Babies Reborn: Infant/Child Burials in Pre- and Protohistory

Edited by

Krum Bacvarov

BAR International Series 1832
2008
This title published by

Archaeopress
Publishers of British Archaeological Reports
Gordon House
276 Banbury Road
Oxford OX2 7ED
England
bar@archaeopress.com
www.archaeopress.com

BAR S1832

Proceedings of the XV World Congress of the International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences
Actes du XV Congrès Mondial de l'Union Internationale des Sciences Préhistoriques et Protohistoriques

Outgoing President: Vítor Oliveira Jorge
Outgoing Secretary General: Jean Bourgeois
Congress Secretary General: Luiz Oosterbeek (Series Editor)
Incoming President: Pedro Ignacio Shmitz
Incoming Secretary General: Luiz Oosterbeek

Babies Reborn: Infant/Child Burials in Pre- and Protohistory, Vol. 24, Section WS26

© UISPP / IUPPS and authors 2008

ISBN 978 1 4073 0316 1

Signed papers are the responsibility of their authors alone.
Les texts signés sont de la seule responsabilité de ses auteurs.

Contacts:
Secretary of U.I.S.P.P. – International Union for Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences
Instituto Politécnico de Tomar, Av. Dr. Cândido Madureira 13, 2300 TOMAR
Email: uispp@ipt.pt
www.uispp.ipt.pt

Printed in England by Alden HenDi, Oxfordshire

All BAR titles are available from:

Hadrian Books Ltd
122 Banbury Road
Oxford
OX2 7BP
England
bar@hadrianbooks.co.uk

The current BAR catalogue with details of all titles in print, prices and means of payment is available free from Hadrian Books or may be downloaded from www.archaeopress.com
INTRODUCTION

Southeast European later prehistory yielded a relatively scanty mortuary record but one that demonstrates the relevance of certain phenomena to the general understanding of prehistoric development. Appearing in the early phases of southeast European neolithization, although certainly not the earliest ones, jar burial developed in several territorially and chronologically restricted “waves”: a Neolithic core area in the Struma and Vardar river valleys and the west Rhodope Mountains in the early sixth millennium BC, and later, late/terminal Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and/or early Bronze Age – depending on local terminology – developments scattered from Argolis in Greece to the Great Hungarian Plain and dating from the second half of the 6th to the 3rd millennium BC, with huge chronological gaps within. However, their central Anatolian and Levantine parallels give a solid base for the expanding of our understanding of this obviously cross-cultural phenomenon.

This paper considers the appearance of early jar burial tradition on the background of southeast European neolithization, and traces it back to the primary distribution zones, following the directions of its early developments, in a chronological framework spanning the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and the early Bronze Age, in terms of southeast Balkan chronology, i.e., the time from the early sixth to the mid-third millennium BC. For the purposes of this paper, the term “jar burial” is defined as primary burial in a ceramic vessel, not to be mistaken with the contemporaneous secondary and cremation burials that can also use ceramic containers.

SOUTHEAST EUROPEAN JAR BURIAL RECORD

The earliest jar burials thus far found in southeast Europe – and throughout Europe, for that matter – come from early Neolithic sites in the Struma and Vardar valleys as well as the West Rhodope Mountains, which seems to be the area of neolithization of the southeastern Balkans (Nikolov 2007).

Kovačev (see Fig. 7.1 for all sites mentioned in the text)

This stratified site in the Struma River Valley covers an area of ca. 7 hectares. It has been excavated since 1980s by a joint Bulgarian-French team (Lichardus-Itten et al. 2002). The cultural deposits extend to a depth of ca. 2.00 meters. The partially destroyed upper layers – Kovačev III and II – contain late Neolithic and early Bronze Age material. The lower four layers – Kovačev Ia-Id – belong to the early Neolithic and represent a southwestern variant of the Karanovo I culture. Later periods – Iron Age, Roman, Middle Ages etc. – are sporadically present. Different periods could be distinguished within Kovačev II and III, based on typological observation, since there was no stratigraphic evidence to separate them on the site. The four early Neolithic periods are established on the grounds of stratigraphic evidence. Several 14C dates are available from the early Neolithic layers, the earliest being 6075-6005 cal BC for Kovačev Ia, and the latest being 5800-5630 cal BC for Kovačev Id (Reingruber & Thissen 2005).

