in the archaeological publications, are sometimes located in the centre of the room.<sup>10</sup> Resting on the north face of Wall 849, two limestone slabs (Locus 895) correspond to a coeval floor level, which was destroyed further east by the construction of a Hellenistic basin.

The jar was buried in a shallow pit, just below the floor level, which follows a slight upward slope towards the north in this area: the floor is located at the average height of 3.62 m, while the floors uncovered immediately to the south (Loci 880 and 890) are at approximately 3.85 m.<sup>11</sup> The jar was

<sup>9</sup> Newborn and perinatal children are children that died around the full term of pregnancy; foetus designates a death before full term of pregnancy; infants are children under 1 year; immatures are children under 18 years. Jar burials studied in this article concern foetus and newborns/perinatal children.

<sup>10</sup> See, among others, similar floors discovered at Hala Sultan Tekke, Dromolaxia-Vizatzia (Late Bronze Age): Fischer & Bürge 2018, 61, fig. 2.39, 104, fig. 2.60, 113, fig. 2.69. At Alassa-Pano Mantilari and Alassa-Palio-taverna, sherd floors have been interpreted as press surfaces (for wine production): Hadjisavvas 2017, 18–19, 260–264. In the latter example, the presence of a channel and a basin gives weight to the hypothesis. Comparable paved sherd floors were also found at Maa-Palaeokastro (Karageorghis & Demas 1988, pl. XI:3–4, pl. XIII:5, pl. XXIII:6, pl. XXXIII:3, 5), where they are interpreted as hearths (when discovered with ashes), or as evidence of water-related activities.

<sup>11</sup> Jar 115, discovered in 1977, was also found in a shallow pit: its base is indicated at 3.95 m (Yon & Caubet 1985, 29); the coeval floor level to the west (Sol 302) is at an average height of 3.99 m.





Fig. 6. The jar burial (Locus 889, at centre top of photograph) during the 2017 excavation. Illustration: Alexandre Rabot.

put in a shallow pit, about 30 cm deep, which was backfilled with compact soil, containing some inclusions of stones and fragments of mudbricks. It yielded very limited material: 28 Plain White fragments, 13 fragments of cooking wares (some remarkably handmade and not wheel-made), 20 fragments of imported Phoenician jars, and three fragments of pithoi. In addition, there were seven fragments of decorated wares, among which only one was from a closed vessel. The shape of the bowls indicates a transitional phase between the Late Cypriot IIIA and the Late Cypriot IIIB, that is the very beginning of the latter period. We illustrate here the rim of a Proto-White Painted cup or footed bowl with a double horizontal wavy line (K17-91, *Fig. 8*).<sup>12</sup> Non-ceramic finds are a bronze fragment (of unidentifiable original form, K17-74 = KEF-1450) and a carnelian bead (K17-75 = KEF-1451).

K17-74 = KEF-1450 (*Fig. 9*). Fragment of bronze. D. 0.6; th. 0.3 cm.

K17-75 = KEF-1451 (*Fig. 10*). Bottle-shaped carnelian bead (poppy head type),<sup>13</sup> broken at the top, at the level of the suspension hole. Preserved L. 1.5; d. 0.65 cm. The shape is similar to that of another bead discovered in the same area (KEF-1448). Unlike the latter though, the material of KEF-1451 is more opaque, orange at its ends but almost yellow in the centre of the object. The surface has small chips.

<sup>12</sup> For the shape, see for example, Karageorghis 1985a, pl. LIX, no. 263 (Kition-*Chrysopolitissa*, Well I); pl. LII, nos. 178/1, 661/1.

<sup>13</sup> Merrillees 1962, 291–292.



Fig. 7. The floor level (Loci 890 and 880). On the left, the imprint of the jar (after removal); in the background, Wall 897. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.

This type of bead, in carnelian<sup>14</sup> but also in faience,<sup>15</sup> is common in Cyprus, in contexts dating to the Late Bronze Age. The type is probably of Egyptian origin, but the material itself comes from India.<sup>16</sup> These two artefacts were not associated with the jar burial: found in the backfill of the burial pit they were not part of the funerary assemblage.

Though limited, the pottery assemblage is homogeneous. The stratigraphy thus suggests a dating of the jar burial to the very beginning of the Late Cypriot IIIB (end of the 12th–early 11th century BC). This dating is further strengthened by the typology of the material associated with the burial (see below). No 14C dating was performed.

Animal bones were found near the jar (*Fig. 11*). This deposit was mixed with charcoal (stratigraphic unit S10-115). The faunal remains include the lower part of the right hind limb of a goat, comprising the still-articulated talus, calcaneus, and distal articular end of the tibia. This leg portion belongs to an (incomplete) ankle joint; it was associated with a number of splints, which, as shown by their geochemical alterations (indicating long stay in water) and marked fragmentation, were introduced with the pit backfill. The cranial fragment of a goat (right lateral portion of the jawbone with attached molars) was excavated

<sup>14</sup> Karageorghis 1985a, 153 and pl. CXXXV (bead from Kition-*Kathari* no. 2395, Floor III) and 153, n. 9 (parallels from Kition and Enkomi). For the finds coming from stratified context of the French excavations at Enkomi: Courtois 1984, 147–148, fig. 45, 21–22 and pl. XVI, 18 (the beads were found in contexts dated to the Late Cypriot IIC and Late Cypriot III). For finds from the Cypriot excavations at Enkomi: Dikaios 1969, pl. 167, 46 and 48A (Level IIIB), pl. 176, 11a (Level IIIC).

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, a bead from Maroni-*Tsaroukkas* Tomb 22 now in the British Museum, no. 1898,1201.68.

<sup>16</sup> Caubet & Yon 2006. For the provenance and circulation of carnelian, especially in the Bronze Age, see also Caubet & Yon 2019, 191–193.



Fig. 8. Fragmentary cup or bowl K17-91. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.

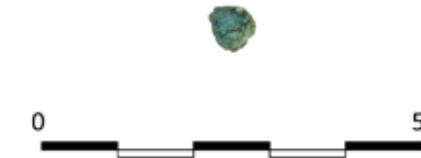


Fig. 9. Bronze fragment K17-74 = KEF-1450. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.



Fig. 10. Carmelian bead K17-75 = KEF-1451. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition. Drawing Jean Humbert.

together with the lower limb bones: it probably belongs to the same skull, attributed to a young adult aged between 18 and 24 months, that was uncovered near the two small vases in front of the jar (see below). In addition, a group of worn shells was recovered in the pit backfill, and their condition may be also attributed to a long period in water.

No burial marker on the surface indicated the presence of the jar.

## The burial deposit

### OUTSIDE THE JAR

In the pit, the jar was lying on its side, the upper part oriented towards the south-east (Figs. 6, 12). The top of the vase had been cut at shoulder height (the upper part, detached, covered the body of the newborn inside the jar). The container, complete but crushed by the weight of the soil, was broken into several pieces, especially in the upper part. An irregularly shaped stone was placed in front of it.<sup>17</sup> It covered two small vases, which were deposited upright: a bowl and a juglet (Fig. 13).

K17-110 = KEF-1458 (Fig. 14a, b). Proto-White Painted footed bowl. H. 9; d. 10.5 cm. Beige fabric with some small white and black inclusions; smooth beige surface; orange-brown paint. Deep bell-shaped body, flaring rim, thinning lip; low conical foot. Two wide horizontal bands on the rim and below the handles, painted handles, reserved foot; inner surface fully painted with the exception of a reserved line below the lip and a reserved disc on the bottom.

<sup>17</sup> In the necropolis of Astypalaia in the Dodecanese where similar burials have been excavated, the mouth of the vessels was systematically sealed with a stone placed on the mouth, often even in the neck: Michalaki-Kollia 2010, 167. At Kition-Bamboula, the stone, laid flat, covered the pottery offerings rather than it closed the neck of the amphora. The presence of stones is not recorded for the jar burials of Salamis (see below).



