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Mortuary behaviour and social organisation in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete

Vol. I: Text and Bibliography

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Dissertation submitted for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Institute of Archaeology
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Abstract

The mortuary record of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete comprises the main corpus of data available for the study of these periods on the island. Although the evidence from funerary contexts has been the object of study for over a century, most of the work produced so far has not been founded upon clear methodological and theoretical approaches. This has resulted in an underachievement in the extraction of information from the record, and a failure to take the intricate relationship between the study of the mortuary record and the understanding of the social organisation of living communities into proper consideration.

The aim of this work is to produce a new, comprehensive study of the entire mortuary record of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete. It revises the published data in accordance with a new methodology that applies a bottom-up, comprehensive approach to the record. Combining monographic studies of Cretan material culture with newly published data into the context of the tomb and the cemetery allows a more accurate and rich understanding of the archaeological evidence from burial sites. Consequently, the detailed picture of spatial and temporal variations and patterns in mortuary behaviour that this study produces can be used to create a more complex model for the use and role of cemeteries for Cretan communities.

A clear new theoretical and methodological approach permits to use the new fluid and complex model of the mortuary behaviour for re-examining Cretan communities during the Pre- and Protopalatial periods and understanding them both in terms of both horizontal and vertical organisation and within a complex spatial and temporal framework.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Prehistoric Crete has had a significant presence in the archaeological literature since the end of the 19th century for various reasons. The appearance of early 'palatial societies' is probably the most important one that springs to mind but others also need to be acknowledged, such as the island's rich archaeological record from the Neolithic period onwards. The archaeological dataset includes a large number of tombs and cemeteries, many of which date to the third and second millennia B.C. (also called the Pre- and Protopalatial periods or Early Minoan [henceforth EM] I to Middle Minoan [henceforth MM] IIB; for a chronological framework see Fig. 1.1). Indeed this long period of time marks a cycle in which mortuary customs had great significance for Cretan communities (Fig. 1.2). This cycle began at the end of the Neolithic/beginning of EM I with the appearance of new tombs of novel types, which developed further during the subsequent periods. The number of known cemeteries and tombs reached its zenith in MM I and underwent a rapid recession during MM II. Most cemeteries were abandoned by the end of this period (Fig. 1.2), whereas quite different mortuary customs appeared on the island during MM III and Late Minoan (henceforth LM) I. The EM I - MM II cycle is characterised by two significant common attributes: the use of similar types of tombs, most of them indicating a conscious effort to construct enduring structures; and the deposition of significant amounts of material in the tombs, in some cases objects that could be considered socially valuable. In other words, cemeteries and tombs held great importance for Cretan communities during the EM I - MM II periods. While such social prominence of cemeteries on the island can also be argued for later periods, this was determined by very different burial customs that had little relation with EM I - MM II mortuary behaviour (the term 'behaviour' is defined here as the meaningful repetition of a conduct as identified in the archaeological record).

While the archaeological evidence suggests that tombs and cemeteries played an important role for Pre- and Protopalatial island communities, the question to ask is why should they be studied now? Many questions concerning the character of communities in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete and their development through time remain unanswered. The significance of burials in the EM I - MM II period, and their prominence in the preserved archaeological record for this period, indicates that the study of these contexts forms an invaluable avenue of investigation into the nature of early Cretan communities during a period of significant change. But this requires a research design that overcomes the more general problems that have to do with the

interpretation of funerary data as a whole, and also the more region-specific problems of the Cretan mortuary record itself. Therefore the aim of this study is to undertake a comprehensive and at the same time detailed analysis of the burial record, which was never been done. For this purpose, an innovative approach to the funerary data has been developed, combining the comprehensive analysis of the entire mortuary record of the island with the detailed review of all available data (data that in many cases has not been reviewed since the 1970s). The aim is to obtain more and better information from the funerary record, that permits a more accurate and secure investigation of Cretan communities through their mortuary behaviour.

This study develops a new methodological and theoretical approach to the study of the mortuary behaviour. Chapter II reviews the history of research on the Cretan Pre- and Protopalatial mortuary record, identifies relevant shortcomings and problems and presents a new theoretical framework that not only overcomes these problems in the study of mortuary behaviour, but also addresses assumptions in the conception and characterisation of Cretan communities and their history. Chapter III deals with the formulation of a clear methodological approach that addresses the specific problems of the Cretan funerary record, and offers a new and productive investigation of the available archaeological data. The analysis of the funerary data divided by region (south-central Crete, north-central and central Crete, Mirabello Bay and Ierapetra region, east Crete and west Crete) is presented in Chapters IV, V, VI, VII and VIII. Finally, Chapter IX reviews the results discussed in the data chapters and places them explicitly within the theoretical framework developed in Chapter II, in order to understand not only the social relevance of mortuary practices for Cretan communities, but also the Cretan Pre- and Protopalatial communities themselves during a period of important changes.

Chapter II: Archaeology and death in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete: theoretical problems and questions

11.1 *History of research*

Ever since Evans referred to the Prepalatial burial deposit at Agios Onouphrios for the first time in 1895 (Fig. 11.1 for sites mentioned; Evans 1895), many studies have looked at the mortuary record of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods. All such studies emerged from the theoretical background of their times, which determined their questions, methodology and explanatory models; they contributed different ideas to the research that have opened up potentially interesting avenues of analysis, but also they have conveyed a series of weaknesses and assumptions. Therefore, a review of the history of research is necessary for understanding the origin of the current ideas found in the study of burial customs in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete and the recognition of the unchallenged assumptions or other biases they carry, in another words, the actual positions taken by these analyses and interpretations. Since these approaches and their character are intrinsically linked with the archaeological paradigms of their times, they can, with a few rare exceptions, be roughly ordered chronologically into three periods.

11.1.a The build up

The first period extends from Evans' article in 1895 to the early 1970s. This period is characterised by a large number of excavations, and the definition of Minoan culture as formulated by Evans (Evans 1921; Bintliff 1984; Hamilakis 2002b; Hitchcock & Koudounaris 2002; McEnroe 2002). In the search for data to understand the new 'Minoan civilisation', many sites were discovered and swiftly excavated during the first decades of the 20th century. The poor excavation techniques of the time compounded by a sense of urgency for understanding the new archaeological evidence led, among other reasons (see McEnroe 2002), to many excavations being hastily conducted, including a those of a large number of tombs (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908; Dawkins 1905; Hatzidakis 1913; 1916; Paribeni 1904; Xanthoudides 1921a; 1921b; 1924).

This need for data to add substance to the Minoan label determined the way in which the mortuary record was interpreted: a better definition of Minoan Culture consisted, under the diffusionist paradigm of the early 20th century, in the location of the original civilisation from which Cretans imported their 'advanced' culture. Consequently, the most important questions were where those external influences originated from, how they reached the island so early, and when they actually did so. It was clear from the beginning that overseas links pre-dated the appearance of the palaces and therefore indicated unusually early contacts between Crete, Egypt and the Near East (Evans' preface in Xanthoudides 1924). To explain the origin and development of Minoan culture required the identification of these original links and tracing them down to the appearance of the palaces. Based on this assumption, Evans created an evolutionist view that he materialised with the categorisation of Minoan civilisation into three stages, Early, Middle and Late (Evans 1906).

Little Early Minoan material came from the excavation of the palatial sites since these are mainly preserved in their Neopalatial phase. Thus the investigation into the early influences on the island had to be conducted through the analysis of other evidence. Right from the beginning, the mortuary record proved to be the most productive archaeological source of material of early date, including elaborated items. This, together with other factors such as the discovery of the rich shaft graves at Mycenae by Schliemann, made the early mortuary record a favourite subject for investigation in Crete. From these early investigations three major works stand out as influential studies that embody the characteristics of the early approaches.

The first stems from the work of American archaeologists in the Mirabello Bay area (see Chapter VI). This project, which began as early as 1901, managed to discover several early tombs in the area through the work of H. Boyd Hawes, E. Hall and R. B. Seager (Allsebrook 1992; Becker & Betancourt 1997; Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908; Boyd 1904; 1905; Hall 1914; Muhly 2000; Seager 1909)¹. These were published in short reports since they did not provide any outstanding material, although it was clear to the excavators that the evidence could potentially be of major importance for the relative chronology of ceramic wares, as the attention given to the publication of the vessels from the small rock shelters of Agia Photia Ierapetras shows (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908; Boyd 1904; 1905). Only one cemetery was published extensively: the Early Minoan cemetery at Mochlos. The cemetery was excavated by Seager in 1908 and published in 1912 (Seager 1912). It constituted the first published monograph on a

¹ Harriet Boyd Hawes is cited as Boyd, H. and Boyd Hawes, H. depending on the name she used for each particular publication.

cemetery on the island, revealing a rich collection of material including numerous pieces of gold, stone vessels with Egyptian influence and imported material from the Near East (see Chapter VI).

The publication followed the archaeological paradigms of its time, with the main point of discussion being the dating of the Egyptian and Near Eastern material. The fact that all discussion of the issue was presented in the introduction to the volume, presuming that the cemetery data simply had to be viewed from this point of view, shows how strongly established this archaeological paradigm was (Seager 1912: 1-6). The relative chronology of Early Minoan pottery was also studied with particular care.

All these themes were also found in the second classic work of the early approach, published in 1924 (the publication year of the English translation) by Xanthoudides (Xanthoudides 1924). This work focused on a rather peculiar type of burial context, the tholos tombs, and a different region of the island, the Mesara Valley (Chapter IV). Eight sites were included in the book, all of them excavated by the author between 1904 and 1915.

This publication clearly exemplifies the kind of analysis to which the tombs were subjected at this time, aiming for the identification of traits that could be paralleled with other cultures, and in particular the Egyptian civilisation (Xanthoudides 1924: 128-32). Aside from the chronological discussion of the cemeteries, a second concern was also present in the work: the interpretation of the ritual and beliefs embodied in the tombs and their contents (Xanthoudides 1924: 134-5), which was very much influenced by interest in the study of 'primitive' religion and after-life beliefs developed in anthropological approaches to death in the 19th century, by scholars such Tylor and Frazer (Chapman & Randsborg 1981: 3; Frazer 1890; Tylor 1873).

Ritual and systems of belief in the Cretan record was subsequently explored by various European scholars (Glotz 1925; Nilsson 1950; Pini 1968; Wiesner 1938). These scholars established many of the ideas about mortuary ritual and the systems of belief behind it, which were later adapted to suit new archaeological paradigms and are still present in many modern studies. The first such idea was that a cult of the dead existed in the Minoan culture, as reflected in offerings and feasting rituals at the cemeteries, which were already thought to have involved drinking (Glotz 1925: 277-88; Pini 1968 :29; Wiesner 1938: 128). They also suggested the existence of beliefs in the afterlife, as evidenced by the rituals related to the process of corpse decomposition (secondary burial) and some of the grave goods (Wiesner 1938 :166ff). More

interestingly, Wiesner, under a Durkheimian paradigm and following the ideas of Glotz, suggested that a cult of the dead in Cretan tombs could serve for the renewal and preservation of social life. The cult of common ancestors to the group could have been used as focal point for the cohesion of a clan in the case of a tholos tomb and of a nuclear family in the case of the smaller house tombs (Glotz 1925: 131-7; Wiesner 1938: 104ff). Glotz also suggested that the appearance of burials in pithoi and larnakes in the MM IA period may be evidence of the breakdown of these two institutions into a more individualised social organisation under the auspices of the emerging palaces (Glotz 1925: 131-7; Pini 1968: 34; Wiesner 1938: 104ff).

The excavation of tombs on Crete continued in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. However, most of them were published just as preliminary reports and tended to describe only the most exceptional material. A few exceptions, such as Agia Triada and Mallia, presented better published contexts, but contained little analysis, along the lines of the works discussed above (Banti 1933; Demargne 1932; 1945; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963). These three decades witnessed little if any innovative publication on Cretan mortuary data.

11.1.b The revolution that was not

This monotony in Cretan mortuary studies only came to an end in the early 1970s with a new wave of investigations that had such an impact on the discipline that its effects can still be recognised today in new publications. This change was brought about by a new generation of Aegean scholars, such as Renfrew and Branigan who introduced a new archaeological paradigm to Cretan studies: the so-called 'New Archaeology'. Diffusionism was discarded as non-explanatory and was replaced by models that considered internal social and economic forces in a society. Through rigorous scientific excavations and data analysis, and with the help of anthropological analogies, the archaeological record could now be interpreted in such a way that it would answer questions about the organisation of a society and its changes through time.

This 'New Archaeology' considered the mortuary record such an appropriate archaeological field for the analysis of socio-economic traits that a specific corpus of theory was developed that tried to adapt the new archaeological paradigm to the peculiarities of the mortuary record. This branch of the 'New Archaeology' is known as

'The Archaeology of Death'² and was in the main established by the work of two scholars, Binford and Saxe (Binford 1971; Saxe 1970; see also papers in Brown 1971). Their basic premise maintained that the socio-economic organisation of the living was reflected in their mortuary record, and that the careful study of mortuary data could lead to the discovery of the socio-economic characteristics of a community. This theoretical approach not only had a great potential for the understanding of past societies but also applied a wide range of methodological approaches to the data to fulfil this potential: Binford argued that the more heterogeneous a cemetery, the more social roles it would reflect, and therefore the more complex the society that created it would have been. Saxe's most widely followed suggestion was that clearly defined areas in a cemetery would represent agnatic groups in communities, specially in communities where there was competition for resources (Hypothesis 8; Brown 1995; Goldstein 1981; Morris 1991; Saxe 1970). One of the most successful methodologies was the identification of rank by measuring the expenditure of work on the burials and the evaluation of the grave goods in an economic way, as suggested by Tainter (Arnold 1980; Peebles & Kus 1977; Tainter 1975; Tainter & Corby 1977). All these approaches were based on the postulate that there is a link between the living communities and their burial practices, and that archaeology, through the application of a rigorous methodology, can use cemetery data to identify the social organisation of the living communities.

These approaches formed the archaeological paradigm for the 1970s and early 1980s, and had a major influence on Cretan studies. Branigan's 1970 monograph on the tholos tombs (Branigan 1970b), although published a little before the boom of the 'Archaeology of Death', showed that archaeological conceptions were already undergoing changes. He looked at the tholos as a Cretan development that needed to be understood in the Cretan context rather than simply as a link to overseas predecessors. He was also interested in recovering socio-economic information about Cretan communities through the analysis of their cemeteries, for example examining grave goods as a means of identifying differences in social status (Branigan 1970b: 130-1). Following a proposition from Xanthoudides and the European school (Glotz 1925; Pini 1968; Wiesner 1938; Xanthoudides 1924: 132-3), he suggested that the tholoi may constitute a good way of understanding the occupation of the Mesara Valley, since each tholos potentially contained the burials of a coherent social unit, in this case, given the size and period of use of the tombs, a clan (Branigan 1970b: 125-30). Furthermore, following the ideas of Glotz, Wiesner, and Pini he regarded new

² This term is used in the literature in different ways, but only describes this specific archaeological school here (Lull 2000).

trends of pithos and larnax burials as evidence for a process of dissolution of old clan organisation in favour of the individual (Branigan 1970b: 127, 131).

However, after this promising start, the 'Archaeology of Death' showed very little development during the 1970s and 1980s within the Cretan context. Apart from the discussion of Branigan's ideas mentioned above (Blackman & Branigan 1977; Branigan 1981; 1987b; Whitelaw 1983) and on-going minor discussions about burial architecture (Baurain 1987; Belli 1984; Blackman & Branigan 1982; Pelon 1976; Pierpoint 1987), very little was published. This was mainly due to the poor quality of the previously excavated data, that was not much improved in the few new excavations that were published (Blackman & Branigan 1982). The 'Archaeology of Death' relied on a 'scientific' analysis of clear burial contexts, mainly through statistical analysis (Arnold 1980; Hodson 1977; McHugh 1999; Randsborg 1974b; Tainter 1975). This could not be applied to the Cretan record since almost every tomb constituted an ossuary formed by many centuries of interments that cannot be differentiated into burial packages associated with individuals (Xanthoudides 1924: 134). Under these conditions any application of the scientific methodology was extremely difficult.

Nevertheless, the 'New Archaeology' approach took to a central position the questions about the changes that led Cretan communities to an early 'palatial' society (Branigan 1970a; 1985; 1987c; Cadogan 1986; Cherry 1983; Halstead 1981; 1988; Lewthwaite 1983; Renfrew 1972b; Warren 1987; Whitelaw 1983), in which the study of the mortuary record has had a central role. In the long term the 'Archaeology of Death' has influenced some of the most important attempts to interpret the Prepalatial record: the identification of rank based on wealth differences in the material assemblage has been the object of various papers (Branigan 1991b; Maggidis 1998; Murphy 1998; Soles 1988; 1992b; Watrous 1994; 2001; Whitelaw 1983); the identification of social units within the tombs has been very popular in the literature (Branigan 1970b; 1991a; 1993; Maggidis 1994; Murphy 1998; Papadatos 1999; Soles 1992b; Whitelaw 1983); and the tholoi have been studied as territorial markers for communities competing for resources (Branigan 1993; 1998b; Murphy 1998; Relaki 2003; Whitelaw 1983; 2000).

While perhaps not so significant in terms of methodology, the 'Archaeology of Death' has had a profound impact on the theoretical approaches to the study of Cretan mortuary behaviour, as the proposition that processes of socio-economic change can be identified and understood through the study of the mortuary record has been generally accepted, and questions that the 'Archaeology of Death' posed about social

evolution have dominated the studies of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete (see Section II.2.a).

11.1.c The feeble counter-revolution

Although Post-processual Archaeology is prone to be defined as a revolution, in the case of mortuary studies it constituted a counter-revolution, i.e. it counterbalanced the optimism of the 'Archaeology of Death' in extracting information from mortuary data. The Post-processual critique of the 'Archaeology of Death' appeared in the early 1980s through the work of various authors (Hodder 1980; 1982b; Pader 1980; 1982; Parker-Pearson 1982; Shanks & Tilley 1982) and essentially criticised the simplicity of the assumption that the socio-economic organisation of a community is directly reflected in its mortuary record. They maintained that a complex symbolic and ideological veil lies between the two realities, making a straightforward connection impossible. They also broke down the socio-economic paradigm of the 'New Archaeology' and proposed that human society is a complex system where ideas, symbols and meanings are key factors for its understanding. Hence, in order to understand a given society and its mortuary record, its symbolic and ritual aspects must also be taken into consideration. Given the fact that symbols are randomly created by human societies, one cannot rely on ethnographic parallels to gain a clearer understanding of a particular society, nor can such parallels provide accurate comparisons for past societies. Human diversity cannot be pigeon-holed into anthropological categories based mainly on socio-economic characteristics, as done by the 'New Archaeology'. Every single human society is a world on its own, and must be understood on its own terms.

In this sense, the Post-processual critique stressed that every human group is a complex society, regardless of the way in which it is organised. Each human society is based on a complex interaction of different aspects, such as the economic or ideological. This reveals the fallacies of the evolutionist model which underlay the processualist approach. Change exists in human societies, but this implies neither improvement, nor increasing complexity, nor directionality. Although this creates difficulties for the archaeologist, it also opens up stimulating new possibilities: a whole range of new cultural elements and dynamics can be integrated into the study of mortuary data beyond the purely evolutionary, socio-economic ones of the Processual approach.

One of the main theoretical advances introduced by Post-processual ideas was the suggestion that material culture is an active means of human interaction (Hodder & Hutson 2003; Shanks & Tilley 1987: 116-7). In this case, the cemetery (including both architecture and grave goods) acted as an active arena in which social relationships could be renewed, negotiated and transformed. Parker-Pearson, in a landmark 1982 article, suggested that the cemetery was used actively for the creation and re-creation of social relationships (Parker-Pearson 1982; 1999; see also Lull 2000). This completely changed the conceptualisation of the cemetery from being a passive indicator of status or rank (Arnold 1980; Randsborg 1974a; Tainter 1975), to a context where the elaboration of the social structure was negotiated, placing an importance on the different dynamics in play, which can be identified by archaeologists (Byrd & Monahan 1995; Cannon 1989; Morris 1992; Wason 1994). However, there are also difficulties with this approach. One of the facts made clear by Post-processual approaches is that the role of the cemetery as a social arena differs widely (Carr 1995). It can help to create social difference (Hutchinson & Aragon 2002; Parker-Pearson 1982; 1999), but it can also play the opposite role, masking or hiding social differences for the benefit of the social cohesion of the group (Kuijt 1996). It can also reveal the tensions between both these aspects (Cannon 1995), and there may even be cases where belief and symbolism are the main reasons for a specific mortuary behaviour, with very tenuous links to either social or economic aspects (Carr 1995; Tarlow 1992; 1999; Ucko 1969).

It is beyond the scope of this review to explore the whole range of approaches brought to the investigation of death and burial by Post-processualists, especially since many of them have failed to have any impact on Cretan archaeology; however, a few need to be mentioned as they have been applied to the Cretan context. While these represent departures from previous research into the Cretan funerary record, they have not, in the main, effectively implemented the radical changes in archaeological thought advocated by Post-processual archaeology.

For Pre- and Protopalatial studies, the questions have remained largely unchanged since the 1970s: they seek to explain the socio-economic changes of the Early and Middle Bronze Age, more recently in a less palatial-focused way (Osborne 2004: 88). The studies have been mainly concerned with identifying status and rank in the cemeteries. New approaches to questions about vertical differentiation in cemeteries have acknowledged the Post-processual critique that status and rank can be marked in many other ways besides the purely economic (Carr 1995; O'Shea 1984; Pader 1982; Wason 1994). Consequently, new concepts have arisen in the

archaeological explanation of the Cretan mortuary data, for example the way in which status was reflected in certain symbolic objects such as seals (Blasingham 1983; Karytinos 1998; Sbonias 1995; 1999b) or daggers (Nakou 1995; Whitelaw 1983).

Other authors have explored ways of combining ideological aspects with socio-economic ones for the better understanding of Cretan societies. This has put many of the old suggestions about ritual and symbolism developed by Glotz, Nilsson, Wiesner, and Branigan back into play (Branigan 1970b; Glotz 1925; Nilsson 1950; Pini 1968; Wiesner 1938). The best example is Branigan's update of his 1970 book (Branigan 1993), which revises many of these ideas, such as the concept of feasting and toasting in cemeteries as an important means of negotiating the social interactions of the communities, a line of thought that has proven very popular (Catapoti 2005; Damilati 2004; Hamilakis 1998; La Rosa 2001; Panagiatopoulos 2001; Relaki 2003); or the cult of the dead as an interesting approach to a community's life (Branigan 1987b; 1991a; Murphy 1998; Soles 2001; *contra* Whitley 2002).

Only very recently have Post-processual approaches resulted in more innovative studies, with the introduction of new questions to Cretan mortuary studies, such as the identification of the relationship between different cultural groups at the cemetery of Agia Photia Sitias (Betancourt 2003b; Davaras & Betancourt 2004; Day *et al.* 1998; Karantzali forthcoming). In addition, new approaches to funerary ritual have resulted in a fresh look at the evidence of ritual and cult in the cemeteries and a departure from the framework created by Glotz, Wiesner and Pini, as seen in studies by Goodison and Georgoulaki (Georgoulaki 1996a; 2002; Goodison 1989; 2001). Goodison, for example, has examined the tholos evidence for afterlife beliefs focusing on aspects of the orientation of the bodies and the doorways of the tombs and connecting them with evidence derived from certain rooms at the palaces. However, this type of work has yet to make an impact on the way in which the island societies are perceived, and it has yet to prove its real value for a better understanding of the Cretan record. Finally, new ideas have sprung from the study of social organisation with the examination of aspects unrelated to rank or status, and authors have begun to explore dynamics beyond the typical interest in vertical differentiation, suggesting that the investigation of horizontal social relations is relevant for the understanding of Cretan communities (see discussion below; Haggis 2002; Papadatos 1999; Relaki 2003).

11.1.d What next?

Each of the various studies noted have contributed to the understanding of the Cretan mortuary record in different ways. The pioneering researchers discovered and recognised the importance of the mortuary world for the EM and MM communities on the island. The processual approaches suggested a new range of questions to be asked of the mortuary record, which are still valid and as yet remain unanswered: how were societies organised and what made them change? Post-processualist approaches on the island have not significantly changed these questions, but have refined them, emphasising that wealth and rank are not the only way to approach the Early and Middle Minoan mortuary record, and renewing interest in symbolism and ideology and the human experience of mortuary behaviour.

However, after reviewing these approaches, one cannot help but feel that, one way or another, most of them form part of a similar line of thought. Most of the studies are based on similar questions and methodologies that have become stagnant, and are failing to produce a better understanding of early Cretan societies. While the different archaeological approaches to death and mortuary behaviour have asked different questions of the data and have approached the evidence in different analytical ways, in the case of Cretan archaeology the differences of the approaches have been levelled by the reality of the data quality, the readily accessible summaries of the principal data, and the specific research questions posed for the Cretan record.

The poor quality of the Cretan data (for a detailed discussion see Chapter III.2) has hampered the analyses and restricted the effectiveness of methodological tools in the examination of the record. As a result, most studies have followed very similar methodologies regardless of their approach; or rather, a lack of methodology has hindered most efforts to study the record and has limited the studies to a narrow set of approaches. The lack of good individual funerary contexts in the record has without doubt restricted some of the most interesting potential avenues in the study of the mortuary record, such as gender or individual behaviour. However, this restriction of studies to very particular questions, i.e. social development, or more explicitly to a very partial view of certain questions, i.e. vertical differentiation, is also the result of the particularities of Cretan prehistory, namely the early appearance of the palaces on Crete (Lewthwaite 1983). This fact has in many ways captivated and dictated studies of Prepalatial Crete, limiting them to the investigation of the developments that led to the creation of palatial society, which has been equated with the study of socio-economic vertical differentiation. A profound critique of past approaches is therefore necessary to

create a more reflective theoretical and methodological approach that breaks away from the limited range of approaches used in Cretan Pre- and Protopalatial mortuary studies. Although the two aspects of archaeological investigation, theory and methodology, are intrinsically linked, for the sake of clarity, the next section will discuss current theoretical issues before a new theoretical framework is proposed and the research questions are stated. A new methodological approach will subsequently be discussed and presented in the next chapter.

112 *Theoretical models*

II.2.a Theoretical problems in the study of the Cretan mortuary record

The appearance of the first palaces³ in Crete has been both a blessing and a curse. A blessing because it has led to much interest from archaeologists and the general public in the Cretan record, and as a result a wealth of investigations regarding the archaeology of the island has been conducted. On the other hand, it has also been a curse because it has dominated the archaeological investigation on Crete, including the research questions, fieldwork, and explanatory models, with an iron fist (Haggis 2002: 121-2; Halstead 2004; Knappett 1999a: 620-1; Relaki 2003: 43-4; cf. Schoep 2006; Schoep & Knappett 2004). Such bias has particularly affected the two periods that are the concern of this study, that is the Prepalatial and the Protopalatial, in different ways. It has been widely accepted that the first 'palaces' appeared at the beginning of the Protopalatial period. This knowledge has been enough for these buildings to take a central position in the explanation of Protopalatial Cretan societies regarding the rest of the territory under the control of these centres, territory which is seen as not requiring explanation (Branigan 1988b; Cadogan 1990; 1994; Cherry 1986; Halstead 1981; 1988; Renfrew 1972b; Warren 1987), yet little archaeological evidence is preserved or recorded from these early palaces on which to base an assessment of their role in MM Crete. Only very recently have some scholars called for a revision of this model and explored a less palace-centred vision in which smaller Cretan communities acquire greater importance (Haggis 2002; Knappett 1999a; Relaki 2003: 215-84; Schoep 2002a; 2002b; 2004; 2006; Schoep & Knappett 2004).

The palaces have also dominated the studies of the Prepalatial period, even though no palaces existed during this period. As has been pointed out by various

³The common term of 'palace' will be used for the MM central buildings that appeared at various large Cretan sites, but this study agrees with most of the modern critique of the term (Day & Relaki 2002; Driessen 2002; Schoep 2002b; 2004; 2006).

authors, the Prepalatial period has always been considered to be the gestation period for palatial society, and therefore all data from this period has been analysed from an evolutionary point of view that assumes that a cumulative process took place during this period that culminated with the creation of the first palaces on Crete (Cherry 1983; Damilati 2004: 72; Day *et al.* 1997: 277-8; Hamilakis 2002b; Papadatos 1999: 10-1; Whitelaw 2004a). Intrinsic to this evolutionary vision is the concept of hierarchy/inequality (Damilati 2004: 3-41; Relaki 2003: 20). The principal quest fuelled by the evolutionary processualist paradigm with regard to the Prepalatial period was the identification of ranked societies (as defined in Fried 1967: 109-10) in the Cretan record for the first time so that their evolution into the first state-like organisations marked by the first palaces could be studied (Branigan 1970a; 1985; 1988a; 1988b; Cadogan 1986; Evans 1921; Halstead 1981; 1988; Lewthwaite 1983; Renfrew 1972b; Warren 1972a; 1987; Zois 1982). It was a matter of pigeon-holing the Cretan Prepalatial record as one of the anthropological categorisations of society, e.g. egalitarian, chiefdom, state. Although this typical evolutionist view has been criticised in the past (Cherry 1983; Manning 1994; 1997; Whitelaw 1983), only recently has there been some critique of the deepest assumptions of this model (Barrett & Damilati 2004; Bintliff 1984; Damilati 2004; Halstead 2004; Hamilakis 2002b; Relaki 2003; 2004; Schoep & Knappett 2004; Tomkins 2004; Whitelaw 2004a; Wright 2004).

It is beyond the scope of this work to analyse all these critiques in detail and revise all the different models that have been put forward for the Pre- and Protopalatial societies (for an excellent review of most of them see Catapoti 2005; Damilati 2004), so the critique here will only focus on the main evolutionist/processualist assumptions from which most of the studies, even the most recent ones, have not been able to break free, or even acknowledge. As pointed out by Damilati, all the various explanatory models of Prepalatial Cretan societies have in one way or another assumed that there existed a development from 'simple' egalitarian societies to 'complex' palace society during this period, regardless of the various rhythms, reasons and nature they propose for the changes (Damilati 2004: 92-3). Cretan prehistory is seen as a cumulative process towards improvement and complexity.

There are three basic flaws in this assumption: that Cretan prehistory was unilinear, cumulative and teleological. While the conception of Cretan prehistory as a unique process will be discussed below, the idea of it being linear, teleological and cumulative needs some attention. Under these assumptions, Cretan prehistory is conceptualised as a continuous development towards a more complex political organisation. In this model, Prepalatial Crete is understood from a teleological point of

view, with the process culminating in the palace. But this was not the case: Cretan history comprises the stories of communities that changed again and again, not towards an objective but in accordance with various necessities and circumstances, and many of these changes need not be connected with the dynamics that produced the early palace communities. Change is neither linear, nor cumulative; purely in terms of political organisation, it is possible that short-term movements towards hierarchical societies were counterbalanced by movements away from such socio-political organisation. Assuming linearity, accumulation and teleology actually undermines the complexity of the history of Cretan communities, and leads to an interpretation of the evidence on the basis of a biased theoretical model that, at its deepest level, even has moral connotations, such as the identification of development with progress and improvement.

Moreover, underlying this 'developmental' assumption in Cretan studies has been the fallacy that processes of vertical differentiation formed the backbone of the development of Cretan society. It has therefore been assumed that identifying and explaining vertical differentiation was the same as understanding Cretan societies. The search for vertical differentiation within Cretan societies has dominated the questions, explanatory models and language of Pre- and Protopalatial studies for the last 35 years and continues to do so, regardless of the particular approach taken by each study.

This assumption is essentially flawed in two main ways. First, it leads to the illusory conclusion that identifying and explaining vertical differentiation is the same as understanding a human society (Crumley 1995: 2-3; Haggis 2002; Schoep & Knappett 2004; White 1995: 104). This problem originates from the 'developmental' assumption that the political and economic structure of a society naturally evolves towards stratification, i.e. complexity (Damilati 2004; Hamilakis 2002b; Tomkins 2004). But this is not true, as any society is 'complex' regardless of its particular socio-political organisation. Even so-called egalitarian societies must be considered 'complex', complexity being regarded as the number and levels of social interrelationships that exist within a human society (Diehl 2000; Georgousopoulou 2004; Haggis 2002; Wiessner 2002). Complex here refers to the number of different relationships that an individual or a group of individuals has to take into consideration when reaching a decision, independent of the particular nature of these relationships. For example, the sheer number of kinship relationships that an individual in a so-called egalitarian society holds and the rights and duties that they imply may seem overwhelming by modern European standards. These kinship relationships draw upon equally complex and subtle social considerations and relationships as the social decision of an

individual involved in a highly hierarchical society. The notion of complexity will thus never be used in this paper to describe a society since all are complex, and the term does not supply any information about human organisation. Instead, an attempt will be made to discover the way in which the various Cretan communities were complex, and the kind of relationships which marked their lives and how they managed them. In the particular case of Crete, the search for hierarchy has left most of the archaeological record without explanation as, even given a regional integrated structure, internal vertical differentiation will only apply to a restricted number of communities in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete. This leaves the social organisation of most Cretan communities unexplained, simply characterised as non-complex or hierarchical, two terms that are empty of real meaning or explanatory power.

The second flaw of the focus on processes of social differentiation relates to the fact that an exclusive interest in vertical differentiation dynamics does not help to explain the communities in which these dynamics have been recognised. First, because social organisation is a very complex reality whose explanation goes beyond understanding vertical differentiation (Biehl & Marciniak 2000; Brumfiel & Colledge 1995; Crumley 1995; 2001; 2003; Falconer 1994; McIntosh 1999; Pauketat 2000b; Schoep & Knappett 2004; Stein 1998; White 1995; Wiessner 2002; Zagarell 1995); horizontal relationships are essential to understanding any kind of human society, including highly hierarchical ones. And second because the exclusive analytical focus on vertical differentiation dynamics limits the investigation and explanation of these dynamics. Vertical differentiation springs from a shared social organisation and from the set of rules and conventions that determined common social life; it is not a dynamic set apart from the surrounding social life (Wiessner 2002; Wolpert 2004: 129). Without understanding the social organisation of Cretan communities holistically, how hierarchy was created, maintained and negotiated cannot be understood (further discussion in Sections II.2.b.ii and iii).

Another theoretical criticism that can be made of most mortuary studies on Crete is their monolithic nature both in spatial and chronological terms. Variation is a basic notion that is barely included in the research or the explanatory models. With respect to spatial variation, apart from the division of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete into regions depending on the interment types that have been studied essentially in isolation (the Mesara with tholos tombs, north and east Crete with rectangular tombs: Belli 1984; Branigan 1970b; Pelon 1976; Soles 1992b), few other factors have been taken into consideration, and even the consequences of the different tomb typologies have been only superficially explored (Branigan 1988a: 152-78; Georgoulaki 1996a;

Glutz 1925: 322; Papadatos 1999: 103-19, 152-70; Soles 1992b: 249-51; Wiesner 1938: 108). Under these general divisions the individuality of the cemetery is lost, and the evidence from each specific site is simply added to the generalisations made about regions on Crete. But new studies have started to point out the existence of different relevant spatial scales that need to be taken into consideration since they represent important social networks (Day *et al.* 1997; Haggis 2002; Relaki 2003; 2004; Sbonias 1995; Whitelaw *et al.* 1997). Unfortunately, these new studies focus on specific areas and types of networks. This single spatial scaling, however, is simplistic, since different relevant human relationships existed at different spatial scales and interacted to generate the life of Cretan communities (Relaki 2003; 2004). The potential of the mortuary record to produce a more relevant identification of the different and multiples spatial scales, a more in-depth analysis of the significance of the variations across the island, and a new examination of the interaction of the various spatial scales in the life of Cretan communities has yet to be explored.

Chronological differences have not been completely denied in the record, but they have been ignored by many studies. This is explained to some extent by the poor quality of the data. The use of many tombs for long periods of time and the particular problems encountered in the dating of some periods (see section III.2.b) has made it extremely difficult to date many funerary contexts. While these problems mean the creation of a chronological framework is a difficult task, they cannot be used as excuses for the lack of such a framework in the studies, a state of affairs which has led to much confusion in the analyses and explanatory models. The discussion of processes of vertical differentiation in the mortuary record of south-central Crete is a good example of this. Here various scholars, most of whom discuss the same material but without a clear analysis of the basis for their dating, have suggested very different dates for the earliest identification of rank in the mortuary record: EM II (Carter 1998: 72-4; MacSweeney 2004; Watrous 2001: 222-4; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 242) and EM III - MM IA (Blasingham 1983: 18; Cherry 1983: 40; 1984; Papadatos 1999: 167-70; Sbonias 1995: 150; 1999b: 46; Schoep & Knappett 2004; Watrous 1994: 717), while others fail to give a clear date (Branigan 1984; Murphy 1998). Only recently have processes of vertical differentiation begun to be situated in more complex and locally relevant chronological frames (Relaki 2003; Whitelaw 2004a). This example shows that a critical and meticulous approach to the dating of the evidence is necessary for the understanding of the mortuary record. Only through a clear discussion of chronological issues can a more fertile discussion about mortuary behaviour in the Cretan record be conducted.

This poor and fuzzy chronological discussion has been further impoverished by some assumptions about time derived from the 'developmental' paradigm. It would seem that once a process has appeared in the archaeological record it no longer needs to be explained, it simply continues to exist in the form in which it has been identified, or it develops in terms of complexity but not in its nature. However, human societies are in a state of constant balancing and reconstruction, different aspects of a society are constantly being negotiated and revised, new ones appear while others disappear (Elliott & Kiel 1996), or survive by adapting to very different organisational principles. Taking the example of the ever popular discussion about vertical differentiation once again, this process is assumed to have been maintained once it is identified in the archaeological record. This is not necessarily the case, as vertical differentiation appears and readily disappears from human society (Crumley 1995; Keswani 1996; Pauketat 2000b; White 1995; Wiessner 2002; Wright 2004; Yaeger 2000). Furthermore, it may have been based on organisational structures and social dynamics that could have changed significantly by period and between sites, and therefore these processes must be characterised for each community and period in which they are identified (Whitelaw 2004a). Not only must a clear and conscious discussion of the chronology be included in the theoretical models, but there is also need for a complex conception of variation through time that is not based on teleological, cumulative or progressive assumptions.

II.2.b Towards a new theoretical framework

◆ II.2.b.i Time and space

This study looks specifically at variations in the archaeological record, defining variation in terms of differences and similarities, changes and continuities in the two most important axes of variation: the chronological and the spatial. Both are complex variables that incorporate many different levels. Variation in time and space results from the combination of a number of processes that range from the short-term, small-scale, to the long-term, island-wide scale, along with many intermediate relevant mid-term, mid-scale level dynamics (Bintliff 1984; Chapman 1996; Foxhall 2000). These multi-tiered concepts need to be implemented within a new theoretical framework and a new methodology in order to apply them to the archaeological record. In this section, the theoretical issues will be discussed while the methodological issues of applying a complex conception of time and space to the record will be examined in Chapter III.

Variation occurred on every scale of the spatial axis. From the smallest human scales, the individual and the household, through the community, to the supra-community scales, and up to the island-wide scale. The island represents the largest and final scale of this study as it provides a clear boundary in the investigation of the mortuary behaviour of Crete, and although it is true that off-island influences are in some way relevant as shown by the deposition of off-island material in tombs, these influences must be studied through the way in which Cretan societies interpreted and manipulated them, making it unnecessary for this study to go beyond the island level in the analysis.

Although the individual represents the first and smallest unit of study in human behaviour, it constitutes a level impossible to reach in the Cretan mortuary record as clear, discrete burials cannot be identified in the disturbed deposits. Only in a few cases have bodies been found in primary deposition but never with a clear set of grave goods associated with them, and since they have not been subjected to scientific examination they provide no information about the individuals.

Therefore, this study considers the nuclear family to be the first significant level of investigation. The nuclear family is a concept that has been the object of little discussion in the Cretan record, but is generally assumed to be the basic domestic unit on Crete, i.e. people that live together under the same roof. This has been supposed based on information from the few well known domestic contexts for the EM and MM periods, especially following the discussion of the evidence from the EM II settlement of Mirtos Phourni-Korifi (Warren 1972a; Whitelaw 1983). Whitelaw's suggestion that the household in EBA Crete consisted of four to six individuals, which would correspond to a nuclear family has been widely accepted (Whitelaw 1983: 332-3).

Thus, the nuclear family has been assumed to be the basic social unit in the organisation of Cretan societies. This interpretation has been transferred directly to studies of the tombs, and it has been proposed that the nuclear family represented the unit in which the social group that was buried in the tombs can be measured. The discovery of more than one nuclear family unit in a tomb simply points to larger kinship groups being interred in the tomb, such as a clan or extended family (Bintliff 1989; Bintliff in Blackman & Branigan 1977; Branigan 1987b; 1993: 93; Maggidis 1994: 109-13; Papadatos 1999: 98-103; Soles 1992b: 252-3). First, such a simplistic, one-to-one correlation between household, nuclear family and tomb is problematic. The nuclear family (father, mother, sons and daughters) does not necessarily equate to a household, nor to the group that is entitled to be interred in a tomb. Members of a

family marry and change residence, and it is possible that residence, family identity and place of interment did not correspond. This raises questions, such as: were the deceased buried where they lived and died or in the tomb where their father and/or mother were buried? Marrying and locality rules may have significantly affected the group that was interred at each tomb, perhaps not so much in terms of the quantity of interments, but in the composition of the group and in the social identity and social ties that were deployed in the tomb (Steuer 1982). Second, large kinship groups such as clans cannot simply be broken down into nuclear families as a unit of measurement. Larger kinship groups are of a much more complex nature than the simple agglomeration of nuclear families. Moreover, the concept of a clan is by no means clear; it has very different traits and modes of implementation across the world and should be only used under a more accurate definition.

Until the excavation of a tomb and its related settlement is conducted to modern standards, including the scientific analysis of the human remains, the nature of the social group interred in the tomb cannot be discovered. In the meantime, the social unit that used each tomb still needs to be investigated, as does its relationship with social organisation and its variation between periods and cemeteries. There seems to have been a gap between the group of four to six individuals that comprised the typical household and the typically larger social unit interred in a tomb (Branigan 1993; Maggidis 1994; Papadatos 1999; Soles 1992b) that cannot be simply bridged by the assumption that various households were interred in the same tomb. The challenge here is to understand the rule that determined the place of interment and therefore the link between individuals interred in the tomb: lineage (real or fictional, matrilineal or patrilineal), locality (uxorilocal, virilocal), or other types of social links. In this regard, while this study will always take the domestic unit of four to six individuals which seems to correspond with a nuclear family into consideration, it will take great care in the projection of this social unit directly into the tomb and will analyse the evidence through a more open approach, always drawing upon the specific context of a cemetery.

Definitions become increasingly problematic as the spatial focus of study is widened. Various nuclear families that live together are usually called a community; however the concept of a community in archaeology has recently been revisited by many authors in a book edited by Canuto and Yaeger that has raised many questions about such a simple definition (Goldstein 2000; Hare 2000; Isbell 2000; Joyce & Hendon 2000; Marcus 2000; Mehrer 2000; Pauketat 2000a; Preucel 2000; Yaeger 2000; Yaeger & Canuto 2000). The different papers have made it clear that community is a socially created concept that varies dramatically from one region or culture to

another (Joyce & Hendon 2000; Marcus 2000) and that evolves through time (Pauketat 2000a). Regardless of the wide range of scenarios touched upon by the different papers, the definition that arose from most of the papers in the book seems to characterise the community as the most relevant scale of supra-family social organisation. This can, in some cases, be equated with the village but at other times equates to larger regional entities that have little to do with settlement or locality (Hare 2000; Isbell 2000; Marcus 2000; Pauketat 2000a; Yaeger & Canuto 2000). These studies have highlighted the fact that community is a context-defined concept that, to further complicate matters, is actually quite malleable as it can change its definition and its social and spatial boundaries through time. All these analyses posed important questions regarding community, identity, residence and use of landscape that need to be defined in each archaeological context. In Crete many studies have shown that the cemetery was an important context for the island's Pre- and Protopalatial societies, and it is logical to believe that it signified a meaningful relationship among all the individuals buried in the same location. Consequently, community is defined in this study as the living human group that interned their deceased together in the same cemetery. In most cases, the excavated cemeteries have been linked to nearby settlements as identified by excavation or survey, which suggests that the community interned at a cemetery is related to the settlement situated nearby. This does not necessarily imply that all the deceased from a settlement were interned in the nearby cemetery given that, as has been said, some rules may apply that distinguish between residence and place of interment; rather than proving a flaw in the concept of community, or in the analysis of the record employed here, this simply makes this study more cautious with regard to the models that have been suggested which connect community, identity and settlement (Branigan 1998b; Murphy 1998). A nominal settlement-community-cemetery relationship as described above will be taken as a starting point for the analysis of the material, but it is not assumed that such a one-to-one relationship always existed. For example, in the Asterousia Mountains the possibility that cemeteries were related to more than one hamlet will be analysed, and the consequences that this may have for the conception of community in this region will be discussed (Chapter IV).

Similar issues are encountered in the identification and definition of supra-community levels of analysis and interpretation. In fact, things are more problematic since a reference point as good as the cemetery does not exist for identifying these scales, and for assessing how many relevant spatially nested or inter-connecting supra-community scales existed, their reach and their nature. While the whole island

provides a relevant geographic and conceptual boundary, the intermediate scales between the individual community and the island extent remain undefined.

Supra-community units have nevertheless been found to be relevant for the study of Cretan prehistory, although such units have normally been defined and treated in a very loose way (see for example Branigan 1968c: 226), and some critical consideration is needed before the full potential for the understanding of Cretan societies that these scales contain can be unleashed. While some work has recently been done on these supra-community scales (Haggis 2002; Legarra Herrero 2004; Sbonias 1995), only the work of Relaki has taken an in-depth look at the theoretical issues for the understanding of supra-community levels (Relaki 2003; Relaki 2004). She has found the term 'region' to be far from ideal as it has been normally equated with fixed geographical boundaries, and has proposed the use of concept 'network of relevance', defined as 'the means by which relations between people, places and objects are generated, maintained and transformed', to talk about supra-community social units (Relaki 2003: 100-1). Of the different characteristics attributed to this concept by the author, of particular relevance is the classification of these supra-community scales as socially-defined. This means that, first, several social networks can exist at the same time at different scales, from small vicinity inter-community scales to Aegean-wide scales depending on their aims and the types of relationships they encourage. Some of these networks perhaps correspond to a certain degree, but not necessarily exactly, to geographical boundaries. Second, inter-community networks were in a constant state of change, which means that their spatial dimension was being modified accordingly. Third, such socially defined regions need not have existed as clearly divided spatial entities; they did not have distinct boundaries and overlapped with other similar networks, so it cannot be assumed that they will be found in the record as clear, discrete patterns.

This study agrees with the view taken by Relaki that the definition of meaningful supra-community levels must be based on identified social interactions, and to this end the mortuary record provides a privileged insight. The strength of the use of mortuary behaviour is that it does not rely on mere distributions of certain materials (Branigan 1968c; Legarra Herrero 2004; Sbonias 1995), or certain architectural traits (Belli 2003; Goodison 2001; Hillbom 2003; La Rosa 2001), but on a more in-depth and comprehensive category: the way in which communities actually did things, including the ideological and ritual aspects connected to their behaviour, i.e. mortuary behaviour.

In order to fulfil this aim, a bottom-up approach is presented here that will subsequently be developed into a similar methodology (Chapter III). The bottom-up characteristic of the approach addresses the problem caused by the lack of perfectly defined spatial patterns, and by the different mortuary behaviours of Cretan societies which gradually blended into each other across the island. The characterisation of the mortuary behaviour at each cemetery can allow an understanding of the variations that characterised individual cemeteries, and their differentiation from what constituted the common mortuary behaviour in an area. This systematic investigation of the record through the identification of differences and similarities permits the discovery of core distributions for different mortuary behaviours and the definition of their influence. While a myriad of potentially relevant supra-community scales may have existed in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete, not all of them necessarily bore the same significance in the lives of Cretan communities (Haggis 2002; Sbonias 1999a); some are likely to have been more relevant than others. It is believed here that given the importance attached by the Cretan communities to their cemeteries, patterning in mortuary behaviour investigated in this bottom-up fashion can be used to identify some of the most relevant supra-community scales.

Communities that followed a similar mortuary behaviour are somehow related in a deeper way than the mere sharing of burial customs. Mortuary behaviour represents an important social activity that is bound to be intimately related with other social concerns. Hence, it constitutes a new and interesting avenue for defining how different or similar the social organisation of various communities was. Although the study of mortuary behaviour is of limited value for the characterisation of a whole society, the study of the relationship between the mortuary record and the social organisation of a community can provide an excellent insight into supra-community variation. Studying the spatial patterns of mortuary behaviour can shed light on more significant patterning between communities, such as patterns of social organisation.

At this point a digression must be made to point out the dangers of a simplistic use of parallels between the mortuary record and the organisation of a community (see Chapter III for a more detailed discussion). Despite the warnings of Post-processual archaeology about correlating some traits in mortuary behaviour directly with social processes (Braun 1981; Carr 1995; Hodder 1980; 1982b; O'Shea 1984; Pader 1980; 1982; Parker-Pearson 1982; Wason 1994), this is still done. For example, many studies in Cretan archaeology have considered large depositions of metal objects in tombs as indicators of an emerging elite (Branigan 1983, 1991b; Cultraro 2001: 110; Davaras 1975; Demargne 1930; Manning 1994: 244; Soles 1988; Van Effenterre 1980:

246; Warren 1989: 60). This study avoids such correlations, and uses mortuary behaviour as a means of relating funerary activities to social dynamics. Mortuary behaviour can reveal the different dynamics that existed in a cemetery through the detailed and contextual analysis of the archaeological evidence. In this way, only social dynamics that have been identified in the cemetery through a combination of the different types of archaeological data can be put forward for testing against social processes in the living community, and even in this case a direct correlation needs to be proven rather than assumed. In the example of the identification of an emerging elite, only a clear archaeological understanding of the relationship between different contexts in a cemetery based on the material assemblage, architectural traits, and ritual activities, and the comparison of the identified relationships with nearby contemporaneous cemeteries, can lead to the recognition of vertical differences in the cemetery. Only once this is achieved can mortuary behaviour be related to the social organisation of a community. This type of correlation needs a high resolution of data which cannot be achieved at many of the cemeteries, but where possible, it will provide a secure interpretation of social aspects through mortuary data (see Chapter III).

While such an approach may seem better suited to the study of medium and large spatial scales, or 'regional' scales, it also proves itself useful for the study of relationships between nearby communities that have been suggested to represent an important part of the organisation of Cretan communities (Haggis 2002). The mortuary behaviour in various nearby cemetery and their variation through time can shed light on specific small-scale inter-community dynamics. Cemeteries may reflect some of these dynamics, such as the comparison of different expansion and contraction periods of various nearby communities. In addition, there is the potential to explore the role of the cemetery as an arena for interaction between nearby communities (Branigan 1988a; 1991a; 1998b; Murphy 1998; 2000; 2003; Relaki 2003). It must be borne in mind that funeral activities were likely to draw people from neighbouring communities that had some kind of relationship with the deceased and constituted a perfect arena for displaying and communicating messages to members of other communities (Pearson 1998).

For the purposes of this study, Crete has been divided into four large regions based to some degree on geographical units, but also on other aspects such as general particularities in the mortuary record as identified by different authors (Branigan 1970b; Legarra Herrero 2004; Sbonias 1995; Soles 1992b), and particularities in the research history of each region. While characterisation based on past research biases will be avoided, the research histories must be considered in the study as they have

determined what is known of the funerary archaeology of the different regions. The five large areas are therefore only taken as starting points and represent an initial loose contextualisation of the data to aid the organisation and presentation of the evidence, with little meaning beyond this.

In general, previous studies have failed to acknowledge chronological variations in the mortuary behaviour of a community, and there is a need to create flexible models that go beyond the implicit assumption of many studies that the tombs were used in the same way throughout their histories. But to properly understand variation in the history of the use of a tomb or a cemetery it must be acknowledged that it is the result of the complex interactions of different processes at different time scales. The immediacy of a human life or political decisions, interact with the medium-term scales of, for example, kinship relations and with long-term processes, such as subsistence strategies. The archaeological record is the result of the interaction of events operating at different chronological scales (Foxhall 2000).

A bottom-up approach can, in a way similar to spatial analysis, give a systematic overview of the time scales of the different processes that are embedded in mortuary behaviour. Likewise, some of the non-funerary processes that affected Cretan communities can be approached through the understanding of the different time scales of funerary processes. Although the specifics of this approach will be explained in the next chapter, it can be proposed here that a careful analysis of the mortuary evidence can begin to separate out different time scales in mortuary behaviour. Short-term activities that took place in a tomb, that is both unique events and short term patterns (a repeated action over a short period of time) are like the smallest of spatial contexts in that they are very difficult to reach for archaeologists. While it may be possible to recognise a few short-term activities, such as cleaning events, many others, such as individual interments, may pass unnoticed. Nevertheless, they need to be accounted for in the theoretical framework and the explanations of change as these kinds of short-term activities can represent profound changes in a community. They also had important repercussions for the formation of the archaeological record; for example, a single deposition event of gold items in the form of a necklace can diametrically change the archaeological conception of the tomb.

While most short-terms variations will escape us, repeated single activities over longer periods can leave aggregate traces in the archaeological record and provide an insight into medium-term processes which are more accessible to archaeologists. In many cases, the mortuary behaviour in a tomb can be understood in the chronological

context of the medium-term and compared with behaviour during previous and later periods. Long-term trends are probably the easiest to identify as their repeated practice, even when subjected to a few contingent variations, usually leaves a clearer and more durable archaeological footprint.

The study of processes that occurred on different chronological scales seems possible, and their connection with other non-funerary social processes should represent a profitable insight into the life of Cretan communities. A basic way of looking at this connection is examining the rates of change. Sudden profound variations in mortuary behaviour can be thought to relate in some way to similarly dramatic changes in the life of Cretan communities. But other chronological patterns associated with other evidence can also help characterise some of the social processes in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete which helps provide a context for understanding the significance of the changes in mortuary behaviour. In order for the analysis of the chronological dimension to be more controlled, the data chapters in this study will be divided by period; this will allow the systematic approach to the chronological issues explained above to be taken, and will lead to the more detailed analysis of changes in mortuary behaviour over time.

Finally, variation in temporal processes is to some degree related to spatial scales. While there is no simple direct relationship between the spatial and chronological scales, there definitely seems to be some association between the two. Specific political decisions, in the case of non-state societies, were taken at small spatial scales, while dynamics deployed on larger scales, such as subsistence strategies, were normally the subject of slow changes over the long-term and were more resistant to everyday changes. This does not, however, mean that variations in such large-scale processes did not happen in everyday life, but in general the norms that regulated these large processes were more resilient in the face of small variations.

◆ II.2.b.ii Theoretical definitions

Before this study looks further into developing a theoretical framework, a careful evaluation and definition needs to be made of certain important concepts that have appeared in most of the explanatory models but have rarely been discussed, such as inequality, social organisation, and vertical differentiation. Recently, Damilati has produced an excellent discussion of the different terms that are used in connection with processes of social vertical differentiation, such as inequality, status, rank or

stratification, which has served to highlight the dangers of using them without a clear theoretical discussion (Damilati 2004: 117-64).

First, a point about the term inequality must be made: inequality is present in every single human society. Social categories such as gender or age sanction the differential access of individuals to social resources, decision making and social privileges. But inequality also exists in every human society among individuals who share the same social position, as individual personalities always create differences, even between persons engaged in theoretically equal relationships (Clark & Blake 1994: 18; Crumley 2003: 137; Hamilakis 2002b: 14; Relaki 2003: 20; White 1995; Wiessner 2002). Therefore, inequality and social differentiation can be assumed to be present in Cretan communities from the beginning of the period under study, and they need to be detached from the concept of vertical differentiation; consequently the term inequality will not be used in this study to refer to vertical differentiation. Also, under this principle of universal inequality, some recent approaches that have maintained that horizontal complex relationships developed in the EM I-II periods must be criticised (Schoep & Knappett 2004: 25). Horizontal complex social dynamics that structured Cretan societies existed on Crete since the arrival of the first human groups on the island, and this study agrees with Tomkins in his critique of past views of Neolithic societies on Crete that regarded this period as simple in terms of social organisation (Tomkins 2004). A clear understanding of inequality in a society is still an interesting area for research, but it should not be equated with the investigation into the formation of a hierarchical social structure. The latter only represents a particular institutionalised form of inequality.

In this study the term vertical differentiation will be employed to refer to the dynamic that leads to institutionalised unequal access to social resources (economic, political, ritual) among individuals of the same social group, and the ability to transmit these privileged rights via kinship. Vertical differentiation denotes the structural movement towards hierarchical societies with clearly stratified social groups. Therefore, when vertical differentiation is identified in the record it must be described in detail, as there is a wide range of possibilities within the dynamic: was it well established? Was differentiated status achieved or inherited? Was the basis of this differentiation economic, political or ritual? On the scale between 'egalitarian' societies, i.e. societies that enforce equal rights, duties and access to resources for individuals within the same social group, and societies with a clearly hierarchical organisation in economic, political, and ritual terms, there exists an infinite number of possible types of society: transegalitarian (Hayden 1997: 11), big-man, great-man (Godelier 1986; Robb 1999;

Strathern 1991), ranked societies (Fried 1967: 109-84), middle range societies (Feinman & Neitzel 1984; Rousseau 2001), group-oriented chiefdoms (Renfrew 1972a; Renfrew 2001), and network organisations (Feinman 2001). All these terms define types of organisation in which certain individuals have attained some sort of status that puts them in a position of social advantage. The different terms denote different approaches to these types of 'non-hierarchical' communities (this is the term that it will be employed to name this loose category of societies), which have placed an emphasis on the different characteristics of these societies and have defined them in a slightly different ways, normally because they rely on different ethnographic examples. This limits the possibility of applying these terms and concepts of society to early Cretan societies, as the particular ethnographic examples on which they are based do not necessarily hold much relevance for processes in other parts of the world (McIntosh 1999). Each non-hierarchical society has a distinctive combination of characteristics that makes its social organisation unique (Drennan 1996; O'Shea & Barker 1996). Furthermore, all these definitions of non-hierarchical societies are based mainly on the study of vertical differentiation, which is not the only, and necessarily the best way to approach the study of a specific society. As has been pointed out above, the characterisation of a given society by its vertical differentiation dynamics alone impoverishes the understanding of such a society. This study will try to avoid the constraints of typologies and their bias towards vertical differentiation processes, and instead will investigate Cretan societies within an open theoretical framework that allows the specific realities of the Cretan record to be explored and will try to characterise Cretan societies by recognising their particular social traits.

Consequently, a term is needed on which to focus this study, one that conveys much more than just vertical differentiation and that permits the investigation of Cretan communities in a much more comprehensive, relevant and complex way; such a term is social organisation. Social organisation can be understood in many ways, the narrowest definition being the way individuals relate to each other in terms of kinship, age or gender relationships with no reference to economic or ideological relationships. However, the use of this term in this sense is not particularly helpful since kinship, age, gender, economy, ideology, ritual, and any other aspect of human experience are intrinsically linked and cannot be separated. Any separation of the component parts for methodological reasons should always be temporary, given that the specific aspect studied will eventually need to be reconsidered in the wider context of human society. The term social organisation is used in this study to refer to the holistic view of the organisational structure of a community. This structure includes the way a community

was ordered: the type of dynamics, horizontal and vertical, that represent the relational framework of the society, with their particular characteristics (group oriented, coercive, etc.). It also incorporates the specific rules that determined economic, ideological, kinship, gender, age and any other possible types of human relationships within the structural framework (marital rules, kinship organisation, etc.). In addition, it refers to power, which is defined as the ability of certain individuals or certain groups of individuals to manipulate these relationships. Thus, in this study, social organisation refers to the term 'society' in its broadest sense, i.e. as a group of people organised under the same principles and rules. Society does not necessarily correspond to group identity, nor does it necessarily mean that there was a conscious link between the communities (as defined above) that comprised it. Communities that have no relationships between them can form part of the same society as they share the same social organisation.

So Cretan societies have some relevance to the way Pre- and Protopalatial Crete is understood as an 'etic' concept, but they need not necessarily have had the same relevance for Cretan communities, as they may not have represented a category that they recognised or which was important in everyday life. It does, however, seem logical to consider the idea that the concept of society has the potential to be an important category for Cretan communities as they may have been aware of similar communities that shared similar subsistence strategies, kinship organisation and even mortuary rituals. Human interaction is easier between communities that share similar organisational rules (Aswani in Wiessner 2002). But this possibility of 'society' being a relevant 'emic' concept still needs to be proven for prehistoric Crete.

Independently of its 'emic' relevance, society seems as useful a notion for the study of the Cretan evidence as community. Both look at relevant social entities for the interpretation of Cretan Prehistory that can be followed in the archaeological record through a careful examination of the evidence. Furthermore, both concepts are malleable enough to be adapted to different approaches to the evidence, and to be incorporated in explanatory models that understand Cretan prehistory in a complex, malleable, ever-changing, counter-poised, non-linear and even non-structured way.

◆ **II.2.b.iii Social organisation: beyond heterarchy and hierarchy**

Only very recently have Cretan studies begun to broaden their perspectives and realise that society is structured by many dynamics and rules which do not, in their majority, have to do with ranking or vertical differentiation (Day & Relaki 2002; Haggis

2002; Hamilakis 2002b; Papadatos 1999; Relaki 2003; Schoep & Knappett 2004). While these studies have hinted at the potential of a new approach, the implementation of such ideas in the explanatory models has not yet been fulfilled, and a new theoretical framework that focuses on social organisation and takes a broader look at the social experience of Pre- and Protopalatial Cretan communities has yet to be developed.

Most of these new approaches to Crete are based on the relatively new archaeological concept of heterarchy (Brumfiel & College 1995; Crumley 1979; 1995; 2001; 2003; Falconer 1994; Hageman & Lohse 2003; Joyce & Hendon 2000; Keswani 1996; King & Potter 1994; Levy 1995; McIntosh 1999; Mehrer 2000; O'Reilly 2003; Pauketat 2000b; Scarborough *et al.* 2003; Small 1995; Stein 1998; White 1995; Zagarell 1995). The term has been defined as an organisation in which 'each element possesses the potential of being unranked (relative to other elements) or ranked in a number of different ways, depending on systemic requirements' (Crumley 1979: 144; for a slightly updated version see Crumley 2001: 19-20), and it refers to the study of horizontal social organisation and patterns of integration in a community as opposed to hierarchy and vertical differentiation. These authors aim at a more thorough understanding of society through the investigation of principles of organisation that do not necessarily involve hierarchy, such as kinship obligations, marriage and gift exchange type networks. Heterarchy has normally been applied to state-like societies where vertical differentiation existed, as a means of including organisational structures and principles in the studies that the concept of hierarchy does not cover. Some studies have assumed that heterarchy is a relevant concept only for the study of ranked or stratified societies (Keswani 1996; Levy 1995; Zagarell 1995).

However, the concept of heterarchy is also hampered by many limitations (see below), and therefore the approaches based on such notion discussed above has been superseded in this study by a more complex approach. Rather than embrace such a narrow perspective, this study takes the concept of heterarchy as an interesting starting point for the development of theoretical models that can be related to existing archaeological theory, including recent advances in Cretan studies (Cherry 1986; Day & Relaki 2002; Haggis 2002; Hamilakis 2002a; Schoep 2006). In addition, the concept of heterarchy allows an approach that takes into consideration other types of relationships in a society that is not purely hierarchical. Although not explicitly implemented by archaeologists, many ideas from heterarchy theory are useful for the study of egalitarian and non-hierarchical societies (Crumley 2003: 137). The terms 'non-hierarchical society' or 'egalitarian society' do not explain anything of how a

society was organised *per se*, they are simply appellations that need to be defined within the specific characteristics of each particular society. The use of the concept of heterarchy shifts the perspective by attaching importance to the complex horizontal relationships that existed between the members, or groups of members, of a community, thus allowing the study, characterisation and definition of societies without clearly established vertical differentiation structures. Such a framework of thought enables the better understanding of the specific complex web of social relationships that constitute the social organisation of a given community or society, regardless of the presence of vertical differentiation.

The concept of heterarchy is not without its problems. First there is the vagueness of the term, which has been applied differently by different authors, thus making it difficult to implement in new studies (Brumfiel & College 1995; Crumley 1995; Joyce & Hendon 2000; Keswani 1996; Levy 1995; Mehrer 2000; Rogers 1995; Small 1995; Stein 1998; White 1995; Zagarell 1995). Second, while the contrast between heterarchy and hierarchy makes it easy to liken heterarchy with equality, this identification is not true. Rules that define horizontal interactions do not necessarily support egalitarianism in the most basic sense of the term. In many cases, horizontal rules support the inequality of different groups within a society. For example, the position of a head of a family as the main decision maker is a rule shared by all the kinship groups that form part of a community, but it does not make all individuals equal as the head of the family has some privileges and responsibilities that other members of the community do not share. What horizontal conventions do not support is inequality between individuals of the same social position. In this example, horizontal rules sanction that every single head of a family has the same rights, duties and access to social resources.

But there is a difference between a rule and actual social practice. Taking the head of family example once again, the rule marks out all heads of families as equals, but the reality is that there may be a varying degree of flexibility in this regard, with a specific head of a family perhaps having a different social position and social power from the rest of heads of family on the basis of a variety of factors, such as personal ability. The same can be seen, for example, in rules that marked the types of material interred with the deceased: these apply to a whole group of people but can vary depending on individual cases. In other words, practice makes horizontal relationships suitable for negotiation and change. Horizontal relationships are continuously being created, renewed, negotiated and challenged in every single society in the same way as vertical relationships (Crumley 2003: 138), often as a result of a disrupting event

such as the death of a member of a group. In summary, equality and inequality are inherent in every human society and every principle of human organisation, and represent two forces that can be recognised in every human relationship.

A third criticism of the concept of heterarchy is that heterarchy and hierarchy create a theoretical duality that does not facilitate the understanding of a society (Brumfiel & College 1995; Iannone 2002; Zagarell 1995). A non-hierarchical society is organised under general horizontal conventions that are malleable and that change depending on the power relationships of the different social agents (with agent understood both as an individual and as a group of individuals). Certain agents, given the appropriate circumstances, can modify some of the rules to their own benefit and create new dynamics, including vertical differentiation. While new vertical dynamics appear deeply rooted in existing horizontal social principles at first, they can break free from their origins and create new rules that change the way in which a society is structured. This model can account for all types of change in human societies, including the disappearance of vertical differentiation in a society, since horizontal relationships that framed vertical differentiation may overpower it given the right circumstances (Crumley 2003; Keswani 1996; White 1995). Perhaps the best example of such a model has been produced by Wiessner in her study of the Enga (Wiessner 2002). In her work she explains how entrepreneurs (i.e. big-men) try to develop their social power within the constant restrictions of the existing horizontal structures. The best way of doing this is to take advantage of new opportunities normally offered by the creation of new social events and behaviours which can be exploited. These new social arenas are always judged by the people of the community, who ultimately decide their success. In this way, the entrepreneur has to deal both with the constraining rules of horizontal organisation while at the same time creating a new social 'territory' that helps him (the entrepreneurs are always male in the case of the Enga) in his quest for prestige. While this is a particular example that clearly cannot be applied directly to the Cretan record, it is an excellent illustration of the contradictions inherent in a system, the fluidity of a community's acceptable behaviour, and the constant negotiation of shared social rules, whatever their content. Within this malleable social context, the organisational system undergoes a continuous process of adjustment. In this model, change is conceptualised as always emerging from an existing balance that, for whatever reasons, is shifting. New dynamics can only spring from existing processes. This means that vertical differentiation dynamics, when identified, must always be understood in relation to broader horizontal dynamics and with a view to how both

interacted; similarly, horizontal dynamics need to be seen in relation to vertical dynamics.

This constant re-evaluation of social relationships within a society not only applies to practical sanctions on what is allowed and what is not, but also to the structural principles that regulate social negotiation. There is a constant balance between the constricting social conventions and the power of the agent. For example, modern society has a very rapid rate of change, with individuals having gained a lot of power in decision-making. Only 50 years ago individuals in European societies were much more tied by group relationships and change was not seen as such a positive concept as it is today. Similar variations may also have taken place in prehistory, and moments of stress, i.e. when horizontal relationships were under pressure, could have given agents more freedom for negotiating innovation, thus increasing the rate of change in a society.

Social organisation is a term that is so fluid, complex, multi-dimensional and holistic that it supersedes the shortfalls of terms such as hierarchy and heterarchy, or characterisations such as chiefdom or rank society. Social organisation refers to social relationships in their entirety, including shared rules and their implementation by different agents. It also refers to the more structural characteristics of these relationships, their malleability, extent and social transformative power. But the greatest potential of the term is for the holistic understanding of the workings of a society. Everything is interrelated and the explanation of a certain aspect requires the consideration of all its links with other social aspects. While archaeologists may find such an holistic approach impossible to adopt, it encourages us to widen the scope of the explanation of a given society and to include a more varied range of social relationships and dynamics in the models, which in many cases can be pursued through the study of the archaeological record.

This dynamic model for social organisation, however, needs to be redefined for each specific case using the particularities that shaped each individual society. This fluid concept of society may seem difficult to implement in the limited and static Cretan archaeological record, and this is where mortuary studies become so important. Every single school of archaeological theory has agreed in identifying mortuary behaviour as an important social activity and the cemetery as an important social arena. Post-processual archaeology in particular realised the enormous potential of the cemetery for the dynamic understanding of a society given the strong ideological, ritual and emotive implications of death. The prominence of cemeteries in the EM I - MM II

periods, with their significant deposition of material and varying, sometimes elaborate architectural forms, clearly demonstrates that this was the case in Crete.

The study of Cretan mortuary behaviour, therefore, can be used to undertake the study of the specific characteristics of Cretan societies, the elements around which social organisation and social interaction pivoted, and the structural characteristics of these societies. The investigation of mortuary behaviour allows the identification of material and activities that seem to have had a special relevance for past communities because they were given prominence in the mortuary record, because they are found repetitively in the record, or because they imply considerable effort, such as the acquisition of rare materials or the construction of a building. This analysis allows us to recognise what they considered important and how it was displayed, consumed and deposited: what they used and what they did not, which material characteristics were widely sanctioned and which were displayed with significant degrees of variation. On the basis of this information the social organisation and social dynamics of the communities can begin to be characterised. To achieve these pragmatic aims a new methodology will be developed in the next chapter to provide an appropriate tool for the achievement of the goals expressed in this theoretical discussion, and to overcome previous shortfalls in methodology. But before this endeavour can be undertaken, the theoretical discussion must be concluded with the clear statement of the research questions.

◆ **II.2.b.iv New aims, new questions**

Ultimately, it would appear that the questions underlying this work do not significantly differ from those of earlier archaeological approaches in that they concern the understanding of Pre- and Protopalatial Cretan societies in order to tackle questions about social organisation. However, the differences in the theoretical approach of this work, and the methodology that will be used to explore the issues present a radical change in the way these periods on Crete are conceptualised and investigated. The main objectives to be addressed in this study can be clearly and simply stated as follows:

To understand the role of cemeteries as social arenas for Pre- and Protopalatial Cretan communities by exploring their mortuary behaviour.

To assess the significance of variability in mortuary behaviour around the island by understanding the various relevant spatial and chronological scales that reveal patterning in mortuary behaviour.

To explore the potential of the study of mortuary behaviour for the understanding of the social organisation of Cretan societies.

To identify the structures, processes and dynamics that shaped the social organisation of Cretan communities and their variations in space and time.

Chapter III: Methodology: old problems and new approaches

111.1 *Methodological problems*

mortuary record

It has been already noted that the 'Archaeology of Death' proved most successful at creating methodological connections between the theoretical level and data analysis, mainly through quantitative analysis. These methods, however, were not fully applied to Cretan archaeology since the disturbed data and the lack of detail in the evidence from the early excavations did not allow such an approach to the material to be taken. Instead of trying to define methodologies that overcome the data quality issues and allow new approaches to the evidence, studies have mainly opted for a converse strategy, with the relaxation of critical approaches to the data and the loose use of the evidence. In certain cases this has resulted in the diametrically opposed interpretations using the same data. A good example of this is constituted by the efforts made to follow Saxe's hypothesis 8 in the Cretan record (Saxe 1970) and to identify the discrete social unit that was interned in a tomb. It has been assumed following Saxe's suggestion, that discrete tombs represented discrete kinship groups (see critique and comments on Saxe's hypothesis 8: Brown 1995; Carr 1995; Goldstein 1981; Morris 1991; Parker-Pearson 1999: 30). Instead of examining and validating this possibility in the Cretan record using more up-to-date approaches, the model has been directly applied to the poor quality record. It has simply been assumed that a count of human remains in the best preserved contexts, an estimation of the number of centuries in which the tomb was in use based on the ceramic phases present, and an assumed number of bodies per nuclear family per century would give an approximate number of nuclear families that used the tomb. Depending on the number estimated (Soles used only the number of skulls found, while the others based their calculations in the estimates based on the excavators opinions) the social unit that used the tomb could be inferred which could vary from a nuclear family to a clan, or some other large kinship group which was never explicitly defined (Bintliff 1977: 639-41; Bintliff in Blackman & Branigan 1977; Maggidis 1994: 109-13; Soles 1992b: 251-5; Whitelaw 1983). Recognising the problems inherent in skeletal estimates and issues of

preservation, other authors have tried to approach this matter by assuming that certain items, such as seals and daggers, would belong to heads of families and therefore a count of these items would permit the identification of the social unit, based on the assumption that each nuclear family would intern one head of a family per generation. But this estimate also relies on estimations of the tomb's period of use based on the ceramic phases represented (Karytinis 1998; Whitelaw 1983). Others have simply calculated the number of individuals that could live at the same time in a particular area of the island and divided it by the number of known tombs (Bintliff 1989). Beyond the particular criticisms that can be applied to each of these methods (Branigan 1987a; 1993: 81-95; Papadatos 1999: 98-102), what this discussion shows is that there seem to be no set standards for the use of the data, with the suggestion of each author dependent on the particular evidence that he/she chooses for his/her argument (see Figs. IV.36, V.18 and VII.23) rather than on a clear and critical approach to all the available evidence and through the use of clear theoretical concepts.

Neither the systematic analysis of the data typical of the processualist approach, nor the more complex approach to the interpretation of data suggested by the post-processualists, has had an impact on the way in which the Cretan mortuary record has been studied. It could be argued that the poor quality of the data has discouraged studies from developing a strong methodological approach, but this study argues the contrary, that data of poor quality require a clear methodology not only to extract more information from the record, but also to make clear the weaknesses and strengths of the investigative process, which allows for a better understanding of the contribution of each particular study and a richer archaeological exploration of the available evidence.

A second chronic methodological problem with the studies has been their tendency towards compartmentalisation. Tombs and cemeteries lack any comprehensive analysis that aims to integrate the different types of available evidence. The characteristics of the tombs have been studied as separate entities: specific traits of tombs have been independently followed across a region or the entire island, especially architectural features (Belli 1984; Belli 2003; Biancofiore 1977; Branigan 1970b; Cultraro 2000a; Pelon 1976; 1994; Petit 1987; Soles 1992b; Warren 1973). Other studies have followed a specific type of material or artefact in a specific region or the whole island, normally through both mortuary and non-mortuary contexts, to produce a clearer picture of its use, chronology, value and other aspects. However, the information provided by these studies has not, in the main, been considered from the

specific perspective of mortuary behaviour. The pioneering examples of these types of corpora were Warren's study of stone vessels (Warren 1969) and Branigan's study of metal objects (Branigan 1968b; 1974), and they have since been applied to every single type of object found in mortuary contexts. Together they assemble an excellent range of evidence that has yet to fulfil its potential for the study of the mortuary record through its inclusion in more holistic and contextualised studies. A final, recent type of study places its emphasis on the examination of ritual aspects related to funerary activities (Bardsley 2004; Georgoulaki 1996a; Goodison 1989; 2001; La Rosa 2001; Murphy 2003; Warren 1990). But these works have remained largely unconnected with other material and the social aspects of the cemetery analyses, and thus fail to produce a comprehensive picture of the mortuary record or mortuary behaviour.

The traditional weaknesses in the methodologies applied in Cretan mortuary studies seem to have been transferred to newly published evidence which, although recovered using modern archaeological techniques to provide more detailed information, has nevertheless mostly been studied by means of the same older approaches. Moreover, even in the case where a specific tomb has been published, the lack of a systematic methodological framework has limited the impact of the new information as new material cannot satisfactorily be compared with older evidence. For example, in Chapter V it will be seen that the study of ceramic wares in the Agia Kyriaki tholos differs so much in its methodology from the newly published study of ceramic wares from the tombs at Lebena, that a comparison of the data from the two contemporaneous mortuary contexts is very difficult to make (Alexiou & Warren 2004; Blackman & Branigan 1982).

In general, it can be said that all these approaches fail to put the most relevant units of study, the tomb and the cemetery, at the centre of the investigation. Rather than focusing the analysis on certain limited features of the mortuary record, the studies should move towards the integration of all mortuary aspects in the context of the tomb and the cemetery. Both tomb and cemetery represent relevant contexts for two different reasons. First, because they correspond to well-defined places consciously created by Cretan communities, which shows that they conceptualised them as relevant spaces. The deposition of objects and the effort invested in architecture demonstrate that tomb and cemetery were considered significant social arenas by Cretan communities. And second, because tomb and cemetery are the two archaeological contexts in which the funerary evidence is found. The contextualised

archaeological study of the various evidence produces more information than the sum of the individual studies for each type of material and architectural feature.

However, very few tombs and hardly any cemeteries have been studied as coherent units; for example the Agia Triada cemetery, which has been the subject of at least 30 publications since the 1930s, still lacks comprehensive analysis and publication (Chapter IV). Tomb and cemetery, as the most relevant contexts for investigation, have yet to be situated at the heart of the archaeological investigations.

11.2 *The Cretan mortuary record*

The poor data quality of the Cretan record has been mentioned but the nature of this insufficiency, the reasons for it and the repercussions that it has on the studies must be carefully considered in order to address these issues within a new methodological approach. Although this section gives an overview of the most general shortcomings of the data, exact problems regarding mortuary data can only be explained in the particular context of each region archaeological record and its specific history of investigation. In some cases, particular data quality problems can only be understood in terms of the particular history of excavation of the specific site. Therefore many of the problems in data quality will be addressed in specific data chapters, with this section only providing a general review of the most pervasive issues.

The first problem encountered in the record is that the majority of tombs on Crete are communal. This means that they were constantly being used, reused and cleaned and re-organised to make room for new interments, and this has led to highly disturbed deposits. As a result, individual interments cannot be identified in most cases, and evidence of the overall use of a tomb is not represented in its preserved deposits, as material and human bones were removed during cleaning episodes and lost forever. In many cases this scenario has been exacerbated by looting, which has taken place on the island from an early date (Chaniotis 1989; Pomerance 1977; Xanthoudides 1924: 2). Second, the excavation of many contexts was not conducted to modern standards. Many excavations were undertaken in the early 20th century using techniques that, while adequate for their time, are today considered unsatisfactory. Moreover, some of these excavations were rescue interventions that had very tight budget and time constraints putting limits on what could be recovered or documented.

These problems have been transferred to the publication of the tombs, which in some cases was not undertaken due to a lack of time and funding, and so for many sites the only available information comes from incomplete excavation reports. In other cases the contexts were published but without details of the excavated material evidence, or else only a biased picture of the context based on the preferences and research questions of the author is available.

In addition, other problems that are not exclusive to burial contexts must be added here, such as the poor definition of ceramic wares in some areas of the island. Chronological periods in Cretan prehistory are mainly defined by the ceramic sequence. This has served the investigations very well on many occasions, but for particular periods and regions on the island the poor understanding of the ceramic sequence has created problems in the identification of certain periods, such as the EM MB - III period in the Mesara area or the EM I period in East Crete. Together with the disturbed deposits, this has resulted in the non-understanding of the history of use of certain tombs and in a general disregard for chronological changes in the mortuary record. The final result of all these problems is that despite the sheer number of funerary contexts known on the island, comparatively little information is known about them (Fig. 111.1).

III.3 *Towards a new methodology*

This study places a great deal of importance on the creation of a clear and sound methodology for the analysis and interpretation of the mortuary record, as an adequate methodology can extract more information from the same data and can also establish a conscious and explicit basis for the discussion and improvement of archaeological analyses. The better understanding of the way in which ideas have been related to the evidence encourages a more relevant and productive discussion than the entrenchment of positions based on personal interpretations of the data. This study does not maintain that the methodology presented here is the only way of approaching the data, but given the state of the analyses, the research questions and the nature of the data, it currently represents one of the most vital avenues for investigation.

As has been seen, a new methodology must take into consideration the complexity of the mortuary record and search for its interpretation in a comprehensive way. To this end, a methodological framework has been developed that is ultimately

based on the 'contextual' approach. Rather than a precise methodology, this proposal is in fact a group of ideas on how to approach the data, mainly put together by Hodder within the context of post-processual theory (Hodder 1982b; 1987; Hodder & Hutson 2003). Contextual archaeology was created as a reaction against the generalisations of the New Archaeology. It proposed that the ideological elaboration of social life (in Hodder's words social structure; Hodder 1982b: 150) is a primary key to the comprehension of a human society. Understanding a given human society can only be done, therefore, by studying *social structure* in the specific cultural way in which it blends with the *social system* (the actual organisation of a society: Hodder 1982b: 150) of the society. The relationship between both aspects develops in a unique way in each human society, and must be understood in its individuality, i.e. in each particular cultural context.

While this does not specifically apply to mortuary studies, it can be easily transferred to this research field as 'the relationship between patterns in life and patterns in death must itself be seen as specific to a wider cultural context' (Hodder 1982b: 152). The specific way in which *social structure* and *social system* (in Hodder's terms) relate can be followed in the relationship between cemetery and community. This is not to create direct connections between cemetery and ideology, community and actual social systems (Harke 1994), but rather to understand that the cemetery is a relevant and powerful social arena where different dynamics of a society were not only materialised but also negotiated. Therefore, the cemetery represents a context that has enormous potential for the study of the individuality of a community and a society. The cemetery fulfils the requirements for the 'contextual' approach as it is an important place for human groups where the particularities of a given society were unravelled, making it a relevant context for archaeological investigation.

But methodologically speaking the term 'contextual' also has some more practical meanings. The term 'contextual' in relation to mortuary data analysis can be interpreted in two methodological ways. First, it has been used by some authors to refer to the contextualisation, as far as is possible, of the mortuary data with other types of information available in the archaeological record (Nielsen 1997). This represents an effort to recover some of the analytical procedures of the 'Archaeology of Death', while also addressing the post-processual critique of the approach. Gaining additional information about a community through, for example, the excavation of a settlement, allows one to interpret the relationship between the cemetery and the social organisation of the community with greater reliability without having to fall into

generalised views or far-fetched anthropological comparisons. It facilitated the interpretation of the data within the individual context of each community. This interpretation of the contextual approach is a useful way of approaching the record and will be used in this study to some extent, but cannot be applied comprehensively in this study simply because very little non-funerary evidence from the Pre- and Protopalatial period is available to form the basis of such a comprehensive methodological approach. To date, only a handful of well known settlements have been even partially excavated for these periods. These excavations offer limited possibilities for this study as the individual relationship between a specific community and its cemetery cannot be considered in the absence of a range of comparative sites. This, however, does not mean that non-funerary material will not be taken into consideration here. For example, the increasing number of archaeological surveys on Crete will provide important information about settlement patterns against which the mortuary evidence will be compared, and evidence from excavations of settlements will be considered where relevant.

In this work 'contextual' refers more to a relational approach to social and temporal-spatial contexts. The idea is to understand each tomb and cemetery in relation to the surrounding mortuary evidence, putting tombs and cemeteries within the context of the mortuary behaviour in the surrounding area, and ultimately of the whole island, during particular periods. This constructs a relevant and representative corpus of evidence for a more complex evaluation of data interpretation (Carr 1995: 193-4; Hodder & Hutson 2003: 183-7); the greater the amount of data incorporated, compared and cross-checked, the more solid the analysis.

Based on these premises, this study has created a multi-level, bottom-up approach that begins with the smallest spatial context, the tomb, and moves upwards through the increasingly wider contexts of cemetery, region and finally the whole island, with the intention of overcoming the shortcomings of previous typology-focused studies of the Cretan mortuary record. Rather than dissecting a tomb into components and contents studied independently, it is instead understood as a meaningful whole in the archaeological record, a combination of all its traits, such as architectural features or grave good deposition patterns. It also represented a meaningful unit for the Cretan communities, as the tomb was a physical and conceptual place where specific and organised activities were performed. Mortuary behaviour ultimately refers to the activities repeatedly carried out in or around the tomb but, in a more practical way, these can only be recognised through the material traces they left behind. In this way,

mortuary behaviour refers to both all the evidence recovered from a tomb and to the activities of which the evidence is a consequence.

The use of the concept of mortuary behaviour permits one to gain an insight into the ritual activities that took place in the cemetery and their wider social implications. It has been assumed that information about activities in the tomb can only be gained by identifying their actual character, such as feasting and drinking. Consequently, recent studies of the mortuary record have focused on the identification of the ritual activities performed in the tombs and on the particular ways in which they shaped communities on Crete (Bardsley 2004; Branigan 1993; Damilati 2004; Georgoulaki 1996a; Goodison 2001; La Rosa 2001; Murphy 1998; 2003). These studies have shown that the investigation of ritual constitutes an interesting avenue of investigation, one that requires a very specific theoretical and methodological approach which falls beyond the scope of this study. However, within the framework of this study it is still possible to gain some insight into the ways in which ritual activities in cemeteries shaped social relationships. A better understanding of the material evidence left in the cemetery by such activities, makes it possible to characterise them without necessarily having to reconstruct the actual activity performed. Gaining information about the characteristics of the ways in which communities and individuals used tombs and how these changed through time, permits an understanding of the role of the cemetery for a community. For example, changes in the layout of cemeteries for the creation of open areas and communal spaces indicate something about the nature of the social negotiation that took place in the cemetery without having to identify the specific character of the rites more deeply, such as whether they focused on a cult of ancestors or feasting. The comprehensive understanding of the different ways in which human activity shaped the cemetery (what kind of material was deposited, how it was deposited, the architectural features they used and the ones they abandoned), aids the understanding of the social choices made in the use of the cemetery (what material was thought to be important, where rituals took place, how many people were involved, how complex the rituals were), which allows exploration of the relationship between ritual activities and society.

Additionally, mortuary behaviour indicates a wider spectrum of activities in the cemeteries than the purely ritual, which have been the main focus of the studies. While the cemetery represent an important social arena for the ritual life of a community (and social arena here refers to a spatial context and an event, e.g. a certain feast at a certain place), other activities took place in the tombs that are important for the

understanding of their use and that do not necessarily have a ritual component. It is highly improbable that the construction or architectural modification of a tomb was a ritual activity; it may have been framed by ritual activities marking the beginning and end of the construction, but otherwise it was probably a relatively mundane activity that activated, focused or drew upon different kinds of social interactions. The tomb is not only shaped by ritual activities but also by more everyday activities.

Mortuary behaviour, however, cannot be approached without a temporal dimension. The long period of use of many of the tombs on Crete must be broken down into smaller meaningful phases as it seems logical to expect some changes to have occurred in the use of tombs with thousand year histories. In order to establish the mortuary behaviour of the tomb during each period, the traits of the tomb which belong to the same phase of use need to be ascertained. While Cretan mortuary evidence does not always allow for a detailed dissection of the history of a tomb, this study maintains that a detailed analysis of the evidence in most cases allows the dating of at least some of the features of a tomb to a specific period. In some cases this is easier to achieve because recent publications have led to identification of a clear history of use for particular tombs, such as those at Lebena or Archanes Phourni (henceforth Phourni) Tholoi E and I (Alexiou & Warren 2004; Panagiatopoulos 2002; Papadatos 1999; 2005). A better understanding of the assemblage of a tomb and a more accurate dating can, in most cases, be achieved by drawing upon a combination of the different detailed studies that appear in material culture monographs (stone vessels, ceramics, etc.). This also normally translates into a more accurate dating of the architectural features of the tomb with which the material was associated and a better description of architectural variations through time. In summary, a reasonably comprehensive view of the changing use of a tomb can usually be achieved with some chronological resolution.

This is not to say that an accurate dating of every period of use of all the tombs can be established and analysed. This study is aware of the problems regarding the dating of the material culture, even for the best known categories of material: the ceramic wares. But it is often necessary and more beneficial for the studies to suggest dates for some examples rather than continue treating the evidence within a loose temporal framework. While some of the dates proposed in the chapters of this study are debatable, they at least create a better basis for the discussion and further study of the evidence. In certain cases a dated framework is possible, but a detailed breakdown of the use of the tomb for each period is not. In many such cases a date for the main

corpus of evidence published from a tomb can at least be suggested; while this does not provide one with an understanding of the whole history of the tomb, it does allow to situate the preserved evidence of a tomb within the mortuary behaviour of a period.

At this point a brief comment needs to be made regarding typologies. Tomb typologies can be somewhat misleading; normally defined by architectural traits, they are often ill-defined categories that lead to much confusion. Georgoulaki recently revisited the typological classification of tombs to try and overcome some of the simplistic assumptions of the existing taxonomy (Georgoulaki 1996a: 23-51; 1999). She rightly points out that there seems to be a large degree of heterogeneity within each of the traditional types used that makes the simplistic pigeon-holing of the tombs problematic. Here it is agreed that the traditional typology of the tombs is of little help in analysis, as it in general eliminates the individuality of a tomb. When a tomb is called a 'house tomb', it is automatically associated with certain uses and characteristics (Vavouranakis 2005) that are then used as a substitute for a proper assessment of the tomb and its specific evidence. Nevertheless, some sort of typology is still needed to describe the tombs, and so this study handles this necessity in a minimal way (Fig. III.2): rectangular tombs (which includes built tombs with rectangular plans), caves, rock shelters, pithos cemeteries (as defined by the Pachiamos cemetery, Chapter VI; Seager 1916), tholoi (as defined in Pelon 1976: 7), rock-cut tombs (as defined by the examples at Agia Photia Sitias, Chapter VII; Davaras & Betancourt 2004), cists (as defined by the examples at the Pseira cemetery, Chapter VI; Betancourt & Davaras 2003), pithoi and larnakes (when these are reported without a clear context), pits (as defined by the examples at the Mallia cemetery, Chapter V; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963) and chamber tombs (as defined by the examples at the cemetery of Mavrospilio, Knossos, Chapter V; Forsdyke 1927). This study does not follow Georgoulaki's classification as it also makes some conceptual assumptions with the use of notions such as communal against individual and natural against built tombs, and her detailed typology is over-constraining. The current typology aims to minimise the assumptions made when a tomb is studied and to be more open to recognising the individuality of each example. In this sense, tomb typology will be continually re-assessed during the course of the data analysis, to see what distinctions appear to have mattered to those who used the tombs.

But the tomb is not the only type of context found inside a cemetery. There are other contexts that can be seen as relevant units for analysis and interpretation that do not include interment, which was the main characteristic of a tomb. This study

recognises three different types of contexts that are not tombs: annexes, associated buildings and open areas (Fig. 111.2). Annexes are a type of buildings associated exclusively with tholos tombs. The annex represents a very clear category that can be identified by architectural traits, mainly by its close relation to the tholos, as it framed the tholos entrance. Annexes sometimes contained interments but given their clear subsidiary association, even such cases will be considered annexes rather than tombs. It is clear that annexes were considered a necessary addition to many tholoi, and they had a relationship with this type of tomb that was not duplicated in any other type of tomb. Buildings located near or adjoining a tomb, but not encasing its entrance, are considered 'associated buildings'. Associated buildings are buildings that formed part of the cemetery but did not contain human remains. These differed greatly in terms of plan, size and architecture and in general it can be suggested that they were somehow related to ritual activities, although each building represents a unique case. Open areas were also probably related to ritual activity, but in this case there was no built structure. They were usually defined by some kind of paved or delimited area, though in some sites they were defined only by material deposits. The latter are treated here as open areas, although they may have been created through secondary deposition of material from activities carried out in other parts of the cemetery. All these contexts appear to have been considered to be distinct elements of cemeteries, and are considered significant for the proper understanding of mortuary behaviour, and will be treated as units comparable to tombs and entitled to the same kind of analysis.

Once the study of individual contexts has been conducted the study of the cemetery context, the second relevant unit of study in this investigation, can be undertaken. The combination of the history of use of each tomb and related contexts permits an integrated understanding of the cemetery during particular periods and its changes through time. The cemetery, however, is a concept that needs some explanation. In this study, cemetery is defined as a cluster of tombs and other spatial features (paved areas, etc.) closely associated in the same geographical location. This, however, does not necessarily equate to the entire burial site for a community, which may have had various locations where the deceased were interred. Cases where a community is considered to have had various cemeteries will be analysed in a similar way to examples where all the interments of a community were made in the same

location, taking into consideration, of course, that the dispersal of locations constitutes an important trait in the mortuary behaviour of these communities⁴.

The cemetery is therefore a meaningful scale of study that generally seems to fit well with the concept of the community, which is a basic unit for the understanding of Cretan societies, although, as pointed out, there cannot be assumed to be a simplistic direct correlation between community and cemetery. The relations between the various contexts within a cemetery are examined using the information gathered from the study of each, and the contexts are compared in terms of their mortuary behaviour. This comparison aims to identify the dynamics that existed between the different contexts; for example, did they have similar histories of use and were different tombs of comparable significance? At the same time it looks to more accurately establish the differences and similarities between the various contexts, such as at number of distinct contexts, burial places versus non-burial places, and variations in architectural traits and material assemblages. The ultimate objective of this examination is to identify the mortuary behaviour of the cemetery not so much with regard to its material traits, as these have been identified in the study of each context, but in terms of the relationships between the different contexts and their development through time.

Again, the temporal dimension is fundamental to this analysis, and the comparison of the contexts must be established on clear chronological grounds so as to characterise the mortuary behaviour of a cemetery for a given period of time. This allows the documentation of changes in the dynamics of a cemetery through time, and the generalising static overviews of mortuary behaviour on the island during EM I - MM II to start to be broken down.

Supra-cemetery scales constitute a third level of analysis. A first advantage in comparing different cemeteries located near each other is purely methodological. It would be naive to expect that all the evidence necessary for a clear definition of mortuary behaviour could be extracted from every single cemetery. In some cases material assemblage data is not available, or only certain aspects of it have been preserved, documented or published; elsewhere the architectural record is incomplete; other cases provide data for one period of use but not for another; and there are many examples of traits in the mortuary record with no clear date. In all of the above the comparison of different neighbouring cemeteries allows one to make informed

⁴ In the theoretical discussion (Chapter II) of this study a cemetery was defined as the group of all tombs belonging to a community, in order to avoid having to refer to 'cemetery/lies'.

suggestions about the missing information and thus achieve a more comprehensive understanding of the ways in which cemeteries were used. This does not necessarily compromise the stress placed on the particular history of each cemetery.

When the inter-cemetery level is investigated it will be done through the characteristics of mortuary behaviour rather than by simply looking at the raw data. The characterisation of each cemetery will be contrasted with those of nearby cemeteries and their developments through time. This will take into consideration both general conventions regarding burial shared by various cemeteries but also the specific ways in which they were materialised in a particular cemetery. Characteristics of mortuary behaviour, such as the types of objects deposited with the deceased are normally common to the mortuary behaviour of a region in a certain period, but the number of items, the proportions of certain items, and the rare nature of some of them are unique to the specific history of each cemetery. The individuality of each cemetery is usually based on particular deviations from or adaptations of traits in the mortuary behaviour, rather than completely different conventions of mortuary behaviour. It could be argued that this approach will not be able to recognise the existence of unique cases within a region, but this is not true since the use of comparison based on both similarities and differences very effectively highlights cemeteries that deviate strongly from the regular conventions of the mortuary behaviour of a region, as will be demonstrated for the mortuary behaviour at Knossos or Agia Photia Sitias. Neither will this weaken the interpretation of the differences between cemeteries. Variations within common conventions of mortuary behaviour have the potential to mark out very different dynamics in different cemeteries, and hence communities. The recognition of common rules in mortuary behaviour is the first step towards the identification, interpretation and recognition of the significance of differences.

The difficulties presented by the identification of supra-community patterns in the archaeological record and their interpretation has already been discussed. The methodology presented here seems apt to overcome some of these difficulties and to provide some insight into supra-community relationships through the study of mortuary behaviour. A bottom-up systematic approach aims to effectively track some of these scales as marked in burial customs, and negotiated through mortuary behaviour. This methodology parallels the theoretical model described in the last chapter and is ideally suited to the recognition of different relevant scales ranging from the island-wide to the specific tomb. In addition, this analysis of regional aspects based on funerary material is especially interesting as it represents a new avenue for the examination of supra-

community relationships from the ones employed to date, such as the analysis of ceramics (Betancourt 2003a; Day *et al.* 1997; Day & Wilson 1998; Tsolakidou *et al.* 2002; Whitelaw *et al.* 1997; Wilson & Day 1994), metal objects (Branigan 1968c; Davaras 1975; Legarra Herrero 2004; Nakou 1995) and seals (Sbonias 1995), and will complement and improve the conceptualisation of the complex relationships between communities on the island.

The huge amount of mortuary data available (Fig. 11.1) makes intra- and inter-cemetery studies not only possible but highly promising. The strength of this methodology is that it permits the identification of individual aspects of the Cretan communities through their relationship with the funerary record while at the same time locating them within larger inter-community scales, and all of this within relatively well-defined chronological and spatial frameworks. Bottom-up analyses have not yet been conducted on the Cretan burial record and represent a new and rich avenue for looking at the material in a new light and extracting new types of information in a more systematic way that overcomes many of the problems caused by poor data quality. Cretan societies can be connected with their mortuary record for the first time, and the way in which the burial domain helped to shape their social organisation can now be understood. Under these conditions a detailed and comprehensive analysis of the available data can start to be conducted.

Chapter IV: The Mesara Valley, the Asterousia Mountains and the South Coast

IV.1 *Introduction*

In general, south-central Crete has been regarded as a coherent region, in which the different landscapes, such as the valley and the mountains were considered in the same terms (Branigan 1970b; Murphy 2003). However, it has become clear that the very different landscapes that compose south-central Crete (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 35-6) must be taken into consideration (Relaki 2003; 2004; Sbonias 1995). Therefore, this study, while approaching the whole area in this chapter, since the research history and the proximity of the diverse areas connect the archaeological investigation of the different landscapes, will bear in mind the specific nature of each area and will explore their distinct characteristics.

Since the excavation of Tholos B at Agia Triada in 1902 (see Fig. IV.1 for mentioned sites; Halbherr 1902; 1903; Paribeni 1903; 1904) the prehistoric burial record in the Mesara Valley has been the focus of many studies (see Chapter II). As a result the Mesara has been the most comprehensively studied area in Crete as regards Pre- and Protopalatial burial practices. The pioneering work of the Italian School at Agia Triada (Banti 1933; Paribeni 1904; Stefani 1933) and of Xanthoudides in the East Mesara (Xanthoudides 1921b; 1924) was continued with new excavations in the 1930s (Vorou; Marinatos 1933b), the 1940s (Apesokari; Schörgendorfer 1951b) and the 1950s (Agios Kirillos; Alexiou 1969c: 210; Sakellarakis 1968c: 51-3; and Kamilari A; Levi 1963; 1976: 703-41). In the 1950s and the 1960s, interest in the burial record expanded from the Mesara to the neighbouring Asterousia Mountains, especially in the area of the Agiopharango valley: Agios Andonis (Alexiou 1969a: 483), Agia Kiriaki (Alexiou 1971a; Sakellarakis 1965b: 307), Megali Skini (Alexiou 1966: 321; 1969a: 482); Kephali (Alexiou 1969a: 483; 1971a: 307) and Agios Georgios (Alexiou 1969a: 483). This geographical expansion of studies reached the coastal area south of the Asterousia Mountains (henceforth referred to as the south coast) with the recording and excavation of tombs at Lebena (Alexiou 1958; 1960; Alexiou & Warren 2004; Platon 1958: 470-1), Kali Limenes A, Philakas and Tripiti (Alexiou 1966: 322; 1969a: 483-4).

All this evidence was synthesised for the first time in 1970 in a monographic study that covered the burial record of the three areas (Branigan 1970b). While the pioneering work of Xanthoudides had focused on the East Mesara and on the publication of the material (Xanthoudides 1924), Branigan's work tried to bring together all the available new information, reconsider it, and rework many of the scattered theories regarding the tholos tombs typical from these three areas that have appeared over the years (Glötz 1925; Nilsson 1950; Pini 1968; Wiesner 1938). This work was followed by the application of a new fieldwork technique to the burial record of the area, that is survey, in order to place the tombs in the broader context of the Early Bronze Age landscape. Blackman and Branigan conducted two different surveys in the area: one of the south coast between Kali Limenes and Lasaia (Blackman & Branigan 1975), and another of the Agiopharango valley (Blackman & Branigan 1973; 1977), the latter complementing the excavation of the Agia Kiriaki cemetery (Blackman & Branigan 1982).