Five burials were found in the Kovačev Ia layer, generally belonging to the southwestern variant of the Karanovo I
babies reborn: infant/child burials in pre- and protohistory

Fig. 7.1. Map showing the location of the sites mentioned in the text: 1 Tel Qatif; 2 Teluliot Batashi; 3 Nahal Zehora II; 4 Tel Te’o; 5 Tel Dan; 6 Byblos; 7 Tell el-Kerkh; 8 Tell Kurdu; 9 Tell Halula; 10 Tell Hazna II; 11 Tell Sotto; 12 Tell Hassuna; 13 Körsk Höyük; 14 Pınarbaşı-Bor; 15 Berikleeb; 16 Alepochori; 17 Lerna; 18 Kephala; 19 Rachmani; 20 Mandal; 21 Anzabegovo; 22 Kovačevo; 23 Rakitovo; 24 Yunatsite; 25 Nova Zagora; 26 Galabovo; 27 Dyadovo; 28 Ezero; 29 Karanovo; 30 Kran; 31 Durankulak; 32 Mórágy-Tüzködomb; 33 Alsónyék-Kanizska-Flur; 34 Polgár

culture; two more came from the layer, which the excavators define as middle Neolithic. The burials belong to just born or even stillborn infants and children up to 6.5 years. They had been interred between houses in a flexed or crouched position on the side or in a semi-seated position, and were aligned with their heads to the east, west or north. In three of the burials, it is assumed that children had been wrapped up in a thick fabric, most probably a leather bag or a mat. Various contexts in the site yielded separate fragments of human bones.

Two jar burials were found in the early Neolithic Kovačevo Id layer. The first burial belongs to a stillborn infant, probably a boy, buried in a pot (ca. 30 cm high) covered with a clay lid. The skeleton was complete; the boy has been buried in a highly flexed position on the right side, with the head aligned to the north.

The second child burial still has to be published. It probably belongs to a very young infant, also buried in a clay pot.

Rakitovo

This stratified site in the west Rhodope Mountains was completely excavated in 1974-1975. It covered an area of
ca. 3300 square meters. The destroyed upper layers belonged to the late Neolithic Karanovo III-IV period and probably to the early Neolithic Karanovo I culture. Both lower layers have been preserved, extending to 0.54 m and 0.80 m depth, respectively. Both of them belonged to the Karanovo I culture (Raduncheva et al. 2002).

The only jar burial was found in Layer II, under the floor of house # 16, by the western wall. It belonged to a neonate, buried in a fine-ware necked jar. The soil matrix in the jar yielded grave goods, which is very rare for an early Neolithic infant burial: lumps of red ochre and a flint blade.

Anzabegovovo

This stratified site in the Vardar River Valley was excavated by Milutin Garašanin and Marija Gimbutas in 1969-1970 (see Gimbutas 1976; Garašanin 1998, among others). Three early Neolithic layers (Anza III-I) were revealed yielding painted pottery. Anza IV layer is generally simultaneous to Vinča A. The 14C dates from Anza III-I outline a time framework between 6110 and 5460 cal BC, the relevant dates for Anza Ic showing a development right after 5900 cal BC (Reingruber & Thissen 2005).

The three early Neolithic layers and the Vinča A layer yielded skeletal remains of at least thirty four individuals – in most cases, separate bones – belonging to seventeen new-born babes and children, five juveniles, and twelve adults. Five inhumations in crouched position were excavated under house floors in M. Garašanin’s trench. Infant bones were found in a pit from the Anza Ic layer; the same layer yielded a grave of two young females buried in crouched position one on the other.