Fig. 11. Animal bones near the jar. © Mission archéologique de Kition.

K17-111 = KEF-1459 (Fig. 15a, b). Proto-White Painted juglet with pinched mouth. Joined fragments, small pieces of the body are missing. H. 11.8 cm. Greenish, fine and porous fabric with some small white inclusions; surface of greenish-beige colour, slightly smoothed; black paint turning brown. Globular body, flattened shoulder, concave neck, trefoil mouth, vertical handle from rim to shoulder, low conical foot. Two horizontal wavy lines on the neck; a horizontal wavy line on the upper part of the body flanked by two horizontal bands, above and below; painted lip; wavy line on the handle between two lateral vertical lines; painted foot.

These vessels illustrate two pottery shapes commonly found in tombs during the Cypro-Geometric period. They belong to a drinking service: the jug with pinched mouth is the most common shape among serving vessels, and the footed bowl or skyphos<sup>18</sup> is the best represented among drinking

<sup>18</sup> For a typological and contextual analysis of footed bowls and jugs with pinched mouth from Kition during the Cypro-Geometric I period, see Georgiadou 2012, 328, 333.



Fig. 12. The jar with the stone in situ. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.



Fig. 13. The two vases in front of the jar, juglet KEF-1459 at top of photograph and bowl KEF-1458 at the bottom, with the deposit of animal bones near the bowl. Part of the body of the jar has been dismantled, revealing the upper part, placed inside. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.

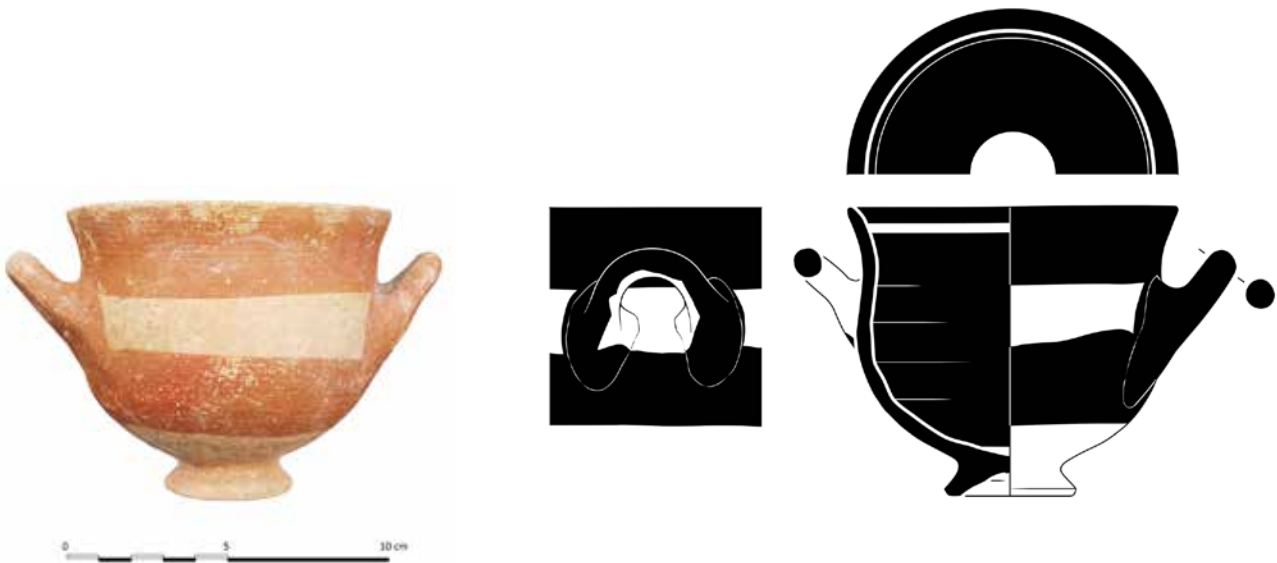


Fig. 14a, b. Bowl K17-110 = KEF-1458. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition, drawing Jean Humbert.

vessels. Their small dimensions can be related to the age of the deceased.

The deep bowl (KEF-1458) with a bell-shaped body, a low conical foot, and a decoration made of broad horizontal bands on the outside (the inner surface being almost entirely painted) is paradigmatic of bowls attested in Late Cypriot IIIB contexts throughout the island; bowls of the same type were found in the associated settlement.<sup>19</sup> The same goes for the jug

with pinched mouth (KEF-1459), which is, however, usually attested in larger dimensions: the biconical shape of the body, the low conical foot, and the painted decoration (based on the repetitive use of the wavy line) are characteristic features of Late Cypriot IIIB pottery.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Notably in the room with *in situ* material: Yon & Caubet 1985, 36, no. 103. For other examples of Late Cypriot IIIB footed bowls, see Kara-

georghis & Raptou 2018, 521 and pl. VII, nos. 19, 22 (from Palaepaphos).  
<sup>20</sup> For a series of jugs with trefoil mouth dating to the Late Cypriot IIIB, see Karageorghis & Raptou 2018, 519 and pl. V, nos. 25–27, 30.



Fig. 15a, b. Juglet K17-111 = KEF-1459. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition, drawing Jean Humbert.

A small assemblage of animal bones was placed near the bowl, while other faunal remains were recovered after sieving the soil that had infiltrated into the jar (stratigraphic unit S10-129): they comprise two cranial fragments of a caprine (left lateral portion of the occipital bone and a petrous bone), two fragmentary long bones of *Mustela* sp., as well as around a hundred fish remains. Although there is no proven anatomical connection between the cranial fragments and the jawbone of a goat found in stratigraphic unit S10-115 (backfilling deposit), it is tempting to suggest that they belonged to the same skull.