Since this work more research has been conducted in the area, though most of it has been limited to rescue excavations after looting episodes such as at Kephali (Saltos 2000; Vasilakis 1996a), Kouses (Hadzi-Vallianou 1979; 1989), Moni Odigitrias (Vasilakis 1990; 1992a) and Tripiti (Vasilakis 1989). Apart from these excavations, four new surveys have been conducted in the area of study, one in the area of Kommos (Hope Simpson *et al.* 1995), another around the Agiopharango valley (Vasilakis 1990), a broader one in the West Mesara Valley (Watrous *et al.* 1993; Watrous *et al.* 2004) and, most recently, one around the Moni Odigitrias cemetery (Whitley 2004: 82).

The analyses of all available mortuary data by period are described in the next sections. But first, the specific problems which arise when dating the mortuary contexts in south-central Crete need to be considered.

IV.2 *Dating the cemeteries*

Dating the cemeteries in the Mesara, Asterousia and south coast has proved to be an extremely difficult task. Looted tombs, mixed contexts and limited publication have resulted in a very poor chronological definition of the construction and development of the cemeteries in the area. Only recently has new data become available with the publication of Agia Kiriaki (Blackman & Branigan 1982), the various tombs in the area of Lebena (Alexiou & Warren 2004) and the re-study of Agia Triada (Carinci 2004; Cultraro 1994; 2000b; 2004; Di Vita 1995; 2000; 2001; La Rosa 1999;

2001; Palio 2004; Todaro 2001; 2004)⁵. Unfortunately, apart from Agia Triada, all these tombs are located in the Asterousia Mountains and south coast area with little good quality evidence coming from the Mesara Valley (Fig. IV. 1). With the exception of Agia Triada, the MM I period in the Mesara is better known through the cemeteries of Kamilari (Fiandra 1995; La Rosa 1992: 112-5; Levi 1963; 1976: 703-41; Levi & Carinci 1988: 330-4; Mallegni 1986) and Apesokari A (Hood 1971: 142-3; Long 1959; Schorgendorfer 1951b).

This weak chronological framework has led to uncertainties in the study of the mortuary behaviour of these areas that can be summarised as three basic problems. The first refers to the recognition of each period in the archaeological record based on ceramic wares. This problem is specific to each period and will be discussed in each chronological section of this chapter. The second refers to the construction dates of the cemeteries: when do they appear in the record? Are there chronological differences in the appearance of the cemeteries in the different areas? The third problem refers to the main period of use of a cemetery, and is central to the understanding of the history and mortuary behaviour of a cemetery as preserved in the archaeological record. It is essential to date accurately the mortuary behaviour preserved and to understand it in the right chronological framework.

These three problems were principally addressed in the 1970s, when attempts were made to date tombs on the basis of the ceramic wares that placed the construction of most of the known tombs in the EM I or EM I/II period (Branigan 1970: 18-20; 1993: 143-8; Murphy 2003: 276; *contra* Pelon 1976: 8 n. 1). However, most of the ceramic ware definitions used (Agios Onouphrios I and II, Salame ware, Lebena ware and Koumasa ware) have recently been reconsidered in terms of both their definition and their date (Betancourt 1985; Day *et al.* 1997; Todaro 2001; 2004; Warren 1972b: 240; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 541-2; Whitelaw *et al.* 1997; Wilson & Day 1994). Unfortunately, these studies have not yet been applied to material from old excavations and the dating of some of the cemeteries is still unclear.

Cemeteries in the Asterousia Mountains and south coast area might indeed be of EM I date (Vagnetti and Belli suggested a FN date for Tripiti and Lebena Y2; Vagnetti & Belli 1978; *contra* Alexiou & Warren 2004). The dating of the most recently published cemeteries, Agia Kiriaki (Blackman & Branigan 1982) and Lebena Yerokambos (Alexiou & Warren 2004), has shown that these cemeteries were

constructed and intensively used in EM I. This dating coincides with the evidence from other tombs not yet fully published, such as Kephali (Alexiou 1963a; Saltos 2000; Vasilakis 1996a) and Moni Odigitrias (Davaras 1968; Sakellarakis 1965b; Vasilakis 1992a). However, not all the cemeteries in this area are dated EM I, and examples of cemeteries constructed in EM II, such as Lebena Papoura and Lebena Zervou (Alexiou & Warren 2004), exist.

Cemeteries in the Mesara valley are much more difficult to date, and there is almost no sound early context known in this area. The only exception is Agia Triada (Fig. IV.19), which has recently been the object of re-excavation and study (Carinci 1999; 2000; 2004; Cultraro 1994; 2000b; 2004; Di Vita 1995; 2000; 2001; La Rosa 1998; 1999; 2001; Palio 2004; Todaro 2001; 2004). Agia Triada was first extensively excavated in 1902-4 (Halbherr 1902; 1903; 1905; Paribeni 1903) and subsequently published in detail (Banti 1933; Borda 1946; Junghans *et al.* 1968: no 9406-19; Mosso 1906; Paribeni 1904; Platon 1969a: 16-103; Stefani 1933). The earliest material from the cemetery came from Tholos A and was originally dated to EM II (Banti 1933) but later dated to EM I (Branigan 1970b: 170; 1993: 144 n. 1), as was Tholos B (Branigan 1993: 144 n. 1), for which no date was given at the time of its first publication (Paribeni 1904). However, the recent excavations and analyses have changed these views, and have dated the construction of Tholos A to the EM IIA or EM IIB period (Cultraro 2004: 310-5; Todaro 2004: 84-7) and Tholos B to the MM IB period (Carinci 2004: 112). All the other Pre- and Protopalatial buildings in the cemetery can be dated to Late EM III — MM II (Carinci 2004: 99 *Tabella*; Todaro 2004: 92 *Tabella*). The only EM I deposits to have been found in the cemetery were underneath Room *alpha* in the West Camerette (La Rosa 2001) and, while they may represent a ritual deposit, they might not be related with the later mortuary use of the area (Todaro 2004: 81).

Agia Triada is a paradigmatic example in many ways. First it suggests the possibility that many of the early excavated cemeteries in the Mesara Valley, namely Agia Irini (Xanthoudides 1924), Asripetra (Xanthoudides 1921b: 15), Kalathiana (Xanthoudides 1924), Koumasa (Xanthoudides 1924), Marathokephalo (Xanthoudides 1921b), Porti (Xanthoudides 1924), Salame (Xanthoudides 1924) and Siva (Paribeni 1915), may be EM II in date (Figs. IV.9 and 10 and see Sections IV.4 and IV.5). None of these can be conclusively be dated to EM I or EM II due to the incomplete publication of the material, and have been variously dated by different scholars (Branigan 1970b: 18-9, 124-6, 147; 1993: 140-8; Pelon 1976: 69-71). Only two examples have yielded clear EM I pottery in the Mesara Valley: Agios Onouphrios, a

probable mortuary deposit of unknown architecture (Evans 1895) that may form part of the Phaistos cemetery (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 530), and Koutsokera, a vase from which has been recently dated to EM IB (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 194). All the rest of the cemeteries do not necessarily have to be EM II in date, but in light of the new understanding of the ceramic wares (Todaro 2004) many of them may need to be re-dated to this period. Unfortunately, a secure re-evaluation of the evidence is impossible until new material from these cemeteries is either published or excavated.

Second, Agia Triada shows the difficulties faced in the dating a cemetery even when a good understanding of the ceramic assemblage is available. Cultraro, who has undertaken an intensive re-analysis of the data from Tholos A, including unpublished material and the original excavation diaries (Cultraro 1994; 2000b; 2004), has suggested an EM IIA date for the tomb based on the presence of Pattern Burnished and Fine Grey wares (Cultraro 2004: 310-5; Wilson & Day 1994: 13), which amends his original EM I dating (Cultraro 1994; 2001: 108). The absence of typical EM IIA wares such as Agios Onouphrios or Fine Painted that are found in the Prepalatial houses east of the cemetery (Case Laviosa; Laviosa 1972; 1975; Todaro 2004) and have been defined as mature EM IIA wares (Wilson & Day 1994), has led Cultraro to suggest that Tholos A was constructed in an early EM IIA phase, abandoned when the houses were constructed and re-used when these houses were in turn abandoned (Cultraro 2004: 319-20). Todaro, however, has suggested that the EM IIA vessels should be dated EM IIB as the majority of the ceramics were found in the lower stratum of the tomb and in the corridor surrounding the tomb, a context that might mark its construction (Todaro 2004: 81, 84-6). Moreover, no EM IIA material from possible cleaning episodes has been found around the tomb (Di Vita 2000: 482-4; 2001: 397; Todaro 2004: 81, 86). Therefore she argues that the tomb was constructed in the EM IIB period after the abandonment of the Case Laviosa (Todaro 2004: 87).

This discussion introduces potential problems about the dating of many other tombs in south-central Crete. It shows that there are no clear chronological breaks in the typology of the ceramic wares, and that grey areas exist in the evolution of wares that do not allow for exact dating based on one or two specific vessels. The dating of a tomb must be based on a comprehensive knowledge of the ceramic assemblage and not on a search for the oldest looking published vessel among an usually very limited published sample. This might limit the ability for dating many of the old published cemeteries since only a small portion of the complete vessels were usually published, but it frees the studies from the tyranny of chronology and opens up the analysis to

new views and approaches. The awareness of the uncertainty of dating may be more beneficial for the studies than trying to hammer square pegs into round holes. Having said this, a discussion of mortuary behaviour without any references to chronology is not valid, as mortuary behaviour in the Pre- and Protopalatial periods changed through time (see discussion in Section III.3).

IV.3 *Tholoi, community and*

Attention must also be paid to the concepts of community, the tholos tomb, the social unit and kinship that form the basis of most models proposed for the regions under discussion, and which pervade the study of the tholos cemeteries during the different periods.

Right from the earliest studies, it was proposed that tombs represent the burial places of a specific kinship unit (Glötz 1925: 131-7; Pendlebury 1939: 65; Wiesner 1938: 104-6). This idea was first applied to south-central Crete by Glötz, who suggested that the tholos was used by a tribe (Glötz 1925: 131-7). Since then various authors have defined different units for the tholoi depending on the varied ways in which they have estimated the number of interments (see discussion in Section 111.1 and Fig. IV.36).

A detailed look at the strengths and weaknesses of each methodology is not going to be taken, as many of them have already been discussed by other authors (Branigan 1987a; 1993: 81-9; Papadatos 1999: 98-102) but a comment should be made on some of the most recurrent assumptions of these methodologies. The calculations do not incorporate the dynamic nature of the cemetery, not only in terms of the particular history of each tomb, which included variations in intensity of use through time, different episodes of clearance and fumigation, interruptions in use and various relationships with rooms outside the tholos (Branigan 1993: 86-8; Murphy 1998: 32), but also in terms of the varied nature of the mortuary behaviour. Tombs and cemeteries changed in use over time, were used in different ways and had differing relationships with the communities that used them. Perhaps the clearest example of the monolithic assumptions made in the study of social units in tholoi is the presumed direct correlation between community, settlement and tomb.

Despite the fluctuating estimates produced by the diverse methodologies, and the particular problems inherent in the logic behind each calculation, the figures have

been used to define the social unit interred in the tholoi. Two theories concerning the human group which used a particular tomb have been especially successful in the literature: that tholos was used by a single nuclear family (Cherry 1984: 31; Whitelaw 1983: 334-5), or by a lineage made up of three to six nuclear families (Bintliff in Blackman & Branigan 1977: 83-4; Branigan 1970b: 128-9; 1991a: 186; 1993: 84-95; Hood 1971: 39-40; Murphy 1998: 31-2; Murphy 2003; Papadatos 1999: 103-6; Warren 1972a: 267). By considering the size of a tomb and the deposition of remains as compared to other contemporaneous tombs, this work will suggest that the tholoi may have been used by more than one nuclear family, but it remains sceptical of the use of words such as clan or extended family, leaving the definition of the type of social unit that may have used the tholoi open.

These estimates have been used together with the assumption that the tholos was the material claim of a sedentary community over an agricultural territory to propose a direct relationship between a tholos and a settlement, itself used as a synonym for community (Branigan 1984; 1991a; 1998b; Murphy 1998). The theoretical problems of such a model, which does not take important variables such as locality, marriage and residence rules into consideration, were noted in Chapter II. But the dating from the cemeteries itself does not support either assumption. A late date for the appearance of cemeteries in the Mesara Valley suggests that sedentary settlements and tholoi are not intrinsically linked. At Agia Triada there is no direct link between settlement, community and cemetery; indeed, at this site, the constructed tholos cemeteries appeared in EM II, much later than the first occupation of the area which is identified as being in the EM I period (Todaro 2001; 2004: 82). Evidence of habitation that predates the construction of a cemetery is also attested at Agia Kiriaki (Blackman & Branigan 1982: 43-4). The construction of a tholos must be explained as the choice of a community, not as an automatic reflection of the settlement of a community in the area as has been suggested (Branigan 1970: 122, 125-6; 1998b; Murphy 1998: 27-32; Pelon 1976: 70). A direct connection between communities, the sedentary way of life, settlements and tholoi in the Mesara cannot be assumed a priori.

This work will therefore analyse the particular relationship between settlements, communities and cemeteries during each period in the three specific regions under discussion - the Mesara Valley, the Asterousia Mountains and the south coast - and will open up the model to a more dynamic interpretation of the tholos cemeteries with respect to the communities that used them.

IV.4 EM I

There is no clear evidence for EM I mortuary behaviour from the Mesara Valley (see Section IV.2 and Fig. IV.9), and so the focus must move to the south coast with the publication of Lebena Yerokambos (Alexiou & Warren 2004) and the Asterousia Mountains with the publication of Agia Kiriaki (Blackman & Branigan 1982). Large amounts of EM I material have been published from both cemeteries, and although Agia Kiriaki lacks the stratigraphic quality of Lebena Yerokambos due to extensive looting, it still provides interesting evidence on material assemblages and architectural features.

Lebena Yerokambos was excavated in 1959 but was not published until recently, which has permitted an intensive and updated investigation of the material (Alexiou 1960; Alexiou & Warren 2004). In EM I times, this cemetery consisted of Tholos Lebena Y2 (Fig. IV.21). The second tholos (Lebena Y2a) and the rooms east of both tholoi (Rooms A, AN, M and east of M and D), date to not earlier than the EM IIB period (Alexiou & Warren 2004).

Agia Kiriaki A was first reported in 1965 (Sakellarakis 1965b: 307), excavated in 1972-3 by Blackman and Branigan after extensive looting, and comprehensively published a few years later (Blackman & Branigan 1982; Branigan 1993: 17-32). Two other tholoi were discovered in the vicinity, Agia Kiriaki B and C (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 56-8) but their lack of material means they cannot be clearly dated, although an EM I - II date has been suggested (Blackman & Branigan 1982: 46). However since these were probably never finished and it is unclear whether they were ever used (Blackman & Branigan 1982: 46), they will not be included in this study of the Agia Kiriaki cemetery in EM I. Rooms 3 and 5, outside the doorway of the tholos, can be most securely dated to EM I, and were probably constructed at the same time as the tholos (Fig. IV.20; Blackman & Branigan 1982: 46). Other rooms were attached later (EM IIA and MM I), as was a peribolos wall and a possible platform (Blackman & Branigan 1982: 44-9).

Therefore both cemeteries looked very similar in EM I, as they were both probably composed of only one tholos tomb. Both Lebena Y2 and Agia Kiriaki A share similar architectural traits: an entrance on the east side of the trilithon type (for trilithon doorways see Branigan 1970b: 34-6; Xanthoudides 1924: 4-5) and corbelled walls (Alexiou and Warren 2004: Fig. 13Bi; Blackman & Branigan 1982: 5). The space

created inside both tholoi is of similar dimensions, around 4.5 m in diameter at Agia Kiriaki A and 5 m at Lebena Y2, although in Agia Kiriaki A the interior space is much more irregular (Figs. IV.20 and 21).

The main architectural difference between the cemeteries lies in the two rooms outside the Agia Kiriaki tholos, which have no counterpart at Lebena. The rooms at Agia Kiriaki are difficult to define as either a vestibule (a single room attached to the door of the tholos) or an annex (a series of rooms). These two types of structure may represent differences in the mortuary behaviour within the tomb (Branigan 1970b: 93-5; Georgoulaki 1996a: 63-5; Petit 1987), but since the differences between annex and vestibule have not been clarified, there seems to be no need to define the rooms at Agia Kiriaki; it should simply be noted that they constitute a difference between Agia Kiriaki and Lebena Y2.

So-called vestibules of this period are also found at Kali Limenes B (Blackman & Branigan 1975: 20-1) and at Agia Irini (Xanthoudides 1924: 51-3), although the latter may be of EM II date. Branigan suggested that these might be found in all the tombs (Branigan 1970: 93), however, there is no evidence for an EM I antechamber in Lebena Y2, one of the best known cases, and this might be the case in many other EM I cemeteries (Figs. IV.9 and 27). So-called annexes have been found at Siva, which may again be an EM II cemetery, Agios Andonis where rooms outside the tholos were reported (Alexiou 1969a: 483), but where only one such room is mentioned in later studies (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 48; Vasilakis 1990: 26-8) and Moni Odigitrias (Vasilakis 1992a). It seems that in the EM I period there was no more than two or maybe three structures outside tholoi, which do not really compare with the architecturally complex annexes found in EM III-MM I times.

The only cemeteries where two tholoi might have been in use together in EM I lie close each other in the Agiopharango Valley in the Asterousia area: Moni Odigitrias and Megali Skini I (Fig. IV.9). Moni Odigitrias is a cemetery where a wide variety of material has been discovered despite intensive looting (Sakellarakis 1965b: 562; Vasilakis 1990: 64-6; 1992a). The cemetery is now in the process of being published; until this happens very little information is available and the development of the cemetery has only been briefly outlined (Vasilakis 1992a). The present evidence for Megali Skini A suggests that two tholoi existed during the EM I period (Alexiou 1966: 321; 1969a: 482; Blackman & Branigan 1977: 38-40; Vasilakis 1990: 39-45). A probable third tholos situated at the nearby Megali Skini B does not lie together with the

other two, and is considered here to represent a different cemetery. The evidence from Megali Skini A and B is scarce, based mainly on archaeological survey data, and does not permit a clear evaluation of the site. The remains of other buildings found at Megali Skini A may indicate a large complex, but these are of unclear date and it seems unlikely that they belong to the EM I period.

In general, the layout of the EM I cemeteries is characterised by simplicity with one tholos tomb sometimes complemented with one or two rooms at the entrance (Figs. IV.9 and 27). Two-tholos cemeteries in the EM I period is a possibility that has yet to be supported by clear evidence. In their survey of the Agiopharango Valley, Blackman and Branigan suggested that there was a correlation in the Early Bronze Age between a tholos and an extended family that lived in the nearby settlement or nearby scatter of hamlets (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 69-71). This view has been recently contested by Relaki following the original suggestion by Whitelaw that no correlation exists between tholos cemeteries and archaeologically identifiable settlements in EM I - II Agiopharango (Relaki 2004: 137-44; Whitelaw 2000: 150-1). Relaki points out that indeed there is little evidence for EM I settlements in the area, and proposes that a mobile population living in seasonal hamlets might explain the disjunction between cemetery and settlement in the Valley. The study presented here and based on the current evidence agrees with the suggestions made by Relaki and Whitelaw. The absence of the tholos in the Mesara Valley in EM I also casts doubt on a simple link between settlement and cemetery, and indicates that tholoi played a particular role in the communities of the Asterousia Mountains. It is also quite logical to suppose, given the landscape of the Asterousia area, pastoralism and agriculture there would have involved a more mobile way of life, or the organisation in short-lived farmsteads that were in use for only for a few generations (Relaki 2003: 137-44; Todaro 2004: 90; Whitelaw 2000: 150-1; for the modern transhumant use of the Valley see Bintliff 1977: 630 and Watrous et al. 2004: 197-9; for an opposed view of the exploitation of the Asterousia area in Minoan times see Bintliff 1977: 619-20 and Blackman & Branigan 1977: 67). This represents a break in the idea of community and locality present in the explanatory models to date. The community in the Asterousia Mountains could have been split into different living units given the mobile way of life. These small units might have used the rites at the tholos as a means to maintain the links between them, links that permitted them to assert and renew a certain identity necessary to their way of life. The tholos was the focal point that articulated the gathering of various small social units at particular events that provided an opportunity to negotiate important economic and

social relationships. This could be combined with the possible role of the tholos as a territorial marker for the exploitation of seasonal pastures or agricultural fields.

In addition to the tholos cemeteries, only one burial cave is known to date to the EM I period, and indeed to the whole Prepalatial period, in the areas under discussion. The cave of Miamou was reported in 1897 with a clear stratigraphy in which a burial layer was identified (Taramelli 1897; 1899). There has been a certain amount of confusion regarding the interpretation of the stratigraphy, with some authors dating the burial stratum to EM I (Faure 1964: 49, 68; Zois 1968a: 50-1) and others to EM II (Vagnetti & Belli 1978: 150; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 237). On the basis of Taramelli's report, it seems more probable that the burial date to EM I and the ceramic analysis by Zois dates the wares to this period (Zois 1968: 50-1). The burial layer does not seem to be very thick or rich in material (Taramelli 1897) perhaps indicating a short period of use. Burial caves of this period are attested in north and east Crete, and Miamou represents a link with a type of mortuary behaviour shared across the island that has its roots in Neolithic times. It could therefore be considered a survival from Neolithic burial practices in the area and it represents an exception rather than a meaningful pattern.

Finally, in what has been identified as the Phaistos cemetery, EM I material was identified in five different areas (Watrous *et al.* 2004: sites 24, 83, 84, 85 and 99). The exact nature of the deposit is not clear; Watrous has suggested individual graves, but this cannot be verified without excavation (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 226). Individual graves would indicate a very different cemetery to anything else known in the region, which, if true, could perhaps be related to the uniquely large size of Phaistos during this period (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 230-1; *contra* Relaki 2004: 147-8).

With respect to material culture, both Agia Kiriaki A and Lebena Y2 still provide the best evidence available, despite looting. While looting at Lebena Y2 seems to have been limited (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 15 and Fig. 13), it heavily affected the whole cemetery at Agia Kiriaki A (Blackman & Branigan 1982: 49-50). The focused nature of looting modifies the survival and systematic recovery of non-ceramic items such as figurines, ornaments and metal items in both cemeteries as these items are more prone to removal; this makes it impossible, reliably to compare the non-ceramic assemblages of these two cemeteries. However, careful excavation and study of both contexts have allowed an understanding of the deposited ceramic assemblages. In the case of Agia Kiriaki A, where no intact vessel was discovered, a large quantity of ceramic sherds have allowed a tentative reconstruction of the assemblage (Blackman

and Branigan 1982). In Lebena Y2 most of the published material refers to complete vessels and only a limited understanding of the sherd material is available (Alexiou & Warren 2004: *passim*). Despite these discrepancies between the two ceramic assemblages, a comparison can be conducted with certain a degree of confidence since the study of fabrics has allowed the dating of a significant amount of material in the case of Agia Kiriaki, the shapes of which have also been identified. In the case of Lebena, only a small portion of the sherds have been identified by period or shape, but in general they seem to follow the patterns identified in the complete vessels (Figs. IV.30 and 31d), which allows for the comparison of the different types of ceramic data from the two tombs.

There is a common denominator in both assemblages: the sheer quantity of ceramics (Fig. IV.30). In Agia Kiriaki the excavators uncovered sherds which account for at least 1,957 vases, of which 1,245 (63%) can be dated to EM I-II (Blackman & Branigan 1982: 40 Table 3) and at least half of them can be considered EM I wares (Agios Onouphrios I ware, Pirgos ware and some of the Dark and Grey burnished wares; Blackman & Branigan 1982: 37 Table I); in Lebena Y2, 524 whole vases were published, of which at least 314 have been dated to EM I (60%), 24 (4.5%) to EM I or II, and 82 (16%) to EM II. At least 1,700 vases have been identified from the sherd material at Lebena Y2 including large numbers of pyxides and tankards of probable EM I - IIA date (Figs. IV.30 and 31d). If it is supposed that around half of these sherds represent EM I-II vessels, the resulting total number is very similar to that for the Agia Kiriaki A vessels dating to EM I - II. Unfortunately there is no evidence available from other cemeteries to verify whether the large deposition of ceramics was a common characteristic in EM I mortuary behaviour, and whether there was a reduction in the quantity of ceramics deposited in EM II. Lebena Y2 may follow this pattern, as the total number complete EM II vases from both tombs at Lebena Yerokambos (192 vessels including the possible ones) is significantly lower than that of the EM I assemblage (Figs. IV.31c and d). A large number of vessels was found in Room AN, but it is not clear how many of them can be dated to the EM II period (Fig. IV.33b; Alexiou & Warren 2004: 171-3).

However, both cemeteries show a striking difference with regard to the composition of their assemblages. The published EM I - II material from Agia Kiriaki A shows that more than half of the assemblage is composed of cups, jugs, jars and bowls, with a very small number of spherical pyxides (Fig. IV.30). The Lebena Y2 EM I (and EM II) assemblage gives a very different picture: pyxides are the main shape

found, followed by tankards and lids. Cups, jugs (and juglets) and bowls are present but are few in number and do not characterise the assemblage (Fig. IV.30). Differential breakage cannot explain these differences in shape representation: there is no reason why cups, jugs and bowls should have failed to survive in complete or almost complete condition at Lebena Y2 when many pyxides and tankards did, especially since bowls and cups were made in the same types of wares as pyxides (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 123) and are of a similar size, and so would break into similar numbers of sherds. Also, the sherd figures from Lebena Y2 corroborate the pattern of a high proportion of pyxides and tankards (Figs. IV.30 and 31d). Another possible bias comes from the depositional contexts. Room AN at Lebena Yerokambos contained a large quantity of bowls and cups, but no pyxides. It is possible that most of the material identified from Agia Kiriaki might come from the annexes and not the tomb itself. However, direct comparison of these two concentrations is not possible since the lower Room AN deposit is an EM MB - III context and post-dates the evidence dated to EM I - II from Agia Kiriaki (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 171-3; Blackman & Branigan 1982: 27-36). Even if a possible difference between the deposition in annexes and tholoi affected the figures, the disparity seems to be too large to be explained by this reason alone.

Disparities in the assemblages of both tholoi therefore evade explanation based on differing preservation and looting in both cemeteries. Differences may, then, refer to discrepancies in the mortuary behaviour represented at these two cemeteries: the different activities that took place in each cemetery resulted in a different deposition of material. The cause for this difference, though, has no easy explanation. An exact calibration of how different the mortuary behaviours are proves difficult as both cemeteries show similarities, such as architectural features or the intense use of ceramic vessels, and differences in other aspects such as the use of anterooms in Agia Kiriaki. A tension between the similarities and variations in the local conceptualisation of death and local systems of belief needs to be acknowledged, and must be confronted with the new material published in order to evaluate to what extent this tension may be connected to local variations in social organisation.

Little can be said with respect to ritual activities. Branigan suggested that the antechamber could have been used to initially inter the bodies until the corpse became a skeleton, and only then it would be interred in the tholos, but there is no evidence in cemeteries of this period to confirm such a suggestion (Branigan 1970: 94-5; 1993: 58-63, 77-9). He is right to point out that the tholos, and the rooms associated with it, are the only buildings in the cemetery where ritual could and most probably did take place

at the burial stage (Branigan 1970: 92-4; 1993: 79), which does not preclude the possibility that funerary rituals took place in open areas at other places outside the cemetery or outside the tombs, activities that would be very difficult to identify in the archaeological record.

IV.5 EM II

While this section refers to the entire EM II period, must be bore in mind that there are some differences between the early (EM 1A) and late (EM IIB) phases of the period. The first difference is one of archaeological recognition; EM IIA wares are better understood than EM IIB wares in south-central Crete, and the picture of the region becomes less clear the closer we get to the end of the period. New studies have started to better document EM IIB ceramic wares (Alexiou & Warren 2004; Todaro 2004; forthcoming), but a comprehensive look at this period in the mortuary record of the region has yet to be undertaken. More important differences between the two phases may exist, and recent studies have been more aware of the need for a detailed look at the evidence that distinguishes processes in both phases in the region (Day & Wilson 2004; Relaki 2003; Sbonias 1995; Wilson & Day 1994).

A larger number of cemeteries have been identified for the EM II period (Fig. IV.4), this time with some examples in the Mesara Valley (Fig. IV.10). However the distribution is still biased towards the Asterousia and south coast areas, and Branigan noticed that only a small number of cemeteries have been discovered north of the Yeropotamos River, although a possible 'north-south of the river' distinction (Branigan 1970: 124-5) seems less relevant than an Asterousia Mountains-Mesara Valley division (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 35-6).

In general most of the cemeteries seem to have quite a simple layout, similar to that suggested for the EM I cemeteries. Many of them have only one tholos (Fig. IV.28) such as Salame and Koutsokera in the central Mesara or the ones in the south coast area: Agios Andonis or Agios Georgios (Fig. IV.10). However, most of these cemeteries are not well known and it may be found in the future that they contained more tholoi. Most of the one-tholos cemeteries do not have annexes or other buildings (Fig. IV.29), with the only clear exception of the aforementioned Kephali (Alexiou 1963a: 398; Saltos 2000; Vasilakis 1996a: 336-7). The case of Kephali is very interesting as it differs from most of the cemeteries in the area. Here the EM I Tholos A was accompanied by two other buildings that are best defined as rectangular tombs

(Tombs 2 and 3). Tomb 3 seems to have been built later than Tomb 2, possibly in EM II, but the published chronology of both tombs is not very precise (Saltos 2000). This layout is peculiar for two reasons: no tholos cemetery in this period has such a large number of other buildings associated with it, and independent buildings are not known in any other tholos cemetery in the region in this period. In many ways this layout seems unique. The only cemeteries perhaps comparable to these buildings at Kephali are Agia Kiriaki W8 and W11. In these two locations square buildings have been reported that contained EM II material as well as human bones (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 58-61; Vasilakis 1990: 30-3, for a discussion regarding the exact site correlation between the two publications see the database presented in the appendix). However these two sites are only known by archaeological survey and it might be possible that the human bones found on the surface do not relate to the buildings.

There is a larger number of cemeteries with two tholoi than in the previous period and, while not the majority, they constitute a significant category (Fig. IV.10). Kalathiana and Marathokephalo represent two uncertain cases where a second tholos has been reported but has not been dated (Kalathiana B, Evans 1928: 79 n. 2; Marathokephalo A, Xanthoudides 1921b: 16). Lasaia is an unusual case with two tholoi, Lasaia A and B, approximately 150 m apart. No other known cemetery has two tombs located at such a distance from each other; consequently these two tholoi are treated as two separate tombs, although this does not invalidate the possibility that the two were related as the rocky hillside on which they are located may have made their construction close together difficult.

Cemeteries with two tholoi seem more prone to have annexes than those with just one tholos (Fig. IV.29). Only Agia Irini has not provided evidence of annexes apart from an antechamber in Tholos E. The best evidence for annexes comes from Lebena Yerokambos which, however, may not represent a typical two-tholoi cemetery because Tholos Lebena Y2a is much smaller than Tholos Lebena Y2, it is attached to the latter and it has its door orientated to the north, in relation to Tholos Y2, and not to the east which is a key feature of the tholoi probably associated with belief systems (Fig. IV.21; Goodison 1989: 31-2; 2001). Nevertheless, the deposition of interments and material in Lebena Y2a follows patterns typical of a tholos, including an episode of fumigation (Alexiou & Warren 2004) very similar to those at Agia Triada A (Cultraro 2004) and Platanos A (Xanthoudides 1924: 89). Three rooms in the annex of Lebena Yerokambos, namely AN, A and the Room east of A (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 180) may be of EM IIB date (or EM III, see discussion in Alexiou & Warren 2004: 117-8) and

postdate the construction of Tholos Y2a. Room AN contained many clay vases (at least 643), some of them deposited upside-down but no bones and A contained burials and a smaller quantity of ceramic vases (at least 95) which perhaps suggests that the first was used for mortuary ritual or cult activities and the second as an ossuary. This patterns of differential deposition counters the suggestion that both were constructed later to house clearances from the tholos tombs (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 177-8).

In summary, the general picture is that the cemeteries do not seem to have complex plans, and were mainly constituted by one or two tholos tombs; in some cases, especially in the two-tholos cemeteries, these tholoi were complemented by an annex of no more than two or three rooms. There are, however, two exceptions to this characterisation, namely Platanos and Koumasa. The case of Platanos is not clear since very few ceramic vases were published from the tholoi making it impossible to assign them clear dates (Xanthoudides 1924: 88-124). Platanos Tholos A may have been built in EM I or EM II, although there is no material published from its lower deposit to confirm this dating (Xanthoudides 1924: 89) and Platanos Tholos B and Tholos T cannot be dated more securely than to the EM II/III period, although their plans resemble the MM I Apesokari tholos (Catapoti 2005) which could indicate a EM III/MM I construction date. The annexes to Platanos Tholos B have no material that can be clearly attributed to any context, and consequently they cannot be dated. The annexes to Tholos A and the area around this tholos contained large amounts of material, including hundreds of stone vases (Xanthoudides 1924: 98), most probably MM I in date (Warren 1969: 121; see also Gerontakou 2003), and the annex construction may date to EM III or MM I. The Platanos cemetery may be an atypical three-tholoi cemetery of the EM II period, but the evidence is very unclear, and the lack of other structures in the cemetery that can be dated to EM II throws doubt on the idea of a large cemetery during this period. These doubts are corroborated by the material assemblage analysis which points to an MM I date for most of the known material, including most of the non-ceramic material coming from Tholos A (Xanthoudides 1924: 89).

No material coming from the Koumasa cemetery can be dated earlier than the EM IIA period (Pelon 1976: 90; Wilson & Day 1994: 14; Zois 1968a: 71-96; *contra* Branigan 1993: 146). During EM IIA, two tholoi were constructed at Koumasa, Tholos A and B, a rectangular tomb, Tomb T, while another two open areas, AB and A, contained EM IIA material (Fig. IV.22; Xanthoudides 1924: 33). Although a large quantity of bones and material was found in Area AB (Xanthoudides 1924: 33), Areas A

and AB may be a recovery creation (i.e. archaeological contexts where material coming from the tombs due to clearing episodes was found). Only one EM II vase from Tholos E was published found in the soil on top of the tomb (HM 4992; Xanthoudides 1924: 39) which has been re-dated to MM I - II (Walberg 1983: 102), and only a kernos from this tomb may have a date earlier than MM I (HM 4999; Karagianni 1984: 70; Zois 1967b: 720). Two tholoi and a rectangular tomb were constructed during this period, and the discovery of material in Areas A and AB shows intensive use of this cemetery during this period to which paved Area Z and perhaps Tholos E may be added. Tholos A has small dimensions, being 4.1 m in diameter, but Tholos B and E were quite large examples, with diameters of over 9 m.

Koumasa seems to be a unique cemetery for EM II as it is much larger and was made up of more distinct contexts than any other example known. This may mean that different mortuary behaviour took place here, perhaps showing particularities in the social organisation of this site. However, this needs to be weighted against the material assemblage before Koumasa can be set apart. Does it contain a more varied material assemblage with more objects made in imported materials? Are there differences in the material assemblage between tombs within this large cemetery? In order to answer these questions must be first discover what the material assemblages of other EM II cemeteries look like so as to be able to assess any unique characteristics in Koumasa's deposition practices.

Unfortunately the EM II material assemblage of most of the cemeteries cannot be separated from the earlier EM I period or the later EM III-MM IA periods. The best known assemblages come from the recent publication of Lebena Yerokambos and Lebena Papoura, which constitute an interesting case study as both cemeteries lie close to one another allowing us to study intra-cemetery deposition patterns and to compare both cemeteries in order to discover any supra-cemetery patterns.

Before an analysis of the Lebena Papoura cemetery's internal deposition patterns can be made in order to discover any internal dynamics between the tombs, a couple of factors need to be taken into account. First, Lebena P1 showed evidence of looting, while no such evidence exists for Lebena P1b (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 13-4). A direct comparison between both assemblages, therefore, needs to take into consideration the possibility of differential preservation. Another preservation issue refers to ceramic breakage, which is different in the two tholoi: sherds from at least 100 ceramic vessels have been published for Lebena P1, and 366 for Lebena P1b. This

hampers the formulation of a clear chronology of the Lebena P1b assemblage; for example, only four complete MM I vases have been published from this tomb, but sherds from at least 140 conical cups, which are most probably of MM date, were found in the upper level, changing the perception of the use of Lebena Papoura P1b (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 47).

Despite all these difficulties, a comparison of the two Papoura tholoi in terms of EM II ceramic assemblages is still possible, as EM II sherds do not present a different picture from complete EM II vessels (Figs. IV.31 and 33a). By comparing the whole vessels, it was found that both tombs have a similar composition with a major component of pyxides. It is true that both assemblages show a slightly different total number of vessels, but due to the problems in quantifying sherds and the differential incidence of looting, the fact that the assemblage of Lebena P1 contained a larger number of vessels cannot be taken literally and even if it were, the disparity is not large enough to be considered significant. Both tholoi seem to have contained a similar number of interments, and it is therefore probable that similar groups used the two tombs.

As regards the non-ceramic assemblage, some general remarks can be made on both assemblages. In general Lebena P1 contained more non-ceramic objects than Lebena P1b, despite having been looted (Figs. IV.31 a and b); but can this difference be dated to the EM II period? Most of the 910 beads in Lebena P1 cannot be dated but the discovery of amulets and pendants in the lowest levels (strata e and f: Alexiou & Warren 2004: 34-5) shows that it is quite probable that many of these beads were deposited in EM II times. Only 65 beads were found in the Lebena P1b tholos.

Lebena P1 also contained 25 seals, a large quantity if considering the number from Lebena Y2 and Y2a. Five seals come from strata 'e' and T which represent EM II closed deposits and nine seals also come from stratum 'd' a stratum with a majority of EM II vases (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 37-9). The only type of object that was not found in Lebena P1 is figurines, while 2 figurines of the folded arm type (EM II) were found in Lebena P1b (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 52), but these objects are particularly sought after by looters and might therefore have been removed from Lebena P1.

In general, it seems that Lebena P1's assemblage contains a more varied typology of objects than that of Lebena P1b, although these differences cannot be considered major (Fig. IV.31 a). Both tombs contained a small number of metal objects, and the same can be said about ivory objects, mainly seals. The evidence from Lebena

Papoura shows that in the EM II period more seals were deposited in Lebena P1 than in P1b, which may represent a larger number of special status individuals, perhaps heads of families (Blasingham 1983; Karytinis 1998; 2000a; Whitelaw 1983: 336 note 16; *contra* Sbonias 1999a: 10), interred in this tomb. The difference in the number of seals may indicate a slightly larger community or simply peculiarities in the history of a particular group rather than qualitative differences between the two tholoi.

The Yerokambos cemetery show certain differences in its mortuary behaviour that may imply a slightly different internal dynamic. Lebena Yerokambos shows a large disparity in the quantity of ceramic vessels deposited in Tholos Y2 and Tholos Y2a, although it should be borne in mind that a large quantity of material was also discovered in the annex: this may have originated from the clearing of the tombs, therefore affecting the total figures for the tholoi (Fig. IV.31 a). It could be argued that in Tholos Y2a there was a greater need for cleaning due to its small size and that material from this tholos ended up in the large deposit of Room AN. Unfortunately, EM II sherds from this cemetery cannot be compared, as it is not known how many sherds from Lebena Y2 date to EM II. At Lebena Y2a, however, the number of sherds identified from the lower level (Fig. IV.31 d) permits the suggestion that Lebena Y2 contained a larger number of vessels. In addition, the main deposition of ceramics in the rooms may be of later date (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 117-8) and these deposits could have originated from either or both tholoi. The significant disproportion in the number of vessels between tombs seems likely to be related to the subordinate position of Tholos Y2a in the Lebena Yerokambos cemetery and not to preservation issues.

With regard to non-ceramic objects, Lebena Y2 contained more items than Lebena Y2a and the Papoura tombs, which initially would reinforce the idea of a hierarchical relationship between the two tombs in Yerokambos. However, the ratio of ceramic vessels to non-ceramic items⁶ shows that this rate is similar to Lebena Y2a and the Papoura tombs (Fig. IV.31 b). The larger number of non-ceramic items seems to relate to the larger deposition of ceramics, indicating a more intensive use of this tomb rather than some qualitative difference. Many of the non-ceramic items in Lebena Y2 cannot be assigned to a stratified level, and no patterns seem to emerge from the ones that can be assigned to levels with EM II ceramics. Thirteen seals that could date to the EM I or EM II periods were found in the tomb as opposed to the five in Lebena Y2a, but the presence in the lower levels of Lebena Y2 of a scarab that can only be of

⁶ This ratio must only be taken as a suggestion because it is based on the comparison of the whole assemblage of each tomb, counting only whole ceramic vessels and without taking intensity of use in different periods into consideration.

MM I date warns of the possibility that some of the seals are of later date (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 133 no 525). Four folded arm type figurines, all of them Cretan examples, were found in Lebena Y2, as compared to none in Lebena Y2a (Fig. IV.31 a; Alexiou & Warren 2004: 127-8; Pieler 2004: 92). Four stone vases of early type were found in Lebena Y2 (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 139), as were a small number of daggers and other metal objects, including 22 gold beads and an EM I lead bead (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 129-30, 136-7). In addition, a large quantity of beads were found in this tomb, many of them in EM I-II levels (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 128-33).

In summary, there seem to be some clear differences between the two tombs at Yerokambos that were not identified between the tombs at the Papoura cemetery. Differences in the assemblage seem to provide evidence for a larger number of EM II interments in Lebena Y2, but differences are further marked by the 22 gold beads and the folded arm figurines found in Lebena Y2, objects rarely found in the cemeteries of the Asterousia region. The difference between the tombs assemblage may relate to the peculiar layout with a subordinated tholos tomb. It seems that while the mortuary behaviour in both cemeteries may be similar, the unusual layout could be a reflection of the particularities of the Lebena Yerokambos community which perhaps modified the cemetery in what appears to be a specifically local way in order to highlight some kind of social differentiation between the groups interred at the tholoi.

Unfortunately, unlike the case of the Lebena cemeteries, there is insufficient knowledge of the Koumasa assemblage to permit an evaluation of the possible internal dynamics of the cemetery through material deposition. Incomplete evidence means there is not enough detail to attempt an analysis of the assemblage of each tholos, but a general view of the material found in the cemetery can be achieved. The published vessels are too few to be able to characterise the ceramic assemblage (Xanthoudides 1924; Zois 1967b; Zois 1968a) and it is not always clear to which period of use the non-ceramic items belong; however, there are a couple of items that can be dated to EM II that might indicate some particularities in the Koumasa cemetery. In Tomb T, in a probable EM II closed deposit (Soles 1992b: 157-8), three silver daggers were found. These are a very rare type of object, elsewhere found only at the possible cemetery of Teke at Knossos (Vasilakis 1996b: 82-4), at Galana Charakia (Branigan 1968b: 63; Vasilakis 1996b: 82-7) and at Mochlos (Tselios pers. comm.). Silver is a very rare imported material for the island, and especially for the Mesara, that may have been imbued with high social value (Branigan 1968c; Davaras 1975: 107; Legarra Herrero 2004). Other possible valuable objects in Koumasa are gold items in Tholos B, but

these cannot be clearly dated to the EM II period since this deposit contains an important MM I component (Xanthoudides 1924: 92). A not particularly large quantity of seals were found in the tholoi: 16 in Tholos A and 19 in Tholos B including EM III - MM I examples (Platon 1969a: no 138-69; Platon *et al.* 1977: no 26; Sbonias 1995) similar numbers to Lebena Papoura and Yerokambos. Zoomorphic and anthropomorphic vases in Koumasa ware, typically EM IIA in date, are found in larger numbers here than in any other known cemetery, and this may reflect some level of individuality in the mortuary behaviour of this cemetery during EM II (Krause 1992: 224-7; Miller 1984: 28-SI, 557-8; Warren 1977: 138; Xanthoudides 1924: 39-41). Of the six folded arm type figurines found at Koumasa, two from Tholos B have been identified as imports from the Cyclades (HM 125, 127; Renfrew 1969: 19) that could date to EM IIA such as the ones in Phourni Tholos V (Chapter V; Papadatos 1999: 223; 2003a). The aggregate of the material suggests that Koumasa contained an out-of-the-ordinary assemblage in the EM IIA period.

Without the whole assemblage, which was never published, the rare objects found at Koumasa lose some of their significance as they cannot be put in a clear archaeological context. But taking the assemblage together with the abnormal architectural features suggests a different picture from other EM II cemeteries, and indicates particularities in the mortuary behaviour of this cemetery. This may also be the case at Platanos but here the evidence is more obscure and no conclusions can be reached at all for the EM II period based on the published archaeological data.

The EM IIB period is quite difficult to identify in the record due to ceramic recognition problems, but it is possible that some major changes in the cemeteries helped to create the confused archaeological record for this period. In this sense it shares the same problems encountered in the study of the early EM III period that may be due to the same processes occurring in both sub-periods (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 265), and various authors have started to acknowledge this possibility by studying the EM IIB period in connection with later periods (Relaki 2004; Sbonias 1995). In a similar vein, it seems logical here to include the discussion of possible EM IIB disruptions in the study of the next period.

IV.6 *EM* *III*

The EM III period represents a gap in the archaeological record of south-central Crete. There are two possible reasons for this gap: either the EM III period has not yet

been recognised ceramically in the region (chronological periods in the record are identified mainly through the ceramic sequence), or this was a period when profound changes took place, which shows up in the record as an apparent gap (Watrous 1994: 717-8; 2001: 223; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 251-2). It is a fact that in south-central Crete a distinctive ceramic EM III phase has not been defined because the East Cretan wares that helped to define this period in other regions of the island were not imported to the Mesara in any significant quantity (Betancourt 1985: 53). It may be that the EM III chronological period started with ceramic wares very similar to those of the EM IIB period, wares that developed directly into what have been defined as MM IA wares in other regions. Watrous has pointed out that EM III vessels may have mistakenly been attributed to the EM IIB period in the area (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 252). Fortunately, recent research has given hope that an EM III period definition for the region will be available in the near future, as scholars are starting to produce a more refined EM IIB — MM I ceramic sequence based on stratified deposits at key sites such as Agia Triada and Phaistos (Todaro 2004; forthcoming).

However, the problems encountered in the recognition of the early EM III period could also be explained by changes in mortuary behaviour at the cemeteries. Such changes are marked in the record by the abandonment of some cemeteries at the end of EM II (Figs. IV.4 and 25), such as Kali Limenes A and B (Blackman & Branigan 1975: 17-1; Vasilakis 1990: 18-23), Chrisostomos (Blackman & Branigan 1975: 26) and Koumasa Tholos E (Xanthoudides 1924: 89). Moreover the changes are marked by a series of fumigation episodes (i.e. the extensive use of fire within the tomb to 'clean' it before new interments) and clearing in various tombs. In Agia Triada Tholos A, a gap in the evidence appears at the end of the EM IIB period (the abandonment of *Livello* 4) that culminates in a fumigation episode in the mature EM III period (*Livello* 3; Cultraro 2004: 309, 315; Todaro 2004: 91). A similar sequence is found at Lebena Y2a, where the fumigation episode has been identified as a shorter event in the use of the tomb than at Agia Triada, dating to the end of the EM IIB period or to the EM III period (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 145, 152, 157). Another tomb with a similar stratigraphy and fumigation episode is Platanos Tholos A where two distinct layers were reported separated by a possible fire episode: an upper one of MM I date and an undated lower one (Xanthoudides 1924: 89). Episodes of fire in other tombs have been interpreted as fumigation (Branigan 1970: 108-9), but the nature of them is not clear and may be indicative of other activities inside the tholoi (Georgoulaki 1996: 137-9). In any case, these fire episodes and gaps in the stratigraphy are not identified in all cemeteries; Lebena P1 was used uninterruptedly from EM II to MM I (Alexiou and Warren 2004),

and early EM III use may well be identified at some of the cemeteries with the help of new ceramic studies.

The gaps in the mortuary deposits have normally been interpreted as episodes of cleaning to create space for new burials (Branigan 1970:107-9; Georgoulaki 1996: 134-6; Soles 1992b: 247). However, as it will be seen below, these episodes occur when a broad change in the mortuary behaviour is attested in the cemeteries of south-central Crete. The fumigation episodes are not attested at the cemeteries in earlier or later periods, and one might suppose that it was an exclusive activity that took place in some cemeteries at this particular time. The regular cleaning of the tombs, better attested in MM I times, was not accompanied by the laying of sand or some other identifiable break in the stratigraphy. These fumigations might therefore have had a special significance when they occurred; a possible hypothesis is that they are related to changes in the group that used the tomb, not necessarily a change in the actual human group, but perhaps in its affiliation (Legarra Herrero 2004: 39).

A couple of comments need to be made here about the chronology of a possible change in mortuary behaviour. First, it is possible that a gap in the record of south-central Crete defies the chronological conventions of the EM IIB - III periods. It is possible that gaps in the tomb record predate the EM III period, forming part of a transitional EM IIB/III period. Trying to fit the changes in with existing chronological periods may well be a source of confusion. Second, the changes need not have happened simultaneously in each community during this period of time, nor need they have affected each community in the same way; therefore the explanatory models may need to be broadened to consider more local histories within the regional pattern.

The Late EM III period is not clearly identified in the record either, but it has been suggested that material from this phase might have been deposited at many cemeteries, such Drakones, Christos, Porti, Platanos Tholos E (Xanthoudides 1924), Vorou (Marinatos 1933) and Apesokari A (Schorgendorfer 1951b; Walberg 1983: 98) (Figs. IV.11 and 12). A Late EM III period may have not been clearly distinguished because wares from this period could be very similar to those of the MM IA period (as has been suggested for Knossos; Momigliano 1991; *contra* Watrous 1994: 718 n. 179). But this link between the Late EM III and the Early MM IA periods runs deeper than ceramic affinities. New characteristics in the mortuary behaviour clearly identified in the MM IA period can be traced back to the Late EM III period.

A new construction period starts in many cemeteries in Late EM III (Figs. IV. 11 and 26). The construction of new cemeteries which, as in earlier periods, are defined by tholos tombs, now focus on the Mesara Valley (Fig. IV. 11). This could be the case at Vorou (Figs IV. 38 and 39; Marinatos 1933b), Drakones (Xanthoudides 1924: 76-80) and Christos (Xanthoudides 1924: 70), and perhaps Agios Kirillos (Sakellarakis 1968c). Also, new tholoi may have been constructed in existing cemeteries, such as Platanos Tholoi B and T (Fig. IV.23; Xanthoudides 1924: 92, 94; Walberg 1983: 99). New large annexes are also constructed during this period, such as the ones at Agia Triada Tholos A (Todaro 2004: 87) and Platanos Tholos A (Walberg 1983: 99). At Kephali a substitution seems to have taken place, with Tholos B replacing Tholos A and Tomb 4 perhaps replacing Tomb 2 (Saltos 2000). All these changes led to the creation of cemeteries with layouts very different from those of the EM I - II periods, ones that included a larger number of tholoi per cemetery and large and complex annexes and associated buildings. This trend is fully developed in MM I times, and thus will be investigated in the next section (IV.7), as there is a much better understanding of MM I mortuary behaviour.

Little or nothing can be said about the material assemblages as there are no pure EM III deposits in the region. As with the architectural features, this work suggests that EM III and MM I assemblages shared similar characteristics as a result of a comparable mortuary behaviour. The identified EM III ceramic vessels correspond to typical MM I shapes, such as cups and jugs (Walberg 1983: 26-7; Todaro 2004: 87-8). Similar too are the seals that have been stylistically classified into EM III - early MM IA groups (Sbonias 1995; 1999b; *contra* Krzyszkowska 2005: 59 n. 11, 69 n. 30). In addition, types of stone vases that will become popular in MM I emerged in EM III times (Warren 1969: 8). Therefore the discussion of EM III material assemblages has also been incorporated into the next section to avoid repetition.

IV.7 MM I

The MM I period has been divided in two sub-periods - MM IA and B - that correspond with important changes in Crete, such as the introduction to the wheel in ceramic technology (Knappett 1999b) and the appearance of the 'palaces' in MM IB. This study tries to create a cemetery chronology that distinguishes the two sub-periods (Figs. IV. 13 and 14). While this effort was successful for some cemeteries, it was not possible to achieve clear differentiation at others either because the publication quality of a site did not allow it, or because both MM IA and B material was found in the same

deposits. However, this does not seriously hamper this study since cemeteries at which both sub-periods can be identified have revealed mortuary behaviours so similar that they can be studied together, with the few differences between the two sub-periods noted wherever possible.

The interest in new construction at the cemeteries which first appeared in EM III continues into MM IA and IB (Figs. IV. 11 and 26; *contra* Watrous *et al.* 2004: 255) with new cemeteries such as Kamilari A (Levi 1963) and Apesokari A and B (Schorgendorfer 1951b) in the Mesara Valley. Most of the new building activity in pre-existing cemeteries also seems to occur in those of the Mesara valley (Figs. IV.8 and 11). The tholos tombs at new cemeteries such as Drakones, Vorou or Porti were soon accompanied by a variety of buildings, such as annexes at Porti and Drakones (Fig. IV.37; Xanthoudides 1924: 54-5, 76-7), deposits in open areas as at Vorou A (Marinatos 1933b), and more unusual contexts such as a possible pithos cemetery at Porti (Xanthoudides 1924: 55) or independent rectangular tombs at Vorou A and Porti (Fig. IV. 38; Marinatos 1933b; Xanthoudides 1924: 55). No new cemeteries are reported from the Asterousia or south coast areas in this period (Fig. IV.11), with the possible exception of Agios Kirillos (Sakellarakis 1968c: 53).

New constructions in pre-EM III cemeteries are only attested in two cemeteries in the Mesara. A complex succession of building episodes took place at Agia Triada (Fig. IV. 19; Carinci 1999; 2004; Cultraro 2000b; 2004; Di Vita 1995; 2000; 2001; La Rosa 1999; 2001; Todaro 2004). These buildings, namely the *Camerette Sud* (Cultraro 2004: 116-9; Di Vita 2001: 391 Fig. 11; Soles 1992b), the Annex of Tholos A (Di Vita 2001: 391 Fig. 11) and the West *Camerette* (Carinci 2004; La Rosa 2001), can be divided into further building episodes as they are examples of agglutinative architecture. A similar boom took place at Platanos, where the construction and use of new buildings might also have occurred, such as the annexes of Tholos A (Fig. IV.23; Warren 1969: 8 table 2) and rectangular tombs a and y (Soles 1992b: 193). The deposits south of Tholos A have recently been dated to MM I - II, supporting such a date for spatial changes in the cemetery (Gerontakou 2003).

The construction of tholos tombs in new cemeteries attests the continuing relevance of these tombs in MM I. However, the new architectural program can be better identified by the building of other new structures in the cemetery. New annexes with much larger and more complex plans than before are constructed, such as the annexes to Agia Triada Tholos A, while existing annexes are enlarged. These annex

enlargements are in fact the only modifications apparent in the Asterousia and south coast cemeteries, such as Agia Kiriaki (Blackman & Branigan 1982), Moni Odigitrias (Vasilakis 1992) and Lebena Yerokambos (Alexiou and Warren 2004). Kephali, where a tholos and two rectangular tombs may have been constructed in EM III (Saltos 2000), is the only cemetery that was possibly restructured to the degree seen in the Mesara Valley.

New spaces are also created in the cemeteries in the form of associated buildings, such as the *camerettes* at Agia Triada, associated tombs such as Porti 6, and large deposits of ceramic vases such as the N and SW deposits at Vorou A and the south deposits at Platanos. There are cemeteries that remain in use from earlier periods and do not show apparent modifications (Fig. IV.25), although most of them poorly known such as Megali Skini I (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 38-40) and Kouses (Fig. IV.40; Hadzi-Vallianou 1979: 384; 1989: 432).

Architecturally most of the annexes, rectangular tombs, and associated buildings have individual plans and characteristics that make them very difficult to compare, and suggest a departure from the homogeneous layouts of earlier periods. Indeed, it is not clear if some of the contexts that have been defined as rectangular tombs in this region differ from the annexes in their use. The best evidence for assessing possible particularities in the activities associated with different buildings comes from Agia Triada, where at least four different spaces can be defined outside Tholos A for the MM I period (Fig. IV. 19).

The EM III annex to Tholos A was the first built space outside the tholos (Todaro 2004: 87). The recently published plan of this complex of rooms differs from the original (Stefani 1933 Figs. 1 and 2; Di Vita 2001: 391 Fig. 11) and reveals a more complex building sequence than previously thought. The annex seems to have been constructed in different phases within a relatively short period of time, as the material is dated no later than MM IB (Carinci 2004: 125). While the annex may have been used as a ritual place in the first instance, as the deposit in the lower stratum in Room L contains a large deposit of cups but no evidence of bones (Cultraro 2004: 323), it was soon used mainly as an ossuary and new rooms were probably added for the same purpose (upper strata in Room L, Rooms D-G).

In MM IA two more buildings appear at the cemetery (Fig. IV. 19). The West *Camerette* is a complex constructed in at least three phases, two of them in the MM IA period. The first phase consisted of a wall where two baetyls have been identified (La

Rosa 2001: 223), to which three more rooms were added to the east in a second phase. A large pit with MM IA pottery was also found in this area, as was a free-standing room, Room *alpha*, which was also most probably constructed in MM IA (La Rosa 2001: 223; Carinci 2004: 99 *Tabella*). The *Camerette Sud*, too, is MM IA in date. Three different phases of construction have been suggested for this complex (Cultraro 2000b: 324, *tav.* 1; Soles 1992b: 117), yet the latest plan published suggests that Room 1 may have been added later than Room 2, and Rooms 5-6 may be earlier than 7-10 (Di Vita 2001: 391 Fig. 11), which would take the construction phases to five. The agglutinative plan seems to follow a particular pattern. Rooms in this complex pair in units that have their own entrance: Room 2 and anteroom, Rooms 5-6 and Rooms 9-10. Rooms 7-8 and Rooms 3-4 may follow the same pattern, but the evidence is not so clear. These pairs of rooms also share some features, such as pavements (Rooms 4, 5, 7, 8 and 10) and evidence for red stucco (Rooms 5, 7 and 9; Cultraro 2000b: 311; Soles 1992b: 118-9; Stefani 1933: 153-4). It seems possible that this complex was formed by the conglomeration of two-room units that shared similar uses (Soles 1992b: 118). This layout sets this complex apart from other buildings in the cemetery.

Both *camerettes* were never used as ossuaries, but they did not have the same use. The deposition of ceramics in the pit of the West *Camerette* might indicate that the use of this area was similar to Room L's first use (Fig. IV.32e). More elusive is the role that the *Camerette Sud* played, although it is clear that it was not used for the same type of ritual as the previous contexts since its architecture is unique with the use of stuccoed paved rooms and the possible arrangement in paired rooms. Also it contained a peculiar deposition of material (see below) and it remained in use longer as there is evidence of regular use of these rooms in the MM IB period when Tholos A, its Annex and the West *Camerette* seem to have been used sparsely (Carinci 2004: 112).

All of these buildings are situated surrounding Tholos A, and seem to be related in some way to the intense use of the Tholos in EM III - MM IA. However, heavy use does not explain the need for new rooms as they were never required during previous periods of the tomb's use. Ossuaries and cult areas outside the Tholos are new additions that can only respond to a new set of rituals and a new way of using the cemetery (Carinci 2004: 104-5; La Rosa 2001: 223).

In MM IB there is a shift in the focus of the cemetery from Tholos A to the newly built Tholos B and the *Sepolcreto*, an independent building constructed west of Tholos B (Fig. IV. 19; Di Vita 2000: 481-3; La Rosa 1999: 178 fig. 1; Laviosa 1975: 512-

3; Paribeni 1904). The *Sepolcreto* may have been built in two phases, with a second room added to the east (Paribeni 1904: 692; *contra* Laviosa 1975: 513), but it never had the complexity of the annex of Tholos A or the *Camerette Sud*, and this casts doubt about whether this building had a similar use to Tholos A annexes. This is further compounded by the fact that the *Sepolcreto* had a quite different layout to the annex of Tholos A, that spatially it is not directly related to the entrance of the tholos and that its material assemblage was more varied. The change from Tholos A to Tholos B might be a response to the need for space for new interments (La Rosa 2005). This suggestion, however, does not satisfactorily explain why Tholos A and its annexes were no longer cleared on a regular basis, and why a new tomb was needed. The change in focus from one tholos to the other at Agia Triada can only be explained by profound changes in the use of the cemetery during MM IA and MM IB.

Agia Triada underwent an important period of building during MM I that led to a range of different contexts. Evidence from other cemeteries in the region does not parallel the succession in the use of the buildings seen at Agia Triada. That being said, Agia Triada represents the best and most comprehensively known cemetery in south-central Crete and similar patterns at other cemeteries may simply not have been recognised, particularly at cemeteries known only through rescue excavations or survey.

Although the particularities of the Agia Triada sequence are not found in any other cemetery, its general lines of development, the proliferation of annexes and its enlargement through the creation of new complex spaces, are common to most of the MM I cemeteries. The diverse range of buildings seen at Agia Triada may not have been found, but the new annexes built at many cemeteries indicate a complex use of rooms for various purposes that have connections with the Agia Triada case. New ritual activities took place in the annexes, producing a complex interaction between ritual and space that did not exist before. Paved areas also point to the regular use of open spaces by groups of people. Such pavements have been found in earlier contexts (Agia Kiriaki, Fig. IV.20), but become more common in this period, e.g. at Kamilari A, Apesokari A and B and Moni Odigitrias (see MM II section and Figs. IV. 18, 24, 34 and 35; Branigan 1970b: 129; 1998b: 20-1). Boundary walls were also used to create additional defined open spaces at some cemeteries, such as Kamilari A, Platanos and Moni Odigitrias (Figs. IV.23, 24 and 35), though some of these features may have already been in use in the EM II period, e.g. at Agia Kiriaki A (Blackman & Branigan 1982). All these new spaces seem to articulate the use of the cemetery by groups of

people in a way that was more controlled than before. New rituals seem to have been making the cemeteries more 'public' or 'group orientated', a process that has also been suggested by other scholars (Branigan 1993: 129; Cultraro 1994: 268). Moreover, the relentless succession of construction episodes undertaken during this period shows an investment of time and effort by a group in the construction of new contexts, which may suggest that building was an important activity *per se*, perhaps in a similar way to ritual activities, with a purpose to mobilise groups of people.

The MM I material assemblage in the mortuary record is better understood than that of earlier periods due to the fact that some cemeteries contained only MM I material, while in many others the MM I deposits were found relatively undisturbed and have been well published. The first question about material assemblages that emerges from the architectural study relates to differences between the tholos tomb and other spaces within a cemetery. Can differences in material deposition among the diverse spaces within a cemetery be recognised? From the few examples where enough material has been published to be analysed with a secure chronology, the evidence points to differences in the assemblage between spaces (Figs. IV.32, 33b and c). In general, the tholos tombs contain a wider range of objects than the annexes or other associated buildings, as is clear from the cases of Porti and Vorou A. The areas around Platanos Tholos A yielded a greater diversity of material, but here the data probably includes material eroded from the tholos (Xanthoudides 1924: 88-93). The assemblage of the *Sepolcreto* at Agia Triada constitutes an anomaly in this pattern as it contains a range of materials that set it apart from other annexes or open areas which normally included only ceramic and stone vases and little other material. It has been argued that this may be due to the possible movement of interments out of the tholoi, at which time some of the material would have been recycled back into the community (Branigan 1970b: 107). However, it seems striking that the stone vessels would not have been accorded the same treatment and that even small or broken objects are still not found in the annexes. In most cases, the assemblages from the annexes consisted of large numbers of ceramic vases that sometimes exceed the published material from the tholos, as at Apesokari A, Vorou A, and Agia Triada A.

With respect to differences in the assemblages between various spaces outside the tholos, the only evidence that allows for detailed analysis comes from Agia Triada (Fig. IV.19). Here three spaces can be identified in use during MM IA: the Annex of Tholos A, the West *Camerette* and the *Camerette Sud*. All three contained large numbers of ceramic vases (Banti 1933; Carinci 2004; Cultraro 2000b; La Rosa 2001),

while non-ceramic materials have only been reported from the Annex (Fig. IV.32e). The deposition patterns in these buildings are similar in that large quantities of drinking wares were deposited at all three (Fig. VI.33c). However, differences are apparent with regard to deposition type: the Annex contained a major deposition at the bottom of Room L which seems only to have comprised cups (Cultraro 1994: 38; 2004: 323) that is similar to the deposit of MM IA material in the West *Camerette* pit, except that in the latter jugs were also found (Di Vita 2001: 396). The *Camerette Sud* shows a quite different pattern: here the material - jugs and a small number of dishes - was found scattered among the different rooms (Cultraro 2000b: 325 *tav.* 2b), and no cups were found. It has been argued that the *Camerette Sud* replaced the annex as a place for cult (Carinci 2004: 110; La Rosa 2001: 224), but a more logical hypothesis has been proposed in which the differing assemblages of the *Camerette Sud* and the Annex to Tholos A have been interpreted as complementary (Cultraro 2000b). This suggests that during the MM IA period, the new buildings housed a complex funerary ritual and/or cult activities where different ritual aspects were conducted in different spaces. Evidence from the Lebena Yerokambos annexes supports this idea: here too there are differences in the composition of the assemblage between rooms, and Room AN parallels Agia Triada's Room L assemblage of a large number of cups and a small number of jugs (Fig. IV.33b).

As regards ceramic assemblages, the standard set of shapes for the period seems to be more restricted in range than that of the EM II ceramic assemblages, with conical cups and jugs constituting the overwhelming majority (Fig. IV.33; Walberg 1987: 55). This change can be appreciated at Agia Kiriaki A (Fig. IV.33; Blackman & Branigan 1982: 40 Table 4; Hamilakis 1998: 123-4). This is supported by the large number of cups identified from the sherds of Lebena P1b and Room AN at Lebena Yerokambos (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 51, 169-71) and in the N and SW deposits at Vorou A (Fig. IV.33c). Large deposits of ceramics seem to be a common deposition pattern, and are found in non-burial contexts such as the Agia Triada West *Camerette* (see above), the Vorou A North, as well as in most of the annexes, such as at Apesokari B (Alexiou 1963a: 405; 1971a: 307-8) and in the *Recinto delle offerte* at Kamilari A (Levi 1963: 80-91). These deposits do not seem to be fortuitous and they display some particularities, such as at Kamilari A and Agios Kirillos where the cups were found upside-down (Levi 1963: 81 Fig. 106; Sakellarakis 1968c). This seems to represent a very different type of deposition to that seen in the tholoi, but it is impossible to examine possible ceramic differences between the two contexts further as there is no detailed published data from the tholoi at present.

In general it is very difficult to accurately date non-ceramic objects in the mixed deposits of the tombs, because clear typological sequences based on stratified contexts do not exist; this means that a typical MM I non-ceramic assemblage cannot be defined. Some authors have suggested that larger number of valuable objects were deposited in the cemeteries during this period (Cultraro 2001: 114-7; Watrous 1994: 730-1). The ill-defined EM II non-ceramic assemblage does not allow clear comparisons to be drawn, but in general terms it seems that the non-ceramic assemblage follows the trend seen in the ceramic assemblage towards a narrower range of objects in the MM I period. Seals (Sbonias 1999b) and stone vases (Bevan 2004: 112; Warren 1969: 183) now make up most of the non-ceramic assemblage found in tombs, although metal objects and ornaments are still deposited (Fig. IV.32). However, it should be noted that, in contrast to the trend seen in the ceramic assemblage, seals and stone vases display a wider range of types than ever before.

The best insight into the non-ceramic record comes from two exceptional cemeteries, Agia Triada and Platanos. The Agia Triada Tholos A assemblage not only constitutes a unique case within the Agia Triada cemetery but also within the Mesara valley as a whole due to its large and rich non-ceramic assemblage (Fig. IV.32f). On typological grounds, Cultraro dated all the triangular daggers and most of the seals to the first use of the tholos (Cultraro 1994: 181-6, 254), but this is not supported by the stratigraphic evidence (Cultraro 1994: 76). Many of the seals have been dated stylistically to EM III - MM I (Platon 1969a: no 16-103; Sbonias 1995; see also Alexiou & Warren 2004: 146) and the possibility of triangular daggers being associated with EM III - MM I material has been suggested elsewhere (Legarra Herrero 2004). The only objects that can be dated to EM III - MM I with a little more accuracy are a few stone vases, four of them Egyptian copies and one an actual Egyptian import (HM 654-5, 660, 663, 666; Bevan 2004: 113; Warren 1969: 111). Egyptian vessels (copies or actual imports) are not common, and other imported vases were only found in Platanos Area AB and at Porti (Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 243, 246; Xanthoudides 1924: 65, 101). Most of the figurines from Tholos A also probably date to EM III - MM I (Branigan 1971: 72-5 Fig. 2; Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1987: 72). The stone vessels together with a significant number of EM III - MM I seals and figurines may indicate a varied MM I assemblage in Agia Triada Tholos A that also included rare imported materials.

Platanos shares similarities with Agia Triada; it most probably underwent an intensive building phase during the EM III - MM I periods, although the precise extent of this cannot be accurately assessed (Tholos B and f may date to EM II or EM III).

Around Tholos A is an annex and some small rooms in its southern part (south rooms) which contained mainly MM I vases, and its construction and use may date to MM I (Fig. IV.23); the same can be argued for rectangular tombs a and y. There are also many features in the cemetery, such as the annex to Tholos B and other walls shown in the original plan, that are not datable, but the stone vases from Area AB might point to an MM I date for the use of this area (Xanthoudides 1924: Plate LXII). On the basis of Xanthoudides' description, it can be assumed that most of the material published from Tholos A came from the upper level and can be dated to EM III - MM I (Walberg 1983: 99; Xanthoudides 1924: 89). This date coincides with the chronology of material from the south deposits (Gerontakou 2003) and the dating of the stone vases found in the annexes (Warren 1969: 8 Table 2).

The assemblage of Tholos A and its surroundings shows a quantity of material unparalleled in any other cemetery for the period (Fig. IV.32f). Large amounts of gold, an imported material to the island, were found, as were extremely large numbers of stone vases, around 300 in room a of the annexes (Xanthoudides 1924: 98) and another 64 in the south deposits (Gerontakou 2003). Around 60 daggers come from the upper stratum of Tholos A, as opposed to the 14 found in the lower one (Xanthoudides 1924: 106-7). The Tholos B material may be mainly EM III - MM I in date, although an early stone pyxis (HM 1904a; Warren 1965) and possible EM II - III seals were also found in the assemblage (e.g. Platon 1969a: no 257, 259, 262; Sbonias 1995). The Tholos B assemblage also contained large quantities of non-ceramic objects, in this case 80 seals and 33 stone vases, as well as a Babylonian cylinder seal (HM 1098; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 243; Platon 1969a: no 306; Ward 1971: 75) and three scarabs, which are probably Egyptian (HM 1075, 1058, 1124; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 242-3; Platon 1969a: no 267, 283, 332; Ward 1981; Yule 1983: 363 notes 12 and 22). Only one gold object was found, but the tomb is known to have been looted and many of the gold objects may have been removed. Although comparison between the two tombs is complicated by looting episodes, it may be possible that Tholos B contained a similar assemblage to Tholos A.

It seems that a major building phase at Platanos coincided with the exceptional deposition of material during MM I. Agia Triada may follow a similar pattern, but here the use of the two tholoi overlapped only briefly and the material assemblage of the cemetery does not seem to match the amounts found at Platanos Tholos A. Koumasa Tholos B may also have an important MM I assemblage, with 80 stone vessels (Xanthoudides 1924: 17), that situates the cemetery in a similar league to Agia Triada;

however, it lacks Egyptian imports, and the gold objects have no clear context and could be of earlier date. At Porti n the assemblage resembles the composition of the Platanos tholoi, but here the amount of material found is much smaller (Fig. IV.32b). The bottom of the scale is more difficult to define as extensive looting may have stripped many cemeteries of valuable materials. Nevertheless, it can be suggested that Apesokari A may be more typical as it contains very little material apart from ceramic vessels, and the same can be argued for Vorou A (Figs IV.32c and d).

The non-ceramic assemblages of these sites differ from that suggested for Koumasa in the EM II period. While Koumasa's EM II assemblage was dominated by Cycladic imports and influences such as folded arm figurines, silver artefacts and possibly obsidian (Carter 1998; Karantzali 1996: 235-6; Papadatos 2003a), the MM I cemeteries of Agia Triada and Platanos contained an assemblage of a different nature; 'Cycladica' are absent but there is a significant number of seals (Blasingham 1983; Karytinou 1998), stone vases (Bevan 2004), and Egyptian-influenced objects (Carinci 2000; Phillips 1991: 345-6).

Explicit changes can be identified in MM I ritual activities at the cemeteries. The clearest ritual change is the appearance of larnakes and pithoi as containers for burials. The appearance of such containers may date to EM III, but MM I is when they can be securely identified in the record (Fig. IV. 18; Petit 1990; Rutkowski 1968). Larnakes and pithoi are found in tholos tombs, annexes and rectangular tombs (Apesokari B, Drakones, Porti, Vorou A; Figs. IV. 37 and 38) and do not completely replace the custom of burying bodies in the ground that is still attested in contexts such as Vorou B (Marinatos 1933b). It has been suggested that the introduction of larnakes and pithoi may be related to a process of individualisation in Cretan society, and that the interment of individuals in containers might have marked some special status (Branigan 1970b: 131; 1993: 140-1), but the analysis of the ceramic vases shows no appreciable difference between burials in containers and burials in the ground (Walberg 1987: 59-60). Such a suggestion is also difficult to maintain because it obviates the fact that larnakes and pithoi appear in a wide range of ways in the cemeteries in the Mesara and the Asterousia area (Fig. IV. 18; Papadatos 1999: 110-1). Lastly, there are many other cases in which no evidence of larnakes or pithoi has been discovered, such as at Lebena Yerokambos and Papoura (Alexiou & Warren 2004). This variation parallels the diversity seen in the layout of the cemeteries, where new types of buildings and deposits are found combined to different extents in each

cemetery, and suggests that the use of larnakes and pithoi followed a different rationale that did not correspond to vertical social differentiation.

Large depositions of ceramics may point to group rituals in the new 'public' architectural features, and a shift towards communal ritual has been suggested (Branigan 1995: 38; *contra* Georgoulaki 1996a: 333). These activities involved the use and deposition of large quantities of cups and jugs and other shapes related to the consumption of food and drink. Animal remains have been found in the best studied contexts, that is to say Lebena Y2 and Y2a (Alexiou & Warren 2004: 16, 157), and it is probable that they were overlooked in many other publications (Marinatos 1932b: 132 n. 8). Public toasting, communal feasting and libation rites have been suggested, although their exact nature has rarely been explained (Branigan 1993: 78-9; 1998b: 21; Carinci 2004: 104; Cultraro 2000b; Glotz 1925: 277-88; Hamilakis 1998; Murphy 1998: 33; Pini 1968: 29; Relaki 2003: 201-2; Wiesner 1938: 128). These rites may not have involved an entire community. Branigan has suggested that the small rooms in annexes and related buildings only allowed small groups to be involved in the ritual (Branigan 1993: 78; Petit 1987: 40), and in the case of Agia Triada Carinci has suggested that privileged groups may have been the only ones allowed to access some areas of the cemetery (Carinci 2004: 105, 110; Murphy 1998: 38). The evidence from the *Camerette Sud* suggests the possibility that small similar groups (e.g. families) may have been the relevant ritual units, and this supports Branigan's argument. However, ritual activity involving larger groups may also have taken place in areas away from where the material was deposited (Georgoulaki 1996: 74-5; Walberg 1987: 57), and exclusivity in ritual is difficult to define on the basis of the present evidence.

The details of the ritual may evade us but it is clear that it developed towards a more structured form, as demonstrated by the differentiated deposition of material and the complex architecture associated with the tholos. However, this new complexity in ritual does not seem to follow a clear or universal plan. Annexes are constantly modified and had agglutinative plans, and the same can be said of the associated buildings and open areas. New conventions seem to involve a more complicated ritual, and in many ways seem to direct and restrict the use of the cemetery by groups in a way not seen before, but this does not seem to be carefully planned or obviously controlled by a central authority.

All in all, MM I mortuary behaviour in the Mesara displays a clear change from earlier periods. Although some EM II cemeteries continue to be used and the tholos

tombs are still at the heart of the cemetery, things such as layout, architectural features and the material assemblage show that the cemetery now has a dramatically different use and is the site of a new range of activities that involve an interest in the mobilisation of groups of people. It seems that during the MM I period the cemeteries in south-central Crete played a very different role in the negotiation of the social organisation of communities as compared with earlier periods.

IV.8 MM II and Beyond

During the MM II period the use of the cemeteries begins to decline (Figs IV.5, 6 and 15; *contra* Watrous 1994: 744-5; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 277). This trend may have started as early as MM IB in the Asterousia area (Blackman & Branigan 1977), but this is difficult to prove in the Mesara due to the unclear distinction of MM IA and MM IB wares in reported MM I deposits. Only one cemetery, Kamilari B, was constructed in MM II (Levi 1963; Walberg 1983: 95), and the NE court and the open area in the West *Camerette* at Agia Triada are the only new features constructed in south-central Cretan cemeteries during this period. The NE court is located quite far from the core of the cemetery (Fig. IV.19) and it may be related to palatial cult activities rather than funerary ones (Carinci 2004: 126). During the MM II period a similar space may have existed at Platanos, represented by the south deposits, which contained a similar assemblage, although these lie much closer to the cemetery (Gerontakou 2003).

During the MM II period it is clear that many sites were abandoned and only a few continued to be used (Fig. IV.15). The number of the latter may in fact be even smaller if the poor chronological understanding of many of the cemeteries is considered; for example, the MM II date of Agios Andonis, Agia Kiriaki W8 and W11 and Kalathiana is based on little evidence (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 48, 58-61; Vasilakis 1990: 27-8, 30-2; Zois 1967a: *Pinax* B2). The best evidence for MM II use comes from Agia Triada, Porti and cemeteries constructed in MM I such as Kamilari A and Apesokari A. Vorou A might have continued in use during MM II, although it contained little material that is of MM II date (Walberg 1983: 103). Platanos and Koumasa give little evidence for use in MM II, although in the case of Platanos it is possible that some of the stone vases date to this period (Gerontakou 2003).

In most cases there seem to be important changes between MM I and MM II (*contra* Watrous 1994: 744-5). At Agia Triada, Tholos A and its associated buildings stopped being used, and the activities moved to Tholos B and the *Sepolcreto*. At

Platanos the opulence noted in Tholos A and the south deposits seems to decline (Fig. IV.23), and while some of the stone vases might be of MM II date (Warren 1969: 8-9; Walberg 1983: 99) they do not represent such a distinctive assemblage as they did in MM I. At Porti it is not clear whether areas outside the Tholos were used in MM II or not (Soles 1992b: 194; Xanthoudides 1924: 55).

Some of these cemeteries, such as Agia Triada and Kamilari B and C, stay in use during the MM III period, and many are later re-used in LM times, though normally to only a limited extent (Fig. IV.16). It is probable that the cemeteries used until a late date remained in the communal memory and were later re-incorporated in some way into the cult and ritual activities of the community in an archaeologically visible way (Soles 2001).

During MM II, cemeteries display very different histories of use. Agia Triada changes its layout dramatically but still shows signs of significant use at this time; Platanos develops into a smaller cemetery; Kamilari was still used, probably in a way similar to that of MM I times. Beyond these differences there seems to be a general trend towards the 'simplification' of the layout: many areas seem now to have fallen out of use, and the cemeteries are now made up of only one tholos accompanied by a set of annexes or one related building (Fig. IV.15). This picture is matched by the understanding of the material assemblage. Although no closed MM II deposits are known and therefore no clear material assemblage can be defined for this period, the glimpses of ceramic wares show that little material was deposited in the tombs, and the same can be suggested for non-ceramic items (Fig. IV.7).

However, this decline is surprising as it is not paralleled by a decline in population or by changes in settlement pattern; on the contrary, the region seems to have been in a period of demographic boom (Hope Simpson *et al.* 1995: 395; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 277). Nor does the decline coincide with the destruction of the Palace of Phaistos that took place at the end of MM IIB (Fiandra 1962: 72; La Rosa 2002); most of the cemeteries were already out of use by that time. The gradual disappearance of the mortuary domain from the archaeological record needs to be explained in terms of specific aspects of mortuary behaviour. It is quite possible that mortuary behaviour became invisible, since there was still a need to dispose of corpses. But an explanation must be given as to why mortuary behaviour changes in such a way that no more effort is made regarding the construction of archaeologically visible monumental architecture or the significant deposition of material.

IV.9 Conclusions

Before a comprehensive review of the analysis is started, some spatial issues regarding south-central Crete need to be clarified. Although diverse authors have partitioned the region geographically in different ways, such as the Kommos and Phaistos Regions (Hope Simpson *et al.* 1995; Watrous *et al.* 2004), the Agiopharango Valley within the Asterousia Mountains (Blackman & Branigan 1977), the south hills of the Idean Mountains, the Mesara Valley and the Asterousia Mountains (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 35-6), the region north and south of the Yeropotamos River (Branigan 1970b: 124-5) or the south coast (Blackman & Branigan 1975), this study has only highlighted a division between the Mesara Valley and the Asterousia Mountains, including the coast south of them, and these are the two areas on which this review will focus. This distinction, however, cannot be taken as a clear cut, and there are many cemeteries, such as Koumasa, which lie in territories that could be considered transitional between the two areas. Furthermore, this spatial reference is not regarded as paramount and must be considered along with other relevant spatial scales, such as the community.

IV.9.a EM I – II

The focus of study on the EM I – II period, and in particular on the EM I – IIA period, concentrates on the Asterousia Mountains as there is little evidence for cemeteries in the Mesara Valley at this time (Figs. IV.9 and 10). Surprisingly, the tholos cemeteries appear in a developed form right across the Mountains in Late FN/EM I, which suggests that cemeteries already had a significant function for all the communities in this area. Their sudden appearance has at times been explained by the arrival of new populations in the area (Alexiou 1966: 322; 1969a: 484), but this explains little regarding why they thought it necessary to invest so much effort in the construction of tholos tombs. A simple transposition of the tombs by new populations from the place where they were originally developed cannot be argued. The tholos cemetery is a particular solution to questions relating to the lives of the communities in the Asterousia Mountains and, regardless of the similarities the tholoi share with other contemporary tombs⁷, the tholos cemetery can be only explained in terms of its role in the social organisation of communities in the Asterousia Mountains.

⁷ Both north African – Egyptian (Evans 1928: 35-9; Pendlebury 1939: 74; Xanthoudides 1924: 128) and Cycladic (Branigan 1970b: 143-6; Hutchinson 1962: 152-3; Karantzali 1996: 239-40) parallels have been suggested.

The homogeneity of mortuary behaviour in the cemeteries is also striking, and suggests that some clear and tight rules governed the burial customs which may be related to a highly integrated landscape with intense communication between the various communities in the Mountains. This study proposes that the appearance of tholos cemeteries in the Asterousia Mountains may be explained by the societal needs of communities organised around a mobile way of life or a very fragmented occupation of the landscape in the form of small farmsteads, something that differs from the communities in the Mesara Valley which were organised around a sedentary way of life. An itinerant lifestyle requires a particular social organisation that addresses the problems of moving populations. The communities moving around a shared landscape may have needed stable points of reference in the landscape that could serve to reinforce basic social relationships. A similar need would have appeared in the second scenario, for communities fragmented into small dispersed farmsteads. The tholos could be considered an important social arena for the Asterousian communities as permitting the maintenance of kinship and identity ties or other social and economic links between mobile populations through funeral and cult events. Perhaps, these ties were necessary for one to gain access to the use of certain areas or other important social rights, as the tholos may have constituted the material claim of a community to a seasonal exploitation area. Such needs may have been the result of certain problems brought on by an increasing interest in the utilisation of this landscape by the growing population of FN/EM I south-central Crete (Blackman & Branigan 1977: 67; Hope Simpson *et al.* 1995: 393; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 226) may have sought to exploit this area more intensively than before.

A similar scenario could be argued for the EM IIA period, although some new developments seem to emerge. First of all, a second tholos appears in some cemeteries; this indicates new relationships between community, tomb and cemetery. In addition, changes in the material assemblage can be detected, with the presence of materials with off-island connections, such as folded arm figurines and daggers becoming popular in the cemeteries. These changes can be traced in most of the cemeteries, which suggests that they were affected by the basic conventions that regulated mortuary behaviour and that all cemeteries shared. Perhaps stronger off-island influences in south-central Crete were arriving via the north coast and producing modifications in the social relationships between the area's different communities which were now negotiated by means of new socially valuable material objects such as daggers (Nakou 1995; Whitelaw 1983).

The introduction of off-island material would have produced some important changes in the relationships within the communities, or would at least have permitted the further development of some latent dynamics, such as vertical differentiation. This work has suggested that the very particular layout and material assemblage at Koumasa could have set this community apart from the common model. Unfortunately the poor preservation at this cemetery impedes the clear assessment of such particularities. There are indications of differential internal dynamics in the Lebena Yerokambos cemetery. Lebena does not have such a distinctive material assemblage but certain differences between the two tholoi can be picked out, and these could be interpreted as signs of a competition between two different groups within a community. This competition has been clearly identified at EM IIA Phourni, a tholos cemetery similar to that at Koumasa (see Chapter V; Papadatos 1999). Koumasa's EM II assemblage and layout perhaps correspond to a more developed example of Lebena's dynamics which would contradict the commonly held opinion that no vertical differentiation existed in EM II south-central Crete (Cherry 1983; 1984; Papadatos 1999: 157-9; Sbonias 1995: 150; Watrous 1994: 717).

Koumasa, however, seems to be the exception rather than the rule in the EM IIA period. Platanos has produced no material that can be compared to the Koumasa EM IIA assemblage, although its architecture and layout may have been similar, and there is very little in Tholos A at Agia Triada that can be dated to EM IIA. Papadatos has suggested that Agios Onouphrios may also represent a special case where EM II vertical differentiation existed (Papadatos 1999: 168-9), but the lack of detailed information for this context does not permit its introduction to this model. Lebena Yerokambos may have had similar dynamics, but possibly not fully developed as the assemblage and architecture do not compare with those seen at Koumasa. A stronger candidate is Moni Odigitrias, but until this context is published it cannot be clearly placed within this model.

If it is accepted that dynamics of vertical differentiation existed in the Koumasa cemetery, then they must mainly have had an intra-community impact, as most of the other cemeteries seem not to have been affected by such changes. Furthermore, Koumasa still falls within the parameters of the mortuary behaviour of the other cemeteries in the area, and in many ways it represents an elaboration of the characteristics of common mortuary behaviour rather than a break from the surrounding cemeteries: architectural features follow the layouts of other cemeteries but incorporate larger tombs and perhaps more areas in use around them; meanwhile,

the material assemblage is drawn from the same categories as the objects found in other cemeteries, but there are larger quantities and rare examples. It is interesting in this final regard that Koumasa displays a particular preference for off-island material, and this type of material may be one of the key elements for interpreting the bases of the vertical differentiation in this particular community.

By the end of the EM II period the understanding becomes muddled as EM IIB ceramic wares have not been so readily identified in the cemeteries, but perhaps this is also because some important changes are beginning to take place in the record. Some gaps in the evidence of the cemeteries, sometimes marked by fumigation episodes, could be placed at the end of the EM IIB period; however, a better understanding of the EM IIB wares in the Mesara must be achieved before such a possibility can be proven. A period of change is more clearly recognised in the Early EM III period.

IV.9.b EM III – MM II

The unclear picture of the EM IIB period continues into the Early EM III period, where both an insecure identification of EM III wares and profound changes combine to produce a poor understanding of the archaeological record. While problems in the identification of EM III ceramic wares clearly contribute to the inability to characterise the EM III period in the record of south-central Crete, this study shows that by the end of the EM III period profound changes occurred in the mortuary behaviour of south-central Crete. The changes could have affected the cemeteries and the elusive presence of EM III contexts in the archaeological record may be explained by short-term disruptions (see discussion in Manning 1997: 158 ff; Relaki 2003: 169-71; Todaro 2004; Watrous 2001: 223; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 251-2, 542-4). What is not clear is the exact nature of the EM IIB - III changes and what they represented for south-central communities.

Indeed, the precise nature of the changes occurred in EM III – MM I is currently a subject of debate. Many authors have argued that the population nucleates into the largest settlements during the EM III – MM I period (Branigan 1995: 35; Manning 1994: 234-6; 1997: 162-3; Sbonias 1999a: 12-5; 1999b: 47; Todaro 2004: 91), in particular at Phaistos during the EM III and Early MM IA periods (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 265-9). Relaki has suggested a very different model in which Phaistos only acquires regional importance during the MM IB – II period and where the settlement pattern is not hit by nucleation in a substantial way during the EM III and MM I periods (Relaki 2003: 189-

93; see also Haggis 1999: 64-5; 2002). The novel nature of Late EM III mortuary behaviour indicates that profound changes must have occurred during EM III. However, the difficulty of identifying EM III pottery in the record cannot be connected to a gap in the habitation of some sites. The interruption in deposition reported in many tombs, in some cases marked by a fumigation episode, indicates events in mortuary behaviour that could have had very important causes and consequences that do not necessarily need to be understood as gaps in the habitation of the related settlement; while gaps in occupation may have occurred at certain sites, breaks in the deposition may in fact indicate profound transformations in the social organisation of a community or changes in the networks of affiliation of the community rather than abandonment. The fact that most cemeteries are back in use in the Late EM III period does not support the idea of a general gap in habitation. Unfortunately, very little evidence is available to assist an investigation into the reasons behind these changes and the way in which they relate to changing social organisation in the region; nevertheless, it is possible to assess and understand the state of affairs these changes created

The Late EM III and MM IA periods in south-central Crete are a time of booming construction in the cemeteries. This is coupled with a completely different mortuary behaviour from that identified for the EM II period. Cemeteries in the Mesara Valley are still less numerous than in the Asterousia Mountains but it is in the valley that many new cemeteries appear and where the innovations of the new mortuary behaviour are most clearly apparent. The innovations comprise more complex layouts, where annexes and associated contexts acquired much more importance in the cemetery; changes in the ceramic material deposition with a limited range of ceramic shapes, mainly cups and jugs, and the appearance of large deposits of ceramics outside the tombs; and a non-ceramic assemblage dominated by seals and stone vessels, marked by off-island influences now coming from Egypt and the Near East rather than from the Aegean. While these innovations are also seen in the cemeteries of the Asterousia Mountains, they seem to have had less of an impact on fewer cemeteries, and the latter cemeteries start to decline in MM IB leading to their abandonment at an earlier date than the cemeteries in the Mesara Valley.

It is logical to suggest that the geographical shift and the changes in mortuary behaviour are connected. This is logical as it was suggested in an earlier section that the role of the cemeteries in EM I - II was intrinsically linked to the particularities of the Asterousia Mountain communities. The fact that the tholos was still at the heart of the cemetery must not mislead the studies, since mortuary behaviour had a completely

different set of characteristics that adhered to the new demands of the social organisation of the Mesara Valley communities rather than the Asterousia communities; although changes may also have affected the social organisation of the latter communities.

This scenario can be further defined with the help of mortuary data. First of all it should be pointed out that while the situation in the MM I period is not as homogeneous as in the EM I - IIA periods, it still involves a striking degree of similarity. The exact materialisation of the changes differs at each cemetery; the annexes have different plans and architectural features change, as does the particular material deposited, but these only represent variations in the general rules of the mortuary behaviour outlined above. It is very likely that tholos cemeteries were also used for group ritual as in the EM I - II periods; however, the nature of this ritual now seems completely different, and the building episodes in the new, complexly structured spaces of the cemeteries, suggest a major emphasis on the controlled mobilisation of groups through ritual (Relaki 2003: 175), but also through the organisation of the building episodes and other tasks such as the cleaning and maintenance of the cemetery. Therefore, all cemeteries can now be understood from the point of view of group ritual and the mobilisation of people in a new, more structured way.

This homogeneity must be connected to a social organisation shared by the various communities in the Mesara. Taking the intrinsic relationship between mortuary behaviour and social organisation into consideration, it is logical to think that profound transformations in mortuary behaviour go together with dramatic changes in the social organisation. The spread of tholos cemeteries into the Mesara can only be explained by the adaptation of mortuary behaviour to new social concerns in these communities. These new problems of social organisation are probably related an increasing population (Watrous *et. al.* 2004: 277) that led to an emphasis on competition between communities in the Valley. Sbonias has suggested that such a dynamic between communities acquired much importance during the Late EM III period (Sbonias 1995). This suggestion is based on the study of seals found in mortuary contexts, but the new architectural features and material deposits indicating large group ritual also suggest a supra-community competition logic. It is proposed that given the interest in the mobilisation of people identified in the cemeteries, this competition might be based on the control of individuals and their inclusion in the identity of the community. This could be connected to socio-economic aspects, as it represents the control of the work-force, but also to socio-ideological aspects, as the construction of a strong community could

strengthen the position of individuals of this community within the supra-community social networks.

Relaki's recent work has suggested a similar model of development for the region, based on the combination of communal ritual and competition dynamics between communities (Relaki 2003: 193-204). Relaki suggests a territorial competition model for the EM III - MM I periods based on the increasing importance of wine for the communities in the Valley; this model suggests that new competition activities were based on wine consumption rituals that placed an increased stress on the cultivation of the vine and the production of ceramics for ritual consumption. These rituals were first housed in the cemeteries before being moved to regional centres in MM IA, such as the site of Patrikies and to the central building at Phaistos in MM IB (Relaki 2003: 204-13).

While this work agrees with the broad interpretation of the data made by Relaki, it disagrees with the detailed narrative she creates. Undoubtedly, the cemetery was an important social arena where important communal practices took place, but on the present evidence the idea that these were mainly drinking rituals cannot be supported. The evidence from Agia Triada shows that ritual may be much more complex than initially thought, organised around social units that do not comprise a whole community, and the deposition pattern of ceramics in this cemetery casts doubt on the simplification of ritual to communal drinking ceremonies. Large deposits of vessels do not necessarily imply toasting or drinking rituals - the hundreds of bird-nest bowls found in the annex of Platanos Tholos A are not suitable for drinking, for example. Nor is it clear whether such deposits were formed by a single large deposition or by a series of smaller ones. Until more details of the nature and practice of ritual in cemeteries are obtained, its exact social transformative role for the communities of the Mesara cannot be understood. While this study agrees that the new mortuary behaviour placed much more importance on the integration and mobilisation of people through ritual (Relaki 2003: 175), a detailed understanding of the motive and social role of these rituals cannot be reached without further evidence. Furthermore, this study does not agree with Relaki that a competition strategy needed to be staged in regional centres. Kinship links and other social duties could have brought enough individuals from neighbouring communities to a particular funeral to make the cemetery a suitable context for communication between communities.

Beyond this look at horizontal relationships in the social organisation of the region, vertical differentiation at the EM III - MM I cemeteries needs also to be explained, which represents a major break from EM II mortuary behaviour. As noted above, variations occur within the shared framework of mortuary behaviour, and in some cases these variations acquired such an extreme character that they cannot but be understood as evidence for vertical differentiation dynamics at certain cemeteries. Platanos must clearly be considered different from other cemeteries in the region given its two large tholoi with uniquely large depositions of material. Agia Triada may be considered in a similar way but on a different level, not only because the deposition of material does not parallel that of Platanos but moreover because such a deposition pattern occurred in only one tholos (Tholos A), thus creating a totally different internal dynamic within the cemetery. Other cemeteries, such as Porti, Koumasa and Kalathiana, contained more modest architectural features and material assemblages, and Apesokari A, with its simple layout and humble assemblage, may represent the bottom end of such a range.

Many authors have suggested that the deposition of objects at Platanos Tholoi A and B, and Agia Triada Tholos A attests to the interment of individuals with a privileged status (Blasingham 1983: 18; Papadatos 1999; Sbonias 1995: 47; 1999b: 151; Watrous 1994: 192-3; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 260-1), an idea with which this study agrees. However, such a simple characterisation does not fit in with this review of the data. The substantial deposition of stone vessels around Tholos A at Platanos indicates that the tomb was the focus of lavish group rituals and a similar scenario can perhaps be posited for Agia Triada and Koumasa. It should be noted that the number of stone vessels is the most variable characteristic between cemeteries that evades easy explanation by looting, and as such may provide us with a good indicator of the regional position of each cemetery. The privileged individuals interred were probably accompanied by a sumptuary group ritual that may communicate a privileged status not only of the deceased but also of the whole group to which the departed were attached and which performed the ritual.

Group rituals in the cemeteries may have been used by certain living individuals to claim a particular status (Carinci 2004; Georgoulaki 1996a: 338; Murphy 1998: 38-9), and though this is true, it cannot be understood in isolation from wider social relationships. In this sense both group ritual and individual interments may have been engineered to manipulate vertical differentiation dynamics in favour of both individuals and particular groups within a community.

Vertical differentiation in MM I cemeteries in the Mesara Valley seems quite different to the possible dynamic suggested for Koumasa in EM IIA, as in MM I may have deployed also in supra-community relationship networks. The presence of only one rich tholos at Agia Triada hints that the regional scale may be a major focus of these dynamics of differentiation in the cemetery. Furthermore, the fact that these dynamics are found in various cemeteries in the Valley suggests that vertical differentiation dynamics had an impact on the supra-community organisation of the region. This is not to say that all social groups forming part of a community benefited from the same privileged regional position, Platanos Tholos A seems richer than Tholos B, for example, but the privileged position of these selected groups was also based on a regional scale.

The development of such a process is difficult to track on the basis of burial data, and while it seems that such a situation may have continued in the Mesara Valley into the MM IB - II periods, it is not clear what impact the appearance of the central building at Phaistos had on regional relationships and supra-community negotiation. Platanos may have continued to hold a particularly dominant position, but Agia Triada is more difficult to assess, as there was a shift in the cemetery in MM IB from one tomb to another which does not seem to have been endowed with the same distinctive architecture and material assemblage as Tholos A. This change may be the result of the new influence of the nearby settlement of Phaistos or of a resistance to this new influence (Relaki 2003: 247-9).

By the MM II period the lasting impact of the new social organisation that the Phaistos 'palatial' site brought on a regional level could explain the gradual disappearance of the cemeteries in the area. The important social role they had may have disappeared for different reasons. Perhaps a new more centralised regional social organisation made inter-community competition obsolete, a turn of events that would have affected the social importance of the cemeteries. In addition, the central building at Phaistos and other new contexts, such as the Kamares cave, may have taken over most of the ritual importance from the individual community cemeteries. New ritual contexts may have better suited the new centralised social organisation. In any case, the decline of the cemeteries in MM II preceded the destruction of the palace at Phaistos in MM MB, and this can only be explained by the diminishing of importance of the local cemetery as a social arena. Interestingly, the decline seems to have started earlier in the Asterousia Mountains, where most cemeteries are abandoned by the end of the MM I period, and this may indicate a particular development in the relationship

between cemeteries and communities in this area for this period, thus further marking the differences of this area from the Mesara Valley.

Chapter V: North-central and central Crete

V.1 Introduction

Under the designation north-central and central Crete is included a variety of regions and landscapes that span the area between the Dikti Mountains west of the Mirabello area and the Psiloritis Mountains west of modern Herakleion (Fig. V.1). This chapter focuses mainly on sites located near the north coast of the designated area as these sites offer the best evidence available, but a few sites located further inland are also included in the analyses as they are more significantly related to north-central Crete than to any other region in the study. They represent only a handful of sites, none producing detailed evidence, but they do provide sufficient information to use as comparanda in order to obtain a better understanding of the best known sites near the north coast. The area does not have a common history of research, which in some other Cretan regions creates an underlying link among a varied range of sites. But in other respects central Cretan sites share a similar set of archaeological questions and problems that unites them in a more coherent analytical group than a first glance at the map may indicate.

The investigation of north-central Cretan sites has recently been dominated by questions about exchange networks, both in relation to overseas links and the importation of materials, finished objects and ideas into Crete (Betancourt 2005; Branigan 1988a: 119-22, 202-3; Day & Wilson 1998: 141-4; Karantzali 1996; forthcoming; Papadatos 1999: 174-233; Whitelaw 2004a; Wilson *et al.* forthcoming), and to internal trade networks of off-island materials and ideas within Crete (Carter 1998; Day *et al.* 1997; Day & Wilson 1998; Sbonias 1995; 1999a; 1999b; Schoep 2006; Wilson & Day 1994). This predisposition in the studies towards exchange is closely related to a second, long-standing bias in central Cretan studies, namely the central position of Knossos. While in Prepalatial Crete the political domination of central Crete by Knossos cannot be argued as it is for later periods (Driessen & MacDonald 1997; Warren 2004), it has been explicitly or implicitly assumed by archaeologists that Knossos exercised considerable economic control over a good part of the island, mainly through channelling off-island materials and ideas (Cadogan 1994; Day & Wilson 1998: 356-7; Haggis 1997: 296-7; Warren 1981; Wilson 1994: 39-44). Recently

the possible ritual authority of Knossos over the region (Day & Wilson 2002; Soles 1995) has been added to this assumed dominant economic position for Knossos.

The analysis of the mortuary record, however, defies this 'Knossiocrism', as knowledge of burial practices at Knossos before the very late MM II period is almost non-existent, and it permits an analysis of the communities in central Crete outside the traditional model of Knossian influence. Also the excellent quality of the data from some of the cemeteries brings the focus of analysis to each particular community (Fig. V.2), and the study of the relationships between communities can be based on a comprehensive framework of specific social and cultural dynamics rather than on fairly context-less models of exchange. While off-island influences cannot be ignored in the mortuary record of central Crete, this study aims to contextualise these within the social organisation of Cretan communities. The off-island influence should be envisioned as a means of social mediation that north-central communities were able to exploit, rather than as an external factor for change.