A jar burial was found in the Anza Ic layer. It belonged to a neonate buried in a necked jar, whose four handles have been broken together with the bottom, most probably intentionally.

These four early Neolithic jar burials have been followed, after a chronological gap of several hundred years, by certain southeast European later Neolithic developments.

Ezero

This prehistoric tell has been excavated since 1952, most recently by a joint Bulgarian-Russian project in the 1960s and early 1970s (Georgiev et al. 1979). Featuring a base of 200 X 145 meters and 10 meters high, it was occupied in the late Neolithic, Chalcolithic and Early Bronze Age. Layers IV and III belong to the late Neolithic Karanovo II-III, Karanovo III, Karanovo III-IV and Karanovo IV periods. Two 14C dates are available from the relevant Karanovo III layer, 5280-5070 and 5430-5280 cal BC respectively (Görsdorf & Bojadžiev 1996, 137ff).

A jar burial was found in the Southwestern trench, layer IV, horizon V (Karanovo III period), in a shallow pit under a house floor. The skeletal remains belonged to a neonate, covered by a deep dark-burnished bowl with channeling. This burial yielded a shell and a retouched flint blade.

More jar burials have been found in the Early Bronze Age layer; they will be considered separately.

Durankulak

The prehistoric cemetery at Durankulak yielded more than 1200 burials. It was excavated by Henrieta Todorova in the 1980s and 1990s and belongs to Hamangia I-II, III and IV, Varna I and II-III cultures (Todorova 2002).

Two jar burials were found there belonging to the Hamangia III phase (4950/4900-4650/4600 cal BC), which has been defined as early Chalcolithic and thus contemporaneous with Maritsa I-III, Dikilitash II, Sitagroi III, classical Dimini, Boian-Vidra etc.

The first burial belonged to an infant put in two necked jars lying horizontally, with the mouths pushed close to each other. Six clay vessels have been deposited upon the burial with their bottoms up. More sherds covered the surface under the burial.

The second infant has been buried in a conical bowl, put in a larger bowl and covered with a clay lid. A cattle skull was accompanying this burial.

Mórágy-Túzködomb

This prehistoric cemetery in southern Transdanubia was excavated by István Zalai-Gaál in the 1980s and belongs to the Lengyel culture (Zalai-Gaál 2002).

Two jar burials were found in the so-called Gräbergruppe-B1. Both belong to boys (0-5 months) buried in high-pedestalled bowls, crouched on the right side, with their heads aligned to the west or southwest and facing to the south or northeast respectively. One more high-pedestalled bowl contained the skull of a girl (0-5 months).

Alsónyék-Kanióza-Flur

This Lengyel culture cemetery in southeastern Transdanubia is still being excavated by István Zalai-Gaál, in the framework of M6 motorway salvage project. One jar burial has been found thus far containing the remains of an infant, unfortunately destroyed almost completely by a bulldozer (Zalai-Gaál, pers. comm.).

Polgár 7 (Polgár-Kengyel-kőz)

This stratified site in the Great Hungarian Plain was excavated by Pál Raczy in 1994, in the framework of
M3 motorway salvage project. The remains belong to the Alföld Linear Pottery Culture.

A jar burial was found in one end of a big – and perhaps ritual – ditch near a long house of the AVK. The skeletal remains belonged to an infant, buried in a ca. one meter high necked knobbled jar (Raczky, pers. comm.).

Mandalo

The tell site of Mandalo, Central Macedonia, is situated about twenty kilometers NW of the ancient Pella, in the foothills of Mount Paikon; it was excavated between 1981 and 1988 by the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki and the Ephoreia of Classical and Prehistoric Antiquities of Edessa on a large area covering more than 50% of the site. It was occupied in the final Neolithic and early Bronze Age (Papathanimou & Papasteriou 1993; Papathymiou-Papathanimou & Pilali-Papasteriou 1997). Two burials were found in the final Neolithic layers (\(^{14}\)C dated to 4600-4000 cal BC; Kotsakis et al. 1989), a formal inhumation under a house floor and a child burial in an open bowl covered with another bowl (both undecorated).