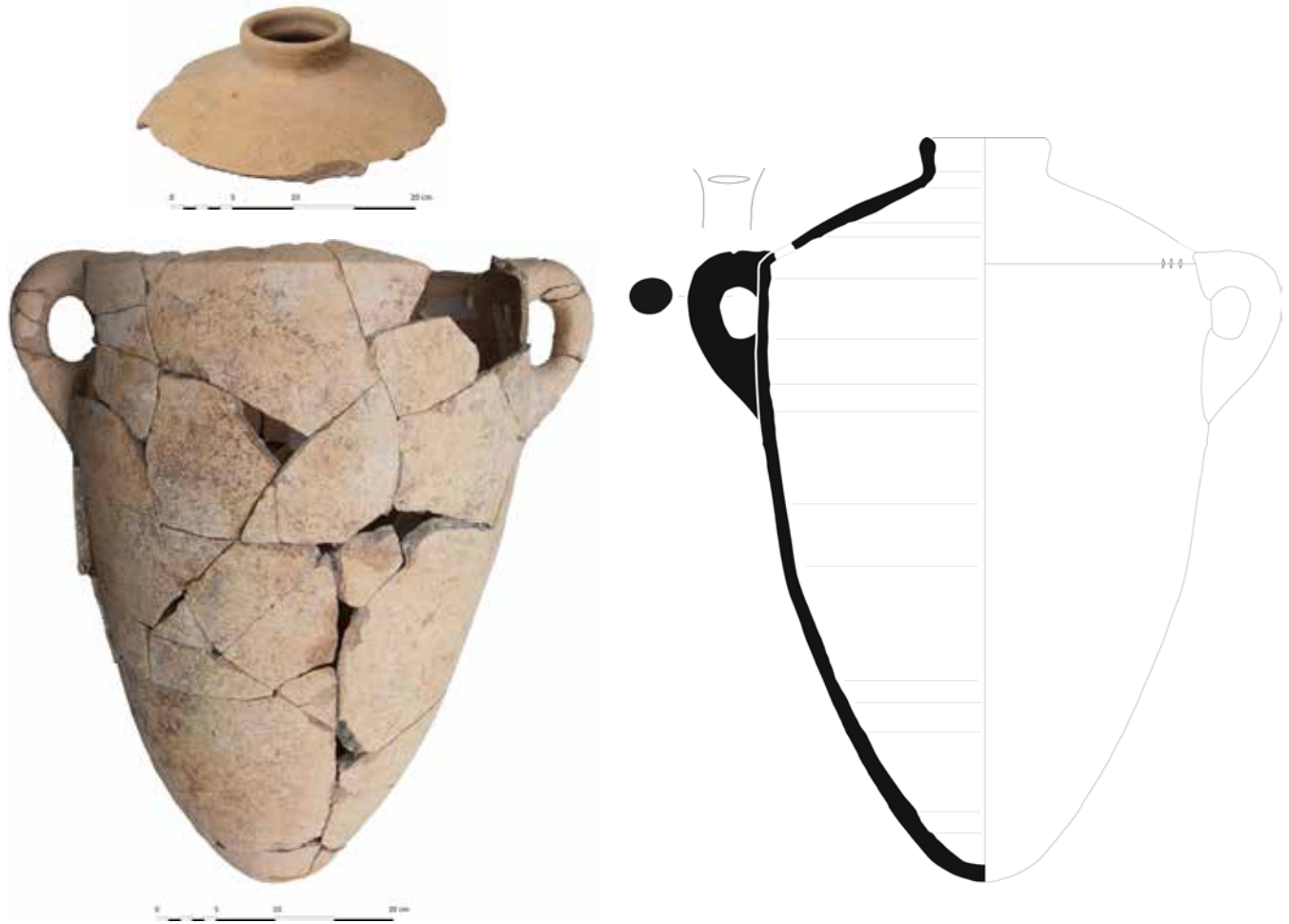
113 fish bones were also found in association with the jar. They represent all fish body parts, including seven cranial bones (suspensorium), 18 thoracic and caudal vertebrae (one chewed), and other post-cranial elements (various fin spines and rays of which one fragment is burnt, and two fragments of fish scales). The assemblage is characterized by the variety of species, mainly various Sparids (common dentex, common two-banded seabream, bogue, saupe, striped seabream, common pandora, blue-spotted seabream, and black seabream) and other coastal fish (striped red mullet, ballan wrasse, painted comber, flathead grey mullet, and boxlip mullet). They are represented by small to medium-sized individuals (commonly between 12–19 cm in length), although smaller (a common

seabream of 5 cm) and larger fish (a common dentex of 34 cm, a flathead mullet of *c.* 23 cm) are also present. All taxa are demersal, typically found in shallow rocky waters, often in Posidonia seagrass meadows, less commonly in soft sediments. They feature among common catches of small-scale fisheries around the Mediterranean. Most of them are traditionally used in the fish stew cooked by fishermen in several regions of the Mediterranean using the rockfish that they are unable to sell. The taxonomic variety and anatomic composition of the assemblage from stratigraphic unit S10-129, associated with the two vases (bowl, juglet) found near the jar burial, suggests that a selection of small coastal fish were deposited whole, either uncooked or in a liquid “fish soup” preparation. This is an unusual assemblage for the Eastern Mediterranean.<sup>21</sup>

The container (KEF-1480, Fig. 16a–c) is a Levantine commercial amphora, of a type characteristic of southern Phoenicia during Iron Age I (*c.* 1200–1000 BC). It is attested in

<sup>21</sup> Fish remains associated with burial contexts are known from the late 8th-century Archaic burials at Salamis (Greenwood 1970; Greenwood & Howes 1973) and from a Middle Bronze Age II burial at Sasa in Israel (Horwitz 1987).





Figs. 16a–c. Jar KEF-1480. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition, drawing Anna Georgiadou.

Cyprus from at least the Late Cypriot IIIB period.<sup>22</sup> This type of Canaanite jar is also represented by one of the jars found *in situ* in one of the rooms of the settlement;<sup>23</sup> outside Kition-*Bamboula*, the same type was used as a container for infant burials at Salamis (see below).<sup>24</sup> The upper part, cut out and placed inside the jar to protect the infant's body, has a better-preserved surface, with a more intense orange tint. There is a horizontal incision on the top of one of the handles, made after firing (Fig. 17a). This type of mark, consisting of one or more horizontal incisions on the handle (top or bottom) is commonly attested on Late Bronze Age jars discovered at

Kition-*Bamboula* and Enkomi, in the eastern part of the island, as well as at Maa-*Palaekastro* in the western part.<sup>25</sup> In addition to this mark, the jar bears a series of three short vertical and parallel notches on the shoulder, just next to the other handle. They were also made after firing (Fig. 17b). This kind of mark is extremely rare compared to incisions on the handles. Parallels can be found on pithoi-type storage vessels (on the handles and on the rims as well).<sup>26</sup>

KEF-1480 (Figs. 16a–c). Levantine commercial amphora, joined fragments. H. 60; d. 10.6 cm. Orange-brown fabric,

<sup>22</sup> Type 5.5 of Pedrazzi's typology (Pedrazzi 2007, 309–311 and 312, fig. 6.7); see also Pedrazzi 2016, 64–65, fig. 4. Our example fits in Type 5.5.2 (Pedrazzi 2007, 79, fig. 3.28).

<sup>23</sup> Yon & Caubet 1985, 37, fig. 114.

<sup>24</sup> Kition-*Bamboula*: Yon & Caubet 1985, 37, fig. 24, nos. 114–115. Salamis: Calvet 1980, 117, fig. 1; 118, fig. 4a.

<sup>25</sup> Kition: Yon & Caubet 1985, 175–187. Other examples have been brought to light during our recent excavations. Enkomi: Hirschfeld 2002, 69 (one to seven horizontal lines). Maa-*Palaekastro*: Masson 1988, 400, pl. C, 5–14 (1–4 horizontal lines); see also Hadjicosti 1988, pl. B, 22; pl. C, 13.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, from Alassa: Hirschfeld 2017, 491, fig. III.1 (PM 68 and PT-RS1); from Kalavassos-*Agios Dimitrios*: South *et al.* 1989, 134, no. K-AD 721, fig. 29 and pl. XIII.



Figs. 17a, b. Detail of incised marks on jar KEF-1480. Photographs: © Mission archéologique de Kition.

grainy texture, small black, brown, white, and reddish inclusions; beige-orange surface. Elongated cylindrical body; angular and slightly convex shoulder; very short neck with vertical rim and rounded lip; two vertical loop handles on shoulder zone; round base. Incised marks on one handle and on the shoulder next to the other handle (Figs. 17a–b).

In the Early Iron Age, during the Late Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric periods (*c.* 11th–8th century BC), most parallels for this type come from burial grounds (which are the most commonly excavated contexts of the period). Amphorae are part of the funerary offerings (perhaps with their content: wine), and they are found in the wealthiest tombs.<sup>27</sup> To use just one example, the vast burial grounds of Palaepaphos yielded a considerable body of jars of this type.<sup>28</sup>

### IN THE JAR

The jar burial was excavated on the site. The infant's body rested under the upper part of the amphora, which served as a cover inside the container (Figs. 18, 19). The infant was lying on its back, head towards the opening of the jar, limbs slightly bent, legs turned to the left (Figs. 20, 21).

<sup>27</sup> Contextual analysis of Levantine imported pottery (including commercial amphorae) during the Cypro-Geometric period in Georgiadou 2018.

<sup>28</sup> From the cemetery of Palaepaphos-*Skales*: Bikai 1987, pl. XXII, nos. 591, 596, 597, 594, 595, 600 (“Kouklia Horizon”). A jar morphologically similar to the Kition-*Bamboula* jar in question has been recently published from the same cemetery: Karageorghis & Raptou 2016, pl. LXXVI, 15: tomb 187.