V.2 EM I

Central Crete contains the largest number of known EM I burial sites on the island, offering the most comprehensive picture of the period available (Fig. V.3). Also, some of these sites, such as the Pirogos cave or Kراسي Koprani, despite being excavated early in the 20th century, represent some of the best known EM I burial contexts on the island (Marinatos 1932b; Platon 1941; Xanthoudides 1921a; 1925), and they provide fine quality data for detailed analysis. Finally, unlike other areas of Crete, in north-central Crete the EM I ceramic wares can be clearly identified, mainly due to the clear understanding of the ceramic sequence at Knossos (Cadogan *et al.* 1993; Day & Wilson 2004; Evans 1921; Hood 1962; 1966; 1990; Wilson 1984; 1985; 1994; Wilson & Day 1994; 1999; 2000), and this fact contributes to a good understanding of the EM I mortuary record in this area.

The known EM I cemeteries are grouped mainly in two areas: a small stretch of the north coast east of modern Herakleion, and the Lasithi plateau and the surrounding mountains (Fig. V.3). Outside these areas good evidence comes only from the caves at Kiparisi Tichida and Partira. Most of the other sites provide such poor evidence that in some cases it is not completely clear whether EM I burial sites are represented at all. EM I burial contexts in central Crete are almost exclusively found in caves, the only confirmed exceptions being the tholos tomb of Kراسي Koprani and the rock-cut tomb

cemetery at Gournes B (Figs. V.3 and 5). Of the uncertain contexts, Gorgolaini, Kalergi and Krasi Katalimata are tholos tombs, all three reported to be EM but without specifying whether they contained EM I material (Fig. V.4; Pendlebury *et al.* 1934: 8; Platon 1955: 566; 1959: 387). All other burial contexts, both confirmed and dubious, are caves or rock shelter sites (Fig. V.3). As happens in other parts of the island, identifying the exact use of a cave at a particular period is not a simple task. Trapeza and Stravomiti caves could have been used for habitation during EM I (Figs. V.9 and 10; Marinatos 1950: 256; Pendlebury *et al.* 1939: 123; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 30). However, other caves were used for burial purposes in EM I, such as Partira, Pirgos and Kiparisi Tichida (Alexiou 1951; Bequignon 1931: 517; Xanthoudides 1921a). The caves of Psychro, Skotino, Skaphidia, Milatos, Vitsilia and Eileithia, cannot be assigned securely to either of these two categories, but EM I funerary use is a likely possibility (Figs. V.7, 8, 11 and 12; Betancourt & Marinatou 2001; Boardman 1961: 5; Faure 1964: 56 n. 1, 70; Hogarth 1900: 96; Marinatos 1931: 95-104; Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 5; Tyree pers. comm.). From all these caves the ones with sufficient data to be examined are Kiparisi Tichida, Eileithia, Partira, Pirgos and Trapeza.

Eileithia cave is best known for its use as a cult place from the Middle Minoan period onwards, but some Neolithic and Early Minoan material has been discovered in it, including EM I material (Fig. V.12; Betancourt & Marinatou 2001: 188; Karantzali 1996: 61; Marinatos 1931: 96; 1932a; Platakis 1965; Wilson 1984: 264-5; Wilson & Day 2000: 56). Although no human bones have been reported, the discovery of a small burial rock shelter 50 m from the cave's mouth supports the use of the cave for burial purposes during the EM period (Betancourt & Marinatou 2001: 232; Marinatos 1932a: 98-9). With respect to the material assemblage, three silver objects were recovered with human remains from the nearby rock shelter, but from the Eileithia cave only ceramic items were reported and published. The EM I ceramic assemblage from the cave shows an interesting pattern that can be recognised in other EM I tombs in central Crete but that disappears in later periods, highlighting some of the characteristics in the EM I mortuary behaviour of the region that do not continue in subsequent periods. At Eileithia cave there is a profound difference in ceramic shapes between the different EM I wares (Fig. V.13a). The Pirgos ware (Dark burnished vessels) assemblage consists predominantly of chalices and goblets and does not contain jugs. The small assemblage of non-Pirgos ware (this term refers to vessels with dark-on-light linear painted decoration, see Wilson 1984: 237-45 for discussion) published from this

context shows a very different set of shapes, with a large number of jugs and no goblets or chalices.

A significant amount of material from Kiparisi Tichida rock shelter (Alexiou 1951), including six copper objects, four pieces of obsidian and approximately 40 vessels, dated mainly to EM I (Alexiou 1951: 286-7; Wilson 1984: 237-45, 298-9; Zois 1968a: 55-8), but contained some possible EM IIA examples (Karantzali 1996: 70; Vagnetti & Belli 1978: 134). Here both Pirgos and non-Pirgos wares were found together and although it is not always clear from the publication to which ware a specific vessel belongs, the evidence permits a similar analysis of the correlation between wares and shapes as at Eileithia. Non-Pirgos ware was dominant in this rock shelter's assemblage (Alexiou 1951; Karantzali 1996: 70, Zois 1968a: 56-7), with a range of shapes dominated by jugs followed by a shape that will be called a skyphos (a tall deep bowl with two handles) and bowls (Fig. V.13a). The few identified Pirgos ware vessels follow shapes already recognised at Eileithia, such as chalices. Examples of Cycladic inspired bottles (Day *et al.* 1998: 138-9; Karantzali 1996: 70) were also recognised in this assemblage.

Partira presents a similar context to the ones above. Little is known about the interments in the rock shelter but the burial cave's assemblage of 32 vessels has been comprehensively published. This assemblage, as at Kiparisi Tichida, can be dated EM I (Karantzali 1996: 71; Mortzos 1972: 387), although it shows strong Neolithic connections and may date a bit earlier than the Kiparisi assemblage (Bequignon 1931: 517; Mortzos 1972: 402; Vagnetti & Belli 1978: 133). The shapes of the non-Pirgos ware do not coincide with the material from Kiparisi Tichida (Fig. V.13a), and bowls dominate the assemblage. Perhaps the earlier date of the context may explain this discrepancy with other EM I deposits.

From Pirgos cave and the rock shelter next to it a varied material assemblage was recovered including both non-ceramic and ceramic objects (Platon 1941: 270; Xanthoudides 1921a; 1925). The published ceramics from the excavation are mainly EM I with a few EM IIA examples (Karantzali 1996: 59; Wilson 1984: 245; Wilson & Day 2000: 55; Xanthoudides 1921a: 170). No pottery later than EM IIA was published, even though the later funerary use of the cave is attested by the presence of larnakes that in Crete are not found earlier than EM III (Preston 2004: 179; Rutkowski 1968: 220). The reported ceramic assemblage numbers approximately 150 vessels (Fig. V.13b; Xanthoudides 1921a) and follows patterns already identified in other EM I

contexts (Fig. V.13a). The non-Pirgos ware vessels have similarities with the Kiparisi Tichida and Eileithia assemblages, with a significant proportion of jugs, pyxides and skyphoi. The Pirgos ware assemblage is similar to the burnished ware found in the Eileithia cave, with the characteristic large chalices and goblets dominating. The assemblage, as at Kiparisi, also included Cycladic bottle-shaped vessels (Renfrew 1964: 115; Stucynski 1982: 57; Xanthoudides 1921a: 152-3). The Pirgos cave non-ceramic assemblage included a fair number of gold and copper objects as well as folded arm figurines probably dated to EM II (Branigan 1971: 60-5; Pieler 2004: 114; Renfrew 1969: 19; Xanthoudides 1921a: 163). This assemblage sets Pirgos cave apart from the other EM I caves in the variety of types of items and the amount of off-island material, but this may be at least partially explained by a more significant proportion of EM II material found here.

Two interesting cemeteries do not fall within the cave - rock shelter category for the EM I period, the Gournes B cemetery and the tholos at Kراسi Koprani. The cemetery at Gournes B was discovered and excavated only recently and the information has only been published in a preliminary report (Galanaki 2001). The cemetery is apparently of exactly the same type as the Agia Photia Sitias cemetery (see Chapter VII) and consists of 36 rock-cut tombs. This cemetery type represents a clear variation from the typical communal burial found in Crete and it resembles Cycladic mortuary behaviour, setting it apart from any other cemetery found in the region. No information is yet available about human remains or material and the discussion of this type of cemetery will take place in Chapter VII, since much more information is available for the Agia Photia Sitias cemetery.

The tholos at Kراسi represents a puzzling cemetery in the context of north-central Crete, as tholos tombs are not very common outside south-central Crete (Figs. V.2 and 5). EM I tholos tombs are found concentrated in the Asterousia Mountains (Chapter IV) and it is surprising to find such an early example so far from this area. The presence of four other tholos tombs in the vicinity of Kراسi: Kراسi Kalimata, Kalergi, Potamies and Siderokamino (Fig. V.4; Branigan 1993: 148; Faure 1969: 180 n.2; Pendlebury *et al.* 1934: 8; Platon 1959: 387), could indicate that the use of the tholos was a specific characteristic of this small region, but without clear data from these other contexts, this possibility cannot be explored further.

The small tholos tomb has an area marked with large stones that in Marinatos' plan resembles a paved walkway into the tholos and that can be dated EM I (Fig. V.5;

Marinatos 1932b: 107-8, 114). Material and interments were found outside the tholos, although these possibly date from the EM III - MM use of the cemetery when pithos burials were interred in this area (Marinatos 1932b: 112-4). Marinatos suggested around 50 interments based on the recovered skeletal remains, which represents quite a small figure considering the long history of use of the tholos (Marinatos 1932b: 110). The later use of the tomb did not completely obliterate the earlier burials and Marinatos reported a lower stratum. Karantzali has recently suggested that only one of the vases is as late as EM IIA and that the context is most probably EM I (Karantzali 1996: 58; Marinatos 1932b: 111-3; Wilson 1984: 237-25, 269; Zois 1968a: 66-8). In general terms, the published ceramic assemblage from the tholos follows the patterns described for non-Pirgos ware in other EM I assemblages, although the proportion of jugs is probably inflated because some EM III - MM I examples were counted together with the earlier material (Fig. V.13a). Typical Pirgos ware chalices were also found in the tomb. The non-ceramic assemblage is quite rich and interesting: two bronze cutters were found 20 cm above the bottom of the deposit, suggesting an early deposition, and one lead pendant, four silver items, 3 gold beads, three long daggers, one triangular dagger and three copper pins were found in the lowest stratum of the tomb (Marinatos 1932b: 111). All these objects are most probably EM I, EM IIA the latest, and provide some of the earliest evidence of metallurgy on the island, evidence that comprises a surprisingly rich variety of objects and metals for this early date. The presence of metal objects in such early burial contexts follows a pattern already observed in Kiparisi Tichida, Eileithia rock shelter, Pirgos cave and also in Gournes B (Galanaki 2001).

Krasi Koprani contains a rich and varied assemblage that can only be paralleled at Pirgos and the later Phourni Tholos I" (Figs. V.13b, c and d). However, the fact that Krasi tholos represents a different interment custom does not permit a one-to-one comparison of this tomb with the caves typical in central Crete during EM I. Even though Krasi is a small tomb, it probably housed more bodies than the rock shelter at Kiparisi or the cave at Pirgos. This study has tried to avoid some of these shortfalls using the ratio between ceramic vessels and non-ceramic items to compare the assemblages of the different tombs rather than the total figures (Fig. V.13d). The results could still be biased by problems in the recovery and publication of the ceramic material that would significantly modify the ratios and prevent us from reaching definite conclusions from the analysis. But in general, similar figures emerge for the diverse contexts. It is true that there are more objects in imported materials in Krasi Koprani than in most of the other EM I tombs, but this does not represent such a qualitative difference as exists in the Phourni Tholos f assemblage (see next section) in EM IIA,

which situates Krasi in some kind of middle ground without a clear pattern. The Krasi assemblage could represent a small variation on the typical inclusion of material with off-island connections in the EM I – IIA tombs of the north coast rather than a qualitatively different assemblage.

V.3 EM II

In central Crete, more burial contexts are known from EM II than in the previous period (Figs. V.14 and 16). The knowledge of the burial records also improves and many of the dubious contexts in EM I can now definitely be identified as cemeteries. The use of caves during EM II in Crete is almost exclusively funerary (Faure 1964: 71; Tyree 2001: 40), therefore caves with EM II material are treated here as burial caves. The comprehensive ceramic studies at Knossos, and also elsewhere in central Crete, have produced considerable detail about the EM II chronological sequence, which at some sites permits a separation between EM IIA and EM IIB use (Fig. V.15; Cadogan *et al.* 1993; Day & Wilson 2004; Wilson 1984; 1985; Wilson & Day 1994; 1999). As will be seen, this chronological division is relevant for an understanding of mortuary behaviour in central Crete.

Knossos Teke and Zinta are known only through material acquired by the Herakleion Museum (Alexiou 1975; Branigan 1971: 61 n. 18, 64; 1972: 22; Hood & Smyth 1981: no 23; Marinatos 1933a: 298-304; Pieler 2004: 90, 92, 96, 115; Renfrew 1969: 17, 19). At both sites folded arm figurines and metal daggers were discovered, which are objects typically found in burial contexts, although there is no information about the archaeological contexts where these objects were found to confirm a funerary context. The daggers are difficult to date on a typological basis, but the silver examples from Teke may be EM II, as is the Koumasa silver dagger (Chapter IV; Legarra Herrero 2004). The folded arm figurines are most probably contemporaneous with those found in the EM IIA stratum of Phourni Tholos Γ (Papadatos 1999: 220-1). While the material from Zinta is similar to other known EM II assemblages (see below), the Knossos Teke assemblage is unique⁸. The number of imported Cycladic figurines at Teke is matched on the island only by the EM IIA deposit in Tholos Γ at Phourni (Fig. V.31; see discussion below; Papadatos 1999). These figurines, together with the silver daggers, point to Teke being an unusual EM II deposit but it remains impossible to

⁸ It should be pointed out that Teke lies at some distance from the EM II site of Knossos and it is likely that this deposit was associated with another community in the area (Fig. VI.19)

situate it clearly in the framework of the analysis without clear contextual information for the deposit.

EM IIA material has been found only as a small proportion in the assemblages of the Kiparisi Tichida, Eileithia and Pirgos caves (Karantzali 1996: 70; Wilson & Day 2000: 55) and all three caves seem to have been abandoned by the end of EM IIA (Fig. V.15). At Eileithia (Karantzali 1996: 62), the recent study of the pottery indicates a gap in the use of the cave between EM IIA and MM I (Betancourt & Marinatou 2001: 232; *contra* Karantzali 1996: 32). A similar gap in the use of the site occurs at Kراسي Koprani (Karantzali 1996: 178; Sbonias 1995: 58); and at Arvi, where only EM IIA material has been identified (Evans 1895: 17, 112, 117; 1896: 464-5; Wilson & Day 1994: 13). The dearth of the characteristic but relatively scarce EM MB Vasiliki ware in some of the contexts and the similarities between EM MB and EM IIA wares raises the possibility that in some of these cemeteries, especially in the disturbed caves, EM MB use has failed to be recognised (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 383; Wilson & Day 1999: 90-1). However, the ceramics from these sites have been reviewed by different authors who possess a modern understanding of the wares, and it is unlikely that at all the sites EM MB vessels would have passed unnoticed. Similarly, this is the case at the well-known site of Phourni, where EM MB pottery has been reported only from the area between Burial Building (henceforth BB) 18 and BB19 (Fig. V.19; see below for discussion of the Phourni cemetery; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 383).

At Kiparisi, a rock shelter with larnakes and pithoi has recently been found at Kapella (Serpetsidaki 1999; 2001). A large amount of material has been reported from the rock shelter, including 60 ceramic vessels, stone vessels, and as many as 19 seals and 17 amulets, including one silver one, five folded arm figurines of the Koumasa and Agios Onouphrios types, and obsidian. The material has been dated mainly to EM III - MM IB, with a couple of vessels being probably EM MB (Serpetsidaki 1999: 700), but the presence of Cycladic style figurines that are typically found in EM IIA burial contexts could represent an EM IIA use of the deposit.

At Trapeza cave the heavily disturbed deposits did not permit such a detailed account of the use of the cave as the careful excavation aimed to provide (Fig. V.10; Pendlebury *et al.* 1939). As a result, even when some EM I and EM II wares were identified by the excavators, many vessels could only be dated EM I - II and EM II - III based on stylistic basis (Fig. V.17; Pendlebury *et al.* 1939). The excavators calculated that no less than 100 individuals were buried in the cave, mainly in EM II (Pendlebury

et al. 1939: 127-8). The cave yielded also a significant number of non-ceramic items, including 21 gold items, one silver blade, one lead vessel, copper tools including daggers, seals and figurines (Figs. V.11b and c), although many more objects had probably been deposited in the tomb but have been lost due to plundering. The non-ceramic material, depending on the publication, has been dated to different periods: the figurines were dated from EM I (Porti style) to EM IIB-III or later (Trapeza style) (Branigan 1971: 67-8, 70-1), and the seals were dated from the EM II/III to the MM I periods (Sbonias 1995: 74, 90). The excavators suggested that most of the metal material should be dated EM II - III, contemporary with the main body of ceramics recovered from the tomb (Pendlebury *et al.* 1939: 102-7). However, this was based on the assumption that no metal on Crete could be dated earlier than EM II, a supposition that has been proved wrong, so it is possible that some of the metal items could be EM I. It is, therefore, impossible to date the metal items more accurately than EM I - MM, but the excavators' suggestion that most of it probably comes from the EM periods still seems fairly accurate. The cave contained other EM items with Cycladic links, such as a stone vessel which may be an actual Cycladic import (Stucynski 1982: 57).

The ceramic assemblage as published (Pendlebury *et al.* 1939) offers a good opportunity to analyse trends in ceramic vessels through time, and indeed some interesting patterns emerge (Figs. VI.11.a and 17). The development of ceramic shapes in the cave follows patterns already identified in south-central Crete, in which in early contexts pyxides, and chalices/goblets are dominant. From EM III onwards cups and jugs become the predominant shapes in funerary contexts. It has to be pointed out that some of the EM I material from Trapeza may represent a habitational use of the cave which may have a small incidence in the pattern. What is interesting in the Trapeza cave is that this shift in shapes seems to have happened earlier than in south-central Crete, and by EM II, probably EM MB with the appearance of Vasiliki ware and its new repertoire of shapes, the change was probably already underway.

At Mallia, the earliest evidence of burial is documented as being during the EM II period, most probably EM MB. This evidence comes from only two contexts in the extensive area that was used for burial in later periods (Fig. V.21). The *Premier charnier* is a deep fissure in the rocks near the coast (Fig. V.21), where an uncertain number of bodies was deposited (Bequignon 1929: 525-7; Chapouthier 1928: 502-3; Demargne 1945: 1-12). Nothing but ceramics was recovered here, of which a few vases can be dated EM II (Andreou 1978: 124-5; Betancourt 1979: 34; Zois 1969: 42-4). The Western Ossuary is a rectangular tomb where a large number of interments

was made (La Redaction 1921: 536; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 70-2). Only five vessels were published from this building, one of them recently dated EM MB (Van Effenterre 1980: 238). It is possible that this vessel does not mark the construction of the ossuary and it may have been deposited here later, after the material cleared from another tomb in the cemetery was left in this building.

Phourni is the best known Pre- and Protopalatial cemetery in the whole of Crete, thanks to careful excavation and extensive publication (Grumach & Sakellarakis 1966; Karytinos 2000a; Karytinos 2000b; 1994; 2000; Maggidis 1994; 1998; 2000; Panagiatopoulos 1995; 2001; 2002; Papadatos 1999; 2003a; 2005; Petrakos 2003; Sakellarakis 1965a; 1967; 1968a; 1968b; 1973; 1974; 1975; 1976; 1977a; 1977b; 1981; Sakellarakis & Sakellaraki 1979; 1980b; 1980a; 1981; 1982; 1984a; 1984b; 1993; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997).

EM II material has been found at Phourni in six areas (Fig. V.20). BB25 and BB26 are both the remains of EM tombs underneath later EM III burial buildings, but little or nothing is known about them. It has been already mentioned that EM MB material has been found only in the area between BB18 and BB19. Tholoi T and E offer the best evidence in terms of archaeological context and understanding for the EM IIA period. Both tholoi have a similar stratigraphy: a closed EM IIA deposit sealed by an EM III - MM I stratum (Panagiatopoulos 2002; Papadatos 1999; 2005), which permits a direct comparison between the two deposits as they seem to have undergone a very similar history of use. The human remains recovered in both contexts were in a very bad state of preservation and gave no evidence whatsoever about the interment type and the population buried in the tholos during this period (Panagiatopoulos 2002: 111; Papadatos 1999: 62-3; Triantaphyllou in Papadatos 2005: 67-76).

With respect to the ceramic assemblage, it was, unfortunately, not very well preserved in either context, and most of the sherds in both tholoi could not be identified as belonging to specific shapes, which precludes a comparison of these two contexts with the EM I assemblages (Panagiatopoulos 2002: 31-43; Papadatos 1999: appendices 18-23), but the general impression is that no major changes occur in the wares deposited in these two tholoi when compared to the earlier contexts. As regards non-ceramic items, the two tholoi had quite different assemblages (Figs. V.11b, c, and 22a). Tholos r produced a variety and a richness of material unmatched by Tholos E or any other tomb during this period, although the quantity of gold should be considered carefully, since many of the gold items are beads that could have been deposited

together in necklaces (Papadatos 1999: Appendix 7). The difference in the assemblage is particularly clear in objects that have overseas links, either because they were made of imported raw materials such as gold, silver or ivory, or because they are similar to Cycladic objects such as the folded arm figurines, some of which were probably actual imports to the island (Papadatos 1999: 183-210; Pieler 2004: 112-3). But before a conclusion is drawn about the significance of these differences, a look must also be taken at the material found in the sixth area with EM II material, the Area of the Rocks.

In this area, objects similar to those in the Tholos I" assemblage were discovered, such as gold and silver items and folded arm figurines and approximately 1000 obsidian pieces (Papadatos 2005: 52-3; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 232-6, 583). It is possible that some of these were deposited with interments made inside the fissures in the rocks (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 234). But the discovery of these objects in the part of the Area of the Rocks near Tholos I" and the affinities of the material assemblage in both contexts support the idea that these objects originated in Tholos T and were re-deposited in this area after the tholos was cleaned out for renewed use in EM III-MM IA (Papadatos 2005: 53; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 235-6, 583).

The cemeteries in EM IIA Phourni seems to consist basically of just two tholoi, Tholos E and Tholos T, both of which have a similar architecture but very different assemblages. It would be logical to think that the similar architecture of Tholos E and Tholos r represented two equivalent social groups that probably belonged to the same community and therefore marked a subdivision in the horizontal social organisation of the Archanes community. The material assemblage and in particular the material with off-island connections (Papadatos 1999: 231-3), however, show that there were differences between the two groups in terms of access to exotic resources, so it cannot but be suggested that these represent a vertical differentiation dynamic. Both groups seem to have been of a similar structure and size, as indicated by the tholos architecture. The group in Tholos r demonstrated a privileged position over the group in Tholos E, marked through the deposition of off-island materials with the deceased. The fact that the differences between the groups were displayed through material with Cycladic links suggests that these materials were an important social material not only in EM IIA Phourni but in most of north-central Crete. Cycladic links are evident in different burial contexts during the EM II period (Fig. V.31), which suggests that they were valued and exploited by different communities, even when these communities were unable or decided not to hoard the quantity of items found in Tholos f. It is clear

that this material played an important role in the negotiation of horizontal intra- and inter-community relationships for central Cretan communities and it is probably because of its widespread social value that this material was chosen in Phourni as a means of pursuing vertical differentiation dynamics.

As has been pointed out in the different contexts, most of the cemeteries in use in EM IIA stopped being used in EM IIB (Fig. V.15). This scenario raises a discussion of problems in ceramic recognition and in actual gaps in the evidence for EM IIB – III similar to the problems reviewed for south-central Crete, but here the situation is a bit different. First, because the data gap starts earlier, probably at the beginning of the EM IIB period. Second, because the knowledge of the record seems to be less affected by ceramic recognition problems. It is true that Vasiliki ware, which normally marks the EM IIB period, appears to have only a limited deposition in central Crete, making it difficult to identify the period, but the good knowledge of the sequence at Knossos and the modern studies of some of the sites, such as Phourni, have produced enough detailed evidence to argue that EM IIB wares are not to be found in most of the funerary contexts in north-central Crete. Therefore, a gap in the use of the cemeteries during this period represents a strong possibility in north-central Crete.

V.4 EM III

While the ceramic sequence in central Crete is well known, the identification of EM III ceramics is still the object of considerable debate (Lahanas 2000: 156-7; Momigliano 1991; 2000b; Watrous 1994: 717-20; Zois 1968b). Consequently in many contexts it is not possible to securely identify wares as EM III or MM IA and even in the cases where this is possible, EM III mortuary behaviour cannot be independently explored as the material is found mixed with MM IA evidence. This is the case in Agios Charalambos, Agios Miron, the tombs at Galana Charakia A and B, Pigadistria, Sabas, Stravomiti and the Trapeza cave. Therefore all these contexts will be analysed in the MM I section, as the evidence from this period tends to be more comprehensible. Clearer information about the EM III period has been recovered from Kiparisi Kapella, Phourni, Giofirakia, Kراسي Koprani, Pírgos and Mallia, which permits an exploration and characterisation of EM III mortuary behaviour.

After the dearth of evidence in the EM IIB funerary record, the EM III period represents a period of expansion both with the appearance of new tombs and cemeteries and with the reuse of some of the EM IIA tombs (Fig. V.23). At Kiparisi

Kapella mainly EM III wares were reported (Serpetsidaki 1999; 2001). Therefore it is most probable that the evidence in respect of the mortuary behaviour of this tomb primarily refers to its EM III use. Remains of a wall show that differentiated spaces existed in this cave, one of them perhaps intended for non-burial activities, as attested by the presence of burnt animal bones. Pithos and larnax burials are reported from this site, which were perhaps deposited in the cave as early as EM III. Likewise, pithoi and larnakes within rock shelters have been found at Pirgos cave that could also be dated as early as EM III (Karantzali 1996: 58; Rutkowski 1968: 220; *contra* Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 247), and at two rock shelters in Galana Charakia A, near Ano Viannos, although these are probably MM I - LM I (Platon 1954: 512; Warren 1969: 194 n. 2).

At Krasi Koprani it is not clear whether there was any EM III material inside the tholos (Karantzali 1996: 58; Sbonias 1995: 178). However, EM III material reported outside the tholos, together with human remains, indicates that the tomb was probably in use during this period (Marinatos 1932b: 113). At Agios Miron, EM III pottery was found but the larnakes and pithoi discovered seem to have been deposited in the MM periods (Alexiou 1973b; Walberg 1983: 105). At Giofirakia a considerable amount of EM III material was found (Marinatos 1938), possibly marking a closed deposit for this period (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 387; Walberg 1983: 105). However, it is not clear if this deposit represents material related to funerary activities. The bones recovered belonged to animals and no architecture was found, making it difficult to assume that it represented a tomb.

The mortuary record at Mallia in EM III exhibits a considerable expansion with at least four new tombs (Fig. V.21). Together with the *Premier charnier*, two new similar tombs began to be used in EM III, the *Second* and *Troisieme chamiers* (Bequignon 1929: 525-7; Demargne 1945: 13-24; La Redaction 1928: 502-3; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 60-2). These are situated near the *Premier* on the rocky headland north of the town and they too represent rock shelters where bodies and material were deposited, in both cases the material being mainly ceramic vessels with a small number of stone vessels. The western ossuary also contained EM III material. The main novelty in the cemetery appears with the construction of a large and complex building in the area of Chrisolakos (Fig. V.25; Baurain 1987; Demargne 1930; 1932; 1945: 25-69; Pierpoint 1987; Poursat 1993; Soles 1992b: 162-71; Sturmer 1987; 1993; Treuil 2005: 211-4; Van Effenterre 1980: 241-52). The EM III - MM I phase of this building, which was mostly destroyed by a later rebuilding, will here be called

Chrisolakos I (see Soles 1992b: 163). Although there has been some discussion about the date of the construction of the first building, there seems to be a consensus that the first material related to the building dates to the EM III period (Demargne 1945: 67-8; Soles 1992b: 166; Van Effenterre 1980: 242; Walberg 1983: 111-2; Zois 1969: 77; *contra* Sturmer 1987).

The main surviving remains are located W and E of the later building (Chrisolakos II) with some walls surviving inside it (Fig. V.25), and they provide evidence of a building unique in the Cretan Pre- and Protopalatial mortuary record. The remains found do not resemble any other tomb or associated building on Crete and are composed of a series of paved areas, benches, porticos and kernoi that suggest public cult areas rather than burial. In fact, some authors have suggested that Chrisolakos I did not have a funerary purpose (Muhly 1984: 114-5; Pierpoint 1987; Treuil 2005). Although this is certainly a possibility, some evidence exists to support the idea that the burial chambers were situated underneath the later building, where remains of earlier walls have been found. The W and E remains would then represent areas intended for cult and ritual associated with the tomb (or tombs) similar to the EM III annexes in south-central Crete. The use of kernoi is attested in the MM I cemeteries of Mallia and Gournia.

If Chrisolakos I can be considered a large funerary complex, it establishes two interesting facts about mortuary behaviour at Mallia. First, the architectural features show local particularities at this site. While some of the characteristics seen in Chrisolakos I correspond to broader trends in funerary ritual such as associated ritual buildings or the use of kernoi, the way these were developed at Mallia, with a unique allocation of rooms, corridors and paved areas, shows a local elaboration. Second, and related to the first point, is the fact that Chrisolakos I represents a very large investment of effort in mortuary ritual, which is not only interesting within the development of mortuary behaviour at Mallia but also in relation to other cemeteries where such a large complex has yet to be found. This effort should be measured not only by the construction of such a large building, but more importantly by the interest in creating such a distinctive facility. The different features, such as open areas, pavements and corridors, seem to have been planned before construction began, as opposed to many other cemeteries where an accumulative architecture marks the aggregate design. Chrisolakos I not only shows an important change in mortuary behaviour, but also a carefully planned one.

Chrisolakos is famous for the unique pieces of jewellery found in it (Demargne 1930), although these most probably belong to the second phase of the building (Demargne 1945: 52-3; Effinger 1996: 240). It is not possible to date any of the other items found in the tomb and they could belong to either phase of the building. With respect to the ceramics, a small amount of EM III ceramics was published, enough to suggest a construction date but not sufficient to allow any detailed analysis of the use of the building during this period.

Phourni is another cemetery that documents significant changes in EM III times (Fig. V.20). Securing a definite EM III date for some of the tombs at Phourni has sometimes proved to be problematic, for example the construction of BB19 has been dated EM III or MM IA depending on the publication (Lahanas 2000: 156 n. 5 and 6; Maggidis 1994; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 218, 387). Despite particular problems in some of the contexts, it seems clear that during EM III, the Phourni cemetery began a period of expansion that reached its zenith in MM IA.

The cemetery shows a very different mortuary behaviour from that identified for the EM IIA period. Although reused, the tholoi are no longer the dominant feature in the cemetery and, with the exception of the possible MM I construction of Tholos B, each new construction in the cemetery is of the rectangular tomb type. The exact nature of every new building is not known, but the excavators suggested that the rectangular tombs were originally ossuaries for the cleaning of material from the tholoi and perhaps from BB19 and that only later did they become tombs in their own right (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 249-50). While this is a plausible scenario, it is also true that some of the new tombs do not appear to be related to the tholoi and could have been constructed to be tombs and not ossuaries. This would increase considerably the number of tombs in contemporaneous tombs at the cemetery, an increase related perhaps to a boom in the population in the related settlement. More interestingly, it would represent a new layout for the cemetery, which was now set out with many more smaller tombs, perhaps reflecting changes in the scale and nature of the social groups that were interned together.

Evidence that could shed some light on the EM III use of the cemetery is the analysis of the population unit that was interned in the tombs. Despite the different figures that the estimates from the various authors reach (Fig. V.18; see discussion in Section 111.1 for the difficulties of estimating populations using tombs), at EM III - MM I Phourni, there is a common pattern that arises from the different estimates: while

Tholos T, Tholos E and BB18 generate similar numbers, BB19 and the east rooms of BB6 show a different pattern in which more individuals appear to have been buried. This could indicate that the different buildings at Phourni were intended for different uses, such as tombs and ossuaries. The lack of a comprehensive publication of BB18 and BB6 makes it impossible to reach any conclusion about the nature of these two contexts, but the discovery of both primary and secondary interments in Tholos E, Tholos T and BB19 (Maggidis 1994: 66-75; Panagiatopoulos 2002:111-4; Papadatos 2005: 57-61) indicates that the use of these three contexts may have been similar despite BB19 housing a larger number of interments. Neither it seems, did the tholoi necessarily house a different type of social unit from the burial buildings, but without more detailed evidence this cannot be clarified. It is also possible that the differences in interments are the consequence of a combination of reasons with particular social groups being entitled to different funerary procedures, which would create different types of burial contexts, or each tomb having a particular history of use in which the utilization of the building as tomb, ossuary and ritual place developed or was combined in a unique way.

The appearance of larnakes also marked a new mortuary custom in the interment of the bodies and adds complexity to the scenario. Larnakes and interments in the ground seem to be combined in the different funerary contexts, again with particularities in each individual building. The different explanations suggested for the appearance of larnakes and pithoi have been already discussed (Chapter IV), and while these changes cannot be clearly understood, the use of burial larnakes and pithoi are clearly related to a wider set of changes in the burial customs and the way the interment of the deceased was practised and presumably understood (Fig V.24). Also some of the spaces in the cemetery, both inside and outside burial buildings, seem to have been intended for ritual activities rather than burial. All this evidence makes it clear that within the EM III Phourni cemetery there was a significant new level of complexity in mortuary behaviour that reflects more elaborated ritual activities as well as a more complicated relationship between the community and the cemetery.

4

To separate the EM III material assemblage from the MM I one is not possible in the case of Phourni, hence analysis of the material will be left for the next section because MM I material dominates the burial record. Also, of the evidence provided by Tholos T and some of the objects published from the south rooms of BB18, the EM III material seems to be very similar to the MM I assemblages (Fig. V.22a; Papadatos 1999; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 215-8).

V.5 MM I

During the MM I period the number of cemeteries and burial contexts shows another significant increase (Figs. V.16 and 26), with small cemeteries appearing all over the area of study. Together with this filling in of the mortuary landscape, the cemeteries of Phourni and Mallia witnessed major developments (Figs V.20 and 21).

Only a few tombs used in EM IIA continued to be used in MM I (Figs. V.14 and 26). The majority of these were caves and in general they cannot be confirmed as burial contexts in MM I. Eileithia and Milatos caves seems to have become cult places in MM I (Betancourt & Marinatou 2001: 232-3; Tyree 1974: 9-10), suggesting that many caves could have followed a similar development. There are exceptions, such as Sabas, Sokaras, Pirgos and perhaps Hutchinson's tomb at Knossos, where the larnakes attest to mortuary use of the cave in MM times (Faure 1958: 515 n. 3; Payne 1935: 168; Rethemiotakis 2004b; Xanthoudides 1921a). Lasithi is the only area where caves continued to be the main type of tomb in MM I. Here the caves of Pigadistria, Seli, and Meskine were probably used as burial places during MM times, as is also documented at Agios Charalambos and probably at Trapeza (Betancourt 2002; 2005; Davaras 1989a; 1989b; 1990; Davaras & Papadakis 1984; Pendlebury *et al.* 1939: 23). Psichro cave is the only example in this area where MM I burial use is unlikely (Fig. V.8; Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 11; Watrous 1996: 47-8; 2004).

Two types of tombs that have already been noted in the EM III period became particularly popular during MM I. The first is the rectangular tomb, that apart from the cases of Phourni and Mallia appears in isolated examples at Bairia Gazi and Gournes A. Bairia Gazi seems to have been in use only during the MM IA phase, a short period of time (Rethemiotakis 1989: 296). The building contained two larnakes, one burial pithos, around 40 ceramic vessels, one stone vessel, obsidian and a few figurines. The Gournes A cemetery is similar, although in this case the rectangular tomb was found associated with a non-burial deposit that the excavator named the *Ieros Lakos* or sacred pit (Fig. V.6; Hatzidakis 1916; 1921: 45-58). Tomb A was badly preserved, but at least three rooms could be identified that represent a building just a little larger than Bairia Gazi. The *Ieros Lakos* was found a few meters from Tomb A and it can be described as a pit surrounded by a rectangular wall, which links this context with some of the pit tombs at Mallia, although in this case no human remains were found. The two buildings were in use during the same period of time, mainly MM IA (Zois 1969: 23-4), although some material suggests that they could have been used as late as MM II

(MacGillivray 1998: 99; Walberg 1983: 107; Yule 1980: 12; Zois 1969: 23-4). In Tomb A, burials were found in the north and central rooms but only one interment was reported from the smaller south room. At the *Ieros Lakos* no human remains were found but many hundreds of ceramic vessels (Hatzidakis 1916: 62), which indicates that the two areas had very different purposes. The cemetery contained other items apart from ceramics, including eight seals, clay figurines and two scarabs (Phillips 1991: 421-3; Pini 2000: 109; Ward 1971: 93-4), although the exact context of these items was not provided, precluding further interpretation.

It is possible that the known tombs at Bairia Gazi and Gournes A were part of larger cemeteries, though Hatzidakis' investigations only discovered additional LM III tombs around Gournes A (Hatzidakis 1916: 63; 1921: 62-87). Anticipating some of the analyses in the Mirabello area and East Crete (Chapters VI and VII), it is suggested that many of the new small cemeteries, like these two examples, may represent only part of a community's burial record, which may comprise tombs at different locations around the settlement, thereby making the tombs appear isolated in the archaeological record and biasing the understanding of the mortuary record.

The second type of interment that became popular during MM I is the burial pithoi and larnakes. This sometimes constitutes a loose category, as they have been found in a wide variety of burial contexts: from tholoi, to rectangular tombs, inside rock shelters or just buried individually in the ground (Fig. V.24). It is possible that pithos cemeteries were popular in central Crete, similar to those at Pachiamos and Gournia Sphoungaras in the Mirabello area (Chapter VI). In many places in central Crete, burial pithoi and larnakes have been reported from rescue excavations not associated with architecture, such as Afendis, Afrati, Aitania, Anopolis, Arkalies and Meliskipos (Alexiou 1965: 313; Hatzidakis 1921: 58-60; Iliopoulos 2001: 658; Platon 1956b: 417; Rethemiotakis 2004a; Watrous 1982: 64 no 70), which could represent the remains of pithos cemeteries. The best examples of possible pithos cemeteries come from Agios Miron, outside the Trapeza cave and Mallia *Ilot du Christ*. At Agios Miron remains of pithoi and larnakes were found together with EM III and MM I material (Alexiou 1969a: 403; 1969b: 210-1; 1970: 413-4; 1971b: 239; 1973b: 454-5; Orlandou 1968b: 117-8; 1969: 140-1; 1970: 192-3; *contra* Walberg 1983: 105). The only architectural feature found in the cemetery is a wall that probably marked an open space (Lempesi 1984), which is a feature that has parallels at the pithos cemeteries in the Mirabello area. At Trapeza, pithoi dated to MM I were found inside the cave and also buried outside the cave's entrance in an area that resembles pithoi cemeteries (Fig. V.10; Pendlebury *et*

al. 1939: 87-93; 1940: 3, 15, 23; Watrous 1982: 42 no 11). At Mallia *Ilot du Christ* a pithos cemetery was found from which only five pithoi were published (Fig. V.21; Becker 1975b; La Redaction 1925: 473-4; Olivier *et al.* 1970; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 103-13). The scant evidence published from the site matches the characteristics of pithos cemeteries: the deceased were normally buried with little material, in the majority of cases ceramic vessels, and the pithoi were placed upside-down (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 107-10; Walberg 1983: 117). Although this cemetery is associated with Mallia, it is possible that it did not form part of that site's burial record and is distant enough to represent the cemetery of another community.

The appearance of this last cemetery coincided with the expansion of the Mallia cemetery during MM I (Fig. V.21). This expansion materialised in Mallia in a heterogeneous way that resulted in very different types of tombs, many of them small, scattered around a large area. Interments were still made in rock fissures and four different *charniers* have been documented, but there were probably more in use (Demargne 1945:1-24; Olivier & McGeorge 1977a; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 60-2). Similar to these tombs is a type of tomb peculiar to Mallia that this study has called a pit tomb. These are pits in the ground that were delimited by a low wall around them. This wall changed according to the shape of the pit, giving, as a result, tombs of a triangular or round plan, the latter type represented by a tomb called *La Tholos*, although it shares no similarities with a tholos tomb apart from its round shape (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 72-82). These tombs tend to occur at the west side of the cemetery, together with other deposits that did not contain human remains but which can be linked to the mortuary record, such as the *Terrases Occidentales* and the *Fosses aux Trompettes* (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 77-85). At the *Terrases Occidentales*, the deposit of material was found together with remains of walls and it has been suggested that these were used to delimit the cemetery (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 77). The *Fosse aux Trompettes* is a strange deposit with some peculiarly shaped vessels that gave the name to the deposit. The deposit has been dated MM IB - II and it has been suggested that it was not related to any activity of funerary character, nor were the *Terrases Occidentales* (Pelon & Sturmer 1989: 109-11; *contra* Picard 1948: 205-6).

The East area of the cemetery is much more complex. Although the area between the sea shore and Chrisolakos is badly preserved, many burial buildings have been identified here. Chrisolakos still dominated the cemetery and its significant use in

this period is attested by a large MM I deposit that was found outside the north side of Chrisolakos II (Demargne 1945: 66-9; Poursat 1993; Walberg 1983: 111-2; *contra* Sturmer 1993), which has always been thought to indicate a cleaning episode prior to the construction of Chrisolakos II (Demargne 1945: 60-1).

At least two ossuaries existed west of Chrisolakos called Eastern Ossuary I and II, but information has only been published from the first one which was used for primary burials (Demargne 1945: 61-2; Soles 1992b: 172). The *Maison des mods* is after Chrisolakos, the largest and most elaborate building in the cemetery (Fig. V.25; Soles 1992b: 173-6; Van Effenterre 1980: 236-7; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 85-102). It comprises nine rooms and in LM III times it was reused together with the newly constructed cists and some of the pithoi. The building was in use during MM I times and the deposition of pithoi in this period, placed upside-down matching the description of other pithos burials, suggests a burial use for the building in MM I. This refutes the idea that the building was originally intended for habitational use (Treuil 2005: 218; Van Effenterre 1980: 236-7; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 100-1). The latter hypothesis is based on the fact that the plan of the building does not resemble a typical rectangular tomb: three of its rooms were stuccoed, which may point to habitation, and the complex is formed by two different buildings, Rooms I to III and IV to IX, which again resemble agglomerative domestic architecture (Fig. V.25). However, an alternative exists, that this building was initially intended for cult and ritual activities connected with the cemetery and later reused for burials. The *Maison des mods* resembles the *Camerette* at Agia Triada (Chapter IV) with the use of stucco and the agglutinative plan. Also in many cemeteries, areas originally intended for cult or ritual activities were soon used for burial purposes. Although the exact original use of the building may not be clear, it is unlikely that this was for habitation and it is probable that it was related somehow to activities in the cemetery and that it was soon taken over for the deposition of burials inside pithoi. A similar hypothesis can be suggested for the *Chambre Funeraire*, a small MM I rectangular building near the *Maison* (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 98-102).

North of the *Maison des Mods* another rectangular building, the Western ossuary, was found near the sea shore. A deposit immediately outside it was designated the Deposit *Bord de Mer* (La Redaction 1921: 535-8; 1928: 502; Olivier & McGeorge 1977b; Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 62-72). The Western Ossuary has already been noted and little else can be added, as only five ceramic vessels were published. Child burials have been reported outside the tomb but it is not clear how

they related to the Deposit *Bord de Mer*. The latter deposit contained a large quantity of ceramic vessels in fragmentary condition, from which only a small number was published, together with 15 stone vessels. It is reported that many of the ceramic vessels imitate stone vessels and some ceramic examples are of very fine quality (Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 63). Most probably this material comes from the cleaning out of burial contexts (Van Effenterre 1980: 238-9), although Soles suggests that the vases were primary deposits in this location and had been broken by the action of the sea (Soles 1992b: 173). Finally, at Mallia, tombs were also found in the eastern part of the cemetery area, on the little island of Agia Varvara. Here human remains were found on the coast opposite the island and also on the island itself (Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953: 9-11; La Redaction 1921: 536; 1928: 502; Muller 1992: 747). In both areas human remains were found inside cracks between the rocks, paralleling the deposition of human bones in the *chamiers*. The present knowledge of the Mallia cemetery, although comprehensive, is still far from complete and a recent survey in the area has identified previously unknown walls and archaeological contexts in this area (Muller 1991; 1992).

Demargne was the first to suggest a difference in wealth between the interments in the *chamiers* and those in the building of Chrisolakos, and argued that the former were the tombs of poor people while Chrisolakos was a prince's tomb (Demargne 1945: VIII, 2). This division of the tombs between poor and rich was followed by Van Effenterre, who looked at different materials, such as fine ceramics, to identify the status of the interned in each tomb (Fig. V.28; Van Effenterre 1980: 238-9, 246-50). Apart from the fact that this simplistic model encounters many theoretical problems, it is actually difficult to discern such a distinction based on the material assemblages of the tombs. A clear example comes from the Western Ossuary and the Deposit *Bord de Mer*, where fine ceramics and a large number of stone vessels were found in two contexts that by the number of bones and architecture should be grouped together with the *chamiers* as places for poor individuals. Material coming from Chrisolakos cannot be dated specifically to the first or second building, hampering any possible comparison, and the presence of a large building in MM I in this location does not necessarily signify a royal tomb. While the idea that Chrisolakos I was used for the interment of individuals of a privileged status cannot be rejected, a simple scenario in which Chrisolakos represents a rich tomb as opposed to the other poor tombs in the area is highly unlikely and it is suggested that the public cult and ritual spaces in this tomb indicate a much complex role for this structure (see below).

These debates also move the focus of the analyses away from some of the most interesting features at EM III - MM I Mallia. An explanation is required with regard to the explosion in the size of the cemetery in EM III - MM I, which occurred in a period when the first evidence of a central 'palatial' building appeared in the settlement (Pelon 1983: 700; Poursat 1988: 71-4; Van Effenterre 1980: 33-41); and to its heterogeneous character and to the variety of interment types which appeared at varied locations. While the location of the tombs in a common but extensive area may have parallels at the Gournia North Cemetery and Sphoungaras, the degree of heterogeneity in the Mallia tombs is unique. The rectangular tomb type that was popular in other cemeteries during this period is absent at Mallia and neither the *Maison des Mods* nor Chrisolakos can be compared with the rectangular tombs found in Phourni or Palaikastro cemeteries. Also the expansion of the cemetery during the EM III - MM IA times, and its reorganisation in MM IB times with the reconstruction of Chrisolakos I and the abandonment of some of the tombs, follows the distinctive history of the settlement where a first central 'palatial' building may have been modified during MM IB (Poursat 1988: 71-4).

The Phourni cemetery parallels Mallia in its MM I expansion but differs from it in the materialisation of this expansion. Here a tightly clustered cemetery with a number of similar rectangular tombs developed in a short period of time, mainly MM IA (Fig. V.20). During the MM IA period Phourni suffered a frenetic construction phase that in some cases led to the building of an MM IA structure over an earlier MM IA building, as is the case of the Annex of Tholos B over BB7. Older tombs were cleared out and re-used in MM IA, such as Tholos E (Panagiatopoulos 2002: 7-8). In addition, during this period the most monumental complex in the cemetery, Tholos B and its annex, was probably built. This sudden transformation is recognisable not only in the construction sequence but also in the new ceramic deposition pattern that included large MM I ceramic deposits both inside and outside the tombs (Fig V.20; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 203-5, 262, 396, 403-4).

The MM IA cemetery at Phourni comprises basically two types of tomb: the tholos type, where all the interments were deposited in a single room, sometimes inside larnakes and pithoi; and the rectangular tomb type, which normally consisted of a varied number of rooms in many cases expanded agglutinatively such as BB3 and BB6 (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 194, 202), and in most cases these also contained burials in larnakes and pithoi (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997:

466, 473-4). BB19 is an example that sits between the two types, having a single large room but an oddly square plan and roofing solution (Maggidis 1994: 9).

Architecturally, the cemetery does not present large differences in tomb size and quality of construction apart from the obvious tholos - rectangular tomb contrast. Tholos B and its annex are the exception to this in that they represent a bigger building, more monumental in construction and quite central. Unfortunately, it is difficult to assess this complex as it has not yet been published in detail and it was heavily disturbed in LM III. While the underlying BB7 gives a MM IA *terminus post quem* for the building of the annex, the tholos construction is more difficult to date (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 169). It seems probable that it was built in MM IA times, but an earlier construction date cannot be rejected. In any case, it seems clear that Tholos B and its annex were the focus of the cemetery in MM I. The latter was not only a burial place, but very probably a cult and ritual place as some of the features of the building suggest a complex range of activities, such as the pillar room or the stairs leading to a second floor (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 173-9).

Apart from the fact that larnakes and pithoi were widely used in MM I in the cemetery, little more is known about the interments in the tombs (see discussion in Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 246-51). In many cases burials were made on the ground, as in the south rooms of BB3 (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 198), near larnakes and pithoi (Maggidis 1994: 66-7; Panagiatopoulos 2002: 111-2; Papadatos 1999: 62-4). There are no appreciable differences between the tholoi and the other tombs; all contained burials on the ground, and in larnakes and pithoi. It seems clear that the burial process was complex and involved various stages of manipulation of human remains and material (Maggidis 1994: 69-75; Panagiatopoulos 2002: 111-4; Papadatos 1999: 61-71). Ritual activities in the tombs seem to have reached a new level of complexity. The proliferation of spaces, including open paved areas, probably marked new relationships between people, spaces and ritual. Ritual activities in the cemetery seem to have been orientated towards group ritual and social gathering. The paved areas were suited for the gathering of groups and the large deposits of ceramics associated with them, such as the one outside BB6, point towards communal consumption activities. Rooms inside the buildings may also have served ritual purposes, but the later reuse of most of them for burials renders any attempt at analysing such non-burial use impossible. The best evidence for such indoor ritual areas comes from the Annex to Tholos B, where various spaces have been identified as ritual areas not intended for burial, in particular the pillar crypt.

A large part of the carefully excavated material at Phourni has yet to be published in detail, and this hinders a comprehensive analysis and interpretation of the cemetery. The exceptions to this are Tholos E, Tholos I, and BB19, which have been published recently and allow a comparison of the EM III - MM I assemblages from these three contexts (Maggidis 1994; Panagiatopoulos 2002; Papadatos 1999; 2005). Information from assemblages in other areas can be added to this comparison, always bearing in mind that the reported data from these contexts does not encompass the whole material assemblage recovered and that a very detailed chronology for most of these contexts is not yet available (Fig. V.22).

There are numerous major differences in ceramic deposition patterns between tombs (Fig. V.22), and although the figures may be biased to some extent by the differential publication of the contexts, it seems clear that the non-burial contexts, such as outside BB6, contained an abnormally large deposition of ceramics (Fig. V.22b). This fact reflects a different set of activities for this building from those that determined the deposition of material in the tombs. It is also interesting that in BB19 such a large number of vessels was found, especially since these figures do not correlate directly with the number of interments, as more vessels were found in the upper stratum of this tomb, where fewer interments were found (Figs. V.18 and 22d; Maggidis 1994: 45), and this may indicate changes in the character of the context. Otherwise, some of the best known rectangular tombs contained a similar number of vessels to the tholoi, which may show that both types of tomb were used in a similar way and housed a broadly comparable number of interments.

With respect to the specific ceramic assemblages, interesting evidence comes from BB19. Here Maggidis has pointed out that there was a change in the number of vessels and in the shapes deposited in the tomb from MM IA to MM IB - II. In MM IB more vessels were deposited, and the vessels tended to be of a larger size (Fig. V.22d; Maggidis 1994: 78, 147). Although the exact meaning of these changes is not clear, it shows that modifications in the mortuary behaviour occurred at specific tombs in Phourni during these two periods. It could indicate particular changes in the use of BB19, but it could also indicate wider changes in the mortuary behaviour in the cemetery. Unfortunately, on the basis of the present evidence these suggestions cannot be further investigated and in general little more analysis of the ceramic assemblages can be done.

With respect to the non-ceramic assemblage, a quite homogeneous picture emerges. Very similar categories and quantities of objects appear in the record of the different tombs (Fig. VI.22a). These are mainly seals with a small number of metal objects and a few stone vessels. A significant difference appears only between non-burial and burial contexts. Outside BB6 and in between BB8 and BB9 only a small number of non-ceramic objects has been found compared with burial strata. Although it is always possible that non-ceramic objects were recycled when the tombs were cleaned while the ceramic objects were just thrown away, it is more probable that the ceramic vessels in these deposits came from cult or ritual activities and therefore consisted of very different materials from the assemblage deposited with the deceased.

At first sight (Fig. V.22a) the assemblages seem to show a fairly comparable picture for the different tombs at MM I Phourni. However, if the individual history of each context is taken into consideration, BB7 and perhaps Tholos B Annex appear somewhat anomalous. BB7 is a building underneath the later Tholos B Annex that was built and destroyed within the MM IA period and was in use for a much shorter period of time than the remainder of the tombs. However, as many non-ceramic items have come from this briefly used context as have come from tombs with a longer history (Fig. V.22a), including some rare objects such as a scarab or various pieces of gold (Phillips 1991: 399-400; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 207-8). Tholos B Annex may also have had a distinctive assemblage, but this is more debatable as this context was heavily disturbed in later periods. The silver pin with a Linear A inscription and the gold signet ring found here probably date to MM II - III (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 177, 333, 651).

Some authors have tried to identify the different status of some individuals within the context of each tomb based on deposition patterns. Maggidis has argued that in BB19 some of the material can be associated with particular human remains, and therefore can be used to indicate the status of those individuals (Maggidis 1994: 83-4; 1998: 87-95). In addition, he suggests that the location of interments in relation to important features inside the tomb, such as a stone that has been tentatively identified as an altar, also highlights the special status of individuals with respect to the group interred in the tomb. Karytinis has approached the same contexts and questions from the analysis of seal stones in tombs (Karytinis 1998). He reached similar conclusions to Maggidis with respect to BB19 where the number of seal stones found and the buried population figures support the suggestion that seals may mark the interment of heads of families (Karytinis 1998: 83-4). While some of the arguments of these two

authors are open to debate, their main conclusions are quite reasonable if unsurprising. Within any type of kinship group there will always be differences in the status, duties, responsibilities and rights of the different individuals that belong to it. These will be determined by differences in age, gender and other social categories that define each individual. Differences within a kinship group had existed since the very beginning of Cretan prehistory and were very probably marked in different ways in the interment of the deceased, but it has not been possible to identify them given the difficulty of associating individual artefacts and treatment with individual skeletons. In this particular case, Karytinou's suggestion that in MM I seal stones became a main method of marking the head of a family is interesting as it suggests the growing importance of the control of material goods for the Archanes Phourni community.

Maggidis has also suggested that different types of evidence from the cemetery support the idea that Archanes was a stratified community and that Tholos B was used by a royal lineage (Maggidis 1998: 99). It has already been pointed out that there exist some hints of differences in quality and variety in the material assemblages between tombs in MM I Phourni and the architectural dominance of Tholos B and its annex. Caution must be applied, though, about the significance of this evidence as it comes from heavily disturbed contexts that do not offer a straightforward comparison with the rest of the tombs at Phourni. This study disagrees with many of the criteria that Maggidis identifies in the cemetery for interpreting Archanes as a stratified community. In the majority of the tombs differences in architectural complexity and construction are negligible. The variety of tombs, plans and sizes does not necessarily document a local social pyramid but instead different functions for the buildings and different histories of use. The difficulties of linking the appearance of burial containers (pithoi and larnakes), with processes of individualisation have already been considered in Chapter IV. This suggestion is not supported by the situation at Phourni, where burial containers are found in most of the contexts and are also used alongside simple burials on the ground. Although it is very possible that by the MM I period Archanes was a complex and stratified community, it is difficult from the current evidence to identify processes of vertical differentiation in the mortuary record of the cemetery (Panagiatopoulos 2002: 129-32; Papadatos 1999: 166-7). The best candidate for the tomb of an elite burying group would be the Tholos B complex because of a distinctive material assemblage that could be the result of the interment of particular privileged individuals. The monumental architecture of the building seems related to the use of the complex for ritual and cult and could be partially explained by a focal public character for the complex. It is possible that this building was used as a public arena in which to

negotiate the different status of certain individuals or a group within the Archanes community. In this sense both dynamics, horizontal and vertical could have been displayed simultaneously and may have even reinforced each other.

Even though it would be easy to interpret Chrisolakos I and Tholos B as the burial places of a ruling elite, this would ignore other interesting factors in the mortuary behaviour of these two tombs and the cemeteries around them. While it is agreed that both tombs seem to have housed some important material, probably related to the interment of individuals of privileged status, they also offer evidence of group ritual, and are strongly embedded in the communal personality of the cemeteries. Both complexes housed large spaces for outdoor cult and ritual that in Phourni Tholos B is documented by the large deposits of cups and jugs. Rather than being simply the places of burial of 'chiefs' or 'princes', they may be better understood as more complex places where horizontal and vertical, individual and group dynamics intersected, and should be put in the context of a developing cemetery, where new social issues were being presented and negotiated.

V.6 MM II and beyond

A pattern of decline in the use of cemeteries can be seen in central Crete (Figs. V.16 and 27), but is mitigated by sites that contradict this trend with the creation and maintenance of important tombs and cemeteries during the MM II period. Within central Crete, two different dynamics for MM II cemeteries can be identified. First, a process similar to that recognised in other parts of the island, in which cemeteries in use in earlier periods were gradually abandoned during the MM II period. The second dynamic is recognised in the area of Knossos and is defined by the appearance of new cemeteries in MM II that were heavily used during the MM III and LM periods.

The majority of cemeteries in central Crete can be included in the first category. Tombs were abandoned during the MM II period such as Agios Miron and Gournes A (Alexiou 1969a: 486; MacGillivray 1998: 99; Walberg 1983: 105; Zois 1969: 23-4). Most caves probably did not represent burial but ritual places, as is attested in the Eileithia and Trapeza caves (Betancourt & Marinatou 2001: 232-3; Pendlebury *et al.* 1939: 23; Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 78). An interesting case is provided by the cave of Agios Charalambos in Lasithi. This burial cave, which contained funerary material from the Neolithic period onwards, suffered a major reorganisation during MM IIB just before the cave was sealed, perhaps with a celebration that marked the end of the use of the cave

as a burial site (Betancourt 2002; 2005: 449). This could indicate that at Agios Charalambos there was a conscious termination of the old mortuary customs in MM MB. This site may document the cessation of the use of cemeteries at some sites in MM II as a consequence of a conscious choice on the part of the communities rather than a gradual abandonment.

At Phourni a decline in the use of the cemetery can be identified. MM II material is reported only from Tholos B, BB9 (the probable annex of Tholos I"), Tholos E, BB18, BB19 and in the large ceramic deposit outside BB6 (Figs. V.20 and 22c; Panagiatopoulos 2002: 55-7; Papadatos 1999: 23; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 171, 177, 411). MM II material probably constitutes a minor proportion of the material compared with the amount of MM I material, as seen in the best known assemblages of BB19 and Tholos E, indicating a clear decline in the deposition of items in these tombs (Fig. V.22c). Some of the tombs were abandoned as early as MM IIA, such as BB19 (Maggidis 1994: 63), and by MM III all the tombs seem to have been abandoned, although the cemetery experienced a phase of reuse in the LM I and LM III periods (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997). The only discordant pieces of evidence in this scenario are the silver pin with Linear A inscription and the gold seal ring found in the Tholos B complex (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 332-3, 651-3), but without clear archaeological contexts is difficult to interpret such a small quantity of material.

The large Pre- and Protopalatial cemetery at Mallia could be considered to have suffered a decline during the MM II period. MM II evidence at Mallia has been found in only a few contexts, and in most of these cases MM II material was found in small quantities (Fig. V.21). Only at the *Fosse aux Trompettes* did MM II material dominate the context (Pelon & Sturmer 1989). The *Ildt du Christ* was also in use during the MM II period, but it was abandoned at the end of this period (Poursat 1988: 73; Van Effenterre 1980: 240). This view of Mallia's cemeteries is counterbalanced by the construction of a completely new building at Chrisolakos, probably in MM IB times, which appears to have been in full use during MM II (for discussion of chronology of construction and use see above). The new building, Chrisolakos II (Fig. V.25; Soles 1992b: 166-71), is characterised by its large size and its careful and monumental construction (Demargne 1930; 1932; 1945; Pierpoint 1987; Poursat 1993; Shaw 1973; Sturmer 1993; Van Effenterre 1980: 241-52). The building was modified again in MM III to become what Soles has called Chrisolakos III, but it is believed that this last building did not have a funerary use (Shaw 1973; Soles 1992b: 171). Chrisolakos II was

carefully constructed, founded on a course of massive carefully worked orthostats, on top of which a wood and mud brick structure was probably constructed (Shaw 1973: 329) that may or may not have supported a roof (Shaw 1973: 329; Soles 1992b: 170). Inside the large square formed by these walls, the space was subdivided by a series of perpendicular walls that created different rectangular rooms. These rooms had different features: some of them did not have an entrance at ground level, and the discovery of two kernoi has led some people to think that some of these rooms were not intended for burial but for cult activities (Demargne 1945: 33-8). All these features identify Chrisolakos II as a very important building that was carefully built not only for burial purposes but also as a centre for ritual and cult activities during the MM IB - II periods. The importance of the building is reinforced by the material found inside, which included some gold objects⁹, among them the famous wasp pendant (Bloedow & Bjork 1989; Demargne 1930; Effinger 1996: 240-1). In addition, stone vessels and ivory objects were found inside the building (Fig. V.28b; Demargne 1945: 50-9). Unfortunately, none of these items had a clear archaeological context and so cannot be securely dated to Chrisolakos II (Demargne 1945: 53, 57).

Chrisolakos II, therefore, represents an opposite development to the general trend in Mallia's cemetery, and may indicate that this cemetery was still an important place for this community. However, the peculiar history of the Mallia cemetery did not develop much further and the cemetery was abandoned in MM III, in line with the common pattern of abandonment of Protopalatial cemeteries. In this way, Mallia represents a variation of the first dynamic in the cemeteries rather than a case of the second dynamic that followed a very different trajectory.

In antithesis to the declining dynamic, a few burial sites showed contrasting behaviour and new cemeteries were also constructed during the MM II period that were to continue in use uninterrupted during the MM III and LM periods. These sites displayed totally new funerary practices that matured during the LM period and they have few connections with the mortuary behaviour of the Pre- and Protopalatial periods studied here; Although they are included in this work for chronological purposes, they may be better understood in relation to the mortuary behaviour of later periods. Apart from a couple of probable pithos cemeteries, which are believed to have had their main use in MM III - LM I times, at Aitania and Anopolis (Hatzidakis 1921: 58-60; Rethemiotakis 2004a), this trend is mainly observed around Knossos.

⁹The name Chrisolakos (gold pit) suggests that this building was looted of gold items long before excavation.

The cemeteries surrounding Knossos show significant activity during MM II that differs from the pattern seen at Mallia. Here new cemeteries were created in MM II that were to continue in use during the different LM periods. Included among these cemeteries are the two tombs with MM II material found at Poros, a coastal community in the area, which was probably under the direct influence of Knossos, and which followed its development in mortuary behaviour (Dimopoulou 1999b; Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1992).

Of these new cemeteries at Knossos only tombs identified as containing or believed to have contained MM II material have been included in this study, but it is possible that many other tombs in these cemeteries were constructed in MM II and the relevant evidence destroyed by later use or re-use. New MM II cemeteries at Knossos were established at Ailias, Mavrospilio and Upper Gypsades, and possibly also at Zafer Papoura; Hutchinson's tomb on the Acropolis area and Site 148 could indicate other cemeteries in use in MM II (Fig. V.19; Alberti 2001; 2003; Forsdyke 1927; Hood & Smyth 1981: no 140, 148, 249, 250-1, 254, 257, 259-60, 307-8, 313, 330, 331; Whitelaw pers. comm.). The city was suddenly surrounded to the west, south, east and north by cemeteries, all but the first established in MM II.

It is difficult to assess these new tombs as very little material corresponding to their MM II use has been preserved, but their distribution pattern and architectural features contain traits very different from the mortuary behaviour identified in MM I in the area and in MM II in other Cretan cemeteries. At Knossos a significant number of tombs was constructed at each location, producing a very different cemetery pattern (Figs. V.19 and 30). The types of tomb were also new, consisting of modified rock shelters and large chamber tombs carved into the rock with an innovative layout (Fig. V.30; Alberti 2001; Forsdyke 1927; Hood *et al.* 1959: 221-2). The only exception to this scenario is the tholos found at Lower Gypsades and its probable annex (Alberti 2001: 171-2; Hood 1958a: 22-3; 1958b: 299-301; Hood *et al.* 1959: 220-4; 1960a: 169; Hood & Boardman 1956: 33-4; Hood & Smyth 1981: no 308). In the absence of further publication, however, it is impossible to understand the significance of this tomb and it remains an unexplained exception to the general mortuary behaviour of the period in Crete. This study suggests that Knossian cemeteries represent the earliest examples of the kind of mortuary behaviour that was to become typical on Crete during MM III and LM times and this overlapped with the last vestiges of the Pre- and Protopalatial mortuary behaviour at other sites.

To summarise, The MM II mortuary record in central Crete shows similar features to that of other areas on the island with the progressive termination of the long cycle of mortuary behaviour that started in Prepalatial times. What central Crete shows is that this dynamic occurred in somewhat different ways at different sites, in particular at the palatial centres. These show distinct histories in the relationship between communities and cemeteries, and Chrisolakos, and perhaps Tholos B, represent some particular processes in MM II that cannot be identified in other smaller cemeteries and that could be related to peculiarities in developments in the social organisation of these communities.

V.7 Conclusions

V.7.a EM I – IIA

Central Crete documents continuity between EM I and EM IIA mortuary behaviour as most of the cemeteries with EM I material were also in use during the EM IIA period. Phourni Tholos E and Tholos Γ are exceptions, perhaps because of the late foundation of the related settlement (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 377-9). The EM IIB period seems to mark a break in mortuary behaviour, and even though ceramic recognition issues may affect the understanding of this period, it seems clear that many of the cemeteries used in EM IIA were abandoned or suffered a gap in their history of use during EM IIB.

With respect to EM I – IIA mortuary behaviour, there do not seem to be any major differences between the periods. The same tombs and cemeteries were generally used in both periods, with similar architectural features and interment characteristics. The few closed EM I contexts that have been analysed, such as Partira, or contexts with mainly EM I material, such as the Pirgos cave, show similar characteristics to EM IIA mortuary behaviour and they contained comparable material assemblages to the EM IIA strata in both tholoi at Phourni (Fig. V.13).

Caves and rock shelters are the main tomb types found, their use having changed from habitational to burial during the FN – early EM I period. It is probable that some of the small caves and shelters, such as Partira and Kiparisi Tichida, did not constitute a community's only place of interment. At Pirgos and Eileithia the rock shelters near the caves suggest a similar scenario even for these larger caves. In the Lasithi plain the caves seem to have housed a larger number of interments and places

such as Trapeza or Agios Charalambos may have been the only place of interment for the community in each area. In the well explored area around Trapeza, no EM I - II burials have been discovered in other caves or rock shelters (Skaphidia was most probably a FN burial site; Fig. V.10; Pendlebury *et al.* 1940: 4-5; Watrous 1982: 42). However, this may be considered a pattern peculiar to the Lasithi region, as there seem to be some local particularities in the use of caves as tombs, as is illustrated by the continuous use of these types of tombs into the Protopalatial period.

In comparison with the EM I - IIA tholos at Krasi Koprani, it is possible that large caves, such as Pirgos, housed a similar population unit to the tholoi as they contained a comparable quantity of material (Figs. V.13b and d). On the other hand, the presence of rock shelters near large burial caves suggests a pattern similar to that of the cemeteries composed of several small rock shelters, each of them perhaps housing a smaller social unit than the tholoi. To this scenario must be added the cemetery at Gournes B, with its 36 known tombs which represents a very different relationship between the number of interments and a tomb (see discussion of the Agia Photia Sitias cemetery in Chapter VII). Apart from the uncertain case of the larger caves, it seems reasonable to assume that different types of tombs and different types of cemeteries illustrate the different ways in which EM I - IIA central Cretan communities considered the relationship between social units and tombs and the different types of tomb could indicate particularities in the social organisation of different communities in north-central and central Crete.

While there are significant differences in terms of interment units and architecture between cemeteries, material assemblages illustrate a rather homogeneous pattern among the different tombs. The material assemblage seems to have similar characteristics in the different cemeteries, with the probable exception of Gournes B which can be expected to contain large quantities of Cycladic material, given its other similarities with the Agia Photia Sitias cemetery (Davaras & Betancourt 2004; Day *et al.* 1998; Galanaki 2001). The deposition of material in EM I - IIA can generally be described as rich and varied, since many objects were deposited in the burials, including significant quantities of ceramic vessels and a variety of metal and a few ivory objects, as well as figurines (Fig. V.13a, c and 31). These types of objects are frequently found in EM I - IIA deposits and demonstrate that the deposition of material was regulated by conventions that were common to the different cemeteries, irrespective of their type. These shared ritual regulations can also be traced in the deposition of ceramic vessels. As has been seen, there is a correlation between the

types of wares and vessel shapes in different burial contexts that leads one to think that this pattern of deposition was widely sanctioned (Fig. V.13a). Particular wares and specific shapes were intrinsically matched in associations that appear to be exclusive to funerary contexts (Wilson & Day 2000), and this suggests that each ware had a particular use, probably connected to different aspects of the funerary ritual. Although the haziness of the evidence does not permit us to follow this pattern into the EM IIA period, the disappearance of the Pargos ware with its typical large chalices suggests that such a division did not continue after the EM I period.

The non-ceramic assemblage in the different cemeteries has a definite Cycladic element, mostly identified in the use of imported raw materials such as metals and ivory, that arrived on the island most probably from the Cyclades (Krzyszowska 1983; Stos-Gale 1998; Stos-Gale & Gale 2003). But there is a second type of influence marked by objects with Cycladic cultural links, such as the folded arm figurines and the Cycladic inspired ceramic bottles found in Pargos and Kiparisi Tichida. This latter type of material represents a less frequent feature, and its distribution is more restricted (Fig. V.31). Both types of material with Cycladic links, raw material or finished form, have been found in significant quantities in most funerary EM I - IIA contexts near the north coast, such as Knossos Teke and Pargos, and at inland sites, such as Kiparisi Tichida, although here the quantity seems somewhat smaller. Particularly interesting is the case of Phourni: while Tholos E followed the pattern of interior sites with a small number of imported objects and raw materials, Tholos T contained the largest number of imported objects in the entire region (Figs. V.13b and 31). The concentration of objects in Tholos r is abnormal and should be explained by a particular dynamic within this site. The differences between the two tholoi at EM IIA Phourni indicate that there was some kind of competition between the groups interned in the two tholoi.

The fact that objects in imported materials and Cycladic style figurines are the material marking the difference between the tombs is an important characteristic for understanding the internal dynamics at Phourni. These categories of objects were found in many EM I - II burials showing that these material were widely recognised and therefore a good medium for expressing a message. But also, as exotica, they were categories of objects that were suitable for hoarding and controlling and therefore able to be used in the dynamics of social negotiation. Beyond this it is impossible to assess the specific way in which the hoarding of this material marked social differences at Phourni. Was it displayed just for funerary purposes or were objects acquired throughout a lifetime and then deposited together with their owner in the tomb? What

social category of individuals could hoard it? Did it represent a particular status for its owners or for the whole social unit that was interred in the same tomb? Papadatos has argued that the Tholos V assemblage shows that the whole group benefited from the deposition of the material and suggests that a stratified social organisation where certain privileges were transmitted within a specific group existed at EM IIA Phourni (Papadatos 1999: 152-4). Certainly, the number of objects in Tholos T seems too large to be explained by only one unusual interment, which makes reasonable the assumption that multiple individuals in this tomb were buried with a larger number of these objects and points to some particular privileges of the group that they belonged to. In addition, the fact that both are communal tombs dilutes the impact of individual interments. The interment of an individual with valuable good graves in the tholoi would mainly benefit the group attached to that particular tholos.

For other contexts in north-central Crete, competition between social groups within a community does not seem to explain the significant deposition of off-island materials in particular tombs, as at the cemeteries of Pírgos, Knossos Teke, Krasi and Trapeza no multiple tombs of roughly equal size, indicating similar burial groups have been found that could demonstrate such an intra-community competition dynamic. A degree of variation in the characteristics of mortuary behaviour in the wide range of sites in central Crete should be considered normal, and sites with a larger quantity of imported materials should not be readily equated with places where vertical differentiation was taking place. Off-island material seems to be deeply connected to the social, economic and ideological power relationships in most of the north-central Cretan communities through a complex value system, in which the different off-island materials (locally produced items in imported materials and items with obvious Cycladic material culture links) were adapted to the local norms and individual histories of each settlement. While the differential deposition of off-island material at each cemetery could be explained by the individual history of each site to some degree, for example its particular geographical situation in relation to trade routes, the depositions at Pírgos, Knossos Teke, Krasi and Trapeza may be at the same time the result of some differences in the social organisation of these communities. It is possible that these types of items were used in a dynamic way to emphasise particular forms of social status, and to gain social ascendancy. However, these dynamics do not seem to have had a profound effect on the horizontal organisation of these communities, and the most characteristic feature of Phourni, i.e. the clear difference in material assemblage between two otherwise similar tombs, does not exist at these cemeteries.

In general, vertical differentiation dynamics do not seem to have affected inter-community relationships and the mortuary data provides no evidence to suggest an integrated and differentiated regional landscape. In this respect Phourni's internal differentiation dynamic and the strategy of hoarding off-island material could, to some extent, have changed the position of this community in the inter-community networks. However, looking at the regional scenario for EM IIA, this does not seem to represent a major change in supra-community levels. Even when settlement patterns are needed to investigate the communities' regional integration, the fact that the cemetery of Phourni differs little from other tholos cemeteries in terms of architecture and monumentality suggests that Archanes did not need a hegemonic position in the landscape to develop its internal dynamics. Phourni's different organisation probably had little impact on other communities and on supra-community relationships.

The detailed knowledge of some cemeteries indicates that a gap occurred in the occupation of most of them just after the EM IIA period. Unfortunately, as yet there are no published surveys in central Crete to provide settlement patterns against which this funerary development can be checked. These changes would predate the ones suggested for Late EM IIB – III south-central Crete and could imply that changes in central Crete occurred earlier than in other parts of the island.

V.7.b EM III – MM I

By EM III the character of the mortuary record was already changing and it was to continue to develop in MM IA times. New cemeteries and new tombs appeared all over the region and the cemeteries of Phourni and Mallia grew to a significantly larger than average size. This new building period shows many differences from earlier cemeteries. Most of the new tombs were of the rectangular type and even the new EM III rock shelter of Kiparisi Kapella showed characteristics of a rectangular tomb rather than a rock shelter. All the tholos cemeteries known in the area seem to have been in use during EM III – MM IA, whereas, in contrast, only a few caves and rock shelters also remained in use at this time. With regard to Phourni, it has been suggested that the rectangular tombs were constructed as ossuaries for the cleaning of the tholoi that by this period would already have been full (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 249-50). This remains a strong possibility, but it does not explain why it was considered necessary to house the material cleared from the tombs in different buildings. The necessity to house such material represents an important new feature of MM I mortuary behaviour than needs a more profound investigation than a simple

characterisation of the contexts as ossuaries. Also new isolated rectangular tombs in MM I, such as Bairia Gazi, indicate that rectangular tombs had an identity of their own, and were not simply ossuaries housing re-deposited material. The rectangular tombs, seen as ossuaries or as tombs, represent a new layout of the cemetery that was now segmented into multiple spaces suggesting changes in the way the cemetery was used. Such a change is further demonstrated by the first appearance of burial pithoi and larnakes. While here it is not accepted that the use of funerary containers necessarily implies a process of individualisation, it definitely marks some changes in the way interment was conceptualised and probably relates to the new ways of using the cemetery.

Cemeteries now seem to have been divided into smaller tombs and spaces, which may indicate that smaller social units used each tomb than in EM I - IIA. They contained more spaces for ritual activities, such as the *Ieros Lakos* in Gournes B, although this evidence is less clear than in the case of the Mesara, and it is to be found mainly in the large cemeteries of Phourni and Mallia. Overall, it seems safe to relate the innovations in tomb size, cemetery layout and cemetery architecture to changes in the social organisation of the EM III - MM I communities and in the way that these communities utilised their cemeteries.

Changes in the material deposited in the tombs were also apparent by the EM III period. It is difficult to be precise about whether more or fewer ceramic vessels were deposited in the tombs than in previous periods, but a new pattern of deposition is evident from the appearance of large ceramic deposits, normally not inside the tombs but associated with them, such as outside BB6 in Phourni, the Deposit *Bord de Mer* at Mallia or *Iero Lakos* at Gournes B. These assemblages illustrate a complete change from the EM IIA deposit patterns that can also be observed in the ceramic vessels deposited, which were now predominantly cups and jugs (Figs. V.17, 22d and 28c). Interestingly, changes observed in Phourni BB19 during MM IB indicate that the deposition patterns associated with burial continued to develop during the Protopalatial period (Fig. V.22d).

Similarly, the non-ceramic assemblage now exhibited new features. While metal items were still deposited in the tombs, other new types of material such as seals and stone vessels became dominant in the assemblages. Also by EM III the Cycladic influence had disappeared from the material assemblage. While items in imported raw materials such as copper, gold or ivory were still deposited in the tombs (Figs. V.22a

and 29), there was a lack of visible Cycladic influence in the material. It is revealing that seals were now deposited in larger numbers in the mortuary record, perhaps showing the growing social importance of administration and the control of staple goods (Blasingham 1983; Karytinios 1998; Schoep 1999). It seems possible that social organisation within the community and relationships between communities were increasingly linked by the control of agricultural products (Whitelaw 2004a).

All these trends are particularly visible at Phourni and Mallia, not least because they developed in a quantitatively different way than the rest of the cemeteries: the number of burial buildings constructed during this period at both sites was larger and the cemeteries were clearly sectioned, not only with the appearance of many new tombs but also with new ritual spaces, such as the paved areas outside BB6 and BB12 at Phourni and the cult areas at Chrisolakos I. Strikingly large numbers of seals were deposited at Phourni and several particularly substantial ceramic deposits have been found in both cemeteries. There is also evidence of a qualitative change with the appearance of two central buildings, Tholos B and Chrisolakos I, both of which may have contained rich material assemblages. This study would suggest that the diversity of tombs and spaces in both cemeteries indicates particular processes of social negotiation between different groups in these two communities, perhaps related to unequal relationships, as the probable large size of both communities is consistent with vertical differentiation dynamics. In this framework the two central buildings may have differentiated the most successful groups and their privileged social position.

It cannot be ignored, however, that these two buildings were surrounded by a range of cult and ritual spaces and they both represented focal places for group ritual and cult. It is difficult to assess whether this ritual was restricted only to the group that was interned in the tomb or open to the whole community. The rooms used for ritual purposes inside both complexes support the first suggestion, but the open paved areas at Phourni and the large deposits of ceramics seem to support the latter. Both types of ritual, public and restricted, may have coexisted in these complexes. The two buildings address particularities in the social organisation of these two settlements that represent the combination of vertical differentiation and horizontal integration dynamics. Both dynamics may have had some kind of positive feedback that rendered logical their deployment together in the same arenas since one reinforced the other. The exact way social dynamics were played in these contexts is not apparent from the present evidence but they seem to have had very different characteristics from the dynamics in EM I - IIA mortuary behaviour. Now, for example it seems that the mortuary behaviour

had a regional scope that it did not have before. The similar history of use and characteristics of the cemeteries at these two sites indicate that they could have been part of an integrated regional organisation in which central sites acquired major relevance. The growing interest in the control and administration of the subsistence economy, illustrated by the developments of seals, further supports this regional model. In this sense, the central buildings at Phourni and Mallia cemeteries could signify an effort to mark the regional importance of these communities both through the lavish burials of high status individuals and through strong community integrative rituals.

The MM IB period is more difficult to assess, but it seems that the building expansion phase ended or at least lost impetus. The best evidence comes again from Phourni and Mallia, where the good chronological resolution shows that during MM IB most of the MM IA tombs continued in use but no new tombs were constructed (Figs. V.20 and 21). During the MM II period many tombs were abandoned at Phourni and Mallia, and with the exception of the Knossos area, the rest of the cemeteries started a decline, leading to their abandonment within this period. Against this trend the construction of Chrisolakos II and perhaps the rich deposition of material in Tholos B at Phourni could mark a different development for these two larger-than-average sites, perhaps related to the persistence of the intra- and supra-community dynamics outlined above. While from the present evidence is impossible to assess the MM II history at these two sites, the decline of the small tombs in the cemeteries and the focus on the central buildings may indicate a larger stress on vertical differentiation dynamics in these two communities. The evidence at Knossos belongs to a different funerary dynamic and marks the first steps towards the MM III - LM approach to death, though what this was, is difficult to establish with so few Neopalatial tombs known.

Chapter VI: The Mirabello Bay and the Ierapetra region

VI.1 Introduction

The area around the Mirabello Bay may at first appear geographically to be a well defined region (Fig. VI.1). However, the Mirabello Bay must also be considered in relation to the area around the modern town of Ierapetra on the south coast of Crete, as a wide and short valley connects both. This isthmus is the shortest and easiest connection between the north and south coasts of Crete, and this close association can be argued also for the Pre- and Protopalatial mortuary records of both areas. A similar case is presented by three cemeteries included in this chapter, which are not, geographically speaking, inside the Mirabello Bay but on the north-east coast of the bay: Mochlos, Mirsini and Linares. The coastal location of these sites near the bay connects them strongly to the Mirabello area rather than to the eastern part of the island (Fig. VI.1).

Apart from their geographical settings, there is another fact that brings together most of the cemeteries studied in this chapter, namely their research history (for detailed accounts of the history of research in the Mirabello area see Allsebrook 1992; Becker & Betancourt 1997; Muhly 2000). Most of the cemeteries around the Mirabello Bay and some near Ierapetra were discovered, studied and published by three American archaeologists, Seager, Hall and Boyd Hawes, during the first two decades of the 20th century (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908; Boyd 1904; 1905; Hall 1905; 1911; 1912a; 1912b; 1914; Seager 1905; 1907; 1909; 1910; 1912; 1916). The archaeological investigation of the region has followed the lines of research set up by these pioneering archaeologists. One of these lines focuses on the study of Prepalatial cemeteries in the Mirabello area; since the 1970s a new generation of scholars has reviewed the earlier excavated cemeteries, coinciding with an effort by the Greek Government to clean and re-investigate these sites (Betancourt 1983; Davaras 1973a; 1973b; 1974; 1975; 1977b; Davis 1977; 1979; Silverman 1974; Soles 1973; 1979; 1992b). This interest is still very much alive and many of the cemeteries in the Mirabello area continue to be under investigation today (Betancourt 1984; Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003; Davaras & Soles 1997; Haggis 1993; 1996b; Soles & Davaras 1992: 420-4). This

research into the burial record of the Mirabello area has been complemented by the excavation of a variety of sites in the region, including the Prepalatial settlements at Vasiliki, Mochlos and Mirtos Phourni-Korifi (Seager 1905; 1907; Soles & Davaras 1992; 1994; 1996; TenWolde 1992; Warren 1972a; Whitelaw 1983; Zois 1974; 1976; 1993). In addition, recent surveys at Vrokastro, Gournia and Kavousi have created a clear and comprehensive picture of settlement patterns in the area of the bay, which gives us the chance to situate burial sites within the broader human landscape (Haggis 1992; 1996a; 2002; 2005; Haggis & Mook 1993; Hayden 2003a; 2003b; 2003c; 2004; 2005; Watrous *et al.* 2000).

As happens in other parts of the island, the specific history of research has led to a particular archaeological understanding of the burial record of the area, focused, in this particular case, on some specific sites and on specific research questions. Although different types of cemeteries are known within the broad Mirabello region and Ierapetra area, most of the evidence comes from a small area SE and E of the Bay, a region stretching from Gournia to Mochlos and which includes the cemeteries at Gournia, Pachiamos, Chrisokamino, Agios Antonios, the island of Pseira and Mochlos (Figs. VI.2 and 3). This restricted view is counterbalanced by the amount of material recovered and by the long history of investigations in these cemeteries, which have produced a high resolution picture of this small region. This provides us with a unique opportunity to evaluate the role of very different local mortuary behaviours within the framework of the relationships between neighbouring communities. Furthermore, mainly because of the rich burial deposits found during the first excavations, the mortuary record has been the object of analyses centred on issues of social differentiation, which have resulted in the positioning of Gournia, and particularly of Mochlos, in the middle of many theoretical discussions and explanatory models of social development in Prepalatial Crete (Branigan 1991b; Cherry 1983; Damilati 2004; Soles 1988; 1992b: 255-8.; Watrous 1994; 2001; 2005; Whitelaw 1983; 2004a).

It must be pointed out that the definition of the Mirabello region for this study does not coincide with some of the latest archaeological literature. The Mirabello area is generally included in a broader geographical region that is called east Crete. This normally represents a loosely defined region that stretches from the Mallia region to the east coast of the island, matching the modern jurisdictional area of the Lasithi prefecture (Fig. VI.1; see for example Vavouranakis 2002). The geographical boundaries and history of research together with recent studies showing that the Mirabello Bay can be considered an independent area in terms of ceramic production

and development (Andreou 1978; Haggis & Mook 1993; Pelon & Schmitt 2006; Whitelaw *et al.* 1997), advocates a separation of the Mirabello area from the most eastern part of the island, which in this study will be called east Crete and what will be treated separately in Chapter VII (Fig. VI.1).

VI.2 EM I

The study of EM I cemeteries in the Mirabello Bay and Ierapetra regions is marked by problems in the recognition of EM I wares. Haggis has pointed out problems in the definition of EM I wares in Hall, Boyd and Seager's work and has argued for the re-dating of some of the earliest deposits in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions, including some burial contexts (Haggis 1993: 27-31; 1996b: 675-81). Ongoing research in the region has been able to securely identify EM I wares (Betancourt & Davaras 2002: 124-6; Haggis 1996b: 675-81; 1997; Hayden 2003a: 402-9; 2005: 1-3), and this new understanding has started to be applied to some of the old material, allowing a secure identification of EM I burials (Fig. VI.4).

Despite these adjustments, which have shown the need to re-date some of the 'former' EM II tombs to the EM I period, the number of known EM I cemeteries still remains low. Only five possible cemeteries have been identified: Gournia Sphoungaras, Agios Antonios, Agia Photia Ierapetras I, Chrisokamino and the cemetery at Pseira. Although the settlement patterns show a lightly occupied landscape during the EM I and EM II periods at Vrokastro, Kavousi and Gournia (Haggis 1992: 269-70; 2005: 62; Hayden 2003a; 2004: 36-52; Watrous *et al.* 2000: 474), five cemeteries still represent a very low number of burial sites. The large proportion of rock shelters in use during EM I may offer an explanation for this low number, because these contexts suffered badly from denudation and other ancient and modern disturbances, such as herding. In the rock shelter cemeteries around the Mirabello Bay, the identified burial shelters are near other empty crevices that may represent non-preserved tombs. At Agios Antonios, the whole face of the rocky hill offers spaces for interment (Haggis 2005: 62), a similar situation to Agia Photia Ierapetras and Sphoungaras, where only few crevices of the many reported in each area contained archaeological material (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 56; Boyd 1904: 21; 1905: 182-4). In other words, many EM I cemeteries that used rock shelters for interments may have been lost, and the known ones represent only a part of the original cemetery.

The Agia Photia Ierapetras rock shelters seem not to have been very well preserved and only four ceramic vessels were recovered from Rock Shelter I and another four from Rock Shelter II (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 56; Boyd 1904: 21; 1905: 183-4; Zois 1968a: 173). Only recently the vessels from Rock Shelter I have been dated to EM I (Haggis 1993: 14-5 n. 10; Zois 1998b: 173). Apart from the fact that Rock Shelter I was in use in EM I, nothing else can be said about the mortuary behaviour in this tomb.

It is probable that the two FN/EM I sherds that Betancourt published from a cave NE of Pachiamos (Becker & Betancourt 1997: 109, n. 24; Betancourt 1983: 14) come from Hall's exploration of the Chrisokamino cave (Haggis 1992: 172; Mosso 1910: 289-90). The cave has a small entrance and a large chamber, where the ceramic remains were found. It has been suggested that it was probably a burial place (Haggis 1992: 173; Hayden 2004: 42), but no bones have been reported from the cave and this prevents the secure identification of the context as a burial place, especially since Mosso reported pieces of slag from this context (Mosso 1910: 290), perhaps related to the nearby Early Minoan metalworking station (Betancourt *et al.* 1999).

Better known is the rock shelter at Agios Antonios, north of Chrisokamino (Betancourt 1983: 5-6; Haggis 1992; 1993; 2000; 2005; Hall 1914: 183-5). Here, animal bones, shells and fragments of cooking pots were found on a wide terrace extending in front of the rock shelter; this led Haggis to suggest that this terrace was used for funerary rites that involved food preparation and consumption (Haggis 1993: 15), although these activities lack clear dating. Some of the EM II material identified by Hall and Betancourt has been dated recently to EM I (Betancourt 1983: 5; Haggis 1993: 27; Hall 1914: 183), suggesting an EM I to MM IA date for the use of the shelter (Haggis 1993: 16-9). The non-ceramic assemblage includes 10 items made of imported raw materials (Fig. VI.5), which represent a surprising amount of material for such a small and architecturally poor context. The tomb was probably related to a modest EM settlement (around 0.13 - 0.18 ha; Haggis 1993: 20; 1996a: 391), although new evidence could show that the settlement was larger than originally thought (Haggis 2005: 62), perhaps similar in size to Mirtos Phourni-Korifi, an excavated settlement not far from Ierapetra that probably housed no more than five nuclear families at a time (Whitelaw 1983). This is also consistent with other local evidence, as the most common EM I - IIA type of settlement in the neighbouring Vrokastro area measured an average of 0.13 ha (Hayden 2004: 47). The ceramic assemblage, including material from Betancourt and Haggis' publications, suggests that the main use of the shelter

occurred in the EM I - II period (Fig. VI.5; Haggis 1993; 2005: 98-9). It seems logical to assume that most of the non-ceramic material was deposited in the tomb during these periods, perhaps some of it as early as EM I.

At Gournia, tombs were found at Sphoungaras, a location between the Late Minoan town and the sea shore (Fig. VI.7). It has sometimes been argued that this cemetery was not related to the settlement at Gournia but to a group of EM II - MM houses at the top of the Sphoungaras hill (Fig. VI.7; Boyd 1905: 179; Fotou 1993: 98-9; Watrous 1994: 713 n. 130). This is certainly possible during EM I and II times, when Gournia and Sphoungaras may have represented small independent settlements, but unlikely during the later periods, as the Gournia settlement grew larger. Of the various rock shelters excavated at Sphoungaras, only three yielded material (Boyd 1905: 179-82), although others may have held interments originally. Two of them, Rock Shelter I and II, contained EM I as well as EM II pottery (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 132; Haggis 1993: 30-1; Hayden 2004: 42, n. 42; Wilson 1985: 272; Wilson & Day 1994: 17; Zois 1968a: 51, 53). Rock Shelter I was the best preserved of all the crevices and contained human remains in a disordered condition. Rock Shelter II was found near the first and contained only two ceramic vessels (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 56 n. 2), only one of probable EM I date (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 132; Zois 1968a: 53).

Pseira is the largest of the known EM I cemeteries and represents a very different cemetery from the rock shelters. Pseira is an island where a Pre- and Protopalatial cemetery was excavated but never published in the early 20th century (Fig. VI.8; Betancourt & Davaras 2002: 9-11; Boyd 1904: 21; Seager 1910: 7). The Pseira cemetery has recently been re-excavated and published, and even though the evidence from the original excavations has been lost, enough evidence is available to attempt an assessment of its mortuary behaviour (Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003). Seager reported 33 EM II - MM I tombs (Seager cited in Betancourt & Davaras 2002: 9), but the new investigations have found only 19 tombs and have shown that the cemetery was founded in the FN/EM I transitional period and was already in full use during the EM I period (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 133-4, 138). Betancourt and Davaras identified at least nine tombs belonging to this period, plus another three possible ones. Also two open areas at the NW and E fringes of the cemetery may have been in use during EM I (Fig. VI.8; Betancourt & Davaras 2002: 115-7).

It is certain therefore that 12 tombs were in use during EM I at Pseira, although probably more existed (see below). Of the 12, seven have been defined by the

excavators as cist type tombs, three as house tombs (i.e. rectangular tombs) and two as rock shelters. Beyond this formal classification, the cist and the rectangular tombs are not very different from each other in terms of building technique and external aspect (Fig. VI.9). The rectangular tombs at Pseira were only named in this way because they were large enough to be compared with other rectangular tombs in Crete. At one end of the range of EM I built tombs at Pseira lie Tombs III and VII (Fig. VI.9), both small and constructed inside a trench in the ground with slabs placed vertically, creating a small square space very similar to a cist (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 126). The other end of the range is occupied by Tombs IX, X and XVI. These are larger and were constructed using larger stone blocks in regular courses that form walls clearly visible above the ground (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 125). Tombs I, II, V, VI and XIII can be situated between the two extremes. Pseira probably shows the first step in the evolution of the tomb type that in EM II can be clearly defined as a rectangular tomb and that spread throughout the Mirabello area and other parts of Crete in later periods (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 126).

Little, however, can be said about the exact use of these tombs. The human remains were in such a bad state of preservation that no information could be extracted from them (Arnott in Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 153-63). Consequently, it is not possible to suggest the number of interments per tomb, though despite their small size, more than one individual appears to have been interned in each tomb. A clear picture of the material deposited in the tombs is not available either. Seager reported that they were full of ceramic wares (he counted around 100 in the cemetery) and stone vessels (around 70), and contained only a small number of metal objects or jewellery apart from stone beads (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 9; Seager 1912: 11). Unfortunately, this material was never published and even though the recent excavations have been very successful in identifying the exact chronological span of the use of the tombs, they have discovered little evidence to shed light on the composition of the material assemblage of individual tombs. In most cases only ceramic sherds have been recovered, so small that they preclude the identification of the shape of the vessel (Fig. VI.25).

Nonetheless, some information can be extracted from Pseira about EM I mortuary behaviour in the Mirabello region. First, Pseira may be considered an atypical cemetery for the EM I Mirabello region due to its Cycladic characteristics. Its architecture has strong links with Cycladic cist tombs, both the examples with upright slabs and those with built walls (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 124-6; Doulas 1977: 37-

47). It would be tempting to suggest that Pseira documents the movement of Cycladic people into Crete, especially since its location as a peripheral space could make it a suitable beachhead for new populations (Watrous 1994: 704). However the architecture of the tombs at Pseira represents variations from typical Cycladic examples. In addition, while the architecture reflects Cycladic influences, no material from the cemetery seems to have shared Cycladic traits, which gives the cemetery a very different character from the Cycladic rock-cut tomb cemetery of Agia Photia Sitias (Chapter VII). Pseira contained a mixture of Cycladic and Cretan elements and the cemetery may indicate a more complex scenario than a simple Cycladic 'colony' (Broodbank 2000: 282, 289-93, 300-5; Hayden 2004: 50; Karantzali 1996: 242).

Second, the size of the cemetery must be considered. At Pseira, 12 tombs have been identified in use in EM I, but this number was probably originally much higher. Tombs XVII, XVIII and XIX are three rock shelters that could not be dated but may already have been in use in EM I. Also, taking into consideration the ratio of EM I tombs in relation to the number of discovered tombs in the recent re-excavation of the cemetery and applying it to Seager's reported 33 tombs (probably not a complete number as Betancourt and Davaras excavated two tombs not touched by Seager), perhaps 22-26 tombs can be estimated, if not more, which might have been in use in EM I at Pseira. If the suggestion of a single nuclear family per tomb is accepted (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 134-5), it would imply that as many as 22 - 26 families lived in the Pseira community, which would have constituted an unusually large settlement (intensive survey on the island suggested an EM nucleated settlement; Betancourt *et al.* 2005: 286). Such a large settlement is supported by the evidence from the recent Vrokastro survey that has identified a settlement hierarchy for the EM I - II periods, where the largest settlements (approx. 1.3 ha) could house as many as 60 families (Hayden 2003a: 372-80; 2004: 46-8; but see Haggis 2005: 63-4). The 50 families estimated for the LM I settlement at Pseira (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 135) demonstrate that such a large community could have survived on the island.

However, there is a second possible interpretation. Given the Cycladic links of the Pseira cemetery in terms of architecture, its size and structure of use may be related to two other cemeteries with EM I Cycladic links: Agia Photia Sitias and Gournes B. While a straightforward comparison between these three cemeteries is not achievable, as they comprise different types of tomb, there may still be similarities in the social unit intended for the use of each tomb. At Agia Photia Sitias, the evidence does not support the view that a single nuclear family used each tomb since more than

200 tombs were found, and a settlement with an equivalent number of nuclear families is highly unlikely, and has not been identified in the recent survey of the area (Tsipopoulou 1989). Although Agia Photia Sitis is too large to be compared with Pseira, the 36 tombs at Gournes B represent a middle ground between the two, in which a Cycladic pattern of use of each tomb is represented. It is possible therefore, that at Pseira a social unit smaller than the nuclear family used each tomb in EM I, paralleling the other cemeteries in Crete with Cycladic types of tomb. This would imply a significantly smaller settlement at Pseira, which would be consistent with a non-intensive exploitation of the island in this period (Betancourt *et al.* 2005: 286).

VI.2 EM II

During EM II the number of tombs and cemeteries increased in the Mirabello Bay (Figs. VI.10, 11 and 12). This pattern is not only the result of better archaeological preservation but corresponds to a larger number of settlements in the area revealed by intensive survey (Haggis 1992: 274; 2005: 63-4; Hayden 2003a: 394; 2004: 72-3; Watrous *et al.* 2000: 474). EM II evidence comes mainly from rock shelters such as Agia Photia Ierapetras and Agios Antonios, including three new ones: Klisidi, Vardoiani and Vasiliki (Fig. VI.10).

Little can be added to what has already been noted about Agios Antonios, Agia Photia Ierapetras and Chrisokamino except that they continued in use during the EM II period (Betancourt *et al.* 1999: 343; Haggis 1993: 27-8; Mosso 1910: 290). Of Klisidi, Vardoiani and Vasiliki, the last two cannot be identified securely as burial sites (Faure 1956: 100; 1964: 60, 70; Zois 1974: 282-3; 1993: 102). The cave of Klisidi (Faure 1956: 100; 1964: 48-9, 60; Younger 1976) consists of three chambers, the first was full of human bones in disarray, which led Younger to suggest that it was used as an ossuary (Fig. VI.13; Younger 1976: 168). Faure reported Neolithic and LM III wares and human bones of at least 40 individuals in this cave (Faure 1956: 100). Younger was more precise and in the first chamber described EM II and other probable EM wares associated with the bones of at least 20 individuals (Younger 1976: 168); this confirms the use of the cave for funerary purposes during EM II.

At Linares, a rectangular tomb was excavated (Fig. VI.14; Davaras 1972b: 45-6; 1973b: 81-2; 1977a: 651; Soles 1973: 161-5; 1992b: 158-60) consisting of probably three rooms, the third remaining unexcavated. It is larger and better constructed than the rectangular tombs at EM I Pseira (Soles 1992b: 160) and can be considered a

rectangular tomb, like those at EM II Mochlos and Gournia (see below). The tomb contained many “tens of burials” (Davaras 1972b: 45) and probably a fair amount of material, but only one EM II - III seal was published (Davaras 1973b: 81-2; Pini 1975: no 21; Sbonias 1995: 74).

Mirsini, apart from the uncertain tholos tombs at Pedino and at Agia Photia Sitias (see Chapter VII), is the only definite tholos tomb found in Crete east of the Lasithi Plateau. Unfortunately, it has not been published and only the preliminary report (Belli 1984: Pl. XXXII; Platon 1959: 373-4) is available. The excavator reported at least 60 skeletons, some of them deposited in burial larnakes and pithoi. He also suggested a full stone corbelled vault, given the large number of stones found inside the tholos (Branigan 1970b: 39, 54). Although there are EM II wares in the assemblage of the tomb (Warren 1969: 195 n. 2), the presence of pithos and larnax burials suggests, however, that the material in the tomb should date mainly to its EM III - MM I use, and apart from the construction of the tomb nothing else can be said about its use in EM II. As is the case with the tholos tomb at Krasi on the north coast (see Chapter V), it is very difficult to assess the peculiarity of this tomb in its regional environment.