Rachmani

This Thessalian tell was excavated by Wace and Thompson in 1910. The cultural deposits extend to a depth of more than 8 meters and yielded four layers, belonging to the Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Wace & Thompson 1912). Two infant jar burials were found there, in layers II and IV respectively.

Lerna

This low tell in the foothills of Mount Pontikos, near the Lerna Lake, on the western coast of Argolis, was excavated by John L. Caskey in the 1950s and yielded four layers, belonging to the Final Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Caskey 1957).

Five burials came from the early Neolithic layer, all of them representing formal inhumations in pits and containing articulated skeletons in crouched position on their sides. A black burnished clay vessel was found near the head of a five year old child.

The final Neolithic of Lerna II yielded a neonate burial in a patterned beaker found in a layer consisting of successive floors of Neolithic houses.

Alepochori

The Kouveleiki cave is located some 5 km to the south of Alepochori village in Laconia. Deep archaeological deposits were accumulated in the both chambers of the cave: the dates of 4947-3362 BC for the inner chamber, and 4922-4360 BC for the outer chamber generally refer them to the final Neolithic (Kontaxi et al. 2001).

The only jar burial belonged to an infant in a carinated pot with two vertical lugs inserted in an open-mouth jar tapering down to its bottom, with four horizontal lugs on the belly. The bottom has been pierced after firing, most probably in relation to its funerary use.

Kephala

The site and cemetery of Kephala are located on a headland on the northwest coast of the Cycladic island of Keos; they represent the best evidence for initial settlement of the island during the second major colonization of the Aegean in the Final Neolithic (3300-3200 BC). They were excavated in the 1960s by a team from the University of Cincinnati and by John Coleman in the 1970s (Coleman 1977).

Four infant jar burials were found in the cemetery, all of them disturbed by later interments. One of these burials belonged to two infants put together in a large jar. Two female figurines were discovered as grave goods in another jar burial.

The latest chronological “wave” in the jar burial development refers to the Early Bronze Age and was restricted to a relatively small area in Upper Thrace, with only one example found in the neighboring region of Thessaly. However, these were the most numerous cases of jar burials in the later prehistory of southeast Europe.

Yunatsite

This prehistoric tell has been excavated by several teams since 1939, including two joint projects, Bulgarian-Russian and Bulgarian-Greek, the latter still carrying out active research there. With a base covering 120 x 115 meters and a relative height of 12 meters, the tell yielded material dating back to the Middle Ages, the late Thracian period, the late and early Iron Age, the middle and early Bronze Age, and the late Chalcolithic (Katicharov et al. 1995). \(^{14}\)C dates between 3010 and 2350 cal BC came from the relevant EBA horizons XVII-X (Görsdorf & Bojadžiev 1996, 158ff).

At Tell Yunatsite, a total of twenty-eight infant burials were found in the Early Bronze Age horizons, which refer to EBA I and II, twenty-two of them being jar burials, all related to houses (see Mishina, this volume). Nineteen jar burials represented single burials of infants, while three burials contained the bones of two babies each. Various vessel types were used as burial containers: jugs, bowls, pots with or without lugs, or even bottom parts of broken vessels. Among these, jugs clearly dominated; pots were used more rarely. Single infants were buried in amphorae and bowls. All these types are represented in the household ceramic assemblage of Tell Yunatsite. Some burial vessels were closed with lids.

Kran

This small tell site in Upper Thrace, with a base of 80 x 70 meters and 5 meters high, is still being excavated
yielding material from the late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age (Karastoyanova 2004). Five jar burials of babies/fetuses have been found under house floors in the EBA III layers (Nikolov et al. 2005, 36f; Nikolov, pers. comm.). Jugs ca. 45 centimeters high as well pots as have been used as burial containers; a flint artifact was found in the filling of one burial pit.