### The human remains

The infant placed in the jar was a perinatal individual. Bone indicators suggest an age at death between 37 and 40 weeks of amenorrhea (between three weeks before birth up until birth), and dental indicators suggest an age between 0 and 6 months. The term “perinatal” is thus appropriate, since it is used for a human being who died in the time span between one month before and one month after birth.

The individual was laid on its back, slightly turned to the left, its upper and lower limbs slightly bent. Some of the bones, especially those that lay near the bottom of the jar, are poorly preserved or missing (Fig. 22). The skull, crushed, appeared in right lateral view, the face turned towards the south, the head slightly inclined towards the thorax. The spine appeared in an anterior view. An amber bead was found with the vertebrae: it probably belonged to a necklace. Volume was not retained for the right ribs, but a left constraint kept the sternal ends of the left ribs elevated. A bronze fibula was found in the right hemi-thorax, on the right forearm. It could have been used to hold a cloth in which the individual was wrapped, as the disconnection between the scapula and the right clavicle can indicate a constraint on the shoulder.

The upper limbs were flexed about 45°, and they were moved away from the median plane of the body. The right humerus appeared in posterior view, due to the individual's position, slightly on the left side. The carpals and metacarpals rested on the abdomen. The lower limbs are incompletely represented, only a few fragments of the tibiae and fibulae remain. The left femur was slightly elevated, the right tibia and fibula were flexed when discovered.

This jar deposit is therefore a primary, individual burial. The incomplete state of the bone assemblage is due solely to taphonomic factors, and not to a secondary funerary act.



Fig. 18. The upper part in situ inside jar KEF-1480. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.



Fig. 19. Human remains in jar KEF-1480, before excavation. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.



Fig. 20. Human remains in jar KEF-1480, after excavation. a. Drawing (Bérénice Chamel, after Pauline Maillard's sketch and photographs of the excavation). b. Illustration: © Mission archéologique de Kition.



## Jewellery

K17-126 = KEF-1462 (*Fig. 23*). Bronze fibula, fairly well preserved, complete (with detached pin holder). L. 5.8; h. 5; th. 0.7 (at the loop); d. of the pin 0.4 cm. It is an arched fibula (Giesen's type II),<sup>29</sup> with a semi-circular bow, simple, of circular section, slightly flattened towards the pin holder.

The fibula, of Aegean origin, appeared in Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age (Late Cypriot IIIA).<sup>30</sup> The simple symmetrical semi-circular arched type, without button, is mostly attested in the late 12th and 11th centuries BC.<sup>31</sup> It is, along with the violin fibula (which is, however, more ancient), one of the oldest types attested in the Eastern Mediterranean and the first to be widely spread in the Near East.<sup>32</sup> Several fibulae of this type have been discovered at Enkomi, including a close example, of smaller dimensions.<sup>33</sup>

K17-127 = KEF-1463 (*Fig. 24*). Circular amber bead with a large perforation. The bead is dark orange, translucent, the surface is slightly rough. D. 1.35; th. 0.35 cm.

Yellow amber is an organic material, a fossilized resin obtained from a pine, easy to work with (its hardness is 2 to 2.5 on the Mohs scale of mineral hardness). Due to the material, the shape of the beads is often irregular, and they are fragile. Most beads come from funerary contexts, but amber could also be worn during life. Coming from the Baltic, it appeared in the Mediterranean at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (16th–15th centuries BC).<sup>34</sup> Amber beads were found in the cargo of the ship that sank off Uluburun, south-west Turkey, at the end of the 14th century BC.<sup>35</sup> The most numerous series come from Mainland Greece, from contexts dating to Late Helladic I up to Late Helladic III (*c.* 1550–1050 BC),<sup>36</sup> but amber beads are also found as far as the western Mediterranean.<sup>37</sup>

As pinpointed by Jean Des Gagniers in his analysis of an amber and amethyst necklace discovered in a tomb at Soloi,

<sup>29</sup> Giesen 2001, 56–64 and pls. 5–7 = Catling's type B (Catling 1964, 242–243: "semi-circular bows").

<sup>30</sup> Catling 1964, 246–247.

<sup>31</sup> Birmingham 1963, 93–94 and 109. The type is typical of Submycenaean contexts in Greece, for example in the Kerameikos cemetery, Athens: Ruppenstein 2007, 217–221.

<sup>32</sup> Cook 1982, vol. 1, 105–108; vol. 2, 197–212.

<sup>33</sup> Similar fibulae from the French excavations at Enkomi: Courtois 1984, 32–34, nos. 278, 280, 281, 289–291, 293. A single example comes from the Cypriot excavations on the site (Dikaios 1969, pl. 147, 23 [no. 41]); it was found in Level IIIC (11th century BC). Close parallel: Giesen 2001, 57, no. 10 and pl. 5 (Enkomi Inv. I, 1959); Courtois *et al.* 1986, pl. XVII, no. 16.

<sup>34</sup> We cannot exclude that it is amber from another provenance: Sicily or the Levant (Lebanon, Israel, Jordan). However, Mediterranean amber had a much more restricted circulation than Baltic amber: Gaslain & Casanova 2009, 91.

<sup>35</sup> Gaslain & Casanova 2009, 94–95.

<sup>36</sup> 1,572 pieces discovered in Mycenae (including 1,290 in Grave Circle A): Gaslain & Casanova 2009, 92–94; Maran 2013.

<sup>37</sup> See, for example, a necklace found in Corsica in a probably funerary context of the 13th century BC. The necklace was made of amber beads



*Fig. 21. Detail of human remains: amber bead in situ on the infant's thorax. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kiton.*

amber is scarcely attested in Cyprus.<sup>38</sup> However, some examples are known, notably from Late Bronze Age contexts.<sup>39</sup> At Maroni-*Tsaroukkas*, tomb 22 contained an amber pendant, now in the British Museum. Other finds come from Enkomi.<sup>40</sup> Of particular interest is tomb 11 of Kalavassos-*Agios Dimitrios*: amber jewellery was found in this wealthy burial containing the remains of three young women, a child of about three years old, and three newborns.<sup>41</sup> As it is a collective tomb, it is difficult to say to which individual the amber jewellery was associated.

Amber is also found in later contexts: a bead, discovered in an Archaic tomb in the region of Pano Polemidia, is quite

(from the Baltic) of Mycenaean style and of vitreous beads of Mesopotamian style: Peche-Quilichini *et al.* 2016.