At Pseira, the architectural development seems to indicate that no major changes occurred in EM II, apart from the construction of a couple of new tombs, VIII and XII (Fig. VI. 10). The earliest material in both tombs dates to EM II (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 72, 97), but it is probable that the two tombs were built in EM I (Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 97). The cemetery seems to have continued in use in a similar way to that of the EM I period, and thus poses the same questions about the use of the cemetery and its size. However, a comparison with the rock-cut tomb cemeteries of Agia Photia Sitias and Gournes B proves more difficult as by EM IIA both of the latter had disappeared. It seems logical to suppose that the use of the tombs at Pseira became more similar to that of the surrounding EM II rock shelter cemeteries, which were probably based on the relationship of a nuclear family to a single tomb (see below). If this possibility is accepted, it would mean that by EM II, Pseira could have been a larger than average group, given the number of tombs in use. Little material assemblage survives from the EM II use, the most interesting evidence coming from Tomb VII, a FN - EM IIB context where no later pottery has been found and from which one strip of gold and six pieces of obsidian, one core among them, were recovered.

During the EM II period Gournia experienced a significant increase in the number of tombs in use and also cemeteries (Figs. VI.7, 12 and 15). At Sphoungaras,

Rock Shelter I and II were used until EM IIA times (Hayden 2004: 42 n. 42; Wilson 1985: 272; Wilson & Day 1994: 17; Zois 1968a: 53). Two new deposits without a clear explanation were found in the cemetery: Deposit A and Deposit B (Figs. VI.7 and 15; Hall 1912a: 46-55). Deposit B was found outside the entrance of Rock Shelters I and II. No bones were reported from it, but Hall suggested that the material came from the cleaning or plundering of EM II - III tombs (Hall 1912a: 55). Four clay polishers were discovered in the deposit, a type of object not normally found in burials, and this may indicate that this deposit was not formed by objects coming exclusively from burials. Hall dated the pottery to EM II (Hall 1912a: 53 n. 2), but the assemblage also includes EM III and MM wares (Betancourt 1983: 47-8, 51; Walberg 1983: 124).

Deposit A was found in the south of the Sphoungaras area and may have represented a badly preserved burial context, given the human bones and architectural remains recovered (Figs. VI.7 and 15; Hall 1912a: 48). The assemblage from this deposit is formed by more than 40 EM IIB vessels (Betancourt 1983: 46-8, Hall 1912a: 48, Figs. 20-2) and around seven EM III vessels (see next section), and therefore Deposit A should be considered a closed EM MB—III context. Deposit A contains the most varied and rich deposit of all the EM II Gournia contexts, including those from the North Cemetery (Fig. VI.6). It includes an ivory figurine, a bronze tool, two ivory seals and six gold pieces. The two green steatite stone vases (EM III - MM I) located by Hall in this deposit were found on the periphery, and they might be related to the MM I deposit that was found next to Deposit A (Hall 1912a: 51-2, 56). Deposit A's assemblage should not be compared directly with Deposit B or Rock Shelter I because it contains much more material, which makes it likely that a larger variety of objects was deposited. Also the formation processes of the deposits are not clear and the material may come from different types of contexts or have undergone a different history before its final deposition.

In EM IIA a second cemetery appeared near the Gournia settlement in what has been called the northern spur (Fig. VI.7), which gave the cemetery its name: the North Cemetery (Fig. VI.7; Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 56; Boyd 1904: 42; 1905: 182, 186-8; Davaras 1974: 48-9; Davaras 1977b: 588-9; Fotou 1993; Silverman 1974; Soles 1973: 13-52; Soles 1979: 158-64; Soles 1992b: 1-40)¹⁰ As noted above, this cemetery and Sphoungaras may not have belonged to the same settlement in EM II (Fig. VI.7; Soles 1979: 151; Watrous 1994: 713 n. 130). Of the eight tombs found in the North

¹⁰ The original notebooks of Boyd's excavation of the site have been made available by the University of Pennsylvania Museum through the internet: www.museum.upenn.edu/mellon/gournia/index.html (accessed 24 May 2006).

Cemetery, three can be dated securely to EM II: Tomb III and Rock Shelters V and VI. Tomb I contained EM IIA ceramics in a pit in the NW corner of the north room (Fig. VI. 16) together with MM stone vessels, and the EM IIA material may not mark the date of construction of the tomb but a cleaning of the area of material eroded from Tomb III to prepare for the construction of Tomb I in MM I (Soles 1992b: 9).

Boyd reported two rock shelters from this location, V and VI (Fig. VI. 16; Boyd 1905: 182-3; Soles 1992b: 36-8; *contra* Fotou 1993: 100) and published just two ceramic vessels from Rock Shelter V and another two and a bone amulet from Rock Shelter VI, all dated to EM IIA (Wilson 1985: 272-3; Wilson & Day 1994: 17; Zois 1968a. 53-4). Tomb III is the only built tomb found in the Gournia area in EM IIA (Fig. VI. 16; Davaras 1974: 48-9; 1977b: 588; Soles 1992b: 28-34). It is situated a couple of metres west of Tomb I and it consisted of at least four rooms, although the poor state of preservation impedes a clear understanding of the architecture. No walls were preserved at the east end of the tomb, where the entrance was probably located, and bones, together with material, were reported on the west side of all the rooms, which indicates that the east part of the tomb had been heavily eroded, perhaps at an early stage, as the material in the pit of Tomb I may indicate. The published material consists of five ceramic pyxides, a jug and a bowl, one bronze awl and two fragments of copper sheet (Soles 1992b: 31-4). Tomb III can be considered a closed EM IIA context (Soles 1992b: 31; Wilson & Day 1994: 17). Tomb III represents one of the largest tombs found in the Mirabello area during this period, only comparable with Mochlos I/II/III and IV/V/VI (see below), although it does not seem to share the architectural quality or the material assemblages of the latter. Unfortunately, its bad state of preservation prevents any further investigation which would allow a comparison between this tomb and the deposits at Sphoungaras. Interestingly, no EM MB material appears to come from the Gournia North Cemetery.

Mochlos represents one of the most important cemeteries in Crete due to two factors: first, a well preserved and published assemblage that is rich in objects in off-island raw materials (Andreou 1978: 80-1; Aruz 1984; Carter 2003; 2004; Davaras 1973a; 1973b; 1974; 1975; Davaras & Soles 1997; Foster 1979; Pini 1982; Seager 1909; 1912; Soles 1973; 1992b; Soles & Davaras 1992; Walberg 1983: 129-30; Warren 1965; Watrous 2005; Zois 1968a: 81-7, 161, 164-5, 214). Second, this assemblage has secured the site a central position in the discussion of social organisation in Prepalatial Crete (Branigan 1991b; Damilati 2004; Karantzali 1996: 231-

5; Manning 1994: 242-6; Soles 1988; Watrous 1994: 711-3, 718; 2001; 2005; Whitelaw 1983: 337-9; 2004a).

The cemetery is situated on the west side of a small island facing the modern village of Mochlos, on a steep slope overlooking the sea (Fig. VI. 17). In ancient times the island could have been connected to the mainland by an isthmus (Seager 1909: 274; Soles 1992a: 188-9) that could also have provided a natural harbour. The early settlement lies on the south slope of the island no more than 100 metres from the cemetery, although only the most eastern tombs would have been visible from the settlement. The cemetery can be divided into two zones (Fig. VI. 17); the West Terrace, a flat rocky shelf facing west where Tomb I/II/III¹¹ and Tomb IV/V/VI are situated; and the South Slope, a steep slope facing south west, where all the other tombs are located. The cemetery, as it is known to us, consists of 26 built rectangular rooms and six rock shelters and two associated buildings, namely N and E (Soles & Davaras 1992: 424). Of these, 18 yielded EM II material; eight did not contain material at all and cannot be dated; and only two are reported to have other material but not EM II (Fig. VI. 18 and see discussion below). While recent explorations have shown that probably no other preserved tomb remains unexcavated, it is very possible that some tombs were not preserved and that the cemetery was larger than presently known.

The rectangular built tombs were constructed with walls of rubble, many of them combined with up-right slabs forming the inner wall face (Fig. VI. 19). There are actually three tombs combining rock shelters with built walls, but they have been included in this study in the rectangular tombs count (Tombs VII, Z and I¹² Fig. VI. 19). Seager reported tombs similar to Cycladic cist tombs in the cemetery (Seager 1912: 13-4), however, this characterisation is not very clear and the only tomb that he clearly defined as a cist was Tomb XII, for which there is no plan or photo. By cist, Seager probably referred to tombs that can now be defined as rectangular tombs after the evidence provided by the Pseira cemetery (Soles 1992b: 42 n. 5). All these typological distinctions hide the fact that the rectangular tombs at Mochlos share many similarities with what have been called built tombs and cist tombs at Pseira. The tombs at Mochlos can easily be understood as an evolution of the type of tombs found at Pseira (Davaras & Betancourt 2004. 126; Karantzali 1996: 239). Indeed, some of the tombs in the two cemeteries look very similar (Fig. VI.20).

¹¹ The original Roman numerals of Seager and the Greek letters of the 1970s' and 1980s' excavations for naming each room will be followed in this study, complexes with more than one room will be named by all the constituent rooms.

¹² There denotes the letter iota from the Greek alphabet in order to differentiate it from the Roman numeral I.

There are some distinctive architectural characteristics at the Mochlos cemetery, such as an interest in marking doorways, sometimes with a stone slab as a threshold (Room IV and Tomb XXIII), or using two piers as doorjambs (Rooms I and IV and Tombs IX and B). Doorways may have been further marked by a monolithic slab closing the tombs, such as the ones reported by Seager for Rooms III, IV, V and Tomb XII (Seager 1912). Finally, some of the rooms are paved (Tombs XI, H, and O). Tombs I/III/II and IV/V/VI on the West Terrace stand out as they integrate all the elaborate characteristics described above. They are carefully constructed, not in a different way from the other tombs but are larger and better built. Up-right slabs appear in the inner face of the rooms in these tombs and both complexes have a room (I and IV) with a defined doorway for entering the tomb. In addition, both have had a third room added sometime after the initial construction that did not communicate with the other two rooms, and which may have been used mainly as an ossuary (Rooms III and V; Soles 1992b: 60). This layout of three rooms with distinct specific uses is not paralleled in any of the other tombs at Mochlos. There are also some other unique features in front of Tomb IV/V/VI: a paved area with a possible altar on its raised east side (Fig. VI. 19). Tomb I/III/II may also have had a paved area in front of it, as a couple of steps suggest, but the area is not preserved well enough to confirm this feature (Soles 1992b: 43).

The architectural distinctions in these two complexes could be explained by chronological differences. At Mochlos the majority of the tombs seem to have been built in EM IIB, remaining in use up until MM I times, with some being reused in Neopalatial times (Fig. VI. 18). There is the possibility that some of the tombs were constructed earlier, as EM IIA material was found in Rooms II and VI and in Tombs XVI and XXI (XVI.9 and XXI.11; Soles 1992b: 49, 58, 82; Zois 1968a: 81-6). Based on this evidence, Soles suggested that the construction of the majority of the tombs in the cemetery dates to the beginning of the EM II period (Soles 1992b: 41), but it seems more accurate to date the tombs on the South Slope to the EM IIB phase, as the EM IIA evidence here rests only on two ceramic vases and the earliest stone vases and metal objects are likely to date also to EM IIB (Branigan 1991b: 97; Warren 1965: 22). The case for the two complexes dating to EM IIA is stronger than that for the other tombs, as the material was found in securely stratified deposits (Soles 1992b: 49-50, 57-60). A FN/EM I deposit was reported underneath Room V (Seager 1912: 92-3; Wilson 1985: 246; Zois 1973: 101-4), which was thought to mark the *terminus post quem* for the construction of the tomb, but it may not represent a closed deposit as originally thought (Zois 1973: 101-4).

Seager claimed that the EM IIB and EM III periods constituted the main periods of use of the cemetery (Fig. VI. 18; Seager 1912: 13) and that by MM I there was a decline in the use of the cemetery as a smaller number of tombs was in use and less material was deposited (Seager 1912: 98; Soles 1992b: 41). This view was generally accepted until recently, when Watrous challenged it, arguing that Seager's chronology of the cemetery was biased by problems in the differentiation between EM III - MM I wares (Watrous 2005: 108-10). Watrous has suggested that many of the items in the assemblage, including high-value materials, date to MM I and that the cemetery was still heavily in use in MM I times (Watrous 2005: 108).

Watrous' critique raises important questions about the dating of the Mochlos assemblage that need to be addressed before an assessment of the mortuary behaviour in the cemetery can be made. In order to do this, the problems emerging from a differentiated post-depositional history of the complexes on the West Terrace and the tombs on the South Slope must also be examined. Firstly, the Neopalatial disturbances affected tombs differently, for example Tombs XII and XX contained mostly MM III material (Seager 1912: 61, 74). Secondly, many of the tombs were the object of looting, a difficult process to trace (Soles & Davaras 1992: 420). Thirdly, denudation processes in the cemetery affected tombs to a different degree. This is especially relevant for the evaluation of variations between the West Terrace and the South Slope tomb assemblages. The complexes situated on the West Terrace had walls preserved to a higher height than the tombs on the South Slope (Fig. VI. 22, following measurements in Soles 1992b), which points towards differentiated erosion patterns. When data is plotted on the cemetery plan, the number of objects in the tombs, overall quite high, differs widely between tombs (Fig. VI.21). The results show that only two groups of tombs apart from the complexes on the West Terrace, preserved sufficient quantities of items to indicate a good preservation and provide a valid basis for comparison with the West Terrace tombs: tombs towards the west of the South Slope: XXII, XIII, XX, XXI and XIX, and tombs towards the east of the South Slope: XV, XVI, XVII, XI, XVIII. The tombs in the middle of the slope (A, B, **r**, A, E, XXIII¹³) and the ones discovered in the 1970s and 1980s, mostly on the east side (Z, H, O, I, K, A, M, N), produced almost no material. The absence of items in these tombs cannot be explained simply by more limited deposition of grave goods with the interments. Small tombs such as XVIII, a rock shelter with no room for more than one body, produced nine items, indicating that the mortuary behaviour in the cemetery

¹³ The Tomb XXIII figures must be considered carefully as about 100 tiny gold beads were found in this tomb, which were probably deposited in the tomb together and they do not necessarily denote a well preserved assemblage (Fig. VI.21).

involved significant depositions of material independent of the type and architectural quality of the tomb. Based on the number of items in their assemblage and given the grouping of the tombs in a pattern perpendicular to the slope gradient, this study suggests that a difference in the preservation of the tombs and their assemblages can be explained by taphonomic processes affecting the tombs to different degrees depending on their position on the slope. Under these circumstances, the assessment of every single tomb seems pointless and the present investigation will focus on only those tombs that have preserved their assemblage in good condition.

From the eastern group of tombs, Tomb XI contained EM II material (Seager 1912: 59), but most of the items coming from this tomb can be dated to MM I, such as ceramic vessels XI.11¹⁴, 13, 14, 16, 18 (Andreou 1978: 80-1; Walberg 1983: 129; Zois 1968a: 214), and most of the stone vases (XI.2, 8, 10, 12, 15, 17, 19, 20, 21. Bevan pers. comm.). Tomb XV seems to have been heavily disturbed during Neopalatial times, as much of the material can be dated to this period (XV.h, i, e, f). Tomb XVI contained EM II (XVI.10, 11; Seager 1912: 67-8; Soles 1992b: 92-3; Wilson & Day 1994: 18) and EM III ceramic material (XVI.8; Seager 1912: 67; Zois 1968a: 164). The only vase dated to MM IA was XVI.9, but this dating has been challenged by Zois, who dated it to EM II - III (Soles 1992b: 92; Zois 1968a: 87) and it seems that no MM I ceramic vase has been found in the tomb (Walberg 1983: 130). The stone vases, although difficult to date, are similar to those from the EM I-II tholos at Krasi; a stone goblet resembles EM IIB Vasiliki ware (XVI.1 in Soles 1992b: 93) and none can be later than EM IIB - III (Bevan pers. comm.). The gold armlet (XVI.13) is very similar to the one from the EM II - III stratum in Room II (11.18; for a MM I dating of this piece see Watrous 2005: 111). Therefore, Tomb XVI may be considered an EM II - III deposit.

Tomb XVII is difficult to date as only four items were found in it. The only ceramic vessel has been dated to MM IA (see XVII.1 in Soles 1992b: 92-3) and three stone vases, two of them with parallels to the ones in Tomb XVI, can tentatively be dated to EM II (Soles 1992b: 92 n. 107). Tomb XVII may represent a context used during EM II - MM IA. Tomb XVIII, a small rock shelter, contained nine items. The ceramic vessels are dated EM II (XVIII.c, e, f), except XVIII.h which is dated to EM III (Seager 1912: 69-70; Soles 1992b: 106 n. 122). Only one stone vase was recovered here and it has similarities to a vessel from Tomb XVI. It seems that this is a closed EM II - III deposit.

¹⁴ Numbers from Seager's publication (Seager 1912) unless stated.

Of the groups of tombs towards the west of the South Slope, Tomb XIX seems the best preserved. From Tomb XIX, four EM II ceramic vases, six stone vessels, 20 gold items and 11 copper objects were published and EM III ceramic sherds were reported (Seager 1912: 70-4; Soles 1992b: 71; Wilson 1985: 274). The only objects that could come from later periods are a stone vase (XIX.3) datable to EM IIB - MM I/II (Warren 1969: 22-3), and a bronze arrowhead, a rare object in Crete with parallels only at MM II Knossos (Branigan 1968b: 29). Other copper objects, such as a triangular dagger (XIX.26) and a long dagger (XIX.27) cannot be dated more securely than to EM II - MM I. Tomb XIX most probably contained a closed EM II - III deposit. Watrous has recently dated some of the gold work, two of the stone vases and two of the copper objects from this tomb to MM I (Watrous 2005: 112-3). For the stone vessels only a loose chronology can be suggested based on their typology (Warren 1969: 183). With regard to the gold items, Egyptian parallels may not actually have any relation to the items at Mochlos; gold jewellery shared simple decoration techniques and a limited range of decoration motifs for the whole Prepalatial period (Branigan 1974: 89-95; Vasilakis 1996b: 59-74). Gold is a material that has a very specific colour and shine that communicates its value, rendering unnecessary its augmentation by the addition of complicated decoration. This typological simplicity makes gold jewellery difficult to compare and to date, and this applies to the items mentioned by Watrous. Also the most elaborate gold items from Mochlos follow a local decorative fashion that sets them apart from possible Near Eastern comparanda (Davaras 1975: 105). The socketed arrowhead is a very unusual object, known only in MM II contexts, and it might well have represented an EM II predecessor of the MM examples (Branigan 1968b: 29) or an MM III inclusion (Seager 1912: 74). Watrous' work has raised the possibility that some of these objects may belong to the MM I period, but it is improbable that this applies to all the objects mentioned by Watrous. Even though some of the objects represent a MM I use of the tomb, the assemblage can be confirmed to reflect mainly EM II - III mortuary behaviour rather than that of the MM I period.

Ceramic vessels in Tomb XIII have been dated mainly to EM III (XIII.g, k, l and 1 in Soles 1992) and MM I (XIII.h, i, j; Seager 1912: 63-5; Soles 1992b: 91-2; Walberg 1983: 129-30), although three EM II vases have also been identified (XIII.a, b, c; Seager 1912: 63; Soles 1992b: 91). Two knives are most probably MM I (XIII.m, n). It seems, therefore, that this tomb represents a mixed EM II - MM I deposit. Room XX probably formed part of the same tomb as Room XXI, with which it shares an entrance (Figs. VI. 17 and 19). A spearhead and a bronze knife from Room XX can be dated to

the MM III period (XX.11, 12; Seager 1912: 74; Soles 1992b: 82). Stone vase XX.2 is of the bird's nest type and therefore possibly of MM I date (for the type see Warren 1969: 8). The ceramics can be dated to EM II and EM III (XX. 1 and 6; Soles 1992b: 82; Wilson 1985: 274). Like Tomb XIII, Room XX can only be described as a mixed EM II - MM I deposit with later disturbances. Room XXI has produced some gold items as well as stone vases and bronze objects. Only three ceramic vases were recovered, one of them datable to EM IIA (XXI.11), another to EM III (XX.5) and a last one (XX.12) did not provide a clear date (Seager 1912: 76; Soles 1992b: 82). Eight stone vases were found in this room, some of which may be dated to EM IIB - III, such as a cup with a hook handle, a cover and a goblet (XX.3, 6, 7; Warren 1969: 38-9, 70, 73), although most of them cannot be dated more closely than to EM IIB - MM I (XX.1, 2, 3, 4, 9; Warren 1969: 39, 70, 77, 92, 95); the same applies to the triangular dagger (XX.22). This tomb can be dated tentatively to the EM II - III periods, although the stone vessels could indicate a use into the MM IA period. Watrous dates stone vase XX.2 and some of the gold beads to MM I based on overseas parallels, but, as discussed above, the Egyptian parallels cited may not be relevant for these pieces (Watrous 2005: 113).

Room XXII is hard to date precisely; it contained some gold items that appear to be EM IIB, a period to which some of the ceramic vessels can be dated (XXII.b, 5; Soles 1992b: 82). However, a necklace made of stone, crystal and gold beads was dated to the Neopalatial period by Seager (XXII.a; Seager 1912 :78), a dating supported by the presence of a signet seal (XIII.4). The ceramics could indicate a Prepalatial date for some of the gold items, but this cannot be established securely.

Tombs I/III/11 and IV/V/VI on the West Terrace were regarded by Seager as closed EM II - III contexts (Seager 1912: 15, 17; Soles 1992b: 49-50, 57-60; Zois 1968a: 86-7) with the exception of Room III, whose assemblage dates mostly to MM I (Soles 1992b: 49-50, 57-60; Walberg 1983: 128; Zois 1968a: 149, 160). Recently Watrous has challenged this dating and has considered many objects from these two tombs to be MM I (Watrous 2005: 110-2). While it is possible that some of the objects in the two tombs could be as late as a transitional EM III/MM IA phase, for example the seals (Sbonias 1995: 85, 87 n. 86, 99), these represent a minority of the assemblage and do not complete support a re-dating of the deposits. Watrous has emphasised the evidence offered by the seal found in Room II, as it was found with a large number of gold items in the deposit at the base of the fill, and it could be used to date this deposit. But this seal, which Watrous dates to MM IA-II (CMS 11.1 472; Platon 1969a; note that Watrous wrongly refers to it as CMS I.ii 272), belongs to the Lion-spiral group that

Sbonias has recently dated to EM III/MM IA (Sbonias 1995: 87). This, together with the fact that the deposit was found in a rock cavity at the bottom of the tomb in a clearly stratified position, points to an early dating of these material (Seager 1912: 23-4). The only two ceramic vessels from Rooms IV and VI that Watrous believed belonged to the MM I phase (IV.2 and VI.6) were dated by Zois to EM III (Zois 1968a: 86, 160). It seems clear that most of the deposit from these tombs belongs to EM II - EM III and the deposition of material illustrates mortuary behaviour from these periods and not from MM I.

Another point of interest in the chronology of these two tombs is their construction in EM IIA. EM IIA material was found in Rooms I, II, IV and VI (Soles 1992b: 49-50, 59). Room III might have been constructed in EM II - III (Seager 1912: 37), or MM IA (Seager 1912: 37-8; Soles 1992b: 50), and Room V contained EM IIB pottery and seems to have been constructed during this period (Soles 1992b: 59) which leaves Rooms I, II, IV and VI as the only rooms in the cemetery in use in EM IIA.

To summarize, apart from the best preserved Tombs I/II/III and IVA/A/I on the West Terrace, only a few tombs seem to represent well preserved EM II - III deposits: Tombs XVI, XVIII, XIX and XXI. Therefore these are the only tombs that are particularly informative about EM II - III mortuary behaviour in the cemetery and that can be compared with the West Terrace tombs on a chronological basis.

Little can be said about the interments in the cemetery during this period; the bones were reported to have been found in disorder and no primary interment was reported. The tombs seem to comprise only one room, where the bodies were interred; the exceptions being the tombs in the West Terrace. These tombs were built in a more careful manner compared with the contemporaneous Pseira tombs and some of those on the South Slope (Figs. VI.9 and 19), and consist of two rooms; one that was probably used for burials (Rooms II and VI) and that contained most of the material (Fig. VI.23), and another probably used as an entrance and as ritual space. The latter (Rooms I and IV) had some distinctive common characteristics, such as a very well constructed doorway marking the entrance to the tomb, and a wall dividing the tomb into two spaces. The different character of these rooms was further marked by a particular deposition of objects, low in number with respect to Rooms II and VI (Fig. VI.23) and with interments and items deposited only in a section of the room (Seager 1912: 18, 44). The interments in these two rooms were probably deposited here once the burial room was full, but leaving some free space, perhaps for ritual purposes

(Seager 1912: 44). Rooms III and V probably had a different use; they were constructed later and they have their own entrance. The exact use of these is unclear; Room III did not contain bones but MM I and III material (Seager 1912: 37), while Room V contained bones and EM II - III pottery and it has been suggested that it was an ossuary (Seager 1912: 42). This differentiated use of spaces is not identified in EM II - III in any other part of the cemetery, including Tomb XX/XXI, where both rooms seem to have been used for interments.

Together with the distinctive architecture, differences in the material assemblage of the two complexes have been used by different scholars to argue that the cemetery marked social differentiation within the Mochlos community during the EM II period (Branigan 1991b; Karantzali 1996: 225; Manning 1994: 238; Soles 1988; 1992b: 255-8; Whitelaw 1983: 337-9; 2004a: 236, *contra* Watrous 1994: 713). However, the analysis above shows that a straightforward comparison between the assemblages of the West Terrace tombs and the rest of the cemetery cannot be made. Most of the tombs on the South Slope have been affected much more severely by denudation than Tombs I/II/III and IV/V/VI (Fig. VI.22) and the Tomb XVIII assemblage and the large quantity of material found in Tombs XI, XIX and XXI suggest that most of the tombs originally contained large deposits which have not always survived (Fig. VI.21).

Of the tombs identified here with EM II - III deposits, Tomb XVII is excluded from this analysis because of its small quantity of objects (4 items), which indicates that it has been heavily eroded or looted. Of the remaining tombs, Tombs XXI and XIX stand out as they contained a large quantity of material (Fig. VI.21), and their assemblages have a large proportion of off-island material (Fig. VI.26), resembling the assemblages of the West Terrace complexes. Tomb XVI contained 14 objects, including one gold item, and Tomb XVIII had little material, but this might be explained by its small size rather than by taphonomic processes.

The evidence from these tombs, especially XIX and XXI, which seem the best preserved tombs, suggests a rather fluid picture of the cemetery. During EM IIB - III, all the tombs seem to have contained a significant quantity of grave goods, which in some cases included a large amount of imported materials (Fig. VI.26). A possible explanation for this characteristic is the ritual sanctions a burial must have conformed to, i.e. items created from imported material were considered necessary to accompany the deceased, or a certain category of deceased individuals, in all the tombs. At the

same time, there appears to have been a scale in the amount of imported material deposited in the tombs. Tombs XIX and XXI contained the largest deposition of this material apart from the West Terrace complexes (Fig. VI.26). Tomb XVI may represent an intermediate position as some gold and some stone vases were found. At the bottom of the scale is Tomb XVIII, which contained only one stone vase in its assemblage. This differential deposition of material could express socio-economic distinctions between the groups that used the different tombs (see discussion in Section VI.6.a).

Unfortunately, at Mochlos there are no contexts with well preserved human remains, which would aid estimation of the number of individuals interred per tomb and thus provide a better definition of the dynamics within the cemetery. Soles attempted to calculate the number of burials in Mochlos Room I based on the 30 skulls reported in this tomb (Seager 1912: 18). Considering the number of years that the tomb was in use, Soles suggested that 30 skulls might account for 10 to 15 interments per century, which was about half to three-quarters of what a nuclear family would contribute (Bintliff 1977: 639; Soles 1992b: 252-3). Bearing in mind that some of the bones were probably not preserved, especially those of children and infants, it was likely that the human remains could account for one nuclear family. However, Room I was probably not intended for burials in the first instance, but for ritual activities, and it may not have housed a coherent social unit, but an overflow of human remains from Room II. Second, Room I was part of a larger tomb where a large number of human remains were found in the other rooms (Seager 1912: 23). Does this mean that this tomb was intended for more than one nuclear family? It is possible that Tombs I/II/III and IVA/A/I worked differently from other tombs, as their location, layout and the different character of their rooms have no parallel at Mochlos or any other cemetery at this time.

Other evidence, however, supports the idea of a nuclear family per tomb in the South Slope tombs. Assuming that each tomb related to a nuclear family, the resultant number of estimated families roughly matches with the figures extrapolated from settlement size. Although at Mochlos, Whitelaw's estimate based of settlement size does not match with the data from the cemetery exactly (Soles & Davaras 1992: 424-6 n. 30; Whitelaw 1983: 339), the data from both lines of investigation could be reconciled approximately (0.6 - 0.8 ha settlement with around 40 families and a population of more than 200 individuals), if it is accepted that some tombs in the cemetery have not been preserved and also accept some of the uncertainties about the extent and density of the EM settlement population expressed by Soles & Davaras.

Recent survey studies support this figure as they have shown that settlements of a size similar to Mochlos may have existed in the EM II Mirabello area (Haggis 2005: 63-4; Hayden 2004: 46-8; Watrous 2001: 221, *contra* Haggis 1992: 273). For Mochlos, it can be suggested that each tomb was used by a burying group of about the scale of a nuclear family in EM IIB, with the possible exception of Tombs I/II/III and IV/V/VI.

VI.3 EM III

EM III wares in the Mirabello region were clearly identified in Boyd, Hall and Seager's excavations (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 57; Hall 1905). However, the EM III identification in Mirabello is not without problems. It is characterised by the presence of the White-on-dark ware, which, although clearly marking the EM III period, is not readily found in all contexts. In addition, while it is widely accepted that White-on-dark marks the EM III phase in the Mirabello area (Andreou 1978: 55-6; Betancourt 1984: 1-4; Warren & Hankey 1989: 17; Zois 1968a: 117-9), it is not the only ware in use (Andreou 1978: 55-6; Betancourt 1977: 351; Hayden 2004: 76; 2005: 4), and EM III contexts may exist without the presence of this ware, making identification more difficult and creating confusion about the dating of some burial contexts (Watrous 2005: 108-10). It also seems that the white paint does not survive well on vessels, which in many cases may render the identification of EM III White-on-dark ware almost impossible (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 57; Hayden 2004: 76). However, enough EM III White-on-dark ware from burial contexts has been recorded to attempt a picture of EM III mortuary behaviour in the Mirabello Bay and Ierapetra region (Fig. VI.29).

Despite problems in the identification of EM III, it seems that roughly as many cemeteries were in use in EM III times as had been during the EM II period, which represents a deviation from the pattern documented in other parts of the island (Figs. VI.11). While most of the EM II cemeteries seem to have remained in use, new ones appeared in the record, such as Kalo Horio and Mirtos Pirgos. Interestingly, the number of tombs inside the known cemeteries shows little variation, as at Mochlos, and probably also at Pseira, where EM III wares have not been recognised in all the tombs, but the small number of sherds recovered from most of the tombs has made it difficult to identify the elusive EM III wares. Contrary to this trend, at Gournia North cemetery no tombs are in use during EM III, even though there is evidence of EM III occupation at the main site (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 57; Soles 1979: 151).

The rock shelter and cave types of tomb appear to have declined in popularity and only three examples remained in use during EM III. At Agios Antonios, EM III wares were identified that may mark the last use of the tomb (Betancourt 1983: 5; Haggis 1993: 16-7). At Mirsini tholos, Platon reported that the tomb was in use during the last phases of the Prepalatial period, and Warren reported EM III material from it (Platon 1959: 374; Warren 1969: 195 n. 2). The exact history of use of the tomb is unknown, but both larnakes and pithoi were reported in this context (Platon 1959: 374) that could have been as early as EM III, contemporaneous with the first appearance of pithoi and larnakes in other cemeteries in the region, such as Pachiamos. At Linares, EM wares were reported in a rectangular tomb but the assemblage remains unpublished and an EM III use of the tomb cannot be confirmed (Davaras 1977a: 651).

Three new and very different cemeteries appeared in EM III at Mirtos Pirogos (Cadogan 1980: 58), Pachiamos (Betancourt 1977: 347; Walberg 1983: 125; Zois 1968a: 167-8) and possibly at Kalo Horio (Haggis 1996b: 653-4).

At Mirtos Pirogos, a settlement known mainly during its Neopalatial occupation (Cadogan 1978; 1980; Knappett 1997), a single peculiar EM III - LM IB rectangular tomb was found (Fig. VI.28; Cadogan 1978: 70-4; 1980; Catling 1972: 24-5; 1974: 37-8; Hankey 1980; 1986; Soles 1992b: 176-9). If the size of the MM - LM settlement can be used as a reference, the tomb was situated just at its perimeter. Moreover, the tomb was linked to the settlement by a paved road, a unique feature. The tomb comprises an exterior paved court, a main rectangular chamber with a pillar in the middle, probably supporting a second floor, and two other rooms: one between the paved area and the main chamber and the other a small elliptical chamber in the SW corner of the main chamber. The main chamber was entered directly from its north corner, the N room has its own entrance and the SW room has no recognisable entrance. Although the partition of the rooms has some similarities with Mochlos I/II/III and especially IV/V/VI, with the outside courtyard, the plan and layout of the tomb are unique and do not parallel any of the known rectangular tombs. The pillar in the main chamber as well as the possible second floor are unusual features, for which the only EM III - MM I parallels come from Apesokari A (Chapter IV) and Phourni Tholos B (Chapter V), both annexes to MM IA tholos tombs (for a discussion of pillars in tombs see Soles 1992b: 217-9). It is possible that the pillar and second floor were MM III/LM I additions to the tomb in a period when the tomb had an important use, and it is in this period that features such as the pillar room are widely found in Crete (Hankey 1986). The two adjacent rooms are considered to have been ossuaries, but no clear evidence for their

use is yet available and their relationship with the main chamber has yet to be clarified. The tomb seems to have been constructed in EM III at the beginning of the phase that Cadogan has named Pyrgos II, which includes the EM III - MM IB periods (Cadogan 1978: 71, 73; 2000: 169), but the main chamber contained material only from its MM II - LM I use (Cadogan 1978: 73), rendering impossible any assessment of the EM III use of the tomb.

At Kalo Horio two tombs were found in a very bad state of preservation (Fig. VI.27; Haggis *et al.* 1993; Haggis 1996b), and it can only be suggested that the architectural remains belong to two rectangular tombs (Haggis 1996b: 647-9). Neither the number of rooms nor the exact dimensions of Tomb I are clear, though it seems that it was roughly similar in size and perhaps in plan to Tombs I and II at Gournia (Fig. VI.27; Haggis 1996b: 651). Tomb II was badly preserved and only the remains of a wall were discovered, to suggest a rectangular tomb. The ceramics indicated a first use of the tombs in EM III/MM IA times (Haggis 1996b: 653-5) but the larnakes found probably represent a later use of the tomb (see next section).

At Gournia no EM III material has been identified in the North Cemetery, but it appears in three different deposits at Sphoungaras, Deposits A, B and the MM I deposit (Figs. VI.7 and 15). Deposits A and B both containing EM III material (Andreou 1978: 62; Betancourt 1984: 17; Walberg 1983: 124; Zois 1968a: 173-5), have already been described in previous sections. A deposit north of Deposit A and slightly overlapping it was named the 'MM I deposit' and it contained mainly MM I material (Hall 1912a: 56-8), but also includes earlier material, perhaps from a transitional EM III/MM IA phase (Walberg 1983: 125). No other features were reported from this context. Gournia North Cemetery lacked EM III material as it lacked EM IIB.

At Pseira, possible EM III wares have been found in only seven tombs (Betancourt & Davaras 2003), a low number compared with the tombs in use in EM II and MM I (Fig. VI.12). However, this may not provide a reliable figure, since many of the Pseiran tombs contained only a few ceramic sherds, making difficult the recognition of the diagnostic White-on-dark ware. Even if fewer tombs were in use at Pseira during EM III, it appears that this did not represent a dramatic change in the use of the cemetery.

At Mochlos there is enough evidence to suggest that the cemetery followed the patterns of use recognised in EM IIB, including the number of tombs in use (Figs. VI.12 and 18). Although Watrous has suggested that much of what was considered EM III at

the Mochlos cemetery should be re-dated to MM I (Watrous 2005: 108-10), it seems that Seager's original suggestion that EM III was an important phase in the use of the cemetery is generally correct (Branigan 1991b: 97-8; Seager 1912: 13, 97, 104; Soles 1992b; Walberg 1983: 129-30; Whitelaw 2004a: 242; Zois 1968a: 146-65). There were no major changes in the cemetery and a similar number of tombs to the EM IIB period (Fig. VI. 12) were in use. Tomb XII may be the only tomb to have been constructed in EM III at Mochlos (Seager 1912: 61-3; Zois 1968a: 161).

The disturbed condition of the tombs at Mochlos led Seager to consider the EM II and EM III mortuary behaviour in the cemetery together, contrasting it to what he thought was a very different pattern of use in MM I. Seager suggested that a large number of objects, including many valuable ones, were still being deposited in the tombs during EM III (Seager 1912: 104). According to Seager, this pattern would have changed in MM I with the disappearance of high-value objects from the tombs (Seager 1912: 101, 104). However, it is not clear whether the EM III assemblage at Mochlos is similar to that of the EM II phase. There were almost no closed EM III contexts in the cemetery, which makes the characterisation of a typical EM III assemblage very difficult. In Tombs I/II/III and IVA/A/I (where the stratigraphy can be tentatively reconstructed: Soles 1992b: 49, 57), the EM III wares do not seem to have been associated with the jewellery found in these deposits and, in general, only a few EM III objects come from these tombs (Seager 1912: 24; Soles 1992b: 49, 57); moreover, a possible EM III burial found in Room IV was associated with stone vases and gold jewellery, but Seager considered that the gold was deposited in EM II (Seager 1912: 44-8). The rich assemblage in Tombs XIX, XX/XXI and XXII cannot be broken down into clear periods either. Therefore it cannot be affirmed whether high-value material continued to be deposited in the cemetery during EM III or not. In addition, it must be borne in mind that the pattern of deposition of imported and other high-value objects might have changed through time with the particular contingencies of the history of the community and its different groups, and that the rich assemblage from some tombs may have belonged to EM IIB while in other tombs it belonged to EM III, obscuring the general trends in material deposition in the cemetery.

Pachiamos presents a completely new type of cemetery in the area in EM III: the pithos cemetery (Alexiou 1963b: 405; Apostolakou 1990: 232; Pariente 1993: 886; Platon & Alexiou 1957: 339-40; Seager 1916). The cemetery was found at the beach of Pachiamos, did not contain any architectural features and comprised 222 pithoi and six larnakes buried in the sand, with dates ranging from EM III to LM I (Seager 1916: 9).

Individuals were interred in pithoi that were buried upside-down in the ground, accompanied by a small number of objects inside the container, usually ceramic vessels (Seager 1916: 9-13). The appearance of a cemetery so different to anything seen until now is surprising, not so much because of the introduction of a completely new type of burial, but because it represents a departure from the idea of group burial that had been the common denominator of all the Cretan tombs to that date. Pithos burials appeared in other parts of the island during this period, some following this new pattern (see Vorou and Porti in Chapter IV and *lôt du Christ* in Chapter V for similar cases) though most were located inside built tombs of different types (tholoi, rectangular tombs).

Pachiamos shows a new relationship between the burial customs and affiliation rules within a Cretan community. For the first time, the individual seems to be the focus of the burial rather than a larger social group. Authors have suggested that this change may reflect a breakdown of kinship-based institutions into a more individualised social organisation under the auspices of the newly formed palaces (Branigan 1970a: 177-8; Glotz 1925: 131-7; Pini 1968: 34; Wiesner 1938: 104ff). Others have suggested that the pithos burials may mark the interment of poor individuals (Soles 1988: 56-7; 1992b: 256). While all these theories encounter problems when confronted with the archaeological evidence (see discussion in Chapter IV; Petit 1990: 40-3; Walberg 1987: 58-9), they rightly stress that Pachiamos constitutes a clear deviation from the group burial typical until this point.

VI.4 MM I

During MM I the funerary record did not change significantly in terms of the number of tombs and cemeteries in use in the Mirabello Bay and Ierapetra region. Only two new burial sites appeared (Figs. VI.11 and 30): Evraika (Haggis 1992: 216-7; Pariente 1991: 940) and Vasiliki Kephala (Hall 1912a: 73; Seager 1907: 114-5; Seager 1916: 20; Soles 1992b: 194-5), and there was no major increment in size in the cemeteries, with the one exception of Gournia, where the cemeteries saw new use marked by various newly constructed tombs (Figs. VI.12 and 15). However, this general picture of continuity does not parallel other aspects of the mortuary behaviour that experienced important changes during this period.

At Evraika, the first evidence of burial use of the rock shelter dates to MM I. The crevice has some architectural features that set it apart from earlier rock shelters. It has

two chambers separated by a screen wall and both have been modified, one with a built entrance and the other with a little *dromos* (Haggis 1992: 216). The partition of the space into two and the built features are traits typical of rectangular tombs, rather than of EM rock shelters. This parallels the EM III/MM I rock shelter at Kiparisi Kapella (Chapter V), Mochlos Tomb VII and Pseira Tomb IV and similarly, it may have been an attempt to modify the rock shelter in order to make it look like a rectangular tomb.

Little can be added to what has already been noted about the cemeteries constructed in earlier periods. At the Mirsini tholos, 25 larnakes and pithoi were found, most probably documenting the MM I use of the tomb. Interments were also made in the ground, and the remains of at least 60 individuals were recovered (Platon 1959: 373-4). Linares was probably in use until MM IA (Soles 1973: 165) but the mortuary behaviour at this tomb during this period remains unknown. At Mirtos Pirgos, almost nothing of the exact use of the tomb in MM I times is known, just that the outside paved area and the road were covered with a layer of earth during MM IB (Cadogan 1978: 71-3), perhaps marking a gap in the use of the tomb. At Kalo Horio, the six larnakes found in Tomb I were dated to MM I-II (Haggis 1996b: 652). Larnax 2 was placed on top of Larnax 7, which indicates a renewal of the larnakes, as well as little concern for earlier interments. Larnakes 4 and 5 were also probably deposited in the tomb later than Larnakes 1 and 3 (Haggis 1996b: 649). In Larnax 3 human remains were found clustered towards the east side of the larnax, and the bones in Larnax 5 were arranged similarly at one end of the larnax (Fig. VI.27). The state of the bones indicated secondary burial and Haggis suggested that the larnakes were used as ossuaries, based on the space kept empty in these two larnakes (Haggis 1996b: 650). However, only one body was found in each larnax and this was a conscious choice, since more larnakes were added to the tombs rather than re-using the existing ones. The space in the larnakes may not have been left with the purpose of making room for new interments, but perhaps for depositing perishable objects with the body; shells found in Larnax 3 indicate such activities. Burials located in the ground were also found inside the tombs, leaving the relationship between these and the bones inside the larnakes unclear. Did they represent different stages of the funeral ritual or did they constitute different types of interments?

At Pseira, the wide representation of MM I pottery implies that the cemetery was in full use during this period (Betancourt & Davaras 2003), but very little or nothing can be said about the exact characteristics of this use. The most interesting trait, actually, is the absence of modifications in tombs that were designed and constructed

in EM I. The only feature that the excavators suggested may have been created in MM I is a retaining wall outside Tomb IV that served to create a little terrace in front of this rock shelter (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 40-1, 49). Otherwise, the cemetery's layout demonstrates that there was no necessity to adopt more up-dated burial customs, such as pithos or larnax burials, or new tombs with new plans.

At Mochlos, Seager suggested that the MM I period was a phase of decline in the cemetery until its abandonment at the end of this period (Seager 1912: 101-2, 104; Soles 1992b: 254). He did not recognise tombs constructed in MM I times and argued that high-value materials were deposited in very small quantities compared with earlier periods. Watrous has recently challenged this view, dating to MM I some of the high-value materials, and arguing that during MM I Mochlos was still a thriving community (Watrous 2005: 114). However, none of his claims are based on a detailed assessment of the tombs, their assemblages or their chronology, and an accurate evaluation of the MM I use of the cemetery cannot be made unless these are considered.

As pointed out by Seager, no new tombs seem to have been constructed at Mochlos in MM I (Figs. VI. 12 and 18). Tomb T was the only tomb that did not contain EM wares, but only one ceramic sherd was published from this context and Soles, purely on architectural grounds, suggested an EM date for the construction of this tomb (Soles 1992b: 77, 83-5). In general, most of the tombs in the cemetery appear to have contained MM I pottery, and Seager reported 'many good examples of the contemporary geometrical dark-on-light M.M. I ware' (Fig. VI.24; Seager 1912: 98). Looking at the evidence in detail, it can be suggested that the cemetery seemed to witness a change in its mortuary behaviour, affecting the tombs differently rather than the cemetery as a whole being affected by a simple general decline. Both Tombs I/II/I and IV/V/VI seem to have had very little MM I material; Seager recognised MM I material in Room III (Seager 1912: 37-8). In Tomb IV/V/VI, little if any material can be considered MM (Soles 1992b: 57-60; *contra* Watrous 2005: 113), although one seal could be as late as MM IA (Sbonias 1995: 85). Even if the tomb contained MM IA material, this would represent a small amount compared with the EM II and EM III evidence. The paved area outside the tomb is not datable on ceramic grounds, as some of the items found here by Davaras might come from the cleaning of the rooms or Seager's excavations (Davaras 1975: 101). Only a few fragments of stone vases on top of the small altar in this area may be argued to be *in situ*, but these cannot be dated (Soles 1992b: 62). It is feasible that this area was built in EM III - MM I times since close parallels, such as the altar outside Gournia Tomb II or the paved area outside the

Mirtos Pirgos tomb, were constructed in EM III - MM I. Such construction could be related to a change in the use of the tombs on the West Terrace, from burial places to cult areas.

On the South Slope, there are a few tombs that seem to have contained little or no MM I material, such as Tombs XVI, XVIII, XIX or XX/XXI. This supports the suggestion of the decline of the cemetery in MM I. However, other evidence indicates that the MM I use of the cemetery was more complicated than Seager's model. At Mochlos, only Tomb XI can be considered to be a well-preserved MM I context. Here Seager reported two different deposits, one containing EM II pottery and eight stone vessels and another containing MM I pottery and seven stone vessels (Seager 1912: 58-9). He suggested that the first deposit was a closed EM II context, but some of the stone vessels may date to EM III - MM I (Warren 1969: 39, 91). During the 1970s' cleaning of the tomb, EM III pottery and three more EM III-MM I stone vases were found (Davaras in Davaras & Papadakis 1984: 376-7; Soles 1992b: 94-7). The material assemblage of this tomb shows that the MM I assemblage was quite different from that suggested for EM II. No jewellery was found in this tomb, and the only object in off-island raw material is a long dagger (XI.22). However, the ten MM I stone vessels and the seven MM I ceramic vessels indicate that an important MM I material assemblage was deposited in this tomb, despite the lack of items in off-island materials.

It is probable that changes in the mortuary behaviour dictated a change in the type of material assemblage deposited in the tombs and moved towards the non-inclusion of items in imported materials, but maintained the deposition of ceramic and stone vessels. This change in assemblage composition may give the impression of decline or impoverishment of the cemetery after the EM II deposition pattern, but the truth is that material assemblages at Mochlos went through the same changes as the assemblages of the other tombs reviewed in the Mirabello area and other parts of the island, which contained mainly ceramics and stone vessels and little imported material. The recently discovered cylinder seal in Tomb A (Soles & Davaras 1992: 420-4), which can be dated to MM I (Davaras & Soles 1997: 40), shows that a limited number of high-value pieces were still finding their way into the cemetery. Interestingly, this object was not found in a tomb that yielded large amounts of EM II - III imported materials, and the same can be argued for Tomb XI, which indicates that the use of the cemetery also changed in accordance with the particular history of the groups using each tomb. Material was deposited in different tombs in MM I, maybe as the socio-political balance in the community shifted from one group to another. While a decrease in the number of

tombs in use in the cemetery seems to have occurred in MM IA, a heavily disturbed record and a change in the mortuary behaviour in the cemetery may have helped to create too extreme a picture, in which the Mochlos cemetery seemed to have a far lower profile in MM IA than it actually had. Only for the later MM IB period can such a picture be suggested, as almost no MM IB evidence has been recovered from the cemetery.

Gournia is the only site where major changes can be clearly identified in its mortuary record during MM I. After an apparent gap in the use of the cemetery in EM IIB-III, a new group of tombs was built in MM I both at Sphoungaras and in the North Cemetery. Tombs from the earlier periods were not re-used, marking a clear break in this community's burial record between EM and MM. In addition, both cemeteries were now most probably related to the site at Gournia, which seems to have experienced an episode of expansion in MM IA (Soles 1979: 151).

The break in the mortuary record at Gournia is also clear at Sphoungaras. Although MM I material appears in two of the rock shelters, II and IV, in Deposit B, and in the so-called MM I deposit; the cemetery changed its personality completely as these contexts seem to have been related to the new pithos cemetery found at this location. For example, at Rock Shelter IV fragments of a larnax were reported. The MM I material in Deposit B and the MM I deposit may also have come from destroyed pithos and larnax burials, though the possibility of cultic areas around the cemetery, as has been suggested for Pseira (Betancourt & Davaras 2002: 115-7) and for Buildings N and E at Mochlos (Soles & Davaras 1992: 424), cannot be ignored. The pithos cemetery in Sphoungaras is very similar to that at Pachiamos: here 150 pithoi and one larnax (not including the Rock Shelter IV example) were found, all of them buried upside-down and dated from the MM I to the LM I period (Hall 1912a: 45-6). Little can be said about the MM I use of the cemetery apart from the fact that not many MM I pithoi seem to have been deposited and that in general these did not contain many objects (Hall 1912a: 66-7). Pottery was found mainly outside the pithoi and consisted mostly of conical cups (Hall 1912a: 66).

At the North Cemetery important changes occurred. Two, and another possible three, new rectangular tombs were constructed: Tombs I, II, IV, VII and VIII (Figs. VI.15 and 16). Only tombs VII and VIII were mentioned by Boyd in her reports and their exact location is unclear (observe the differences between the plan of the area and the plan of the N cemetery in Fig. VI.7; Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 56; Boyd 1904: 42; Fotou 1993:

99; Soles 1992b: 39-40). These two tombs plus preserved Tomb IV seem to be quite simple rectangular tombs (Fig. VI. 16) and since they did not yield any objects have been dated based on location and architectural traits to MM I (Soles 1992b: 34-6).

Tomb I (Fig. VI. 16; Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 56; Boyd 1905: 186-8; Davaras 1974: 48-9; 1977b: 588-9; Soles 1973: 13-52; Soles 1992b: 3-28) comprises two small rooms, and no entrance seems to have existed, nor was there an internal doorway between the rooms, suggesting an entrance from above. The main feature of the tomb is a bench in the south room. The type of interment is not entirely clear: Boyd in her notebook reported broken *casella* (referring probably to larnakes; www.museum.upenn.edu/mellon/gournia/index.html [accessed 24 May 2006]). The published human remains come from a pit in the north room, where fragments of eight skulls were found. This pit contained exclusively EM IIA ceramics (Soles 1992b: 8-9; Wilson & Day 1994: 17), and three MM I stone vessels (Soles 1992b: 9), as well as ten silver beads, sea shells and 15 ivory pieces. Soles has suggested that apart from the stone vessels, the material might be dated to EM II, perhaps eroded from Tomb III and buried in the pit when the terrain was prepared for the construction of Tomb I (Soles 1992b: 9). A silver vessel dated to MM IB-II was found in the tomb (Andreou 1978: 93; Davis 1977: 106; 1979: 37; Walberg 1983: 124), together with 11 ceramic vessels, nine stone vessels, two copper objects and two seals. Although MM IA material was found in the tomb, most of the ceramic vessels indicate a later MM IB - III date (Andreou 1978: 106; Silverman 1974; Walberg 1983: 124).

Tomb II also comprises two rooms, and it is a bit larger than Tomb I (Fig. VI. 16). This tomb has some interesting architectural features outside its E and S walls. At the SE corner of the tomb, a couple of steps lead to what seems to be a bench or stone buttress that runs outside the eastern wall of the tomb. Just W of the steps, two large levelled stones may have served as an outside altar. The significance of these two stones is manifested by a kernos stone just south of them. These outside features may be compared with those outside Tomb IV/V/VI at Mochlos, and Chrisolakos I at Mallia, and they may have had a similar cultic purpose. A broken *casella* was reported from this tomb and larnakes may have existed here together with burial pithoi (Soles 1992b: 23). The construction of the tomb can be dated to EM III/MM IA, as a deposit of ceramic sherds of this date was found underneath the east wall (Soles 1992b: 23). Twenty-one ceramic vessels, 11 stone vessels, three seals and three copper tools were found, and Soles believed that the tomb was not used later than MM IB (Soles

1992b: 21-3), but some of the material may date to MM II and III (Boyd 1904: 188; Kenna 1960: 37; Sbonias 1995: 179; Silverman 1974: 14).

Soles has suggested that individuals of high rank were interred in these two tombs as opposed to the poor interments represented by the pithoi at Sphoungaras (Soles 1988: 51-6; 1992b: 256-7). There is some evidence that supports this point: the silver kantharos and the high number of stone vessels in Tombs I and II suggest certain quality differences in the North Cemetery rectangular tombs' material assemblages. However, the chronology of these objects is uncertain, and the silver kantharos points to a MM IB – II date that may or may not have been contemporary with the stone vessels in the tomb; it seems a bit later than the MM I material recovered from Sphoungaras (almost no MM II material has been reported from the latter), which would prevent a direct comparison between the two cemeteries. In addition, the contrast between Tombs I and II and the Sphoungaras interments is biased by the very different interment types in the two cemeteries, since the type of assemblage could have been associated with the burial type and its particular burial ritual, and not with socio-economic differences among the deceased or the burying groups. The rectangular tombs also did not necessarily involve greater ritual complexity than the pithos burials (Soles 1992b: 256).

VI.5 MM II and beyond

As in many other parts of the island, by MM II the number of cemeteries and tombs in use had declined drastically in the Mirabello area (Figs. VI.11 and 31), and a limited number of MM II vessels have been found in the tombs that remained in use (Haggis 1992: 217; Walberg 1983: 128; Zois 1998b: 174). At Mirtos Pirogos, the tomb was in use during Phase III, which has been dated to MM II-IIIA (Andreou 1978: 142-3; Cadogan 1980: 59; Knappett 1999a: 627), and the earliest bones and material preserved inside the tomb belong to this period (Cadogan 1980: 58; Hankey 1986: 135), although the principal contents of the tomb date to LM I. Charcoal and fallen stones were reported with the MM II-III material (Hankey 1986: 135), which raises the possibility that the tomb suffered some kind of collapse episode at the end of this period.

Kalo Horio Tomb A was still in normal use in MM II (Haggis 1996b: 653). At Pachiamos, only a small amount of MM II material has been identified when compared to the other periods of use (Walberg 1983: 125). At Pseira, MM II material was found in

various tombs (Fig. VI.31; Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 123) and the last use of the cemetery dates to MM IIB, coinciding with a substantial change in the settlement (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 138-9).

At Gournia, the North Cemetery seems to have experienced significant use during MM II. In Tomb I, the silver vessel as well as two similar ceramic vessels date to MM IB – MM III (Pl. C numbers 2 and 3 in Boyd Hawes *et. al.* 1908; Andreou 1978: 106; Davis 1977: 93; 1979; Walberg 1983: 124). At Sphoungaras, only a little material has been dated to MM II (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 56; Walberg 1983: 124-5).

During the MM III – LM I periods, only four cemeteries remained in use (Fig. VI.32). At Mirtos Pirgos the tomb was heavily used, and more than 1,000 vessels found in the tomb date to this period (Cadogan 1980; Hankey 1986). The pithos cemeteries at Pachiamos and Sphoungaras were intensively used during these periods. At Mochlos some of the tombs were re-used during MM III for burials, but only in a limited way (Dawkins 1908). At Pseira, even though the settlement thrived during MM III, the cemetery was never re-used and the same can be argued for Gournia North Cemetery.

VI.6 Conclusions

Prior to a definition of the changing mortuary behaviour patterns in the Mirabello area, issues of uniformity in the record as well as chronology must be addressed. In previous chapters, patterns were seen to follow a certain chronology, such as a significant difference between the EM IIA and IIB sub-periods. But Pseira, Gournia and Mochlos seem to have witnessed different individual developments in the EM I – II and EM III – MM II periods, and they elude the general EM II and EM III/MM I division in mortuary behaviour that has been drawn for other regions. While this could be a characteristic of the Mirabello communities, it should not be surprising to see a tension between local contingencies and the larger regional and longer-term chronological trends, and the Mirabello example may constitute a taste of what more detailed data could document for other regions. In this particular case, the developments of these three cemeteries are interlaced in a small regional dynamic: is it just a coincidence that the Mochlos cemetery seems to blossom in a period when the Gournia cemeteries lose significance and vice versa? Consequently, the following review will be roughly divided into periods, but as a framework it will have the comparison between these three cemeteries, drawing wider connections in the region when relevant.

VI.6.a EM I – II

In general, the EM I period reveals a familiar funerary picture with the use of rock shelters as burial places, grouped to form cemeteries. This picture has an important exception, the Pseira cemetery, which has a particular type of tomb, the cist, and a particular layout, with possibly as many as 20 tombs, a number much larger than the estimates for the rock shelter cemeteries. Whether this number reflects an unusual number of nuclear families in a particularly large community or a Cycladic influence in the social unit using each tomb is presently not clear. But more interesting is the fact that the blend of Cretan and Cycladic influences at Pseira is not encountered in any other community in Crete. The cist tombs at Pseira were not a direct translation of Cycladic mortuary behaviour, nor did they contain a Cycladic style assemblage. It is probably the strong Cretan component that permitted this cemetery to continue in use in EM IIA when the other Cycladic-style cemeteries in Crete were abandoned, as the community using the cemetery could have aligned itself with Cretan culture when direct Cycladic influences on Crete weakened.

During EM IIA, the EM I rock shelters continued in use while the Pseira cemetery, Gournia North Cemetery and Mochlos cemetery were founded. Although both Gournia North Cemetery and Mochlos represent a development of the tomb type at Pseira with the appearance of rectangular tombs, neither of them reflect the number of tombs at Pseira. One EM IIA rectangular tomb has been identified at Gournia North Cemetery and two at Mochlos. All three are large examples with more than one room, and while the Gournia Tomb III assemblage has not been sufficiently well preserved for assessment, Mochlos I/II/III and IV/V/VI seem to have contained a large number of items in off-island material. Off-island material forms part of the typical assemblage in the Mirabello Bay and Ierapetra region tombs, as observed at Agios Antonios, but it was never deposited in such a large quantity as in the Mochlos tombs.

Various questions arise from this EM IIA scenario. The first one concerns the social unit that used the tombs. In EM IIA, Pseira could be expected to have changed towards a more 'Cretan' way of using the cemetery, with a smaller number of tombs, as identified in the rock shelter cemeteries. The number of rock shelters found at Sphoungaras and Agia Photia Ierapetras (three found at each site with various other crevices probably not preserved) may represent the average number of tombs per community in the widespread rock shelter cemeteries. This number matches data from the EM I – II settlement patterns, in which the most common settlement would house

five to six families (Haggis 2005: 63; Hayden 2004: 47, 71-2; Whitelaw 1983: 336-7), and it could be suggested that each rock shelter represents the interment space for one nuclear family; although without a known complete example of a rock shelter cemetery and skeletal evidence, this suggestion must remain a working hypothesis. While Gournia North Cemetery Tombs III, V and VI may match the figures from the rock shelter cemeteries, EM IIA Pseira and EM IIA Mochlos represent a very different scenario. Even though the identification of social units in tombs can only be taken as a suggestion, it seems clear that in EM IIA discrepancies exist between the social unit that used each tomb in the rock shelters and Gournia cemeteries and these represented by tombs in the Pseira and Mochlos cemeteries. This raises questions about the use of the cemeteries by the latter communities and about how the social organisation of these two communities compares to that in the communities using the rock shelter cemeteries.

A second question arises from suggestion that vertical differentiation can be identified in the EM II cemeteries of Gournia and Mochlos (Branigan 1991b; Carter 2004; Damilati 2004: 202-7; Seager 1912: 17; Soles 1988; 1992b: 255-8; Whitelaw 1983: 337-9; 2004a: 236; *contra* Cherry 1983: 40; Watrous 1994: 713). Various authors have argued that the particular assemblages in Tomb III at Gournia and Tombs I/II/III and IV/A/I at Mochlos, and their particular architectural traits, show that these were used by groups with a privileged status within the community. This view is supported by the evidence coming from recent survey work, which has recognised a settlement hierarchy in the EM II Mirabello region, in which Mochlos could be one of the largest sites, suggesting vertical differentiation (Hayden 2004: 76; Watrous 2001: 221-3; Whitelaw 1983: 337-9; *contra* Haggis 1992: 273; 1996a: 399, although he recognises such a possibility in his most recent publication Haggis 2005: 64).

The detailed analyses of the burial evidence, however, show a much more complex model than the one that the majority of authors have assumed. In EM IIA Mochlos, the cemetery seems to have consisted only of two large tombs. While an internal competition dynamic between the groups interred in both tombs based on off-island material can be suggested, it does not represent the picture generally invoked of the West Terrace complexes, as opposed to the South Slope tombs. The similar construction and layout of the two complexes point to a similar idiosyncrasy for both, perhaps related to the use of the tombs by two similar social groups. The architectural traits would have marked equal kinship divisions. Competition between the groups may have existed, materialised in the deposition of off-island material, which could explain

the notable depositions in both tombs. This scenario has obvious links with the dynamics identified at EM IIA Phourni.

While the Gournia North Cemetery Tomb III's architecture and its dominant location over Rock Shelters V and VI during the EM IIA period might hint at differentiation between the tombs, the principal material means of vertical differentiation in EM IIA, namely the items in off-island materials, were not found in Tomb III, unless it is accepted that the material from the pit in Tomb I originated from this tomb. Gournia North cemetery evidence, therefore, does not represent a clear situation in which EM IIA social differentiation can be identified.

By EM IIB the funerary scenario in the Mirabello Bay region had changed again. Gournia North Cemetery seems to have been abandoned and at Sphoungaras the EM IIB material comes only from the ill-defined Deposits A and B. But Mochlos experienced a period of expansion with the construction of the tombs on the South Slope, and Pseira continued to have a similar use to earlier periods. In general, earlier cemeteries seem to have continued in use in EM IIB (Fig. VI. 10), although an EM IIA-EM IIB distinction cannot be achieved in many of them. In fact, the EM IIB period seems to have been a period of growth in the area as large settlements appeared, such as Vasiliki and perhaps Kavousi and Tholos (Boyd Hawes *et al.* 1908: 50; Haggis 2005: 64; Zois 1976). The abandonment seen at Gournia's cemeteries opposed the general trend in EM IIB.

It is in this period that the Mochlos cemetery experienced a major expansion, with the appearance of the tombs on the South Slope containing significant depositions of off-island material in the tombs. But rather than being a simple expansion, the changes demonstrate profound transformations in the mortuary behaviour in the cemetery, especially in its internal dynamics. The way the cemetery was used was altered completely: from two large tombs to more than twenty. This indicates that the relationship between social group, community and tomb changed, and in EM IIB Mochlos there was probably a direct correlation between tomb and nuclear family. Important changes in the social organisation of the community could explain the whole new range of dynamics between tombs within the cemetery.

The two tombs on the West Terrace represent contexts that were constructed in EM IIA, probably in a very different social situation and may have developed a different character from those on the South Slope, which date to subsequent periods, this may be suggested also by the public nature of the space in front of tomb IVA/VI. However,

it is always possible that the character of these two tombs was transformed in EM IIB to support the aspirations of two particularly powerful families. Indeed, different types of processes could be combined in the architecture of the two complexes, the integrative ones that pulled the community together and the differentiating ones that marked the privileged status of particular individuals or groups (Damilati 2004).

Items in off-island materials were deposited in most if not all the tombs, indicating that their deposition as grave goods formed part of the common funerary customs in the cemetery. It is only within these general rules of behaviour that different tombs show differential success in the accumulation of these items, creating a range at Mochlos cemetery from the richest tombs on the West Terrace to the poorest Tomb XVI.

The number of tombs encountered at Mochlos finds a match only at Pseira, but the different history of the cemeteries and the different context of appearance of the tombs in the two cemeteries should have made clear by now that the similar layouts have very different explanations. Moreover, the general competition dynamic between the social units that has been suggested for Mochlos, has no parallels in Crete during this or any other period. Cemeteries organised around small social units can be argued for different EM III - MM I communities such as Archanes, Mallia or Palaikastro, but in none of these cemeteries did the different units engage in such a clear strategy of competition as at Mochlos. An explanation for Mochlos' exceptional character must be related to unique circumstances in the EM IIB Mochlos community. The most relevant insight into these particularities comes from the most characteristic trait in Mochlos EM IIB mortuary behaviour: the heavy deposition of items of off-island materials.

The fact that off-island materials were found in most EM II cemeteries around the Mirabello Bay and Ierapetra region shows that the deposition of these items was not exclusive to Mochlos but was part of the common mortuary behaviour in these regions during EM I - II, perhaps related to certain categories of individuals common to the social organisation of every community in the area, such as heads of families or individuals with specific social or ritual positions. The high social value of this material in the area made it a suitable material means of stating differences in the Mochlos cemetery, but its outstanding presence here, including an exceptional amount of obsidian (Carter 2004: 293), shows particularities in the access of Mochlos to this material and in the understanding of its social value within this community.

Based on the amount of this material in the cemetery, on the surprisingly low presence of material with Cycladic stylistic traits, and on the discovery of various boat models in EM II contexts in the settlement (Seager 1909: 290; Soles pers. comm.), it is argued here that this community had an active and important role in Aegean trade networks (Carter 2004: 296). Various authors have already suggested the importance of off-island trade in understanding the socio-economic organisation at Mochlos (Branigan 1991b; Carter 2004; Whitelaw 2004a), and agreeing with these authors, this study, emphasises the active trade role of Mochlos and its direct access to the material, which would have set this community apart from others on the north coast of Crete that probably had a more passive role in the trade networks. This would explain why Mochlos thrived in EM IIB when Crete seems to have been excluded from the Aegean trade networks (Broodbank 2000: 317), as it was in a position that guaranteed its access to off-island materials, even when Cycladic traders were not reaching Crete anymore. While the disruption in EM IIB of the off-island trade might have impacted negatively on other communities, it boosted Mochlos' position as a major supplier of this material to Cretan communities. In this model, the active trade might have been articulated around similar trade units that, given the structure of the cemetery, could well be based on a group similar in size to a nuclear family. The competition of these social units in the cemetery could be explained by the instability of active competition within the new entrepreneurial economy of this larger-than-average community, but it could also be related to the need to acquire a privileged social status that permitted them to obtain an advantageous position in trade activities. Less successful groups could have found themselves subordinate to the most powerful ones in the organisation of trade and consequently with restricted access to its benefits.

Perhaps the strong economic position of Mochlos could be related to the prosperity that communities around the Mirabello Bay witnessed in EM IIB, and could explain why EM IIB disruptions in the mortuary record identified in other regions of Crete, especially on the north-central coast, are not found here.

VI.6.b EM III – MM I

While EM IIB in general was a period of development, EM III in the Mirabello area seems to mark a point of inflexion; it is during EM III that most of the changes appear in mortuary record. Change, however, seems not to have been a traumatic event in the Mirabello region's mortuary record, which matches the evidence coming from settlement patterns (Haggis 2005: 65; Hayden 2004: 76); although the excavation

of certain sites has exposed significant alterations at the end of the EM IIB period, such as the abandonment of Mirtos Phourni-Korifi and major transformations at Vasiliki (Seager 1905: 218; Warren 1972a: 10; Watrous 1994: 717-8). The noticeable changes in the mortuary behaviour do not seem to be accompanied by gaps in the record or by other important events in the history of use of the cemeteries, with the exception of Gournia, where a break in the use of the cemetery is documented. During the EM III

Although not as traumatic as in other regions of Crete, clear changes can be identified in the mortuary behaviour of the EM III period. Pithoi and larnakes are used for first time for interment, both in exclusively dedicated cemeteries and inside built tombs (Figs. VI.30 and 34). Rectangular tombs become in this period the most popular type of tomb over rock shelters and caves, a trend that culminated in the MM I period when the EM rock shelters largely ceased to be used. It is only in MM I that open focal spaces outside tombs become clearly visible: at Tomb II in Gournia North Cemetery, at Mirtos Pirogos and at Tomb IV at Pseira (the terrace in front of the Agios Antonios rock shelter or the open area outside Tomb IVA/A/I at Mochlos are not datable, but may have been in use in MM I). It seems that spaces for ritual outside tombs became popular in the cemeteries during this period, although they affected only a restricted number of tombs. Open spaces at Sphoungaras and Pseira, and buildings N and E at Mochlos, might mark ritual places that would have been related to the whole of the cemetery rather than to single tombs, but the disturbed state of these contexts does not allow a clear interpretation.

With respect to the material assemblage, a new set of grave goods is found in EM III - MM I. The assemblages became smaller with a more limited variety of items. High value materials or imported materials are rare in the tombs (Figs. VI.6 and 33). At Mochlos some imported items belong to the MM I period, but they represent small quantities compared with the earlier periods. The only other truly high value object found in Mirabello tombs is the silver vessel from Gournia North Cemetery Tomb I. Otherwise, assemblages were composed mainly of ceramic vessels, seals and stone vessels (Figs. VI.6 and 33). Significant numbers of stone vessels have been found in well preserved MM I deposits in Mochlos Tomb XI and Gournia Tombs I and II. This shows that stone vessels were an important part of MM burial assemblages, as has also been seen in the Mesara region, but could they have marked a difference between these three contexts and the other MM I tombs? At Kalo Horio no stone vessels were

found, and even though this context was not well preserved, fragments at least could be expected to have been found. At Gournia Sphoungaras only a few stone vessels were found. At Linares only one stone vessel was reported (although more might remain unpublished) and for Mirsini only three EM II - MM I stone vessels are known (Warren 1969: 120). Seventy stone vessels were reported from Pseira, although this figure included an unknown number of EM II vessels. No stone vessels were found at Pachiamos (Seager 1916).

The role of stone vessels in the MM I assemblage is difficult to assess. The high concentration in some of the tombs may indicate some kind of status statement over other tombs. Unfortunately, Tomb I at Gournia and Tomb XI at Mochlos are the only well-known MM I tombs in their respective cemeteries, and it is not possible to discern whether the stone vessels indicate a difference between these two tombs and other MM I tombs within the cemeteries. Until new evidence is available to assess the role of stone vessels in MM I mortuary behaviour in more detail, the suggestion that its concentration might have marked inequalities within a cemetery represents only an interesting possibility.

With respect to ceramic types, a good understanding of change is not possible as there are no MM published contexts that contain a sufficiently large number of vessels to permit a comprehensive analysis. Putting together MM I vases from the three best documented cemeteries (Fig. VI.25), it is clear that MM I patterns had changed from EM I - II ones and that ceramic vessel shapes followed trends identified in other parts of the island, with cups and jugs being the main shapes deposited in the MM I burials. This change may have begun as early as EM IIB, when Vasiliki ware brought a new range of shapes more specific for the serving and consumption of liquids (Betancourt 1985: 43-6; Wilson & Day 1999: 40-2), something that may be evidenced in the Gournia figures (Fig. VI.25).

By MM I the EM II social stratification suggested by different authors seems to have disappeared from the record and from the archaeological studies. Only recently Whitelaw put forward an explanatory model that not only explains EM II social ranking at Mochlos but also the collapse of this organisation in MM I (Whitelaw 2004a). Watrous has recently argued against this model, suggesting that MM I Mochlos was still an important community accessing off-island material (Watrous 2005). While questioning many of Watrous' claims, this study shows that this is in fact probable and that the significance of the Mochlos community in MM I may have been downplayed

too much. Tomb XI and the cylinder seal show that depositions of significant materials were still being made in the cemetery. However, it cannot be denied that the general picture of the cemetery is one of decline. The reason for this decline may actually be found within the cemetery. A lower interest in items in off-island material as seen in the burial assemblages in MM I, but more importantly, a shift in the origin of this material that now came from Egypt and the Near East, as the cylinder seal and the absence of Aegean materials show, might have left Mochlos without its main economic basis. Other better geographically positioned communities or larger settlements, such as Knossos or Mallia, could have benefited from the general geographical shift and organisational changes of the off-island trade in the Aegean (Broodbank 2000: 320-49; Manning 1997), contributing to Mochlos' decline. It is revealing that the metallurgical workshop at Chrisokamino fell out of use in EM III, perhaps as a result of these changes (Betancourt *et al.* 1999).

By MM II the cemeteries have lost importance in the archaeological record. While some, such as Mochlos, were abandoned by the end of MM I, others, such as Pseira and Gournia North cemetery, lasted until the end of MM II. At Gournia, the deposition of high-value items in Tomb I indicates that this tomb had a significant use during this period, and it may mark a variation in the development of Gournia. Kalo Horio also seems to have been abandoned sometime in MM II. Mirtos Pargos could have been in use, although by MM IB it had undergone modifications. Pithos cemeteries were extensively used in MM III - LM I, but their use during MM II is unclear. As in other parts of the island, MM II represents a period of expansion in settlement numbers and size in the Mirabello region (Haggis 2005: 69-70; Hayden 2004: 99-100), which poses questions about why there is a decline in the mortuary record but not in population, which leads to the same explanations regarding the changing social role of the cemeteries as have been suggested in earlier chapters: the social role of the cemeteries seems to fade away, perhaps replaced by new social arenas.

Chapter VII: East Crete

VII.1 *Introduction*

As noted in the previous chapter, in this study east Crete is defined geographically as the area situated east of the two valleys that cut the island from north to south, from the Sitia coastal plain to the south coast at Koutsouras (Figs. VI.1 and VII.1). It has been argued that this separation is not only geographical, but is also related to the particular history of research in each region that conditions the understanding of mortuary behaviour in east Crete.

The history of research on the mortuary record in east Crete is quite distinctive and can be characterised by a strong focus on two sites, Zakros and Palaikastro, which have attracted much investigation due to their palatial nature (Palaikastro was most probably a palatial site, although no palace has yet been excavated). Apart from the cemeteries at these two sites, few other cemeteries have been identified in east Crete, and in most cases, those that have, are poorly known and only partially published (Figs. VII.1 and 2). The first archaeological investigations on the east coast of Crete were conducted early in the 20th century by a group of British scholars, led by Bosanquet and Hogarth, who investigated various sites, searching for new Minoan palaces similar to the one then recently unveiled at Knossos. A remarkable intuition took them to explore two sites, Palaikastro and Zakros, that later would actually be recognised as palatial. In the course of their explorations of the two sites they came across various Early and Middle Bronze Age cemeteries, and by 1905 all the presently known burials at Palaikastro had been excavated and published (Bosanquet 1902a; Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923; Dawkins 1903; 1904; 1905; Duckworth 1903b; Hawes 1905), as well as the neighbouring cemetery of Agios Nikolaos (Duckworth 1903a; Tod 1903). At Zakros, the mortuary record in the area had already been discovered and outlined in a rough but fairly comprehensive study of the area (Hogarth 1901). These early studies set a trend for archaeological investigations in the area, which explains the interest N. Platon took in investigating the tombs in the area of Zakros during his excavations at the site (Platon 1964; 1966b; 1966a; 1969b; 1971; 1973; 1974).

Outside these sites, the understanding of the funerary contexts is poor, normally corresponding to limited rescue excavations which have been published only

in the form of limited reports (Fig. VII.3). The sites include many cave contexts which, as in other parts of the island, are difficult to confirm as EM - MM burial sites because it is not possible to associate securely the human remains to the Pre- and Protopalatial material. The exception to this is represented by the cemetery of Agia Photia Sitas which has been the subject of extensive discussion in the literature (Betancourt 2003b; forthcoming; Davaras & Betancourt 2004; Day *et al.* 1998; Karantzali 1995; 1996: 46-8, 238-9; forthcoming; Shank 2005; Stos-Gale & Gale 2003).

While the general picture of the known mortuary record in the region seems poorer than that analysed for other areas, extensive evidence from the nearby sites of Palaikastro and Zakros allows an interesting comparison between the use and development of the cemeteries at these two sites. Furthermore, these sites will permit to draw parallels with poorly known sites in order to obtain a better understanding of the latter and, in general, of the mortuary behaviour of the whole region.

VII.2 EM I

Seven sites have been identified as EM I or possible EM I cemeteries in east Crete (Fig. VII.4). Three of them are briefly mentioned in the literature and very little evidence is available for an assessment of these contexts: Karidi and Mertidia (Peristeras and Myrtidia in Faure 1964: 67), and Perivolakia (Touchais 1985: 845). EM - MM burial use in Skalais cave (Bosanquet 1902b) remains difficult to confirm. Different scholars have offered a disparity of dates for the material in the cave (Bosanquet 1902b: 236; Faure 1964: 60; Schachermeyr 1938), and only very recently new excavations have shown that most of the EM and MM material in the cave may not have been related to funerary use (Papadakis & Rutkowski 1985: 134). Finally, Marinatos reported ceramics similar to Pargos ware from a rock shelter in the vicinity of Maronia (Maronia Spiliara I; Marinatos 1937), which could be one of the rock shelters in this area later visited by N. Platon (Platon 1954; 1957). The best known object from Marinatos' investigations is an incised stone pyxis that was dated to EM IIA (Warren 1965: 8).

In contrast to this series of poorly known, unsecured EM I contexts, two sites present an invaluable insight into EM I mortuary practices in east Crete: Agios Nikolaos Palaikastro and Agia Photia Sitas Cemetery.

The cemetery of Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou, as it is known to us, is composed of three rock shelters (Duckworth 1903a; Mortzos 1972; Tod 1903; Vagnetti & Belli 1978: 137; Zois 1972; 1973: 92-6). Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou I has a wall built near its entrance and contained seven or eight skulls (Tod 1903: 339), but no dating or any other type of information is available from this rock shelter. Even less is known about Rock Shelter II, where one skull was found and the only material recovered consisted of a bronze buckle, probably Byzantine (Tod 1903: 340).

Much better known is the third and last rock shelter, Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou III. This shelter seems to be a bit larger than the other two (see plan in Duckworth 1903a: 345 Fig. I) and has a narrow ledge in front of it. Several human bones, including remains of 10 skulls, were found together with EM I material. Duckworth investigated the human remains identifying individuals of both sexes and aged from six to fifty (Duckworth 1903a). Five whole vessels and fragments of another five were published from this rock shelter, as well as a small silver or lead bead and a bone instrument (Tod 1903: 341-3). There has been some uncertainty about the exact date of the assemblage, as it has links with both FN and EM I wares and it is probable that it represents an Early EM I context (Evans 1921: 60; Papadatos pers. comm.; Zois 1972: 430).

The homogeneous deposit at Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou III, suggests that this rock shelter was used during a short period of time for the interment of a few individuals. The ceramic assemblage follows shapes that have been identified elsewhere on the island in EM I burial contexts, mainly pyxides and bowls (Fig. VII.5). The most interesting item is the silver/lead bead, which may represent one of the earliest metal objects identified on the island. It has been suggested that silver and lead were scarce and probably highly valued materials on the island (Branigan 1968c: 225; Davaras 1975: 107); however, no other characteristic from this cemetery suggests a 'rich' context; indeed quite the contrary, which poses questions about material assemblages and mortuary behaviour in the context of a small community.

The cemetery at Agia Photia Sitias represents an almost unique context on the whole island. The cemetery is located on Sitia Bay, in a rocky coastal area, and consists of 260 preserved tombs, although more than 300 may originally have existed (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 7). There are two main types of tomb in the cemetery: pit tombs (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 232-4), and tombs that in the recent publication of the site have been defined as built tombs, and that in this work are called rock-cut

tombs (Doumas 1977: 49; also known as chamber tombs, Cavanagh & Mee 1998: 17); one tomb has been defined as a rock shelter (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 224). Very similar rock-cut tombs have been found in the Cyclades on Epano Kouphonisi (Cultraro 2000a: 481; Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 238; Karantzali 1996: 238-9; Zaphiropoulou 1983), but have also been found at Manika in Euboia (Papavasileiou 1910: 1-19; Sampson 1987; 1988) and at Corinth, Elaphonisi and other sites on the Mainland (Cavanagh & Mee 1998: 17), making this type of tomb not necessarily Cycladic, although the Aegean seems to have been at the centre of its distribution (Cultraro 2000a: 490-1). In Crete possibly similar tombs may be represented in the cemetery at Gournes B near modern Herakleion, and perhaps NAMFI Beach in west Crete (Chapters V and VIII; Blackman 2001: 129; Galanaki 2001; Moody 1987a: 205).

The rock-cut tombs consist of two rooms: a burial chamber and an anteroom in front of it. The anteroom is a shaft rarely deeper than 1 m, paved in some cases, and hardly ever containing any material or bones. From the bottom of the shaft the burial chamber is excavated sideways, normally creating an underground cavity where the human remains and the material were found. The size and form of the chamber and the anteroom vary in the cemetery, but chamber dimensions are normally around 1 x 1 m and have an elliptical or trapezoidal shape (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 232-3). The two rooms were separated by a large slab or built wall that closed off the burial chamber.

It is unclear how many people were intended to be buried in each tomb since there is no information about human remains in many of the tombs, and from those where information is available, the number of interments varies. Day *et al.* (Day *et al.* 1998: 146) suggested that the tombs may have been intended for a single body, but Davaras & Betancourt have been less definite about the number of intended interments per tomb (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 240). It seems possible that in some of the tombs only one interment was made, but in general they contained more, reaching 5 or 6 in some cases. More than six interments were found only in tombs where two strata documented at least two different occasions of use of the tomb. One individual per tomb, therefore, is not supported by the evidence, unless the tombs were reused to save time, effort and space, but this does not seem to match the fact that many of them were sealed off. A tomb per nuclear family would mean that the cemetery corresponds to a large community of 300 families, which is unlikely based on the fact that the recent survey in the area did not discover a settlement of such early date (Tsipopoulou 1989), and a burial group between the individual and the nuclear family, while probable, is

difficult to define. In addition, the exact period of use of the cemetery is far from clear, which further hampers the estimates of the population that used the cemetery. Day *et al.* suggested that the cemetery may have been in use for no more than 100 years (Day *et al.* 1998: 146). Davaras and Betancourt, though, have pointed out the existence of EM IIA ceramics in some of the tombs, which may indicate a longer period of use (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 232). According to the estimates of Day *et al.*, the cemetery would have been used by at least 15 nuclear families (300 individuals, 100 years, 20 bodies per family and century; Day *et al.* 1998: 146). The size could double if it is assumed that more than one individual was interred in each tomb, and it would shrink if it is accepted that the cemetery was in use for longer than 100 years. It seems then, that 15 families represents a safe middle ground assumption. Fifteen families, though, surpasses the threshold of a typical EM I Cretan community (Day *et al.* 1998: 146; Whitelaw 1983: 333) and situates Agia Photia as an uncommonly large settlement. But this is not the only distinctive characteristic of this cemetery.

The material assemblage in each tomb varies in number of objects but not in its composition. Ceramic vases are the most common material found in the tombs, of which more than 90% of the published vessels can be identified as Cycladic wares, possibly actual imports from the Cyclades (Betancourt 2003b: 4; Day *et al.* 1998: 136-7). These vessels always comprise the same shapes, mostly pyxides or bottles (Fig. VII.6). Only a few vases represent Cretan ceramic types. Forty-three of the tombs (16.5%) contained Cretan ceramic vessels which, interestingly, represented different shapes from the Cycladic wares, mainly jugs and chalices (Fig. VII.6). This is particularly strange, as shapes such as globular pyxides have been widely found in Cretan EM I funerary contexts, including the nearby Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou cemetery; but they are conspicuously absent here. It seems that there was a conscious selection of the shapes of the Cycladic and Cretan wares deposited in the tombs. Obsidian blades were found in almost every tomb, varying in number but not in their typology. Only four tombs contained stone vessels (1.5% of the tombs), and another 15 bronze items (6%). One tomb contained a lead pendant and another a silver one.

In every single respect, the Agia Photia cemetery represents a conscious choice for deploying a mortuary behaviour different to the contemporaneous Cretan one. Both architecture and material assemblage differ from the other Cretan cemeteries studied here and represent a clear effort by this community to indicate a difference from surrounding Cretan groups. This active material display of identity

introduces some interesting issues, not only about Agia Photia but also about EM I Cretan mortuary behaviour, which will be considered below (Section VII.7.a)

VII.3 EM II

The EM II period brings a shift in the focus of this study towards Palaikastro and Zakros, as most of the evidence comes from these two sites (Fig. VII.8). Elsewhere, EM II mortuary contexts are found at Maronia Spiliara III and probably Maronia Spiliara I (Maronia Kolibos may actually refer to this cemetery; Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 191; Marinatos 1937: 224; Platon 1957: 364-5). An EM IIA incised stone pyxis at Maronia Spiliara I has already been mentioned. From what may have been a second rock shelter, Maronia Spiliara III, at least three burials were reported with ceramic material described as Vasiliki and Mochlos wares (both EM II), two ivory seals, and one gold bead (Platon 1954: 511; 1957: 364-5). The reported sites at Lamnoni and Katelionas (Branigan 1998a) where 20 or so niches in the rock were discovered, may belong to this type of cemetery, composed of various rock shelters, but there is no information to define them accurately as rock shelter-like tombs.

The Agia Photia cemetery seems to have been abandoned during EM IIA; however a few examples of Cycladic Kastri group wares were found in the cemetery (EM IIB - III in Cretan chronological terms; Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 232), which post-dates the main use of the cemetery. From the published evidence it is not clear whether there was a gap in the use of the cemetery between its main use and the EM IIB-III period evidenced by the Kastri group material, but in any case, the fact that Cycladic material was deposited in this cemetery in a period when Cycladic imports had disappeared from the island is very interesting (Broodbank 2000: 309-19; Karantzali 1996: 236; Papadatos 2003a; Renfrew 1972b: 451-5). It seems that the Cycladic character of Agia Photia was preserved through time despite more general trends in the Aegean, indicating an active interest in maintaining its particular identity.

The first clear evidence for mortuary practices at Palaikastro and Zakros appeared in EM II. At Palaikastro, EM I material from a rock crevice was reported at Kastri (Fig. VII.9), which could at first be thought to correspond to burial use, but the evidence seems to point to habitational use (Sackett *et al.* 1965: 250). Two rectangular tombs contained EM II wares: Tomb I at the Gravel Ridge and Tomb II at Ta Ellenika (Figs. VII.9 and 10). The architecture of Tomb I was badly preserved at the time of excavation (Bosanquet 1902a: 307), but from the excavator's description a plan similar

to other rectangular tombs in the cemetery may be suggested (Fig. VII. 10). Only four ceramic vessels, four stone ones, and obsidian blades were reported in this tomb. This material has been dated to EM IIA and IIB (MacGillivray & Driessen 1990: 398; Soles 1992b: 180; Warren 1965: 8; *contra* Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923: 307).

Tomb II is a rectangular tomb made up of two rooms and situated very near Tombs III and VI at Ta Ellenika (Figs. VII.9 and 10; Dawkins 1904: 197-8). Bones were found only in the smaller of the two rooms and they included one skull. The material, came exclusively from the larger room and consists of around 25 ceramic vessels, one stone vessel and a dagger of the long type. The published material belongs to the EM IIB period (Dawkins 1904) and perhaps to the EM IIA period (Dawkins 1904: 197 Fig I.i; MacGillivray & Driessen 1990: 398; Soles 1992b: 182 n. 169). MM I material was also reported from the tomb but not published (Dawkins 1904: 198). The published assemblage consists mainly of pouring vessels: six jugs and a teapot (Fig. VII.5), but other vessels were found, including a clay boat model similar to the ones found at Mochlos in EM II settlement contexts (Seager 1909: 290; Soles pers. comm.). It was suggested that the tomb was intended for only one individual, buried in the small room and to whom all the material found in the large room was dedicated (Dawkins 1904: 197), but probably more individuals were buried in the tomb and the bones were washed down the hill (Soles 1992b: 182). This suggestion, however, does not refute the material deposition pattern; preserved human bones in the small room indicate that no taphonomic processes can explain the complete absence of artefactual material from this room, and even if it is possible that bones were lost from the large room, it is unlikely that it ever contained a significant number.

At Zakros five different tombs in three different locations could have been in use in EM II (Figs. VII.11 and 16): Zakros Acherotripa, (Platon 1973: 274); Zakros Mavro Avlaki (Platon 1971: 235; *contra* Petrakos 1992: 116); and three caves in the Gorge of the Dead, Zakros Cave I (Flogarth 1901: 142-3; Zois 1997a: 42), Zakros Cave II (Flogarth 1901: 143-4) and Zakros Cave IV (Orlandou 1964: 176; Platon 1966a: 187-8; 1971: 66-8, 235). At least five burials were found inside Zakros Cave II in what were described as cists in the ground, one containing an undisturbed interment in flexed position (Hogarth 1901: 143-4). Here, around 23 ceramic vessels were found together with stone tools and two obsidian pieces, which have been dated to EM IIA - B (Hogarth 1901: 144 Fig. 52; Zois 1997: 43). This cave, however, due to its distance from the settlement, was most probably not used by the Zakros community but by another one situated at the other end of the Gorge (Fig. VII. 11). In Zakros Cave IV, six

burials were found and the description of the material by the excavator suggests that the cave was a closed EM II deposit (Platon 1971: 68-9). This date was confirmed by a dog-lid stone pyxis that has an EM II parallel at Mochlos (Seager 1912: 20, l.i; Warren 1965: 8).

At both Zakros and Palaikastro a similar situation is found for the EM II period, but it is materialised in different manners. At both sites tombs appeared in various locations around the settlement at the same time. Unfortunately, there is no complete understanding of any EM II cemetery in east Crete outside Zakros and Palaikastro, so it is not clear whether this dispersed pattern is specific to these two sites. Data from Zakros and Palaikastro indicates that the tombs did not contain many burials or large quantities of bone fragments, which shows similarities with the evidence from the Maronia and Agios Nikolaos rock shelters.

Zakros and Palaikastro also exhibit differences between their mortuary records during this period. While at Palaikastro rectangular tombs were built, at Zakros all the evidence comes from caves and rock shelters. It may be argued that no caves existed in the vicinity of Palaikastro and therefore rectangular tombs had to be constructed, but this does not deny the fact that the preparation and effort involved in the construction of the tombs at Palaikastro represent a significant particularity in its mortuary behaviour.

As regards the material assemblage, the understanding of the EM II grave goods is at best poor. Only the badly preserved assemblage in Palaikastro Tomb I and that in Tomb II allow any kind of study (Figs. VII.5 and 20), but without any other contexts outside Palaikastro to contrast them with, they provide little information.

VII.4 EM III

With the accuracy that White-on-dark ware provides for the identification of the EM III period, at least six different tombs can be identified as being in use during EM III in east Crete (Fig. VII.12). As in the last period, only two of them are not in the Palaikastro or Zakros vicinity. The number of known EM III tombs could increase as some of the chronologically undefined tombs may have contained EM III material (Fig. VII.3), such as Agia Photia Sitias Kouphota and Perivolakia.

At Mandalia (Agios Georgios), one rectangular tomb was discovered (Fig. VII.7; Georgoulaki 1996b; Platon 1959: 372; Soles 1992b: 128-9). The tomb is composed of

at least one 'L' shaped room together with two other spaces, one badly preserved at the eastern end of the room and a second one between the tomb and the rock wall against which the tomb was built. Material was found in all three spaces and bones were reported from the main room and the space between this room and the rock. Although the pottery from the tomb was not published, it has been reported to range from EM III to MM III (Georgoulaki 1996b: 148).

At Palaikastro EM III material was published from Tomb III at Ta Ellenika (Figs. VI.9 and 10) and as yet represents the only EM III material found in a tomb at Palaikastro. Tomb III is the most complex in plan of all the tombs at Palaikastro, with six rooms and a seventh space outside the building (Fig. VII. 10). Soles suggested that the two south rooms may have been added to the building later as they do not have an entrance (Soles 1992b: 183). In contrast to earlier tombs, a mass of bones and ceramic vessels was found in the central two rooms, but very little in any of the other rooms. In the outer seventh space a group of vessels was also discovered. A remarkable number of vessels (42) was published from the tomb (Fig. VII.5), especially for its use almost exclusive in EM III times (Dawkins 1905: 269; Soles 1992b: 184). Walberg re-dated some of the material to MM IA (Walberg 1983: 133-4), but this constitutes a minimal part of the assemblage and suggests that the tomb was only briefly used during MM IA, if at all (Soles 1992b: 184). The tomb architecture and assemblage demonstrate that although only one EM III tomb has been found in the area, there was still an investment of effort and interest in funerary activities at Palaikastro during this period.

At Zakros, Cave I in the Gorge of the Dead contained EM III pottery (Fig. VII.11; Hogarth 1901: 142-3; Zois 1997b: 42), but no human bones have been reported from this cave to identify it securely as an EM III burial place. At Mavro Avlaki, EM III pottery was also found (Petraikos 1992: 116; Platon 1971: 235), but it is possible that it does not represent a mortuary context (Petraikos 1992: 116). At Rizes, two rectangular buildings containing human bones were reported, but the material was described simply as dating to the 'Final Prepalatial period', which may not include the EM III period (Platon 1973: 274-5).

Little analysis can be done based on the scarce information available and it is difficult to situate the EM III mortuary behaviour in relation to the previous and subsequent periods, but it seems that mortuary behaviour was not less of a concern for Cretan communities during this period, nor is there a gap in the mortuary record,

although it is true that there was a smaller number of tombs in use in EM III than in EM II (Fig. VII.16a and b).

In general, the information from the EM III period offers similarities to the MM I period rather than to the previous ones. Indeed, some important changes can already be observed in the mortuary record that were to become more significant in MM I: new rectangular tombs were created not only at Palaikastro but also at other locations, a larger number of interments was made in the tombs, and the ceramic assemblage composition consisted mainly of jugs and cups.

VII.5 MM I

A surge occurred in the number of tombs and cemeteries in MM I at Palaikastro and Zakros (Figs. VIII.14, 15 and 16). The number of new tombs would be even larger if tombs with reported MM material were included (Fig. VII.3). Apart from Zakros and Palaikastro, only four other cemeteries in east Crete have yielded evidence of possible MM I burial use. At Katelionas, MM I pottery was reported from site KS3, where a row of man-made niches in the rock, some described as built cists, were probably used for burial purposes (Branigan 1998a: 63, 73-4). A similar cemetery was described by Branigan at Lamnoni, containing material ranging from FN to LM III (Branigan 1998a: 57, 60, 65), but it is not clear whether it included MM I material.

Mandalia has already been described in the previous section, and it did not experience any noticeable architectural modification during MM I. In the modern city of Sitia, a rock shelter was found containing a larnax and a pithos with human bones; however, it is not clear to which period these belong as the excavator published different dates for this tomb (Platon 1953: 484: MM IIIA; 1956a: 291: MM I). Three rectangular tombs have recently been discovered at Kephala-Petras, on a hill opposite the site of Petras near Sitia, which are still in the process of excavation and study (Papadatos pers. comm.).

At Palaikastro and Zakros, the number of tombs underwent a dramatic increase (Figs. VII.9, 11, 14, 15 and 16). At Palaikastro new tombs are found not only in new locations but also in locations already known, which indicates that this increase cannot be explained merely by better preservation of the MM cemeteries. The situation at Zakros is less clear (Fig. VII.11 and 16); MM material has been reported from the caves of Ouranias, Marmaras, Spiliara and Zakros Cave III, but all these caves lack

clear archaeological contexts and may not have represented burial places in MM I (for discussion regarding the use of these caves see below). New cemeteries have also been found, such as the one at Pezoules Kephala (Figs. VII.11 and 18; Becker 1975a; Platon 1969b: 190-4).

At Palaikastro, MM I tombs have been found at four different locations (Fig. VI.9), covering all the cardinal points around the site, and at different distances from the settlement. Ta Ellenika Tombs II and III have already been described and were still in use in MM I (if not for burial, at least for cult), and a new tomb, Tomb VI, was added (Fig. VII.10; Dawkins 1904: 202). Tomb VI consists of two rooms, a small outer one and a larger inner one (Fig. VII.10). The inner room contained most of the bone and ceramic material (Fig. VII.19), which included 12 skulls, two of them from primary interments (Soles 1992b: 188). The material was never published, but Soles has reported 23 ceramic vases, most of them conical cups and jugs without decoration that belong to the MM IA and MM IB periods (Soles 1992b: 188).

At Sarantari, west of the main settlement, two tombs lie close together, Tomb IVa and IVb (Figs. VII.9 and 10; Hawes 1905: 293). Both were poorly preserved and only part of their architecture is known (Fig. VII.10; Soles 1992b: 184). The material inside these tombs was never published, and the excavator only pointed out that the ceramics were similar to those found in the Gravel Ridge tombs which can be dated to MM I (Hawes 1905: 293).

At Patema, SE of Roussolakos (Fig. VII.9), one tomb was found, Tomb V (Fig. VII.10), where at least six different rooms were identified (Dawkins 1905: 272; Duckworth 1903b: 351-5; Soles 1992b: 184-7). Three undisturbed skeletons were found, one of them with the skull missing, and Soles, based on the excavation diaries, estimated that around six skulls were discovered in the tomb (Soles 1992b: 186), a small number for the size of the tomb. The material has only been partially published and was originally thought to date exclusively to MM I (Dawkins 1905: 269) but subsequently a pyxis was published, which was dated to EM I and moved the construction of the tomb to that period (Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923: 5, Fig. 2; Renfrew 1964: 116). However, the exact chronology of this pyxis, and consequently of the tomb construction, is still under debate, but an EM I date seems to have been ruled out (Karantzali 1995: 452: EM II- ; MacGillivray & Driessen 1990: 399: EM III - MM IA; Soles 1992b: 187: MM I). Since the dating of the first use of the tomb, based on just this single vase seems tenuous, and on the grounds of its architectural parallels with

Tombs III and VII, an MM I date may be suggested for the construction of the tomb. Even if this is not the case, it is clear that the preserved mortuary behaviour in the tomb corresponds to MM I.

At the Gravel Ridge, three different tombs have been dated to MM I: Tombs VII, VII bis and VIII (Figs. VII.9 and 10). Tomb VII is the largest tomb found at Palaikastro and it has a very peculiar plan consisting of five long parallel rooms (Fig. VII.10; Bosanquet 1902a: 290-7; Duckworth 1903b: 350-4), which are subdivided into smaller cells (Bosanquet 1902a: 292, Fig. 6). No doorways were reported for this tomb, neither in the exterior, nor in the interior walls, which suggests that entry was from above. The tomb was found full of bones and material. The bones were all in secondary deposition, except for an infant burial in a jar and an extended skeleton found outside the SE corner. In total, around 97 skulls and 140 vases were recovered, which constitute only a part of the original assemblage of the tomb, as the NE corner of the tomb was not excavated. The tomb seems to have been used mainly in the MM I period (Soles 1973: 227-34), but later material has been identified (MacGillivray & Driessen 1990: 399; Walberg 1983: 131). The tomb contained the large number of cups and jugs typical of MM I burial contexts (Fig. VII.5).

Less information is available about Tomb VII bis. It is located not far from Tomb VII (Fig. VII.9) and it was found in an almost destroyed state, so no plan could be reconstructed (Bosanquet 1902a: 294). In fact, the architectural remains may not have belonged to a tomb, as the surviving walls were reported to be made in good ashlar, a rare construction practice that has been identified only in the MM IB tomb of Chrisolakos II at Mallia; furthermore, no human bones were reported and only two vases were published, including a MM IB example (Soles 1992b: 192), and eight copper axes were found in the area around this tomb (Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923: 12, n. 2). Tomb VIII is situated south of Tomb VII and only a part of it was preserved at the time of excavation (Duckworth 1903b: 352-3). The plan of the remains is quite uncommon, which includes curved walls and it may represent a building that was broken down into various rooms, similar to Tomb VII. Ten skulls were recovered from the tomb. No material from this tomb was published but Soles suggested a MM I date for the context (Soles 1992b: 193).

At Zakros, possible MM I cemeteries have been found at four different locations and in the Gorge of the Dead, where various caves contained MM material but without secure associations with human bones (Fig. VII.11). At Acherotripa's rock shelter, Old

Palace ceramic wares were reported but no bones were found (Platon 1973: 274). At Mavro Avlaki MM I material was reported but none securely associated with burials (Petraikos 1992: 116 EM III7/MM IA). The tombs at Rizes have been already noted in the previous section, and which no specific information about their MM I use has been reported.

The only definite new cemetery found at Zakros during this period is Pezoules Kephalas, which comprises two MM I rectangular tombs found west of the Minoan town (Figs. VII.11 and 18; Becker 1975a; Orlandou 1968a: 113-5; Platon 1969b: 190-4). Tomb A is the larger of the two and consists of three rooms, although the east part of the tomb was not completely preserved (Fig. VII.18). Larnax fragments were found in all three rooms, but Room T contained fewer bones than the other two rooms (Fig. VII.19). In Room B burial pithoi and an intact larnax containing a primary interment were found. This led the excavator to suggest that Room B was used for primary interments and that the other two rooms represented ossuaries for the secondary deposition of bones (Platon 1969b: 191). This view is supported by the discovery of two strata that show that the tomb had different episodes of use (Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 186-7), and by the discovery of bones piled at the sides of the rooms. Originally the excavator suggested that 600 individuals were interred in this tomb (Orlandou 1968a: 114), but Soles has pointed out that this number is unlikely since only 45 skulls were found (Soles 1992b: 252). Becker, in his study of the human bones, reported very few infant bones (Becker 1975a), even though Platon reported many of them during the excavation (Platon 1969b: 191), and this could indicate that the total number of recovered bones was not preserved for study, which would increase dramatically the estimated number of interments based on the bones (Fig VII.23; see also discussion in Papadatos 1999: 100-1).