**Karanovo**

This is one of the biggest southeast European tells, with a preserved base measuring 250 x 180 meters and cultural deposits extending to a height of 12.40 meters. It has been excavated since 1936, more recently in the framework of a Bulgarian-Austrian joint project. Cultural deposits from the Neolithic, Chalcolithic, and Early Bronze Age have been revealed. The latter yielded six jar burials of new born babies and fetuses, all of them under house floors referring to the EBA III period (Hiller & Nikolov 2002, 11, Abb. 17; Hiller et al. 2005, 13, Abb. 10-11). One of the burials contained a small flint artifact; in the same burial, the mouth of the ceramic vessel was sealed with a conical bowl and the pit was topped by seven stones, arranged with their flat sides up, after which its opening has been plastered.

**Dyadovo**

The tell site of Dyadovo has been excavated since 1977 by two joint teams, Bulgarian-Dutch-Japanese and Bulgarian-Japanese, the latter still continuing the excavations. With a base of 220 x 150 meters, the tell is 18 meters high, yielding material from the Middle Ages, Roman period, Iron Age, Bronze Age, and Copper Age (Leshtakov 1994). The Early Bronze Age layer contains ten horizons belonging to the EBA III Ezero phase. The results of these recent campaigns have not yet been published but the preliminary reports mention several jar burials of infants in the EBA settlement area (e.g. Katincharov et al. 1986, 42).

**Ezero**

Since this tell site has already been considered in my paper, I will detail here only the evidence from the Ezero phase of the EBA III period. During the first excavations at Tell Ezero in the early 1950s, at least four infant burials have been found, at least two of them being jar burials; the uncertainty coming from the unrecorded and unpublished excavation project. Big pots have been used as burial containers – 36 and 37 centimeters high respectively – one of which featuring an intentionally pierced bottom, most probably related to the ritual meaning of its secondary function.

The excavations of the joint Bulgarian-Russian team revealed ten infant burials in the EBA horizons, at least three of them being jar burials of infants disposed of in contracted positions (Katincharov 1979, 491, obr. 210). Big ceramic pots have been used as burial containers, with diameters exceeding 30 centimeters, lying on their sides – and sometimes supported with stones – in pits made under house floors and sometimes even under heating installations. The pits’ filling included ashes as well as coals and burnt animal bones. At least in one case, the pot has been sealed with a badly fired clay plate.

**Nova Zagora**

This is the only EBA stratified site that yielded jar burials. The excavations in the late 1980s and early 1990s covered an area of 1,625 square meters in the NE part of the site. The partially destroyed cultural deposits extend to a depth of ca. 1 meter and included four building horizons dating back to the EBA III period (mid-3rd millennium B.C).

Six jar burials of babies have been found under house floors or between houses belonging to all four horizons (Kancheva-Russeva 2000). Although five of the ceramic vessels were too fragile to be preserved, it is clear that big pots ca. 30 centimeters high had been used as burial containers.

At one more tell site in Upper Thrace, Tell Galabovo, featuring late Chalcolithic, Early, and Middle Bronze Age layers, a jar burial of a baby was found in the late 1980s, interred under an EBA III house floor, near an oven (Panayotov 1991, 34f).

Concluding this general consideration, I should remind of the jar burial from the Thessalian tell of Rachmani, coming from the EBA horizon IV.