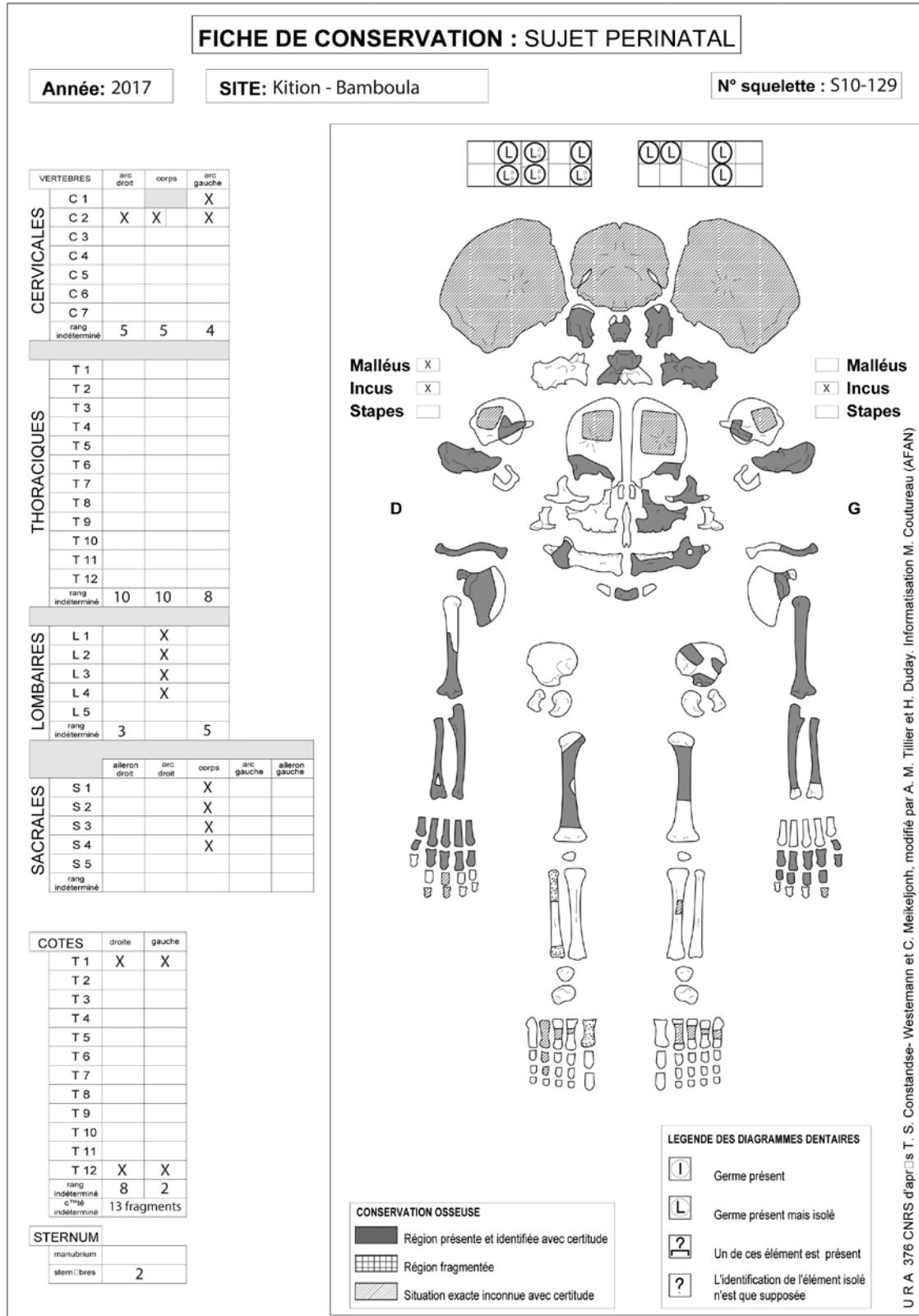
<sup>38</sup> In Karageorghis 1970a, 274.

<sup>39</sup> Harding *et al.* 1974, with a short catalogue of the findings from Cyprus (*passim*, 169).

<sup>40</sup> Five beads in tomb 66, one in tomb 67, and some fragments of amber in tomb 93: see also Tatton-Brown 2003, 36, 38, 53.

<sup>41</sup> Karageorghis 1985b, 929. For the human remains: Moyer 1989, 65.





U.R.A. 376 CNRS d'après T. S. Constandse-Westermann et C. Meiklejohn, modifié par A. M. Tillier et H. Duday. Informatisation M. Coutureau (AFAN)

Fig. 22. Conservation form of human remains, by Bérénice Chamel.



Fig. 23. Fibula KEF-1462. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.



Fig. 24. Bead KEF-1463. Photograph: © Mission archéologique de Kition.

similar to our example;<sup>42</sup> another one, very worn, was found in a tomb dating to the 6th–5th century BC at Limassol-*Agios Spyridon* (T. 196).<sup>43</sup> At Kourion, five amber beads, 63 beads of coral, and one of jet were found in a basin, in a house that was destroyed in 365 AD by an earthquake.<sup>44</sup> It is also worth mentioning that a small amber frog, with a suspension hole, was found in deposits dating to the 6th century AD in a building on the island of Geronisos off the west coast of Cyprus.<sup>45</sup>

In Etruria, amber was often associated with fibulae, in the form of beads or rough pieces drilled and strung on the bow.<sup>46</sup> In our jar burial, the two objects were found separately: the fibula presumably fastened the cloth that enveloped the child; the infant wore a small necklace with a single amber bead (perhaps the pendant necklace was not worn but placed on the child's body). The fibula constitutes an unexpected find.<sup>47</sup> It was found on the infant's body, as if it was effectively fastening a cloth. However, fibulae belong to the dress code of adults, not of infants. In Cyprus as elsewhere, very young children were wrapped in swaddles, sometimes held by strings but never by a brooch.<sup>48</sup> Moreover, the position of the Kition-

*Bamboula* infant, with the limbs slightly bent, does not adapt well to the assumption of a tight shroud.<sup>49</sup> The child does not wear his/her ordinary garment; he/she is rather dressed as an adult. Despite its small dimensions, the accompanying pottery (jug and footed bowl) is just as incongruous: it is a wine drinking set.

The soil that had infiltrated inside the jar was sieved. It yielded a few sherds (three White Painted fragments, five Plain White, and two very small fragments of cooking vessels).

## Discussion

In 2008, Laurence Alpe provided an overview of children's burials in Cyprus during the Iron Age (11th–4th centuries BC).<sup>50</sup> She underlined the variety of funerary treatments, which however concern children generally older than our deceased from Kition-*Bamboula*. The fate of very young children, those who die around birth is, in fact, poorly understood: their special status excludes them from the rules that govern the treatment of other dead, or rather it subjects them to other rules.<sup>51</sup> In the majority of cases, the infants who died at a perinatal age escape us, because of the lack of archaeological visibility: we often perceive only their absence in the burial record. Exceptionally, a few discoveries show that babies could have been integrated

<sup>42</sup> Karageorghis 1986, 832 and 830, fig. 17.

<sup>43</sup> Karageorghis 1987, 722.

<sup>44</sup> Karageorghis 1987, 694.

<sup>45</sup> Christou 1997, 931.

<sup>46</sup> For example, De Puma 2013, 268, no. 7.43a.

<sup>47</sup> A parallel is offered by an infant of less than three months from Sallèles d'Aude, France: Duday *et al.* 1995, 97–104. The authors suggest that the brooch, although discovered in a functional position, aimed at symbolizing the adult world that the deceased did not enter (like the fibulae discovered in tombs of children at Locri, in Magna Graecia).

<sup>48</sup> As suggested by the stiff body of most children held by *kourotrophs* (females holding or nursing a child) in limestone sculpture: Hermary & Mertens 2014, nos. 214–219.

<sup>49</sup> For tightly swaddled children, see Dasen 2014.

<sup>50</sup> Alpe 2008.

<sup>51</sup> On the particular treatment of new-borns and infants in the Roman West (and more generally in the ancient Mediterranean and as far as China), see Duday *et al.* 1995, 109–113. On the variability of their treatment: Blaziot *et al.* 2003. In Cyprus: Keswani 2004, 30 (Bronze Age).

into the collective burial space.<sup>52</sup> Two Cypriot discoveries stand out by documenting series of burials, rather than isolated examples. However, they reveal two very distinct practices, geographically, chronologically, and typologically: in the first case, attested at Amathous on the southern coast in the Archaic period (8th–6th centuries BC), newborns and infants were grouped together in a specialized burial space; in the second, known in eastern Cyprus in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age (16th–early 10th centuries BC), infant burials were scattered within the settlement. The Kition-*Bamboula* jar burials evidently take place within this second category.