A significant amount of material has been recovered from at least two different strata in the tomb, although it is not possible to ascribe particular items to each layer. Around 100 ceramic vessels were found, of which 11 were in Room T, 28 in Room A and around 60 in Room B (Fig. VII.19). In addition, each room contained four stone vessels, a seal and some beads. The ceramic assemblage is composed mostly of MM IA - B jugs and cups (Platon 1969b: 192, 194, *Pinakes* 168-9), although vessels of later date have been identified (Walberg 1983: 134; Platon 1999: 674, 676).

Tomb B is smaller and has only one room (Fig. VII.18; Platon 1969b), bones were found in different strata. Three primary interments were found: one in a larnax,

the other two in a rectangular space on the ground marked with stones. At least 20 skulls were found, many piled together on the north side of the room. The Tomb B assemblage includes more varied material than that in Tomb A: 70 ceramic vessels, four stone vessels, one seal, a copper disc, two copper tools and a silver bead. The ceramic assemblage follows the patterns of that in Tomb A and is composed mainly of jugs and cups. The dating of the ceramics parallels Tomb A, i.e. mainly MM I material with some MM II - III examples (Platon 1999: 674, 676; Platon 1969b: 194).

Outside Zakros and Palaikastro, little can be said of the MM I mortuary behaviour in east Crete, apart from the fact that a number of rectangular tombs appeared, such as those at Mandalia and Kephala-Petras. In general, these new rectangular tombs do not have a complicated plan and are composed of just two to three rooms. The varied shapes of the rooms and the evidence from certain examples, such as Tomb VI at Palaikastro or Pezoules Kephala at Zakros, showing differences between rooms in the deposition of material and bones, indicate that the different rooms were intended for different activities (Fig. VII.19). The 'cells' of Tomb VII at Palaikastro present an exception, as they all seem to have a similar plan and material deposition and were all probably used in the same way. Also the fact that a large number of interments was found in this tomb (Fig. VII.23) points to a different character and use, which resembles that of an ossuary.

During MM I the rectangular tombs contained a larger number of interments than in previous periods. Palaikastro Tomb II contained only a few interments compared with the MM I tombs (see Section VI.1.3), and other early contexts, such as Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou III or Caves I and II at Zakros Gorge of the Dead, also yielded small numbers of interments. The evidence from the MM I period comes only from Zakros and Palaikastro, as there is no information about the number of interments at Mandalia or Kephala-Petras; but it seems that this variation in the number of interments is part of a profound change in the mortuary behaviour in east Crete that included transformations in the material assemblage of the tombs. Ceramic types in MM I tombs consist mostly of jugs and cups, a shift from the EM I - II assemblages. Also typically, little other material was discovered in MM I tombs: a few stone vessels, copper objects (mostly tools), and very few seals (Fig. VII.20). A general change in the mortuary behaviour of east Crete included changes in every single mortuary aspect from grave goods to the number of interments per tomb.

Focusing on MM I Zakros and Palaikastro, the mortuary behaviour at the two sites shared some characteristics but at the same time retained some local particularities. At Palaikastro, an increase in the number of tombs built in new locations can be observed (Fig. VII. 16). At Zakros, a similar pattern may have existed with the construction of tombs at Rizes and Pezoules Kephala, but the loose chronological definition of many of the tombs does not provide such a clear picture as at Palaikastro (Fig. VII. 18). At both sites, all the new tombs are of the rectangular type; however, in the case of Zakros it is possible that caves were still in use for burials, although caves such as Marmaras or Ourania could have been used for cult purposes rather than for burial during MM I, as it is the case with the nearby Pelekita cave (Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 33).

In general, Palaikastro and Zakros display a much more spatially complex mortuary behaviour than previous periods, with more cemeteries and more tombs which comprise different rooms with different purposes, including ritual activities, although open spaces are only hinted by evidence at Tomb III and IVb at Palaikastro. What remains unclear is whether this new complexity reached particularly high levels at Palaikastro and Zakros.

With respect to differences between tombs within a cemetery, or between cemeteries at each site, these seem to exist only in the number of interments, but not in the quality of the assemblage or architecture. Although the small quantity of data prevents statistical analysis, from the better known cemeteries the evidence shows that tombs with more interments (measured by recovered skulls) also contained more material (Fig. VII.21). Tomb B at Zakros Pezoules Kephala is the only one that deviates from this pattern, and of the tombs included in Fig. VII.21, it is the one with the most varied non-ceramic assemblage (Fig. VII.20). Even so, this tomb assemblage does not represent a significantly different pattern from the other tombs (Fig. VII.20); in fact, Tomb B is the smallest and one of the most poorly constructed tombs in MM I.

The only noteworthy difference is found at Palaikastro and cannot be defined in terms of quality, but of character. Tomb VII has a very distinctive layout, and its pattern of use is very different from that of the other tombs (Fig. VII.19). In addition, differences in the overall deposition of material and bones seem to exist in Tomb VII, which contained an unusually large number of interments and ceramic vessels (Figs. VII.20a and 23). All this evidence suggests that this tomb was used as an ossuary rather than a tomb. What is not clear is the relationship between Tomb VII and the other tombs in

the area and whether it was intended for the secondary deposition of bones from other tombs, or for individuals who were not entitled to use the other smaller tombs. Whichever is the case, Tomb VII shows that the mortuary behaviour at MM I Palaikastro may have been more differentiated than previously thought.

VII.6 MM II and beyond

In comparison with earlier periods, it seems that fewer cemeteries were in use in the MM II period (Fig. VII.22). In those cemeteries which contain MM II material, such as Tomb VII at Palaikastro and the cemetery at Zakros Pezoules Kephelas, MM II objects represent only a small part of the assemblage (Walberg 1983: 131, 134), and mark a decline in the intensity of use of these tombs. This also seems to be the case at Mavro Avlaki and Acherotripa at Zakros, although here the number of MM II vessels found is not clear (Platon 1999: 674-6; Platon 1973: 274).

Only in two cases can a significant use of the cemeteries during the MM II period be suggested, both corresponding to cemeteries constructed in this period. At Agia Photia two circular structures were discovered on top of a MM IA building (Catling 1989: 102). These two structures are architecturally very similar to tholos tombs, with a comparable construction technique, size and entrance orientation (Belli 2003; Tsipopoulou 1988; 1989: 98; 1990: 307-9). MM IIA ceramics were found in both, probably marking their construction (Tsipopoulou 1990: 308). However, a burial purpose for these buildings is debatable: no human bones have been found inside the structures or in the area around them. Also, the late date of construction and the absence of this type of tomb in east Crete (with the possible exception of Pedino, Fig. VI.1.3) casts doubts on the identification of the two buildings as tholos tombs. The second MM II cemetery is Karaviadaina at Zakros, a rock shelter from which seven MM II burials have recently been reported (Touchais *et al.* 2001: 1018).

The difficulty in finding MM II material in many of the tombs cannot be explained by poorly known assemblages or by problems in MM II material recognition; it must be explained by a change in the burial customs, which, when compared with earlier periods, became less visible in the archaeological record. As already stated with respect to other areas on the island, disposal of the bodies of the dead was still needed, but there no longer seems to have been any effort to indicate this with the construction of lasting architecture or a significant deposition of material. By MM III the

use of the cemeteries as known until MM II ceased, and only Tomb VII at Palaikastro may have been re-used sporadically into LM (Walberg 1983: 131).

VII.7 Conclusions

VII.7.a EM I – EM II

The information available for the EM I – II periods, although limited, is sufficient to suggest some characteristics of the mortuary behaviour common to these two periods which are in particular contrast to changes that will be identified in EM III and MM I.

During EM I – II cemeteries seem to have been small, consisting of various tombs that housed a small number of bodies. From the present evidence it is impossible to identify the exact number of tombs per cemetery or the exact number of interments per tomb, but by reviewing the data a general picture emerges. At Agios Nikolaos Palaikastro, three EM I tombs were found, with at least 10 bodies in the best known tomb. At Palaikastro, only two EM II tombs are known, one of them with only one interment. At Zakros, as many as five tombs may have existed, with the number of interments varying from one to six. Although it obviously depends on the size of the settlement, it is suggested here that the number of tombs per cemetery was at least three, but probably more, and that each may have housed 10 or more bodies (taking into consideration that many were not preserved at the time of the excavation). Cleaning and reuse might explain the low numbers of tombs and interments, but as elsewhere, it could be expected to identify such activities through some surviving remains of older material in the contexts, which is not the case.

So, what kind of social unit used each tomb? The number of bodies is very small to relate a tomb to the smallest social unit considered in the literature, the nuclear family (20 is the normal number of interments for a nuclear family during a century; Bintliff 1977: 639-40). It may be possible that another social unit and not the nuclear family used each tomb, but from the present evidence it is not possible to suggest what such an alternative unit could be. The largest number of interments comes from Agios Nikolaos III, where the ceramic assemblage indicates the burial of at least 10 bodies within the short period of use of the tomb, and this could correspond to the brief use of the tomb by a nuclear family. It is always possible that nuclear families used the tombs on episodic basis, perhaps as the community moved around the landscape. In any

case, the same question arises: where are the rest of the tombs for the period? At this rate, many more tombs should exist in the archaeological record, as discrete cemeteries related to settlements, or dispersed in the landscape if communities were mobile. Perhaps, the widespread use of rock shelters for burial during the period has prevented the survival or recognition of most of the burial contexts.

Little can be said regarding the assemblages found in EM I - II cemeteries, as only the Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou III assemblage is well known. Its ceramic assemblage follows the patterns identified in other EM I contexts on Crete, with a dominant presence of pyxides and their lids. The Palaikastro Tomb I assemblage may not follow this pattern (Fig. VI.1.20), but the small number of vessels found in this context is unlikely to fully characterise an otherwise lost assemblage. At Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou, a small silver bead was found, an item most probably of high value, in an otherwise modest burial, a pattern corroborated at Maronia Spiliara I and III, and Zakros Cave IV. It can be argued that these are very few objects, on the basis of which to try to create a pattern, but it is also true that very few good burial contexts are known for this period and they all seem to have contained objects of this kind. Moreover, when compared with the material of later periods, when larger and better preserved assemblages are found, more off-island materials were found in EM I - II contexts, except for copper tools (Fig. VII.17). In the EM III - MM I periods, the same total number of silver and gold items were found in the assemblages of all the Palaikastro, Zakros, and Mandalia cemeteries together (more than 15 tombs that included more than 200 interments) as in the three best known examples of EM I - II cemeteries (Agios Nikolaos III, Maronia I and III, that account for around 20 interments). Non-ceramic off-island material is conspicuously rare in the cemetery of Agia Photia Sitas, making the examples found in the other EM I - II tombs more meaningful. It may be suggested that the deposition of high-value items, both off-island materials or elaborate stone vessels, may be a fundamental part of the mortuary ritual for this period, or at least for that related to some of the individuals buried during this period. This particular category of individuals seems to be common to all the communities in east Crete at this time, and the objects may mark some kind of important persona in the common horizontal organisation of the communities, perhaps heads of families.

It is beyond the scope of this work to explore the relationship between the Cyclades and Crete during the Early Bronze Age based on the Agia Photia evidence, which has already been a matter of discussion in a variety of recent studies (Betancourt 2003b; Branigan 1991b; Broodbank 2000; Day *et al.* 1998; Karantzali

1995; Karantzali 1996; Papadatos 2003a). However, the implications of this relationship for wider mortuary practices in Crete have not yet been fully explored. The Cycladic mortuary behaviour in this cemetery can be used to identify some of the most essential aspects of the way Cretans understood death and burial. Particularities in the Agia Photia mortuary behaviour may, by means of its contrasts, disclose fundamental aspects of Cretan mortuary behaviour that are attached to the more general aspects of the social organisation of the communities on the island. Particularly revealing is the sheer number of tombs at Agia Photia, around 300, which contrasts with the smaller number of tombs in Cretan cemeteries and indicates that the group entitled to be buried in each tomb was of a different nature (Davaras & Betancourt 2004: 238). This expresses differences in the way social affiliation and burial were related and therefore implies a distinction in the social organisation of the Agia Photia community. Cretan communities seem to envision burial as a more communal affair, in which the individuals are interred within a larger group in smaller number of tombs. Another interesting point comes from the discrepancy between Cretan and Cycladic vessels in the assemblage. The characteristic vessels found in Cretan burials, especially pyxides but also bowls, also dominate the assemblage here (Fig. VII.6), but a deliberate choice of Cycladic wares seems to have existed. At Agia Photia the choice of attaching group identity meanings to these types of vessels could show that pyxides and bowls may have played an important part in the mortuary ritual and therefore represented a particularly important symbolic object at both Agia Photia and in Crete in general. Another difference is the almost total absence of non-ceramic objects in off-island raw materials in the cemetery, apart from obsidian. It has already been noted that the Agia Photia community seems to have made a conscious choice not to include these in the tombs, even though they had access to them as the obsidian shows. It seems that items in off-island materials had a significance for Cretan communities that was not shared by the Agia Photia community.

A last characteristic of Agia Photia's 'Cycladicness' must be considered. It has been widely accepted that the strong Cycladic characteristics of this cemetery were the manifestation of a community of immigrants from a Cycladic island (Betancourt 2003b: 4; Cultraro 2000a: 488). But a cemetery with strong Cycladic traits does not necessarily mean that this was used by a community of Cycladic origin, nor that this community was relatively isolated from the Cretan social environment. A cemetery is a highly charged social arena, where the actual society is not always reflected, but rather an ideal of this society. The cemetery may therefore reflect the effort of a community to express their identity rather than their actual geographical origin (Day *et al.* 1998: 145).

The way Cycladic and Cretan traits combined in the cemetery cannot be thought of as an accurate indication of the relationship of a Cycladic community with their Cretan neighbours. In many respects, the characteristics of the cemetery are more Cycladic than would have been expected from a community that interacted with the surrounding Cretan communities (Karantzali forthcoming), since the presence of Cycladic populations on Agia Photia Sitas has normally been interpreted in terms of a trade community. The level of 'Cycladicness' in the cemetery could only be achieved through careful and conscious behaviour, not through a passive and unconscious display of identity. The Agia Photia evidence, rather than stating the presence of 'Cycladic' people, shows a community that spent considerable effort in creating an alien mortuary behaviour, possibly with the intention of building and/or maintaining a differentiated identity, which may or may not be directly linked to a Cycladic origin of the population.

VII.7.b EM III – MM II

A dearth of well understood EM II – III contexts prevents a study of the transition between the EM IIA, EM IIB and EM III periods that has proved so significant in other parts of the island. Changes in mortuary behaviour in east Crete are evident between the EM I – II and the EM III – MM I periods, but neither an accurate chronology, nor a characterisation of them can be achieved. It can only be suggested, based on the evidence from Palaikastro Tomb III that, at some sites at least, EM III did not represent an obvious gap in the use of the cemeteries and that changes in east Crete in EM IIB – III may have followed the Mirabello area blueprint and can be characterised as a non-traumatic episode.

For the EM III – MM I periods, the data comes mainly from the cemeteries at Zakros and Palaikastro. These communities, however, may not represent the typical mortuary behaviour as both were probably larger-than-average sites, and during the EM III – MM II period they may already have been developing in a different way: they could have contained larger-than-average populations, with specific dynamics in their social organisation that would have affected their mortuary behaviour. However, at the moment this suggestion remains hypothetical, as there is insufficient comprehensive information from other EM III – MM II burial sites in east Crete to contrast with them and there is no clear picture of the Protopalatial development of either settlement (MacGillivray & Driessen 1990; Platon 1999).

The first characteristic of the Palaikastro and Zakros mortuary behaviours is the appearance of cemeteries in various locations surrounding the settlement. This pattern had already started in earlier periods, but it became particularly evident during EM III - MM II; at Palaikastro tombs appeared at four different locations, and at six at Zakros (Figs. VII.9, 11 and 16). At Zakros, the new cemeteries appeared together with the first rectangular tombs in the area. However, rectangular tombs were not exclusive to these two sites, and also appeared for the first time at Mandalia and Kephala-Petras. Did the latter represent only part of larger dispersed cemeteries or were the multiple locations of tombs typical just of Palaikastro and Zakros? To answer this question the social unit entitled to use each tomb in EM III - MM I must be investigated first. Soles attempted to identify the population unit in each rectangular tomb by counting the number of skulls in the best preserved tombs and dividing them by the number of years that the tombs were in use (Fig. VII.23; Soles 1992b: 252-3 Fig. 81). The results produced very different figures. However, if the Palaikastro Tomb VII figure is set aside, as this tomb has a unique plan and deposition of material (Fig. VII. 19), the other three tombs yield similar figures, of less than a nuclear family (Fig. VI.23). Taking into consideration the problems in the preservation of bones, it seems likely that the suggestion that each tomb was used by a group similar in size to a single nuclear family is accurate (Soles 1992b: 253).

Outside Palaikastro and Zakros, the pattern is difficult to assess, a comprehensive knowledge of neither Mandalia nor Kephala-Petras exists. If it is accepted that a rectangular tomb was intended for the burial of a group similar in size to a nuclear family in EM III - MM I times, small communities would have needed only five or six rectangular tombs to house their populations (taking as a reference the information provided by the recent surveys in the Mirabello Bay area; Haggis 2005: 68). The fact that at Mandalia only one tomb was found and at Kephala - Petras three, not enough tombs to have housed a whole community, may indicate that the cemeteries of these communities followed a similar dispersed location pattern. This would mean that the reasons that explain this pattern are shared by different communities, perhaps marking affiliation.

Following the Saxe-Goldstein hypothesis (Goldstein 1981; Saxe 1970), which argues that spatial grouping of burials, may indicate affiliation groups in certain situations, it may be considered that tombs located at different spots may have been related to an effort by nuclear families to express and strengthen and symbolise their affiliation. Contemporaneous tombs that were located together may indicate close links

between nuclear families. In the case of Palaikastro Ta Ellenika, Tombs III and VI may have been located there at a later date to reinforce the identity of a family by drawing links with the earlier Tomb II. Unfortunately, the detailed knowledge of the archaeological context necessary to determine the veracity of the Saxe-Goldstein hypothesis in this particular case is not available as there are other factors that affect spatial location of the burials, not only affiliation, which tends to be displayed in competitive circumstances that cannot be identified in this particular case (see Chapter II for discussion: Carr 1995: 182; Hodder 1982a: 196-9; Morris 1991: 148-50; Pader 1982: 62-5).

Even supposing affiliation did play some role in the location of tombs in most east Cretan cemeteries, it is still possible that a large number of tombs at Zakros and Palaikastro introduced some quality changes into the mortuary behaviour of these communities, especially if they represent relatively large communities in which some distinctive characteristics in social organisation are to be expected, such as vertical differentiation processes. The unequal interaction between families may have modified the mortuary behaviour at these sites in order to negotiate these ranked relationships. It can be suggested that the available evidence seems to reject such a model. Architecturally, tombs at Palaikastro and Zakros were actually no different from the one found at Mandalia, and none of the tombs at these sites included an assemblage that could be considered 'rich' in the variety or the quality of the objects (Fig. VI.20). The Zakros and Palaikastro tomb assemblages were mainly formed of ceramic vessels, their composition coinciding with the assemblages found in most of the tombs on Crete during these periods.

The only significant variation comes from Palaikastro, where Tomb VII has a character not paralleled by any other known tomb in east Crete. Tomb VII at Palaikastro shows a very different pattern of use (Fig. VII.19), perhaps reflecting use as an ossuary, or housing bodies that for whatever reasons did not find their way into the 'family' tombs. There are two possible explanations for this peculiar building: it formed part of the 'normal' mortuary behaviour in east Crete, and more tombs of this type are waiting to be found, or it represented a particular development at Palaikastro, perhaps to accommodate some specific social interactions in this community. The focal position of this tomb, very near to the settlement, surrounded by a variety of tombs and other important buildings, as the ashlar blocks found in this area suggest, could denote that an unusual cemetery was placed here, with different characteristics from those at other locations around Palaikastro. The evidence from the Gravel Ridge parallels to some

extent the characteristics of other focal buildings in large cemeteries, such as Chrisolakos at Mallia or Tholos B at Phourni. However, from the present evidence, and until further investigations are carried out, this possibility remains highly speculative.

The new choices in the location of the tombs and the new popularity of the rectangular tombs (Fig. VII.15) are part of a much larger change in mortuary behaviour at Zakros and Palaikastro. As noted above, rectangular tombs seem to have housed larger numbers of interments, showing that a profound change occurred during EM III times, in which the relation between tomb and population unit changed. Also a larger number of tombs appeared in the record and in MM I there was a peak in the construction and use of tombs (Fig. VII.15). This process was led by Palaikastro, where a large number of new tombs have been discovered (Fig. VII.16). At Zakros the chronological resolution is poorer as the use of many caves cannot be accurately dated, but Pezoules Kephelas and Rizes may show a similar pattern (Fig. VII.16). In addition, with the rectangular tombs a new use of space emerged. More spaces appeared in the cemeteries, normally indoors, that seem to fulfil different purposes and that indicate a more complex relationship between burial ritual and space. As in other parts of the island, the material assemblage in the tombs seems to change during EM III. The EM III - MM II mortuary assemblage is formed basically of ceramic vessels with little other material: mostly small numbers of copper tools, and stone vessels (Figs. VII.5 and 20). Interestingly, when compared with the assemblages from cemeteries in other parts of the island, in Zakros and Palaikastro very few stone vessels or seals have been discovered, which are objects typically found in MM I tombs. With respect to the ceramic assemblage, it seems that this changed in similar ways to other parts of the island: jugs, and especially cups, became the dominant shapes in the assemblage. What is not found in these sites are large depositions of ceramic vessels associated with the tombs. Deposition is mostly found inside the tombs, and there is little architectural evidence here to point to public ritual activities outside the tombs. While the data from the other cemeteries in east Crete is too poor for a proper assessment, it seems likely that they underwent similar changes in their mortuary behaviour to the ones described for the Zakros and Palaikastro cemeteries.

By the MM II period, east Crete witnesses the same decline as identified in the mortuary record of other parts of the island. No significant intensive surveys have yet been published for east Crete, so it is difficult to understand the developments in the cemeteries with respect to the local settlement history. The little information available indicates that the decline in cemetery use does not parallel exactly the development of

major settlements in the Protopalatial period (MacGillivray & Driessen 1990; Platon 1999). Again, the disappearance of the tombs from the archaeological record must be explained by a specific reason, not by the general history of the communities in east Crete. The MM I use of new cultic areas, such as Pelekita cave at Zakros (Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 33) and the Petsophas peak sanctuary at Palaikastro (Rutkowski 1991), suggests that these sites may have progressively adopted most of the roles of the cemeteries as a social arena, until the latter ceased to constitute a significant part of the life of the communities.

contexts identified (Figs. VIII.2 and 3), which rather than illustrating a local preference for the use of caves and crevices for burial, shows a dearth of identification and investigation of other funerary contexts. Consequently, little information can be gained about Pre- and Protopalatial mortuary behaviour from caves which in various cases cannot even be confirmed as Pre- and Protopalatial burial caves. Apart from the caves, few other burial sites have been found (Figs. VIII.2 and 3) and they normally represent cemeteries known from survey or from small rescue excavations which have produced very little information.

Can this dearth of known cemeteries be wholly accounted for by the limited investigation of the archaeological record in these regions? On the one hand, the archaeological investigations in these areas have focused on the LM III period, for which material has been found in significant quantity and quality. The only intensive survey published for the area, which took place in the Chania and Akrotiri areas, demonstrated that a richly inhabited EM and MM landscape existed, which has only been superficially understood (Moody 1987a: 300-4). On the other hand, at least in recent decades, these areas have come under the same degree of scrutiny by the local archaeological authorities as any of the other areas of the island, and it is surprising that no more Early and Middle Minoan cemeteries have been discovered. While the Chania survey was able to identify numerous possible EM and MM habitational contexts, it only recorded a few possible funerary contexts for the same period, some of them already known (Moody 1987a: 205, 218-9). Although the different methodologies do not permit a direct comparison between the results of different surveys on the island, the west Mesara and Agiopharango surveys found burial sites easier to locate (Fig. VIII.4). It is always possible that a particular mortuary behaviour in west and west-central Crete left a less obvious imprint in the archaeological record.

The scanty information about funerary practices in west and west-central Crete cannot support a similarly intensive study of the mortuary behaviour as that conducted in previous chapters. Given the poor data available from west and west-central Crete, the following investigation will be ordered by type of context rather than chronologically. Caves and rock shelters will be studied separately for the sake of clarity as they represent slightly different funerary contexts.

VIII.2 Caves

Most of the caves in west and west-central Crete have yielded EM and MM pottery but no human bones, and have generally been regarded as habitation contexts, possibly on a seasonal basis (Faure 1964; Moody 1987a). Burial caves may have formed a small portion of the total number cave sites recognised in the area, and even though it is always possible that excavation could identify some new caves as burial places, on the basis of present evidence it seems safe to suggest that burials in caves did not represent the main type of tomb in these areas. Nine caves have been proposed as possible Pre- and Protopalatial cemeteries in this study, but none of them can securely be confirmed as such because of the impossibility of associating securely the human bones discovered with the Pre- and Protopalatial material. Only at Melidoni Milopotamou did the bones come from a closed context under an EM stratum, but this may have represented a Neolithic rather than a Prepalatial burial (Fig. VIII.6; Blackman 1998: 127; Gavrilaki 1997: 594).

In the cases where funerary use has been proposed, it seems to have been the result of sporadic interments rather than of continuous funerary activities. In the caves where excavation was undertaken, such as Kumarospilio and Margieles (Jantzen 1951a; Marinatos 1933a), only a few human bones were reported. Only Chamber IV at Plativola produced a significant number of human bones during excavation (Tzedakis 1968; 1969; Tzedakis & Davaras 1968). The chamber contained nothing but bones, making accurate dating impossible; however, a large quantity of EM and MM material was found in the other chambers of the cave. Moreover, the assemblage resembles funerary deposits known in other parts of the island: the EM ceramic material includes wares of high quality (Tzedakis & Davaras 1968: 504-6) and shapes typical of burial deposits, such as pyxides (Karantzali 1996: 85). The Helladic sauce-boats and a folded arm figurine of the Koumasa type (Branigan 1971: 62-3; Karantzali 1996: 85; Pieler 2004: 96; Rutter & Zemer 1984; Tzedakis 1969; 1984; Tzedakis & Davaras 1968) parallel the Cycladica found in the EM assemblages of other cemeteries. The clear division between the location of the bones and the material suggests that deposition was consciously ordered, perhaps following a ritual liturgy, and it seems safe to assume that the material and the bones are related.

The osteological evidence from other caves is scarce, as is the material evidence. In the case of Kera Spiliotisa, burial use was initially suggested, but no human bones were found (Fig. VIII.7; Faure 1958: 500; 1964: 69), and later a

habitational rather than a mortuary use for the cave was suggested (Moody 1987a; Tyree 1974: 62). In Korakias, Tyree reported human bones, but the quantity is not clear, nor whether they relate to the MM I material found there (Tyree 1974: 47-8). In Kato Sarakina, Faure reported one or more inhumations along with FN - EM I material, but Tyree suggested habitational use for the context (Faure 1964: 69; Tyree 1974: 59-60). At Margieles, one inhumation was found, but it has been suggested that it corresponded to an accidental death (Marinatos 1933: 295-7; Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 76). At Agios Ioannis FN burials were documented (Faure 1964: 69), but it is not clear whether the EM material found represented the continuation of the use of the cave as a burial ground. At Ellinospilaio human bones were also reported, but they could belong either to the Neolithic, the Subneolithic (FN - EM I) or the Mycenaean period (Faure 1956: 99; 1964: 62; Moody 1987a: DKT1). At Kumarospilio, five interments were reported (Faure 1964: 62), but they have been dated to the Neolithic period (Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 46; Moody 1987a; Tyree 1974: 54).

In many cases the inhumations seem to be the result of Neolithic rather than EM or MM activities, and only in a few caves can the burials be dated to EM I. Plativola provides the only conclusive evidence of burial practised in a cave in a continuous and significant manner in EM - MM west and west-central Crete.

VIII.3 Rock shelters

Five sites in the two regions have been identified as funerary rock shelters. This group is, however, not homogeneous and includes different settings: two sites, Kalogerospilio and Plates/Charakas, contained pithos burials (Faure 1964: 68; 1965: 53-4; Hood *et al.* 1964); two sites, Kalogerospilio and NAMFI beach, are composed of a row of rock shelters, three in the first case and 11 in the second (Faure 1964: 68; Hood *et al.* 1964: 75; Moody 1987a: MR6). Finally, at Kalathas, no human bones were found, but the rock shelter is too small for anything other than funerary use (Moody 1987a: KL11). The example of NAMFI beach is quite intriguing. The rock shelters here have been described as man-made rock shelters with narrow entrances and one chamber (Moody 1987a: catalogue) which resemble Cycladic rock-cut tombs (Doulas 1977: 47-9), such as the ones found at Agia Photia Sitas and Gournes B (Davaras & Betancourt 2004; Galanaki 2001). Also the number of reported tombs in this cemetery, 11, is consistent with the evidence from the rock-cut tomb cemeteries. Unfortunately, without more detailed evidence it is impossible to assess the possible similarities of NAMFI beach cemetery with Gournes B and Agia Photia Sitas.

None of the named rock shelters has been excavated systematically and the dates for all of them are based on ceramic sherds found on the surface in and around them. Apart from Kalathas, where only EM material was reported, the other four rock shelters may indicate a late EM III —MM use (Hood *et al.* 1964: 75; Moody 1987a: MR6; Pendlebury 1939: 103). In the cases of Kalogerospilio and Plates/Charakas, both located in the same area (Fig. VIII. 1), the pithos burials were dated MM, which allow the possibility of an MM III date (Petit 1990), and they would therefore fall outside of the chronological frame of this study.

VIII.4 Pithos burials

Pithos burials have been found in five different locations, representing one of the main types of burial found in west and west-central Crete (Figure VIII.3). As with rock shelters, there is a considerable heterogeneity in the archaeological contexts in which the pithoi were found. Pithoi were discovered in rock shelters (see last section) at two sites. At Nopigeia, one pithos was found in an EM II context which pre-dates the suggested date for the appearance of burial pithoi on the island (Petit 1990: 33, 44; Karantzali 1996: 89-90; 1997). The pithos was found inside a house, and contained the remains of a three-year-old child (Karantzali 1996: 89-90; 1997). Rare examples of the intramural burial of infants have occasionally been encountered on Minoan sites, such as at Neolithic Knossos (Broodbank 1992; Evans 1964; 1971; Whitelaw 1992), and a dubious context at the settlement of Vasiliki (Chapter VI; Zois 1993: 102), but too few Pre- and Protopalatial sites have been examined to establish whether this was a normal pattern. The closest parallel comes from the roughly contemporaneous child intramural interments found in Mainland Greece (Cavanagh & Mee 1998: 16; Forsen 1992: 154-5), and it seems that the Nopigeia example represents not a typical form of interment on Crete.

At Horafakia, a pithos was found in the ground without human bones. The excavator suggested that, even though no bones were found, it represented a burial pithos (Tzedakis 1987; *contra* Moody 1987a: 204, 206). Another MM I burial pithos was reported from the modern town of Chania, at the site of Charakas (Theofaneides 1940).

VIII.5 Other burials

In this category are included a possible rectangular tomb at Vrimbokambos B (Hood 1965: 104), two possible tholoi: one at Vrimbokambos A (Hood 1965: 102) and

another at Perivolitsa (Moody 1987a: 205, PR4), and the cemetery of Nea Roumata (Tzedakis 1984: 6-7; 1988b), which has a type of tomb unique to the whole island.

The existence of both tholoi has been suggested on the basis of the discovery of curved walls in association with MM I - II pottery. No human bones were reported from either tholos and their funerary use remains a remote possibility. The identification of tholoi based solely on the existence of curved walls is questionable and although it is true that most of the curved features found in EM and MM architecture corresponded to funerary buildings, curved non-burial buildings are also found on Prepalatial Crete such as at Chamaizi in the Mirabello region (Davaras 1972a; Xanthoudides 1906). The possible rectangular tomb at Vrimbokambos B was not associated with human bones and no exact dating was reported for it (Hood 1965: 104). These three sites offer very questionable evidence of funerary use, but until excavation is conducted this possibility cannot be rejected completely.

Nea Roumata represents the best understood cemetery in the region due to the detailed excavation not only of the cemetery but also of the related settlement (Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 58-9; Karantzali 1996: 89, 239; Tzedakis 1984; 1988b). The excavation revealed a small tomb consisting of a chamber created by the superposition of rows of stones that formed a small vault (Fig. VIII.5). Inside the tomb only two ceramic vessels were found: a cup and a globular jar, both dated to EM I and with no links with Cycladic material (Karantzali 1996: 89). Most probably the interment in the tomb was done from above and not through the small entrance (Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 58). One single body was recovered, and due to its size the tomb was most probably intended for a single interment. It is possible that the tomb was part of a larger cemetery (Karantzali 1996: 89). The closest parallels for the architecture come from the Early Cycladic II cemeteries on Syros (Doumas 1977: 47-9; Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 58; Tzedakis 1984: 6), but, given that the Syros examples are of later date and that the tombs resemble tiny tholoi, it has also been linked to some of the EM I tholoi, such as Krasi or Chrisostomos, which were larger but share a similar construction technique (Karantzali 1996: 239). However, a fundamental difference separated Nea Roumata from the Cretan tholos tombs and in general from any known mortuary behaviour in other parts of Crete: Nea Roumata was an individual tomb. The sole interment in Nea Roumata constituted a Cycladic funerary characteristic rather than a Cretan one, and on the island this trait has been found only in cemeteries with strong Cycladic influences.

VIII.6 *Archaeological visibility*

The scarce funerary evidence from west and west-central Crete does not allow any generalisation about the mortuary behaviour in these two areas. Nevertheless, the data generates an interesting question about archaeological visibility and mortuary customs. A characteristic common to all of the tombs discussed in this chapter is their small size and lack of monumentality. Funerary contexts were mostly rock shelters and pithos burials, and most of them were found by chance and were not easily visible in the archaeological record; none of them incorporated any substantial architecture. This does not mean that no significant cemeteries existed, the pithos burials and the Nea Roumata burial may have been part of larger cemeteries, but simply that these cemeteries were not characterised by sizeable architectural features. This trait differs from what has been found in cemeteries in the Mesara or the Mirabello region, where the cemetery comprised diverse significant and often substantial buildings which made them easier for archaeologists to locate. Therefore, the poor knowledge of the funerary record in west and west-central Crete may be explained by particularities in the mortuary behaviour of these areas that involved primarily non-monumental tombs, that constitute poorly visible archaeological contexts, working against their discovery.

In conclusion, with respect to the questions posed at the beginning of this chapter, it may be suggested that the dearth of cemeteries in west and west-central Crete could be explained by the combination of a particular development in mortuary behaviour in these areas that did not include elaborate architectural construction, and the difficulty in locating such non-monumental cemeteries. The suggested absence of substantial architecture and the preference for certain types of tombs, such as pithoi, could imply some significant particularities in the mortuary behaviour of these two areas and in the social role of cemeteries in west and west-central Crete. While this hypothesis raises some interesting research questions, only new data can assess its veracity.

VIII.7 *Off-island influences in*

As noted in Chapter VII, a detailed analysis of the links between Crete and the Cyclades falls beyond the scope of this study. However, the noticeable quantity of off-island influences found in the few well-known cemeteries in west Crete demands examination. Off-island links were present in a significant proportion of the EM I - II tombs known in west Crete (Fig. VIII.8), although the limited evidence found in west

Crete prevents an assessment of whether this area experienced more intense off-island influence than other parts of the island. Despite the limited data, it is clear that such off-island links materialised in the cemeteries in a wide variety of forms (Fig. VIII.8). At NAMFI beach, the cemetery may resemble Cycladic mortuary architecture but, unfortunately, there is no information about the material found there nor about possible off-island connections. At Nea Roumata, links with Cycladic burial customs exist, perhaps in the architecture but interestingly in more profound characteristics, such as the individual interment. The deposited material, however, is undoubtedly of Cretan origin. Similarly, the interment type at Nopigeia represents a fundamental difference from Cretan mortuary behaviour: the intramural and individual nature of the burial, which resembles funerary practices in Mainland Greece. At Plativola, the cave constituted a burial type common in Crete but not in the Cyclades; however, it contained at least two objects most probably imported from the Cyclades.

Off-island influences appeared in west Cretan burials in a variety of forms and represent different ways in which communities adopted external ideas. Unfortunately, on the basis of the present evidence, it is not possible to examine how these differences in the off-island influences related to the social organisation of the communities nor whether they marked a profound difference between communities in west Crete or between communities in west Crete and those elsewhere on the island.

Chapter IX: Mortuary behaviour and social organisation

Having broken down the mortuary evidence into regions in previous chapters for the data analysis, it is now necessary to take a more comprehensive look at how the different areas of Crete compare in terms of mortuary behaviour, and to review the information and situate it more clearly within the theoretical framework of this study. This chapter will summarise the information about the mortuary behaviour of the different areas to create an integrated picture to which questions about social organisation can be applied. An overview of Cretan mortuary behaviour organised by chronological periods rather than regions will be presented that will provide a more holistic understanding of the full range of evidence; this will then be used to explore some of the theoretical questions posed in Chapter II and to build a new model for understanding social organisation in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete.

IX.1 *EM I*

Neolithic mortuary customs on the island are not well understood as few Neolithic tombs are known (Godart & Tzedakis 1992; Strasser 1992; Zois 1973). Most of them have in fact been included in this study as they represent FN - EM I burial contexts. Although this sparse information makes it difficult to situate EM I mortuary behaviour in relation to earlier periods, this very contrast suggests that EM I represented a significant departure from Neolithic customs. In terms of the number of tombs, the number of items per tomb and architectural features, burial activities took on greater significance for Cretan communities during EM I. Within this general picture it is necessary to break down the study of the island into different areas, since the heterogeneity of EM I customs was the second characteristic that set them apart from Neolithic burial customs. While caves had been the dominant type of burial site found in Neolithic Crete, different types of cemeteries have been recognised on the island which document new mortuary behaviours in EM I. The island can be divided into three areas in the EM I period based on mortuary behaviour: one around the Asterousia Mountains, another focused along the north coast (that is the entire stretch of the north coast, from west Crete to east Crete), although not all the sites found in this area are characterised by this second behaviour, and a third comprising certain sites on the

north coast and the rest of the island. The first two types of behaviour, which appeared on the peripheries of the island, showed a definite break from older Neolithic customs, while the third type, which was focused mainly in the island interior, had clear roots in Neolithic burial traditions (Fig. IX. 1).

The first type of behaviour was centred on the Asterousia Mountains, although some examples of it may have existed in cemeteries outside this area, such as at Krasi Koprani in the Lasithi area. This mortuary behaviour involved a new architectural type of tomb, the tholos, but more importantly represented a very different approach to burial customs. Unlike Neolithic tombs the tholos was a communal tomb intended for a large group of individuals. In addition to this new architecture, other new material characteristics shaped this particular mortuary behaviour, such as large depositions of ceramic vessels in tombs, as seen at Lebena Y2 and Agia Kiriaki A. While the sheer volume of these deposits was not equalled by other EM I tombs, the ceramic vessel types found in the tholoi, mainly closed shapes and pyxides, are typical of most mortuary contexts on the island during this period (Fig. IX.2).

Given the distribution and chronology of this type of mortuary behaviour, it seems clear that it developed around the Asterousia Mountains in EM I (Fig. IX. 1). The close connection of the tholos tomb cemeteries with these mountains indicates that they must be understood with regard to some characteristics particular to the communities living there. It was suggested in Chapter IV that this new mortuary behaviour could be related to a mobile way of life or to unstable, fragmented communities (Relaki 2003; Whitelaw 2000). The progressive infilling of the landscape of south-central Crete in EM I (Watrous *et al.* 2004) may indicate that new populations exploited this mountainous region, or that pre-existing ones had to modify the way they exploited the resources of the region in the face of new demographic pressure. Whatever the case, the new mortuary behaviour could have emerged to solve some newly emerging social tensions brought about by these transformations. The use of new communal tombs and the deposition of large quantities of ceramics indicate the gathering of a community, probably on the occasion of funerary related events. These gatherings may have provided many services to the dispersed populations. Fragmented groups may have had a need to reinforce their community identity as this was broader than the dispersed populations in which everyday life was organised. Belonging to a larger group may have regulated important social relationships, such as marriage or access to certain fields in an increasingly contested landscape and needed to be continuously strengthened. In addition, funeral rites may have been used as

moments to engage dispersed populations in face-to-face socio-economic relationships. Finally, the tholos may have provided a material way to claim access to different seasonal exploitation areas, which would have been particularly valuable in such a poor landscape.

The second type of mortuary behaviour has been found at four EM I sites right on the north coast: Agia Photia Sitias, Pseira, Gournes B and possibly NAMFI beach. This particular mortuary behaviour is characterised by its links with off-island mortuary behaviour, in particular that of the Cyclades. The cemeteries are made up of a large number of small cist and rock-cut tombs typically found in the Cyclades and in limited areas of Mainland Greece but not on Crete. In the case of Gournes B and Agia Photia Sitias, the rock-cut tombs are virtual copies of ones found in other parts of the Aegean that contained mainly Cycladic material culture. The EM I Pseira cemetery shows clear modifications within this mortuary tradition. It shares many traits with the cemeteries of Agia Photia Sitias and Gournes B, in that numerous tombs form the cemetery including a typically Cycladic type of tomb, the cist; this type differs from those found in the other two cemeteries, perhaps indicating a relationship of the Pseira community with a different part of the Cyclades than Gournes B and Agia Photia Sitias. But Pseira's cemetery differed also in the way it manifested its Cycladic influences, with Cycladic mortuary behaviour deployed in a less strict manner than at Agia Photia Sitias. Pseira was a cemetery where Cycladic and Cretan burial customs were combined. At Pseira the cists were not such direct copies of their Cycladic counterparts, and they showed architectural variations. The Cretan influence is clear in the material assemblage. No material with Cycladic parallels has been found at Pseira, not even ceramics with Cycladic fabrics such as those found at Agia Photia Sitias (Betancourt & Davaras 2003; Davaras & Betancourt 2004).

It has been suggested that these direct links represent the presence of Cycladic populations in Crete, perhaps forming trade colonies (Betancourt 2003b; Sakellarakis 1977b: 109-10; *contra* Karantzali 1996: 251-2; see discussion in Day *et al.* 1998); however, this idea must be rejected. As suggested in Section VI1.7.a, even when profound characteristics of the mortuary behaviour at these three cemeteries, such as the number of interments, show a departure from the core traits of Cretan burial customs, it cannot be assumed to directly reflect the identity of the population. What Agia Photia Sitias, Gournes B and Pseira do show is that a few communities on the north coast employed mortuary behaviour typical of the wider Aegean, materialised in various ways. This does not need to represent different ways in which immigrant

populations adapted to the island, but rather choices made by populations in the way they wanted to express their identity at the cemetery, which may to some extent relate to the actual origin of the populations.

But off-island connections are not exclusive to these four cemeteries; they are also found at cemeteries on the north coast that follow a third type of mortuary behaviour which developed from Cretan Neolithic burial customs and was clearly defined by the use of caves and rock shelters (Fig. IX. 1). The off-island connections at these cemeteries, however, were restricted to a small portion of the material assemblage. The geographical distribution of the third type of mortuary behaviour is less distinct than that of the first two as it spanned the entire island. Caves and rock shelters had a number of interments that clearly represented a social unit smaller than that represented by the tholoi and larger than that found in the rock-cut and cist tombs. It seems that rock-shelter and cave cemeteries were composed of various crevices. Although in some cases a cave may have been the only burial site for a community, such as Trapeza cave, at least three or more rock shelters and caves seem to have been used at most cemeteries. The grave goods deposited are also less numerous than in the tholoi (Fig. IX.2). In various caves and rock shelters in north-central Crete, Pargos and Dark-on-light painted wares were combined in the material assemblage in a specific way (Fig. V.13a), but on the basis of the present evidence it is unknown whether this was typical of the entire island or of this region alone. As noted, a common characteristic of these cemeteries was the introduction of off-island material in tombs; this material appeared in a variety of forms, such small metal objects (Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou) and Cycladic style ceramics (Kiparisi Tichida). This pattern is difficult to detect in the poorly known EM I record and so it will be considered in more detail using the material of the EM IIA period, which has a richer record.

That the burial record of the region around the north coast had many Cycladic links during the EM I - II periods has been already documented by other authors (Branigan 1968c; Karantzali 1996; Nakou 1995; Papadatos 1999; 2003a). But what this study clearly reveals is that these links were materialised in a variety of ways: from cemeteries with off-island influences so strong as to suggest immigrant populations (Agia Photia Sitias), to the inclusion of a few objects made from off-island raw materials (Pargos cave), to cases where no off-island influence was found at all (Partira). This reveals variations in the attitudes the different communities had regarding Aegean influences and the varying degrees of importance these links had in the social organisation of different communities and in inter-community relationships.

A more detailed look at the different mortuary behaviours in EM I Crete reveals that they represent more fundamental and more complicated differences between communities on the island than recognised until now. The mortuary behaviour of the Asterousia Mountains was quite homogeneous, revealing a firm sense of parity between the communities. It is suggested here that this was the reflection of important inter-community dynamics that were determined by clearly delineated horizontal rules between equal groups. The homogeneous mortuary behaviour placed the different communities in a very similar position with regard to their relationships with the landscape and with each other. Moreover, it is likely that cemeteries were important arenas for the re-creation and active maintenance of these horizontal links between communities. This strong homogeneity in the Asterousia Mountains seems to have been actively maintained to keep these relationships under strict parity rules. Therefore communities shared very similar social organisations within a region that relied heavily on clearly defined inter-community relationships.

On the north coast the situation was quite different. Here influences from the Aegean mixed with the Cretan Neolithic tradition created a much more fluid situation in which very different communities co-existed in close proximity to each other. Even when the cemeteries shared burial customs, and in particular off-island influences in their mortuary behaviours, they were never pulled together into as integrated systems as that in the Asterousia Mountains, and it can be assumed that this reflects similarly heterogeneous relationships between communities. While the presence of off-island materials in cemeteries implies inter-community relationships in this area, these never had the coerciveness of those in the Asterousia Mountains. Off-island influences were open to various interpretations and materialisations: from communities that made an effort to distinguish themselves as non-Cretan populations, to differing degrees in which Aegean and Cretan influences were inter-linked. It is even probable that communities with different social organisations coexisted nearby on the north coast. Profound differences in the layout, material record and tomb use of the cemeteries with Cycladic influences (e.g. Pseira and Agia Photia Sitias) hint at profound differences in the social organisation of these communities from neighbouring communities on the north coast (e.g. Agios Antonios and Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou), including group identity.

The differing material character of the mortuary behaviour in the cemeteries (in terms of architecture and assemblage) is not sufficient to suggest the specific nature of the different social organisations, but the clear differences in the structural rules that

determined the mortuary behaviour and the inter-community relationships in the Asterousia Mountains and on the north coast represent communities in which everyday life was organised on the basis of different social principles.

IX.2 EM II

By now it should be clear that the EM IIA and EM MB periods are two very different phases. EM IIA is characterised by the further development of the patterns in mortuary behaviour seen in the EM I period, while EM MB is marked by the inception of a phase of profound change on the island and a departure from EM I-IIA mortuary behaviour. However, some sites, Mochlos in particular, defied this distinction between the two periods, and various areas of Crete had diverse histories in which changes followed different developments and chronologies that do not necessarily align precisely with the traditional EM IIA/EM MB ceramic sequence. Unfortunately, while the overview of the record clearly shows a difference between the earlier and later parts of the EM II period, the fact that a detailed chronology is only available for a few cemeteries prevents us from producing a clearer picture of the changes in each region, especially during EM MB, and the model presented in this chapter should be considered open to modifications occasioned by new data.

IX.2.a EM IIA

The EM IIA period is better understood than the EM I period, as it has a richer archaeological record and a larger number of EM IIA funerary sites have been investigated (Fig. IX.3). Consequently, the complexity of mortuary behaviour can be more deeply explored and can be better connected with the living communities. In general, EM IIA communities developed EM I mortuary behaviour patterns but with some significant changes that make the division of the island into the three different mortuary traditions sketched out in the last section more difficult. While the mortuary behaviour in the Asterousia Mountains remained very distinctive, the mortuary record at sites in the north of the island became less clear, and therefore the analysis which follows will be structured by region rather than by mortuary behaviour.

The direct correlation between the tholos tombs and the Asterousia Mountains continued, but this does not mean that there were no changes in mortuary behaviour. A larger number of tholoi are known for the period, and they seem to have begun to expand into the Mesara Valley, where a few examples appeared at this time (Fig. IX.3).

Architecturally, two-tholoi cemeteries became common during this period. Following the suggested explanation of the role of tholos cemeteries for the Asterousia communities, the frequent presence of two tholoi situated together may have been the result of some significant changes in the relations between social units which would have modified the dynamics of intra- and inter-community relationships. The links between community, kinship groups and landscape use may have been reworked, although the exact repercussions these changes had on the organisation of the region remain unclear at the present time. As regards material deposition, objects with off-island connections were now deposited in most of the tholoi, and in some cases in significant quantities. Only a few of these objects are clearly linked with Cycladic material culture such as the folded arm figurines, and they are most often items such as daggers created locally out of imported raw materials. Also, the scale of deposition of ceramics in the tholoi seems to diminish in comparison with the previous period.

There is, however, a more interesting factor that sets EM IIA mortuary behaviour in the region apart from that of the EM I period: the possible appearance of cemeteries that represent a deviation from the common conventions. The case of Koumasa can be mentioned in this regard, but it is possible that others existed during this period, such as Moni Odigitrias and the cemetery associated with the deposit at Phaistos/Agios Onouphrios. Koumasa constituted a larger and more complex cemetery than was typical. In addition, a series of objects, such as folded arm figurines and silver daggers, make Koumasa's material assemblage stand out. However, it should be remembered that the deposition of these materials did not represent a complete break from the general conventions: folded arm figurines were found at other cemeteries in the region (Fig. IX.5) and daggers were common at most of the cemeteries (Branigan 1967). While the cemetery may be larger than average, it did not include any features that have not been identified at other cemeteries. The exceptional features of Koumasa were rooted in the general mortuary behaviour of the region; rather than setting this cemetery apart from the norm, they situate it at one extreme of the general picture of the region's burial customs, a kind of *primus inter paris* dynamic in terms of mortuary behaviour. These differences at Koumasa can be attributed to vertical intra-settlement differentiation dynamics, probably between the groups that used the different tholoi in the cemetery. While the particular dynamics at the Koumasa community may have affected relationships with nearby communities, with Koumasa perhaps able to draw some social resources from neighbouring communities, it seems that this had little effect on the basic horizontal inter-community relationships of the region. Given that behaviour at the other tholos cemeteries in general remained quite homogeneous, it

seems that dynamics at Koumasa and other possible large sites had little impact outside the specific community.

The north coast saw more profound changes than did the Asterousia Mountains. The Cycladic style cemeteries at Gournes B and Agia Photia Sitias faded away, although the one at Pseira did not. The fact that a new group of cemeteries drawing upon the EM I Pseira cemetery pattern of mortuary behaviour emerged on the north coast suggests that the Pseira cemetery could have adapted to new circumstances, modifying its mortuary behaviour away from Cycladic influences to match the behaviour prevalent in the region. Alongside these changes, cave and rock shelter cemeteries continued to be used.

While most of the EM I cemeteries on the north coast continued to be used in EM 1A, some new cemeteries with novel layouts and tomb types appeared. This is particularly clear at Mochlos, the Gournia North Cemetery and Palaikastro, which all used a new type of tomb: the rectangular tomb. The origins of the rectangular tombs can be traced to the Cycladic style cist tombs at Pseira, but their development as a new architectural type is clearly a Cretan development, as tombs at Pseira and Mochlos have shown. Furthermore, the layout of the cemeteries that incorporated rectangular tombs during this period included certain innovations. Very few tombs dating to the EM IIA period have been discovered at Palaikastro, Mochlos and the Gournia North Cemetery and these cemeteries may initially have contained a smaller number of tombs than the typical rock shelter cemetery, although given the incomplete knowledge of these cemeteries this cannot be confirmed.

Despite these changes, cemeteries continued to show many characteristics of the EM I mortuary behaviour, such as off-island influences in the material assemblage: folded arm figurines, Cycladic style pottery, and metal objects. These objects appeared in most of the well-known cemeteries, independent of their type, size and exact location with respect to the coast, and it can be affirmed that material with Aegean connections was a common feature of the mortuary behaviour of all the tombs in Crete during this period, including those in south-central Crete. This deposition can only be explained as a conscious choice on the part of Cretan communities which expressed clear preferences for certain types of materials and objects coming from abroad (Branigan 1968c; 1983; Legarra Herrero 2004; Nakou 1995; Papadatos 1999: 183-233). In addition, the variability in the adaptation of this material to the tastes of the different communities indicates that they had an active role in the trade of this material, not only

in terms of consumption choices and demand but perhaps also as producers/transformers of some of the objects (Branigan 1968b: 56, 102-3; Papadatos 2005: 29). A clear example of the diversity in the adaptation of this material to meet local needs comes from the variability in the amount of these types of objects deposited at each tomb (Fig. IX.4). Geographical location and access to trade networks may have determined such differential depositions, but ultimately these depended on the choices and particular history of each community. All in all, the evidence suggests that these objects had an important social value in EM IIA Crete, even though this was materialised in different ways in different parts of the island.

Social relationships and social organisation dynamics on the north coast seem to have been materialised to a significant degree by access to off-island material, given the ubiquity of significant quantities of such material in this region. Clearly the subsistence economy was still fundamental to the social life of this community, but it seems that the communities also relied significantly on social processes that involved the circulation of off-island materials and off-island influences. Unfortunately, the study of the mortuary behaviour seems unable to reveal social relationships in these communities that are not marked by items made of off-island material. This is particularly clear in communities where off-island influences seem to have had limited significance, particularly communities in the interior (e.g. Kiparisi Tichida and Partira). In communities near the coast, off-island influences seem to have had much more relevance and marked many aspects of social organisation (e.g. Kراسي Koprani and Pirgos cave); thus mortuary behaviour provided a deeper insight into the social organisation of these communities.

This is particularly clear for the cemeteries that stood out from the rest in terms of the differential deposition of off-island material in the north coast area, especially Phourni. Although it is not located far from the north coast and had material deposition patterns that closely followed other northern coastal sites (silver objects, folded arm figurines), the cemetery may be better understood in terms of tholos cemetery mortuary behaviour. Two tholoi existed here, perhaps with some other related contexts, and one of them, Tholos T, had much more extensive deposition of objects with off-island links than the other, Tholos E. This distinction marks clearly the dynamic that was only possible to suggest for the case of Koumasa, that is, intra-community competition between two groups for the achievement of privileged social status.

At Mochlos, the EM IIA deposition of material also suggests vertical differentiation dynamics. Two large tombs have been identified as belonging to the EM IIA period at this cemetery. At first glance, these two large tombs may seem to constitute a similar case to that of Phourni, where two large groups were competing for social predominance, but here the deposition of off-island material was much more balanced between the tombs than in the case of Phourni. Perhaps the potential for direct access to the exotic material at this coastal site modified the role of this type of material in the social organisation of the site's community compared to that of Archanes. Furthermore, other characteristics set Mochlos apart from Phourni or Koumasa, such as the absence of folded arm figurines in the record which are a major characteristic of the latter cemeteries (Fig. IX.5). In addition, the number of items made of off-island materials exceeded the amounts found in the deposits at any other known cemetery, and could set Mochlos in a league on its own, with particular social dynamics (Fig. IX.4). It is suggested in this study that the EM IIA Mochlos cemetery may have had a similar intra-community dynamic of social competition and vertical differentiation to those at Koumasa and Phourni, but materialised in a different way, probably following the particular idiosyncrasies of this community. As will be seen in next section, Mochlos is a unique cemetery that requires a specific explanatory model.

With respect to the other cemeteries with significant depositions of off-island objects (Pirgos cave, Krasi Koprani), they do not seem to represent similar cases to either Phourni or Mochlos, as clear competition between different tombs cannot be identified at these cemeteries. In addition, the total deposition of objects in off-island materials at these sites did not reach the amounts seen at Mochlos and Phourni (Fig. IX.4). Deposition at these sites may be better explained as local variants of the typical material assemblage found in EM IIA Cretan tombs that are to be expected due to the particular history of each community and their particular position in off-island trade networks.

During the EM IIA period, there was a link between the mortuary behaviour of the different areas and communities on the island: the widespread deposition of off-island material. Their ubiquity in the mortuary record indicates that these were a common means of intra- and inter-community negotiation on Crete. While this material did not, of course, cover all social relationships, it could have been involved in horizontal relationships between particular individuals at each community. This general use of off-island material, however, was quite variable, and the different regional mortuary behaviours show that it was adapted to the particular characteristics of each

region. Preferences existed in the type of materials that were chosen, such as daggers in the Asterousia area and silver on the north coast (Branigan 1968c; Legarra Herrero 2004; Nakou 1995). In addition, objects with direct links to Cycladic material culture, such as folded arm figurines and Cycladic wares, had a much more restricted distribution (Fig. IX.5), which indicates a different type of value and logic in their consumption. While the link between the different regions of the island based on this material was very general, it still marked some kind of common concepts among the areas, and in all of them this material seems to have been a rare commodity that embodied important social values and was considered appropriate for deposition in tombs as grave goods. It is possible that the exchange network that moved these objects around the island communicated their value, which was then adapted in the differing regional situations. This kind of exchange fits in with a gift-exchange type of trade. This study does not propose a simple gift-exchange model between heads of families (Blasingham 1983; Karytinis 1998; Nakou 1995), but some of the processes involved in such a model may have existed. Such types of inter-community relationships made possible the interaction of quite different communities without highly integrated connections through the sharing of objects that were widely considered valuable, and at the same time permitted a high degree of flexibility in the interpretation of this value in the particular setting of each community (Whitelaw *et al.* 1997).

This social value of off-island material in EM IIA was also employed as a means of negotiating social differentiation. Individuals relied on the control of this type of material to mark privileged social status. This suggestion could easily be linked to theoretical models developed by Marxist archaeologists in which individuals manipulated social relationships to their own advantage, mainly through the control of imported objects such as metals (Gilman 1981; Lull 2000; Manning 1994). But in this study, vertical differentiation in EM IIA Crete is not envisioned from this point of view, but rather from an opposite position. Off-island material was an important element in horizontal social relationships on Crete during the period and because it was a material with a widely accepted social value and its scarcity made it easier to manipulate, it was chosen by certain individuals as a means of pursuing their personal goals. However, this manipulation must be seen in the context of broader social organisation. While hoarding may be a successful strategy, it cannot be seen as being in opposition to the rest of the society, as it could not have been sustained without broad social support. Monopolisation of the off-island material would have undermined much of its social value, and would have limited much of the broader social impact of this material.

Furthermore, the Marxist model assumes that prestige material marks particularly wealthy individuals, which is simplistic and inaccurate. Instead of looking at hoarding as a strategy opposed to the well being of the community, as the Marxist model seems to imply, here it is envisioned in relation to horizontal social relationships. Vertical dynamics have been found always in relation to two communal tombs that seem to have been in competition, communal being here the key word. It is not disputed that much of the off-island material was deposited with the interment of particular individuals, but it is necessary to understand that such an event would have produced little or no benefit to the deceased and must be understood from the point of view of the entire group associated with the tomb, which stood to gain social power through the ritual display of such grave goods in particular interments. Therefore, the simplistic idea that such grave goods marked the wealth and position of an individual in life needs to be revised. At an ideologically charged funeral, grave goods constituted a social signal sent from the group related to the deceased to other groups within and potentially beyond their community. This is not to deny that some individuals had privileged social positions in these communities, but these were probably related to the social power of a wider social group surrounding the individual, and the individual's position cannot be judged just by her/his grave goods. Intra-community horizontal relationships between groups seem to be the main target of vertical differentiation in EM IIA Crete, which were probably channelled through the privileged status of certain individuals and the rituals that accompanied their interment. Finally, the control of exotic material and its deposition in tombs should not be considered the only strategy used in processes of vertical differentiation; other materials and other social arenas could have been used in conjunction with the processes described above.

Vertical differentiation dynamics seem to have had limited impact beyond the community level. While they may have introduced some changes in the relationships of a community with its neighbours, or even in wider off-island material trade networks, these dynamics do not seem to have modified inter-community relationships deeply, because the majority of Cretan communities were not organised based on vertical relationships. Vertical differentiation dynamics have only been identified at Mochlos, Phourni and probably Koumasa, and only a few other candidates for them can be suggested, principally Moni Odigitrias. Furthermore, these dynamics seem to have had a very brief lifespan, lasting only for the EM IIA period. All these characteristics suggest that vertical differentiation dynamics were particularly fragile; fragile because they were still finding their way into the social organisation of the different regions and because the symbolic and material basis of these dynamics, the objects with off-island

connections, offered an unstable foundation. Vertical differentiation never managed to transform the basic social organisation of EM IIA Cretan societies and to integrate itself intrinsically with other existing social relationships. When Aegean trade networks underwent an important reorganization in EM MB, the whole dynamic crumbled and the horizontal links that were still at the core of social organisation regained the social aspects that vertical dynamics were aimed at controlling (Whitelaw 2004a).

But not all the communities where vertical dynamics existed were the same. Koumasa's large cemetery with its large tombs and paved areas, may have been better engineered for displaying its distinction in the landscape of the Asterousia Mountains. At the Mochlos cemetery, things were quite different. Here the tombs did not have the presence of Koumasa's large tholoi, but they contained a much richer deposition of off-island material than the Koumasa examples, indicating that the hoarding and display of this material had far greater significance for this community. The differences can be appreciated further by looking at the history of both cemeteries. Mochlos was the only cemetery that actually further explored the dynamics of vertical social differentiation in EM IIB, indicating that these dynamics had a very different character and social basis to those at Koumasa or Phourni, which disappeared at the end of the EM IIA period.

The EM IIA period should still be understood in terms of the stark differentiation in mortuary behaviour and social organisation between areas of Crete. As in EM I, the most profound structural traits of the various communities remain essentially different: the Asterousia Mountains area continued its independent path, with its homogeneous mortuary record, while the north coast showed a heterogeneous scenario in which quite different cemeteries co-existed. Perhaps the north coast needs to be understood in terms of smaller regions. The East Mirabello region, with its rectangular tombs, peculiarities in the material assemblage, and particular history of development, may have represented a different state of affairs to other parts of northern Crete. However, it still shared the characteristic of heterogeneity noted in the rest of north coast mortuary behaviour, as the nearby cemeteries of Pseira, Mochlos and Gournia produced very different data for the EM IIA period.

IX.2.b EM IIB

There are problems of recognition for the EM IIB period, just as there are for the later EM III period. Problems in the recognition of local ceramic styles make the use of the tombs very difficult to understand, especially in the Mesara Valley and Asterousia

Mountains. Recent work at Agia Triada and Lebena has shed some light on the ceramic sequence in these parts of the island and thus it can be suggested that tholos cemeteries were in use during this period, although disruptions in the stratigraphy at some of the tombs seem to have occurred in late EM IIB. Unfortunately, mortuary behaviour in these regions during this period has yet to be clarified. Cemeteries around the central north coast followed a different trajectory. Many of the EM I - IIA cemeteries fell out of use at the beginning of EM IIB, while a few new ones appeared in the record, such as Mallia. It is difficult to make an assessment of the Mirabello region cemeteries. The Gournia cemeteries produced little EM IIB material in contrast to the preceding period, which may indicate some kind of crisis at this site; Pseira, however, yielded a significant number of EM IIB sherds and this cemetery seems to have continued in use during this period. The Mochlos cemetery, however, developed in a completely different way: during EM IIB the cemetery saw great expansion. In east Crete, EM IIB material appeared at various cemeteries, and although the EM II period in this region cannot be understood in detail, it can be suggested that no major changes occurred in the use of cemeteries in this region during this period.

There are, therefore, regional differences in the development of mortuary behaviour during EM IIB that reflect wider variations in the development of the social organisation of the communities during this period. This study suggests that the changes, and their variability, can be explained in terms of a reshuffle of the relationships communities on the island had with the Aegean. This suggestion is based on the fact that off-island material lost its importance in the mortuary record, although it did not disappear completely. Explicitly Cycladic objects, such as the folded arm figurines or ceramic vessels with typical Cycladic shapes, disappeared from the record, and in EM IIB the only items found in the tombs which had off-island connections were metal objects and obsidian, and these were most probably produced locally of imported material with little off-island influence (Carter 1998; 2004). This coincided with a recorded change in the exchange networks of the Aegean that left Crete out of the main trading system (Broodbank 2000: 317). Since it has been suggested that off-island material played an important role in social organisation in the different communities on the island, it is to be expected that a modification of the trade system had a negative effect on Cretan communities, although not all were affected equally. While Cycladic material was found in most of the cemeteries on the island in EM IIA, it has been emphasised that it was incorporated into mortuary behaviour in a wide variety of ways according to the specific role that it had in different Cretan communities. Consequently, a change in the trade networks would have affected the diverse regions

in different ways, particularly hitting communities in which off-island material was a major mechanism in social relationships, which seems to have been the case in north-central Crete.

The Asterousia and Mesara regions, however, seem to have been less affected, probably because they still had access to copper and possibly other metals that allowed these communities to continue making items which they found socially valuable, such as daggers. But if there was a disruption in off-island trade, how was it possible that these communities still had access to copper supplies? Mochlos may provide the answer to this question. The mortuary behaviour at Mochlos differed from that of most of the other sites on the island during this period in that it thrived. Numerous tombs were constructed and most of them contained important quantities of metal objects. In the reshuffle of Aegean trade networks seen in the EM IIB period, sites may have been impacted differently depending on their particular position in the trade networks. Mochlos was a unique community, that played a more active role in the trade networks, perhaps even by EM IIA, which would explain why it survived the changes and continued to supply the rest of the island with off-island material. The significant deposition of metal items in the cemetery and the discovery of various EM II boat models at Mochlos (Seager 1909: 290; Soles pers. comm.), both support the idea that this community was organised around the activities of trade entrepreneurs. The unique competition dynamic in EM IIB at the cemetery between small groups may have formed part of a more general rivalry between small social groups around which the off-island trade was organised.

Apart from Mochlos, other sites on the island where incipient vertical differentiation was identified in EM IIA seem to have been abandoned in EM IIB, such as Phourni. The re-arrangement of trade networks and the cut in the supply of Cycladic items would have dealt a deadly blow to these atypical communities which based much of their social organisation on the hoarding of off-island materials; their vertical differentiation dynamics without the unhindered access to the social and symbolic basis of their power would have collapsed.

What about other aspects of the mortuary behaviour? While there was considerable continuity, the seeds of future changes in mortuary behaviour appeared in the record at new cemeteries such as the ones at Mallia and Palaikastro, although these sites were still far from the significant cemeteries they were to become and had yet to exhibit a clear departure from existing mortuary behaviour. In addition, ceramic

shapes seem to have been rather different to those of the EM IIA period with the funerary assemblage starting to shift from pyxides to jugs and cups (Fig. IX.2). The most important change in the ceramic assemblage was the increase of individual vessels, namely cups, which may imply changes in the rituals conducted at the tombs (Day & Wilson 2004). Some of these trends would become stronger in later periods and would represent a clear change from EM I - II mortuary behaviour, but for the moment a profound transformation does not yet seem to have occurred.

In summary, Crete still seems to have been a fractured island at this time, with different areas immersed in different processes. This is made clear by the fact that general factors of change affected the various parts of the island in very different ways, and in some cases in unique ways. The ever more heterogeneous north-central part of the island seems to have been subject to profound changes affected by the disruption of Aegean trade. The disappearance of whole cemeteries shows that off-island influences were some of the most significant modes of negotiation in the different social relationships - both horizontal and vertical - of north coast communities in EM IIA. The Asterousia and the Mesara regions followed a more steady path in which horizontal organisation seems to have held the communities in the grasp of a more solid and stable social framework, probably due to the fact that these communities were less dependent on the shifting relationships with the Aegean and because the social organisation in these areas was more integrated and resilient to external changes. Nevertheless, by the end of EM IIB, the mortuary record began to show signs of change. East Crete and the Mirabello area are more difficult to characterise and it would seem that different communities followed individual histories, although in general these areas do not seem to have experienced such a traumatic period of change as that undergone by communities in north-central Crete.

IX. 3 *EM III*

By the end of EM IIB, the process of change had extended to the mortuary behaviour of most of the regions in Crete and it continued into the EM III period. However, this episode was still not affecting all areas in the same way, and mortuary behaviour shows that there were different regional scenarios, as well as variability at a community level. In the analysis of some communities, such as Mochlos, EM III mortuary behaviour seems easier to understand in relation to the EM IIB period, while evidence from many other communities indicated that it was more directly related to

MM IA mortuary behaviour. The study of change in EM III is further blurred by the problems of identifying the EM III period in the record (Fig. IX.6).

The exact chronology of changes may therefore depend on each region and community. Continuity and development in the EM III period is attested at the Mallia and Palaikastro cemeteries. In other cases, EM III marked a new cycle of cemetery use after an EM IIB gap, such as at Phourni and Pírgos. At many cemeteries, there seems to have been some kind of disruption during the Late EM IIB and Early EM III periods, as attested by the cleaning episodes in various tholos tombs. What is clear from all cases is that by the end of the EM III period the mortuary record had undergone profound changes in the different regions of the island that developed fully into a completely new mortuary behaviour in MM IA. By the end of EM III the imprecise period of change had come to an end, and the cemeteries across the entire island were already in a phase of vigorous development. The new mortuary behaviour that appeared during the EM III period is considered in the next section, as only the clear archaeological record of the MM IA period allows for an in-depth analysis of the phenomenon.

IX.4 MM IA

Changes in the mortuary behaviour of the entire island are clearly identifiable during the MM IA period (Fig. IX.7). This does not mean the changes had already taken place and that only now had their results become obvious, but rather that the changes were in full swing at this time. But before these changes are considered in detail, it must be pointed out that the changes were of a completely novel character in that this was the first time they were occurring on an island-wide scale, affecting the mortuary behaviour of the different regions in similar ways.

On a superficial level, the Asterousia and Mesara areas still differed from the rest of the island as tholos cemeteries remained in use there. However, the mortuary behaviour in these cemeteries, despite still being centred on the tholoi, changed dramatically during MM IA (a process which probably began in EM III). New tholos cemeteries appeared mainly in the Mesara Valley rather than in the Asterousia Mountains, although cemeteries were still used in the latter area. But the tholos cemeteries were substantially different from EM IIA examples. First, the layout of the cemeteries changed, with a proliferation of annexes and other associated contexts. New cemeteries were created with large annexes from the start, while existing

cemeteries were modified to include annexes, associated buildings and, in some cases, open areas too. This reflects a change in the activities conducted at the cemeteries, activities which now had a more complex relationship with the various new spaces. The deposition of material and human remains indicates that different activities and combinations of activities took place in different spaces, and it can be suggested that ritual activities now entailed a more complex use of space.

There were also changes with respect to the material assemblage. Metal objects were rarer in the deposits but stone vessels and seals were more common (Fig IX.2). Off-island connections almost completely disappeared from the record, and the ones that did remain looked towards Egypt rather than the Aegean. Ceramic vessels now dominated the material record, with a small range of shapes, mainly cups and jugs, found in large quantities (Fig. IX.4), sometimes in large deposits outside the tholoi, and related to the new annexes and open areas.

The changes in the tholos cemeteries represented a complex new set of activities, many of which took place outside the tombs. These ritual activities involved a significant number of people, as suggested by the new architectural features and large ceramic deposits. The new variety of spaces was accompanied by an increase in the complexity of ritual which led to a more organised or controlled participation by individuals. It seems that the changes aimed at controlling and restricting cemetery use by means of more complicated rules. Furthermore, the fact that the continuous construction of new tombs and buildings would have involved the participation and management of a group of people also needs to be taken into consideration. Mortuary behaviour shifted from the focus on material typical in the EM I - IIA period, to the mobilisation and control of people.

Cemeteries in MM IA can undoubtedly be considered central social arenas given the significant building efforts they attracted, the clear evidence for ritual they have produced and the apparent modifications in mortuary behaviour which aimed at the mobilisation and control of people. As in any other powerful social arena, many different social aspects were displayed and negotiated at the cemeteries, but this study focuses on the two most clearly signalled by the mortuary behaviour, those relating to horizontal integration and vertical differentiation. It is suggested here that the new interest in the mobilisation and control of people in the cemetery was related to two dynamics displayed and negotiated through mortuary behaviour: the reinforcement of

the identity and regional position of the community, and the efforts of certain individuals to acquire privileged social status.

With respect to the first point, the mobilisation of people may have been an indispensable means of reinforcing community identity. The mobilisations and control of people through ritual was a powerful way of bringing people together and creating group identity. Such a communal identity may have been a key element in the growing regional competitiveness suggested for the Mesara region during this period (Relaki 2003; 2004; Sbonias 1995; 1999b). Based on iconographic patterns in the deposition of seals in the cemeteries and on the evidence from ceramic production and settlement patterns, the work of both authors has demonstrated that the Mesara Valley communities were engaged in a highly integrated regional competition dynamic during the MM I period. In the setting of this regional dynamic, the cemetery itself became very important as an arena for signalling the regional position of a community and for managing its relationship with neighbouring communities, not only because it was an ideologically and emotionally charged context ideal for the re-endorsement of a group's consciousness, but also because funeral rituals were likely to bring people in from neighbouring communities, thus converting the event into a context for of intra- and inter-community communication and negotiation. That the tholos cemeteries played an important role in the dynamic of inter-community competition was not new, but this role was being adapted to respond to the new, large scale social dynamics in the Mesara Valley, which were completely different to the EM IIA dynamics in the Asterousia Mountains. The valley communities adapted the tholos cemeteries to their new inter-settlement competition, which now seems to have involved a struggle for regional influence and affiliation that was unknown in previous periods. Within this dynamic of competition, the management and mobilisation of individuals in communal rituals was almost certainly a necessary activity.

With respect to vertical differentiation, such an important arena for intra- and inter-community relationships would have been used by certain individuals to create privileged social status. However, cemeteries in the Mesara did not generally show many internal ranked differences during this period. Although cemeteries with tombs of varying size and layout, and with differences in the deposited material are encountered, these variations can only be clearly linked to individuals of high status in a few cases (see below). This does not mean that vertical differentiation did not exist in, for example, a 'big-man' type of logic; the individual who earns social power and wealth cannot always express their position in other social aspects, and at times cannot make

their social position ideologically conspicuous (Robb 1999: 114-5; Strathern 1991). In the cemeteries this could create a difference between the control of group ritual by certain individuals and the representation of their status as individual through their interment. In this scenario the cemetery could have been an important arena for vertical differentiation dynamics, but where this was achieved by means of group ritual and not directly manifested by individual-associated unusually rich interments. Therefore, vertical differentiation dynamics in a cemetery should not necessarily be expected to appear as distinctive and differentiated individual interments, and this makes them difficult to identify in the archaeological record. While this scenario is possible, it cannot be proven through the available evidence as the understanding of group ritual in the cemeteries is poor at best, however, some indirect evidence may support it. The appearance of seals in the tombs in significant numbers could be related to the role of certain figures as socio-economic resource controllers (Karytinos 1998; Sbonias 1999b). Particular individuals could have controlled economic and social resources for the organisation of group rituals, for example. Seals probably marked the management of resources on a more general level (Sbonias 1995: 144-9; Schoep 1999), but since the cemetery was a significant social arena, the gathering of resources for funerary rituals may have been one of the most important functions of such management.

Such vertical differentiation dynamics could have led to some profound differences in the most successful communities; this is suggested by the fact that certain tombs in a few of the cemeteries contained some particularly valuable objects. Some individuals in specific communities managed to reach a privileged social position that allowed them to use certain materials as grave goods in order to signal and reinforce their status. The significant deposition of gold items in Platanos Tholos A was unmatched in any other tomb of the region (Fig. IX.4) and it seems logical to relate it to the interment of individuals with a privileged status. The stone vessels of Egyptian influence found at the large Tholos A at Agia Triada A may be interpreted in a similar way. Koumasa and the other tholos cemeteries have yielded some less likely cases.

But such a simple model does not satisfactorily explain MM I Platanos. The appearance of such individuals at Platanos seems to have been intimately linked to the privileged position of this community in the Mesara Valley. The deposition of large numbers of stone vessels outside the tombs and in related ritual contexts shows that group rituals performed in the cemetery were of a different character to those undertaken at other cemeteries in the Mesara; this may indicate that the Platanos

community was communicating its privileged position to the communities around it by means of lavish and rich group ritual. This may have resulted in clear vertical differentiation within the community at Platanos, but may also have underwritten the community's achievement of a privileged regional position. Both the intra- and inter-community levels were intrinsically linked such that the emergence of a strong group at Platanos was interlinked with the clear institutionalisation of some individuals at the top of the community. Platanos is the clearest example of such dynamics, but these may also have occurred at Agia Triada, or even at Koumasa where a few stone vessels seem to have been deposited (These centres coincide with some of the regional centres identified by Sbonias in the MM I period through the study of seals: Sbonias 1995; 1999b). Other smaller cemeteries, such as Apesokari, where the evidence is not so clear, may represent communities at the lower end of the inter-community competition scale, where intra-community differentiation remained at an embryonic stage.

The north coast experienced a similar period of expansion as the Mesara in MM IA. However, this expansion was not uniform, and while many small rectangular tomb cemeteries appeared (rectangular tombs became the norm at this time to the detriment of caves and rock shelters: Figs. IX.7 and 12), the sites that were to become 'palatial' in MM IB-II experienced greater expansion at their cemeteries. This was the case at Mallia (Poursat 1988) and probably at Phourni, Gournia, Palaikastro and Zakros (for the possibility of these sites being large Protopalatial settlements see MacGillivray & Driessen 1990: 400-1; Platon 1999: 675; Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 31, 65; Soles 1979: 151).

The changes in the cemeteries, be they new or old, big or small, followed a similar path. Interestingly, the new mortuary behaviour parallels most of the traits seen in the Mesara cemeteries. The new rectangular tombs bore many similarities to the tholos annexes, in terms of construction type, the subdivision of the buildings in various rooms, and the differentiated use of rooms for interment, deposition and ritual. Open areas existed in many of the north coast cemeteries, such as Phourni and Gournes A, although they seem to have been less popular at the eastern end of the island. The appearance of pithos burials in the cemeteries was common to all regions of Crete. In addition, the material deposition in the north coast cemeteries followed very similar lines to that described for the tholos cemeteries: large deposits of ceramics inside and outside the tombs were found, most of which were cups and jugs. Stone vessels and seals were also commonly found, while metal items were now less common in the

mortuary deposits of the north coast. Again, stone vessels and seals have proven rarer at sites in east Crete, which may indicate some particularities in the mortuary behaviour of this area; perhaps its public character was not so marked as in the cemeteries situated in other parts of the island. As in the MM IA Mesara, new complex architecture, large deposits of material, and the identification of group ritual spaces indicate a similar interest in the management and mobilisation of individuals through ritual and other activities, such as the building of the tombs. Beyond the obvious differences in tomb type, the mortuary behaviour of the Mesara and Asterousia regions was very similar to that seen in the north of the island.

Beyond these general lines, some differences are encountered in the cemeteries of the north coast. It is now possible to clearly break down the north coast into smaller regions that displayed particular characteristics. This is especially clear in the eastern part of the Mirabello Bay, where a particular history revolved around the most important sites in the area: the MM IA expansion of the Gournia cemetery coincided with the decline of the Mochlos cemetery. Within the general pattern of mortuary behaviour on the north coast there is a need to understand the micro-regional trends in order to explain the particular history of a community and its mortuary record.

These differences are particularly clear in the mortuary behaviour of the various 'palatial' or at least larger-than-average sites. Gournia, Mallia, Palaikastro, Zakros and Phourni showed similar developments during this period that differed from the developments at smaller sites. These sites were principally marked by the explosive expansion of their cemeteries, produced by the building of a large number of tombs over a short period of time. In other respects they display similar characteristics to other MM IA cemeteries, such as a preference for rectangular tombs, large deposits of ceramic vessels outside tombs, and the deposition of stone vessels and seals. Within these general patterns the different 'palatial' sites materialised this trend in very different ways. Phourni witnessed the largest boom in the construction of tombs in MM IA, even compared with sites like Mallia and Palaikastro. Furthermore, its layout was very different to that of other sites; it was characterised by tightly clustered tombs, whereas the tombs at other sites appeared at different locations over a larger area. Palaikastro and Zakros each had a large cemetery in MM IA but the precise character of the cemetery is not clear. The Gravel Ridge at Palaikastro is reminiscent of the Phourni layout in that it has a clustered area with a complex series of buildings and rooms that seem intended for different purposes, but tombs also existed at other locations spread over a large area surrounding the community. The two sites in east

Crete also seem to lack the large buildings that characterised Phourni and Mallia, although it is possible that such may have existed at Palaikastro but have not survived or been located (e.g. the ashlar blocks noted on the Gravel Ridge). At Gournia, the open area outside Tomb II and the silver kantharos (which, however, is of MM II date), may indicate some similarities with the Phourni Tholos B complex and Chrisolakos, but it definitely did not parallel the monumentality of these two buildings, and nor in all probability their rich material deposition. The further east a site is, the more difficult it becomes to identify open group ritual areas in the cemeteries. The paved areas of Phourni and the Chrisolakos I ritual spaces clearly represent such areas, but at Gournia only the more modest altar outside of Tomb II is known, and at Palaikastro and Zakros a clear example of such contexts has yet to be found.

Phourni and Mallia are the only two sites where abnormally large and complex buildings are documented, both with traces of an assemblage particularly rich in gold items and stone vessels. Interestingly, these two buildings bear some similarities to Platanos Tholos A. They are buildings that have offered up evidence for both the differentiation of some individuals by burial and for significant group rituals. The rich grave goods found in these two buildings are similar to the deposition of gold at Platanos Tholos A, even if the items cannot be clearly dated. Paved areas outside Tholos B and Chrisolakos I offer evidence for group rituals and rooms for ritual and cult are also found in both, perhaps paralleling the purpose of the Tholos A annex at Platanos. These focal buildings are much more elaborated than any other funerary construction known in Crete and may indicate an out-of-the-ordinary ritual, just as the massive deposition of stone vessels does at Platanos. These two buildings could have shared the two-fold purpose seen at Platanos, namely intra-community vertical differentiation, and the setting of the community in a privileged regional position; such a purpose would have been fulfilled in a similar way, with the mobilisation of individuals through complex ritual activities.

Unfortunately, the spatially comprehensive analysis possible for the Mesara cannot be undertaken for the regions around Phourni and Mallia. It is thus impossible to assess the type of inter-community relationships in which the north coast sites were involved at a regional scale similar to that of the Mesara, although the relatively close proximity of the large communities of Knossos and Archanes fits in such a framework of regional competition (Whitelaw 2004a: 245). It can only be suggested that the lack of focal buildings in cemeteries in the east of the island, coupled with the small number of seals found in east Cretan cemeteries, could imply that the cemeteries did not play an

important role in this competition dynamic and that inter-community competition could have included some elements specific to this region (see below).

By the MM IA period it is clear that a new mortuary behaviour existed on the island, and this cannot but be related to profound changes in the social organisation of communities throughout the island. The most significant of these changes is that communities were far more integrated on an island-wide scale, with regional differences relegated to a secondary position. Only larger, more integrated supra-community networks that went beyond the local regional scale could bring about such homogeneity in patterns of change. These new networks cannot be explained under the same intra-community organisational structures of the EM I - IIA periods, as both intra- and inter-community relationships are fundamentally linked. Without completely dismissing regional differences, it seems that the social organisation of different communities in various parts of the island began to converge, although still far from being identical. This coincides with the fact that the human landscape of the island may now have become more homogeneous: Aegean trade networks had lost importance, as had some of the particularities of the north coast communities. Furthermore, the south-central Cretan evidence comes mainly from cemeteries in the Mesara Valley and not from the mountains, and thus from a landscape far more similar to the setting of the best known north and east Cretan sites, which had access to rich agricultural areas. The substitution in MM IA of local ceramic styles (Vasiliki, White-on-dark) by island-wide styles (Polychrome) with local variations also further supports this idea (Betancourt 1985: 71).

This study has characterised the new overarching social organisation in terms of efforts aimed at the mobilisation and integration of social groups at community and regional levels. During this period the control and mobilisation of a group became very important regardless of the region (with perhaps the exception of east Crete). Commensality and group ritual has normally been explained with an emphasis on vertical differentiation processes (Damilati 2004; Hamilakis 1998), but the fact that the new changes affected most of the cemeteries on the island regardless of their size or location shows that the changes also had to do with a new type of social organisation. This focus on group ritual and the mobilisation of the community may have been related to new, more integrated supra-community relationships, probably based on the dynamics of inter-community competition, which intensified during the MM I period (Sbonias 1995; Whitelaw 2004a). Within these competition dynamics, it became important to retain individuals, to put them under the aegis of group control and identity,

and to reinforce the community; at the same time, the individual had a need to belong to a strong group which would place them in a better social position. This may be explained by two different processes that were not mutually exclusive, but rather reinforced one another, the first entails economic concerns, the second ideological.

It is very possible that in a more densely inhabited landscape and under new production techniques that included new labour management, the control or organisation of the work force had become vital for a community. A new production system is suggested by the managerial evidence: the fact that seals now appear prominently in the mortuary record shows both an interest in the control of production as well as new systems to control it. Also the deployment of cemeteries around agricultural areas (the Mesara Valley), and the increasing importance of some sites in agriculturally rich areas (later palatial sites) may indicate changes in the subsistence system (Whitelaw 2004a: 244) that affected in similar ways the different regions of the island. Also settlement patterns across the island suggest that a new way of exploiting the landscape appeared in EM III - MM IA Crete (Hayden 2004: 81-2; Hope Simpson *et al.* 1995: 395; although in the Kavousi area and the Mesara Valley the expansion has been dated to MM IB: Haggis 2005: 69-70; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 281-4), which can only be explained by a new agricultural system. This new agricultural system in a more densely inhabited environment may have created a new competition dynamics between the different communities for the limited resources to deploy it. 'Resources' does not necessarily mean arable land, although a more densely inhabited landscape may have produced competition for land in some areas, but actually individuals and their labour needed for developing these techniques.

A more integrated landscape, with denser interaction at the supra-community level may also have given rise to concerns over community identity that need not necessarily be based on economic processes. More regular interactions outside a community may have made it necessary for individuals to create a clear and strong communal identity that permitted them to navigate the different social relationships: marriage opportunities, land rights, etc. In this sense the stronger the community, the stronger the social position of its members within the different social relationships. Group rituals identified in the cemeteries indicate just such ideological processes.

These two types of rationale actually support each other. New production systems may have created the surplus required for the group ritual. On the other hand, a group that was stable and strong at an ideological level could have allowed the

community to maintain and intensify production, creating a stronger regional position. Relaki has suggested a similar model for the EM III - MM II Mesara area, in which wine is the driving production force and communal ritual drinking is the ideological force (Relaki 2003). While this study is consistent with the more basic interpretation of the data in her work, it is far from clear that grapes and wine played such an important role for these communities. Although the mortuary evidence does not provide insight into the exact nature of the new agricultural system, it is suggested here that there were broader production changes along with more fluid intra- and inter-community relationships structured by various social dynamics such as kinship, marriage and economic links, and that communal rituals formed only a part, though perhaps the most public and significant part, of this web of relationships.

The fact that the new EM III - MM I mortuary behaviour extended across most of Crete suggests that such a scenario as that described above was generally deployed in a highly organised landscape. As Sbonias suggested (Sbonias 1995; 1999b), it is possible that each large site, identified here by a large cemetery, was at the centre of a small regional system that became the main unit of supra-community competition. The emergence of strong central communities may have been a prerequisite for the new social organisation (*contra* Haggis 1999; 2002), as even when such large communities did not have a strict control over surrounding smaller communities (see below), they may have provided an economic and ideological focus for smaller communities, leading them through affiliation/association into the dynamics of inter-regional competition.

The new social organisational structure opened up opportunities and avenues for vertical differentiation dynamics. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of these dynamics is that, despite a range of indirect indications that support the existence of a ranked society, such as large settlements or regional competitiveness, there is actually very little direct evidence for high status individuals. Even in cemeteries where clearer indications of status existed, these are always embedded in a strong emphasis on the group. For example, at Phourni and Mallia, the EM III - MM IA monumental buildings with rich material assemblages marked both the interment of particular kinds of individuals and locales used for group ritual. Following this logic, the cemeteries of large communities mark not only certain privileged individuals, but also a privileged community. Both dynamics were closely related: individuals with a clear privileged status were the visible focus for the development of a large and powerful community in the region.

This view of vertical differentiation may seem to be based on a typical processualist vision in which a managerial elite is considered a necessary step for the development of a successful economy (Halstead 1981; 1988; Renfrew 1972b). But such a simple scenario is doubtful. It is difficult to find the evidence in the record for a strong central managerial figure. It may be possible that the system did not require either a strong hierarchy or a highly centralised power to be managed, and that horizontal social relationships controlled much of the economic, political and ideological interactions within the new social organisation. The processualist approach also relies heavily on economic factors, but changes must also be understood in terms of ideology and non-economic human relationships. Controlled group ritual determined most of the new changes in the cemeteries and it seems that very important social activities took place in MM I cemeteries, peak sanctuaries and caves (Haggis 1999: 77-8; Jones 1999; Nowicki 1994: 34; Peatfield 1987; Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 78; Tyree 2001), and probably in the new central buildings being constructed at the palatial sites (Davis 1987; Marinatos 1987; Schoep 2002a. 113-4; Vansteenhuyse 2002).

As a parallel to the discussion of social organisation for this period, vertical differentiation dynamics may have had both an economic and an ideological basis: economic in a managerial sense, where individuals may have controlled some of the production of subsistence systems, and ideological in a managerial sense too, as in organising and directing group ritual. Both dynamics would have complemented each other, as the ability to control certain agricultural surpluses would have allowed the organisation of the commensality of group ritual, while the ability to control group ritual could have given these individuals the legitimacy to control at least some aspects of agricultural production.

While individuals may not have achieved a strongly differentiated position through these dynamics in the EM III - MM IA period, these dynamics seem to have found a stable form. The social bases that sustained vertical differentiation were steadier now that they depend on internal grounds rather than on off-island links (Whitelaw 2004a). Furthermore, horizontal and vertical social relationships seem to have been based on similar foundations and were staged using the same funerary rituals (but also in the new peak sanctuaries and in MM IB in the new palatial buildings), thus integrating them tighter into the social organisation. This does not mean that crises did not occur, but the social organisation was better able to cope with them. It seems that the better integration of horizontal and vertical differentiation permitted the structure of social organisation to be more resilient in the face of

particular problems. But at the same time change was also possible, given the fluid relationship between vertical and horizontal dynamics. The new social organisation had the potential to institutionalise a stratified society, and the stability of the social organisation permitted this potential to develop into a palatial society. While this was the picture in MM IA, it is possible that it changed in subsequent periods. The development of larger sites may have been the result of a kind of multiplier effect between the privileged positioning of a community within the landscape and the development of the position of certain individuals within the community. The mutual reinforcement of both aspects may have led to a new type of social organisation that differed qualitatively from that of the smaller sites.

While this model may apply in a broad sense to the various areas on Crete, regional differences may have existed. The lack of east Cretan evidence for the mobilisation and management of individuals through ritual in the cemeteries may have to do with a different competitive dynamic in inter-community relationships in this part of the island perhaps conducted mainly through the numerous peak sanctuaries in this part of the island (Nowicki 1994: 47, Fig. 8), and could indicate particularities in the social organisation of the communities in this area as compared to central Crete.

IX.5 MM IB

The MM IB period is more difficult to characterise than the MM IA period since it did not represent such a stark change in the mortuary behaviour, and is difficult to distinguish in the archaeological mortuary record (Fig. IX.8). In general, the scanty data available indicate that MM IB burial customs were similar to those in MM IA. Similar material, such as ceramics, sometimes in large deposits, as well as seals, stone vessels and a few metal objects, was deposited in both periods. Architectural features do not seem to have been modified in the MM IB period, and new buildings and tombs can be explained by the particular history of a community rather than as profound changes in mortuary behaviour.

However, a few changes occurred that are worthy of note. During MM IB site development seems to have followed more individual paths. This is particularly true of the large cemeteries which followed very diverse histories during this period. Mallia underwent some important changes with the rebuilding of the Chrisolakos, but no important changes are known at Palaikastro and Zakros. At Phourni most of the tombs were in use in MM IB but the building frenzy of the MM IA period ceased, indicating

stability or stagnancy. It is unclear what exactly was going on in the Mesara Valley during this period as there are no distinctive MM IB funerary deposits, but it seems that Platanos still constituted a large cemetery which saw significant material deposition, and new buildings at Agia Triada suggest that this cemetery still played an important role as a social arena in the MM IB period. The lasting significance of the cemeteries at Platanos suggests that inter-community competition dynamics were still important in the Mesara valley. Phaistos represented a large community during this period (Watrous *et al.* 2004: 277), but it may not have been able to secure a hegemonic position in the valley, and Platanos could still have been using funerary rites to mark their positions of importance in the region (Relaki 2003; *contra* Watrous *et al.* 2004: 288-91).

It seems clear that the period of development that characterised the EM III - MM IA cemeteries came to an end, and in some cases tombs began to be abandoned (Fig. IX.8), thus marking the beginning of a decline in the use of the cemeteries. By the end of MM IB this was a clear tendency, with whole cemeteries, such as Mochlos, falling out of use. The zenith in the use of tombs, and perhaps their relevance as social arenas, seems to have passed by this point. This coincided with the emergence of new standardised ritual sites such as palatial buildings, ritual caves and peak sanctuaries, which appear to have taken over the role of the cemetery as a place for the creation and negotiation of the social organisation of a community (Haggis 1999; Nowicki 1994; Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996; 1998a; 1998b; 1998c; Zois 1998d). New social arenas may have been regarded as more appropriate for the negotiation of social organisation and individual and group social identities because the new rituals were better suited to new social relationships, or simply because the new arenas were more accessible to some individuals to use to their advantage than the long-used cemeteries, where social interactions followed older conventions that were less open to modification or manipulation.

By the MM IB period the emergence of 'palatial' communities indicates a continuing process of change in the social organisation of Cretan communities. While the mortuary record has limitations regarding the study of the 'palatial' aspects of the new societies, the evidence from the cemeteries of major centres raises some interesting questions. The regular form taken by such palatial sites around the island seems to support the idea that similar processes were taking place on Crete at this time with regard to social organisation, processes that can be explained in similar ways but manifest through local histories. However, their mortuary behaviour was not very different from that seen at smaller sites and presents only quantitative differences

except for the central buildings at Phourni, Mallia and perhaps Platanos that indicate deeper differences. It is suggested that 'palatial' sites did not differ much from smaller sites in MM IB within the explanatory model described in the earlier section. While their larger size suggests that there were some differences from smaller sites, only a couple of examples represent a qualitative leap in scale and complexity.

Related to this point is the assessment of the impact the new MM IB 'palatial' sites had on the surrounding communities, and on integrated and stratified supra-community systems. It has recently been suggested by Haggis that such systems may not necessarily have existed during the MM I - II periods, and that large sites had minimal impact on inter-community relations, which could be organised without the presence of a large central site (Haggis 2002). The similar composition of the cemeteries in MM I supports this suggestion. Large sites did not differ substantially in terms of their organisation from smaller sites, just as they did not differ in their mortuary behaviour, and they may have been linked to smaller sites through broader horizontal relationships, with vertical social differentiation having a limited impact at a supra-community level. However, the intrinsic bond between vertical and horizontal relationships in MM I social organisation may indicate that the idea of vertical differentiation may have become ideologically naturalised even if it was not in fact implemented far beyond the larger sites, and this would have been important for its further development. Status differentiation may have become a common part of the ideological language of Cretan societies in MM I without having had a major impact outside the largest sites or on supra-community organisation more generally.

IX.6 MM II

By MM II the declining significance of cemeteries was clear and at the end of this period most of them ceased to be in use (Figs. IX.9 and 10). This did not simply parallel the end of the Protopalatial period, as the cemeteries were not suddenly abandoned coinciding with the destruction of the first palaces. The use of the cemeteries started to decline from MM IB onwards, with the abandonment of many funerary contexts and with a much less significant deposition of objects in the tombs that were still in use. This contrasted with the settlement histories which underwent a massive expansion (MacGillivray 1994: 52-3; Poursat 1988: 66; Schoep 2002a: 107-8; Watrous *et al.* 2004: 277; Whitelaw 2004b: 156, Figs. 10.7 and 10.8).

The few exceptions to this general scenario involve some of the largest cemeteries. At Mallia, the construction of Chrisolakos II showed that the cemetery was still the focus of significant interest and very considerable effort investment. It is difficult to say for certain, but it is possible that important social acts in the form of ritual activities were still taking place at the Mallia and Phourni cemeteries in MM II. The fact that all these exceptions were found in large cemeteries, and that they concerned activities in the most significant tombs, suggests that larger communities with more marked vertical social dynamics may still have found the cemetery to be an effective social arena for the negotiation of social status.

In any case by the end of the period most of the cemeteries had been abandoned, and a very different mortuary behaviour began to appear on the island by the end of the MM II period and during MM III (Fig. IX. 10; Girella 2004). Pithoi and larnakes were used in very different contexts (Mavriyannaki 1972; Preston 2004), and pithos cemeteries became much more important (Petit 1990: 39). In general, Neopalatial mortuary behaviour used new types of tombs, such as the chamber tombs at Knossos (although the first examples appear to be as early as MM IB, Whitelaw pers. comm.), and the cemeteries were built in new locations and had a very different layout (Alberti 2001; 2004; Forsdyke 1927; Preston 1999). Even LM tholoi differed greatly from those of the EM - MM periods (Pelon 1976). Overall, only a few EM - MM cemeteries were fully used in the MM III and LM periods and in these cases the late burial activities were not connected to EM - MM use; in other cases, LM material reflects sporadic activities that may have related to the survival of these places in the consciousness of a community and to some kind of LM ancestor cult (Soles 2001).

IX.7 Time and space

At this point it is necessary to recapitulate and consider in more detail the spatial and temporal patterns that have been noted in the study of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete. It was suggested in Chapter II that both time and space are imbedded in the archaeological record in a complex way, and are composed of different interacting scales. But the Cretan mortuary record has shown that such a general discussion needs to be brought down to the level of archaeological realities. A complex understanding of space and time can only be achieved through the particularities of the subject under study. Only after unique peculiarities in the interaction of the various temporal and spatial scales on Crete have been identified and examined can a proper understanding of the pattern of development of Cretan

communities be achieved. While the theoretical framework of Chapter II laid down the basis for such an analysis, its exact repercussions for the conception of Cretan societies must be now explored.

With respect to spatial scales, it has been shown that island-wide patterns existed from EM I onwards, but the relevance of these patterns and their materialisation in Cretan communities varied widely in each period. In EM IIA, only off-island material and its exchange can be seen as a characteristic that reached most Cretan communities, but this generalisation means little as different populations adapted this overarching resource to meet the needs of their local social organisation, fragmenting this general pattern and rendering it understandable only at a regional level.

Island-wide patterns became more relevant in subsequent periods, and by MM I they are clearly significant for the understanding of most if not all Cretan communities. By MM I mortuary behaviour can be analysed at an island-wide level, associated with larger and more integrated inter-community relationships and with similar social organisations shared by communities in different parts of the island. Furthermore, while during EM I - II, Crete must be understood from a regional perspective, by MM I island-wide patterns are those that appear to carry more explanatory weight. Crete as the subject of analysis only becomes relevant from the EM III/MM I periods onwards, and for earlier periods one should be careful about referring to Crete as whole in any analyses, as island-wide generalisations and explanations could be misleading. Understanding different communities on the island during the EM I - II periods is only possible through clearly defined regional perspectives.

Within the island, diverse multi-tiered supra-community scales have been recognised. The study of the supra-community scales through mortuary behaviour has succeeded in the case of south-central Crete and the east Mirabello area, picking up small but relevant regional idiosyncrasies. This has shown that some of the most general uses of 'regions' such as the Mesara region or the Mirabello area, are not always valid, and relevant regional scales can be smaller than usually supposed and very flexible through time. However, no template for the definition of a behaviourally coherent region exists, and the exact nature of a socially relevant supra-community system changes depending on the period and area of study and need to be defined empirically through the patterning in the data. Such systems only acquired a clearly differentiated personality in the east Mirabello region from EM II onwards, and have

been much more difficult to identify elsewhere on the north coast. Rather than constituting a purely archaeological issue, this appears to have represented the character of north coast mortuary behaviour; heterogeneity in the record should not be viewed as an obstacle to the investigations, but must be identified as a relevant characteristic to be included in the explanatory models. Analyses of the different cemeteries in this region have shown that heterogeneity occurred here at site-specific or small regional levels and that certain causes of this heterogeneity were repeated in different areas of the north coast, such as the EM I rock-cut tomb 'Cycladic' cemeteries which linked several north coast communities under similar processes. Following this model, the wide and loose off-island influences as seen on the north coast actually become an important trait to take into consideration for the understanding of other communities in this area. However, the analysis of the north coast communities is not completely satisfactory. Small regional analyses are essential for the understanding of Cretan communities during EM I - IIA, and further analyses should be designed to achieve a detailed knowledge of the mortuary data on a small-scale regional basis for sections of the north coast.