**DISCUSSION**

As seems obvious from the evidence available, the early development of jar burial can be divided into three chronologically differentiated ‘waves’ alternating with periods when this specific ritual has not been practiced. The area of the Struma and Vardar river valleys, and the west Rhodope Mountains in the early 6th millennium BC – or the early Neolithic according to the southeast Balkan periodization – was the only place in Europe where jar burial was practiced, at three sites, which shared similar cultural developments and ‘Neolithic packages’, whatever the latter term could possibly mean. Moreover, one of the most authoritative neolithization models considers this very territory as the point of first Neolithic penetration as well as a contact zone between these early settlers and their new neighbors in the second phase of the local early Neolithic (Nikolov 2007). It is thus possible to relate the earliest jar burials in southeast Europe – whose appearance logically followed the phase of early experimentation with ceramic production and use – to these mutual exchange processes and to trace them back to their hypothetic point of origin. In Western Anatolia, however, which is considered as the home of early Neolithic painted pottery cultures in the central Balkans, no jar burials have been found, the closest parallels being the
central Anatolian tell sites of Kösk Höyük and Pınarbaşı-Bor, defined as late Neolithic and early Chalcolithic according to the Anatolian periodization (Silistreli 1989; Öztan 2003). Is this perhaps due to the excavation strategies leaving ‘blind spots’ in our knowledge of the Neolithic development or is there is another reason associated with the directions and routes of the early neolithization? One can find certain hints in the Levantine influence on life and death at Kösk Höyük most clearly expressed in the local variant of the ‘skull cult’, which was observed at that Anatolian tell (Bonogofsky 2004).

To the southeast, another huge territorial gap in jar burial practice had been followed by three infant graves at Tell Kurdu in the Amuq valley, coming from the Halaf-related Amuq C phase and dating between 5900 and 5700 cal BC., i.e., more or less simultaneously with the southeast European and central Anatolian finds (Yener et al. 2000, 43; Özbal et al. 2004, 50, 70ff).

In the easternmost and southernmost parts of the study area respectively, two territories can be outlined. First, these are the sites – besides Tell Kurdu – at Tell el-Kerkh, Tell Halula, Tell Hazna II, Tell Sotto, and Tell Hassuna, in the northern Levant (Tsuneke et al. 1997, 9f, Pl. 2/1; Tsuneke et al. 1999, 18ff; Anfruns & Molist, 1998; Munchaev et al. 1993, 27f, ris. 2/2; 3; Bader 1989, 132ff; Lloyd & Safar 1945, 264, 267f), yielding jar burials related to certain cultural developments starting with the pre-Hassuna culture; the coarse ware thick-walled jar (with a rim diameter of more than 50 centimeters and same as high) of the burial from Tell Hazna II belongs to the most common ceramic ware for the earliest phases of Pottery Neolithic in Mesopotamia, which seems to suggest that this is one of the earliest examples of jar burial. The one year old child was buried in a highly contracted position on the right side, with the head aligned to the east. The skull was lying with the face down and according to the excavators had been detached from the body before the burial. This jar burial yielded grave goods: a small clay cup, a half of a polished stone vessel, and over two hundred beads of stone, copper and shells, most probably making up one complete necklace. The jar had been probably covered with a discoid lid of unbaked clay, fragments of which were found inside.

The second area of interest, generally covering the southern Levant, includes the somewhat later Néolithique Ancien layers at Byblos (Gopher & Orrelle 1995, 26; see also Orrelle, this volume) as well as the Pottery Neolithic and Wadi Raba layers at Tel Dan, Tel Te’o, Nahal Zehora II, Teluliot Batashi, and Qatarif, that yielded jar burials of infants and fetuses (Gopher & Greenberg 1996, 68; Bar-Gal & Smith 2001, 164ff; Gopher & Orrelle 1995, 27; Epstein 1984, 210f).

It is thus reasonable to assume that jar burial originated in the northern Levant, sometime in the pre-Hassuna period, and for a relatively short time influenced culture developments as far as the central Balkans; the appearance of this mortuary practice in the southern Levant followed soon after. The absence of relevant remains in western and eastern Anatolia – bridged by the two central Anatolian sites of Kösk Höyük and Pınarbaşı-Bor – could also hint at southeast European autonomy; however, this can hardly be substantiated since the four burials in the Struma and Vardar river valleys, and the west Rhodope Mountains share common diagnostics with their Anatolian and Levantine parallels. What is more plausible is that the idea of burial of fetus/infant/child in a ceramic pot, as an element of the social reproduction and cohesion networks, was transferred along the neolithization routes and its expressions were triggered by certain stimuli, most probably natural events, as is demonstrated by the burials’ contemporaneity as well as the sites’ clustering both in southeast Europe and central Anatolia.