The first category of infant burials is represented by the Four Seasons Necropolis of Amathous (dated to the Archaic period): several of the urns deposited in this cremation cemetery, which was located on the beach, contained the cremated remains of very young children (foetuses, perinatal children, and infants up to twelve months).<sup>53</sup> According to the scant information available, the necropolis also hosted adult cremations, in a contiguous but separate area. This kind of necropolis is unique in Cyprus, but known in the Phoenician world.<sup>54</sup> This evidence can be linked to the presence of a foreign community at Amathous, which maintained, at least for a certain time, its own funerary rites in a reserved space. The use of cremation is exceptional in Cyprus, where it is scarcely attested and largely points to a foreign custom. It is even more so for newborns and infants who are generally buried, even in cultures that cremate their dead.<sup>55</sup> At Amathous, we can find traces of other practices of foreign origin, related this time to the cultic sphere, in other suburban sites. As the Four Seasons Necropolis is clearly distinct from the other burial grounds of Amathous (which are made of chamber tombs used for col-

lective inhumations), these cult places are clearly distinct from other Amathousian sanctuaries: they were presumably used by Phoenicians who kept their own cultic practices (documented by a specific kind of offerings).<sup>56</sup>

The second category of infant burials is very similar to the Kition-*Bamboula* discoveries. It consists of a series of Early Iron Age jar burials found at Salamis, discovered during the French excavations of the University of Lyon on the site.<sup>57</sup> Eighteen jars (commercial amphorae imported from the Levant) have been unearthed on the plateau where the Iron Age city was located, most of them along the rampart, whereas only one was found in a deep trench under the Campanopetra Basilica (*Fig. 25*).<sup>58</sup> The latter jar burial (*Fig. 25, No. 1*) was discovered first, in the spring of 1966, in square K IV/β-γ 9-10. It is securely dated by stratigraphy: the jar rested under a wall (probably belonging to a house), associated with material of the 11th century BC (Proto-White Painted pottery).<sup>59</sup> The other jar burials were found along the rampart, mostly to the north, some additional examples to the south of it. Two burial concentrations were recorded. The first, to the west (square K V/δ 9), consisted of eleven jars of different orientations, which were brought to light, in 1967, during the excavation of a deep trench across the rampart (*Fig. 25, No. 2*).<sup>60</sup> Five burials were discovered in the main section (two are located on the plan, *Fig. 26*), while the remaining six in its northern extension (*Fig. 27*). The first jar burial, mouth of the vessel oriented towards the west, consisted of two vases, one serving as a cover. The excavation notebook mentions the presence of ashes. The third also consisted of two vases, one serving as the receptacle with a yellow clay stopper on its mouth. The fourth jar burial, also oriented towards the west, contained small shells. The other burials were poorly preserved, with the exception of jar burial no. 10. Two small stones

<sup>52</sup> For example, the remains of immature individuals were placed in vases deposited in collective tombs at Enkomi in the Late Bronze Age (Lagarce & Lagarce 1985, 25 and 63); an infant (less than six months old) was buried in a collective chamber tomb of Kition-*Pervolia*, dated to the Cypro-Archaic I period (750–600 BC): Cannavò *et al.* 2018, 191 (Skeleton 6). In most cases, the lack of osteoarchaeological study makes it impossible to specify the age of the child.

<sup>53</sup> Christou 1998; Agelarakis *et al.* 1998, 220–223; Alpe 2008, 154. The necropolis was found during an emergency excavation that preceded the construction of the Four Seasons Hotel. The results are still unpublished. There were at least 36 babies less than one year old.

<sup>54</sup> We think in particular of the Phoenician “tophets” of the central Mediterranean, whose nature (necropolis? sanctuary?) remains debated: D’Andrea 2018. Tophets are generally characterized by newborns and infants cremation burials associated with votive stelae. The stelae are however conspicuously absent from the Amathous necropolis. On the exceptional visibility of the death of children in the Western Phoenician world, see Orsingher 2018, concerning the island Motya, off the west coast of Sicily. In the necropolis of Tyre *al-Bass* on the Lebanese coast (which is coeval with that of Amathous on Cyprus), no perinatal remains were found, with the exception of a single foetus, associated in the same urn with the remains of a female adult: Trellisó 2004, 263.

<sup>55</sup> Blaizot *et al.* 2003, 68.

<sup>56</sup> Fourrier & Petit-Aupert 2007.

<sup>57</sup> Calvet 1980, who draws the parallel with the jar burial discovered in 1977 at Kition-*Bamboula*. The scientific archives of the French excavations (that are now accessible at [https://chypre.mom.fr/KitionSalamine/area\\_sal\\_general](https://chypre.mom.fr/KitionSalamine/area_sal_general)) contain information which has led us to revise certain conclusions published in this article.

<sup>58</sup> On the topography of Salamis in the Iron Age: Fourrier 2018.

<sup>59</sup> The container (Sal-6191) and a stirrup jar (Sal-794) are illustrated by Calvet 1980, 117, figs. 1–2. It is not specified whether the vase (complete apart from the upper part) was placed near the jar. The excavation notebook records the discovery of the bones of “a very young child”.

<sup>60</sup> Calvet (1980, 118) considers that all jar burials in this area belonged to the same chronological horizon, dated by the associated pottery to the 10th and the beginning of the 9th centuries BC. Eleven jars were unearthed in a trench excavated across the rampart in spring 1967, along the wall and a little further north, in the same square. It is impossible to determine their chronology. The jar burials were found in the deepest levels, at different depths from the surface (between -2.68 and -2.89 m). The excavation notebook records a large number of Geometric sherds.



25 12.5 0 25 Metres 1:1 000 A. Rabot, HiSoMA

Fig. 25. Aerial view of Salamis (Campanopetra Basilica and rampart area) with location of jar burials. Illustration: Alexandre Rabot based on Google Earth satellite image.

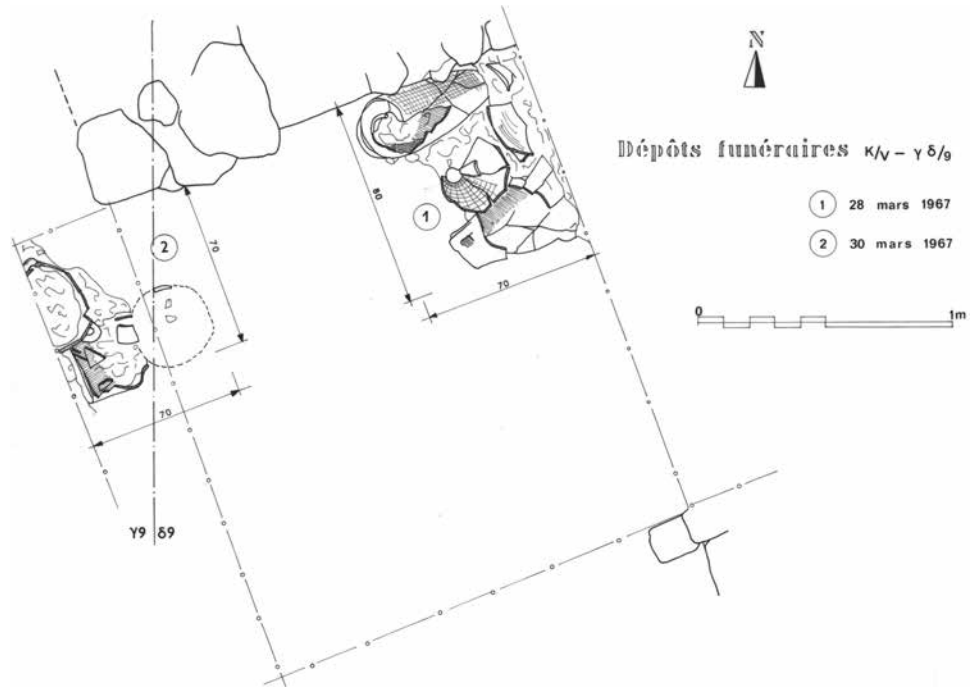


Fig. 26. Salamis: Drawing of two jar burials from the rampart, 1967. Drawing: François Bady, Salamis archives.

wedged for the jar. The child's body was resting in a semi-contracted position. The second jar concentration, to the east, included five jars discovered in April 1970 in square L V/α 6 (Fig. 25, No. 4). They were located at three different levels, which may suggest successive periods of burial