The community (including the diverse social groups that compose it) is the final level identified by the study of mortuary behaviour as fundamental for the understanding of Cretan societies. The individuality of each cemetery and community is a very important source of variation in the record, and community history must be included in the explanatory models. The role played by the community in the analyses is, however, far from static and in some scenarios more explanatory importance must be placed on the community, as in the case of the north coast during the EM I period when very different cemeteries existed in neighbouring communities. Regardless of these variations, the community remains ever relevant in the explanatory models even where inter-community relationships are concerned, since these were founded on the individual histories of each community.

Chronological scales are also crucial to understanding the Cretan archaeological record. This study has shown that long time scales explain little or nothing with respect to the mortuary record. Starkly different patterns emerge in the Cretan mortuary record in the EM IIA and EM III periods, with the two periods having little in common, indeed, only a few cemeteries were actually in use during both periods (Fig. IX.11). It has been demonstrated that the various mortuary behaviours relate to different types of social organisation in both periods, and that there was no linear connection between those of EM IIA and EM III: Cretan societies were created and

transformed, dynamics were abandoned, certain processes came to an end and completely new ones began, and what came before does not always explain what followed. Studies of EM I - IIA communities cannot simply be used to find better explanations for processes which occurred in EM III - MM IA; rather these periods should be studied in their own right and their relevance for explaining later periods (if this exists at all), established rather than assumed.

Medium-term scales acquire far more significance, filling the gap left by the long-term perspective: these are specifically the EM I - IIA and EM III - MM IA periods. Unfortunately, serious problems have been encountered which hinder the understanding of the phase between these two periods. It is not clear what happened on Crete in EM MB - III. Each region has shown particularities in terms of the exact dating as well as the nature of the EM MB - III transition period: from the early EM MB disruptions in the north-central coastal cemeteries to the less traumatic transitions in the late EM MB - Early EM III periods in the Mesara Valley and east Crete. The EM I - IIA and the EM III - MM I periods can be safely identified as two different cycles in which the highly different mortuary behaviours indicate different social organisations and social dynamics; some of the reasons for this transformation have been suggested in earlier sections, but a clear understanding of the nature and exact development of the changes remains elusive, though identifying the magnitude of the changes, rather than presuming gradualism and continuity is a significant first step.

With respect to short-term dynamics, problems in their identification have been encountered since, in general, the archaeological evidence does not permit such high-resolution analyses to be undertaken. From what can be distinguished in the mortuary record, there were always changes and variations at the level of the smallest time scales that can be discerned as unique events and short term patterns; some unique events seem more relevant for the understanding of the record than others. For example, a cleaning event represents a far more important incident for the understanding of the mortuary behaviour of a community than the deposition of a specific interment. And even when it may be impossible to identify these unique events in the record, their potential transforming power must be borne in mind. In general, the short term patterns represent a more lasting impact on the mortuary behaviour, such as the MM IA construction period at Phoumi or the repeated deposition of folded arm figurines in Tholos r at EM IIA Phoumi. However, this time scale is quite difficult to identify and understand because the fine grained chronologies and variable duration and nature of such short period patterns, makes it difficult to connect them with

archaeological explanatory models. Every example of such short-term events had a different set of characteristics and therefore needs to be understood within its unique context. Although it may seem quite difficult to single out unique events and short-term patterns, given the present knowledge of the record, some of the analyses in this study demonstrate that it is possible, and informative.

The relationships between temporal and spatial scales have proven rather more difficult to understand than the theoretical framework in this study first suggested (Chapter II), and there is no direct correlation between the two types of scale. Short-term events occur not only at small spatial scales but also across the entire island, such as at the end of the EM MB period. Choices made at small spatial scales, such as the location of a settlement in a particular spot along the coast, determined its history in the medium and even long term. The large spatial scale of the island cannot be understood in the long term. Crete does not emerge as a relevant unit of study until the EM III - MM IA periods. In this sense, one must be careful not to create narratives that follow universal conceptions of time cycles (*longue duree*) and the extensive spatial scales so popular in Mediterranean studies (Bintliff 1991; Horden & Purcell 2000; Knapp 1992), and instead employ more fluid, context specific temporal and spatial frameworks. Furthermore, the classical division of Cretan prehistory into periods defined by ceramics (EM II, MM IB, etc.), rarely corresponds with actual changes in the behavioural record, and should only be used as a temporal reference scale for the monitoring of specific processes.

In the case of Crete, a comprehensive study of mortuary behaviour highlighting variability rather than generalising across broad scales, has succeeded in identifying the complex temporal and spatial patterns that created the archaeological record, and linking them to appropriate human scales of explanatory models. This creates a basic but useful theoretical framework in which new research can be better contextualised. This study has also identified different temporal and spatial scales that are relevant for the understanding of the Cretan mortuary record and ultimately of early Cretan communities.

IX.8 *Conclusions*

Despite the theoretical problems that exist when trying to understand a human society through its archaeological mortuary record, the comprehensive approach of this study, together with the use of novel perspectives on mortuary behaviour and social

organisation, has provided significant insight into Cretan prehistoric societies. Even under these conditions, this study has taken a cautious approach to reconstructing social organisation in order to avoid the trap of creating detailed narratives that find little support in the data, and has tried to build a consistent and relevant theoretical framework in which explanatory models can be better balanced against the patterns in the data. The intention of this framework has been to generate a more fluid and holistic understanding of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete that goes beyond simple narrow generalist and evolutionary categories, such as chiefdom classifications, and explanatory models that rely heavily on a single factor, such as the managerial economy. An attempt has been made to show that the understanding of Cretan communities must be founded on the combination of economic, ideological and social models within complex and dynamic spatial and chronological frameworks.

This study has tried to shift the focus of the study of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete from the narrow vision of political evolution to a much more comprehensive understanding of the changes undergone by Cretan communities, not only by analysing the data in a non-linear way with different societies engaging with different processes at the same time, but also by concentrating on social organisation as a whole rather than in socio-political development alone. It has tried to show that the history of the 3rd and 2nd millennia on Crete cannot be understood as a movement towards increasing socio-political complexity, but rather as a series of non-cumulative changes in the social organisation of the societies, including both horizontal and vertical social relationships. In this regard the comprehensive approach developed in this research has placed major effort on analysing change from a socially holistic point of view. Important variations in the material record have been recognised as relating to general and profound changes in the social organisation of Cretan communities, both in the concrete rules that governed the life of the communities but also in the structural characteristics of these rules. This is not to say that vertical differentiation dynamics have been ignored; on the contrary, their investigation was contextualised in a wider social framework, making them easier to understand and relate to the archaeological record.

Particular emphasis has been placed on challenging some of the spatial and chronological assumptions that pervade most studies of Pre- and Protopalatial Crete. The study of the mortuary record has revealed a complexity that needs to be incorporated into the explanatory models. Ideas about lineal development of 'complexity' and the general use of the term 'region' need to be discarded and replaced

by studies that address specific temporal and spatial scales, relevant to the phenomena and processes under study, and that abandon the 'retrospective' teleology in which earlier periods are interpreted in relation to later ones, especially with respect to the appearance of 'palatial' communities.

Also, it has been stressed that while Crete is a defined geographical unit, it does not necessarily represent a significant human behavioural unit. Although clear boundaries cannot be created, and terms such as ethnicity have been consciously avoided, it must be remembered that very different societies may have occupied the island at any specific period. Different ways of life, including economic and social aspects, different ways of structuring social relationships, and perhaps with stress on different types of identities may have characterised very different populations on the island. Approaching such aspects of society through mortuary behaviour has given us a more subtle insight into their nature, as descriptions of material patterning have been replaced by a more flexible and relevant analysis of behaviour: different ways of doing and conceptualising things, in this case in so significant a social sphere as the mortuary arena.

While the more detailed narrative aspects of this study can and will be extended, modified or replaced by future research into the funerary record and other archaeological areas of study, it is at least hoped that an open, complex and dynamic model has been created on which more complex, relevant and holistic studies and models can be based.

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**Mortuary behaviour and social
organisation in Pre- and Protopalatial
Crete**

Vol. II: Database and Figures

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Appendix: Database of Funerary contexts in Pre- and Protopalatial Crete

The database is ordered by region: south central Crete, central Crete, Mirabello Bay and Ierapetra region, east Crete and west Crete, and then by alphabetical order

Name: Name of the cemetery and the particular tomb

ID: Unique number that identifies the tomb

Nearest Village: Nearest modern village

Type: Type of context: rectangular tomb, rock-cut tomb, rock shelter, cave, Nea Roumata, pithos/lamakes, pithos cemetery, annex, associated building, open area or Unknown

Dubious: Not certain that the context is tomb or related to funerary use

Excavated: Confirmation of excavation. In certain cases this is difficult to establish from the reports

Area: Broader area within Crete

References: Literature in which the context is mentioned; in addition here are a group of references that cover most of the known contexts but have not been included for each record: Metal objects and jewellery (Branigan 1968; 1974; Effinger 1996; Vasilakis 1996b), figurines (Krause 1992), stone vessels (Warren 1969), exotica (Phillips 1991), seals (Yule 1980), tomb catalogues (Branigan 1970b; 1993; Georgoulaki 1996a; Hiller 1977; Panagiatopoulos 2002)

Architecture

Width: Building width, interior measurements in metres. min.= minimum.

Length: Building length, interior measurements in metres. min.= minimum.

Diameter (tholos): Interior diameter in metres

Wall thickness (tholos): Average wall thickness in metres

Annex (tholos): Presence of an Annex

Vestibule (tholos): Presence of a vestibule

Doorway type (tholos): Type of doorway, built or Trilithon (see Branigan 1970b: 33-6)

Vaulted (tholos): Presence of vaulting

Entrance orientation: Door orientation

Number of spaces: Number of discrete spaces identified inside a building.

Other features: Other features of interest

Chronology

Construction / First use date: Suggested construction of a context or first use of a context for funerary purposes

Periods: Periods that the tomb was in use: Blank= not used, P= possibly used, Yes= in use

Disturbed: Later disturbances reported (LM re-use or looting)

Dating: Dating of the tomb as suggested by different authors

Material

Material: Approximate count of published material. The numbers are not confirmed in many cases and represent only a reference, not definite figures. min.= minimum number of objects. Yes= reported items of a specific type, but no clear number.

Burial

Burial: Information regarding interment type and related rituals

Larnax: Presence of lamakes in the context

Pithos: Presence of pithoi in the context

Others: Other relevant information such as identified related settlement

Agia Irini

Name Agia Irini ID 2
 Nearest village Stavros Type Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated £
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:51-3. Branigan 1970b: 94 (plan). Pelon 1976:8 no 1B. Balli 1984:109.
 Branigan 1993:146 no 58.

Architecture

Diameter 6.6 Entrance orientation IE Doorway type Trilithon |
 Wall thickness 1.2 Annex slo Vestibule [No] Vaulted [|
 Other Balli reports an internal wall in the tholos which modifies Xanthoudides' measurements to 4.3 m
 Features diameter and 2.35 m wads width.

Chronology

Construction/ EMI? EM I E j MMIA E Z MMIII-LM [] Disturbed
 First use date EM II fresj MM IB IP i
 EM III [] MM II []
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: 53 EM II - MM; Branigan 1993:146 EM I - MM I.

Material

Ceramic	[	Bone		Ceramic vases	2	Figurines
Stone	[	Copper	1	Stone vases		Tools
Ivory	[	Gold		Seals		Beads
Crystal	[	Silver/Lead		T Daggers	j	Amulets
Obsidian				L Daggers	1	j Ornaments j
Other	T			Other	j	

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Agia Irini

Name Agia Irini ID i v
 Nearest village Stavros Type Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated \$
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:51-3. Platon 1969a: no 5. Branigan 1970b: 94 plan. Pelon 1976:8, no 1A.
 Balli 1984:109. Branigan 1993:146 no 57. Zois 1998d: 163,193.

Architecture

Diameter 7.7 Entrance orientation Doorway type Trilithon |
 Wall thickness 1.8 Annex f Nj Vestibule [Yes] Vaulted |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EMI? EMI E I] MMIA E IJ MMIII-LM [Yes] Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II Ses] MM IB EZJ
 EM III [] MM II []
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: 52 EM I/II - Branigan 1993:146 EM I/II - MM. Zois 1998d: 193 EM I/II-

Material

Ceramic	4	j Bone		Ceramic vases		Figurines
Stone	[	j Copper		Stone vases		
Ivory	[	j Gold				Beads
Crystal	[	1 Silver/Lead		T Daggers		Amulets
Obsidian						Ornaments H
Other	!			Other		

Burial

Burial LM Lamakes and Pithos were reported by Xanthoudides (see also Rutkowski 1966:119),
 although they may be earlier (Branigan 1993:63). Lamax g Pithos i£

Others

Agia Kiriaki

Name (Agia Kiriaki) Annex to Tholos A ! ID i 4
 Nearest village Listaros | Type Annex Dubious □
 Area jAgiopharango Excavated B
 Reference Sakellarakis 1965b. Blackman & Branigan 1982. Vasilakis 1990:34-7 no 12. Branigan 1993:17-32.

Architecture

Width approx. 4 Entrance orientation E Number of spaces [T
 Length approx. 8 Associated buildings Tholos A
 Other Rooms 2,3 and 5 were constructed together. Room 2 had a bench. A fourth room, 4, was attached later as the separation of Rooms 3 and 5. East of Room 2 there is a platform next to a pit, and a peribolos wall east of the annex.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ JEMI EM I Yes I MMIA Yes MMIII-LM I Disturbed B
 First use date EM II Yes MM IB Yes
 EM III Yes j MM II
 Dating jBlackman & Branigan 1982: Rooms 3 and 5 constructed with Tholos, EM I. Room 2, platform and [Peribolos wall, EM IIA. Room 1, MM I.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone [_j Ceramic vases Sherds Figurines ,7
 Stone 25 min. Copper _j Stone vases [6 min. Tools 83
 Ivory j Gold _j Seals [Beads 1
 Crystal j Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 66 j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Flint, chert ! Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Fragments of bone found in Room 1.

Agia Kiriaki

Name Agia Kiriaki ||* ID 3
 Nearest village Listaros | Type Tholos ! Dubious □
 Area Agiopharango | Excavated ^
 Reference Sakellarakis 1965b. Alexiou 1971a: 307. Pelon 1976:461; 1994:164-6 no 26A. Blackman and Branigan 1977:56 W6; 1982. Balli 1984:98-9. Vasilakis 1990:34-8 no 12. Branigan 1993:17-32 no 20. Wilson & Day 1994:12-3, 35-8.

Architecture

Diameter [46 Entrance orientation |E | Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness j j Annex Yes Vestibule [No] Vaulted [Yes
 Other jCorbelling.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ JEMI [] EM I Yes I MM IA JYes I MM III - LM I I Disturbed B
 First use date EM II S g j MM IB K g
 EM III iYes I MM II I I
 Dating Blackman & Branigan 1982 EM I - MM I. Vasilakis 1990: 34-7 EM I - MM I.

Material

Ceramic j1954 min. Bone | Ceramic vases j1950 min. Figurines ;8
 Stone 28 min. i Copper 1 Stone vases 9 min. Tools [24
 Ivory Gold Seals Yes Beads Yes
 Crystal Silver/Lead j j T Daggers { Amulets iYes
 Obsidian 6 L Daggers Ornaments 1
 Other [j Other iNo whole ceramic vessels !

Burial

Burial Lamax B Pithos B

Others [Blackman & Branigan reported three hamlets in the area, E5, W7 and E 20 (1982: 55).

Agia Kiriaki

Name Agia Kiriaki
 Nearest village Listaros Type Tholos Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977:37-8 W6b, 56-8; 1982:46. Balli 1984:98-9. Branigan 1993:145 no 21. Pelon 1994:161-2 no 26Ba.

Architecture

Diameter 3.5 Entrance orientation Doorway type
 Wall thickness 1 Annex Np Vestibule No Vaulted
 Other Construction probably was never finished. Attached to Agia Kiriaki B.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/EMI? MM IA IP MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB P
 EM III MM II
 Dating Blackman & Branigan 1977: 58 MM 1 or EM I/II; 1982: 46 EM I/I-. Branigan 1993:145 EM I/II?

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial

Others Blackman & Branigan reported three hamlets in the area, E5, W7 and E 20 (1982: 55).

Agia Kiriaki

Name {Agia Kiriaki | B ; ID 5
 Nearest village Listaros [Type {Tholos } Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977: 37-8 W6a, 56-8; 1982:46. Balli 1984:98-9. Branigan 1993:145 no 21. Pelon 1994:161-2 no 26B.

Architecture

Diameter 1.7 Entrance orientation Doorway type
 Wall thickness 1.3 Annex Np Vestibule No Vaulted
 Other Construction probably was never finished. Attached to Agia Kiriaki C.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/EMI? MM IA s m MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II E J MM IB E D
 EM III MM II
 Dating Blackman & Branigan 1977: 58 MM I or EM I/II; 1982:46 EM I/II- Branigan 1993:145 EM I/II?

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial

Others Blackman & Branigan reported three hamlets in the area, E5, W7 and E 20 (1982: 55).

Agia Kiriaki W8

Name Agia Kiriaki W8 W8a ID [8
 Nearest village Listaros Type Rectangular tomb Dubious E
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977: 58-9 W8. Vasilakis 1990:32 or 33 no 9 or 10.

Architecture

Width [2 | Entrance orientation i Number of spaces T
 Length [S J Associated buildings ;
 Other Features [Blackman and Branigan reported a second possible rectangular tomb at this site.

Chronoloov

Construction/ jEM II? j EM I [j MM IA MM III - LM j Disturbed E
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB IP__
 EM III I MM II jP__
 Dating [Blackman & Branigan 1977: 58-9 MM, Kamares, and LM I. Vasilakis 1990:32 Thesi 9 EM II and MM IA sherds; Thesi 10 EM II and MM.

Material

Ceramic [Yes _ | Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases ~] Tools
 Ivory | Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian I J L Daggers i Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Human bone fragments. Lamax Pithos

Others Vasilakis Thesi 9 may not correspond to Blackman & Branigan's W8 but to E20, even when he reported human bones from this Thesi. Instead, Thesi 10 may correspond to site W8.

Agia Kiriaki W8

Name Agia Kiriaki W8 ID [8
 Nearest village [Listaros Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious E
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977: 58-9 W8. Vasilakis 1990: 32 or 33 no 9 or 10.

Architecture

Width approx. 3 Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length approx. 6 Associated buildings
 Other Features [Blackman and Branigan reported a rectangular tomb and a second rectangular building nearby. [Vasilakis reported walls inside the larger building at a lower level, however this arrangement is [identical to Blackman and Branigan's site E20.

Chronology

Construction/ EM II? EM I j MMIA H MMIII-LM [ID Disturbed E
 First use date EM II Sis] MM IB [ED
 EM III j i MM II P 1
 Dating [Blackman & Branigan 1977: 58-9 MM, Kamares, and LM I. Vasilakis 1990:32 Thesi 9 EM II and MM IA sherds; Thesi 10 EM II and MM.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments
 Other ! Other

Burial

Burial Human bone fragments. Lamax u Pithos u

Others Vasilakis Thesi 9 may not correspond to Blackman & Branigan's W8 but to E20, even when he reported human bones from this Thesi. Instead, Thesi 10 may correspond to site W8.

Agia Triada

Name [Agia Triada] A ID 10
 Nearest village(Vari) Type [Tholos] Dubious
 Area West Mesara Excavated
 Reference Halbherr 1905, Mosso 1906,1908, Stefani 1933, Banti 1933; 1948, Borda 1946, Zois 1967b: 70-5, Junghans et al 1968: no 9406-19, Platon 1969a: no 6-103, Ward 1971: 94-103, Laviosa 1972, Pelon 1976: 8-10 no 2A, Sapouna-Sakellarakí 1983:48-9, Wälberg 1983: 92, Belli 1984:109-11, Wilson 1985:290, Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:190-6, Branigan 1993:144 no 1, Cultraro 1994; 2000; 2004, Wilson and Day 1994:13, Di Vita 1995:428-32; 2000; 2001: 390-3, Carind 1999: 115 n.2; 2000: 32; 2004, La Rosa 1999; 2001, Todaro 2001; 2004, Panagiatopoulos 2002:42, Bevan 2004:113, Fig. 6.2.

Architecture

Diameter [9] Entrance orientation [E] Doorway type [Trilithon]
 Wall thickness [1.8] Annex Yes [] Vestibule [] Vaulted [] Possible []
 Other Surrounding corridor, buttresses.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date {EM II | EM I | i MM IA iYes MM III - LM | _____ Disturbed &
 EM II 5§ | MM IB 5§§}
 EM III iYes MM II Yes
 Dating Banti 1933:247 EM II - MM II, Wälberg 1983: -MM I/III, Wilson 1985:290 EM I-. Branigan 1993: 144 EM I - MM II, Cultraro 1994 EM I - MM II; 2000:108 EM IB/IIA-; 2004: 310 EM IIA - MM IIA, Wilson & Day 1994:13 EM IIA-, La Rosa 2001 EM IB/IIA - MM II, Todaro 2004: 86 EM IIB-.

Material

Ceramic	{104	Bone	43	Ceramic vases	102	Figurines	15
Stone	79	Copper	55	Stone vases	{40	Tools	6
Ivory	i50	Gold	34	{ Seals	108	Beads	78
Crystal	{5	Silver/Lead	4	T Daggers	{40	Amulets	11
Obsidian	iYes			L Daggers	{8	Ornaments	{25
Other	Shells, wild boar teeth.			Other	Silver dagger hilt		

Burial

Lamax ad Pitios E
 Burial {49 skulls found in Tholos. A fumigation level composed by sand found between two burial strata (Cultraro 1994).

Others {Possible associated settlement in the site of Agia Triada (Todaro 2001; 2004).

Agia Kiriaki W11A

Name iAgia Kiriaki W11A !! ID | 9
 Nearest village>Listaros Type [Rectangular tomb] Dubious
 Area {Agiofarango} d Excavated
 Reference [Blackman & Branigan 1977:60-1 W11A, Vasilakis 1990:30-1 Thesi 8.

Architecture

Width {5.5} Entrance orientation [js] Number of spaces [1]
 Length {6.75} Associated buildings []
 Other {Blackman and Branigan reported a rectangular building with a trilithon entrance facing S.
 Features []

Chronology

Construction/ First use date {EM II? | EM I d U MMIA i d MMIII-LM d J Disturbed E
 EM II i d MM IB i d
 EM III i_J MM II P {
 Dating {Blackman & Branigan 1977:60-1 EM or MM, Vasilakis 1990:30-1 Thesi 8 EM and MM sherds.

Material

Ceramic	{Yes	Bone		Ceramic vases	Yes	j	Figurines
Stone	[]	Copper		Stone vases		J	Tools
Ivory	[]	Gold				J	Beads
Crystal		Silver/Lead		T Daggers		j	Amulets
Obsidian	d Z			L Daggers			Ornaments
Other				Other			

Burial

Lamax Pitios
 Burial {One human bone fragment was reported by Blackman & Branigan.

Others This building is similar to Kephali Tombs 2, 3 and 4 (Saltos 2000).

Agia Triada

Name Agia Triada | West Camerette | ID | 14
 Nearest village | Vori | Type Associated building | Dubious
 Area West Mesara | Excavated 5;
 Reference Stefani 1933. Di Vita 2001. La Rosa 2001. Carinci 2004.

Architecture

Width approx. 6 Entrance orientation Number of spaces | 6 min.
 Length approx. 9 Associated buildings | South camerette
 Other Room alpha and three contiguous rooms: a, b and c. Also a pit used for the deposition of ceramic,
 Features two Baetyls and a paved court.

Chronology

Construction/ MM IA EMI MM IA | Yesj MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EMI MM IB Z Z i
 EMI MM II | Yes i

Dating La Rosa 2001:223 Room alpha was constructed in EM I or MM IA. Rooms a-c and baetyls early MM IA (before south camerette). Pit is MM IA. The paved court and the corridor were constructed in MM II. Carinci 2004: 99 MM IA - II.

Material

Ceramic	| 217 min. ; Bone	Ceramic vases	217 min.	Figurines
Stone	j | Copper	Stone vases	[Z]	Tools
Ivory	! Gold	Seals	■	Beads
Crystal	| Silver/Lead	T Daggers		Amulets
Obsidian		L Daggers	i	Ornaments
Other		Other	!	

Burial

Burial | Cult activities, probably involving two identified baetyls in this complex. EM I material found in | Room alpha may not have been related to funerary activities.

Others

Agia Triada

Name Agia Triada Sepolcreto a ridosso della Tholos ID | 13
 Nearest village | Vori | Type | Rectangular tomb | Dubious |
 Area West Mesara | Excavated 52
 Reference Halbherr 1902; 1903; 1905. Paribeni 1903; 1904. Platon 1969a: no 449. Laviosa 1975. Petit 1987. [Soles 1992:122 Item 5-1. Carinci 1999:115 no 2; 2004. La Rosa 1999:178 plan.

Architecture

Width j approx. 3 Entrance orientation W Number of spaces | 2
 Length approx. 7 Associated buildings Tholos B
 Other Entrance was situated in the W wall (Di Vita 2000). Building formed by one (Laviosa 1975) or two rooms (Paribeni 1904). A sunken corridor surrounding the Tholos wall forms the N part of the building.

Chronology

Construction/ MM IB EMI MM IA | MM III-LM | Disturbed Z
 First use date EM H p MM IB ^esj
 EM III i i MM II | Yes!

Dating Paribeni 1904: Kamares ware. Soles 1992:122 EM IIIA-. Carinci 1999; 2004:113 MM IB - II.

Material

Ceramic	19	Bone	1	Ceramic vases	18	Figurines	1
Stone	21	Copper	7	Stone vases	20	Tools	
Ivory	1	J Gold	| i |	Seals	1	Beads	2
Crystal		Silver/Lead	| |	T Daggers		Amulets	
Obsidian				L Daggers	6	Ornaments	3
Other				Other	!		

Burial

Burial | Ossuary crammed with bones, especially in the sunken corridor.
 Lamax | i | Pithos u

Others

Others Ossuary is probably independent of Tholos B. Paribeni records some stratigraphy in the W room, the oldest one, although from the lower level he reports Kamares ware (MM II) with earlier pottery j (Soles 1992:122).

Agia Triada

Name Agia Triada NE court ID | 16
 Nearest village Vori Type I Open area Dubious G
 Area West Mesara i Excavated S
 Reference Di Vita 1995. La Rosa 1998. Carinci 1999; 2004. Palio 2004.

Architecture

Width _____' Entrance orientation _____ Number of spaces | _____
 Length _____ Associated buildings _____
 Other Paved area, associated with a ramp and an altar.
 Features _____

Chronology

Construction/ MM II EM I | i MM IA MM III-LM | { Disturbed G
 First use date EM II MM IB !
 EM III { MM II i Yes i
 Dating Carinci 2004: MM II. Palio 2004: MM II.

Material

Ceramic i J Bone i Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone 14 J Copper | ! ; Stone vases 14 Tools L
 Ivory Gold { : Seals Beads
 Crystal ; Silver/Lead \ T Daggers ! Amulets { |
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments
 Other f Other :

Burial

Burial j Probable cult use associated with the cemetery.
 Lamax D Pithos

Others j

Agia Triada

Name j Agia Triada j South Camerette j ID j~ 15
 Nearest village Vori j Type { Associated building j Dubious □
 Area I West Mesara | Excavated SI
 Reference Stefani 1933. Banti 1933. Zois 1967b: 70 n. 3. Soles 1992:116-9. Cultraro 2000; 2004. Di Vita 2001. La Rosa 2001. Carinci 2004.

Architecture

Width j approx. 7 | Entrance orientation j NW { Number of spaces [TTT
 Length { approx. 9 j Associated buildings { West camerette
 Other Constructed in at least 3 phases: first Rooms 1,2; second rooms 5 to 10; third rooms 3,4. Room
 Features 5 had stuccoed walls and floor. Room 7 had a bench and was paved in red stucco as it was Room
 8 and possibly 9 and 10.

Chronology

Construction/ MM IA EM I MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM [Z J Disturbed □
 First use date EM II MM IB {Yes}
 EM III | | MM II P i
 Dating Banti 1933: 246 MM I. Zois 1965: 70 MM IA. Soles 1992: MM IA - IB. Cultraro 2000: 316 MM IA -
 MM IA, all three construction phases are MM I, constructed after West Camerette. Carinci 2004:
 :99 MM IA - B

Material

Ceramic 99 Bone Ceramic vases 99 Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ! | Gold j | Seals Beads i
 Crystal | Silver/Lead { | T Daggers j j Amulets
 Obsidian ! i L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other 1 Other

Syria!

Burial Probable cult use associated with the cemetery (Banti 1933: 248; Soles 1992:116).
 Lamax □ Pithos □

Others

Agios Andonnis

Name jAgios Andonnis jAnnex to Tholos 18
 Nearest village jKali Limenes Type jAnnex Dubious
 Area jAgiopharango Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1969b: 483. Blackman & Branigan 1977:48 E22. Vasilakis 1990:26-8 no 6.

Architecture

Width j3 j Entrance orientation IE Number of spaces j1
 Length j2 j Associated buildings jTholos
 Other jAlexiou reported rectangular rooms but Blackman & Branigan and Vasilakis only reported a
 Features Vestibule outside the E entrance.

Chronology

Construction/ EMI EMI jYes_ MM IA 9I J MM III LM j : Disturbed i_
 First use date EM II jP MM IB P
 EM III jP MM II Yes
 Dating Blackman and Branigan 1977:48 EM - MM I. Vasilakis 1990:27-8 EMI - MM II.

Material

Ceramic j i Bone Ceramic vases Figurines i
 Stone r Copper Stone vases Tools j
 Ivory j Gold I j Seals Beads -
 Crystal j Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets T
 Obsidian j ! L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Agios Andonnis

Name Agios Andonnis _____ i! j ID | 17
 Nearest village jKali Limenes _____ j Type jTholos I Dubious
 Area jAgiopharango _____ j Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1969b: 483. Pelon 1976:461; 1994:162 no 27. Blackman & Branigan 1977: 48 E22. Belli 1984: 97 (Agiopharango). Vasilakis 1990: 26-8 no 6. Branigan 1993:145 no 26.

Architecture

Diameter j78 _____ j Entrance orientation jE and S } Doorway type jTrilithon
 Wall thickness j _____ j Annex j Yesj Vestibule | Noj Vaulted
 Other This tholos had two entrances marked in its plan, one facing East and another facing South.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EMI ~1 EMI Yes i MM IA iP j MM III - LM j ! Disturbed
 First use date EM II jF j MM IB E Z I
 _____ EM III jP I MM II IYes! _____
 Dating jBlackman and Branigan 1977:48 EM - MM I. Vasilakis 1990:27-8 EMI - MM II.

Material

Ceramic Sherds Bone Ceramic vases Sherds j Figurines [i
 Stone Copper Stone vases i Tools r
 Ivory j Gold j j Seals i Beads r
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers j Ornaments
 Other j Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others Vasilakis reported a possible associated settlements (1990:28 no 7).

Agios Kirillos

Name Agios Kirillos ^Akonaki ID { 20
 Nearest village Miamou | Type {Tholos { Dubious □
 Area East Mesara ! Excavated E
 Reference Sakellarakis 1968c: 51-3. Pini 1968:4. Alexiou 1969c: 403; 1969d: 210. Pelon 1976:11-2 no 3. I
 Miller 1984: 556. Branigan 1993:146 no 41.

Architecture

Diameter 5.85 Entrance orientation E Doorway type |Built |
 Wall thickness 1.6 Annex Yes Vestibule [Yes] Vaulted | |
 Other |
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ EM II? EM I | i MMIA {Yes} MMIII-LM {H j Disturbed E
 First use date n P | MM IB IP {
 EM III P_! MM II {__}{
 Dating Sakellarakis 1968c: 53 End of Prepalatial period. Alexiou 1969c: 210 EM II - MM I. Branigan 1993:
 146 MM I.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone j Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone [Yes Copper] Stone vases Many Tools |
 Ivory T ~] Gold f" | Seals 2 Beads 147
 Crystal [Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j | { L Daggers ~] Ornaments
 Other [Other

Burial

Burial ~ Lamax □ Pithos □

others Most of the material comes from the entrance and the annexes. EM settlement situated 1 km SE
 to the tholos.

Agios Georgios

Name Agios Georgios !| id i 19]
 Nearest village {Kali Limenes } Type {Tholos j Dubious
 Area {South West coast j Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1969b: 483. Pelon 1976: 461. Vasilakis 1990:50 no 22. Branigan 1993:145 no 26.

Architecture

Diameter 3.5_____ | Entrance orientation [_____] | Doorway type _
 Wall thickness {1.35 Annex No| Vestibule | No| Vaulted £
 Other |
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ JEM EM I £L J MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II {&□ MM IB
 EM III d ! MM II
 Dating Vasilakis 1990: 50 First EM phases.

Material

Ceramic Bone _ Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold [Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead j~ T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial ~ Lamax Pithos

Qfrers

Antiskari

Name Antiskari
 Nearest village [Antiskari Tholos Dubious
 Area Asterousia
 Reference Platon 1959: 387. Sakellarakis & Kenna 1969:114 no 99. Phillips 1991:801. Piri 2000:109.

Architecture

Diameter | j Entrance orientation | Doorway type [
 Wall thickness |] Annex No; Vestibule | No; Vaulted [
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I P EMI j MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II □ MM IB jL
 EM III P MM II i

Dating Platon 1959:387 Protopalatial cups. Phillips 1991:801 EM III - MM IA(-?).

Material

Ceramic Yes Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases j Tools
 Seals [Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other White piece Other Scarab

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos
 Burial

Others Platon mentioned Protopalatial cups coming probably from a tholos tomb. The scarab comes from the area of Antiskari, and since no other site is known in the area, it may come from the reported tomb.

Agios Kirillos

Name [Agios Kirillos j Annex to Thoios | ID I 21j
 Nearest village (Miamou _____ j Type [Annex j Dubious □
 Area [East Mesara _____] Excavated E
 Reference [Sakellarakis 1968c: 51-3. Alexiou 1969c: 403; 1969d: 210. Petit 1987.]

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |5 |
 Length Associated buildings Tholos
 Other Four rooms. A pavement was found east of the rooms.
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ EM II? EMI : ■ MMIA [Yes] MM III-LM L J Disturbed E
 First use date EM II P MM IB jL J
 EM III P j MM II ! j

Dating [Sakellarakis 1968c: 53 End of Prepalatial period. Alexiou 1969d: 210 EM II - MM I.

;

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases [Yes | Figurines 1
 Stone Yes Copper Stone vases Yes Tools
 Ivory 1 j Gold [[Seals 1 Beads 150 min.
 Crystal j Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers ; Ornaments
 Other ! | Other Bull rhyton

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pitthos □
 Burial One room contained primary burials and the other secondary burials. The remaining two did not contain burials.

Others

Apesokari A

Name Apesokari A | [Annex to Tholos A ID 24
 Nearest village [Apesokari Type [Annex Dubious
 Area East Mesara i Excavated 53
 Reference Schdrgendorfer 1951b. Long 1959. Alexiou 1971a. Hood 1971:142-3. Wälberg 1983:97-8. Petit 1987.

Architecture

Width approx. 3 Entrance orientation SE Number of spaces | 8 |
 Length approx. 5 [Associated buildings Tholos A. |
 Other It seems to consist in 3 rooms, although it has been divided in 8 spaces. The middle one (G) has
 Features been defined as a pillar crypt. Outside NE of the annex a paved area with an altar is found.

Chronoloov

Construction/ [EM III/MM IA [EMI [] MMIA Yes MMIII-LM [P_] I Disturbed G
 First use date EM II [] MM IB [Yes
 EM III [P_] MM II Yes
 Dating Schdrgendorfer 1951: constructed simultaneously with the Tholos, MM I - II. Wälberg 1983:98 EM I III - MM III.

Material

Ceramic 35 Bone Ceramic vases 35 Figurines [1 i
 Stone [25 Copper [Stone vases [23 I Tools
 Ivory [! G*W Seals Beads j
 Crystal { Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets ['
 Obsidian [L Daggers i Ornaments
 Other [; Other j Stone table

Burial

Lamax Pithos G
 Burial Burials found in areas B, C and E. In Area J an offering table was found in front of an anthropomorphic rock concretion. Many stone and ceramic vases come from the altar area.

Others

Apesokari A

Name Apesokari A j | A | ID | 23
 Nearest viHageApesokari j Type [Tholos 1 Dubious
 Area [East Mesara_____] Excavated 53
 Reference iSchdrgendorfer 1951b. Long 1959. Pini 1968:4,10. Sakellarakis & Kenna 1969: no 51. Alexiou [1971a. Hood 1971:142-3. Pelon 1976:12 no 4A. Wälberg 1983: 97-8. Belli 1984:105-6. [Branigan 1993:147 no 61.

Architecture

Diameter [4.85 Entrance orientation [ESE [Doorway type |Built
 Wall thickness |1.8 Annex [Yesj Vestibule |Yes| Vaulted
 Other Tholos had double wall.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM III/MM IA EMI L Z j MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM [F Disturbed Si
 First use date EM II G H MM IB [Yes]
 EM III (E G MM II [Yes]
 Dating Schdrgendorfer 1951b: MM I - II. Wälberg 1983: 98 EM III/MM IA - MM I

Material

Ceramic 42 Bone | Ceramic vases 42 Figurines 1
 Stone 27 Copper | 1 Stone vases [25 J Tools [
 Ivory G Gold G Seals 1 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead [T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian ! L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other S | Other 1 stone table

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

The settlement was situated near the tomb, in the top of the hill where the tomb was located (Schdrgendorfer 1951a).

Apesokari B

Name Apesokari B [Annex to Tholos B ID 26
 Nearest village [Apesokari Type Annex J Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Alexiou 1963b: 405; 1971a: 307-8. Davaras 1967:441. Soles 1973: 395-7. Petit 1987.

Architecture

Width ! j Entrance orientation [Number of spaces [7
 Length j j Associated buildings
 Other Four rooms, a corridor and a large ossuary room. Probably there was a pavement east of the
 Features .annex.

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM I? EM I MMIA I i MMIII-LM ! ___ Disturbed
 First use date n i MM IB jYes]
 EM III ___i MM II i___
 Dating Davaras 1964: Barbotine ware (MM IB).

Material

Ceramic 100 min. Bone Ceramic vases 100 min Figurines
 Stone 15 j Copper [Yes 1 Stone vases 13 ! Tools j! j
 Ivory j [Gold ! j Seals 2 ' Beads j
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments [
 Other T ! Other Double axes

Burial

Burial More than hundred conical cups found in the 'ante-room'. The three other rooms contained interments, and the fifth large room was used as ossuary.
 Lamax 0 Pithos G

Others

Apesokari B

Name Apesokari B j]B j ID j 25
 Nearest village {Apesokari _____ j Type jTholos j Dubious
 Area jEast Mesara j Excavated 0
 Reference Alexiou 1963b: 405; 1971a: 307-8. Davaras 1967:441. Fini 1968:4. Felon 1976:12 no 4B. Balli 1984:105-6. Branigan 1993:147 no 62.

Architecture

Diameter js.7 j Entrance orientation jE j Doorway type [
 Wall thickness j1.9 + Annex j Yesj Vestibule | Yes| Vaulted [
 Other [Similar plan to Apesokari A
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM I EM I I ! MMIA jP j MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II j___ MM IB jYesJ
 EM III I j MM II jP___
 Dating [Alexiou 1963b: 405 Protopalatial period, barbotine ware (MM IB). Alexiou 1971a: 307 MM.

Mggrja!

Ceramic !Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone 2 "j Copper [3 Stone vases Tools 4
 Ivory .1 Gold j j Seals 2 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ! L Daggers j Ornaments !
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos G

Others

Archaiokorapho

Name Archaiokorapho 10 i 28
 Nearest village Siva Type jTholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara j Excavated
 Reference Marinatos 1927: 77-8. Pelon 1976: 461. Branigan 1993:144 no 8.

Architecture

Diameter 4.5 Entrance orientation E Doorway type I |
 Wall thickness 0.9 I Annex ! No Vestibule | No| Vaulted c z 1
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM j EMI IP__ MMIA i_j MMIII-LM 1_1_1 Disturbed *5
 First use date EM II iP I MM IB i_
 EM II iP I MM II i_s

Dating Marinatos 1927: 77 EM.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines j_
 Stone jYes Copper Stone vases Yes I Tools
 Ivory ! Gold [2 i Seals j Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead i T Daggers j Amulets 1
 Obsidian j L Daggers j Ornaments !
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others

Apesokari C

Name Apesokari C jjC ID j 271
 Nearest village Apesokari_____ j Type jTholos j Dubious 8
 Area jEast Mesara ~j Excavated
 Reference jDavaras 1967:441. Alexiou 1971a: 308.

Architecture

Diameter i__ Entrance orientation _____j Doorway type
 Wall thickness H Annex Nj Vestibule Vaulted
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IUnknown EMI MMIA I j MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others just mentioned in relation to the discover of Apesokari B.

Chrisostomos

Name Chrisostomos !!* ID [30
 Nearest village Kali Limenes Type Tholos Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated
 Reference Davaras 1968:405-6. Blackman & Branigan 1975:26 SC 8. Pelon 1976:19 Kali Limenes II, 461; 1994:157-60 no 9B. Belli 1984: 99-100. Branigan 1993:145 no 29.

Architecture

Diameter [5.5 Entrance orientation IS Doorway type |Built |
 Wall thickness [1.5 Annex | No Vestibule | No| Vaulted |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM I? [EM I jp__ MM IA [P__ MM III - LM ___i Disturbed E
 First use date EM II H H MM IB P i
 EM III [P_] MM II ___;
 Dating Pelon 1976:19 EM. Branigan 1993:145 EM I - MM I?

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [... Gold j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead] T Daggers Amulets i
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other [Other !

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others [This tomb is named Lasaia A in Georgoulaki 1996a and Lasda A in Panagiatopoutos 2002.

Asripetra

Name Asripetra | ID [29
 Nearest village Platanos Type Tholos Dubious E
 Area East Mesara | Excavated E
 Reference [Xanthoudides 1921b: 15. Platon 1969a: no 1. Ward 1971: 94. Pelon 1976:461. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:188-9. Phillips 1991:413-4. Branigan 1993:147 no 63. Pini 2000:108.

Architecture

Diameter Entrance orientation Doorway type |
 Wall thickness: j Annex | No Vestibule [No| Vaulted |
 Other Deposit with no surviving architectural features, probably a tholos (Xanthoudides 1921b).
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II EM I [P__ MM IA HZJ MM III-LM !___j Disturbed E
 First use date EM It [Yes] MM IB p-H
 EM III p-H MM II ___j
 Dating Xanthoudides 1921b: 15 EM II-, Syros type ceramics reported. Phillips 1991:413 EM I - IIA. Branigan 1993:147 EM I - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Yes Copper 1 | Stone vases Yes Tools 1
 Ivory [Gold [j Seals 1] Beads [
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other White Paste Other Seal is described as a scarab

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Christos

Name Christos ID 32
 Nearest village Vasiliki/Kandila Type Tholos j Dubious □
 Area Asterousia Excavated £
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 70. Pelon 1976:461. Karagianni 1984: 73. Branigan 1993:146 no 61.

Architecture

Diameter | Entrance orientation IE | Doorway type
 Wall thickness ~ Annex j Noj Vestibule | Noj Vaulted |
 Other Only part of the wall was preserved when Xanthoudides excavated this tomb.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jUnknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others

Chrisostomos

Name jChrisostomos ID 31!
 Nearest village Bage/Kali Limenes Type Tholos Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated
 Reference Davaras 1968:405-6. Blackman & Branigan 1975:26 SC 8. Pelon 1976:19 Kali Limenes III, 461; [1994:157-60 no 9C. Branigan 1993:145 no 30.

Architecture

Diameter [4_____ | Entrance orientation |E j Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness iF " Annex | No Vestibule] Noj Vaulted |
 Other [Part of the N sector of the wall is formed by a rock outcrop. Pelon reported a miniature dromos
 Features outside the door.

Chronology

Construction/ EMI? EMI ELJ MMIA [P_J MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [P i MM IB F I]
 EM III [H] MM II
 Dating Pelon 1976:19 EM. Branigan 1993:145 EM I - MM I?

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases I Tools
 Ivory [Gold [[Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ; L Daggers Ornaments
 Other

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pitthos u

Others [This tomb is named Lasaia B in Georgoulaki 1996a and Las&a B in Panagiatopoulos 2002.

Chroni Kalivi

Name Chroni Kalivi 34
 Nearest village(Gangales Type iTholos Dubious
 Area North Mesara Excavated
 Reference Karo 1930:158 Gangales? Alexiou 1969c: 403. Pelon 1976:462 Gangales? Hiller 1977:101.

Architecture

Diameter | Entrance orientation [S \ Doorway type
 Wall thickness | Annex I No Vestibule j No] Vaulted
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jUnknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III ___i MM II i___
 Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone i Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone T] Copper j ___j Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory | Gold j Seals j Beads
 Crystal [- Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [{ L Daggers t Ornaments
 Other [| Other !

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pitthos

Others This tomb is only mentioned in Alexiou 1969c. Some of the references may be referring to Ritzikas tholos and not to this one. It is unclear if represents the same tholos called Gangales in Karo 1930 and Pelon 1976.

Christos

Name jChristos [j]X ~ ID j 33
 Nearest village Vasiliki/Kandila] Type jTholos I Dubious □
 Area Asterousia j Excavated S3
 Reference jXanthoudides 1924: 70-2. Evans 1928:81-2. Pelon 1976:16 no 6. Belli 1984:106. Branigan 1993:146 no 45.

Architecture

Diameter j6.25 Entrance orientation Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness |1.3 Annex f Nb] Vestibule |Yes] Vaulted |Possible
 Other jXanthoudides suggested a vaulted tomb, but Belli doubted it.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM III? EMI MM IA (Yes] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III EJ MM II
 Dating jXanthoudides 1924: 72 EM III - MM I. Branigan 1993:146 EM III? • MM I.

Material

Ceramic 9 Ceramic vases [9 Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases 10 Tools
 Silver/Lead Seals Beads
 T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Ornaments
 Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others j(The settlement was situated higher than the tomb (Evans 1928).

Drakones

Name Drakones Annex to Tholos A ID | 36
 Nearest village Stavies Type (Annex Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated B
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 76-60. Walberg 1983:102. Karagianni 1984:61-2, 71-2. Petit 1987. j
 i

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings i
 Other Rooms around Tholos, especially to the east It could be a separate building and not an annex.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM III/MM 1 | EM 1 i_ MMIA (Yesj MMIII-LM i_1 Disturbed i
 First use date || i j MM IB j[Yes]
 EM III iYes | MM II []
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: 80 EM III - MM I. Walberg 1983:102 EM III - MM I.

Material

Ceramic 19 j Bone j i Ceramic vases 49 Figurines
 Stone |5 | Copper j [Stone vases (5 Tools 1
 Ivory |2 | Gold L Seals Beads J
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments |2- |
 Other [n Other j

Burial

Burial Bones and fragments of pithos and lamax. Lamax B Pithos he j
 1
 1

Others

Drakones

Name Drakones j[A ID 35;
 Nearest village (Stavies Type (Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated B
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 76-80. Pendlebury et al. 1934:86. Pini 1968:10. Platon 1969a: no 3-4. Pelon 1976:17 no 7A. Walberg 1983:102. Belli 1984:111-2. Karagianni 1984: 61-2,71-2. Branigan 1993:146 no 55. Zois 1998: 196.

Architecture

Diameter 5.85 Entrance orientation |SE Doorway type jTrilithon
 Wall thickness ((Annex (Yes Vestibule | No] Vaulted |
 Other Protruding stones in the outside face of the tholos wal.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM III? | EM 1 ___j MMIA (Yesj MMIII-LM i_ i Disturbed
 First use date EM II " MM IB [Yes]
 EM III iYes| MM ii r ~ i
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: 80 EM III - MM I. Walberg 1983:102 EM III - MM I. Branigan 1993:146 EM III - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases 1 Figurines
 Stone 9 Copper 2 Stone vases 5 Tools |4
 Ivory j (Gold (Seals (2 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other j Other Stone palette

Burial

Burial Some of the human bones inside the tholos showed burning marks. Lamax B Pithos B

Others

Most of the published material including nine stone vessels had no precedence, and they may come from the buildings east of Tholos A.

Gialomonokhoro

Name Gialomonokhoro Gavaliana ID 38
 Nearest village Listaros Type Tholos Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977:44 E17. Vasilakis 1990:46-7 no 18. Branigan 1993:144 no 15. !
 j

Architecture

Diameter 3.5 Entrance orientation E Doorway type | |
 Wall thickness [0.7-1.4 Annex No Vestibule | No| Vaulted | |
 Other It has been partially destroyed by the construction of a modern hut.
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EM I P MMIA i i MMIII-LM [Disturbed S!
 First use date 5^ n jp MM IB i
 EM III [P [MM II []]
 Dating Vasilakis 1990:47 EM.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases [Figurines |
 Stone f Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory \ [Gold [Seals | Beads
 Crystal r Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets []
 Obsidian L Daggers [1 Ornaments j j
 Other L | Other

Burial

Burial ~ Lamax Pithos

Others Possible settlement 250 mW of the tholos containing MM I - LM sherds (Vasilakis 1990:47 no

Drakones

Name Drakones ID 37!
 Nearest village Stavies Type Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 76-80. Pendlebury et al. 1934: 86. Pelon 1976:17 no 7B. Balli 1984:111-2.
 Karagianni 1984: 72. Branigan 1993:146 no 56.

Architecture

Diameter [7J_____i Entrance orientation [E] Doorway type
 Wall thickness _____| Annex j No Vestibule | Yes| Vaulted |Possible
 Other A double wall was constructed probably in LM III. Tomb's floor was covered with gravel and sand.
 Features Tall doorway. Vestibule measures 2.5 by 1.3 m

Shrmp19fv

Construction/ EM III? j EM I i j MM IA [Yes I MM III - LM j i Disturbed
 First use date EM II L H MM IB [P H]
 ___EM III [P i MM II i | _____
 Dating [Xanthoudides 1924: 80 EM III - MM IA. Branigan 1993: EM III? - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines L
 Stone [2 Copper Stone vases Tools [1
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian T L Daggers Ornaments |~
 Other i

Burial

Burial Burials were only at the S part of the tholos. Lamax Pithos C

Q t i s n Balli suggested that both tholos were built in different periods due to their architectural differences. !
 ;

Kalathiana

Name Kalathiana ID 40
 Nearest village [Makres Type]Tholos Dubious
 Area North Mesara Excavated
 Reference [Xanthoudides 1924:81-7. Evans 1928: 79-80. Zois 1967b: 65-6. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9440-3. Platon 1969a: no 123-132. Pelon 1976:17-8 no 8. Balli 1984:115. Branigan 1993:147 no 71.

Architecture

Diameter [9.45 j Entrance orientation jE [Doorway type | 1
 Wall thickness [2.4] Annex | No| Vestibule 1 No| Vaulted 1]
 Other Construction of the walls very regular, using clay between the stones. Only half was preserved, it j
 Features might have been plastered inside (contra Evans 1928:80).

Chronology

Construction/ [EM II ____i EMI [I MMIA [P__ MM III - LM i____. Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II [Yes| MM IB [Yesj
 EM III [P ! MM II [P__[
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924 EM II - III. Branigan EM I/II - MM II. Zois 1967b: Pinax B(2) MM IB pottery.

Material

Ceramic 1 Bone 12 * Ceramic vases j [Figurines 1 [
 Stone r Copper [10 Stone vases [1 Tools [3
 Ivory [? Gold [8 | Seals [10 [Beads ! |
 Crystal [2 Silver/Lead T Daggers [6_ . | Amulets [2 [
 Obsidian [Yes L Daggers [2 [Ornaments [14 !
 Other boar tusk * Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others [a settlement of MM I - II date was also excavated north of the tholos but never published.

Gouva

Name [Gouva i ID r 39j
 Nearest village [Petrokefales j Type [Tholos j Dubious 0
 Area [West Mesara -| Excavated
 Reference [Alexiou 1969c: 403. ~ j

Architecture

Diameter [Entrance orientation [j Doorway type
 Wall thickness [- Annex [- No| Vestibule | No| Vaulted
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others just mentioned as a tholos tomb without any other detail reported.

Kam ilari A

Name Kamilari A [A, Grigori Koriphi ID 44
 Nearest village Kamilari Type [Tholos j Dubious
 Area West Mesara Excavated
 Reference Levi 1963: 1976: 703-41. Plini 1968:5. Ward 1971:98,103. Pelon 1976:19-22 no 10A. Platon et al. 1977: no 5-14. Walberg 1983:93. Balli 1984:112-3. Karagianni 1984:94. Mahagni 1986. Levi & Carinci 1988: 330-4. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 207. La Rosa 1992:112-5. Branigan 1993: 50-5, : 144 no 3. Fiandra 1995. Davaras & Soles 1997:54. Blackman 1999:114. Novaro 1999. La Rosa & Cucuzza 2001. Watrous et al. 2004:527. Lefevre-Novaro 2001.

Architecture

Diameter 7.65 Entrance orientation [E Doorway type [Built
 Wall thickness [1.7 1 Annex [Yes Vestibule [Yes] Vaulted jPossible
 Other Stones worked before construction. Protruding stones from exterior of tholos wall. No incurvature
 Features in walls. Discussion about vault in Branigan 1993: 50-5.

Chronology

Construction/ MM IB EM I MMIA [Z J MMIII-LM [Yes] Disturbed SZ
 First use date u ! j MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [I MM II Yes
 Dating Levi 1963: MM I - MM III and LM. Walberg 1983: 93-4: MM II - LM I. Branigan 1993:144 MM I - MM III (re-use in LM). Barbotine wares were found inside the tomb (MM IB).

Material

Ceramic 200 Bone [1 Ceramic vases 198 Figurines
 Stone [29] Copper [37 *-] Stone vases 19 Tools [6
 Ivory 1 | Gold [10 | Seals [14 | Beads [8 |
 Crystal [- Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets 3
 Obsidian [! L Daggers ['l Ornaments [18 1
 Other [! Other

Burial

Burial Lamax 0 Pithos G

Others Fire episode happened after the tomb was out of use.

Kali Limenes B

Name Kali Limenes B | B ID j 43
 Nearest village [Kali Limenes [Type [Tholos | Dubious n
 Area South coast Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1975:20-1 SC 3. Vasilakis 1990:21-3 no 3. Branigan 1993:145 no 28. [Pelon 1994:160no9B.

Architecture

Diameter [4.5 Entrance orientation [SE.. j Doorway type |
 Wall thickness [0.85 Annex No Vestibule [Yes] Vaulted |
 Other [Very badly preserved.
 Features j |

Chronology

Construction/ [EM I EM I MMIA MM III • LM Disturbed 53
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III [Yes MM II
 Dating [Blackman and Branigan 1975: 21 EM I - ii. Vasilakis 1990: 23 FN - EM I

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases] Tools |
 Ivory j [Gold [[Seals [[Beads |
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax u Pithos L
 Burial Small indications in the bones of charring.

Others [This tholos is not part of the same cemetery as Kali Limenes A. The related settlement is found [NE of the tholos, dated to EM I to MM I (Vasilakis 1990:23-6).

Kam ilari B

Name Kamilari B, Milona Lako ! ID [46
 Nearest village Kamilari Type {Tholos Dubious
 Area West Mesara i Excavated 0
 Reference Levi 1963; 1976: 741-3, Pini 1968:5, Pelon 1976:19-22 no 10B, Walberg 1983:95, Belli 1984: 112-3, Levi & Carinci 1988:330, Branigan 1993:144 no 4, La Rosa & Cucuzza 2001.

Architecture

Diameter j5 Entrance orientation _____ Doorway type
 Wall thickness [[Annex j No Vestibule [No] Vaulted
 Other Paved interior.
 Features

Chrpntofiv

Construction/ [MM II - III j EM I { } MMIA r ij MM III - LM Yes I Disturbed [j
 First use date EM H MM IB [_____
 EM III j j MM II Yes]
 Dating Levi 1963: MM III, Walberg 1983: 95 MM II - III.

Bteisrfe!

Ceramic 17 Bone i Ceramic vases [17 Figurines [:
 Stone [2 Copper 4 ''] Stone vases [2 j Tools {
 Ivory | Gold j i Seals [[Beads [-
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers ! ! Amulets
 Obsidian } L Daggers [Ornaments [2_ i
 Other [! Other [

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Kam ilari A

Name iKamilari A Annex to Thoios A ID ____ 45
 Nearest village {Kamilari Type Annex Dubious
 Area West Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Levi 1963:1976: 703-41, Ward 1971: 98, Pelon 1976:19-22, Platon et al. 1977: no 15-19, Balli 1984:112-3, Karagianni 1984: 94, Mallegni 1986, Petit 1987, Levi & Carinci 1988: 330-4, La Rosa 1992:112-5, Branigan 1993: 50-5,144, Fiandra 1995, Blackman 1999:114, Novara 1999, La Rosa & Cucuzza 2001, Lefevre-Novaro 2001.

Architecture

Width japprox. 10 j Entrance orientation [NE } Number of spaces IF
 Length [approx. 10 [Associated buildings jTholos A
 Other Five rooms, one paved corridor, one raised threshold, a large court N of the annex "area of offerings" which contained an altar, and a crevice in the rack in room 5. Room 5 is of elliptical plant and it is called by Levi "Little tholos".
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IB? [EM I | | MM IA [P [MM III - LM [Yes j Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II [] MM IB [P-U-J
 [EM III d J MM II [Yes] _____
 Dating [Levi 1963: rooms a, 8, 'area of the offerings' MM I/II, rooms y, 5, e MM III, Walberg 1983: 97 i
 [area of the offerings" MM I - LM I, Fiandra 1995: MM II - III seals, Novara 1999: LM IB for the cult figurines.
 i

Material

Ceramic 705 min. Bone | Ceramic vases 697 min. Figurines 8
 Stone [41 min. | Copper Stone vases 38 min. Tools
 Ivory ! Gold [| Seals |5 Beads [41
 Crystal 2 min. [Silver/Lead | [T Daggers | Amulets i
 Obsidian ! | L Daggers | Ornaments 1
 Other White paste Other

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

[Bones found in the annex, especially inside room 5. Reproductions of cult scenes found in the annex. Many ceramic and stone vases found upside down on and around the altar in the "area of offerings". Around 500 cups found in this area.

.....
 Others j

Kam ilari C

Name Kamilari C i (Annex to Kamilari C | ID | 48
 Nearest village(Kamilari Type (Annex Dubious
 Area West Mesara H Excavated
 Reference Branigan 1976. Pelon 1976:462. Balli 1984:112-3. Branigan 1993:144 no 5. Cucuzza 1997. |

Arshlfcg^rg

Width Entrance orientation E Number of spaces [|
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Possible altar (Cucuzza 1997:172). (

Chronoloov

Construction/ (MM I EMI MMIA E J MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB (Yes] EM III j I MM II Yes i
 Dating Branigan 1976 MM I - II; 1993: MM I - ?

Material

Ceramic f Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Copper j 1 j Stone vases [j Tools [|
 Ivory r Gold | Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead j ~j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [- L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other [i 1 Other i

Buriat

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial — 1

Others \

Kam ilari C

Name Kamilari C ([c | ID | 47
 Nearest village(Kamilari Type (Tholos ! Dubious
 Area West Mesara | Excavated
 Reference iBranigan 1976. Pelon 1976:462. Balli 1984:112-3. Branigan 1993:144 no 5. Cucuzza 1997. Wátrous et al. 2004: 527-8.

Architecture

Diameter [37_____j Entrance orientation jE] Doorway type [|
 Wall thickness]1 ~ Annex j Yes] Vestibule | No] Vaulted [|
 Other j ~
 Features

Chronotoav

Construction/ MM I EMI MMIA [P I MMIII-LM !YeT Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating (Branigan 1976 MM I - II; 1993: MM I - ? Wátrous et al. 2004: 527-8 MM IB - III.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines i_
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools L
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial

Others

Kephali

Name Kephali ID 50!
 Nearest village[Kali Limenes Type Tholos Dubious
 Area South West coast Excavated S3
 Reference Piri 1968:5. Vasilakis 1990:50-6 no 23, North tholos. Branigan 1993:145 no 24. Saltos 2000 (Building 5).

Architecture

Diameter j Entrance orientation j _____: Doorway type |
 Wall thickness [| Annex j Yes[Vestibule | No] Vaulted |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM III EMI H U MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II L U MM IB [Yes!
 EM III Ses] MM II _____
 Dating Saltos 2000: EM III - MM IB.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases (Figurines |
 Stone Copper { Stone vases Tools |
 Ivory [| GoW | i Seals [[Beads |
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments
 Other L | Other

Burial

Lamax Pitthos

Others Also known as Kephali Odigitrias.

Kaminospelio

Name Kaminospelio 1 ID 49
 Nearest village[Kali Limenes Type [Tholos [Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1973. Branigan 1993:144 no 12. Pelon 1994:162-3 no 30.

Architecture

Diameter 8.25 Entrance orientation S or E Doorway type |
 Wall thickness [1.4 Annex Mb Vestibule | No] Vaulted |No
 Other A straight wall divides the interior of the tomb in two spaces.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM I? j EMI EH j MM IA £ MM III - LM C U Disturbed E
 First use date EM II [S] MM IB U J
 EM III [p U MM II i i
 Dating Blackman & Branigan 1973 EM I/IA - MM I. Branigan 1993 EM I/IA - MM 1

Material

Ceramic [Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | | Gold [| Seals | | Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead | | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers [Ornaments
 Other |stone quern, beads Other |

Burial

Lamax Pitthos

Burial jAquem may have been used for the processing of bones.
 i

Others

Kephali

Name Kephali Tomb 3 ! ID ! 52
 Nearest village Kali Limenes Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious ! !
 Area South West Coast Excavated B
 Reference Vasilakis 1990:50-6; 1996a: 336-7. Saltos 2000. j

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation S Number of spaces [5 |
 Length Associated buildings Tholos A, Tomb 2.
 Other Corridor, two rooms, an ossuary and a forecourt. Trilithon entrance.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II/III EM I MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM ZZ Disturbed L!
 First use date || [p MM IB ZZ
 EM III YeZ MM II | j
 Dating Saltos 2000:195 EM II/III - MM IA

Materials

Ceramic [Yes Bone [Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory T j Gold | Seals [Beads |
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets [...
 Obsidian f | L Daggers [Ornaments j~ [
 Other [Other [

Burial

Lamax Pitthos
 Two rooms were described as burial rooms and the third one as ossuary. Cups deposited upside down were found in the forecourt. j

Kephali

Name [Kephali [Tomb 2 511
 Nearest village [Kali Limenes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area jSouth West Coast Excavated
 Reference [Vasilakis 1990:50-6; 1996a: 336-7. Saltos 2000.

Architecture

Width j _____ j Entrance orientation [S | Number of spaces [T
 Length _____ | Associated buildings [Tholos A, Tomb 3.
 Other [Two narrow rooms with a forecourt and altar. Trilithon door.
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ [EM I? EM I [ZZ MM IA ZZ MM III - LM ZZ Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB ZZ
 EM III [Sis] MM II Z Z
 Dating Saltos 2000:194 EM I/II - EM III.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers [Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pitthos
 Burial [Conical cups deposited upside down were found in the altar.

Others

[

Kephali

Name Kephali A, Tou Skaniari o Lakos ID 54
 Nearest village Kefali Limenes Type Tholos Dubious
 Area South West coast Excavated 51
 Reference Alexiou 1963a: 398; 1969b: 483; 1971a: 307. Pini 1968:5. Pelon 1976:22 no 11. Belli 1984:101.
 Vasilakis 1990: 50-6 no 23 South tholos; 1996: 336-7. Branigan 1993:145 no 23. Saltos 2000
 (Building 1).

Architecture

Diameter 3.7 Entrance orientation SEE [Doorway type Trilithon
 Wall thickness 1.5 Annex | Yes [Vestibule | No | Vaulted
 Other Double wall.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating Alexiou 1963:a 312 EM II-; 1971a: EM I-. Vasilakis 1990: EM I • MM IA. Branigan 1993:145 EM
 I - MM IA. Saltos 2000: FN/EM I - EM II.

Material

Ceramic j Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Ye j Copper Stone vases
 Ivory ~ j Gold Seals
 Crystal . -i Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other

Burial

Burial ~ Lamax Pitthos

Others Also known as Kephali Odigitrias.

Kephali

Name jKephali ~] Tomb 4 ID r 53
 Nearest village Kefali Limenes] Type [Rectangular tomb] Dubious
 Area [South West Coast] Excavated 0
 Reference Vasilakis 1990: 50-6; 1996a: 336-7. Saltos 2000.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation jw [Number of spaces j6
 Length Associated buildings Tholos B
 Other L shaped building. 2 parts: 1st: 4 burial rooms 2nd: 1 burial room, 1 non-burial room
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM III EMI [! MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Yes] MM II | |

Dating [Saltos 2000:195 EM III - MM IB.]

Material

Ceramic Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines |
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools [[
 Ivory Gold j j Seals Beads !
 Crystal [[Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets f
 Obsidian L Daggers [Ornaments [-
 Other [Other

Burial

Burial jFive of the six rooms were described as burial rooms. Lamax Pitthos

Others Situated 20 m N of Tombs 2 and 3.

Korakies

Name Korakies ID 56
 Nearest village Miarrou Type [Tholos Dubious
 Area Asterousia Excavated £
 Reference Alexiou 1969c: 403. Faure 1969:181. Pelon 1976:462. Branigan 1993:146 no 42.

Architecture

Diameter j Entrance orientation jS j Doorway type [
 Wall thickness j] Annex j Nvj Vestibule | No| Vaulted [
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date EMI Ed MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed 1?
 EM II Ed MM IB
 EM III dd MM II

Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other		Other	

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others Settlement probably located underneath the modern village of Miarrou, 200 m N of the tombs.

Kokkiniano

Name [Kokkiniano ID j 55[
 Nearest village Vass. Anogia Type Tholos Dubious 0
 Area East Mesara Excavated
 Reference Pendlebury et al. 1934:87. Pelon 1976:462. Branigan 1993:147 no 60.

Architecture

Diameter j Entrance orientation Doorway type
 Wall thickness " Annex [Nvj Vestibule | No| Vaulted
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date [Unknown EMI Ed MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 EM II Ed MM IB
 EM III MM II Ed

Dating [Unknown.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other		Other	

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others Must mentioned by Pendlebury et al.

Koumasa

Name Koumasa |A ID 58
 Nearest village|Koumasa Type [Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 63
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:32-50. Jungmans et al. 1968: no 9420-8. Zois 1968a: 78. Platon 1969a: no 138,140-1,144-155, 161. Pelon 1976: 24 no 13A. Warren 1977:138. Walberg 1983:102. Belli 1984:107. Karagianni 1984: 70. Miller 1984: 557. Branigan 1993 no 47. Wilson & Day 1994:14. Pieler 2004:114.

Architecture

Diameter 4.1 Entrance orientation E Doorway type [Trilithon |
 Wall thickness 1.3 (Annex j No Vestibule j Yes| Vaulted | |
 Other Sunk vestibule. West part of wall not preserved.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM IIA EM I [] MM IA iYes MM III - LM [] Disturbed t?
 First use date EM II [Y£] MM IB E E
 EM III [p.H MM II ' !
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924:35 EM I -. Zois 1968a: 78 Early EM II -. Walberg 1983:102 -MM I. Branigan 1993:146 7EMI - MM I. Wilson and Day 1994:14 EM IIA-.

Material

Ceramic |4 Bone Ceramic vases |4 Figurines 1
 Stone [13 ~] Copper |2 H Stone vases 2 Tools
 Ivory |5 E Gold |2 Seals 16 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers 2 Amulets
 Obsidian | [L Daggers ; Ornaments |2
 Other [Other

Burial

Burial [Lamax U Pithos

Others A settlement was found north of the cemetery at the Koumasa hill, and a shrine was found at the top of the hill (Xanthoudides 1924:49-50; Rutkowski 1989; Georgoulaki 1990).

Korakies

Name Korakies |B ID | 571
 Nearest village Miamou Type (Tholos Dubious
 Area Asterousia Excavated
 Reference Faure 1969:181. Pelon 1976:462. Branigan 1993:146 no 43.

Architecture

Diameter [Entrance orientation Doorway type |
 Wall thickness | Annex | No Vestibule | No| Vaulted E
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EM I [](MM IA [] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date gM II MM IB E E
 EM III E E MM II i I
 Dating Unknown. t

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases E Figurines !
 Stone Copper | Stone vases E E Tools !
 Ivory [Gold | (Seals E Beads
 Crystal f ; Silver/Lead | T Daggers E Amulets
 Obsidian ! i L Daggers E | Ornaments i
 Other [] Other E i

Burial

Burial [Lamax Pithos

Others Settlement probably located underneath the modern village of Miamou, 200 m N of the tombs.

Koumasa

Name Koumasa Area A ID 60
 Nearest village Koumasa Type Open area Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated g
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 32-50. Zois 1968a: 74-5, 77. Warren 1977:138. Walberg 1983:101.
 Karagianni 1984:91. Miller 1984:557. Betancourt 1985:32. Wilson & Day 1994:39-40.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings Tholoi A and E, and Tomb f-
 Other Area between Tholoi A, E and Tomb f.
 Features

£hr2Q2l2fY

Construction/ EM IIA EM I []] MM IA Yes MM III - LM ! Disturbed [I
 First use date n P | MM IB []]
 EM III IP 1 MM II | i

Dating Zois 1968a: 74-5 EM IIA-. Walberg 1983:101 -EM III/MM IA, one vessel may date to MM IB/II.
 Betancourt 1985:32 Lebera Ware EM I/IIA. Wilson & Day 1994: 39-40 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic 31 Bone j Ceramic vases 31 Figurines
 Stone |5 j Copper j [Stone vases 1 Tools |4
 Ivory | | Gold j j Seals | Beads
 Crystal | | Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets [|
 Obsidian r j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [j | Other

Burial

Burial Bones found in this area. Lamax Pitthos

Koumasa

Name Koumasa [] B ID n 59
 Nearest village Koumasa [] Type [] Tholos j Dubious
 Area [] East Mesara j Excavated g
 Reference [Xanthoudides 1924:4-32. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9420-8. Zois 1968a: 73-81. Platon 1969a: no
 1133-137,139,142,158-159,162-169. Pelon 1976: 24-5 no 13B. Renfrew 1969:19. Platon et al.
 11977: no 26-7. Walberg 1983:101-2. Belli 1984: 107. Karagianni 1984: 55, 61, 64, 71. Miller
 11984:558. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:232-3. Branigan 1993:146 no 48. Wilson & Day 1994:14.
 Pieler 2004:114.

Architecture

Diameter [9.5 j Entrance orientation jE j Doorway type [r |rillthron
 Wall thickness j1.8 [Annex j No] Vestibule | Yes] Vaulted |Possible
 Other Corbelling. Stones protruding from the outside face of the N part of the tholos wall. Possible
 Features vestibule with a paved area outside entrance, some bones and vases came from this area.

Chronology

Construction/ [EM IIA j EM I i ! MM IA [Yes j MM III - LM [Disturbed g
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [P j
 EM III [P H] MM II []]

Dating Xanthoudides 1924:9-15 EM I/II - EM III. Zois 1968a: 78 Early EM II-. Walberg 1983:101-2 -EM
 III/MM IA, vases outside Tholos entrance are MM I. Branigan 1993:146 EM I - MM I. Wilson and
 [Day 1994:14 EM IIA-.

Material

Ceramic 42 Bone Ceramic vases [42 Figurines 8
 Stone [116 Copper 23) Stone vases [80 Tools 11
 Ivory [12 | Gold [9 Seals 19 Beads 47 min.
 Crystal | [Silver/Lead T Daggers [2 Amulets 7
 Obsidian j n L Daggers !10 | Ornaments 12
 Other falence, animal tooth Other j

Burial

Burial Hundreds of burials reported, skulls heaped together. Evidence in the tomb for numerous fires
 may be the result of fumigation event(s). All secondary burials. Large number of bones found
 outside the Tholos together with some vessels. Lamax Pitthos

Others

Koumasa

Name jKoumasa [Area AB ID 62!
 Nearest village jKoumasa ! Type Open area Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 32-50. Zois 1968a: 74,77-8. Renfrew 1969 :19. Stucynski 1982. Walberg 1983:102. Miller 1984: 557. Wilson & Day 1994:14,39. Pieler2004:110,114.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings Tholoi A, 6 and E
 Other Area Between Tholoi A and B
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM IIA EM I MM IA [P_] MM III + LM [Z j Disturbed
 First use date u Yes MM IB !YesJ
 EM III MM II iP I
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: EM I - II. Zois 1968a: 77-8 EM IIA. Walberg 1983:102 -MM IB/II. Wilson & Day 1994:14, 39 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic	11	Bone	|	Ceramic vases	11	Figurines	2
Stone	[	Copper	[	Stone vases		Tools	
Ivory		Gold	[	Seals	[	Beads	j
Crystal		Silver/Lead	!	T Daggers		Amulets	
Obsidian				L Daggers	[	Ornaments	j j
Other	L		i	Other	i		

Burial

Burial Bones found in this area. Lamax Pitthos

Others Koumasa figurine HM 122 most probably imported.

Koumasa

Name jKoumasa j|E_____ j ID 61
 Nearest village jKoumasa j Type [Tholos j Dubious
 Area jEast Mesara j Excavated 65
 Reference jXanthoudides 1924: 32-50. Warren 1965:14. Platon 1969a: no 156-157. Pelon 1976:25 no 13C. [Walberg 1983:102. Balli 1984:108. Karagianni 1984:63, 70, 77. Branigan 1993:146:49.

Architecture

Diameter jE3_____ [Entrance orientation jE j Doorway type jTrilithon
 Wall thickness j2 j Annex j Nj Vestibule jYesj Vaulted
 Other Corbelled. Sunk vestibule and a paved area in front of the vestibule.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II? EM I MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM [Yes] Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II p j MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Yes] MM II [Yes]
 Dating Warren 1965:14 EM II. Only EM II vase found in soil on top of the tomb (Xanthoudides 1924:39; contra Walberg 1983:102). Vases from outside the tholos are EM III - MM II (Xanthoudides 1924: 42-4; Walberg 1983:102). Branigan 1993:146 EM I-?MM II.

Material

Ceramic	8	Bone		Ceramic vases	8	Figurines	
Stone	6	Copper	1	Stone vases	2	Tools	
Ivory		[Gold	j	Seals	2	Beads	
Crystal		Silver/Lead		T Daggers	[1	Amulets	[
Obsidian				L Daggers		Ornaments	[
Other				Other		2 stone palettes	

Burial

Burial Most of the bones found in NW part of the tomb under a layer of white clay. Lamax Pitthos

Others

Koumasa

Name Koumasa Area Z ID 64
 Nearest village Koumasa Type Open area Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 53
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:32-50.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings Tholoi B and E.
 Other Paved area in front of Tholoi B and E. A wall is sketched in the plan of the cemetery in this area, it
 Features may represent a peribolos wall.

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EM I [Z J MM IA [U MM III - LM j] Disturbed
 First use date | |) MM IB n
 EM III | j MM II ! !

Dating

Miscellaneous

Ceramic T Bone Ceramic vases \ Figurines
 Stone [Copper] Stone vases Tools
 Ivory " [Gold ! [Seals Beads |
 Crystal [- Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers] Ornaments [
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Bones found in this area. Lamax Pithos

Others

Koumasa

Name {Koumasa ~} {Area BE 1 ID | 63
 Nearest village {Koumasa } Type [Open area j Dubious
 Area [East Mesara ~] Excavated 53
 Reference {Xanthoudides 1924:32-50. ~}

Architecture

Width [| Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [
 Length | j Associated buildings [Tholoi B and E.
 Other [Area between Tholoi B and E.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EM I MM IA L Z j MM III - LM i | Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II | |

Dating

Material

Ceramic 3 min. Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools |
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads |
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments [
 Other j Other [3 min. Phalloi or trumpets or stands

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Kouses

Name Kouses Sopata ID | 66
 Nearest village|Kouses Type Tholos j Dubious n
 Area West Mesara Excavated 53
 Reference Hadzi-Vallianou 1979: 384; 1989:432. Pini 1990a: 119. Branigan 1993:147 no 77. Sbonias 1995: 114.

Architecture

Diameter 7.4 Entrance orientation E Doorway type |Built
 Wall thickness 3 Annex Yes Vestibule |Yes| Vaulted |
 Other Double wall in the north part of the tholos.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM EMI P I MM IA HHj MMIII-LM | Disturbed S?
 First use date H jP MM IB [p H
 EMI III P I MM II |j
 Dating Hadzi-Vallianou 1979: 384 EM - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone |Yes Copper Yes Stone vases |Yes Tools L -..... i
 Ivory Gold Yes Seals |Yes Beads Yes |
 Crystal |Yes j Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets Yes
 Obsidian |Yes | L Daggers | Ornaments |
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Koumasa

Name jKoumasa ID | 65j
 Nearest village|Koumasa Type jRectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Mesara/Asterousia Excavated jyj
 Reference jXanthoudides 1924: 32-40. Zois 1967a: 719-21; 1968: 77-8. Karagianni 1984: 85. Betancourt 1985: Pl. 3K. Soles 1992b: 155-8. Wilson & Day 1994:14. Vasilakis 1996b: 84-6. Pieler 2004:114.

Architecture

Width 4.1 Entrance orientation Number of spaces [T
 Length Associated buildings [Tholos E and Area A
 Other jSunk floor level. SW wall of building is curved. Possible wooden roof.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM IIA EMI [H] MM IA H U MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB
 EM III HU MM II i
 Dating |Zois 1967a: 719-21 EM IIA Betancourt 1985: Pl. 3K EM IIA. Soles 1992b: 157-8: EM IIA. It may be a closed EM II deposit.

Material

Ceramic j4_ Bone |_ Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone H Copper 2^ Stone vases
 Ivory |_ Gold H
 Crystal H Silver/Lead |3- T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j_ L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Large number of bones. Lamax Pithos

Koutsokera

Name [Koutsokera ID j 68
 Nearest village]Vassilikí Type Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Xanthoudides 1921b: 15; 1924: 74-5. Pelon 1976:25-6 no 14. Balli 1984:113. Branigan 1993: 146 no 53. Warren & Alexiou 2004:194.

Architecture

Diameter 5.55 Entrance orientation jE_____ Doorway type (Trilithon
 Wall thickness {1.5 Annex j No Vestibule | No| Vaulted
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ ;EMI EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: 74-5 EM I - II. Branigan 1993 :146 EM I - ?. Warren & Alexiou 2004:194: EM IB.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases j Figurines j
 Stone | Copper Stone vases | Tools j
 Ivory | Gold | Seals | Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments]
 Other Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Underneath the stratum with bones an esterile layer was found.

Others Xanthoudides suggested an associated settlement W of the Salame tomb but this is of later date. Pelon suggested that the settlement was situated north of the modern village of Vasiliki, at Girok6phala (Pelon 1976:26 and Pendlebury et al. 1934:87).

Kouses

Name (Kouses | (Annex to Tholos j .o r ~ 67
 Nearest village]Kouses | Type Annex Dubious
 Area jWest Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference jHadzi-Vallianou 1979:384; 1989:432.

Architecture

Width approx. 7 i Entrance orientation E Number of spaces [7
 Length approx. 4 Associated buildings jTholos
 Other jSix rooms constructed in at least two phases. East of the annexes a ramp was reported.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IEM EMI I I J MM IA I I J MM III - LM r n Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II E D MM IB i m
 EM III E H MM II [Z]
 Dating Tholos: Hadzi-Vallianou 1979:384 EM - MM I; 1989:432 MM material reported SE of the Tholos. j

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone ; Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j j Amulets 1 j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Lasaia A

Name Lasaia A ! ID ! 70
 Nearest village (Kali Limenes Type Tholos] Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1975: 32-3 SC 11A. Belli 1984:100-1 (Kali Limenes 1, Lasea). Branigan 1993:145 no 31. Pelon 1994:163-4 no 31A.

Architecture

Diameter 5.25 | Entrance orientation S or E Doorway type | Built |
 Wall thickness [1 Annex j No Vestibule | No| Vaulted | |
 Other Corbelled. South part not preserved. Belli measured the diameter of this tomb in 4.9 m. (Belli 1984:100).
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM I EM I P MM IA i U MM III - LM L Z j Disturbed S
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [JLJ]
 EM III H Z] MM II ' j

Dating Blackman & Branigan 1975: 33 EM I - MM.

Material

Ceramic Bone j | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ! Gold j j Seals |] Beads j
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers { Amulets j
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments j |
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Other* Named Platia Peramata in Georgoulaki 1996a and Chrysostomos A in Panagiotopoulos 2002. !
 |

Krotos

Name jKrotos Aspra Charakia ID I W
 Nearest village Krotos T Type Tholos Dubious
 Area iSouth Coast Excavated 55
 Reference Vasilakis 1983: 355. Touchais 1984:833. Branigan 1993:146 no 44.

Architecture

Diameter [4 Entrance orientation Doorway type
 Wall thickness [T Annex f No Vestibule Vaulted
 Other East side of the tholos wall is formed by a rock outcrop.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM II EM I [MM IA [MM III - LM Disturbed KB
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Z]
 EM III [Yes] MM II i |

Dating Vasilakis 1983: 355 EM II - III.
 j

Material

Ceramic 10 | Bone j j Ceramic vases [10 Figurines
 Stone 3 Copper 1 Stone vases [1 Tools [1 |
 Ivory [15 [Gold j j Seals [3 | Beads 1500 min
 Crystal Yes Silver/Lead [| T Daggers | Amulets [15
 Obsidian | | L Daggers | Ornaments |
 Other faience Other 1 marble palette, 1 stone pommel

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos u
 Burial [Around 100 burials in two layers.

Others Settlement situated 100-150 m SW.

Lasaia B

Name Lasaia B Annex to Tholos B 72!
 Nearest village [Kali Limenes Type jAnnex Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1975:32-4.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Traces of walls were found outside the entrance of the tomb.
 Features

ghfPPPIPIV

Construction/ [Unknown EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III 1_ [MM II j_]

Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	i	Figurines
Stone	F	Copper	j	Stone vases
Ivory	[	Gold	j	Seals
Crystal	[	Silver/Lead	|	T Daggers
Obsidian	|			L Daggers
Other	{			Other

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Lasaia B

Name lLasaia B ID 71:
 Nearest village [Kali Limenes Type Tholos Dubious
 Area [South Coast Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1975:32-4 SC 11B. Belli 1984:100-1 (Kali Limenes II, Lasea). Branigan [1993:145 no 32. Pelon 1994:163-4 no 31B. Wilson & Day 1994: 39, 49 (Chrisostomos).

Architecture

Diameter 5.2 Entrance orientation Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness [1 Annex Yes| Vestibule Q°J Vaulted
 Other [South part not preserved. Belli measured the diameter of this tomb in 4.6 (Belli 1984:100)
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EMI? EMI g I j MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed yf
 First use date EM II [YesJ MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating [Blackman & Branigan 1975:34 EM I/II-. Wilson & Day 1994:39,49 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	|	|	Ceramic vases	1	Figurines	j	j
Stone	Copper			Stone vases		j	Tools	
Ivory	Gold	[		Seals		i	Beads	
Crystal	|	Silver/Lead	[	1	T Daggers	j	Amulets	j
Obsidian					L Daggers		Ornaments	
Other					|	Other		

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others Named Platia Peramata in Georgoulaki 1996a and Chrysostomos B in Panagiotopoulos 2002.

Lebena Papoura

Name Lebena Papoura **P1b** ; ID | 74
 Nearest village|Lenda • Papoura j Type [Tholos Dubious
 Area South Coast j Excavated B
 Reference Alexiou 1958:1-10; 1960; 1992:164-7. Platon 1958:470-1; 1969a: no 218-219. Pini 1968:5. Zois 1968a: 65. Renfrew 1969:19. Pelon 1976:29 no 168. Balli 1984:102. Branigan 1993:145 no 36. Alexiou & Warren 2004. Pieler 2004:114.

Architecture

Diameter |4.4 j Entrance orientation jSE j Doorway type |trilithon?
 Wall thickness |1.3 1 Annex | No Vestibule | No Vaulted |
 Other Corbelled. South part of the tholos wall is lost. It seems constructed after Tholos P1.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ |EM IIA j EM I j j MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM [j Disturbed
 First use date EM II YesT MM IB [P_] [____EM III [Yes] MM II [____]
 Dating Alexiou and Warren 2004: EM IIA - MM I

Material

Ceramic |61 Bone Ceramic vases |59 Figurines |2 j
 Stone |23 [Copper |3 Stone vases |3 Tools |1*5 i
 Ivory | ~] Gold ! [Seals |2 Beads |65 [____
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets |3 !
 Obsidian |11 L Daggers ! Ornaments
 Other | ! Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax U Pithos
 Burial A founder deposit has been suggested consisting in a marble figurine, an incised stone vessel and a Fine Grey Ware pyxis (Alexiou & Warren 2004:192). Two layers were identified, an EM II one sealed by a layer of fallen rocks and a MM I above the layer.

Others Alexiou suggested that the settlement was located in the Kephali, W of the modern village of Lendas (Alexiou & Warren 2004:14).

Lebena Papoura

Name Lebena Papoura ||P1 j id j 73|
 Nearest village|Lenda - Papoura j Type [Tholos [Dubious
 Area |South Coast -j Excavated B
 Reference Alexiou 1958:1-10; 1960; 1992:164-7. Platon 1958:470-1; 1969a: no 170-189. Pini 1968:5. Zois ;1968a: 59-61. Ward 1971: 75. Pelon 1976:27-8 no 16A. Sapouna-Sakellarakí 1983:49. Balli [1984:102. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:233-4. Branigan 1993:145 no 35. Alexiou & Warren 2004.

Architecture

Diameter |5.1 Entrance orientation Doorway type |Trilithon
 Wall thickness |1.9 Annex Yesj Vestibule Vaulted
 Other Corbelled. Constructed with roughly worked stones, the interior of the wall was lined with upright
 Features ;slabs. There is an enclosed space in the NW part of the interior of the tholos.

Chronology

Construction/ |EM IIA EM I MM IA Yes] MM III • LM Disturbed B
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Alexiou & Warren 2004: EM IIA - EM II B. Little evidence of EM III - MM IA mainly localised in the entrance and annexes.

Material

Ceramic |82 Bone 11 Ceramic vases |76] Figurines | i
 Stone |15 Copper 6 Stone vases 4] Tools |85 [____
 Ivory |7 J Gold |2 | Seals |24 i Beads |910 min.
 Crystal | Silver/Lead 0 T Daggers 1 j Amulets |κ !
 Obsidian |78 L Daggers |1 | Ornaments 2 |
 Other faience, tusk Other scarab i

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Eight individuals located in north part of tomb in extended position. Nine skulls come from the entrance and another 22 from inside the tholos. Estimated maximum number of interments: 50. Signs of small fires in tomb. Some vessels found upside-down.

Others Alexiou suggested that the settlement was located in the Kephali, W of the modern village of Lendas (Alexiou & Warren 2004:14).

Lebena Yerokambos

Name [Labana Yerokambos] j [V2] | ID | 76j
 Nearest village [Lenda - Yerokambos] j Type Tholos j Dubious
 Area South Coast ~j Excavated 52
 Reference Alexiou 1958:1-10; 1960; 1992:164-7. Platon 1958:470-1; 1969a: no 190-203. Pini 1968:5. Zois j 1966a: 61-5. Pelon 1976:29 no 16C. Sapouna-Sakelarakí 1983:49. Belli 1984:102. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 234. Branigan 1993:145 no 33. Alexiou & Warren 2004. Pieler 2004:114.

Architecture

Diameter 5 Entrance orientation [E] ! Doorway type [Trilithon] |
 Wall thickness 1.7 Annex Yes Vestibule [No] Vaulted | |
 Other Corbelled. Fallen stones in circular arrangement may indicate a vault. A thiki (0m<n) or small
 Features enclosure was created at the bottom of the tholos.

Chronology

Construction/ EM I j EM I [Yes] MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM ! ___[Disturbed 5c
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yesj
 EM III [Yes] MM II ! j
 Dating Alexiou and Warren 2004: Earliest EM 1- MM 1

Material

Ceramic [524 Bone [4_ | Ceramic vases 524 min. Figurines [5
 Stone [52] Copper [10 "H Stone vases 11 | Tools [137 [[
 Ivory [2 | Gold 22 j Seals 18 Beads 11133 min!
 Crystal [2 min [Silver/Lead [1 T Daggers Amulets []_... j
 Obsidian [125 | L Daggers [4 [Ornaments [3
 Other [White paste Other scarab, pommel

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 The thiki may have contained a founders deposit (Alexiou and Warren 2004:192). Animal teeth and bones, and olive stones recovered from inside the tholos.

Others

Lebena Papoura

Name Lebena Papoura ^nnexto P1 and P1b id 75
 Nearest village Lenda - Papoura Type [Annex Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated 0
 Reference Alexiou 1958:1-10; 1960; 1992:164-6. Platon 1958:470-1. Zois 1968a: 59-61. Petit 1987. Alexiou & Warren 2004:13, 42-44.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation [] Number of spaces [Unknown] |
 Length Associated buildings [Tholos P1 and P1b
 Other Very badly preserved when excavated; a plan of the annexes does not exist.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II? j EM I ! MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM d j Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III ! MM II ! |
 Dating Alexiou & Warren 2004: The few ceramic vases coming from this area are all MM I. j

Material

Ceramic [5 Bone [Ceramic vases 5 Figurines
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases 1 Tools 1
 Ivory Gold [| Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j [Amulets [[
 Obsidian 1 L Daggers Ornaments
 Other 1 Other [[

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial No bones were found in the annexes.

Others

Lebena Yerokambos

Name Lebena Yerokambos [Annex to tholos Y2 and Y2a ID [78
 Nearest village [Lenda - Yerokambos Type Annex Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated at
 Reference Alexiou 1958:1-10; 1960; 1992:164-66. Platon 1958:470-1; 1969a: no 217. Petit 1987. Alexiou & [Warren 2004:15; 158-79.

Architecture

Width approx. 5 Entrance orientation Number of spaces [6
 Length approx. 6 Associated buildings [Tholi Y2 and Y2a
 Other Constructed in two phases: first, Room A, M and East of M; second, Room D, AN, and east of D.
 Features Room AN had a bench.

Chronology

Construction/ EM IIB, MM I EM I [[MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM [Z j Disturbed U
 First use date ^M || [yes MM IB E Z]
 EM III [Yes] MM II i i

Dating Alexiou & Warren 2004: Rooms A and M and possibly room East of M constructed in EM IIB. Rooms D and AN and possibly room east of D dated to MM IA.

Material

Ceramic [300 min. Bone 1 | Ceramic vases 300 min. Figurines [
 Stone [9 j Copper ["1 Stone vases [4 | Tools [6
 Ivory 1 j Gold | Seals 1 [Beads 22 [
 Crystal [] Silver/Lead [j T Daggers Amulets [
 Obsidian [| L Daggers | Ornaments [
 Other [shell [Other [

Burial

Lamax Pitios

Burial Room A contained human bones, animal bones and teeth, and charcoal. Rooms A and D contained human bones. Room AN contained many vessels but no human bones, nor did Room A. These two may have been used for offerings.

Others

Lebena Yerokambos

Name Lebena Yerokambos Y2a ID 77!
 Nearest village [Lenda - Yerokambos Type Tholos Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1958:1-10; 1960; 1992:164-7. Platon 1958:470-1; 1969a: no 204-216. Fini 1968:5. Zois 1968a: 61-5. Pelon 1976: 29 no 16Ca. Balli 1984:102. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 234. Branigan 1993:145 no 34. Alexiou & Warren 2004.

Architecture

Diameter 33 _____ j Entrance orientation N | Doorway type [
 Wall thickness [0.9 J Annex No [Vestibule | No | Vaulted probably
 Other [Attached to Y2, constructed after Y2.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM IIA j EM I i i MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM Disturbed
 First use date || [Yes] MM IB
 _____ EM III [Yes] MM II i i

Dating Alexiou and Warren 2004: EM IIA - MM IA. Two strata can be identified, the lower one under the sand is a closed EM IIA - B deposit and the upper one an EM III - MM IA deposit.

Material

Ceramic [74 Bone 5(8) Ceramic vases [70 Figurines [
 Stone [16__ Copper [T Stone vases [3~ Tools [44
 Ivory [PT(3) Gold Seals 11 Beads [200
 Crystal Silver/Lead T 1 Amulets [3
 Obsidian 137 L Daggers Ornaments !
 Other [faience, shell Other iscarab

Burial

Lamax Pitios U

Burial Fumigation episode: fire inside the tholos plus laying of sand. Burials were deposited on top of the sand layer.

Qthg.rs

Loukia

Name Loukia ID 80
 Nearest village Loukia Type Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated
 Reference Evans 1928: 71.

Architecture

Diameter j Entrance orientation [Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness j Annex [Noj Vestibule [Noj Vaulted [
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EMI [MMIA j MMIII-LM j j Disturbed
 First use date EM II LU j MM IB i
 EM III j MM II

Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines j
 Stone Copper j Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [Gold j Seals Beads [Amulets
 Crystal Silver/Lead 2 T Daggers
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments [
 Other Other

Burial

Burial ~ ~ ~ Lamax [Pitthos Si

tomb only appears in Evan's map, and not in the text. It probably refers to one of the known tholos in this area by other name.

Lebena Zervou

Name Lebena Zervou ID 79
 Nearest village Lenda - Zervou Type Tholos Dubious
 Area South Coast Excavated Si
 Reference Alexiou 1958:1-10; 1960. Platon 1958:470-1; 1969a: no 220-1. Pini 1968:5. Zois 1968a: 65. Pelon 1976:29 no 16D. Belli 1984:103. Branigan 1993:145. Alexiou & Warren 2004.

Architecture

Diameter 5.3 Entrance orientation [E Doorway type Trilithon
 Wall thickness 1.7 Annex Noj Vestibule (Noj Vaulted [Trilithon
 Other Features Double wall. Corbelled.

Chronology

Construction/ EM IIA EMI [MMIA [Yes] MM III - LM [j Disturbed Si
 First use date EM II (^] MM IB [Yesj
 EM III [Yes] MM II [P i

Dating

Alexiou & Warren 2004: EM IIA - MM IB/i.

Material

Ceramic 42 Bone 1 (2) Ceramic vases 42 Figurines 1
 Stone [8 j Copper [1 Stone vases [3 Tools [11 !
 Ivory T [Gold [1 j Seals 5 Beads [10
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [1] T Daggers [0 Amulets [1
 Obsidian [9 L Daggers 0 Ornaments 2
 Other Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax [Pitthos Si

Burial Pitthos fragments found. MM I burials found in the entrance. A founder deposit has been suggested consisting in a marble figurine, EM IIA vases, a skull and various long bones (Alexiou & Warren 2004:192).

Others

Marathokephalon

Name Marathokephalon ID 82
 Nearest village|Mroni Type Tholos Dubious
 Area North Mesara Excavated B
 Reference Xanthoudides 1921b: 16-23. Warren 1965:14. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9431-9. Zois 1968a: 94.
 Platon 1969a: no 222-240. Branigan 1970a: 27; 1993:147 no 70. Pelon 1976:30 no 17.
 Stucinsky 1982. Walberg 1983:97. Balli 1984:116. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:237. Wilson & Day
 1994:16.

Architecture

Diameter [5-6 j Entrance orientation [S j Doorway type |
 Wall thickness [2 j Annex [No Vestibule | No] Vaulted [possible
 Other Corbelled. Protruding stones from the exterior of the north part of the tholos wall. 19 cubic meters
 Features of stone were recovered from inside the tomb that could come from the vault.

Chronology

Construction/ [EM IIA | EM I MM IA Yes] MM III - LM j U j Disturbed B
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB Yes-
 EM III IP i MM II [i
 Dating Xanthoudides 1921b: EM 1- EM III. Zois 1966:a 94 EM IIA- (one vase was dated to EM I/IIA).
 Walberg 1983 -MM I. Branigan 1993:147 EM I - MM I. Wilson & Day 1994:16 EM IIA - MM I.

Material

Ceramic 27 Bone | Ceramic vases [27 Figurines
 Stone [18 Copper 13 Stone vases [16 j Tools [3 j
 Ivory 19 Gold [Seals [19 Beads 100 min.
 Crystal Yes Silver/Lead f'' T Daggers [6] Amulets [3]
 Obsidian [[L Daggers [3 Ornaments j []
 Other Other Spear head

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos B]

Others

Marathokephalon

Name {Marathokephalon {A ID 81
 Nearest village|Mroni| Type [Tholos| Dubious
 Area [North Mesara] Excavated B
 Reference {Xanthoudides 1921b: 16. Pelon 1976: 30 no 17. Balli 1984:116. Branigan 1993:147 no 69. I

Architecture

Diameter [5-6 _____; Entrance orientation j _____| Doorway type
 Wall thickness j Annex | No] Vestibule | Not Vaulted
 Other Only a section of the wall of the tholos survived.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown ~] EM I IP i MM IA [P i MM III - LM I i Disturbed B
 First use date EM II MM IBEZJ
 EM III IP i MM II i _____
 Dating [Xanthoudides 1921b: 16 EM. Branigan 1993:147 EM I - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone j Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals [Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead [T Daggers [[Amulets | j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other] Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Megali Skini A

Name Megali Skini A {Annex to Tholos A { ID [*4
 Nearest village Listaros Type {Annex { Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1966:321; 1969b: 482. Blackman & Branigan 1977:38-40 E10a. Petit 1987. Vasilakis 1990: 39-45 no 14.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings {Tholos A
 Other Reported rooms east of the Tholos.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ {Unknown EMI MMIA j | MM III • LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II [H]

Dating

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines {
 Stone Copper { | Stone vases Tools j
 Ivory | Gold [| Seals { | Beads j |
 Crystal Silver/Lead { | T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian i | L Daggers | Ornaments { {
 Other | | Other | |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others

Megali Skini A

Name {Megali Skini A 83
 Nearest village Jstaros Type Tholos Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference {Alexiou 1966:321; 1969b: 482. Felon 1976: 30-1 no 18A; 1994:158-9. Blackman & Branigan 1977:38-40 E10a. Balli 1984:104 (Megali Skinoi IIIA). Vasilakis 1990:39-45 no 14. Branigan 1993:144 no 17. Wilson & Day 1994:16,40.

Architecture

Diameter {5.8 - 6.2 j Entrance orientation |E | Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness [2 -j Annex | Yes| Vestibule | No| Vaulted [
 Other {Corbelled. Walls preserved 3.4 m high.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ {EMI EMI SesJ MMIA Sis] MMIII-LM [Yesj Disturbed S3
 First use date EM II Sis] MM IB [Yesj
 EMIII IPH MMH r n

Dating Blackman & Branigan 1977:40 EM I - MM I, LM material. Vasilakis 1990:42-4 EM I - MM II. Wilson & Day 1994:16 EM I - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases {Yes Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Yes ~| Tools [
 Ivory | Gold] j Seals | Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead { | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian . . i | L Daggers { Ornaments
 Other] Other

Burial

Burial {Traces of fire.

Others Settlement probably located 60-100 m. NW of the tombs.

Megali Vrissi

Name Megali Vrissi ID 88
 Nearest village Megali Vrissi Type Tholos Dubious H
 Area North Mesara Excavated
 Reference Daux 1960: 833. Branigan 1993:147 no 75.

Architecture

Diameter | j Entrance orientation [] Doorway type []
 Wall thickness | j Annex j Noj Vestibule | Noj Vaulted []
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date | Unknown EMI MMIA $\text{\$}=\text{J}$ MM III - LM Disturbed
 EMI II MM IB []
 EMI III MM II d J

Dating Unknown

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial

Larnax Pithos

Others

Circular buildings were reported, possibly vaulted tombs. Branigan pointed out the possibility of being Late Minoan (1993:147).

Megali Skini B

Name Megali Skini B [C j ID | 87
 Nearest village Listaras Type Tholos Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1966: 322; 1969b: 483. Pelon 1976:462; 1994 no 18C: 160. Blackman & Branigan 1977: 37-8 EB. Belli 1984:103 (Megali Skinoi II). Vasilakis 1990: 38-9 no 13. Branigan 1993:144 no 19.

Architecture

Diameter 4-4.2 Entrance orientation Doorway type Trilithon
 Wall thickness 1.3 Annex No Vestibule | Noj Vaulted |
 Other Corbelled? Hard earth floor.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date | EMI I | EMI I [Yes] MMIA [Yes] MM III-LM Disturbed E
 EMI II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EMI III [P] [MM II I I

Dating Blackman & Branigan 1977: 37 EMI I - MM I. Vasilakis 1990:38-9 FN - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone j | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j Gold | | Seals Q j Beads |
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets |
 Obsidian i i L Daggers Q Ornaments
 Other Other |

Burial

Burial

Larnax u Pithos

Others

It may be related to the same settlement as Megali Skinoi I (Vasilakis 1990: 39).