In the later Neolithic and Chalcolithic, jar burial has been further developed, reoccurring at various settlement sites as well as at cemeteries in southeast Europe, sending distinct echoes as far as southern Transdanubia (Fig. 7.2). Burial in a ceramic container was to gradually become a dominating burial practice in Anatolia and the Levant, elaborated in such forms as the pithos burial of adults, e.g., at Ilıpınar in Anatolia, and at Byblos in the southern Levant. To the north, in the southern Caucasus, a baby jar burial was found at Berikdedebi, in the Kura River Valley, Karelı district, in a pre-Kura-Araxes culture context (Glonti & Dzhavahishvili 1987, 85).

The early development of burial in a ceramic vessel climaxed in the Early Bronze Age, almost completely covering Anatolia as well as the Levant, in both its forms, pithoi- and jar burials. To the north, in the southern Caucasus, a few burials in ceramic vessels appeared at sites belonging to the Kura-Araxes period in Georgia and Dagestan. In southeast Europe, however, the jar burial area drastically shrank down to a small region in Upper Thrace – with one Thessalian exception (Fig. 7.3) – although the number of graves at the various sites much exceeded the earlier cases, demonstrating once more close relations to Anatolia and the Levant, also evidenced by direct ceramic imports as well as local imitations (Leshtakov 2002).

The southeast European burial patterns, however, strictly stuck to the original idea of intramural inhumation of fetuses/babies only, and never adopted later elaborations as the Anatolian pithoi burials of adults or the Palestinian ceramic ossuaries; this fact seems to support the theory of the Neolithic origins of this burial practice – repeatedly stimulated by new eastern impulses – together with some more details such as the occasional flint artifacts found as grave goods, perhaps related to the ritual of cutting the baby’s umbilical cord, or the intentional piercing of the burial vessel’s bottom or damaging its mouth rim, both occurring since the first appearance of jar burial in southeast Europe as well as in the Levant.
Fig. 7.2. Map showing the jar burial distribution area in the later Neolithic and Chalcolithic: 1 Alepochori; 2 Lerna; 3 Kephala; 4 Rachmani; 5 Mandalo; 6 Ezero; 7 Durankulak; 8 Mórágy-Tüzkődomb; 9 Alsónyék-Kaniza-Flur; 10 Polgár 7

Acknowledgments

Last but not least I would like to thank the following colleagues who generously supported my project with unpublished material or information: Gassia Artin, Zvonko Beldedovski, István Zalai-Gaál, Stoilka Ignatova, and Pál Raczky. Special thanks are due to Joni Apakidze for sharing with me some of his extensive knowledge on the Caucasian prehistory. Thank you to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation; it was during my AvH research fellowship at the University of Saarland that this paper has been completed.

References

Fig. 7.3. Map showing the jar burial distribution area in the Early Bronze Age:
1 Rachmani; 2 Yunatsite; 3 Galabovo; 4 Ezero; 5 Dyadovo; 6 Nova Zagora; 7 Karanovo; 8 Kran


KANCHEVA-RUSSEVA, T. 2000. Гробове от бронзовата епоха в praistorическо селище в Нова Загора. Археология 3-4, 31-34.


PANAYOTOV, I. 1991. Ранна и средна бронзова епоха в Горнотракийската низина. Нови проблеми, in И. Папайотов, К. Лешаков, Р. Георгиева, С. Александ-
BABIES REBORN: INFANT/CHILD BURIALS IN PRE- AND PROTOHISTORY

В. Борисов (ред.) Експедиция Марица-Изток. Археологически проучвания 1: 33-38. София.

PAPANTHIMOU, A. & A. PAPASTERIOU 1993. Ο προϊστορικός οικισμός στο Μάνδαλο: νέα στοιχεία στην προϊστορία της Δ. Μακεδονίας. Αρχαια Μακεδονία 5/2: 1206-1216.