(Fig. 28). The jars were placed in pits dug through a red deposit, made of dissolved mudbricks. Very little material was found in this layer, and the few finds included a spindle whorl, a fragmentary Bichrome bowl bearing a Phoenician inscription (tentatively dated to the Cypro-Geometric II





Fig. 27. Salamis: Excavation of the rampart in 1967. Photograph: Salamis archives.

period, Fig. 29),<sup>61</sup> a Plain White saucer lamp (Sal. 5406), a deep White Painted I bowl (Fig. 30), and two terracotta figurines (Sal. 5396 and Sal. 5404).<sup>62</sup> The jar found at the deepest level was the best preserved: it contained the skeleton of a child lying on its right side, in a foetal position, with its head facing east (Fig. 31).<sup>63</sup> The last recorded jar burial was isolated. It was also discovered along the rampart, in square K V/θ 7 (Fig. 25, No. 3 and Figs. 32, 33).<sup>64</sup>

The jar burials from Kition-Bamboula share many common features with the jar burials from Salamis. At both sites the container (a commercial Levantine amphora) is of the same type, and was buried in a pit dug in the soil, without a frame or cover. At Kition-Bamboula (Locus 889), the top of the jar had been cut off just above the shoulder for facilitating the insertion of the child's body. Such information is lacking for the Salamis jar burials. The perinatal individual found in Locus 889 had been introduced feet first, head oriented towards the mouth of the vase.<sup>65</sup> At both sites, there was no obvious orientation of the jars. The latter must have depended on the line of the walls against (or under which) the deposit was made. The area chosen for those burials, close to the city limits (but, in the case of Kition-Bamboula, not close to a rampart), apparently had no particular significance.<sup>66</sup>

<sup>61</sup> On the inscription, see Sznycer 1980.

<sup>62</sup> Monloup 1984, nos. 224, 355.

<sup>63</sup> Its base was located at a depth of -2.86 m below the surface, at *c.* the same height, therefore, as that of the jar burials of the rampart, discovered further west.

<sup>64</sup> Illustrated in Calvet 1980, 119, fig. 5.

<sup>65</sup> The ways of putting the remains into the container were more varied in the necropolis of Astypalaia in the Dodecanese. In most cases, the baby was introduced through an opening made in the jar body, the detached fragment being put back in place afterwards: Michalaki-Kollia 2010, 166–167. The vast majority of babies were placed, as at Kition-Bamboula, with their heads towards the opening (Michalaki-Kollia 2010, 170).

<sup>66</sup> Contrary to the suggestion made by Yon & Caubet 1985, 29. The discovery of the first jar burial at Kition-Bamboula in 1977 by a team who



Fig. 28. Salamis: two views of the jar burials located in the section, 1970 excavation, square L V/α 6, showing the different pits' depth. Photographs: Salamis archives.

With the parallel given by the Salamis series, the two Kition-Bamboula jar burials (which were found within a limited area) suggest that the burial of perinatal children in jars placed in the settlement was a normal practice, perhaps not throughout Cyprus, at least in the eastern region of the island during the Early Iron Age.<sup>67</sup> If the evidence is, for the moment, restricted to the two capital cities of the eastern part of the island (Kition and Salamis), it is perhaps because they are the only sites where non-exclusively funerary contexts dating from the Early Iron Age have been excavated. The infant jar burial was thus a normal (perhaps regional?) practice, but it was not systematic: the number of jar burials cannot account for the reality of perina-

had previously been active at Salamis could have influenced the interpretation given to the area, particularly concerning the possible presence of a rampart.

<sup>67</sup> This practice should be strictly distinguished from the burial grounds reserved for infant jar burials, as at Astypalaia in the Dodecanese: Michalaki-Kollia 2010.

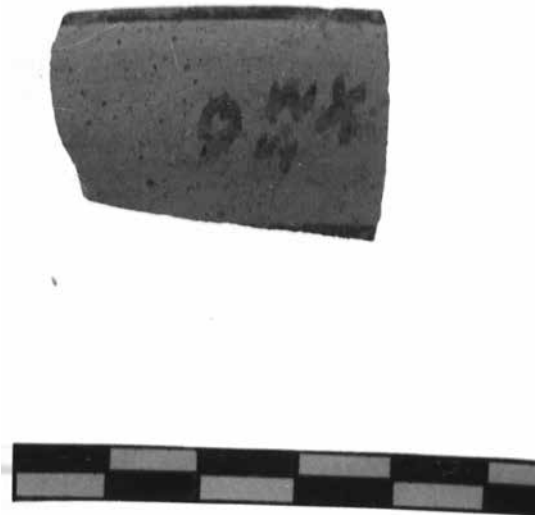


Fig. 29. Salamis: Sherd inv. Sal. 5395 with Phoenician inscription. Photograph: Salamis archives.



Fig. 30. Salamis: White Painted I bowl inv. Sal. 5449. Photograph: Salamis archives.



Fig. 31. Salamis: Jar burial found in 1970, square L V/α 6 (“A5 burial”). Photograph: Salamis archives.



Fig. 32. Salamis: Jar burial in square K V/δ 7. Photograph: Salamis archives.

tal mortality that was certainly much higher.<sup>68</sup> Moreover, the chronological limits of the practice in the course of subsequent periods remain vague: securely attested at the very beginning of the Cypriot Iron Age (Late Cypriot IIIB, first half of the 11th century BC) as shown by the stratigraphy and associated material from Kition-*Bamboula* and Salamis, in the area of the Campanopetra Basilica, the practice could be documented in more recent times at Salamis (rampart burials). The chronological data are, however, fragile and imprecise. All we have is a

<sup>68</sup> The same observation is valid for the Roman West: Blaizot *et al.* 2003, 69–70. This deficit cannot be totally explained by the random nature of excavations and the results of taphonomy (the small and fragile bones of infants are generally poorly preserved).



Fig. 33. Salamis: Jar burial in square K V/δ 7, detail after lifting of the jar. Photograph: Salamis archives.

vague *terminus ante quem* in the 8th century BC.<sup>69</sup> There is no compelling evidence to suggest that the practice lasted beyond Cypro-Geometric I (11th–early 10th centuries BC). How were the perinatal remains then disposed of? Archaeology offers little evidence, infants' death generally remaining invisible in the material culture.<sup>70</sup>

Interestingly enough, the jar burial of infants in domestic quarters did not occur for the first time in the Late Cypriot IIIB period. It was not one of the new burial practices that appeared in this period, among which the most spectacular was the banishment of the dead to outside the city, in specialized funerary spaces.<sup>71</sup> Being a long-lasting innovation, this distinction between the space of the living and the space of the dead was to endure throughout the Iron Age (11th–4th centuries BC). On the contrary, the jar burials from Salamis and Kition-*Bamboula* have Cypriot antecedents that date back to the Late Cypriot I (16th century BC). These Late Bronze Age jar burials are so far only documented at Enkomi, the Bronze Age predecessor of Salamis.<sup>72</sup> Porphyrios Dikaios' excavations uncovered several jar burials, which are typologically remarkably constant: they consist of commercial Levantine-type amphorae placed in shallow pits below floor levels. The most ancient, in Area I, was associated with Level IB (Late Cypriot I): the jar was laid in a shallow pit against a wall in Room 135, wedged with small stones; it contained the remains of a perinatal child; a Monochrome bowl and two handmade Plain White jugs were associated with the burial.<sup>73</sup> In another room (114) of Area III belonging to the same level, another Canaanite jar lying on its side, wedged by pebbles and partially covered by a large Plain White bowl, placed upside down, was found in a shallow pit against one of the walls.<sup>74</sup> The publication does not specify whether the jar contained the remains of a perinatal child, which seems likely, however. Three other jar burials were found in Area III and Level IIIA (Late Cypriot IIIA, 12th century BC): one in Room 79, another in Room

72D, the third in Room 81.<sup>75</sup> Artefacts found in relation with these burials include a diabase grindstone placed against the jar in Room 79, and a Plain White handmade juglet and a Monochrome bowl that were deposited together with the jar in Room 81. The last jar burial, in Area I, dates to the last phases of the city (Level IIIB, 12th–11th centuries BC).<sup>76</sup> The jar had been cut in half lengthwise to introduce the baby, head towards the north, legs bent. A stone blocked the jar mouth.