Merthies

Name Merthies ID 90
 Nearest village Kandila Type Tholos Dubious E
 Area East Mesara Excavated
 Reference Pendlebury et al. 1934:87. Blackman & Branigan 1973:202-4. Belli 1984:108. Branigan 1993:146 no 50.

Architecture

Diameter | Entrance orientation |_____| Doorway type
 Wall thickness F Annex j No Vestibule | No| Vaulted
 Other Interior of the tholos divided in two by a straight partition wall.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [u EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM B
 EM III
 Pendlebury et al. 1934:87 EM sherds and a whole jug

Material

Ceramic | | Bone Ceramic vases Figurines j j
 Stone | | Copper | | Stone vases Tools j
 Ivory j Gold | J Seals Beads | j
 Crystal j | Silver/Lead | j T Daggers Amulets j j
 Obsidian j | Z | L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other Other |

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others Also called Myrties (Panagiotopoulos 2002:215). Reported by Pendlebury as an EM tholos tomb which could not be confirmed by Belli's investigation.

Megali Vrisi

Name jMegali Vrisi
 Nearest village Megali Vrisi Type Tholos Dubious S
 Area North Mesara Excavated
 Reference Daux 1960:833. Branigan 1993:147 no 76.

Architecture

Diameter | Entrance orientation Doorway type
 Wall thickness T Annex [Noj Vestibule | No| Vaulted
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [Unknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone | | Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone | Copper | | Stone vases F j Tools j
 Ivory j | Gold | | Seals | j Beads j
 Crystal Silver/Lead | | T Daggers F Amulets j j
 Obsidian ; j L Daggers | Ornaments j j
 Other j Other [

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others Circular buildings were reported, possibly vaulted tombs. Branigan pointed out the possibility of being Late Minoan (1993:147).

Monastiriako Pigadi

Name Monastiriako Pigadi ID 92
 Nearest village(Siva Type (Tholos (Dubious 53
 Area West Mesara Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1969c: 403.

Architecture

Diameter Entrance orientation (Doorway type |
 Wall thickness | Annex No Vestibule | Noj Vaulted |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown EMI I J MMIA I MMIII-LM ! ! Disturbed H
 First use date n j MM IB |
 EM III [] MM II []
 Dating Unknown

Material

Ceramic Bone (Ceramic vases | Figurines (|
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases (Tools
 Ivory | Gold | Seals | Beads |
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers (] Ornaments j
 Other | Other [

Burial

Burial ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Lamax Pithos

Others Alexiou mentioned a tholos in the area of Siva. For information of possible related settlements see Whitley 2004: 82.

Miamou

Name iMiamou Mandaki ID 91
 Nearest village(Miamou Type Cave Dubious
 Area Asterousia Excavated
 Reference Taramelli 1897; 1899. Alexiou 1951:290-1. Faure 1964: 52-3,68. Pini 1968:4. Zois 1968a: 49-51; 1973:181-7. Vagnetti & Belli 1978:134-5. Strasser 1992: 46-8.

Architecture

Width |5 | Entrance orientation js | Number of spaces [
 Length |5 | Associated buildings |
 Other [---
 Features {

Chronology

Construction/ ;EMI EMI MMIA I MMIII-LM Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II ED MM IB B
 EM III MM II

Dating Faure 1964:49,68. EM I. Zois 1968a: 50-1 EM I; 1973:187 LN - EM IIA habitation^A use, EM IIA-MM I burial use. Vagnetti & Belli 1978:135 EM II. Cave used in FN as habitation.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone (Ceramic vases (Yes Figurines {
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads (|
 Crystal (| Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments (|
 Other j Other [

Burial

Burial ~ ~ ~ ~ ~ Lamax Pithos
 Burial Burial level over FN habitational context.

Others Settlement probably located underneath the modern village of Miamou, near the cave.

Moni Odigitrias

Name jMoni Odigitrias -[A, T]» Hatzinas to Liofito _____ ID i 94j
 Nearest village jListaros I Type jTholos | Dubious □
 Area Agiopharango Excavated B
 Reference Sakellarakis 1965b: 562. Touchais 1982:625. Vasilakis 1990:64-6 no 31; 1992a: 213-5.
 Marangou 1992. Branigan 1993:144 no 14 (Moni Odigitria B). Pelon 1994:165-6 no 32B. Whitley 2004:82. [

Architecture

Diameter 3.5 [Entrance orientation [E Doorway type [, J
 Wall thickness 1 Annex [No Vestibule | Noj Vaulted | 1
 Other Circular wall surrounds both tholi.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM I EMI P j MMIA P__ [MMIII-LM H Z j Disturbed y
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB E Z J
 EM III [E~[MM II []
 Dating Vasilakis 1992a: 213 EM I - II. Branigan 1993:144 EM II - MM I.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper [Stone vases Tools []
 Ivory [Gold | [Seals | 1 Beads []
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian [j L Daggers | 1 Ornaments f j
 Other [Other !

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos □

Burial

Others Named Oqijitria B in Panagiatopoulos 2002. For information of possible related settlements see Whitley 2004: 82

j _____ Moni Odigitrias _____ I

Name jMoni Odigitrias | jB, Tis Hatzinas to Liofito j ID j 93j
 Nearest village jListaros [Type [Tholos -j Dubious □
 Area [Agiopharango j Excavated @
 Reference [Sakellarakis 1965b: 562. Touchais 1982:625. Fini 1990a: 118-9; 1992: no 266-344?; 2000:109- 1
 [10. Vasilakis 1990: 64-6 no 31; 1992a: 213-5. Marangou 1992. Branigan 1993:144 no 13 (Moni i
 [Odigitria A). Pelon 1994:165-6 no 32A. Sbonias 1995:114,172, n.150-1. Karetsou et al. 2001: no i
 [307-8. Whitley 2004: 82. !

Architecture

Diameter 6 Entrance orientation [E.. | Doorway type |
 Wall thickness 1.5 Annex Yes Vestibule [Noj Vaulted |
 Other []
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM I EMI E j MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM Disturbed B
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB ED
 EM III E H MM II
 Dating [Vasilakis 1992a: 213 EM I - MM IA. Branigan 1993:144 EM II - MM IB.

Material

Ceramic [275 Bone Ceramic vases 25 Figurines i |
 Stone 22 Copper 3 Stone vases [20 j Tools [2 !
 Ivory ! ~] Gold [5 | Seals [52 j Beads j600min.
 Crystal | ~] Silver/Lead [| T Daggers [1 i Amulets 12
 Obsidian 30 ; L Daggers [1 | Ornaments 1
 Other [Other Scarabs

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos □

Burial [Around 150 burials estimated (Vasilakis 1992:213).

Others [Named Oqijitria A in Panagiatopoulos 2002. Scarabs probably coming from this tomb, although they do not have exact precedence (Karetsou et al. 2001: no 307-8).

Phaistos

Name **Phaistos** (Agios Onouphrios / Area 24) ID j 96
 Nearest village|Vori Type jUnknown Dubious
 Area **West Mesara** Excavated Si
 Reference Evans 1895. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9405. Zois 1968a: 49,216. Platon 1969a: no 104-122. j
 Renfrew 1969:27. Branigan 1971:65-6. Peilon 1976:461. Stucynski 1982. Sapouna-Sakellarak
 1983. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:196-8. Branigan 1993:147 no 67. Watrous et al. 1993:224. Pini
 2000: 108-9. Watrous et al. 2004: 530 Site 24. Pieler 2004:112,117.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings j
 Other Watrous et al. (2004) reported a large pit, Evans did not report architectural remains.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM I EM I Yes MMIA Yes. MMIII-LM (P_) Disturbed 5?
 First use date EM n Yes] MM IB (Yes)
 EM III (F I MM II (Yesj
 Dating Branigan 1993:147: EM I - LM. Watrous et al. 2004:530 EM I - MM II.

Material

Ceramic |9 Bone Ceramic vases 8 Figurines 9
 Stone (26 Copper |8(2) | Stone vases |5 j Tools (
 Ivory |5 j Gold |12(6) j Seals (21 (15) j Beads j
 Crystal 2 | Silver/Lead J T Daggers 1 | Amulets
 Obsidian | j L Daggers |1 Ornaments
 Other j Other jscarabs

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos 5e
 Burial Human bones reported, also pithoi fragments (Watrous et al 2004:530).

Others

Evans suggested that the material may come from a burial deposit and was interpreted as coming j
 from a tholos tomb (Branigan 1970b: 1). Watrous et al. (2004) suggested that (one of) the j
 Phaistos cemetery lies in this area, therefore it may not have represented a tholos tomb. i

Moni Odigitrias

Name **Moni Odigitrias** (Annex to Tholos B) | ID j 95
 Nearest village>Listaros Type (Annex Dubious
 Area **Agiofharango**) Excavated ffi
 Reference Vasilakis 1990:64-6 no 31; 1992a: 213-5.

Architecture

Width japprox. 7 | Entrance orientation (E? | Number of spaces |6)
 Length japprox. 7 | Associated buildings Tholos B 1
 Other Two different construction phases can be seen in the plan: first, Rooms a and b; second, Rooms
 Features a, b, c and d. Other features outside the tholos: a peribolos wall, and at least 2 yards, one in front
 [of each tholos. Tholos B yard was paved in EM III - MM IA.

Chronology

Construction/ (EM I j EM I (Yes 1 MM IA (Yes i MM III - LM I 1 Disturbed
 First use date EM II (Yesj MM IB d]
 EM III (d] MM II i I
 Dating Vasilakis 1992a: 213 Two building phases: EM I - II for Rooms a and b; EM III/MM IA for Rooms i
 a, b, c, d. i

Material

Ceramic Bone (| Ceramic vases (Figurines
 Stone j | Copper j Stone vases j Tools j (
 Ivory Gold Seals (22 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers j Amulets j
 Obsidian j L Daggers [] Ornaments j
 Other | Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial [Two burial layers, except Room d
 |
 |

Others

Phaistos

Name **Phaistos** Area **84** ID **!** **98**
 Nearest village Type **Unknown** Dubious **n**
 Area **West Mesara** Excavated **H**
 Reference **Watrous et al. 2004:535.** j

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EMI SSJ MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM .___ | Disturbed -
 First use date EMM [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III p j MM II | |
 Dating **Watrous et al. 2004: 535 EM 1- MM IB.**

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases [Yes] Figurines |
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools L 1
 Ivory f Gold [[Seals | { Beads T 1
 Crystal [Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets 1 !
 Obsidian /es L Daggers Ornaments L
 Other j | Other

Burial

Burial MM 1pithoi reported. Lamax Pithos B j

Others Suggested to have formed part of the Phaistos cemetery/ies. j

Phaistos

Name **[Phaistos]** j Area **83** j ID **!** **97**
 Nearest village j Type **[Unknown]** j Dubious
 Area **[West Mesara]** | Excavated
 Reference **Watrous et al. 2004: 537.**

Architecture

Width _____ i Entrance orientation j Number of spaces [|
 Length j j Associated buildings j
 Other j
 Features j

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM 1 EM 1 Yes MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM D j Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III HED MM II 1 1
 Dating **{Watrous et al. 2004: 537 EM 1- MM IB.** j

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 1 L Daggers (Ornaments
 Other [Other [|

Burial

Burial MM 1pithos fragments reported. Lamax Pithos 8 j

Others Suggested to have formed part of the Phaistos cemetery/ies. j

Phaistos

Name **Phaistos** Area **89** ID **100**
 Nearest village ; Type **Unknown** Dubious
 Area **West Mesara** Excavated
 Reference **Watrous et al. 2004: 537.**

Architecture

Width | | Entrance orientation | | Number of spaces
 Length | | Associated buildings |
 Other |
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I j EM I j j MM IA Yes I MM III - LM [Yes! Disturbed
 First use date EM II □ MM IB S £]
 EM III [H j MM II [Yes!
 Dating **Watrous et al. 2004:537** MM I - LM

Material

Ceramic	I	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	T	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	[	Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	[	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian	[		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other	[]		Other	

Burial

Burial **IMM I - LM I** | pithoi reported.

Others **Suggested to have formed part of the Phaistos cemetery/ies.**

Phaistos

Name **jPhaistos** [Area **85** ID **99**;
 Nearest village [Type **jUnknown**] Dubious □
 Area **jWest Mesara** -| Excavated □
 Reference **jWatrous et al. 2004:537.** |

Architecture

Width | | Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [
 Length | | Associated buildings j
 Other |
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ EM I EM I jYesj MM IA jYesj MM III - LM j Disturbed □
 First use date EM II jYesj MM IB (Yes)
 EM III [p i MM II Yes
 Dating **jWatrous et al. 2004: 537** EM I - MM II.

Material

Ceramic	Yes	Bone	Ceramic vases	Yes	Figurines	!
Stone		Copper	Stone vases		Tools	[ |
Ivory	|	j Gold j	Seals	j	Beads	j
Crystal		Silver/Lead	T Daggers	[	Amulets	-
Obsidian	|		L Daggers	|	Ornaments	F
Other	|		Other	[.....		j

Burial

Burial **No human bones reported. EM I - II pithoi reported.**

Others **Suggested to have formed part of the Phaistos cemetery/ies.**

Phaistos

Name Phaistos [Area 99 ID 102
 Nearest village [Type iUnknown Dubious ©
 Area West Mesara Excavated □
 Reference Watrous et al. 2004:539.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM I EMI [Yes] MMIA [P]J MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [j p]]
 EM III i j MM II i j
 Dating Watrous et al. 2004: 539 EM I - IIB, MM I?

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | j Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone _J Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory J Gold [| Seals [Beads j
 Crystal _J Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other | | Other i

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos □

Others Suggested to have formed part of the Phaistos cemetery/ies or represent a small settlement.

Phaistos

Name [Phaistos Area 90 ID j 101
 Nearest village[Type Unknown ! Dubious 0
 Area West Mesara Excavated □
 Reference jWatrous et al. 2004: 538.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IB EMI L U J MMIA ___] MM III - LM iYes i Disturbed □
 First use date EM II MM IB [Yes]
 EM III d J MM II [Yes]
 Dating Watrous et al. 2004: 538 MM IB - LM I.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines T
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases | j Tools [!
 Ivory Gold Seals | | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets [|
 Obsidian L Daggers | | Ornaments ! |
 Other | Other |

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos □

Burial |No human bones reported.

Others !

Philakas

Name Philakas 104
 Nearest village (Lendas) Type Tholos Dubious sZ
 Area South coast Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1966:322; 1969b; 484. Pelon 1976:462; 1994:167 no 24B (Trypiti II). Branigan 1993: 145 no 38. i !

Architecture

Diameter | 5.25-5.4 j Entrance orientation | j Doorway type [
 Wall thickness j | Annex j No Vestibule | No Vaulted [
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown) EM I | j MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Z j MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others Unexcavated.

Phaistos

Name Phaistos Area 105 j ID | 103
 Nearest village Type Unknown Dubious aZ
 Area West Mesara Excavated
 Reference Watrous et al. 2004: 539-40.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM IB | EM 1 (MM IA (MM III - LM (Yes | Disturbed
 First use date EM II d J MM IB (Yes]
 EM III 1 1 MM II (Yes!
 Dating jWatrous et al. 2004:540 MM IB - LM III. i j

Material

Ceramic (Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines T |
 Stone Copper () Stone vases | Tools [(
 Gold (Seals | Beads [']
 Crystal f Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets [j
 Obsidian L Daggers [Ornaments [i
 Other Other | j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others (The scatter may represent a field site or a Neopalatial cemetery.)

Platanos

Name Platanos iIA | ID [106
 Nearest village Platanos Type Tholos Dubious
 Area East Mesara ! Excavated Sj
 Reference Xanthoudides 1916; 1924:88-124. Platon 1953:491-2; 1955:568; 1969a: no 241-54,256,263-4, 266,291, 304, 313,322-4. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9384-403. Alexiou 1973a: 462-3; 1977:562- (3. Pelon 1976:32-3 no 20A. Ioannidou 1977:573-4. Stucynski 1982. Sapouna-Sakellarakı 1983: 50. Wälberg 1983: 99. Belli 1984:113-4,121-2. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 243-4. Vasilakis 1992b: ! 248-50; 1996. Branigan 1993:147 no 64. Zois 1998d: 155.

Architecture

Diameter 13.1 Entrance orientation E Doorway type |Trilithon? |
 Wall thickness 2.4 Annex j Yes Vestibule (Yes) Vaulted |Possible |
 Other Butresses.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM I fff) EMI MMIA |p : MM HI- LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II |p f MM IB |p j
 EM III f □ MM II

Dating Only two clay vases published, one EM II or EM III, (no 6892; Zois 1998:155. Wälberg 1983:99), and a MM vase (no 6915). Many MM vases published from outside the tholos. Branigan 1993: 147 ?EM II - MM II

Material

Ceramic	2	~ Bone	56 min.	Ceramic vases	(2	! Figurines
Stone	|3	ff] Copper	(12	Stone vases	(Yes	] Tools fib j
Ivory	|11	(J Gold	(88	Seals	(14	(Beads
Crystal	1	J Silver/Lead	!T	T Daggers	|14	! Amulets (
Obsidian	!	n		L Daggers	(46	| Ornaments
Other	(Shell			Other		shell vase

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos
 Burial Fire episode attested, separating two burial strata.

Others Two strata reported, the lower one only contained 14 triangular daggers. Rest of material comes from upper stratum (Xanthoudides 1924:89).

Plakoura

Name (Plakoura ID | 1051
 Nearest village (Vassilikı Type Tholos Dubious E
 Area East Mesara Excavated
 Reference Pendlebury et al. 1934:87. Blackman & Branigan 1973:202-4. Branigan 1993:146 no 51.

Architecture

Diameter |_____ j Entrance orientation j Doorway type
 Wall thickness | Annex j No Vestibule [Yes] Vaulted
 Other {Circular stone foundation, interior partition wall. Other walls around the tholos.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM EMI (P MM IA I I MM III - LM I (Disturbed
 First use date EM II S. J MM IB d j
 _____ EM III IP MM II i |_____

Dating {Pendlebury et al. 1934: 87 EM

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other		Other	

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others Unexcavated

Platanos

Name |Platanos B J ID [108
 Nearest village|Platanos j Type Tholos [Dubious
 Area East Mesara j Excavated
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:88-124. Warren 1965:13. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9381-3. Platon 1969a: no 255, 257-62, 265, 267-89, 292-303, 305-12, 314-21, 325-32, 335-43, 345-7. Ward 1971: 75-6,92. I Pelon 1976:32-3 no 20B. Walberg 1983:99. Balli 1984:113-4,121-2. Miller 1984: 560. Lambrou- j Phillipson 1990:241-4. Vasilakis 1992b: 248-50. Branigan 1993:147 no 65. Davaras & Soles 1997: 57. Phillips 2004.

Arphlftfturg

Diameter 10.2 Entrance orientation E Doorway type jTrilithon? |
 Wall thickness [2.45 ~] Annex j- Yes Vestibule [No] Vaulted [Possible |
 Other Corbelling, protruding stones in the outer face of the tholos. 25 cubic metres of stones found
 Features inside tholos (see Branigan 1970b: 72).

Chronology

Construction/ [EM II/III j EM I [___ MM IA [Yes [MM III - LM [[Disturbed g
 First use date EM II [P___] MM IB [Yes] EM III Sts] MM II il 1
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924:92 posterior to Tholos A. Warren 1965:13 incised pyxis no 1904 EM IIA (survival?). Pelon 1976:33 EM III - MM 1. Branigan 1993:147 EM II - MM II. Walberg 1983:99 EM j III-MM I.

Material

Ceramic 15 Bone |4 | Ceramic vases 13 Figurines 1
 Stone [71 j Copper [3] Stone vases [33 j Tools [5
 Ivory [31) Gold 1 [Seals [80 j Beads r
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian [3 L Daggers [1 j Ornaments [0
 Other |White paste | Other [scarabs

Burial

Burial _____ Lamax Pithos
 Burial Bones found at the E of the tholos in what it could have been the annexes.

Others

Platanos

Name Platanos Annex to Tholos A ID j 1071
 Nearest village Platanos Type Annex Dubious
 Area |East Mesara Excavated S3
 Reference [Xanthoudides 1916; 1924:88-124. Branigan 1970b: 12 plan. Petit 1987. Vasilakis 1992b.

Arffhltftfyir?

Width approx. 9 Entrance orientation E? Number of spaces |10 min.
 Length [approx. 12 Associated buildings Tholos A
 Other Only description comes from Xanthoudides map where the Annex looks like a complex of parallel
 Features [rooms. A corridor seems appears atf the south side.

Chronology

Construction/ [EM III/MM I EMI MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II H Z] MM IB [Yes] EM III [PH] MM II H I
 Dating Walberg 1983: 99 EM III-. Bird's nest bowls are typically MM I (Warren 1969: 8-9).

Material

Ceramic [6 Bone [Ceramic vases [6 | Figurines |
 Stone 300 min. Copper [2 Stone vases 300 min. Tools [1
 Ivory [8 Gold [Seals [8 [Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers | | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers h j Ornaments
 Other | Other 4 pommels and 5 slabs, double axe

Burial

Burial _____ Lamax Pithos
 Burial Room a contained hundreds of stone vases, most of them bird's nest bowls (Warren 1969:121).

Others

Platanos

Name Platanos If' j ID 110
 Nearest village [Platanos Type [Tholos j Dubious L]
 Area East Mesara Excavated £
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:88-124. Platon 1969a: no 290,333-4,344. Pelon 1976:32-3 no 20C. Platon et al. 1977: no 25. Walberg 1983: 99. Belli 1984:113-4,121-2. Miller 1984: 557. Vasilakis 1992b: 248-50. Branigan 1993:147 no 66.

Architecture

Diameter 7.3 Entrance orientation E Doorway type [Trilithon |
 Wall thickness [1.8 Annex j Yes Vestibule j YesJ Vaulted | |
 Other Possible Annex related to the Tholos (Petit 1987).
 Features

Chrpnooov

Construction/ EM I/III j EM 1 [] MMIA [P_] MM III - LM d_ | Disturbed
 First use date EM II [p MM IB
 EM III [Yes] MM II I i
 Dating Walberg 1983: 99 EM III - MM I. Branigan 1993:147 EM II - ?MM I. Vase 6873 was dated EM II by Xanthoudides 1924: 94 and EM III by Walberg 1983:99.

Material

Ceramic [4 Bone i Ceramic vases [4 Figurines
 Stone [9 | Copper [] Stone vases [7 Tools
 Ivory [2 | Gold [j Seals [4 Beads | -|
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [T Daggers [Amulets []
 Obsidian r_----- 1 L Daggers Ornaments []
 Other [' " Other []

Burial

Burial Bones reported N of the tholos in the area of Tombs a and y. j
 Lamax Pitthos

Others

Platanos

Name iPlatanos [Annex to Tholos B
 Nearest village [Platanos Type [An Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated M
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:86-124. Branigan 1970b: 12 plan. Petit 1987. Vasilakis 1992b.

Architecture

Width iapprox. 9 | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces Unknown
 Length japprox. 11 [Associated buildings [Tholos B, area AB
 Other In Xanthoudides plan it is not clear how many rooms composed this annex. A paved area was
 Features [situated E of the Annex (area AB).

ghranotoflv

Construction/ Unknown EM I MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II (H) MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating No material was reported from this area.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Bones were found in this area. Lamax Pitthos

Others

Platanos

Name Platanos South deposits | ID 112
 Nearest village Platanos Type {Open area Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Platon 1953; 1955. Alexiou 1973a; 462-3; 1977; 562-3. Orlandou 1973. Ioannidou 1977. Gerontakou 2003.

Architecture?

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings |
 Other No architecture was associated with these deposits which were in the area south of Tholoi A and B. A stone wall may have separated these deposits from the cemetery (Gerontakou 2003). This wall was reported by Xanthoudides but not included in plan.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM I/AB EM 1 MMIA H Z] MM III - LM I U J Disturbed C
 First use date EM II jp MM IB [Yes] EM III p | MM II Yes":
 Dating Ioannidou 1977: 573 EM II for stone vases, MM IB barbotine wares. Gerontakou 2003: Ceramic { seems MM IB/II although some vases may be a bit earlier. The stone vases cannot be dated more ! accurately than to EM II - MM I !

Material

Ceramic 18 Bone Ceramic vases 18 Figurines
 Stone 54 [Copper 1 Stone vases 64 j Tools 1
 Ivory Gold L i Seals { } Beads L j
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers [1 Ornaments j |
 Other [shell | Other shell vase

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial One deposit contained ceramic and stone vases, and the other stone vases and a copper tool. j

Others

Platanos

Name Platanos ^reaAB J ID { 111j
 Nearest village platanos Type Open area Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 88-124. Renfrew 1969:19. Branigan 1970b: 12 plan. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 243. Vasilakis 1992b. Pieler 2004:114.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings |Annex 10 Tholos B |
 Other Paved area east of the annex of Tholos B
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown EM 1 MMIA [P_ | MM III - LM {__} Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes 1 MM IB H Z] EM III MM II | |
 Dating Warren 1969: 8, the bird's nest bowls are probably MM I. One of them possibly an Egyptian imitation (HM 1904; Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:243). The folded arm figurine is EM IIA (Renfrew 1969:19). !

Material

Ceramic (Yes Bone j Ceramic vases Yes Figurines 1
 Stone 8 Copper | Stone vases 8 Tools
 Ivory [{ Gold [| Seals Beads
 Crystal ! Silver/Lead T Daggers [Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers j j Ornaments {
 Other [Other []

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial {Bones found in this area, probably eroded from the annex.

Platanos

Name Platanos [Tomb i 0 114i
 Nearest village [Platanos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:93. Branigan 1970b: 12 plan. Soles 1992b: 193. Georgoulaki 1996a: Illustration 25b.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [3 min.
 Length Associated buildings [Tholos f
 Other Group of three buildings consisting in several rooms. Georgoulaki reconstructed the tomb based in
 Features Xanthoudides description as one building with three rooms.

Chronology

Construction/ [MM? EMI MMIA [P | MM III - LM SesD Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II MM IB EJ
 EM III MM II
 Dating Soles 1992b: 193 -MM I, LM sherds.

Material

Ceramic Bone [[Ceramic vases [Figurines [
 Stone [1 j Copper [[Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [Gold Seals f Beads [
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [] T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian [L Daggers | Ornaments []
 Other [Other [milkstone]

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Xanthoudides suggested that poor people was buried here.

Others

Platanos

Name [Platanos IRooms south to Tholos A ID 113!
 Nearest village [Platanos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area [East Mesara Excavated
 Reference [Xanthoudides 1924:88-124. Branigan 1970b: 12 plan. Vasilakis 1992b.

Architecture

Width [Entrance orientation S Number of spaces 5
 Length | Associated buildings Tholos A
 Other [Rooms 1-5 south of tholos, these walls may have been originally butresses that were re-used as
 Features [ossuaries.

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating No material was published from these rooms except a small lamp (HM 6905).

Material

Ceramic ! | Bone [| Ceramic vases [| Figurines 1
 Stone Copper 3 [Stone vases [| Tools 2 j
 Ivory [4 (Gold [j Seals [3 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments 1
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial [Xanthoudides reported poor ceramic vessels from this area, and explained the bones in this area
 [as ossuaries for poor people.

Others

Platanos

Name Platanos Tombs 5 and c] ID 116
 Nearest village Platanos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 5?
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 88-124. Branigan 1970b: 12 plan. Vasilakis 1992b.

Architecture

Width approx. 1-1.5 Entrance orientation ; Number of spaces |
 Length approx. 7-9 Associated buildings
 Other Two trenches half carved in the stone, half constructed with built walls. A wall is found in
 Features Xanthoudides' plan south to these trenches.

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I? EMI | j MMIA |P ! MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB K J
 EM III [j MM II j j

Dating Clay phalloi may have been a MM I type of object, found in Tomb y or 6 (Xanthoudides 1924: 93 found in room y, but in :97 found in Room 6).

Material

Ceramic 6 | Bone | | Ceramic vases [6 Figurines [
 Stone Copper j Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory | [Gold | | Seals | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead ~ T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers !. Ornaments
 Other Other 4 ceramic phalloi/oestles

Burial

Burial Many bones were reported from these trenches. Lamax Pithos

Others

Platanos

Name Platanos Tomb y ID | 115
 Nearest village Platanos Type (Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated B
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 93. Branigan 1970b: 12 plan. Soles 1992b: 193. Georgoulaki 1996a: Illustration 25b.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings {Tholos T
 Other Group of several buildings. Probably roofed with timber and clay. Georgoulaki reconstructed the
 Features tomb based in Xanthoudides description as one building with 3 rooms.

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I? ~j EMI r MMIA |O MM III - LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II m j MM IB p m
 EM III | i MM II | i

Dating Soles 1992:193 -MM I, LM sherds. Clay phalloi may have been a MM I type of object found in Tomb y or 6 (Xanthoudides 1924: 93 found in room y, but in :97 found in Room 6).

Material

Ceramic [Bone { Ceramic vases | (Figurines
 Stone [Copper Stone vases [Tools
 Ivory [j Gold { { Seals | Beads
 Crystal { Silver/Lead { { T Daggers | Amulets ::Z]
 Obsidian L Daggers !. Ornaments r z
 Other {Clay | Other [Clay Phalloi

Burial

Burial Lamax [Pithos

Others

Porti

Name Porti [Annex to Tholos n | ID [118
 Nearest village Vasiliki | Type Annex | Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924:54-69. Platon 1969a: no 368. Petit 1987.

Architecture

Width approx. 7 Entrance orientation Number of spaces 3
 Length approx. 5 Associated buildings Tholos 11
 Other Three rooms in Xanthoudides plan: a, 0 and y.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM I? EMI MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM 1 j Disturbed
 First use date n j j MM IB [Yes]
 EM III p_l MM II j____
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: 56 Middle Minoan pithoi a few MM 1 clay vases, some of them perhaps Early Minoan III (HM 5692).

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone Ceramic vases 6 Figurines [[]
 Stone [9 j Copper [[Stone vases [6 | Tools [s
 Ivory | Gold [Seals 1 Beads 1
 Crystal [1 | Silver/Lead | T Daggers [Amulets | |
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments | |
 Other j Other 2 whorls

Burial

Burial Many bones in rooms p and y. Lamax 0 Pithos 0

Others

Porti

Name [Porti _____] jfl ~ _____ j ID ! 117
 Nearest village Vasiliki | Type [Tholos | Dubious
 Area [East Mesara | Excavated SI
 Reference [Xanthoudides 1924:54-69. Zois 1967b: 67 n2; 1998d: 170-6. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9429. Pini |
 1968: 12. Platon 1969a: no 350-68. Branigan 1993:146 no 59. Palou 1976: 33-4 no 21. Sapouna-
 Sakellarakis 1983: 50. Walberg 1983:100-1. Balli 1984:108-9. Karagianni 1984: 71. Lambrou-
 IPhillipson 1990: 246-7.

Architecture

Diameter 16.65 _____ j Entrance orientation |E j Doorway type |Trilithon
 Wall thickness [21 -2.7 | Annex } Yes| Vestibule |Yes| Vaulted |
 Other [NW part of tholos wall was not preserved. Protruding stones from outside face in NE and SW
 Features [sides of tholos wall.

Chronology

Construction/ EM III/II EMI d H MMIA Sm] MMIII-LM |Z \ Disturbed
 First use date EM II W U MM IB
 EM III [Yes] MM II
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924:57 EM III - MM. Walberg 1983:100-1 EM III - MM II. Branigan 1993:146: EM
 VII - MM II.

Material

Ceramic [27 Bone Ceramic vases [27 Figurines 3 |
 Stone [13 Copper 4 Stone vases [Tools 3 |
 Ivory [n j Gold [3 | Seals [19 Beads 11 |
 Crystal [1 ~ Silver/Lead j | j T Daggers [2 Amulets |
 Obsidian | L Daggers [h Ornaments 5|
 Other amber? White paste | Other |

Burial

Burial Evidence was found of a general fire inside the tholos. Many hundreds of bodies estimated. It is possible that reported fragments of pithoi came from inside the tholos. Lamax Pithos 0

Others

Porti

Name Porti South and East Plateau ID 120
 Nearest village Vasiliki Type Pithos cemetery Dubious E
 Area East Mesara Excavated B
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 54-5.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings Tholos fl and tomb 5
 Other Reported traces of architecture but it is not clear how the pithoi related to it.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I? EMI MMIA [P i MM III - LM Disturbed E
 First use date EM II MM IB [P i
 EM III MM II [P 1
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924:55 Middle Minoan.

Material

Ceramic 6 Bone Ceramic vases 5 Figurines 1
 Stone [Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory m Gold d Seals [Beads []
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments []
 Other Other ox rthon

Burial

Burial Inverted pithoi. Lamax □ Pithos E

Others

Name Porti ID 119
 Nearest village Vasiliki Type Rectangular tomb Dubious □
 Area East Mesara Excavated E
 Reference Xanthoudides 24: 54-69. Soles 1992b: 193-4.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length 2.6 Associated buildings Tholos fl
 Other [Entrance in the south side. Partly cut in the rock, partly built.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I EMI d J MMIA [F j MM III-LM Disturbed E
 First use date EM II C U MM IB [F j
 EM III d] MM II [P i
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924:55 Kamares style pottery. Soles 1992:194 MM.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone ; Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j Gold [Seals | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial [Inverted pithos containing human bones. Lamax □ Pithos B

Others

Salame

Name Salame | ID | 122!
 Nearest village Kandila Type [Tholos | Dubious
 Area East Mesara Excavated
 Reference Xanthoudides 1924: 73-4. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9444-5. Branigan 1970b: 18-9; 1993:146 no 54. Pelon 1976: 34-5 no 22. Belli 1984:114. Alexiou & Branigan 2004:194.

Architecture

Diameter 5.05 Entrance orientation Doorway type [Trilithon |
 Wall thickness [0.8 j Annex j No Vestibule | No| Vaulted |
 Other J
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM I? EM I P MMIA MMIII-LM H Z Disturbed SZ
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB r n
 EM III MM II i j
 Dating Xanthoudides 1924: 74: EM I - II. Branigan 1970b; 1993: EM I - ?. Alexiou & Warren 2004:194 EM I/II (see also Blackman & Branigan 1982:29 for dating of Salame ware).

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Copper |2 Stone vases j Tools
 Ivory r_____ Gold j | Seals [i Beads [~j
 Crystal [- | Silver/Lead T Daggers ~] Amulets j |
 Obsidian | L Daggers |2] Ornaments j |
 Other [! Other [|

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others MM - LM settlement remains found 10 m west of the tholos

Ritsikas

Name iRitsikas ID ____ 121!
 Nearest village [Ritsikas/A. Galini Type Tholos Dubious £
 Area West Mesara Excavated
 Reference Platon 1955:586; 1959:387?. Pini 1968: 5. Branigan 1993:147 no 68 (Rizikas).

Architecture

Diameter [5_____j Entrance orientation j j Doorway type [
 Wall thickness j ~j Annex j No Vestibule | No| Vaulted
 Other [Platon] just mentioned a circular wall made of large stones (1955:566).
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ Unknown EM I j ! MM IA ____j MM III - LM ____ Disturbed
 First use date EM II Z j MM IB
 EM III Z H MM II i |
 Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases | j Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments j
 Other [Other [|

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others Material found in the area of Ritzias (Platon 1959: 387) may or may not come from the same location.

Siva

Name Siva Annex to Tholos N and S ID 1241
 Nearest village Sivas Type Annex Dubious
 Area West Mesara Excavated SZ
 Reference Paribeni 1915:14-31. Platon 1969a: no 372. Zois 1998d: 133.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Traces of walls outside both tholoi entrances, some ceramic vases come from outside of Tholos
 Features N. A room was wedged between both tholoi and dated to a later period than the tholoi construction.

Chronology

Construction/ EMI? | EMI |p | MM IA Yes | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date EMI II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III |P i MM II [Yes]
 Dating Zois 1998d: 133 A jug coming from the room between the tholoi has an EMI/II parallel from Agia Triada Tholos A; EMI/II - MM HA

Material

Ceramic 12 Bone | Ceramic vases 12 | Figurines
 Stone 1 Copper | Stone vases j | Tools |
 Ivory j | Gold] [Seals [1 Beads | |
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other | Other f]

Burial

Lamax Pitthos
 Bones were found outside Tholos S and in the room between the tholoi.

Others

Siva

Name jSiva j N | iq | 123!
 Nearest village Sivas ~[Type [Tholos j Dubious
 Area West Mesara j Excavated V
 Reference Paribeni 1915:14-31. Pelon 1976:35 no 23A. Belli 1984:114-5. Branigan 1993:144 no 6.

Architecture

Diameter [4.5 Entrance orientation jE | Doorway type [Built
 Wall thickness j1.7 ~] Annex [Yes] Vestibule | No] Vaulted |
 Other [Little pit at the back of the tholos: diameter: 0.55 m, depth: 0.3 m.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EMI? j EMI |P UJ MM IA MM III - LM [Z J Disturbed
 First use date EMI II |P J MM IB |P Z J
 EM III |P Z] MM II i i
 Dating Paribeni 1915:31 EM III. Branigan 1993:144 EMI • ?MM I.

Material

Ceramic [Bone | Ceramic vases 7 Figurines
 Stone [Copper [3 [Stone vases 3 Z Tools [2 j
 Ivory] Gold j | Seals 1 Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers 1 Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers 1 Ornaments 1
 Other Other |

Burial

Lamax Pitthos

Burial

Others

Skotoumeno Charakas

Name [Skotoumeno Charakas] j A j ID | 126;
 Nearest village [Pigeiakia] j Type j Tholos] Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977: 50 E27A. Branigan 1993:144 no 9. Pelon 1994:162 28C (Agios Ioannis A).

Architecture

Diameter 8.8 j Entrance orientation I Doorway type [
 Wall thickness }1.45] Annex j No Vestibule | No Vaulted [
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ |EM I? EMI ED MMIA P_] MM III - LM Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II Ip i MM IB ¥3
 EM III EJ MM II
 Dating Blackman & Branigan 1977:50 EM I - MM I.

Material

Ceramic f	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other		Other	

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pitthos

Others

Name jSiva ID ! 125
 Nearest village jSivas Type Tholos Dubious
 Area West Mesara Excavated 0
 Reference Paribeni 1915:14-31. Platon 1969a: no 369-74. Pelon 1976: 35 no 23B. Belli 1984:114-5. Betancourt 1985:32. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:248-50. Branigan 1993:144 no 7. Davaras & Soles 1997: 57. Zois 1998d: 133.

Architecture

Diameter 5.9 j Entrance orientation E Doorway type |
 Wall thickness [1.8 I Annex Yes Vestibule j No Vaulted | ...
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ |EM I? J EMI [P_] MMIA IP_] MM III-LM (Yes) Disturbed
 First use date EM II Sis] MM IB P]D J
 EM III [P i MM II I I
 Dating Paribeni 1915:31 EM III. Betancourt 1985:32 EM I/II. Branigan 1993: EM I - ?MM I. Zois 1998d: 133 Parallels in the material with Tholos A at Agia Triada which is EM II; EM I/II.

Material

Ceramic 30	Bone	| Ceramic vases {29	Figurines 1
Stone 14	Copper 2	Stone vases [11	Tools 2
Ivory 5	Gold j	| Seals [7	Beads
Crystal [	Silver/Lead (	T Daggers [1	j Amulets j1
Obsidian i		L Daggers [1	{ Ornaments [2
Other jshell		Other {	

Burial

Burial

Lamax 0 Pitthos 0

Others

Skotoumeno Charakas

Name Skotoumeno Charakas C i ID | 128
 Nearest village Pigeiakia Type [Tholos] Dubious G
 Area Agiopharango Excavated G
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977: 51 E27C. Branigan 1993:144 no 11. Pelon 1994:162 28C (Agios Ioannis C).

Architecture

Diameter 4 Entrance orientation Doorway type |
 Wall thickness Annex No Vestibule | No| Vaulted f |
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM III EM I G J MM IA [Yes i MM III - LM G U I Disturbed 5?
 First use date II MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [P 1 MM II j j
 Dating Blackman & Branigan 1977:51 EM III - MM I.

Material

Ceramic I Bone j Ceramic vases | Figurines j
 Stone f Copper | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory [j Gold | { Seals [] Beads |
 Crystal † ~] Silver/Lead [- T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers j Ornaments
 Other | Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Skotoumeno Charakas

Name Skotoumeno Charakas B j ID ! 127
 Nearest village Pigeiakia Type [Tholos Dubious
 Area jAgiopharango Excavated
 Reference iBlackman & Branigan 1977: 50-1 E27B. Branigan 1993:144 no 10. Pelon 1994:162 28B (Agios Ioannis B).

Architecture

Diameter 6.6 Entrance orientation SE or S Doorway type |
 Wall thickness Annex No Vestibule | No| Vaulted f |
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM II EM I MM IA GH MM III-LM GH Disturbed ffi
 First use date EM II (Yes I MM IB (GU
 EM III [p H MM II i
 Dating jBlackman & Branigan 1977: 51 EM II - III.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases [Tools
 Ivory | Gold | | Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other Other †

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Skotoumeno Charakas

Name Skotoumeno Charakas Crevice | ID [130;
 Nearest village Pige dakia Type jRock shelter Dubious
 Area Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference Blackman & Branigan 1977:51.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length] Associated buildings
 Other Rock-cleft in a rock outcrop.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [MM I EMI] j MMIA ^Yes, MM III-LM Disturbed at
 First use date EM II iZ J MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [~J MM II | |
 Dating Blackman & Branigan 1977:51 MM I.

Material

Ceramic [Yes | Bone Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone Yes | Copper Stone vases Yes Tools
 Ivory 2 Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal 2 Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitnos

Others

Skotoumeno Charakas

Name [Skotoumeno Charakas ID 129i
 Nearest village Pige dakia Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area {Agiopharango Excavated
 Reference [Blackman & Branigan 1977:51.

ArehRttiMff

Width | Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length j Associated buildings
 Other ^Rectangular building.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III [[MM II []
 Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone [Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [| Gold [| Seals [Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [| L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [| Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitnos
 Burial {Possible ossuary.

Others T

Tripiti

Name Tripiti j Annex to Tholos j ID { 132
 Nearest village j Lendas Type { Annex Dubious
 Area South Coast i Excavated E
 Reference Alexiou 1969b: 484. Vasilakis 1989:55-6.

i

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Traces of rooms can be seen outside the entrance of the tomb (Vasilakis 1989:55).
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date Unknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Unknown.

MatsrW

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other
 Burial
 Burial Lamax U Pithos

Others

Tripiti

Name {Tripiti A and B, Kalokambos j ID 131
 Nearest village j Lendas Type {Tholos j Dubious
 Area {South Coast Excavated E
 Reference (Alexiou 1969b: 484. Pelon 1976: 35-5 no 24; 1994:167 no 24A. Belli 1984:104-5. Vasilakis 1989: 56. Branigan 1993:146 no 39-40. Moller & Pini 1999: no 273.

I

Architecture

Diameter j 5.3 - 5.8 { Entrance orientation E Doorway type {Trilithon
 Wall thickness 1.5-1.7 j Annex Yes Vestibule | No| Vaulted |
 Other The discrepancy in dimensions between Alexiou 1969b - Belli 1984 (4.2 - 4.6 m diam.), and
 Features Vasilakis 1989 (5.3 - 5.8 m) may be the result of a clearer understanding of the tholos after excavation.

Chronology

Construction/ First use date EM II EM I j p_{ MM IA { MM III - LM { } Disturbed
 EM III { Yesj MM IB C j
 EM III { Yesj MM II i I
 Dating Alexiou 1969b: 484. Sub-neolithic ware and Fourni (Korifi) wares, EM I - II. Vasilakis 1989: similar dates to the settlement, EM II - III.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases (Tools
 Ivory] Gold | | Seals Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead [T Daggers j Amulets | j
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other Other []
 Burial
 Burial Lamax Pithos

Qthgr?

Two tombs were reported in Branigan 1993:146 in this area. However, Belli's photo (1984: tav. XIII) of the tomb reported by Alexiou (1969b), and Vasilakis' photo (1989: 55) show the same tholos. Settlement situated 200 m north (Vasilakis 1989: 50-5).

Vorou A

Name Vorou A Southwest deposits ID 136
 Nearest village|Valis Type {Open area Dubious
 Area North Mesara Excavated g
 Reference Marinatos 1933b. Walberg 1983:107.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation ! Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings Tholos A !
 Other No architectural features.
 Features j

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM 1? EM I [] | MMIA [P H] MMIII-LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM n j | MM IB H H j
 EM III IP j MM ii [P H]

Dating Not dear which of the published material belongs exactly to this deposit. Ceramic outside the tholos has been dated EM III/MM I to MM III/LM I (Walberg 1983:107).

Material

Ceramic Yes | Bone | Ceramic vases Yes | Figurines [|
 Stone j| ____ [copper | j Stone vases |f Tools i !
 Ivory | Gold j | Seals j] Beads |_ j
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers |] Amulets | |
 Obsidian r | L Daggers [j Ornaments j
 umer | | Other [S

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 A deposit of jugs was found SW to the tholos, many of them upside down.

Vorou A

Name Vorou A [North deposit ID j 135
 Nearest village|Valis Type {Open area Dubious
 Area North Mesara Excavated Si
 Reference Marinatos 1933b. Walberg 1983:107. For the 'sheep-bells' see Andreou 1978:24 and Morris & Peatfield 1990.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation j Number of spaces |
 Length j Associated buildings jTholos A s
 Other No architectural features.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [EM III/MM I | EM I [__ [MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II [H] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [P i MM II [P j

Dating Walberg 1983:107 EM III/MM I to MM III/LM I. 'Sheep bells' dated to EM III - MM I (Andreou 1978: 24; Morris & Peatfield 1990).

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines |
 Stone 1 [Copper [Stone vases 1 Tools ;
 Ivory [| Gold | (Seals Beads j |
 Crystal j Silver/Lead [| T Daggers | [Amulets |
 Obsidian [j L Daggers | j Ornaments [|
 Other [[Other f |

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial To the north of the tholos many 'sheep bells' vases were found ina deposit with other ceramics vases.

Others

Vorou B

Name | Vorou B | ID | 138;
 Nearest village | Vailis | Type | Tholos | Dubious |
 Area | North Mesara | Excavated | 0
 Reference | Marinatos 1933b. Pini 1968:12. Warren 1972b: 240. Pelon 1976:37 no 25B. Walberg 1983:107. Belli 1984:116-7. Branigan 1993:147 no 74.

Architecture

Diameter | 4.5 | Entrance orientation | SE | Doorway type | [Trilithon |
 Wall thickness | 1-2 | Annex | No | Vestibule | [Yes] | Vaulted | |
 Other | SE part of the tholos wall almost lost.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ | [MM I | EMI | [H j MMIA | IE j MMIII-LM (Yes) | Disturbed
 First use date | EMI II | [Z j MM IB | H]
 EMI III | MM II | [p S
 Dating | Marinatos 1933b: 160 MM. Branigan 1993:147 ?MM I. Walberg 1983:98 MM I

Material

Ceramic | 17 | Bone | | Ceramic vases | (17 | j Figurines | j |
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases | Tools | (
 v_o* | Seals | | J Beads | f | j
 Crystal | j | Silver/Lead | j | T Daggers | | (Amulets
 Obsidian | [_____] | L Daggers | j | j Ornaments | |]
 Other | | Other | [

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos 0
 Burial | Bones found outside the lamakes and pithoi. One body found in crouched position inside a pithos.

Others

Vorou A

Name | Vorou A | [[West building | ID | 137
 Nearest village | (Ritsikas |] j Type | Rectangular tomb | j Dubious |
 Area | North Mesara | Excavated | 0
 Reference | Marinatos 1933b. Petit 1987.

Architecture

Width | approx. 4 | Entrance orientation | W | Number of spaces | 5_
 Length | (approx. 7 | Associated buildings | Tholos A
 Other | D1 and D2 seem spaces created between of what can be two buttresses against a contention wall.
 Features | DD1,2 and 3 seem to have been constructed in a second phase.

Chronology

Construction/ | [EM III/MM I | EMI | MMIA | [Yes] | MMIII-LM | H D | Disturbed |
 First use date | EMI II | MM IB | [Yes] | EMI III | S is] MM II | [P I
 Dating | Similar dating to the tholos: Marinatos 1933:155 EM III - MM I. Walberg 1983:103 EM III - MM III. Branigan 1993:147: MM I.

Material

Ceramic | Ye | Bone | Ceramic vases | Yes | J Figurines | j _____
 Stone | Ye | Copper | Stone vases |] Tools | j ~
 Ivory | Gold | Seals | J Beads | [13 min
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers | j Amulets | j
 Obsidian | L Daggers |] Ornaments | I
 Other | Other

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos
 Burial | D1 and D2 almost did not contain bones but large amounts of cups. DD1 contained a lamax and 2 pithoi, DD2 contained 5 pithoi and burials in the ground. DD3 contained 3-4 lamakes and 2-3 pithoi. 16-18 burials in total.

Chgn?

West Mesara 14

Name West Mesara 14 | ID [140]
 Nearest village| Type Unknown | Dubious 6
 Area West Mesara | Excavated
 Reference Watrous et al. 2004:529.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IB EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes
 EM III MM II
 Dating Watrous et al. 2004: 529 MM IB - II.

Material

Ceramic 3] Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Copper Stone vases Tools
 ^ Gold Seals Beads
 Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other
 Burial
 Burial Lamax Pithos 65
 No human bones reported. Lamax and pithos fragments.

Rotated settlement probably situated 200 m west.

West Mesara 4

Name jWeat Mesara 4 | ID [139]
 Nearest village| Type [Unknown] | Dubious 6
 Area jWest Mesara | Excavated
 Reference jWatrous et al. 2004:527.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM I? MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM III MM B
 EM III
 Dating Watrous et al. 2004:527 One sherd EM I - IIA, all others MM IB-III.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone | Copper () Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [Gold |] Seals | Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers } Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other | Other
 Burial
 Burial Lamax Pithos
 No human bones reported. Pithoi fragments reported but may not be represent burial ones.

Others The scattered material may belong to a settlement and/or graves.

West Mesara 64

Name West Mesara 64 | ID 1 1421
 Nearest village Type Unknown Dubious E
 Area West Mesara Excavated
 Reference Watrous et al. 2004: 535.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings j
 Other Walls reported.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM J EM I IP 1 MM IA 5es] MM III - LM [H J Disturbed
 First use date EMU E H MM IB [Yes]
 EM III E H MM II IP j
 Dating Watrous et al. 2004: 535 EM - MM IB/II.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines Yes
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools 1 1
 Ivory Gold | j Seals [Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead] T Daggers j Amulets | 1
 Obsidian Yes L Daggers Omaments L ~ 1
 Other ! Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos B
 No human bones reported, MM I - II pithoi reported in the area were identified as burials.

Others

West Mesara 15

Name West Mesara 15 | ID L 141
 Nearest villagej Type Unknown Dubious y
 Area West Mesara Excavated
 Reference Watrous et al. 2004:529.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings [
 Other Walls reported.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM IB EM 1 [] MM IA [] MM III • LM iYes I Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB Ses]
 EM III 1 1 MM II iYes I
 Dating Watrous et al. 2004: 529 MM IB - III.

Material

Ceramic [Bone | Ceramic vases [Figurines T
 Stone Yes Copper Stone vases [Yes Tools [1
 Ivory [Gold [] Seals | Beads [[]
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | j T Daggers | Amulets . |
 Obsidian L Daggers ! Omaments L |
 Other | | Other |

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial No bones reported.

Others Possible settlement located 50 m north.

Afendis

Name Afendis Christou Kamlnakou | ID 144
 Nearest village Metochi | Type Pithoi Dubious S'
 Area Lasithi | Excavated
 Reference Iliopoulos 2001:658.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EMI MM IA | MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB m u
 EM III MM II i i
 Dating Iliopoulos 2001:658 Known EM • MM site.

Material

Ceramic | Bone j Ceramic vases Figurines [j
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold j | Seals j Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers J j Amulets [j
 Obsidian Z I] L Daggers j Ornaments j
 Other | Other j

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Pithoi were reported, perhaps for burial purposes.

Others

West Mesara 81

Name jWest Mesara 81 - J | ID ! 143
 Nearest village Type Unknown Dubious S
 Area jWest Mesara ~| Excavated
 Reference jMatrous et al. 2004: 536.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation ! Number of spaces [|
 Length | Associated buildings | |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM I EMI MM IA h/cs MM III-LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes I
 EM III [Z J] MM II Yes I
 Dating Matrous et al. 2004: 536 MM I - LM I.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone j Copper Stone vases j Tools
 Ivory | Gold Seals j Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead T Daggers \ Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other j Other !

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others Suggested that the scatter may represent burial material.

Agia Marina Maleviziou

Name **Agia Marina Maleviziou** Stavromenes j ID | 146
 Nearest village|A Marina/traklion Type Rectangular tomb Dubious 0
 Area Maleviziou Excavated
 Reference Hatzidakis 1913:43-4. Pendlebury et al. 1934:91.

Architecture

Width 1.8 Entrance orientation ; Number of spaces |
 Length 2.2 Associated buildings |
 Other Square building with round corners.
 Features !

Chronoloov

Construction/ jMM EMI MMIA EH MMIII-LM Yes! Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB EJ
 EM III MM II EH
 Dating Hatzidakis 1913:44 MM; Pendlebury et al. 1934:91 MM III.

Material

Ceramic Ceramic vases Figurines
 Copper Stone vases Tools
 H GokJ Seals Beads
 Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Omaments
 Other
 Burial Lamax 0 Pithos 0
 Burial

Others

Afrati

Name Afrati II " J ID | 145
 Nearest village|Arkatohori ! Type Lamakes Dubious
 Area Central Crete j Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1965: 313.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces [
 Length Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ jMM I-II j EMI dD MM IA ; ; MM III - LM dD Disturbed
 First use date EM II dJ MM IB d D
 EM III d H MM II P i
 Dating jAlexiou 1965a: 313 Beginning of the Old Palace period, MM IB-II?

Material

Ceramic Yes j Bone | | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines |
 Stone j Copper | | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory | Gold | Seals | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers | | Amulets |]
 Obsidian j | L Daggers | Omaments {
 Other
 Burial - ... " — 1
 Burial Lamakes were reported. Lamax 0 Pithos

Others

Agios Miron

Name Agios Miron ID 148
 Nearest village^ Mironas Type [Pithoi / Lamakes Dubious
 Area Maleviziou Excavated
 Reference Alexiou 1969b: 486; 1969c: 403; 1969d: 210-1; 1970:413-4; 1971b: 239; 1973b: 454-5. Oriandou 1968b: 117-8; 1969:140-1; 1970:192-3. Warren 1977:139. Walberg 1983:105. Miller 1984:33-4. Lempesi 1984. Chaniotis 1989. Dabney 1989. Petit 1990:51.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Features Remains of a wall were reported, being described as a peribolos rather than part of a building.

Chronology

Construction/ EM I MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM Sis] Disturbed
 First use date n lp MM IB ri]
 EM III jp MM II j
 Dating Alexiou 1969b: 486 MM IA-B; 1973b: Late Prepalatial and possible Protopalatial. Oriandou 1969: 140 MM IA-B; 1970:193 EM II - MM IA. Walberg 1983: 105 EM III/MM I and MM III/LM I. Chaniotis 1989:62 EM II - MM IA.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory f oo ii Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other { } j Other

Burial

Burial Lamax 0 Pithos B
 Burial Walberg dated the lamakes to the MM III/LM I period.

Others

Agios Charalambos

Name Agios Charalambos Gerondoumori 147
 Nearest village Agios Charalambos Type Cave Dubious
 Area Lasithi Excavated
 Reference Davaras 1989a; 1989b; 1990. Davaras & Papadakis 1984: 379-80. Pini 1992: no 34-47. Sbonias {1995:91,114. Betancourt 2002; 2005. Whitley 2005:109.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Features {Retaining walls built inside the chambers of the cave.

Chronology

Construction/ FN EM I Sis] MMIA Sis] MMIII-LM d J Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II Sis] MM IB
 EM III Sis] MM II
 Dating Davaras 1990:9 FN - MM II. Betancourt 2005:449 FN - MM IB

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone Ceramic vases [Yes j Figurines Yes
 Stone Yes Copper [Yes Stone vases Yes [Tools !1
 Ivory fYes Gold [Yes Seals [Yes Beads [Yes J
 Crystal Silver/Lead Yes T Daggers Amulets [Yes]
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments Yes |
 Other [j Other Five Sistra |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Human remains of hundreds of individuals in secondary deposition. Evidence for food consumption found outside the entrance of the cave. Bones seem to have been arranged following a classification.

Others LM I - III material outside the cave may indicate later cult activities.

Anopolis

Name Anopolis | ID 150
 Nearest village jAnopolis Type Pithei Dubious
 Area North Crete Excavated Si
 Reference Hatzidakis 1921: 58-60. Petit 1990:49.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM EMI MM IA E D MM III - LM E D Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB E D
 EM III MM II E
 Dating Hatzidakis 1921:58-60 MM.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases | Figurines |
 Stone | Copper [| Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory | Gold |] Seals [] Beads []
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers j Ornaments |
 Other | Other i

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitheos Si
 one pitheos was found in a pit.

Others

Aitania

Name Aitania Vrisis 1 ID 149
 Nearest village jAitania Type Pithei J Dubious 0
 Area iNorth Coast Excavated
 Reference Rethembtakis 2004a.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings |
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM EMI i i MM IA E D MM III - LM E D Disturbed
 First use date H | MM IB E D
 EM III i i MM II E D
 Dating Rethembtakis 2004: MM.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines |
 Stone Copper | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory] Gold [| Seals Beads |
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other [Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitheos 0

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni Annex to Tholos B ID 152!
 Nearest village [Epano Archanes Type Annex Dubious
 Area North Coast Excavated £
 Reference Sakellarakis 1968a: 175-80; 1968b: 413; 1969:151-9; 1973:278-80; 1977a: 319-20. Walberg 1983:106. Karaginanni 1984:85-6. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:186. Soles 1992b: 132-5. Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1993:173-8. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:169-80 and passim.

Architecture

Width approx. 15 j Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces (TT
 Length approx. 15 j Associated buildings [BB 7, Tholos B
 Other At least four building phases during MM IA. Some modifications dated to LM.
 Features

.....

Chronology

Construction/ MM IA | EMI [] MM A (Yes) MM III LM Yes I Disturbed 0
 First use date EM ii m u MM IB (Yes)
 EM iii m u MM II (Yes)
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:169 MM IA, MM II, LM IB and LM IIIA, 411 MM IB-II.

Material

Ceramic | Bone j Ceramic vases Figurines |
 Stone [2 j Copper | | Stone vases 2 | Tools |Yes |
 Ivory Gold [| Seals 6 | Beads |
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [1 | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian Fres | L Daggers | Ornaments ||
 Other [| Other |

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name (Archanes Phourni | (Tholos B ! ID ! 151
 Nearest village [Epano Archanes Type Tholos Dubious
 Area jNorth Coast Excavated
 Reference (Sakellarakis 1968a: 175-80; 1968b: 413; 1969:151-9. Pelon 1976:14-5. Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1993:171. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:169-80 and passim.

Architecture

Diameter [5 Entrance orientation [SE Doorway type
 Wall thickness j1.5 Annex Yes| Vestibule P to I Vaulted
 Other Floor was raised and a bench constructed in a late period. SE entrance to the tholos was moved to NE in the LM period.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM IA EMI E Z] MM IA (Yes) MM III - LM ! [Disturbed 0
 First use date EMM (HU MM IB EU
 em iii m u mm ii im u
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:169 MM IA-.

Material

Ceramic [Bone [Ceramic vases j Figurines [
 Stone | Copper Q Stone vases] Tools Ye
 Ivory (Gold [TT Seals] Beads [
 Crystal j Silver/Lead FT T Daggers] Amulets [
 Obsidian [Yes L Daggers 1 Ornaments i
 Other | Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni Tholos T_____ ID 154
 Nearest village Epanto Archanes 1 Type Tholos_____ Dubious Z
 Area [North Coast ~ Excavated g
 Reference Sakellarakis 1974: 327-51; 1975:179-81; 1977b; 1981. Peton 1976:16. Sakeffarakis & Sakellaraki 1982:400-1. Stucynski 1982: 57. Phlips 1991:404-6. Branigan 1993:147 no 79. Watrous 1994: 725 n. 236. Sbonias 1995:84-5,87,90-1,99. Karantzak 1996:68-9. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997:181-6 and passim. Papadatos 1999; 2005. Petrakos 2003. Pieter 2004:112-3, 116.

Architecture

Diameter j3J_____ Entrance orientation |E_____ Doorway type |Built
 Wall thickness |_____ Annex [Yes Vestibule | No| Vaulted |
 Other [The tholos has a window. ---
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM IIA ! EM I MM IA SM] MM III - LM CH; Disturbed Z
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III Yes : MM II IP |
 Dating [Watrous 1994:725 n. 236 MM IA -. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997:182 EM III -, 387-8 [EM III]-. Papadatos 1999,2005: EM IIA - MM IB/II.

Material

Ceramic	135	1 Bone	30	Ceramic vases	135	Figurines	15
Stone	£5	Copper	19	Stone vases	2	i Tools	64
Ivory	112	| Gold	48	Seals	9	Beads	42
Crystal	2	Silver/Lead	7	T Daggers		Amulets	22
Obsidian	56			L Daggers	3	Ornaments	29
Other				Other	shel, animal bone		

Burial

Lamax g Pithos g
 Burial 11 lamakes and one pithos. Lamakes and pithos contained the remains of 18 individuals.
 [

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni [[Area between Tholos B and BB 8 ID 153
 Nearest village Epanto Archanes_____ j Type [Open area_____ Dubious Z
 Area North coast_____ j Excavated g
 Reference Sakeffarakis 1975:179; 1977a: 310-2. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: passim.

Architecture

Width approx. 1 Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length approx. 5 Associated buildings BB 8, Tholos B
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ :MM IA EMI |_; MM IA S\$\$] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II L I] MM IB |_
 EM III i MM ii 77
 Dating Sakeffarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997: 348 MM IA.

Material

Ceramic	9^	Bone		Ceramic vases	8_	Figurines	[1^
Stone		Copper		Stone vases	|_	Tools	p
Ivory		Gold		Seals	j]]	Beads	
Crystal		Silver/Lead		T Daggers	[]	Amulets	
Obsidian				L Daggers	|_	Ornaments	i
Other				Other			

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni IBB 3 ID 156
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious ~
 Area North Coast Excavated y
 Reference Sakellarakis 1968a: 180-3; 1973:281. Phillips 1991:401-2. Soles 1992b: 136-9. Sbonias 1995: 107. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-SakeHaraki 1997:194-8 and passim.

Architecture

Width [approx. 6.5 i Entrance orientation Number of spaces ^
 Length [approx. 8 Associated buildings BBS, BB8, Tholos r
 Other } ~ ~
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ MM IA j EMI ; ___; MM IA Yes^ MM III - LM Yes Disturbed __
 First use date EMI II MM IB YM .
 EM III ! ___j MM II Yes
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-SakeHaraki 1997:198 MM IA -LM.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone 3 Copper Stone vases 3 Tools 1
 Ivory 5 | Gold [| Seals 18 Beads
 Crystal ~ Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets 1
 Obsidian 2 L Daggers Ornaments 1
 Other Other sea shells

Burial

Burial [Three burials in the two south rooms probably dating MM IA. Lamax 1 Pithos 1

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni Tholos E id 155;
 Nearest village Epano Archanes | Type [Tholos Dubious □
 Area North Coast j Excavated 2
 Reference Sakellarakis 1977a: 268-307; 1977b; 1981. Lambrou-Phittipson 1990; 187-8. Branigan 1993:147 no 80. Pelon 1994:164 Tc5C. Sbonias 1995: 74, 79-80, 89. Karantzah 1996:69. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:187-8 and passim. Panagiatopoulos 2002.

Architecture

Diameter 4.5 Entrance orientation IE Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness 1.3 Annex j Noj Vestibule | Noj Vaulted [
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ ;EM IIA EMI MM IA [es] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EMU [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III d j MM II [Yes]
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-SakeHaraki 1997:187 EM IIA, MM IA-II. Panagiatopoulos 2002: EM IIA, [MM IA-II]

Material

Ceramic 221 Bone [25 | Ceramic vases 208 j Figurines 2
 Stone *94 Copper 9 [Stone vases 5 : Tools 50
 Ivory 5 Gold 3 j Seals [20 ! Beads 68
 Crystal 2 Silver/Lead 1 T Daggers [i Amulets 22
 Obsidian 41 L Daggers Ornaments 20
 Other Other [sea shell, animal bone

Burial

Burial 56 buried individuals, 36 of them in 31 lamakes and two pithoi. Lamax 1 Pithos y

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni BB 6 ID 158
 Nearest village (Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious _
 Area North Coast Excavated 2
 Reference Sakellarakis 1965a; 1968b: 411-2; 1975:167-71. Grumach & Sakellarakis 1966. Platon 1969a: no 379-95. Walberg 1983:106. Lambrou-PhMipson 1990:186-7. Petit 1990:49. PhMps 1991:397-9. Soles 1992b: 142-3. Sbonias 1995:90-1,107. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:202-5 and passim. Karytinos 2000b: 39.

Architecture

Width approx. 5.7 Entrance orientation N Number of spaces p |
 Length approx. 6.5 Associated buildings
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM III EMI { ___ MM IA Ym _ MM III-LM ___! Disturbed "
 First use date EM U MM IB Xs L
 EM III Yes_ MM II
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:202 EM III - MM IB.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	70	Figurines	
Stone	Copper 12	Stone vases	2	Tools	2
Ivory	14 Gold 1	Seals	17	Beads	Yes
Crystal	! Silver/Lead 1	T Daggers		Amulets	Yes
Obsidian		L Daggers	1	Ornaments	1
Other		Other	scarab		

Burial

Lamax 2 Pithos 2
 Burial 196 skulls recovered from two rooms. Five lamakes, one with a Linear A inscription and four pithoi were found.

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni _____ j BB 5 ~ ID 157
 Nearest village Epano Archanes _____ j Type {Rectangular tomb _____ Dubious I}
 Area iNorth Coast _____ Excavated 2
 Reference Sakellarakis 1967:159-61; 1973:281; 1974: 319-27. Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1980b: 320. Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1983:53-4. Miller 1984: 32-3. Soles 1992b: 136-9. Sbonias 1995:90. Karantzali 1996: 69. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:199-201 and passim.

Architecture

Width approx. 15.5 ; Entrance orientation j Number of spaces 19
 Length approx. 7 Associated buildings IBB 3, BB 12 _____
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM III EM I I j MM IA Yes MM III - LM ; _____ Disturbed □
 First use date EM II [P j MM IB j^T;
 EM III IYes! MM II ! j _____
 Dating iKarantzali 1996:69 EM II?. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:199 EM III - MM IA, 406 MM IB.

Material

Ceramic	Yes	Bone	1	Ceramic vases	90 min.	Figurines	1
Stone	Yes	Copper	2	Stone vases	2	Tools	11
Ivory	6	Gold	2	Seals	10	Beads	Yes
Crystal		Silver/Lead	1	T Daggers	!	Amulets	2
Obsidian				L Daggers	i	Ornaments	
Other				Other	dagger hilt		

Burial

Lamax 4 Pithos 2
 Burial Burials in the ground, in 11 lamakes and 24 pithoi. Also depositions of piled skulls: One room contained 36 skulls, other 31.

gfsaa

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni | BB 7 ID 160
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious Z
 Area (North Coast) 1 Excavated g
 Reference Sakellarakis 1969:153-7. Petit 1990:49. Phillips 1991:399-400. Soles 1992b: 143-4. Sbonias 1995:90-1. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-SakeHarakis 1997:206-8 and passim. Molier & Plini 1999: no 1151. Karytinos 2000b: 39-40.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [6
 Length j Associated buildings Tholos B and annex
 Other (Undereath Annex of Tholos B.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IA EMI MM IA Yes MM III • LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-SakeHarakis 1997:206 MM IA.

Material

Ceramic] Bone Ceramic vases 13 Figurines 3
 Stone Copper 3 Stone vases 3 Tools |1
 Ivory 1 1 Gold 6 Seals 15 Beads Yes
 Crystal (j Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets Yes
 Obsidian Yes 1 : L Daggers 1 : Ornaments 6
 Other (falence Other scarab, sea shels.

Burial

Burial (36 skulls found. Six lamakes. Lamax B Pitthos _

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni IArea outside BB 6 ID 159
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Open area Dubious □
 Area Open area Excavated y
 Reference Sakellarakis 1973; 1975:172-3; 1977a: 318-9. Walberg 1983:106. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:204-5 and passim.

Architecture

Width (Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Paved area W of BB6 that includes three steps and a blind corridor between the paved area and
 Features the Annex of Tholos B.

Chronology

Construction/ (MM IA | EMI MM IA [Yes] MM III • LM 1 1 Disturbed i_
 First use date EM II MM IB fYes]
 EM III I I MM II (Yes
 Dating (Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 204 MM IA - II.

Material

Ceramic 494 (Bone | Ceramic vases c. 494 Figurines 1
 Stone 1 Copper Stone vases ;1 Tools
 Ivory (Gold j i Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments :
 Other | Other scarab i

Burial

Burial Lamax Z Pitthos Z

Others Group of 20 vases found in the N part of the area. More than 300 vases in the corridor, formed by various strata.

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni _____ ; Area between BB 8 and BB9 _____ ID 162
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Open area Dubious L
 Area North Coast Excavated S
 Reference Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1984a: 496-9. Sbonias 1995:99,107,113. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: passim.

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [2] |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EM I _____ MM IA Yes MM III - LM : _____ Disturbed ~
 First use date EM II _____ MM IB
 EM III j _____ MM II
 Dating Sbonias 1995: 99,107,113 MM IA.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases 1 Tools
 Ivory _ ! Gold j Seals 6 Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead ; T Daggers Amulets Yes
 Obsidian | L Daggers ; Ornaments :
 Other Other

Burial

Burial 10 lamakes found.

Othera

Lamax E Pithos □

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni _____ IBB 8 ID 161
 Nearest village Epano Archanes] Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious Z
 Area North Coast _____ Excavated
 Reference Sakellarakis 1973:281-2; 1975:177-8. Petit 1990:49. Soles 1992b: 144-5. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 209 and passim.

Architecture

Width approx. 5.5 Entrance orientation j Number of spaces [2
 Length approx. 6.5 Associated buildings [BB 3
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ ; MM IA EM I ! MM IA [Yes ! MM III -LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [! MM IB |
 EM III [] MM II []
 Dating Sakellarakis 1975:177 MM IA.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases ,4 ! Figurines
 Stone Copper [j Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j Gold [! Seals |1 i Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian hfes L Daggers ; Ornaments 1
 Other 1 Other

Burial

Burial 17 individuals buried.

Others

Lamax □ Pithos □

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni BB 12 ID 164
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious ~
 Area North Coast Excavated S
 Reference Sakellarakis 1975:174-7. Soles 1992b: 145. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:212-3 and passim.

Architecture

Width _____, Entrance orientation _____ Number of spaces £
 Length { _____ } Associated buildings BB 5, BB 23
 Other Very badly preserved.
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ jEM III I EM I MM IA YesT MM III - LM H Z' Disturbed ~
 First use date EM II Q MM IB
 _____ EM III Yes MM II _____
 Dating {Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:244 MM 1,387 EM III, 396 MM IA.

Material

Ceramic Yes i Bone {Yes j Ceramic vases 2 Figurines i i
 Stone {Yes i Copper Stone vases 2 Tools Yes
 Ivory h/es Gold 4 Seals 1 Beads Yes
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers { Amulets j :
 Obsidian Yes J L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax ^ Pithos
 Burial {Many skulls were deposited in this building.

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni j BB 9 ID 163
 Nearest village Epano Archanes j Type {Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area North Coast Excavated y
 Reference Sakellarakis 1973:281-2; 1974:351-3; 1975:181-6. Miller 1984: 33. Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1984a: 499-501; 1993:180-92. Petit 1990: 50. Sbonias 1995: 87,99,103-4. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:210-2 and passim. Karytinos 2000b: 38-9.

Architecture

Width _____ Entrance orientation IE Number of spaces {3 }
 Length _____ { Associated buildings {Tholos I; BB 13 }
 Other 3 rooms reported in this building, two E od Tholos r that could be considered an annex and a third j
 Features south of the tholos which is independent.

Chronology

Construction/ iMM IA EMI H Z] MM IA [Yesj MM III - LM _____ Disturbed L
 First use date EM II { MM IB [es]
 EM III [MM II I I
 Dating {Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:210 MM IA -B.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | Ceramic vases 165 min. Figurines i5
 Stone Yes Copper Stone vases ! ! Tools { ;
 Ivory Yes Gold |2 | Seals 11 i Beads Yes
 Crystal Yes Silver/Lead { T Daggers Amulets Yes
 Obsidian 3 L Daggers Ornaments
 Other ! Other sistrum

Burial

Burial Lamax sc Pithos SC
 Burial Burials found in three layers. 49 skulls found in lowest level of one of the eastern rooms. The {independent south room contained 172 burials, including a child pithos burial. 14 Lamakes and 14 pithoi were found in the different strata.

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni i BB 13 ID 166
 Nearest village (Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious G
 Area North Coast Excavated 5?
 Reference Sakellarakis 1975:186-7. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:213 and passim.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length Associated buildings BB 9
 Other Undereath BB 9, very badly preserved.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM III EMI j MM IA ; MM III + LM ; Disturbed G
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III Yes, MM II _ ,
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:244 EM III.

Material

Ceramic |1 Bone ;1 Ceramic vases Figurines 1
 Stone j Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory 9 Gold 1 Seals i Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead i_ T Daggers Amulets |1
 Obsidian ii L Daggers Ornaments |2
 Other Other sea shells.

Burial

Burial Remains of a child burial.
 | Lamax G Pithos G

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni I (Area outside BB 12 ID 165
 Nearest village Epano Archanes I Type Open area Dubious
 Area North Coast Excavated S
 Reference Sakellarakis 1975:174-7. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:212-3 and passim.

Architecture

Width approx. 3 Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length approx. 3.5 Associated buildings BB 5, Annex of Tholos B
 Other Paved area between BB 12, Tholos B, BB5 and BB3. Two pavements were laid in different
 Features periods.

Chronology

Construction/ EM III ! EMI j MM IA Yes_ MM III-LM _j Disturbed u_
 First use date EM II uZZj MM IB Yes'
 EM III Yesj MM II _j
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 212-3 EM lit - MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases j20 Figurines
 Stone Copper j Stone vases i 1a j Tools
 Ivory Gold { Seals ; Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead | | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other animal bones, sea shells

Burial

Burial Ceramic vases found upside-down.
 Lamax u_ Pithos G

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanea Phourni BB 18 ID 168
 Nearest village Epano Archanes j Type (Rectangular tomb) Dubious
 Area North Coast Excavated g
 Reference jSakelarakis & Sakellarakis 1979:344-51; 1993:192-204. Petit 1990:49. Soles 1992b: 146-7.
 jSbonias 1995:91. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakelarakis 1997:215-6 and passim. MQler & Pini
 1999: no 150. Karytinos 2000b: 39. Petrakos 2003.
 |
 i

Architecture

Width approx. 7 ; Entrance orientation £ Number of spaces [10
 Length approx. 8 H Associated buildings
 Other Three south rooms constructed earlier (EM III) than the rest.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM III i EM I MM IA ^ MM III-LM :___; Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III Yes MM II Yes
 Dating jSakelarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:215 EM III - MM II, 380 Two EM IIA sherds, 396 three
 south rooms are EM III - MM IA.

Material

Ceramic [Yes i Bone j ; Ceramic vases 8 Figurines i /
 Stone Yes Copper 1 Stone vases 3 Tools
 Ivory Yes H j GoW ! i Seals 13 Beads Yes
 Crystal i Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j3
 Obsidian i j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other ! Other

Burial

Lamax t Pithos y
 Burial (Three south rooms contained at least 77 burials. North rooms contained at least 54 burials. 22
 lamakes and 11 pithoi were found here.

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni |BB 16 ID 167
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type (Rectangular tomb) Dubious
 Area jNorth Coast Excavated £
 Reference Sakelarakis 1977a: 307-10; Sakelarakis & Sakellarakis 1979:395-6; 1962:392-8. Petit 1990: 50.
 Sbonias 1995:89-91,103. Sakelarakis & Sapouna-Sakelarakis 1997:214 and passim. Karytinos (2000b: 40.

Architecture

Width 7 min. Entrance orientation j Number of spaces [4
 Length 7 min. Associated buildings Tholos E
 Other Very badly preserved.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM IA EM I j___1 MM IA Yes. MM III-LM j___j Disturbed
 First use date EM II LZZ MM IB j___j
 EM III 1 1 MM II j___j
 Dating jSakelarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:214 MM IA.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases 5 Figurines
 Stone Yes Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory (Yes ; Gold ~] Seals 7 i Beads
 Crystal i Silver/Lead] T Daggers ! Amulets 3
 Obsidian L Daggers i Ornaments i
 Other ! Other

Burial

Lamax g Pithos S
 Burial At least 15 burials, 12 lamakes and four pithoi.

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanea Phourni _____, BB 19 _____ ID 170
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious Z
 Area jNorth Coast Excavated 2
 Reference jSakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1979:381-5; 1980a: 481. Karagianni 1984: 93. Petit 1990:49. Soles 1992b: 147-8. Maggidis 1994; 1998; 2000. Sbonias 1995:89-91,99. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 218-20 and passim.

Architecture

Width approx. 2.8 j Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces [T
 Length approx. 3.4 ! Associated buildings
 Other j ~-
 Features j

Chronolouv

Construction/ !EM III EM I MM IA Y§II MM III - LM ~] Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes
 EM III P MM II Yes _____
 Dating jMaggidis 1994: MM IA - II. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:218 EM III - MM II.

Ceramic [203 ; Bone ~I Ceramic vases 203 Figurines 3
 Stone 26 j Copper 7 J Stone vases 5 ' Tools [57
 Ivory i8 1 Gold 1 j Seals 4 Beads [38
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [3 J T Daggers : Amulets 12
 Obsidian [55 L Daggers Ornaments 8
 Other faience Other sheH, animal bone

Burial

Burial 1181 burials in two layers. Five lamakes and four pithoi found. Lamax s Pithos 2

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni |Area between BB18 and BB19 ID 169
 Nearest village Epano Archanes _____ j Type [Open_area _____ Dubious u
 Area North Coast Excavated 2
 Reference Sakellarakis 1977b. Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1979:385-90. Karantzali 1996:69. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: passim. Pieler 2004:113.

Architecture

Width _____ Entrance orientation _____ j Number of spaces [_____
 Length _____ Associated buildings {BB 18, BB19
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM IIA j EM I i i MM IA P ! MM III - LM _____ Disturbed Z
 First use date EM III {Yesj MM IB
 EM III P MM II _____
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1979: 385 Report Lamakes in this area that could be dated EM III - MM. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 379 EM IIA, 383 EM IIB. Karantzali 1996:69 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic 9 Bone _] Ceramic vases [9 | Figurines 2
 Stone 4 Copper i i Stone vases [2 Tools 40
 Ivory Gold Seals [2 Beads 1
 Crystal 1 Silver/Lead | _J T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 40 : L Daggers 1 t Ornaments
 Other Other [sea shells

Burial

Burial Lamax - Pithos _

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanaa Phourni IBB 23 ID : 172
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb Dubious Z
 Area j North Coast Excavated £
 Reference j Sakeharakis & Sakellarakis 1993:179. Sakeharakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:222 and passim.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length i j Associated buildings IBB 12
 Other Circular wall W of BB 12, very badly preserved.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM I EMI MM IA P MM III - LM Disturbed _
 First use date EM II L MM IB P
 EM III j: MM II P
 Dating j Sakeharakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:222 Early MM.

Miscellaneous

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j Gold 1 Seals ; Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ! L Daggers Ornaments 1
 Other Other
 Burial
 Burial Lamax C Pithos [1]

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni BB 22 ID 171
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Unknown Dubious □
 Area North Coast Excavated £
 Reference Sakeharakis & Sakellarakis 1982: 398-400. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:222 and passim.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Curved wall SW of Tholos f.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Unknown.

Miscellaneous

Ceramic Bone i Ceramic vases ! Figurines
 Stone Copper i j Stone vases ; Tool*
 Ivory Gold j j Seals ! Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead ! i T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian : L Daggers Ornaments
 Other ' Other
 Burial
 Burial Lamax □ Pithos □

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni BB 25 _____ ;
 Nearest viage |Epano Archanes Type Rectangular tomb _____; Dubious
 Area jNorth Coast Excavated 5?
 Reference Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1980b:320. Saketerakis & Sapouna-SakeHaraki 1997:222 and passim.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length j Associated buildings ;BB 3
 Other Undemeath BB3.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM II EM I MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EMU MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating jSakeHarakis & Sapouna-SakeHaraki 1997:244 EM II.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines 1
 Stone j- Copper j Stone vases j Tools j
 Ivory ! ! Gold ; Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments '
 Other Other

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos L_

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni | BB 24 ID 173
 Nearest viRage Epano Archanes Type jRectangular tomb Dubious
 Area North Coast Excavated g
 Reference Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1993:204. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-SakeHaraki 1997:222 and passim.

ArghfteSture.

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings |BB 18
 Other Undemeath BB 18.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM III EM I | MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed y
 First use date EMU d J MM IB
 EM III |Yes I MM II
 Dating jSakeHarakis & Sapouna-SakeHaraki 1997:244 EM III.

Material

Ceramic Bone j Ceramic vases Figurines _
 Stone Copper j_ Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold IT Seals Beads j_
 Crystal Silver/Lead ! T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments 1
 Other Other

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni Area of the rocks ID 176
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Rock shelter Dubious ~
 Area jNorth Coast Excavated S
 Reference Sakeharakis 1977b; Sakeharakis & Saketoraki 1979:390-6,1980b: 320-1; 1981:392; 1982:388-90; 1984a: 480-95; 1984b: 427-48; 1993:179. Karantzali 1996:69-70. Sakeharakis & Sapouna-Sakeilaraki 1997:232-6 and passim. Pieter 2004:110-3.

Architecture

Width japprox. 15 Entrance orientation ----- Number of spaces | 1
 Length japprox. 60 j Associated buildings SB 6, BB 12, BB 5, BB 23, Tholos f; BB 22
 Other Multiple crevices between the rocks
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM IIA EMI ____; MM IA Yes. MM III-LM Disturbed _
 First use date EM II Yesj MM IB Yes;
 EM III Yesj MM II
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakeilaraki 1997:236 EM II - MM IA, 406 MM IB.

Material

Ceramic j Bone Ceramic vases 32 Figurines 11
 Stone I Copper j2 Stone vases 6 Tools Yes
 Ivory i Gold ;7 j Seals 3 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 1 T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 1000 minj L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Lamax iE Pithos sE

Burial One pithos found.

Archanes Phourni

Name Archanes Phourni j BB 26 id 175!
 Nearest village Epano Archanes j Type jRectenguter tomb Dubious □
 Area North Coast j Excavated g
 Reference Sakellarakis & Sakellarakis 1984a: 496-7. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakeilaraki 1997:222 and passim. j

Architecture

Width ----- Entranceorientation I ; Number of spaces [
 Length -----; Associated buildings jBB 8
 Other Undereath BB8.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II EMI j MM IA j i MM III - LM ____ Disturbed 52
 First use date EM II Yesj MM IB j j
 EM III j ! MM II I 1
 Dating Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakeilaraki 1997a: 244 EM II.

Material

Ceramic Bone j Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper j Stone vases j Tools
 Ivory 1 Gold j j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 1 L Daggers Ornaments
 Other 1! Other r

Burial

Lamax H Pithos □

Burial

Others

Arvi

Name Arvi j Tartar! ID 178
 Nearest village Arvi , Type Cist Dubious £
 Area Viannos Excavated Z
 Reference Evans 1895:17,112,117; 1896:464-5. Hood et al. 1964:91-2. Wilson & Day 1994:13.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ j EM IIA EMI j MM IA ; MM III-LM j Disturbed Z
 First use date EM II Yes MM IB
 EM III j MM II j
 Dating Wilson & Day 1994:13 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone ! Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone 7 j Copper ; Stone vases 6 I Tools
 Ivory ! Gold i Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets Yes
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other ! Other

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos Z
 Burial Evans reported cist graves but the actual type of interment is not clear.
 j

9th*r?

j

Arkalies

Name Arkalles j i ; ID 177
 Nearest village Chondros j Type Pithoi / Lamakes Dubious Z
 Area Viannos Excavated Z
 Reference Platon 1956b: 417. Hood et al. 1964:81. Panagiotakis 2006:383.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces [
 Length Associated buildings [Z _ Z Z _ Z Z Z Z Z Z Z Z
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM I j EMI Z j MM IA Yes MM III LM [Z j Disturbed Z
 First use date EM II [Z U MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Z J MM II I j
 Dating Platon 1956b: 417 MM I. Panagiotakis 2006: 383 MM I - II.

Material

Ceramic ; Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone 2 Copper Stone vases 2 Tools
 Ivory ■ Gold j Seals j i Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers ; Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other r

Burial

Lamax £ Pithos £
 Burial Two pithoi or lamakes.

August!

Name August! ID 180
 Nearest village A. Georgios Type Unknown Dubious £
 Area Lasithi i Excavated G
 Reference Pendlebury et al. 1939:11. Watrous 1982:55-6.

Architecture

Width : Entrance orientation Number of spaces £ |
 Length ! Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM 1 I EM I | MM IA Yes. MM III-LM | Disturbed G
 First use date EM II | MM IB YeT
 EM III | MM II |
 Dating Pendlebury et al. 1939:11 MM I. Watrous 1982:55-6 MM I.

Material

Ceramic j | Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines I
 Stone ! Copper : Stone vases Tools |
 Ivory | Gold j J Seals Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | ! L Daggers Ornaments ;
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos G

Burial

Others Watrous suggested that the cemeteries of the nearby settlement may have been located in this area.

Athimari

Name Athimari i ID 179
 Nearest village Kenourgio Chorio ! Type Unknown Dubious 2
 Area North central Crete ! Excavated □
 Reference Panagiotakis 2006:397.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM I ~] EM I L J MM IA = Disturbed G
 First use date EM II d J MM IB j p z J
 EM III i_ □ MM II | P_ |
 Dating Panagiotakis 2006:397 MM I - II.

Material

Ceramic i Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone ! Copper | | Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory Gold j Seals | i Beads
 Crystal SUver/Lead] | T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers ; Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos □

Burial

Others A cemetery with MM I - II material was reported.

Eileithia

Name	Eileithia	Eileithia	ID	i 182
Nearest village	Amnisos	Type	Cave	Dubious g
Area	North Coast			Excavated g
Reference	Marinatos 1931: 95-104; 1932a: 91-8. Pendlebury 1939: 56. Faure 1964:55-6,68,82-9 (Neraldosphio). Platakis 1965. Zois 1973:125-8; 1998c: 77. Tyree 1974:31-3. Wilson 1984:264-5. Rutkowski 1986: 56-7. Karantzali 1996:61-2. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:21-4 (Amnisos). Watrous 1996:61. Wilson & Day 2000: 56. Betancourt & Marinatou 2001.			

Arctiflyri

Width	20	Entrance orientation	E	Number of spaces	|
Length	..	Associated buildings	!		
Other Features	Architectural remains found inside the cave belong to late periods.				

Chronology

Construction/	EM I	Yes	MM IA	Yes	MM III + LM	Yes	Disturbed	_
	EM II	Yes	MM IB	^				
	EM III	£	MM II	Yes				
Dating	jMarinatos 1931:96 FN - EM II. Rutkowski 1986:56-7: MM and LM. Karantzali 1996:61 EM I - III. jBetancourt & Marinatou 2001:188 EM I - EM IIA, MM I - III.							

Material

Ceramic	Bone	|	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	! !	Stone vases	Tools !
Ivory	i Gold		Seals	Beads
Crystal	i Silver/Lead	!	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian	!		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other			Other	

Burial

Burial	jNo human bones or interments reported.			
	i		Lamax	□ Pitthos □
	i			

Others The use of the cave as burial ground during EM I - II is based in the parallels of the material assemblage with Pirgos cave, but without human remains is impossible to confirm the burial use. MM material probably related with cult activities.

Bairia Gazi

Name	Bairia Gazi		ID	181
Nearest village	Gazi	Type	Rectangular tomb	Dubious !
Area	North Coast			Excavated g
Reference	Rethemiotakis 1989:296.			

Architecture

Width	4	Entrance orientation		Number of spaces	|1
Length	4.3	Associated buildings			
Other Features					

Chronology

Construction/	MM IA	EM I	i	MM IA	Yes	j	MM III-LM	! □	Disturbed	H
First use date		EM II	! □	MM IB	□					
		EM III	i	MM II	i	i				
Dating	Rethemiotakis 1989:296 MM IA.									

Material

Ceramic	38	Bone		Ceramic vases	38	|	Figurines	5
Stone	1	Copper		Stone vases	1		Tools	Yes
Ivory		Gold	j	Seals			i	Beads
Crystal		Silver/Lead	\	T Daggers			j	Amulets
Obsidian	Yes			L Daggers				Ornaments
Other				Other	!			+

Burial

Burial	Two lamakes and one pithos found inside the tomb. Most of the ceramic was found outside the N ; and E walls.								
				Lamax	g	Pitthos	g		

Gifts

Galana Charakia A

Name Galana Charakia A Rock shelter A ID 184
 Nearest village (Am) Viannos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Viannos Excavated 5?
 Reference Platon 1954: 512-3; 1956b: 416. Charles 1965:44. Branigan 1969:63. Warren 1969:194 n2.
 Platon et al. 1977: no 200. Petit 1990:53. Christakis 2005:75.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length i Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronolociv

Construction/ EM III EM I [I] MM IA Yes~ MM III-LM Yes] Disturbed [I
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes
 EM III jYesj MM II

Dating Platon 1954: 512 EM and early MM; 1956b: 416 EM III - MM I. Warren 1969:194 n.2 MM I - LM 1
 (Christakis 2005:75 Prepalatial.

Material

Ceramic (Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone 6 Copper Yes i Stone vases 5 ; Tools
 Ivory j1 Gold] : Seals 2 Beads
 Crystal i Silver/Lead 1 T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers 2 Ornaments Yes
 Other Other Silver dagger

Burial

Burial Lamax u Pithos
 Burial 32 pithoi placed upside-down were located in between this tomb and Rock shelter B.

Others jMaterial counted here includes items from Rock shelter B as the assemblage from both contexts
 (was published together.

Eileithia

Name Eileithia _____ j {Rock shelter _____ ID 183
 Nearest village Amnisos _____ j Type |Rock shelter _____ : Dubious
 Area North Coast _____ j Excavated E
 Reference Marinatos 1932a: 98-9. Faure 1964:86 Anon. Zois 1998c: 76.

Architecture

Width _____ Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [
 Length _____ { Associated buildings {
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ jEM j EM I [P i] MM IA {p H MM III - LM j ____ Disturbed L
 First use date EM II IO MM IB jP_!
 EM III IP i MM II !P i

Dating Marinatos 1932a: 98 EM, MM pithos also reported.

Material

Ceramic Bone i | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper j Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold i Seals [Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 3 j T Daggers j Amulets 3
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments i
 Other j : Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax yi Pithos y

Others Rock shelter outside Eileithia cave.

Galana Charakia B

Name Galana Charakia B Tholos ID 186
 Nearest viage Ano Viannos Type Tholos Dubious H
 Area Viannos Excavated sZ
 Reference Platon 1956b: 416-7; 1969a: no 443-5. Pelon 1976:461 Ano Viannos. Branigan 1993:148 no. 88.
 Petit 1990:54 no 18b. Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 10-11.

Architecture

Diameter j Entrance orientation Doorway type [
 Wall thickness [___ j Annex j No Vestibule [No] Vaulted [
 Other { ' _ "
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IEM III EMI ! ___! MM IA P_ MM III-LM Yes Disturbed ^
 First use date EMI II i I MM IB !P_ j
 EM III !P_ MM II YerT
 Dating Platon 1956b: 416 EM III - MM I. Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 10-11 MM II-.
 1
 j

Material

Ceramic Bone ! Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone ! Copper Stone vases : Tools
 Ivory Gold | Seals ; Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead i T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments ; I
 Other i Other

Burial

Burial Two lamakes foundT Lamax y Pithos IZ

Q ih g Q {Situated near an MM I building.

Galana Charakia A

Name Galana Charakia A _____ j [Rock shelter B ID 185
 Nearest viage Ano Viannos _____ I Type {Rock shelter _____, Dubious □
 Area Viannos j Excavated 5Z
 Reference Platon 1954:512-3; 1956b: 416; 1969a: no 446. Charles 1965:44. Warren 1969:194 n.2.
 Karagianni 1984:63, 72. 76. Petit 1990:53.

Architecture

Width _____ \ Entrance orientation j _____ I Number of spaces [
 Length _____ j Associated buildings [
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IEM III | EMI [___ { MM IA {Yes} MM III-LM {Yes} Disturbed □
 First use date EMI II [___] MM IB [Yes] j
 EM III {Yes-I} MM II [___]
 Dating Platon 1954: 512 EM and early MM; 1956b: 416 EM III - MM I; 1969a: 525 EM III. Warren 1969:
 194 n.2 MM I - LM I.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone { Ceramic vases Yes i Figurines
 Stone Yes Copper { Stone vases Yes Tools
 Ivory Gold j { Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead { j T Daggers { j Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers j | Ornaments {
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pithos S

Others Material from this rock shelter was published together with the assemblage of Rock Shelter A
 (see previous)

Gorgolaini

Name Gorgolaini ID 188
 Nearest village Kato Asitss Type Tholos Dubious g
 Area Maleviziou Excavated ''
 Reference Platon 1955: 566. Hood 1956:30. Pini 1966:4. Peton 1976:462. Branigan 1993:147 no 78.

Architecture

Diameter L_ Entrance orientation Doorway type
 Wall thickness Annex j No Vestibule | No Vaulted
 Other
 Features

SjironojoffY

Construction/ EM EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating Platon suggested an Early Minoan tholos.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases ; Figurines
 Stone T Copper i Stone vases Tools
 Ivory L_ j Gold Seals j Beads
 Crystal [1 Silver/Lead L_ T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian T t L Daggers i Ornaments i
 Other T Other Only an askos was reported

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Giofirakia

Name Giofirakia II ID 187
 Nearest village Giofirakia | Type Unknown Dubious g
 Area North central Crete Excavated g
 Reference Marinatos 1938:49-51. Walberg 1983:105. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:387.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM III EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III Yes MM II

Dating Marinatos 1938:51 early MM. Walberg 1983:105 EM III. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997: 387 EM III.

Material

Ceramic ,34 Bone Ceramic vases 34 Figurines ;1
 Stone 1 Copper Stone vases Tools P
 Ivory Gold Seals L_ Beads i_
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j_ Amulets P
 Obsidian L Daggers j Ornaments i
 Other Other I

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Burial IMarinatos suggested a burial context, even when the bones found may belong to animals and the architectural context is unclear.

Others

Gournes A

Name Gournes A Ioros Lakos ID 190
 Nearest village Gournes Type Associated building Dubious G
 North Coast Excavated Y
 Hatzidakis 1916; 1921:45-58. Zois 1969. Walberg 1983:106-9. Soles 1992b: 148-51.
 MacGivray 1998:99.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [T
 Length 3.5 Associated buildings
 Other Pit with marked by a low stone wall.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IA 1 EM I MM IA MM III - LM L J Disturbed G
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes
 EM III [Z J MM II ____;
 Dating [Zois 1969: 23-4 MM IA very little MM IB. Walberg 1983:107 EM III - MM IB/MM IA. MacGivray
 1998: 99 MM IA-B.

Material

Ceramic Hundreds Bone Ceramic vases Hundreds Figurines j
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [! Gold | ; Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 1 T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ; | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial

Lamax G Pitthos G

Gournes A

Name jGoumee A | Tomb A ID 189;
 Nearest village Gournes i Type Rectangular tomb | Dubious □
 Area iNorth Coast] Excavated 5?
 Reference Hatzidakis 1916; 1921:45-58. Platon 1969a: no 396-405. Zois 1969. Ward 1971: 93-4. Yule 1980:
 12. Walberg 1983:106-9. Karagianni 1984:92. Phillips 1991:421-3. Soles 1992b: 148-51.
 Sbonias 1995: 91,103-4,113. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakí 1997: 388. MacGivray 1998: i
 99. Pini 2000:109.

Architecture

Width approx. 6 Entrance orientation [E7_____] Number of spaces [3
 Length n Z Z Z Z Z Z] Associated buildings j
 Other Material from the tomb was referred as from Tombs A, B, T and A, probably referring to the rooms
 Features of the building or to discrete interments.

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IA EM I I I MM IA Yes MM III - LM ____ Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Z J MM IB jYsg]
 EM III CZ MM II i |
 Dating Zois 1969: 23-4 MM IA very little MM IB. Yule 1980:12 MM IA - B. Walberg 1983:107 -MM IB/MM
 III. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakí 1997: 388 EM III - MM II. MacGivray 1998:99 MM IA-B.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes ; Figurines Yes
 Stone Yes Copper Stone vases | ; Tools I
 Ivory Yes Gold | Seals 10 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments i
 Other Other Scarabs

Burial

Burial [20 burials in the N room, 10 in the central room and one in the south room

Others

Lamax G Pitthos G

Kategi

Name **Kalergi** ID **192**
 Nearest village **Pigi** Type **Tholos** ! **Dubious &**
 Area **Ma-Hia/Lasithi** Excavated **I**
 Reference **Pendlebury et al. 1934:8. Branigan 1993:148 no 83.**

Architecture

Diameter **i** Entrance orientation Doorway type **|** **J**
 Wall thickness **j** Annex **I** No Vestibule **|** No Vaulted **|** **|**
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date **jEM** **_____j** **EMI** **|P_** **MM IA** **i_** **MM III-LM** **Disturbed** **□**
EM II **|PH** **MM IB**
EM III **H** **Ij** **MM II**
 Dating **Pendlebury et al. 1934:8 EM.**

Material

Ceramic **Bone** **j** Ceramic vases **j** Figurines
 Stone **j** Copper Stone vases Tools **j**
 Ivory **[** **j** Gold **j** Seals **j~** Beads
 Crystal **j** Silver/Lead **j** T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian **j** **J** L Daggers Ornaments
 Other **{** Other

Burial

Burial **Lamax** **□** **Pithos** **[I**

Others **j** Pendlebury et al. reported a possible Early Minoan tholos.

Gournes B

Name **Gournes B** ID **191** **{Beach of former US base**
 Nearest village **Gournes** I Type **Rock-cut tombs** **Dubious** **□**
 Area **jNorth Coast** Excavated **jE**
 Reference **YTino 3:156. Galanaki 2001:95.**

Architecture

Width **Z** **H** **Z** Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length **;** **_____** Associated buildings
 Other **36 rock-cut tombs**
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date **|EM I** **EMI** **Yes** **MM IA** **MM III - LM** **Disturbed**
EM II **[Z** **MM IB**
EM III **I** **I** **MM II**
 Dating **Galanaki 2001:95 EM I.**

Material

Ceramic **Yes** **Bone** **i_** Ceramic vases **jYes** Figurines **i_**
 Stone **Yes** **Copper** **n** Stone vases **iYes** Tools **Yes**
 Ivory **Gold** **r** Seals **Beads**
 Crystal **Silver/Lead** **|T** T Daggers **Amulets** **|1**
 Obsidian **Yes** L Daggers **Ornaments** **:**
 Other Other

Burial

Burial **Lamax** **Pithos**

Kato Vatheia

Name **Kato Vatheia** ID **194**
 Nearest village {Kato Vatheia Type **Tholos** Dubious **E**
 Area **North Coast** Excavated **Z**
 Reference **Branigan 1993:148 no 82.**

Architecture

Diameter Entrance orientation Doorway type | |
 Wall thickness Annex No Vestibule | No Vaulted | |
 Other Features

ghrpnpgfly

Construction/ Unknown EM I ; ___ MM IA i ___ MM III-LM L ___ . Disturbed U
 First use date EM H MM IB
 EM III { ___ MM II

Dating **Unknown.**

Material

Ceramic j Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos _

Others Hood reported a tholos from this location (cited in Branigan 1993:148).

Kalivotopos

Name **Kaitvotopos_____jj** ID **193**
 Nearest village Episkopi_____I Type **{Rectangular tomb_____};** Dubious **E**
 Area **North central Crete_____I** Excavated
 Reference **Platon 1951:445 Malathre? Panagiotakis 2006:383.**

Architecture

Width **2.80** Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |1 |
 Length **0.85** Associated buildings
 Other **promos.**
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM I EM I | j MM IA IP i MM III - LM Yes Disturbed
 First use date EM II {ZU MM IB jjjj!j
 EM III i | MM II IP _____

Dating **Panagiotakis 2006:383 MM I - II.**

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory : Gold ! | Seals ! Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other { Other

Burial

Burial **Platon reported lamakes.** Lamax sC Pithos

Others **The area mentioned by Panagiotakis could be the same tomb reported by Platon, but this is not certain.**

Kiparisi Tichida

Name [Kiparisi Tichida ID :__ 196
 Nearest village iGatenT Type [Rocfshettar Dubious
 Area Central Crete Excavated 5?
 Reference Alexiou 1951: Faure 1964:68 Tikhida. Hutchinson 1962:141-4 Korphi tou Vathia. Zois 1968a: 55-8 Kyparissi; 1998c: 126-32. Vagnetti & Belli 1978:134. Wilson 1984:237-45,298-9. Wilson & Day 1994:12. Karantzali 1996: 70. Wilson & Day 2000: 56.