The consistency of funerary practices, from Enkomi to Salamis and from the 16th until the 11th centuries BC, is obvious: despite the relocation of the city, despite the creation of a specialized funerary space outside the space reserved for the living,<sup>77</sup> the treatment of newborns' dead bodies remained the same. The observations recorded during excavation lead us to reconstruct the same gestures. It can be assumed that at Kition-*Bamboula*, too, the practice was not new but inherited. Persuasive evidence is however lacking.

## Conclusion

Burying newborns and infants in the domestic space is a practice shared by many ancient Mediterranean cultures, from Cyprus during the pre-ceramic Neolithic to the Roman West,<sup>78</sup> and it would be pointless to make a review of the evidence. Likewise, jars and amphorae (whole or fragmentary) are a commonly used receptacle:<sup>79</sup> at Salamis-*Cellarka*, in

<sup>69</sup> The jar typology (Calvet 1980, 118) gives no reliable clue: see Pedrazzi 2007.

<sup>70</sup> In the necropolis of Salamis-*Cellarka*, the oldest jar burials date to the Archaic period. However, they contained remains of children and not of newborns: see Alpe 2008, 149, with references. No Archaic and/or Classical settlement has been extensively excavated to date in Cyprus. In Salamis, however, the Campanopetra area was continuously inhabited until the end of the 6th century BC (Fourrier 2018, 138–139): no jar burial can be associated with these later Iron Age levels.

<sup>71</sup> Iacovou 1999, 148.

<sup>72</sup> Enkomi was abandoned in the course of the 11th century BC to be replaced by Salamis, about 6 kms to the east, which was founded on a more propitious location on a harbour bay.

<sup>73</sup> Dikaios 1969, 157. Lindy Crewe (2007, 251) mentions that Kirsi Lorenz identified the remains of three individuals in the jar: if valid, this observation would attest the first and only case of a collective jar burial.

<sup>74</sup> Dikaios 1969, 28 and pl. 6, 1.

<sup>75</sup> Dikaios 1969, 109, 115, 116.

<sup>76</sup> Dikaios 1969, 194 and pl. 40, 2.

<sup>77</sup> The Early Iron Age necropolis of Salamis is currently documented by a single tomb (tomb T. I, Cypro-Geometric I–II), which was accidentally discovered south of the Temple of Zeus, west of the plateau where the town of the Iron Age was located. This area remained outside the limits of the city until the Hellenistic period: Fourrier 2018, 132–133. This tomb certainly indicates the existence of a necropolis that was not excavated because it is under a domestic quarter of the 4th century AD. It is possible that other burial grounds were located elsewhere around the urban core. Remarkably enough, no tomb dating to the beginning of the Cypro-Geometric period has been discovered in the area of Salamis-*Cellarka* and the royal necropolis.

<sup>78</sup> On Cypriot Neolithic: Le Mort 2003. At Khirokitia however, the location of graves did not depend on the age of the deceased. For the Roman period, see, for example, the burials of new-borns and infants in the potters' workshop at Sallèles d'Aude, France: Duday *et al.* 1995. There, however, the perinatal children were buried in the workshops and not in the associated settlement. These burials, in simple pits dug under the floors, most often covered with a fragment of tile, were placed along the walls of the room. Some contained offerings (small items of pottery or glass vases, lamp, bead, fibula). Other examples are listed by Blaizot *et al.* 2003.

<sup>79</sup> Alpert Nakhai 2018 offers an overview of jar burials of new-borns in the Levant. The author underlines that this practice is particularly common in the Middle Bronze Age and the Iron Age I (1200–1000 BC) and considers it a "Canaanite tradition". More than 2,750 jar burials of new-borns were found in the necropolis at Astypalaia in the Dodecanese (Michalaki-Kollia 2010), in vases of different types (most often hydriae and commercial amphorae, most of them imported, but also pots, pyxi-



the Archaic period, babies (older than perinatal individuals however), sometimes accompanied by small offerings (beads, earrings), were put in commercial amphorae (some of local production, others imported from the Levant or from East Greece), and buried in shallow pits dug in the filling soil of *dromoi* (access corridors leading to the burial chamber).<sup>80</sup> In this latter case, babies joined the community of the deceased in the necropolis, but they were excluded from the collective space of the burial chamber. Other isolated cases are known from other burial grounds on the island.<sup>81</sup> However, the practice is not recorded for the beginning of the Early Iron Age (which is the chronological horizon of the infant jar burials at Kition-*Bamboula*).

Within the Cypriot series, the new jar burial from Kition-*Bamboula* is distinguished by its wealth: ornaments worn by the deceased inside the jar (a bead made of an exotic material, a fibula), vases and perhaps food offerings placed in front of the funerary jar. We can reconstruct the successive phases of the burial process: preparation of the body (with its adornments); cutting of the top of the jar; insertion of the child into the jar; covering of the body with the upper part of the jar, which served as an additional protection; deposition of the jar in the pit; placing of the two vases and faunal elements in front of the jar; partial filling and placement of a stone on the offerings; backfilling. This elaborate process shows an unusual investment in the funerary ritual.<sup>82</sup> Excluded from the collective space of the necropolis, the dead child was, nevertheless, handled carefully. This care and special funerary treatment incite us to reassess the emotional and social place occupied by newborns in a culture where the risk of perinatal mortality was high.

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des, jugs, etc.). One of the jars is perhaps a Levantine commercial amphora (Michalaki-Kollia 2010, 199, fig. 15). The chronological and spatial diffusion of the practice weakens, to our opinion, any ethnically oriented interpretation.

<sup>80</sup> Karageorghis 1970b, 231–232.

<sup>81</sup> Alpe 2008, 149.

<sup>82</sup> This treatment is all the more remarkable since the child of Kition-*Bamboula* had not reached the six-months threshold (on the latter, which corresponds to the time of appearance of the first teeth and the introduction of solid food in the baby's diet: Blaizot *et al.* 2003, 68–69; Dasen 2014, 67). At Astypalaia in the Dodecanese, funerary offerings were also exceptional: they mainly consisted of small cups placed next to three burial jars only, that of a two-year-old child, another of an infant, and the last of a newborn (Michalaki-Kollia 2010, 167–168, 171).

SABINE FOURRIER  
HiSoMA, Maison de l'Orient et  
de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux  
7, rue Raulin,  
F-69365 Lyon cedex 07, France  
sabine.fourrier@mom.fr

ANNA GEORGIADOU  
University of Cyprus  
PO Box 20537,  
Nicosia 1678, Cyprus  
georgiadou.anna@ucy.ac.cy

BÉRÉNICE CHAMEL  
Archéorient, Maison de l'Orient et  
de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux,  
Lyon, France

NATHALIA DENNINGER  
Bibliothèque Nationale de France,  
Paris, France

ARMELLE GARDEISEN  
Archéologie des Sociétés Médi-  
terranéennes (ASM-UMR5140),  
CNRS, Université Paul Valéry,  
Labex ARCHIMEDE programme  
IA-ANR-11-LABX-0032-01  
Montpellier, France

KATERINA PAPAYANNI  
Department of History and  
Archaeology, National and  
Kapodistrian University  
Athens, Greece

TATIANA THEODOROPOULOU  
Cultures et Environnements,  
Préhistoire Antiquité Moyen âge  
(CEPAM-UMR 7264), CNRS-  
UCA, Equipe GReNES,  
Nice, France

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