Architecture

Width |3 j Entrance orientation Number of spaces [T
 Length |2 I Associated buildings
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM I EMI Yes. MM IA MM III-LM [Disturbed
 First use date EM II Yes MM IB !
 EM III [j MM II []
 Dating Alexiou 1951:286-7 EM I - II. Faure 1964: 78 N or Subneolithic. Vagnetti & Belli 1978:134 FN - EM IIA. Wilson 1984:237-45,298-9 EM I. Wilson & Day 1994:12 EM IB. Karantzali 1996: 70 EM I-IIA.

Material

Ceramic |44 Bone Ceramic vases 44 Figurines
 Stone J Copper |6 Stone vases j Tools 3
 Ivory J Gold j Seals Beads j2
 Crystal ; Silver/Lead [T Daggers 3 Amulets
 Obsidian j4 i L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Burnt animal bones may be the result of funerary rites. Human bones found in lower stratum with majority of material.
 Lamax [I Pithos

Others

Katsambas

Name iKataambaa ID 195
 Nearest village Karteros Type Rock shelter Dubious S
 Area jNorth Coast Excavated Sc
 Reference Alexiou 1956:307-8. Faure 1964:68 Katsaba.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ N and MM EM I j ~ j MM IA P j MM III - LM P__ Disturbed
 First use date EMU CZZ MM IB jg IJ
 EM III MM II IP |
 Dating Alexiou 1956:307 N and MM.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead [| T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other ! Other

Burial

Burial Lamax C Pithos

Others It * unclear if the rock shelter was used for burials during the Middle Minoan period.

Knossos Ailias

Name Knossos Ailias ID 198
 Nearest village [Knossos Type Chamber tomb Dubious &
 Area North Coast Excavated E
 Reference Cook 1951:252. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 257.

Width | ; Entrance orientation Number of spaces [,]
 Length | i Associated buildings
 Other |
 Features ;

ghrgnplpgy

Construction/ jMM II? ! EM I MM IA "]- MM III - LM Yes] Disturbed E
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II P
 Dating Cook 1951:252 MM and MM III.

SSstedd

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	; Tools
Ivory	i Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	Silver/Lead :	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian	j	i L Daggers	! Ornaments
Other		Other	

Burial

Lamax Pithos E
 Burial 14 burials, five in the ground, nine in pithoi. Earlier than MM III burials found in a pit in the floor.
 i

Others f

Kiparisi Kapella

Name Kiparisi Kapella | " ID 197
 Nearest village Profitis Elias / Kyparisos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Central Crete Excavated E
 Reference Serpetsidaki 1999: 700-1; 2001:122. Christakis 2005:75.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation IW Number of spaces [2 ,]
 Length : Associated buildings i
 Other SW of the tomb remains of a wall were found, marking a second space.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ iEM II j EM I MM IA Yes] MM III-LM i; Disturbed E
 First use date EM II Yes 1 MM IB [Yes]
 EM III Yes! MM II j
 Dating Serpetsidaki 1999: 700 Mainly EM III material but wares range from EM IIB to MM IB; however, she mentioned five Cycladic figurines of Kourmasa and Agios Onouphrios types that may date to EM IA. Christakis 2005: 75 EM III - MM IA.

Material

Ceramic	60	\ Bone	3	Ceramic vases	60	Figurines	7
Stone	45	Copper		Stone vases	2	Tools	
Ivory	13	; Gold	|	Seals	19	i Beads	23
Crystal		: Silver/Lead	1	T Daggers		Amulets	17
Obsidian	Yes			L Daggers	i	Ornaments	
Other				Other			

Burial

Lamax r Pithos E
 Burial Burnt animal bones. Three lamakes and three pithoi reported

Others

Knossos Ailias

Name Knossos Ailias III ID 200
 Nearest village Knossos Type Chamber tomb Dubious V
 Area North Coast Excavated y
 Reference Cook & Boardman 1954:166-7. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 257.

Architecture

Width diameter: 6-7 Entrance orientation Number of spaces |2_ |
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other Circular plan with dividing wad.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM II EM I [MM IA MM III • LM ____; Disturbed y
 First use date EM II P F MM IB H Z
 EM III ____ MM II Yes
 Dating Cook & Boardman 1954:166 MM II.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone | Copper ■ Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold Seals Beads Z
 Crystal j Silver/Lead ! T Daggers Amulets f j
 Obsidian L Daggers Omaments [- ;
 Other ! Other

Burial

Burial 30 burials in pithoi.

Lamax □ Pithos a£

Knossos Ailias

Name Knoaaoa Ailias j II ID 199
 Nearest village Knossos I Type [Chamber tomb _____] Dubious gj
 Area North Coast ! Excavated g
 Reference Cook 1952:108. Charles 1965:46. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 257.

Architecture

Width [| Entrance orientation _j _____] Number of spaces [2
 Length _____] Associated buildings [
 Other [Closed with a slab.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM EM I C Z j MM IA [MM III - LM Yes Disturbed S
 First use date EM II [H] MM IB H J
 EM III ! | MM II [P |
 Dating Cook 1952: 108 MM.

Material

Ceramic : Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [Gold ! j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Omaments I
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos LJ

Q&ers

Knossos Ailias

Name Knosso# Ailias v ID 202
 Nearest village Knossos Type Chamber tomb Dubious 5c
 Area North Coast Excavated &c
 Reference Hood & Boardman 1956: 33-4. Charles 1965:47-8. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 257.

Architecture

Width | J Entrance orientation Number of spaces [|
 Length j Associated buildings
 Other Built walls separate the different spaces.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM II? EMI [MM IA i MM III - LM Yesj Disturbed at
 First use date EM II [~ MM IB
 EM III [MM II jp ;
 Dating Hood & Boardman 1956:33 MM III.

Material

Ceramic Bone ; Ceramic vases ; Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases I Tools
 Ivory I Gold [Seals ! Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ! L Daggers : Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax 5c Pithos 5c
 Burial One pithos, 18 lamakes.

Knossos Ailias

Name Knosaoa Ailias | jIV ID 201
 Nearest village Knossos I Type Chamber tomb Dubious ffi
 Area jNorth Coast ~j Excavated ac
 Reference Cook & Boardman 1954:166-7. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 257.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces |2-3
 Length ■ j Associated buildings [_____
 Other Built walls separate the different spaces.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM II? EMI I i MM IA [MM III - LM Yes I Disturbed y
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III I I MM II [P j
 Dating Cook & Boardman 1954:167 MM III.

Material

Ceramic ■ Bone (Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone Copper Yes Stone vases j Tools
 Ivory Gold [2 I Seals j6 Beads
 Crystal ■ Silver/Lead 1 | T Daggers Amulets Yes
 Obsidian L Daggers I Ornaments Yes
 Other j Other scarab

Burial

Burial Lamax y Pithos □
 Burial Lamakes.

Others

Knossos Ailias

Name Knossos Ailias Site 259 ID 204
 Nearest village Knossos : Type Chamber tomb Dubious B
 Area North Coast Excavated
 Reference Hood & Smyth 1981: no 259.

Arphlfttfr?

Width Entrance orientation ; Number of spaces | |
 Length j Associated buildings
 Other Perhaps two different tombs.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM EMI ___ MM IA jP___ MM III - LM IP___ Disturbed
 First use date EM II ___ MM IB P___
 EM III MM II IP
 Dating jHood & Smyth 1981: no 259 Middle Minoan tombs?

Elstedll

Ceramic i Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone -| Copper |] Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j Gold n Seals Beads
 Crystal -j Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j j L Daggers Omaments ;
 Other i Other
 Burial
 Burial Lamax Pithos u

Knossos Ailias

Name Knoasoa Aillaa J/I _____ ID 203
 Nearest village Knossos j Type jChamber tomb Dubious B
 Area iNorth Coast _J Excavated B
 Reference Hood & Boardman 1956:33-4. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 257.

Architecture

Width i ; Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [2
 Length ' | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM II? ! EMI LZ J MM IA H H) MM III -LM Yes Disturbed B
 First use date EM II MM IB ___
 EM III I i MM II IP~1
 Dating Hood & Boardman 1956: 34 MM III.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper (Stone vases j Tools i_
 Ivory Gold j Seals ! Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead] T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Omaments
 Other Other
 Burial
 Burial Lamax B Pithos
 Burial Three tamakes, burnt human bones. Second chamber used for cult activities.

Other?

Knossos Gypsades

Name Knoaeos Gypsades jTholos ID 206;
 Nearest village Knossos ; Type Tholos Dubious £
 Area [North Coast Excavated £
 Reference iHood 1958a: 22-3; 1958b: 299-301; 1960b: 169. Pelon 1976:23. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 308.
 jPhilips 1991:612-4. Branigan 1993:148 no 81. Alberti 2001:171-2.

Architecture

Diameter [4] Entrance orientation E Doorway type I
 Wall thickness' J Annex Yes Vestibule [No] Vaulted []
 Other I
 Features I

Chronology

Construction/ iMM II EMI MM IA MM III - LM Yes Disturbed V
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III i___; MM II Yes
 Dating jHood 1958a: 22-3 MM II - LM IA; 1958b: 300 MM IIA; 1960b: 169 MM IIA.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone | Copper j Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead i T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Lamax I] Pithos Z

Burial

Others

Knossos Ailias

Name Knosaos Ailiaa I site 260 ID 205;
 Nearest vitege Knossos | Type jlinknow Dubious £
 Area North Coast j Excavated Z
 Reference Hood & Smyth 1981: no 260.

Architecture

Width _____! Entrance orientation | | Number of spaces [
 Length Associated buildings ; _____
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM EMI i j MM IA iP_ MM III - LM iP_; Disturbed
 First use date EM II i ! MM IB IP
 EM III i i MM II iP_ |
 Dating Hood & Smyth 1981: no 260 Middle Minoan tomb?

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory Gold | Seals : Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead i i T Daggers i i Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other ;

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos Z

Burial

Others

Knossos Gypsades

Name Knossos Gypsades XVIII ID 208
 Nearest village Knossos Type Chamber tomb Dubious E
 Area North Coast Excavated E
 Reference Hood & Boardman 1956:33-4. Hood et al. 1959:220-4. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 331. Alberti 2001:181-3.

Architecture

Width approx. 3 Entrance orientation E Number of spaces 2
 Length approx. 3 Associated buildings Sunk ante-chamber
 Other Kidney shaped area. Entrance had two steps and was closed by a wall.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IIB EM I [] MM IA [] MM III - LM Yes Disturbed s
 First use date EM U MM IB
 EM III MM II P

Dating Hood et al. 1959:223 MM IIB/MM IIIA. Alberti 2001:181 MM IIB/MM IDA.

Material

Ceramic j4 ; Bone Ceramic vases 4 i Figurines
 Stone Copper 1l | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory i Gold ! 1 Seals 1 ; Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 3 j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers I Ornaments 3
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax 1Z Pithos C
 Burial Nine burials, some of them in primary deposition.

Sfiaa |

Knossos Gypsades

Name Knossos Gypsades j Tholos Building II ID 207
 Nearest village Knossos | Type {Associated building Dubious is
 Area North Coast | Excavated E
 Reference Hood 1958a: 23; 1958b: 299-301; 1960b: 169. Soles 1973: 257-9. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 308 (in plan but not in the catalogue). Phillips 1991:612-4 (He mistook the building reported by Soles by site no 307). Alberti 2001:171-2.

Architecture

Width approx. 6 Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces 2 1
 Length approx. 3 Associated buildings {Tholos
 Other Building with rounded corners. A wall was constructed connecting this building and the tholos
 Features during LM IA. Entrance from the roof.

Chronology

Construction/ [MM II EM I [] MM IA [] MM III - LM Yes Disturbed E
 First use date EM It j MM IB i
 EM III I I MM II IP I

Dating Hood 1958a: 23 LM IA. Soles 1973: 259 MM III-LM I, but very probably constructed at the same time of the tholos (MM II).

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory I Gold j I Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pithos C
 Burial Skulls and bones reported in disarray.

Knossos Gypsades

Name Knossos Gypsades Site 307 ID 210
 Nearest village|Knossos Type Unknown Dubious 55
 Area North Coast Excavated [!;
 Reference Hood 1958a: 23. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 307.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM EMI MM IA P MM III - LM P Disturbed i
 First use date EM II [] MM IB IP
 EM III i_ ; MM II P_:

Dating |Hood & Smyth 1981: no 307 Middle Minoan tomb.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper J Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ! Gold ! ! Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead : T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers ; Ornaments j
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others

Knossos Gypsades

Name Knossos Gypsades |jXVIII sunken court ID 209:
 Nearest vitege|Knossos j Type jOpen area i Dubious 55
 Area North Coast j Excavated 5?
 Reference Hood & Boardman 1956: 33-4. Hood et al. 1959:220-4. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 331. Alberti 2001:181-3.

Architecture

Width approx. 2.5 Entrance orientation |E Number of spaces [2-
 Length approx. 3 Associated buildings |Tomb XVIII
 Other Open sunken court, oval shape.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM IIB EMI [ZH] MM IA [LZ] MM III - LM Yes Disturbed &
 First use date EM II [FH] MM IB [ZZ]
 EM III zm MMH mu

Dating Hood et al. 1959:223 MM IIB/MM IIIA. Alberti 2001:181 MM IIB/MM IIIA.

Material

Ceramic 4 Bone Ceramic vases 4 ! Figurines
 Stone Copper 1 Stone vases ! Tools
 Ivory Gold | j Seals ;1 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 3 T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments !
 Other j Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others

Knossos Gypsades

Name Knossos Gypsades jShe 330 ID 212
 Nearest vilage Knossos ! Type Unknown Dubious 8
 Area North Coast Excavated
 Reference CatNrg 1977:11. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 330. WhiteIaw pers.comm.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

£frrgD9IQfty

Construction/ IEM II EMI | MM IA P_ MM III - LM i_ Disturbed i-
 First use date EMI II ^esJ MM IB £_
 EMI III [P_ MM II i_;

Dating Hood & Smyth 1981: no 330 EM and MM material. WhiteIaw pers. comm. EM II - Early MM.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone j Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j Gold 1 Seals j Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead : T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments ;
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial MM material above a layer of burnt bones, EM material underneath the layer.

Ottwn |

Knossos Gypsades

Name IKnosaoa Gypsades j[Site 313 _____] ID 211:
 Nearest vHagejKnogsos j Type j!lknown Dubious 8
 Area North Coast Excavated
 Reference Hood & Smyth 1981: no 313.

Architecture

Width ~ Entrance orientation j _____ j Number of spaces [
 Length ; _____ i Associated buildings j _____
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM EMI | MM IA [P_ U j MM III - LM [P_ | Disturbed 8
 First use date EMI II MM IB [P_ j
 EMI III [Z j MM II [P_ !

Dating .Hood & Smyth 1981: no 313 Middle Minoan building.

Material

Ceramic j Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper i Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold ! | Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers ' Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos u
 Burial Perhaps a tomb.

Others

Knossos Mavrospilio

Name Knossos Mavrospilio IV ID 214
 Nearest village Knossos Type Chamber tomb Dubious se
 Area North Coast Excavated V
 Reference Woodward 1926:237; 1927:244. Forsdyke 1927. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 251. Petit 1990:50. Alberti 2001; 2003.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces [2-3]
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IMM II EMI []! MM IA [] MM III - LM Yes I Disturbed 2
 First use date EM II []! MM IB
 EM III [] MM II IP !

Dating Alberti 2001:174 Material LM II - LM IIIA2 but the architecture of the tombs suggests a MM construction date.

Material

Ceramic ! Bone Ceramic vases Figurines !
 Stone ! Copper Stone vases 1 Tools
 Ivory ! Gold T Seals ! Beads !
 Crystal ! Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets !
 Obsidian ! L Daggers Ornaments 1
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax D Pithos G

Burial

Stiiiaa

Knossos Hutchinson tomb

Name Knossos Hutchinson tomb ID 213;
 Nearest village Knossos Type Rock shelter Dubious □
 Area North Coast Excavated 2
 Reference Marinatos 1934: 249. Karo 1935: 240-1. Payne 1935:168. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 140. Petit 1990:50 no 5c.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation j Number of spaces []
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IMM IA EMI []! MM IA (Yes I MM III - LM VeIT Disturbed
 First use date EM II []! MM IB E D
 EM III C H MM II E J

Karo 1935:241 MM IA - LM I. Payne 1935:168 MM IA and MM III. Hood & Smyth 1981:45 no 140 MM IA - LM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines ;
 Stone ! Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ; L Daggers Ornaments i
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax i5 Pithos isC

Burial

Burial pithoi and lamakes were found associated with MM II and MM III material.

Others Probably two strata, a lower MM IA - II and an upper MM II - LM I. Pithoi described by Marinatos 1934 probably belong to the upper stratum of the tomb, but this cannot be confirmed.

Knossos Mavrospilio

Name Knossos Mavrospilio [XVII ID [216
 Nearest village Knossos j Type Chamber tomb Dubious E
 Area North Coast Excavated E
 Reference Woodward 1926:237; 1927:244. Forsdyke 1927. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 251. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:238. Petit 1990: 50. MacGillivray 1998:53. Alberti 2001; 2003.

Architecture

Width approx. 6.5 Entrance orientation [NW Number of spaces |2 |
 Length approx. 5 | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ [MM II EM I : : [MM IA [H] MM III - LM Yes ' Disturbed V
 First use date EM II j : MM IB j :
 EM III : : j MM II YeT

Dating MacGillivray 1998: 53 Material in pit dated to MM IIA-B. Alberti 2001:174 Material in pit dated to MM IB, one vase in chamber B to MM, rest of material to LM IIIA.

Material

Ceramic 32 Bone Ceramic vases |32 Figurines
 Stone Copper i j Stone vases Tools :
 Ivory | Gold Seals Beads !
 Crystal] Silver/Lead ; T Daggers [Amulets |
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments \
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax E Pithos G

Knossos Mavrospilio

Name [Knosaoa Mavrospilio } IX [ID ; 215;
 Nearest village Knossos _____ | Type [Chamber tomb j Dubious E
 Area iNorth Coast _____ Excavated E
 Reference Woodward 1926: 237; 1927:244. Forsdyke 1927. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 251. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:239. Petit 1990: 50. Alberti 2001; 2003.

Architecture

Width approx. 11 Entrance orientation [SW Number of spaces |5 |
 Length approx. 12 | Associated buildings
 Other Tomb divided in chambers, maximum dimensions given.
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ [MM II [EM I i | MM IA | | MM III - LM Yes | Disturbed E
 First use date EMU ! | MM IB j |
 _____ EM III | | MM II IP ; _____

Dating [Alberti 2001:176-9 MM in chamber E.

Material

Ceramic Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold |~ j Seals | Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead [T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [Other

Burial

Lamax E Pithos □

Burial Dog interred. MM III lamax.

O tfffr*

Knossos Mavrospilio

Name Knossos Mavrospilio Site 250 ID ; 218
 Nearest village (Knossos) Type (Pithoi / Lamakes) Dubious £3
 Area North Coast Excavated
 Reference Hood & Smyth 1981: no 250.

Architecture

Width i Entrance orientation Number of spaces []
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

phrpnplqgy

Construction/ (MM) EM I ! MM IA IP MM III • LM P Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB P
 EM III [] MM II [p];
 Dating (Hood & Smyth 1981: no 250 Middle Minoan burial.

Msteds!

Ceramic Bone i Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ! Gold (Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian : L Daggers ; Ornaments ;
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax reported. Pithoi recovered in the area.

Other* |

Knossos Mavrospilio

Name Knossos Mavrospilio Site 249 ID 217
 Nearest vilage Knossos (Type (Pithoi) Dubious S
 Area North Coast i Excavated H
 Reference :Hood & Smyth 1981: no 249.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces []
 Length Associated buildings []
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ IMM EM I MM IA P MM III - LM P__ Disturbed _J
 First use date EM II i MM IB (P
 EM III [] MM II (P__
 Dating Hood & Smyth 1981: no 249 Middle Minoan pithos burial.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases j / Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold j (Seals Beads
 Crystal ; Silver/Lead (T Daggers ; Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers i Ornaments
 Other ! Other

Burial

Burial Lamax u Pithos S

Others

Knossos Teke

Name Knossos Teke Teke ID | m
 Nearest village [Knossos I Type [Unknown Dubious 5?
 Area North Coast Excavated S!
 Reference Marinatos 1933a: 298-304. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9452. Renfrew 1969:17,19. Branigan 1971: 61 n.18,64. Alexiou 1975. Hood & Smyth 1981: no 23. Zois 1998c: 80. Pieler 2004:90,92,96.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length j Associated buildings
 Other [No architectural remains found.
 Features i

Chronology

Construction/ EM II? EM I [___ MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [EZ] MM IB
 EM III [E D MM II
 Dating [Branigan 1971: 61 n.18 EM III • I IIA. But figurines are more likely to be EM IIA, and so probably ; the daggers.

Mpteripl

Ceramic | Bone i Ceramic vases Figurines 7
 Stone 7 Copper [| Stone vases Tools
 Ivory i Gold | ! : Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 2 [T Daggers i Amulets
 Obsidian ! L Daggers [2 Ornaments i
 Other [| ' Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos u
 Burial No human bones reported with the material.

Others The deposit resembles funerary assemblages but there is no other evidence to help defining this context.

Knossos Mavrospilio

Name Knossos Mavrospilio [[Site 254 ID | 219
 Nearest vilage Knossos Type [Unknown Dubious B
 Area [North Coast Excavated □
 Reference Hood & Smyth 1981: no 254.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length ! Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM j EM I [___] MM IA [PZ J MM III - LM jP___] Disturbed □
 First use date EM II □ MM IB H J
 EM III ! I MM II IP i
 Dating [Hood & Smyth 1981: no 254 Middle Minoan? Tomb.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone ! Copper [Stone vases Tools !
 Ivory | Gold |] Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead f [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers I Ornaments
 Other Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax LJ Pitthos u
 Burial

Others

Knossos Zafer Paoura

Name Knossos Zafer Paoura Zafer Papoura ID 222;
 Nearest village Knossos Type Unknown Dubious B
 Area North Coast Excavated B
 Reference Whitejaw pers. comm.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [1
 Length j Associated buildings
 Other Hutchinson reports parts of a wall of a burial building.
 Features

Chronoloav

Construction/ MM IB EMI [Z H J MMIA ___ MM III - LM 1—; Disturbed B
 First use date EM II ___ MM IB Yes"
 EM III 1—; MM II YeT
 Dating Whitejaw pers. comm. MM IB - II material found in this cemetery.

Material

Ceramic Bone i Ceramic vases j Figurines 1
 Stone Copper { Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold] i Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead M I* Daggers Amulets 1
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments ;
 Other Other

Burial Lamax □ Pitthos 1
 Burial

Others {Unclear from in which tom(s) the MM I - II material was found.

Knossos Site 148

Name Knoasos Site 148 i Site 148 ID 221
 Nearest viKageKnossos | Type {Unknown Dubious £
 Area North Coast ! Excavated □
 Reference Hood & Smyth 1981: no 148.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM EMI L ZJ MMIA [P_ | MM III - LM |P_J Disturbed B
 First use date EM H MM IB (E H
 EM III I I MM II [P I
 Dating Hood & Smyth 1981: no 148 Middle Minoan tomb.

Material

Ceramic i Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases j Tools
 Ivory : Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal ; Silver/Lead T Daggers i Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other | Other i

Burial Lamax Pitthos 51
 Burial

Others

Krasi Katalimata

Name Krasi Katalimata ID 224
 Nearest village Krasi Type Tholos Dubious B
 Area MaRia/Lasithi Excavated G
 Reference Platon 1959:387, Pelon 1976:462, Branigan 1993:148 no 86.

Architecture

Diameter Entrance orientation Doorway type 1
 Wall thickness j Annex No Vestibule rNo Vaulted r ~ 1
 Other Features

ShrnpIQgy

Construction/ EM EMI SP_ MMIA [] j MM III - LM ; Disturbed G
 First use date EM II P_ MM IB j
 EM III p_ i mm n j
 Dating Platon 1959:387 EM.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases Figurines []
 Stone T Copper | i Stone vases Tools j
 Ivory [Gold Seals | Beads [] j
 Crystal [Silver/Lead ! j T Daggers Amulets J_ j
 Obsidian T L Daggers i Ornaments T !
 Other [! Other []

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos G

Burial

othga

Krasi Amaxes

Name jKrasi Amaxes | Amaxes j ID i 223!
 Nearest village jKrasi | Type | Unknown j Dubious B
 Area MaBia/Lasithi
 Reference [Platon 1959:386-7. Excavated:

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM EMI £_J MMIA i i MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III jp_ i MM II
 Dating SPaton 1959:387 EM tomb.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Yes Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Krasi Koprani

Name Krasi Koprani j Paved area ID 226
 Nearest village Krasi Type jOpenarea | Dubious
 Area Mallia/Lasithi Excavated £
 Reference Evans 1928:39 n. 4. Marinatos 1932b: 108. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9447-9. Zois 1968a: 66-8. Platon 1969a: no 406-8. Platon et al. 1977: no 225. Pelon 1976:26-7. Belli 1984:117,119. Wilson 1984:237-45,265. Branigan 1993:148 no 85. Sbonias 1995: 74,178. Karantzali 1996:57-8.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Reported as similar to a paved road.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM I EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB
 EM III F | MM II

Dating Marinatos 1932b: 127 EM I - MM I. Branigan 1993:148 EM I - III. Karantzali 1996:58, deposit at entrance is EM I - IIA.

Material?!

Ceramic	^0	Bone	r -	Ceramic vases	27	Figurines	
Stone	6	Copper	{^T"}	Stone vases	2	Tools	|
Ivory	k ^	Gold	{3}	Seals	4	Beads	5
Crystal	|	Silver/Lead	10	T Daggers	|1	Amulets	{2} j
Obsidian	@_	!		L Daggers	<3	Ornaments	|Yes
Other	i			Other]		

Burial

Lamax Pithos G

Burial

Others

Krasi Koprani

Name Kraal Koprani j Tholos j ID I 225
 Nearest village Krasi [Type Tholos j Dubious
 Area Mallia/Lasithi j Excavated SC
 Reference Evans 1928:39 n. 4. Marinatos 1932b. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9447-9. Zois 1968a: 66-8; 1998c: i 229-37. Platon 1969a: no 406-8. Platon et al. 1977: no 225. Pelon 1978:26-7. Belli 1984:117, 119. Wilson 1984:237-45,265. Branigan 1993:148 no 85. Sbonias 1995: 74,178. Karantzali 1996: 57-8.

Architecture

Diameter |4.2 j Entrance orientation jEEN j Doorway type |
 Wall thickness 1.3-2.2 j Annex | Noj Vestibule | No| Vaulted | 1
 Other i
 Features i

Chronology

Construction/ EM I i EMI [Yes] MMIA E S MM III - LM ___J Disturbed
 First use date EMM [Yes] MM IB I O
 EM III p i MM II i i

Dating jMarinatos 1932b: 127 EM I - MM I. Wilson 1984:237 EM I -. Branigan 1993:148 EM I - III. Sbonias 1995:178 lower stratum EM I - II, upper stratum MM IA. Karantzali 1996:58, lower stratum is EM I, only one EM IIA vase.

Material

Ceramic	42	Bone		Ceramic vases	39	Figurines	
Stone	16	Copper	11	Stone vases	2	Tools	j |
Ivory	4	Gold	{3}	Seals	4	Beads	5
Crystal	;	Silver/Lead	10	T Daggers	1	Amulets	2
Obsidian	8	!		L Daggers	3	Ornaments	|Yes
Other				Other	|		

Burial

Lamax Pithos 55

Mallia

Name Mallia Premier charnier ID 228
 Nearest village Mallia Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mallia Excavated £
 Reference La Redaction 1928:502-3. BAquignon 1929:525-7. Demargne 1945:1-12,70-1. Zois 1969:42-9. Andreou 1978:124-5. Betancourt 1979: 34. Van Effenterre 1980:233-4. Walberg 1983:110. Poursat 1988: 71-2.

Architecture

Width _____ Entrance orientation _____ Number of spaces [_____]
 Length _____ Associated buildings [_____]
 Other Features _____

Chronology

Construction/ First use date EM II [_____] EM I [_____] MM IA Yes [_____] MM III - LM [_____] Disturbed
 EM II Yes [_____] MM IB [_____]
 EM III [_____] MM II [_____]
 Dating Demargne 1945:12 EM III - MM I. Zois 1969:42-9 EM IIA - MM IA. Andreou 1978:124-5 EM IIB - III. Betancourt 1979:34 EM IIB. Van Effenterre 1980:233 EM II - MM. Walberg 1983:110 EM - MM IA.

Material

Ceramic {43 Bone [_____] Ceramic vases 43 Figurines [_____]
 Stone [_____] Copper [_____] Stone vases [_____] Tools [_____]
 Ivory [_____] Gold [_____] Seals [_____] Beads [_____]
 Crystal [_____] Silver/Lead [_____] T Daggers [_____] Amulets [_____]
 Obsidian [_____] L Daggers [_____] Ornaments [_____]
 Other [_____] Other animal bone [_____]

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial Six skulls reported, but probably many more individuals were interred in this area.

Others

Krasi Koprani

Name Krasi Koprani Outside burials { ID 227
 Nearest village Krasi Type {Unknown Dubious
 Area Madia/Lasithi Excavated £
 Reference IEvans 1928:39 n. 4. Marinatos 1932b. Junghans et al. 1968: no 9447-9. Zois 1968a: 66-8. Platon 1969a: no 406-8. Platon et al. 1977: no 225. Pelon 1976:26-7. Belli 1984:117,119. Wilson 1984: i 237-45,265. Branigan 1993:148 no 85. Sbonias 1995: 74,178. Karantzali 1996: 57-8.

Architecture

Width _____ Entrance orientation _____ Number of spaces [_____]
 Length _____ Associated buildings [_____]
 Other Features _____

Chronology

Construction/ First use date EM III [_____] EM I [_____] MM IA {Yes [_____] MM III - LM [_____] Disturbed [_____]
 EM II [_____] MM IB Yes [_____]
 EM III [_____] MM II [_____]
 Dating Marinatos 1932b: 127 EM I - MM I. Branigan 1993:148 EM 1- III. Karantzali 1996:58 EM III - MM j (some EM I and IIA vessels).

Material

Ceramic 30 Bone { _____ } Ceramic vases {27 Figurines [_____]
 Stone {6 i Copper 11 Stone vases {2 Tools [_____]
 Ivory {4 { Gold {3 Seals {4 Beads {5 [_____]
 Crystal [_____] Silver/Lead 10 T Daggers {1 Amulets 2 [_____]
 Obsidian {8 L Daggers 3 {Ornaments [Yes [_____]
 Other [_____] Other [_____]

Burial

Lamax Pithos £

Burial

Mallia

Name Mallia Trolsttme chamler ID | 230
 Nearest village Madia Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mallia Excavated E
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:60-2. Walberg 1983:115-6. Poursat 1988:73.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Shr9H9I9IY

Construction/ IEM I EMI MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM {YeT Disturbed
 First use date EM II L MM IB [Yes]
 EM III P~ MM II !T"-!

Dating Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 60 MM I and MM III/LM I. Walberg 1983:115-6 EM III/MM I - III.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone 1 Ceramic vases Yes | Figurines
 Stone 3 Copper Stone vases 3 Tools
 Ivory j Gold | J Seals Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers ! Ornaments !
 Other | Other ;

Burial

Burial Two burial strata. Lamax Pithos

Others

Mallia

Name {Mallia [Second chamler 229!
 Nearest village {Madia j Type [Rock shelter Dubious L;
 Area {Madia Excavated E
 Reference La Redaction 1928:502-3. B6quignon 1929:525-7. Demargne 1945:13-24. Zois 1969: 56 n. 1 and 4,60,64-5. Warren 1977:138. Andreou 1978:124. Van Effenterre 1980:233-4. Walberg 1983:110-1. Miller 1984: 36-7. Poursat 1988:73.

Architecture

Width | | Entrance orientation j | I Number of spaces [
 Length j j Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ IEM III EMI MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II mm ib PH!
 EM III Mes-I MM II P i

Dating {Demargne 1945:13 EM H - MM I, MM III - LM 1.Zois 1969:56 n. 1 and 4,64-5 EM III - MM IA. [Walberg 1983:111 EM III - MM III.

fifislrjsi

Ceramic 27 j Bone 1 j Ceramic vases [27 Figurines
 Stone 1 Copper 1 Stone vases 1 [Tools |
 Ivory | Gold I] Seals L Beads !
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ; ! L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other ; i

Burial

Burial {Two burial strata. Lamax H Pithos

Others

Mallia

Name Mallia Eastern Ossuary I ID 232
 Nearest village Mala Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mallia j Excavated
 Reference Demargne 1945:61-2. Soles 1992b: 172.

Width 4.4 Entrance orientation Number of spaces 2
 Length 5.2 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chf9H9I9fY

Construction/ JMM I EMI MMIA Yes MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB iYes i
 EM III MM II
 Dating Demargne 1945:62 MM I.

Material

Ceramic yes Bone i Ceramic vases jyes Figurines
 Stone | Copper Q Stone vases Tools |
 Ivory j Gold [T Seals Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead P T Daggers Amulets H
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments IT"
 Other i Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial Two skeleton found in situ in south room, human bones were found in the other room.

Mallia

Name [Madia Quatrieme chamler ! ID . 231
 Nearest village Mallia Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mallia s Excavated
 Reference Olivier and McGeorge 1977a.

ArghitetfUt-?

Width j Entrance orientation j Number of spaces [
 Length j Associated buildings [
 Other |
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM IB j EMI i MM IA i MM III - LM i Disturbed
 First use date EM II d] MM IB jYesj
 EM III i MM II Yes
 Dating Olivier and McGeorge 1977a: 701 Pottery from the first palaces (MM IB - II).

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Yes Copper Stone vases] Tools Yes
 Ivory Gold [| Seals Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments i
 Other | Other |

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial Human bones were found at the bottom of the crevice and probably pre-date the pottery from the first palaces found on the the surface.

Mallia

Name Mallia Western Ossuay J 10 ! 234
 Nearest village Maclia Type jRectangular tomb j Dubious
 Area Maclia Excavated E
 Reference La Redaction 1921:536. Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 70-2. Olivier and McGeorge 1977b. Van Effenterre 1980: 238-9 Ossuarie Renaudin. Soles 1992b: 172-3.

Architecture

Width 3.5 | Entrance orientation Number of spaces [1 1
 Length 3.8 Associated buildings i
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM IIB EMI [] MMIA YesJ MMIII-LM [] Disturbed u
 First use date EM II H Z] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III Pifes] MM II EZ1

Dating La Redaction 1921: 536 EM III - MM II. Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 70 EM III - MM I
 Van Effenterre 1980:238 EM IIB - MM I.

Material

Ceramic [5 Bone Ceramic vases [5 | Figurines \
 Stone | | Copper | | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j | Gold | Seals Beads
 Crystal [..... | Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers j Ornaments
 Other j Other :

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Fine ceramic found in this tomb.

Others

Mallia

Name Mallia jEaatern Ossuary II id j 2331
 Nearest village IMahia j Type iRectangular tomb I Dubious
 Area Mallia 1 Excavated E
 Reference Soles 1992b: 172. ~ ~ |

Architecture

Width [5_ j Entrance orientation Number of spaces [2
 Length 4 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ jMM 1 j EMI MMIA [YesJ MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [] MM IB S or] EM III B MM II I j

Dating Soles 1992b: 172 MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone j | i Ceramic vases Figurines [
 Stone Copper | Stone vases Tools [
 Ivory Gold [j Seals Beads] j
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets I
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments I
 Other | Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial

Mallia

Name [MalHa] Deposit bord de mar 236
Nearest village|Malia Type Open area Dubious u
Area Mallia Excavated E
Reference La Redaction 1921: 535-8; 1928:502. Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:62-70. Olivier & McGeorge 1977b. Van Effenterre 1980:238. Walberg 1983:115. Soles 1992b: 172-3.

Width i | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
Length [Associated buildings
Other Remains are reported to be found inside fissures in the rock.
Features {

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I i EM I L__j MMIA jP_j MMIII-LM (Yes Disturbed u
First use date EM II [__j MM IB (Yes)
EM III [i MM II (Yes]

Dating Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:63 Beginning of MM. Olivier & McGeorge 1977b: 668 First Palaces. Van Effenterre 1980:238 MM I. Walberg 1983:115 MM II - III.

Material

Ceramic [17 (Bone I Ceramic vases [17 Figurines
Stone (15 Copper Stone vases 15 Tools ()
Ivory [] Gold | (Seals Beads ()
Crystal [] Silver/Lead ((T Daggers Amulets j
Obsidian } ! (L Daggers Ornaments I
Other [(Other

Burial

Lamax C Pithos □
Burial In 1977 remains of at least 20 individuals were found.

Others It is not possible to confirm that the rescue work published in 1977 coincides exactly with the earlier deposit known as Deposit bord de mer.

Mallia

Name (MalHa) |Ossuary 1965 ID j 235
Nearest village|Malia j Type [Rock shelter j Dubious □
Area Mallia_____j Excavated E
Reference Becker 1974.

Architecture

Width j_____j : Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces []
Length j_____j Associated buildings _____j
Other
Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown j EM I MMIA [__j MMIII-LM Disturbed
First use date EM II MM IB c m
EM III [i MM II I j
Dating [Unknown.

Material

Ceramic j_____j Bone [Ceramic vases { j Figurines
Stone : I Copper [Stone vases j Tools
Ivory j I Gold [Seals | I Beads
Crystal I j Silver/Lead [T Daggers [_____] Amulets
Obsidian L Daggers j j Ornaments
Other I Other I

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos u

Mallia

Name [Mallia] [Chambre fun6raira] ID 238
 Nearest village Mallia Type Associated building Dubious
 Area Mallia Excavated 8!
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:98-102. Treuil 2005:217.

Architecture

Width approx. 2 J Entrance orientation ! Number of spaces [1
 Length approx. 1] Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I EMI MMIA [Yes] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes
 EM III MM II
 Dating Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:98 MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases J Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases J Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers J Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial [it may represent a non funerary context and the cist was added only in LM timesT

Others

Mallia

Name [Madia] iMaison das morts ID 237
 Nearest village Mallia Type jRectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mallia Excavated 8
 Reference La Redaction 1928:503-4. Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:85-102. Van Effenterre 1980:236-7. Walberg 1983:116. Petit 1990: 51. Soles 1992b: 173-6 House of the dead. Treuil 2005:215-6.

Architecture

Width japprox. 8.5 [Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [9
 Length japprox. 20 j Associated buildings]
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I j EMI ! ! MM IA iYes j MM III - LM Yes I Disturbed 53
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes]
 EM III P I MM II P H
 Dating Van Effenterre 4 Van Effenterre 1963: MM I. Van Effenterre 1980:237 MM I, LM. Walberg 1983: II 16 EM III? - MM I. Soles 1992b: 176 MM I, LM III.

Material

Ceramic j Bone | Ceramic vases j8 Figurines !
 Stone j Copper | Stone vases 7] Tools j
 Ivory j Gold [! j Seals Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers j j Ornaments i
 Other] Other |

Burial

Lamax Pithos iC
 Burial [Ten stone cists were found in this complex as well as at least 10 burial pithoi and interments in the ground. Bones of infants found. Cists probably date to LM.

Others

Mallia

Name Mallia | Tomb triangulare 1 | ID 240!
 Nearest village | Mallia | Type Pit | Dubious
 Area Mallia | Excavated
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:75-7. Walberg 1983:116.

Architecture

Width approx. 1 | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length approx. 2 | Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date | MM I | EMI L J | MMIA [P_] | MMIII-LM Yes_ | Disturbed
 EM II LZ J | MM IB IP_i
 EM III L H | MM II [Yes]

Dating Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:76 MM I. Walberg 1983:116 MM II - III.

Materials

Ceramic [6 | Bone Ceramic vases [6 | Figurines []
 Stone [1 | Copper Stone vases [1 | Tools []
 Ivory [| Gold [] | Seals [] | Beads []
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead [] | T Daggers [] | Amulets []
 Obsidian [| L Daggers [] | Ornaments []
 Other [| Other []

Burial

Larnax Pithos

Burial

Others

Mallia

Name iMallia | Tombe a putts 1 | ID 239!
 Nearest village Mallia | Type [Pit | Dubious
 Area Mallia | Excavated
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 72-5. Walberg 1983:116.

Architecture

Width approx. 2 | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length approx. 1 | Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date | MM I | EMI L J | MMIA [P_] | MMIII-LM [Yes] | Disturbed
 EM II LZ J | MM IB IP_i
 EM III L H | MM II [Yes]

Dating Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 73 MM I. Walberg 1983:116 MM II - III.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases [6 | Figurines []
 Stone [1 | Copper Stone vases [] | Tools []
 Ivory [| Gold [] | Seals [] | Beads []
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead [] | T Daggers [] | Amulets []
 Obsidian [| L Daggers [] | Ornaments []
 Other [| Other []

Burial

Larnax Pithos

Burial

Mallia

Name Mallia La tholos i ID j 242
 Nearest village Madia ; Type Pit Dubious
 Area Madia i Excavated E
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:81-2.

Architecture

Width 3 diameter Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date MM I EMI MMIA Yes MMIII-LM fresj Disturbed
 EM II MM IB VeT
 EM III MM II i i
 Dating Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:81 MM I, MM III.

Material

Ceramic j6^ Bone Ceramic vases j5_ Figurines j1_
 Stone Copper Stone vases j2_ Tools j_
 Ivory | Gold Seals Beads H
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j_ Amulets j1_
 Obsidian ~ L Daggers Ornaments I
 Other r Other

Burial

Burial " Lamax Pithos 1st

SSbsa [|

Mallia

Name jMallia Tomb triangulare 2 j ID ; 241;
 Nearest village Mallia ! Type (Pit Dubious
 Area Madia | Excavated 58
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963: 75.

Architecture

Width japprox. 3 Entrance orientation Number of spaces [. . . . 1
 Length japprox. 2.5 Associated buildings
 Other j 1
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ First use date (Unknown EMI i i MM IA i j MMIII-LM j Disturbed E
 EM II i i MM IB
 EM III j_ MM II

Material

Ceramic j Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases j j Tools i
 Ivory | 60(1 i 1 Seals Beads {
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mallia

Name jMallia Fosse aux trompettes ID 2441
 Nearest village jMalla Type Open area Dubious B
 Area Mallia Excavated B
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:82-5. Walberg 1983:116. Pelon and StQrmer 1989.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length 1.1 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM I MMIA E H J MM III-LM £ _ J Disturbed
 First use date MM IB ! E J
 MM II [Yes]

Van Effenterre 1963:82-5. Walberg 1983:116 MM IA - MM II/III. Pelon and StQrmer 1989: MM II

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases ; Figurines j
 Stone Copper j Stone vases Tools [
 Ivory j Gold _ j Seals J Beads \ J
 Crystal | ~1 Silver/Lead j T Daggers | Amulets !
 Obsidian j L Daggers ! Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos G

Burial Pelon & StQrmer challenged the idea that this deposit was related to any kind of funerary activity.

Mallia

Name jMallia Terrasses occidentales ID 243
 Nearest village Mallia Type Open area Dubious
 Area jMallia ! Excavated B
 Reference Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:77-81. Walberg 1983:116. Karagianni 1984:84.

Architecture

Width j _____ j Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [
 Length l j Associated buildings j
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM I j EM I ! i MM IA [Yes i MM III - LM 1 j Disturbed
 First use date EM II H Z j MM IB See]
 EM III i i MM II p i _____

Dating Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:80 MM I. Walberg 1983:116 MM I - II.

Material

Ceramic 10 Bone Ceramic vases j!_ Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases | j Tools j
 Ivory | Gold j | Seals Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead j] T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other j Other kemos

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others

Mallia

Name [Mallia IChrisolakos II ID 246
 Nearest village [Mallia Type jRectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mallia Excavated E
 Reference Demargne 1930; 1932; 1945: 25-69. Platon 1969a: no.418,420. Shaw 1973. Van Effenterre 1980:241-52. Walberg 1983:111-2. Baurain 1987. Pierpont 1987. StOmer 1987; 1993. Soles 1992b: 166-71. Poursat 1988: 73; 1993. Hillborn 2005:81-2,155. Treuil 2005:211-4.

Architecture

Width [approx. 30 | Entrance orientation j i Number of spaces [
 Length japprox. 39 j Associated buildings j
 Other No visible entrance
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [MM IB EMI [] MM IA d j MM III - LM Yes i Disturbed E
 First use date EM II MM IB [Yes]
 EM III i ! MM II Yes~

Dating Demargne 1945:67-6 EM III/MM IA • MM II. Van Effenterre 1980:246 MM IB - II. Walberg 1983: 111-2 MM IA - MM III (mostly MM I - II). Pierpont 1987:83-4 MM IB - II/III. Soles 1992b: 170-1 j MM IB - III. StOmer 1993:186-7 IIB - III. Poursat 1993: MM IB -.

Material

Ceramic [! Bone Ceramic vases 5 Figurines 3
 Stone [- | Copper 5 | Stone vases |6 Tools [j
 Ivory T | Gold [15 | Seals j3 Beads
 Crystal [! Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments ;
 Other [; Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos G

Others

Mallia

Name jMallia j]Chrisolakos I id j 245
 Nearest village Mallia j Type [Rectangular tomb] Dubious
 Area Ma-Ha j Excavated E
 Reference [Demargne 1930; 1932; 1945:25-69. Zois 1969: 74-7. Shaw 1973. Van Effenterre 1980:241-52. Walberg 1983:111-2. Karagianni 1984:98. Baurain 1987. Pierpont 1987. StOmer 1987; 1993. i Soles 1992b: 163-6. Poursat 1988: 73; 1993. Hillborn 2005:154. Treuil 2005:211-4.

Architecture

Width 45?_____ j Entrance orientation | j Number of spaces [
 Length [35?_____ i Associated buildings [
 Other
 Features |

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM III [EMI [^] MM IA Yes i MM III - LM ! Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II [Z j MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Yes] MM II F H

Dating Demargne 1945:67-8 EM III/MM IA • MM II. Zois 1969: 77 EM III - MM IA. Van Effenterre 1980: ! 242 EM III - MM I Walberg 1983:111-2 MM IA - MM III (mostly MM I - II). Pierpont 1987:83-4 EM I III - MM IA. Soles 1992b: 166 EM III - MM IA. StOmer 1993:186-7 MM IB - IIB (contra Poursat j 1993).

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone [Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines j3
 Stone j8 Copper j5 Stone vases 6 Tools i
 Ivory ;1 | Gold [15 | Seals 3 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead [] T Daggers [Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers [j Ornaments [15
 Other [] Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Only few human bones were found inside the building, but the remains of many were found just north of the building.

Others

Mallia

Name Mallia Agia Varvara island ! ID 248;
 Nearest village [Malia Type jRock shelter Dubious
 Area Mallia Excavated £
 Reference La Redaction 1928:502. Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953:9-11. MCHer 1992: 747.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM 1 EMI [] MMIA Yes_ MMIII-LM [] J Disturbed
 First use date EMU MMIB Yesj
 EMIII [L U] MMII [] i
 Dating La Redaction 1928:502 MM I. Demargne & Cadet de Santerre 1953:9 MM I.

Material

Ceramic | Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines j
 Stone | Copper [| Stone vases | Tools !
 Ivory [| Gold j Seals j | Beads j
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead ; - | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [- | L Daggers i Ornaments
 Other [Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos i_

Burial

Others

Mallia

Name Mallia Agia Varvara coast ID j 247
 Nearest village [Malia Type jRock shelter Dubious
 Area jMalia Excavated S,
 Reference La Redaction 1921: 536. Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953:9-11. Treuil 2005:209 n. 2.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I EMI [H j MMIA SesJ MMIII-LM H J Disturbed
 First use date EMII j ! MMIB Sis]
 EMIII ! i MMII i i
 Dating La Redaction 1921:536 MM I. Demargne & Gallet de Santerre 1953:10 MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper j Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j - Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos u

Burial

Others

Mallia Hot du Christ

Name Mallia Ildt du Christ Ildt du Christ ID 250;
 Nearest village Maia Type [Pithos cemetery Dubious
 Area Mallia Excavated
 Reference La Redaction 1925:473-4. Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963:103-13. Olivier et al. 1970. Becker 1975b. Davis 1977:86. Van Effenterre 1980:240. Walberg 1983:116-7. Baurain 1987:64. Poursat 1988:73. Petit 1990:51-2.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation [Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date JMM IB EMI MM IA MM III - LM P I Disturbed
 EM II MM IB ^
 EM III MM II Yes

Dating La Redaction 1925:474 MM I. Olivier et al. 1970:879 MM I. Van Effenterre 1980:240 MM II. Walberg 1983:117 MM II - III Poursat 1988:73 MM IB - II.

Material

Ceramic | Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases ! Tools
 Ivory [Gold [i Seals Beads i
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers ! Amulets |
 Obsidian [L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other [Other [

Burial

Burial 5 pithos burials published, but many more reported. Lamax Pithos isf

Others

Mallia

Name Mallia Underwater building ID 249j
 Nearest village [Mallia Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious B
 Area IMa-ia Excavated E
 Reference iGuest-Papamanoli & Treuil 1979.

Architecture

Width 25 Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length 35 Associated buildings
 Other [Parallel rooms resembling Tomb VII at Palaikastro.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date [Unknown EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed E
 EM II MM IB CJ
 EM III MM II

Dating [Unknown, it might be a Roman building.

Material

Ceramic : Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory Gold | [Seals [Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead (T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others If most probably represents a Minoan or Classical ship-shed (Shaw & Shaw 1999).

Meskine

Name Meskine !!_ I ID j 252
 Nearest village j Tzemniadon ! Type Cave Z Dubious E
 Area Lasithi j Excavated E
 Reference Pendlebury et al. 1940:6,17,24. Zois 1973:118. Watrous 1982:42 no 11.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation jS Number of spaces | |
 Length 21 Associated buildings i
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IMM I EMI MM IA Ves I MM III - LM Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Pendlebury et al. 1940:6 MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases j Tools [|
 Ivory | Gold | | Seals | Beads j !
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | | T Daggers Amulets | j
 Obsidian ! L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other j Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos S3
 One MM I burial pithos reported.

S ttm

Meliskipos

Name Meli»klpo» || ~| ID ___ 251
 Nearest village Piatl [Type j Pithoi j Dubious
 Area [Lasithi _____] | Excavated
 Reference Watrous 1982:64 no 70.

Architecture

Width | _____| Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [|
 Length ! _____| Associated buildings |
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IMM I EMI ZZ MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM EZ Disturbed
 First use date em || ZZ MM IB [Yes]
 EM III | ! MM II EZ
 Dating j Watrous 1982:64 MM I-.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold | | Seals | | Beads j j
 Crystal [j Silver/Lead [] T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | | Other | i

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos 0
 Watrous reports pithoi in this area.

Mousto Latsida

Name Mousto Latsida Cave A ID I 254
 Nearest village Agia Paraskevi Type Cave Dubious 0
 Area North central Crete Excavated
 Reference Panagiotakis 2006:394.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length Associated buildings 1
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM 1 EMI | | MM IA IP_ | MM III - LM Yes! Disturbed
 First use date EM II ; MM IB (P |
 EM III |_1 MM II (P_ |
 Dating Panagiotakis 2006: 394 MM 1- II.

Material

Ceramic 1 Bone Ceramic vases Figurines T |
 Stone [1 Copper | | Stone vases Tools L_ 1
 Ivory | Gold j | Seals Beads T j
 Crystal [i Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian f 1 L Daggers f j Ornaments L |
 Other [1 Other [i

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos G

Burial

Other*

Milatos

Name jMilatOS ID 253
 Nearest village, Milatos Type Cave Dubious 0
 Area iMirabello Excavated
 Reference Faure 1956:96; 1964:60, 70. Tyree 1974:9-10. Platakis 1978:49-52. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 65-7.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation |S Number of spaces | |
 Length 72 Associated buildings j
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ N EMI IP_ | MM IA | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM II | L D MM IB
 EM III (P | MM II | |
 Dating iFaure 1956:96 MM; 1964: 60 N, 70 EM dark wares. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:67 N, EM and LM.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases | j Tools
 Ivory Gold | j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other [] Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos U

Burial

|Faure reported human bones but it is not clear if they were associated with the Prepalatial material. Rutkowski & Nowicki suggested that the cave was a refuge and a place for cult activities.

Others

Partira

Name Partira jj ID 256
 Nearest village {Partira Type {Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Central Crete ! Excavated Sc
 Reference B6quignon 1931: 517. Pendlebury 1939:56. Mortzos 1972. Zois 1973:177-80. Vagnetti & Batti 1978:133. Karantzali 1996: 71.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation | ; Number of spaces [
 Length j Associated buildings | —
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ FN? EMI Yes I MM IA MM III • LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating BAquignon 1931:517 N. Pendlebury 1939:56 EM. Mortzos 1972:402 FN-EM I. Vagnetti & Belli 1978:133 FN. Karantzali 1996: 71 EM I.

Material

Ceramic [32~ Bone Ceramic vases [32 Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory j Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Buried Lamax Pithos C

Others

Mousto Latsida

Name {Mousto Latsida Cave B ID 255
 Nearest village Agia Paraskevi _____ I Type {Cave _____ j Dubious fij
 Area {North central Crete j Excavated
 Reference iFaure 1964:70 Mikro Charakou.

Architecture

Width ! _____ { Entrance orientation | | Number of spaces [
 Length | _____ | Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ {Unknown EMI [PZZI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [F j MM IB
 EM III (PH) MM II

Dating Faure 1964:70 n. 3 EM.

Material

Ceramic {Yes j Bone Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone ; _____ j Copper Stone vases j Tools
 Ivory j] Gold Seals j Beads
 Crystal { | Silver/Lead T Daggers { Amulets
 Obsidian j _____ L Daggers { Ornaments
 Other ; Other I

Burial

Burial j Lamax Pithos

Others

Phrachto

Name [Phrachto] j | _____ j ID j 258;
 Nearest village [Kathori] j Type j Unknown j Dubious E
 Area North central Crete Excavated
 Reference Panagiotakis 2006:417.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation ! Number of spaces | |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features !

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I] EMI MM IA P MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB E
 EM III MM II EH
 Dating Panagiotakis 2006:417 MM I - II.

Material

Ceramic Bone (Ceramic vases j Figurines | j
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases j J Tools J]
 Ivory [.... iGold | ! Seals | Beads |
 Crystal [1 Silver/Lead (H T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [j Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others A cemetery with MM I - II material was reported.

Name Pera Vigla ID j 257
 Nearest village [Sambas] Type Unknown Dubious E
 Area North central Crete Excavated
 Reference Panagiotakis 2006:414.

Architecture

Width | j Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [|
 Length ! j Associated buildings
 Other
 Features i

Chronology

Construction/ [MM 1] | EMI | MM IA E D MM III • LM Disturbed
 First use date EMM MM IB E H
 EM III I i MM II P j
 Dating iPanagiotakis 2006:414 MM I - II.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines F
 Stone Copper | Stone vases Tools r j
 Ivory Gold j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets ! !
 Obsidian I L Daggers Ornaments F
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others A cemetery with MM I - II material was reported.

Pirgos

Name Pirgos KokkinChani ID 260[
 Nearest village)Anopoli Type [Cave Dubious
 Area North Coast Excavated 0
 Reference Xanthoudides 1921a; 1925. Platon 1941:270. Junghans et al. 1966: no 9366-70. Zois 1968a: 40- 1
 8; 1998c: 55-68,83-104. Renfrew 1969:19. Branigan 1971:60,65. Warren 1977:139. Stucynski]
 1982:57. Sapouna-Sakellarakí 1983: 52-3. Karagianni 1984: 70, 79,81, 89. Wilson 1984:236-45, i
 261-4. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:247. Wilson & Day 1994: 34. Karantzali 1996:58-61. Day &
 Wilson 2000: 55-6. Pieler 2004:114.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloav

Construction/ EM I EM I [Yes i MM IA 1 1 MM III - LM 1 [Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II [Yes j MM IB [Z D
 EM III j | MM II | |
 Dating Xanthoudides 1921a: 170 EM I - II/III. Wilson 1984:245 EM IB - IIA. Karantzali 1996:59 EM I - II. :
 Wilson & Day 2000: 55 EM I mainly and EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic |150min. Bone Ceramic vases 150 min. ! Figurines 8
 Stone 8 | Copper 12 | Stone vases Tools j|2 [
 Ivory | [Gold [11] Seals Beads 1
 Crystal [1 Silver/Lead [] T Daggers j Amulets [
 Obsidian [7 | L Daggers 7 { Ornaments [10
 Other | Other [

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos 0
 Burial More than 20 lamakes found. Zois suggested around 50 individuals buried. Lamakes were found
 n a different stratum than the EM 1pottery and they might date EM III-. Lambrou-Phillipson dated !
 the lamakes LM IIA.

Q th g rf Lambrou-Phillipson suggested that the cave was an EM 1settlement.

Pigadistria

Name Pigadistria |j | ID j 259
 Nearest vitegejKaminaki j Type [Unknown_____] Dubious ffi
 Area Lasithi j Excavated
 Reference Watrous 1982:61 no 65.

Architecture

Width [_____] Entrance orientation | | Number of spaces [
 Length [_____] Associated buildings |
 Other jScatter of material in a 150 x 200 m area.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [EM II | EMI [____] MM IA [P_! MM III - LM [Yes j Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [O
 EM III P i MM II [p |
 Dating Watrous 1982:61 EM II - LM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines j
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools r
 Ivory Gold ! ! Seals Beads f j
 Crystal Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets !
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments i
 Other [Other

Burial

Lamax u Pithos 0
 Burial [Watrous reports MM pithoi.

Others

Poros

Name | Poros | 14th public school | ID 262
 Nearest village|Heraklion | Type Chamber tomb | Dubious
 Area North coast | Excavated
 Reference Phillips 1991:753-4. Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1992:528-9.

Architecture

Width | | Entrance orientation | | Number of spaces | 3
 Length | | Associated buildings |
 Other Tomb measured approx. 70 square metres.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ | MM IIB | EMI | MM IA | MM III-LM Yes | Disturbed
 First use date | EM II | MM IB | ZED
 EM III | MM II | Y M

Dating Dimopoulou-Rethemiotaki 1992: 528 MM IIB - LM IB.

Material

Ceramic <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Bone	Ceramic vases 120	Figurines |
Stone <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Copper Yes	Stone vases	Tools |
Ivory |	Gold [15]	Seals	Beads <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Crystal |	Silver/Lead 2~	T Daggers	Amulets |
Obsidian <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		L Daggers	Ornaments Yes
Other |		Other	

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Pirgos

Name | Pirgoa | Rock shelter | id | 261
 Nearest village|Anopolis | Type Rock shelter | ; Dubious
 Area North Coast | Excavated
 Reference Xanthoudides 1925:126. Wilson 1984:261-4.

Architecture

Width | | Entrance orientation | | Number of spaces |
 Length | | Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ | EM I? | EMI | MM IA | MM III-LM | Disturbed
 First use date | EM II | MM IB
 EM III | MM II

Dating Wilson 1984: 261-4 EM II.

Material

Ceramic Yes	Bone	Ceramic vases <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Figurines
Stone |	Copper	Stone vases |	Tools
Ivory |	Gold	Seals |	Beads
Crystal |	Silver/Lead	T Daggers |	Amulets
Obsidian |		L Daggers |	Ornaments
Other |		Other |	

Burial

Burial Two skeletons found between fissures in the rock. Lamax Pithos

Others j50 m from the entrance of Pirgos cave.

Potamies

Name Potamies ID 264
 Nearest village [Potamies/Mohos Type Tholos]] Dubious £
 Area Ma-Hia/Lasithi Excavated
 Reference Branigan 1993:148 no 84.

Architecture

Diameter [Entrance orientation Doorway type
 Wall thickness [Annex \ No] Vestibule | No] Vaulted
 Other Built against a rock outcrop.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ IUnknown MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date MM B
 Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases ; Figurines |
 Stone Copper | Stone vases | J Tools | j
 Ivory | | Seals i] Beads j]
 Crystal n Silver/Lead [: T Daggers | Amulets [
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments j
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos B
 Burial Pithos reported outside the tholos.

Others Reported by Hood (cited in Branigan 1993:148 no 84).

Poros

Name jPoros_____ j Ikaros Avenue j ID I 263
 Nearest vitege Heraklkm j Type jChamber tomb | Dubious
 Area North coast Excavated B
 Reference Dimopoulou 1999b: 709-10.
 \
 :

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation Number of spaces |4
 Length Associated buildings |
 Other jOne antechamber and three other rooms, some of them created through built rubble walls. In total
 Features the tomb measured approx. 80 square metres.
 i

Chronology

Construction/ jMM IB j EMI [] i MM IA [] MM III-LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB [PHU
 EM III I I MM II [Yes]
 Dating Dimopoulou 1999b: 709-10: MM IIB - LM IB, one MM IB vessel was found.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | | Ceramic vases 500 min. Figurines
 Stone jYes Copper |yes | Stone vases [" | Tools |
 Ivory |] Gold j Seals h/yes Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax 0 Pithos
 Burial j

i
 ggrrcrs !

Sabas

Name Sabas | AI Mamas | ID 266i
 Nearest village [Sambas] | Type [Rock shelter] | Dubious
 Area Central Crete | Excavated
 Reference Faure 1958:515 n. 3; 1964:68.

Architertwrc

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM I | EMI | MM IA | Yes | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date | EM II | MM IB | Yes |
 | EM III | MM II

Dating Faure 1958: 515 n. 3 EM III - MM

Material

Ceramic | Bone [| Ceramic vases | Figurines [|
 Stone | Copper [| Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory | Gold [| Seals | Beads
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead] | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other [| Other

Burial

Burial

Others

Lamax Pithos

Psichro

Name Psichro | j | ID j 265
 Nearest village Psichro | Type [Cave] | Dubious 0
 Area [Lasithi] | Excavated 0
 Reference Evans 1897:350-61. Hogarth 1900. Demargne 1901: 580-3. Boyd-Dawkins 1902. Boardman 1961:1-75. Faure 1964:68.152. Platakis 1973b. Tyree 1974:14-20. Watrous 1982: 61 no 66; 1996; 2004. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990:251-2. Phillips 1991: 768-73. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 7-19.

Architecture

Width | j | Entrance orientation jN | Number of spaces [|
 Length approx. 100 | Associated buildings [|
 Other EM material found mainly at the back of the upper cave.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [LN | EMI Q | MM IA GH | MM III-LM GUI | Disturbed
 First use date | EM II [Yes] | MM IB [G] |
 | EM III Ip i | MM It i |

Dating Hogarth 1900:96 Buccero ware. Boardman 1961: 5 EM burials. Watrous 1982:61 EM burials; 1996:47 The cave was not used between N and MM I; 2004:142 LN, EM IIA, MM 1-. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:11 During EM II - III it was used as burial place.

Material

Ceramic Yes | Bone | Ceramic vases [Yes | Figurines
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory i | Gold [| Seals | Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead [| T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments [|
 Other | Other i

Burial

Burial [Hogarth reported bones associated with Buccero wares in the upper cave but it is unclear whether these were animal or human bones (Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:11), and the exact chronology of the ceramic.

Others [The various authors have different opinions about the burial use of this cave in the EM periods.

Lamax Pithos

Siderokamino

Name Siderokamino ID j 268
 Nearest village Mallia j Type jThotos j Dubious fig
 Area Mallia j Excavated
 Reference Faure 1969:180 n.2. Branigan 1993:148 no 87.

Architecture

Diameter 3.3 [Entrance orientation i ; Doorway type f
 Wall thickness | j Annex j No Vestibule | No Vaulted f
 Other
 Features

Chronotodv

Construction/ (MMI EMI MM IA !Yes i MM III-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB !Yes !
 EM III MM II
 Dating Faure 1968:180 n.2 MMI L

Material

Ceramic Bone j J Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone Copper j Stone vases i Tools 1
 Ivory J Gold j Seals i Beads
 Crystal ! Silver/Lead j T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [] ! Other |

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others

Seli

Name iSeli ID j 267j
 Nearest viHageSeli Ambelos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area iLasithi Excavated 53
 Reference Iliopoulos 2000:755; 2001: 658.

Architect

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (MMI EMI MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM j J Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Z] MM II
 Dating Iliopoulos 2000: 755 MM I; 2001: 658 MM L

Material

Ceramic ! Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases j Tools ;
 Ivory | Gold | | Seals ; i Beads !
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

2 fm

Skotino

Name Skotino ID [__270j
 Nearest village|Skotino Type Cave Dubious B
 Area North coast Excavated B
 Reference Faure 1958:508-11; 1984:162-73. Alexiou 1965a: 312. Tyree 1974:20-3; pers. comm. Vagnetti & Belli 1984:133. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:36-7. Whitley 2004:68.

Architecture

Width 30 Entrance orientation N Number of spaces |
 Length 134 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ |EM I E J MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed B
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating Faure 1963:201 FN • EM I, MM. Vagnetti & Belli 1984:133 FN. Tyree pers. comm. Pigros ware was found and may indicate funerary use of the cave in EM I.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases | Figurines |
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases Tools |
 Ivory | j Gold S j Seals Beads i
 Crystal j Silver/Lead | T Daggers ! Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments j
 Other [| Other

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pithos □
 Burial No human bones reported. MM cult use of the cave.

Others

Skaphidia

Name jSkaphidia 11 j ID j 269j
 Nearest village Tzermiadon j Type [Cave | Dubious B
 Area j insthi j Excavated B
 Reference iPendlebury et al. 1940:4-5,22. Zois 1973:117. Vagnetti & Belli 1978:136. Watrous 1982:42 no j
 [11. |

Architecture

Width |5 | Entrance orientation jS j Number of spaces [
 Length [25 j Associated buildings j
 Other |
 Features !

Chronology

Construction/] EM I |P | MM IA | | MM III - LM i i Disturbed □
 First use date EM II [Z H MM IB {Z U
 ^ _____ EM III | S MM II i ! _____

Dating Pendlebury & Money-Coutts 1940: 5 Two strata with LN material, one EM I vessel found on surface. Watrous 1982:42 LN-Subneolithic.

Material

Ceramic Bone j Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory Gold] Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j ! Amulets j
 Obsidian L Daggers j Ornaments
 Other F] Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pithos □
 Burial Few human bones found, Pendlebury et al. dated them to the Neolithic period.

Others

Stravomiti

Name Stravomiti j ID 272
 Nearest village Epano Archanes Type Cave Dubious
 Area Archanes Excavated 53
 Reference Marinatos 1949:108-9; 1950:248-57. Faure 1964:68,173-5. Zois 1973:174-7. Tyree 1974: 34-7.
 Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:48. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:28-31,68-9,376-81,
 384-5. Dimopoulou 2001:645.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation [NE Number of spaces » min. |
 Length 43 Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

Chronoloav

Construction/ First use date j EM I [P- i MM IA [p i MM III - LM [p 1 Disturbed
 EM II [j] MM IB [Ei]
 EM III E J MM II [p j

Dating Marinatos 1950:256-7 FN - MM. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:29-31 FN - MM.
 Dimopoulou 2001: 645 EM. MM.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone Copper | | Stone vases i | Tools j j
 Ivory Gold { | Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [Other]

Burial

Lamax Pithos m
 Burial Faure 1964: 68 One pithos burial was found in the cave which may belong to the period of study, j
 Marinatos and Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis suggested habitational and cult activities for
 the cave, not funerary. Dimopoufou reported EM and MM material associated with human bones, i

Others

Sokaras

Name Sokaras j ID : 271i
 Nearest villege Sokaras Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Central Crete] Excavated
 Reference I Rethemiotakis 2004b: 852-3.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings [
 Other r
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ First use date MM IA - II EM I [EZ] MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM | i Disturbed
 EM II [H] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [] MM II [Yes i

Dating Rethemiotakis 2004b: 852-3 MM IA - II.

Material

Ceramic j Bone j Ceramic vases [Figurines
 Stone Copper [Stone vases [| Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other |

Burial

Lamax £ Pithos E

Burial

Others F

Stoii Petra

Name **Stou Petra** j; —
 Nearest village [Avrakondes] ii.. ID **274**
 Area **Lasithi** j Type **Unknown** Dubious **0**
 Reference **Watrous 1982:57 no 51.** Excavated

Architecture

Width _____ j Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces |
 Length _____ | Associated buildings j ;
 Other ~ !
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (MM I MM IA Yes MM III-LM Yes_ Disturbed
 First use date MM IB S?SJ
 EM III P
 Watrous 1982: 57 no 51 MM I - LM III

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Othgrj

Stavroplaka

Name **Stavroplaka** ID **273!**
 Nearest village [Mathia] Type **Rock shelter** Dubious **0**
 Area **Central Crete** Excavated
 Reference **Platon 1954:515. Petit 1990:52. Panagiotakis 2006:383.**

Architecture

Width _____ Entrance orientation _____ Number of spaces _____
 Length _____ Associated buildings _____ ;
 Other _____ !
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (MM EMI d] MM IA im MM III-LM IC C Disturbed
 First use date EM II C m MM IB [p m
 EM III d J MM II [P I
 Dating **Platon 1954:515 MM. Panagiotakis 2006: 363 MM I - II.**

Material

Ceramic Bone [Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone Copper [Stone vases (Tools
 Ivory ! Gold [Seals [| Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead [T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments I
 Other -j Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos **0**

Others |

Trapeza

Name Trapeza Outside ID ! 276
 Nearest village Tzermiaddon Type i Pithoi Dubious B
 Area Lasithi Excavated B
 Reference Pendlebury et al. 1940:3,15,23. Watrous 1982:42 no 11.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | 1
 Length Associated buildings i
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM 1 EMI [] MMIA Yes. MMIII-LM ;----1 Disturbed --
 First use date EM II [] MM IB Yesj
 EM III IZ j MM II :_i
 Dating Pendlebury et al. 1940:3,15,23 MM I.

Material

Ceramic	Yes	j	Bone	Ceramic vases	Yes	j	Figurines	|
Stone	|	Copper	|	Stone vases	j	|	Tools	|
Ivory	|	Gold	|	Seals	j	|	Beads	|_
Crystal	|	Silver/Lead	|	T Daggers	|	|	Amulets	[]
Obsidian	|			L Daggers			Ornaments	|
Other	|			Other				|

Burial

Burial Lamax : Pithos ::
 Burial No human bones reported. Pithos burials found in a 100 metres radius around the entrance of Trapeza cave, at least in three different locations.

Others

i

Trapeza

Name ^Trapeza [ID | 275
 Nearest village Tzermiaddon Type [Cave Dubious □
 Area Lasithi Excavated B
 Reference IPendlebury et al. 1939; 1940:2. Charles 1965:39-40. Warren 1965:11. Platon 1969a: no 427-42. Branigan 1971:60, 67-8, 70-1. Zois 1973:118-23; 1998b: 242-5. Tyree 1974:10-1. Warren 1977: 139. Stucynski 1982:57. Watrous 1982:42 no 11. Sapouna-Sakellarakı 1983: 57-8. Walberg ;1983:121-2. Miller 1984: 35. Wilson 1984:247. Phillips 1991: 781-5. Sbonias 1995:74.90. Karantzalı 1996: 53-4. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:68-9. Brown 2001:372.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation [E Number of spaces |10min.
 Length [25 Associated buildings
 Other Stalagmites might have been used as cult objects.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/)FN EMI Yes MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM Yes. Disturbed B
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB Yes"
 EM III Yes] MM II Yes"
 Dating Pendlebury et al. 1939:23 FN • MM II; burial use dates to EM II - III/MM I. Walberg 1983:121-2 EM I - MM III. Karantzalı 1996: 53 EM I - MM II, burial use EM II onwards.

Material

Ceramic	524	Bone	18	Ceramic vases	522	Figurines	15
Stone	(47	Copper	16	Stone vases	35	Tools	[44
Ivory	[3	Gold	[21	Seals	16	Beads	11
Crystal	5	Silver/Lead	2	T Daggers	3	[Amulets	2
Obsidian	19			L Daggers	[	[ Ornaments	[6
Other	[faience			Other	scarab		

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pithos 55
 Burial Pithos burials deposited in the cave in MM I.

Others

Venetis

Name **Venetia** **jj** **~1** ID { 278j
 Nearest village **Kastamonitsa** **I** Type **jtknown** **j** Dubious **£3**
 Area **North central Crete** **Excavated**
 Reference **Panagiotakis 2006:399.**

Architecture

Width **I** Entrance orientation **Number of spaces** **|**
 Length **|** Associated buildings
 Other Features **j**

Chronology

Construction/ **MM I** **EM I** **P** **H** **MM IA** **P_;** **MM III - LM** **[Yes]** **Disturbed**
 First use date **EM II** **P** **J** **MM IB**
EM III **I** **I** **MM II** **P** **I**
 Dating **Panagiotakis 2006:399** **MM 1- II.**

Material

Ceramic **Bone** **|** Ceramic vases **Figurines**
 Stone **T** **Copper** **j** **Stone vases** **Tools**
 Ivory **[** **! Gold** **|** **Seals** **|** **Beads** **[** **j**
 Crystal **j** **|** **Silver/Lead** **|** **T Daggers** **Amulets** **[**
 Obsidian **|** **|** **L Daggers** **|** **Ornaments** **j**
 Other **f** **~|** **Other**

Burial

Burial **Lamax** **Pithos**

Others **A cemetery with MM I - II material was reported.**

Tsampi

Name **jTsampi** **|** **1** ID **|** 277
 Nearest village **jTsampi** **Type** **{Rock shelter** **j** Dubious **£**
 Area **Mirabello** **Excavated**
 Reference **Hiopoulos 2004:880.**

Architecture

Width **Entrance orientation** **Number of spaces** **|** **1**
 Length **1** **|** Associated buildings **|** **i**
 Other Features **j**

Chronology

Construction/ **MM** **EM I** **MM IA** **jH H** **MM III - LM** **Disturbed**
 First use date **EM II** **|** **MM IB** **[p j**
EM III **H** **MM II** **lp i**
 Dating **Hiopoulos 2004:880** **MM.**

Material

Ceramic **Bone** **|** Ceramic vases **S** **Figurines**
 Stone **Copper** **i** **Stone vases** **|** **Tools**
 Ivory **Gold** **|** **i** **Seals** **Beads**
 Crystal **Silver/Lead** **!** **T Daggers** **1** **Amulets** **j**
 Obsidian **1** **L Daggers** **1** **Ornaments**
 Other **j** **|** **Other** **i**

Burial

Burial **Lamax** **Pithos** **3**

Others

Zinta

Name Zinta ID 280
 Nearest village j Zinta Type i Unknown Dubious sZ
 Area Central Crete Excavated
 Reference Branigan 1972:22; 1974:11. Papadatos 1999:129. Pieler 2004:115.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | _____ | Number of spaces [|
 Length | Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ j EM I MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III | E J MM II
 Dating Branigan 1974:11 EM II-III?.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines 1
 Stone Copper 1 | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ! Gold | j Seals j Beads | j
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers 1 ! Ornaments i
 Other ! Other ! :

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others Material purchased by the Herakleion Museum and in the Giamalakis collection that may have come from a burial context in Zinta.

Vitsilia

Name Vitsilia [ID 279
 Nearest village { Partira Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area i Central Crete Excavated
 Reference j Platon 1953:491. Faure 1964:56 n. 1,68. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997:30.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j Number of spaces [|
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM I i EM I [Yes] MMIA _____ MM III-LM ! _____ Disturbed
 First use date EMM [Yes] MM IB
 EM III [Yes] MM II | |
 Dating Platon 1953:491 N. Faure 1964: 56 n. 1 EM I. Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997a: 30 EM : I - III.

Material

Ceramic j Bone Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ! Gold | Seals | j Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Agia Photia Ierapetras

Name Agia Photia Ierapetras ID 282
 Nearest village | A. Photia Ierapetra Type {Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Ierapetra Excavated Z
 Reference Boyd 1904:21; 1905:183-6. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56. Faure 1964:67 Sta Pharna. Zois 1968a: 87-9; 1998b: 174-5. <http://www.museum.upenn.edu/mellon/goumia/index.html> Goumia's Notebooks (called Agios Ioannis): DD2001-00625-273 and 274.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation 1 _____ } Number of spaces [_____]
 Length j Associated buildings _____ }
 Other _____
 Features _____

Chronology

Construction/ | EM IB EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB Yes |
 EM III MM II Yes |

Dating Boyd 1905:185 Vasiliki ware. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56 MM I. Walberg 1983:128 MM IB/IIA. Zois 1968a: 222 MM I (Early polychrome); 1998b: 174 EM I/II - MM I/II.

Material

Ceramic | 4 Bone Ceramic vases 4 Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold | Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers i Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other | Other sherds, fragments of a casella

Burial

Burial Boyd mentioned parts of a casella, probably referring to a lamax. Lamax E Pithos

Others

Agia Photia Ierapetras

Name j Agia Photia Ierapetras j | | ID i 281!
 Nearest village | A. Photia Ierapetra j Type j Rock shelter _____ j Dubious
 Area Ierapetra Excavated E
 Reference | Boyd 1904:21; 1905:183-6. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56. Faure 1964:67 Sta Pharna. Zois | 1968a: 87-9,222; 1998b: 173-4. Betancourt 1984:9; 2000. Haggis 1993:14-5 n. 10. | <http://www.museum.upenn.edu/mellon/goumia/index.html> Goumia's Notebooks (called Agios Ioannis): DD2001-00625-272.

!
 |
 !

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | } Number of spaces | _____ |
 Length r | Associated buildings _____ }
 Other _____
 Features _____

S-hrgnplpfY

Construction/ | EM I? | EMI | P_ | MMIA [__! MM III-LM L Z J Disturbed
 First use date EMM Ses] MM IB
 EM III [p i MM II i j

Dating | Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56 EM II - III. Zois 1968a: 88 EM IIA-B (Koumaza and Vasiliki wares); 1998b: 173 EM I/II - EM III. Betancourt 1984:9 Early White-on-dark (EM IIB). Haggis 1993:14-5 in. 10 FNEM I.

Material

Ceramic 4 | Bone | Ceramic vases 4 Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory | Gold | | Seals i Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments i
 Other | Other Ceramic Sherds

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Agios Antonios

Name Agios Antonios j ID 284
 Nearest village Kavousi Type {Rock shelter 1 Dubious
 Area Mirabaho Excavated B
 Reference Had 1914:183-5. Faure 1964. Betancourt 1983:5-6. Haggis 1993; 2000; 2005:98-9.

Architecture

Width 5 Entrance orientation S Number of spaces | |
 Length 2.2 Associated buildings i
 Other Small natural terrace in front of the rock shelter, 5 x 7 m.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM I EM I Yes MMIA P_ MM III-LM [] Disturbed
 First use date EM ,, £ S] MM IB []
 EM III Yes] MM II I I
 Dating Hall 1914:183 EM II. Betancourt 1983: 5 EM IIA - EM III. Haggis 1993:27-8 EM I - EM III/MM IA.

Material

Ceramic |15 Bone Ceramic vases 12 Figurines
 Stone [51 Copper |6 | Stone vases 12 Tools 3
 Ivory fl n Gold | Seals] Beads 49 j
 Crystal Silver/Lead 3 T Daggers [2 j Amulets |1 -+
 Obsidian 1 L Daggers Ornaments (3
 Other [Other jsherds, shell

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Material was found in the terrace outside the shelter, as well as rest of animal bones, perhaps indicating ritual food consumption. !

Others Small settlement found 400 m SW (Haggis 2005).

Agia Photia_Ierapetras

Name jAgia Photia Ierapetras | III j id j 2831
 Nearest village Agia Photia Ierapetra j Type [Rock shelter -j Dubious
 Area Ierapetra | Excavated B
 Reference (Boyd 1904:21; 1905:183.

Architecture

Width j | Entrance orientation j | Number of spaces f
 Length j | Associated buildings |
 Other |
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown j EM I | | MM IA | | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III | | MM II | |
 Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper 1 | Stone vases Tools |1 j
 Ivory | Gold J Seals | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | | L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other ■ ■ j Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

QMrs

Boyd 1905:183 mentioned a ruined rock shelter where a copper axe was found. This seems to be a third shelter, perhaps the same tomb in which of a stratigraphic context of pottery was found (Boyd 1905:185).

Chrisokamino

Name **Chrisokamino** Kolonospilio ID | 286
 Nearest village Tholos Type jCave Dubious B
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Mosso 1910:289-90. Foster 1978. Betancourt 1983:14 (Pachiamos). Haggis 1992:170-3; 2005:113-4. Becker & Betancourt 1997:109 n. 24. Betancourt et al. 1999:343, 351. Hayden 2004:42.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation Number of spaces [.....]
 Length 52 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [EM I ___] EM I [Yos] MM IA [___] MM III - LM ___ Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB Z j
 EM III Ses] MM II [___]

Dating Mosso 1910: 290 EM II, MM III (EM III?). Betancourt 1983:14 FN/EM I. Haggis 1992:171,173 FN - EM III; 2005:113 N2, EM I - III. Betancourt et al. 1999:343 FN - EM III.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases 4 Figurines
 Stone i Copper Stone vases i Tools |
 Ivory i [___] j Gold | | Seals Beads { } j
 Crystal i [___] j Silver/Lead f [] T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i [___] L Daggers i Ornaments
 Other i [___] Other Slag

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Not clear whether this cave contained human remains.

Others This cave is probably the same named Pachiamos in Betancourt 1983:14.

Agios Nikolaos

Name **Agios Nikolaos** | ID | 285
 Nearest village Agios Nikolaos Type jPithoi / Lamakes Dubious
 Area Mirabello ! Excavated B
 Reference Platon 1951:444. Gallet de Santerre 1952 :242.

Architecture

Width J Entrance orientation Number of spaces I ' ']
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM [EM I [___] MMIA [p I MMIII-LM jP Z Disturbed
 First use date EM II H Z MM IB
 EM III Z D MM II £ Z

Dating jPlaton 1951:444 MM. Platon paralleled the material to the one from Pachiamos. The cup with branch decoration may be dated to MM II - III.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases 1 Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ! Gold | | Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ; | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other lamax and pithos

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos 0

Burial iOne small lamax and one small pithos.

Others

Evraika

Name Evraika i ID I 288
 Nearest village j Pachiamos ! Type Rock shelter Dubious E
 Area Mirabello i Excavated
 Reference Pariente 1991:940. Haggis 1992:216-7; 2005:141.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation ; Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings !
 Other Closed with a wide stone screen.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ I Unknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases i Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others An unexcavated rock shelter was reported. It may constitute a discrete rock shelter tomb or part of the Evraika I rock shelter.

Evraika

Name Evraika i ID j 287
 Nearest village j Pachiamos ! Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello i Excavated E
 Reference Pariente 1991:940. Haggis 1992:216-7; 2005:141.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |2
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Two connected rooms, East room is 1x2.4 m and the west one has been excavated in the rock
 Features and had a built doorway and a screen wall. The western one is entered through a 3.5 m long dromos.

Chronology

Construction/ MM I EMI I MMIA [Yes] MM III-LM [Z j] Disturbed E
 First use date EM II MM IB [Yes]
 EM III I i MM II [Yes]

Dating

Haggis 1992:217, Chamaizi pots (MM I) and carinated cups (MM II); 2005:141 MM I - II.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases [Yes] Figurines
 Stone | I Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory i Gold | j Seals 2 Beads [
 Crystal i Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments i
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax E Pitthos E
 Burial 13 individuals reported, found both inside and outside the pitthoi and lamakes.

Others j Western chamber was heavily disturbed and did not contain any material.

Gournia North Cemetery

Name |Goumla North Cemetery | III | ID | 2921
 Nearest village |Pachiamos | Type Rectangular tomb | Dubious
 Area Mirabello | Excavated £
 Reference Davaras 1974:48-9; 1977: 588 (House Tomb II). Soles 1992b: 28-34. Wilson & Day 1994:17.

Architecture

Width 3 | Entrance orientation E | Number of spaces |4
 Length 6 | Associated buildings |
 Other Built against the rock outcrop.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM II | EM I | MMIA | MMIII-LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM II Yes] MM IB |
 EM III r n | MM II | |
 Dating Soles 1992b: 31 EM IIA. Wilson & Day 1994:17 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic 7 | Bone | Ceramic vases 7 | Figurines
 Stone | Copper 2 | Stone vases | Tools 1 |
 Ivory | Gold | | Seals | | Beads | |
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead [| T Daggers | Amulets [|
 Obsidian [n | L Daggers | Ornaments |
 Other [| Other |

Burial

Burial 16 skulls. | Lamax Pitthos C

Others Soles suggested that EM IIA material from pit in Tomb 1 might come from the clearing of this tomb (Soles 1992b: 31).

Gournia North Cemetery

Name |Goumla North Cemetery | Area outside II | ID | 291;
 Nearest village |Pachiamos | Type (Open area) | Dubious
 Area Mirabello | Excavated Si
 Reference |Boyd 1904:187-8. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56. Soles 1973:37-40; 1979:161-4; 1992b: 3-4,19-20. Fotou 1993:100. Hillborn 2005:123,141.
<http://www.museum.upenn.edu/mellon/gournia/index.html>. DD2001-00625-267 and 268.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings Tomb II
 Other Low staircase outside SE corner that leads to two levelled boulders probably used as a platform/altar. Just S of the platform lies a kemos.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM 1 | EM I | MMIA | S is] MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM n [Z J | MM IB | Yes]
 EM III | | MM II | |
 Dating Soles 1992:23 MM I.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases Yes | Figurines |
 Stone 1 | Copper | Stone vases | Tools Z" |
 Ivory | Gold [| Seals | | Beads | |
 Crystal | Silver/Lead [| T Daggers | Amulets [~ |
 Obsidian | L Daggers | | Ornaments |
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial | Lamax S Pitthos

Others |A conical cup found by the kemos.

Gournia North Cemetery

Name jGoumia North Cemetery !JIT 294
 Nearest village jPachiamos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Boyd 1905:182. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56. Zois 1968a: 53. Wilson 1985:272-3. Soles 1992b: 1,36-8. Fotou 1993:100. <http://www.museum.upenn.edu/metton/goumia/index.html>. DD2001-00625-266.

Width Entrance orientation NE Number of spaces |
 Length 1.5 Associated buildings ;
 Other
 Features

Shm)9 flv

Construction/ EM I [i MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II jY fj MM IB
 EM III [] MM II

Dating Zois 1968a: 53 EM I/IA. Wilson 1985:272-3 EM IA. Soles 1992b: 38 EM IA.

Msteds

Ceramic	ET	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Q	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	Q	Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	Q	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian	Q		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other	I		Other	

Burial

Burial Soles suggested, due to its size, that the shelter only contained one body. Human bones were found in the shelter.

Others Fotou suggested that Rock Shelter V and VI as published by Boyd are both part of the same rock shelter (Fotou 1993:100; contra Soles 1992b: 36-8).

Gournia North Cemetery

Name jGoumia North Cemetery | IV ID 293
 Nearest village jPachiamos j Type j [Rectangular tomb j Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Soles 1992: 34-36.

Architecture

Width approx. 3 Entrance orientation jSE Number of spaces |1
 Length approx. 3.5 Associated buildings
 Other Thick wats.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM I EM I [] MM IA [EZ] MM III-LM i i Disturbed u
 First use date em II j } MM IB [EZ]
 EM III j } MM II []

Dating Soles 1992: 36 MM I.

Material

Ceramic	!	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	T	Copper	Stone vases |	Tools
Ivory		! Goto ' E i	Seals	Beads T
Crystal		Silver/Lead [	T Daggers	Amulets [j
Obsidian	j		L Daggers	[Ornaments]
Other			Other | ....	

Burial

Burial No bones or material recovered from this building. Lamax Pithos

Others

Gournia North Cemetery

Name Gournia North Cemetery |VII ID | 296j
 Nearest village|Pachlamo8 Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Boyd 1904:42. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56; Soles 1979:157; 1992b: 39-40. Fotou 1993:99.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces (2-
 Length 5.7 Associated buildings
 Other Divided by a stand alone wall that created two doorways between both rooms.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I | EM I i_] MMIA P_] MM III - LM Disturbed E
 First use date EM II MM IB jP_i
 EM III m MM II i_]
 Dating Soles 1992b: 40 Suggested MM I.

Material

Ceramic 19 | Bone | Ceramic vases 19 Figurines
 Stone Copper |4 Stone vases ; Tools {3 j
 Ivory _ j Gold j! j Seals ! Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead ' j T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments 2
 Other | Other Fragments of cooking vessels

Burial

Lamax E Pithos
 Burial Fragments of three casella reported by Boyd in the notebooks, probably indicating lamakes.

Others Exact location of the tomb varies between Soles 1992b and Fotou 1993.

Gournia North Cemetery

Name jGoumla North Cemetery y ID j 295
 Nearest village Pachiamos Type jRock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello I Excavated E
 Reference Boyd 1905:182-3. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908: 56. Zois 1968a: 54. Wilson 1985:273. Soles 1992b: ;1,36-8. Fotou 1993:100. Wilson & Day 1994:17.
<http://www.mu8eum.upenn.edu/mellon/goumla/index.html>. DD2001-00625-266.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation |NE | Number of spaces |
 Length 2 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II | EM I [] MMIA [] MM III-LM [] Disturbed
 First use date EM II Ses] MM IB C U
 EM III | ! MM II f i
 Dating Zois 1968a: 54 EM I/IA. Wilson 1985:273 EM II. Soles 1992b: 38 EM IIA. Wilson & Day 1994:17 !
 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic |2 Bone 1 j Ceramic vases 2 Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools i
 Ivory Gold | j Seals Beads { j
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j! ;
 Obsidian i L Daggers Ornaments !
 Other Other T

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial

Others iFotou suggested that Rock Shelter V and VI as published by Boyd are both part of the same rock shelter (Fotou 1993:100; contra Soles 1992b: 36-8).

Gournia Sphoungaras

Name Gournia Sphoungaras | Rock shelter 1 ID 298;
 Nearest village Pachiamos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Boyd 1904:179-81. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56. HaD 1912:43-6. Faure 1964:67. Warren 1965:18. Zois 1968a: 51. Wilson 1985:272. Warren & Hankey 1989:19. Haggis 1993:30-1. Fotou 1993:101. Wilson & Day 1994:17. Betancourt & Davaras 2003:132. Hayden 2004:42 n. 42. <http://www.museum.upenn.edu/mellon/gournia/index.html>. DD2001-00625-264 and 265.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation \ Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM I | EM I SesJ MM IA j MM III - LM [H i Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB Z j
 EM III **ZU** MM II [Z]
 Dating Warren 1965:18 EM I. Zois 1968a: 51 EM I/IIA. Wilson 1985:272 EM IA - IIA. Warren & Hankey 1989:19 EM II. Haggis 1993:30-1 EM I-. Wilson & Day 1994:17 EM IIA. Betancourt & Davaras 2003:132 FNEM I. Hayden 2004:42 n. 42 EM I - IIA.

Material

Ceramic 10 Bone Ceramic vases 10 Figurines
 Stone j Copper Stone vases Tools j j
 Ivory [j Gold | j Seals ; Beads j
 Crystal Silver/Lead j T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers j I Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos U

Qlhm

Gournia North Cemetery

Name JGournia North Cemetery | VIII _____ j ID j 297
 Nearest viEage Pachiamos | Type Rectangular tomb] Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference IBoyd 1905:42. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:46; Soles 1979:157; 1992b: 39-40. Fotou 1993:99.

Architecture

Width Z Z Z IZ IH Entrance orientation j | Number of spaces [
 Length j j Associated buildings [
 Other |
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM I EM I Z D MMIA [P Z MMIII-LM Disturbed B
 First use date EM II **ZH** MM IB [P Z]
 EM III Z U MM II i i
 Dating Soles 1992b: 40 Suggested MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases Tools [
 Ivory J Gold j_ j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Fragments of two casellas reported, probably lamakes. Lamax #6 Pithos

Others Exact location of the tomb varies between Soles 1992b and Fotou 1993.

Gournia Sphoungaras

Name Gournia Sphoungaras I Rock shelter IV ID j 300;
 Nearest village Pachiamos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area MirabeDo Excavated £
 Reference Boyd 1905:182. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56. Hall 1912:43. Fotou 1993:101.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other The material was described by Boyd Hawes et al. in 1908:56 as coming from the open hillside,
 Features not from a rock shelter.

Chronology

Construction/ JMM I EMI MM IA IP_ MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB IE
 EM III MM II E

Dating Boyd 1905:182 Kamares style. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56 Lamax of early type (EM III/MM I?), white on dark carinated cup (MM IB - II?).

Material

Ceramic |T Bone Ceramic vases |2 Figurines !
 Stone E Copper Stone vases E Tools [
 Ivory E Gold Seals E Beads [
 Crystal E Silver/Lead T Daggers E Amulets f
 Obsidian E L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other I Other !

Burial

Burial Pieces of a casella reported, probably referring to a lamax. Lamax Sc Pithos

Others

Gournia Sphoungaras

Name JGournia Sphoungaras Rock shelter II 2991
 Nearest village Pachiamos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area iMirabeHo Excavated |y
 Reference |Boyd 1905:179-81. Boyd Hawes et al. 1908:56 n. 2. Hall 1912:43. Faure 1964:67. Zois 1968a: 53; 1998b: 154. Fotou 1993:101. Betancourt & Davaras 2003:132. <http://www.museum.upenn.edu/mellon/gournia/index.html>. DD2001-00625-265.

Architecture

Width [_____] Entrance orientation [] Number of spaces [
 Length _____ j Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

gfaSfiilIPfY

Construction/ JEM I? | EMI Yes i MM IA IP | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM II E D MM IB E D
 _____ EM III | | MM II | | _____

Dating Zois 1968a: 53 EM I/IIA and early Vapheo type cup; 1998b: 154 Perhaps MM. Betancourt & Davaras 2003:132 FN/EM i.

Material

Ceramic 2 Bone | Ceramic vases 2 Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases [Tools |]
 Ivory ! Gold | j Seals Beads j
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian ! L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [Other (

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Gournia Sphoungaras

Name Gournia Sphoungaras Deposit B ID | 302
 Nearest village Pachiamos Type |Open area Dubious B
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Hall 1912:46-8, 53-5. Betancourt 1983:47-8,51. Walberg 1963:124. Karantzali 1996:51. For the Neolithic deposit: Betancourt 1983:44-6.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Features

ShrpnplQfv

Construction/ EM I | MM IA Yes MM III - LM Yes~ Disturbed L
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes] |
 EM III [p] | MM II Yes
 Dating Walberg 1983:124 EM III/MM IA and MM II - III. Betancourt 1983:47-8, 51 EM IIB • MM I. Karantzali 1996:51 EM IIA-.

Material

Ceramic 12 Bone Ceramic vases 8 Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases 3 Tools [4
 Ivory | Gold | Seals Beads !
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other ceramic polishers

Burial

Lamax Pithos []

Others A Late Neolithic deposit was found underneath this deposit

Gournia Sphoungaras

Name Gournia Sphoungaras |Deposit A j ID j 301
 Nearest village Pachiamos |Type Unknown j Dubious
 Area Mirabello j Excavated B
 Reference IHal 1912:46-53. Zois 1968a: 173-5. Platon 1969a: no 469-70. Andreou 1978:62. Betancourt 1983:46-8; 1984:17. Walberg 1983:124. Karantzali 1996:51.

Arphitecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces [|
 Length | Associated buildings [|
 Other Features Part of a wall was discovered in this deposit. Hall suggested that they may have existed originally cist burials here.

Chronology

Construction/ EM IIB EM I MM IA | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM II p MM IB
 EM III [Yes] MM II |
 Dating Zois 1966a: 173-5 EM III. Andreou 1978: 62 EM III. Betancourt 1983:46-8: EM IIB; 1984:17 EM 1 III. Walberg 1983:124 EM III. Karantzali 1996: 51 EM I/IIA - EM III.

Material

Ceramic 37 min. Bone Ceramic vases 37 min. Figurines 1
 Stone 3 Copper 1 Stone vases 1 Tools 1
 Ivory 1 j Gold [6 j Seals 2 Beads 1
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets 2
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments 13
 Other | Other Triton Shell

Burial

Lamax B Pithos

Burial Fragments of bones and lamakes were found in this deposit.

O tits a

Gournia Sphoungaras

Name Gournia Sphoungaras j Pithos cemetery 304)
 Nearest village Pachiamos Type Pithos cemetery Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Hall 1911; 1912: 58-72. Walberg 1983:125. Petit 1990:55.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings)
 Other ;
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ MM I E M I I n MM IA ^esj MM III - LM IYes Disturbed |_
 First use date EM II ; MM IB [YesJ
 EM III I I MM II I]
 Dating Hall 1912:63-4 MM I, but mainly MM III - LM I Walberg 1983:125 MM III.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Copper Stone vases j ! Tools ;
 Ivory | Gold | Seals Beads j
 Crystal j' Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial 150 pithoi and one lamax. All pithoi placed upside-down Lamax 0 Pithos 0

Others

Gonrnia Sphoungaras

Name Gournia Sphoungaras j MM I Deposit _____ ID j 303
 Nearest village pachiamos j Type jOpen area j Dubious
 Area jMirabello j Excavated 0
 Reference Hal 1912:56-8. Betancourt 1983:49. Walberg 1983:125.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | j Number of spaces [
 Length I j Associated buildings {
 Other It is unclear the exact nature of this deposit.
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ EM III | EM I MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Z J MM IB £es]
 EM III SfLJ MM II IYesI
 Dating jWalberg 1983: 125 EM III/MM IA • MM III.

Material

Ceramic 28 Bone Ceramic vases j28 Figurines
 Stone 2 Copper Stone vases 2 Tools j
 Ivory ; Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial jHall reported pithoi from this deposit. Lamax Pithos 0

Others

Kalo Horio

Name Kalo Horio H(B) ID 306
 Nearest village Kalo Horio Type Rectangular tomb Dubious LJ
 Area Mirabello Excavated E
 Reference Haggis et al. 1993. Haggis 1996b.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces []
 Length approx. 2.5 Associated buildings
 Other Features Badly preserved, it seems to be a rectangular tomb, the wall remains could though represent a terraced field (Haggis 1996b: 651 n. 17).

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM III/MM IA [] MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM [] Disturbed
 First use date EM II [] MM IB [Yes] EM III IP [] MM II [Yes]

Dating Haggis 1996b: 651-5 EM III/MM IA MM II.

Material

Ceramic {Yes Bone Ceramic vases Figurines []
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools []
 Ivory [] Gold [] Seals Beads []
 Crystal [] Silver/Lead [] T Daggers Amulets []
 Obsidian f [] L Daggers Ornaments []
 Other [] Other pithos

Burial

Burial One pithos burial. Lamax Pithos E

Others

Kalo Horio

Name Kalo Horio 1(A) ID 305
 Nearest village Kalo Horio Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated E
 Reference Haggis et al. 1993. Haggis 1996B.

Architecture

Width approx. 3 Entrance orientation Number of spaces []
 Length approx. 5 g Associated buildings
 Other Features Badly preserved, it seems to be a rectangular tomb, the wall remains could though represent a terraced field (Haggis 1996b: 651 n. 17).

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM III/MM IA [] MM IA {Yes} MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [] MM IB {fife s} EM III IP [] MM II {Yes}

Dating Haggis 1996b: 653-5 EM III/MM IA MM II.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases 30 Figurines []
 Stone Copper Stone vases [] Tools []
 Ivory Gold { Seals Beads []
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets Q
 Obsidian g L Daggers f [] Ornaments []
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Five lamax burials. Two of them with the secondary position of one individual each. Lamax E Pithos

Others

Linares

Name **Linares** 308
 Nearest village [Linares Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated
 Reference Davaras 1972b: 45-6; 1973b: 81-2; 1977a: 651; 1985. Soles 1973:161-5; 1992b: 158-60. Pini 1975: no 21. Sbonias 1995: 74.

Architecture

Width 2.7 Entrance orientation SE? Number of spaces 2
 Length 5.5 Associated buildings
 Other Constructed against a rock outcropping. Entrance may have been done from above (Davaras 1972b: 46) or from SE corner (Soles 1992b: 159).
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date EMI MM IA fresl MM III - LM Disturbed S?
 EMI II MM IB
 EMI III MM II

Dating Davaras 1973b: 82 EM II; 1977a: 651 EM. Soles 1973:165 EM III - MM IA; 1992b: EM II? Sbonias 1995: 74 EM IMII for seal.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines j j
 Stone ~] Copper [] Stone vases [1 __1 Tools r
 Ivory Gold j [Seals 1 Beads [Amulets [
 Crystal 1 Silver/Lead [; T Daggers
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other 1 Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial 'Lots of tens of burials' (Davaras 1972b: 45).

Others

Klisidi

Name [Klisdid _____] ID ; 307
 Nearest village Metaxochori [Type [Cave] Dubious
 Area lerapetra _____ Excavated
 Reference jFaure 1956:100; 1964:48-9,60. Younger 1976:166. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:46-8. i

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation jSW | Number of spaces |T
 Length [approx. 25 [Associated buildings]
 Other [Cave with three chambers.
 Features ,

Chronology

Construction/ First use date EMI H H MM IA [i MM III - LM Disturbed B
 EMI II [Yes] MM IB
 EMI III i i MM II **S**

Dating Faure 1964: 60 Neolithic, LM III and posterior. Younger 1976: EM IIB but possibly earlier EM. Most of material EM.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone j Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold [Seals Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian _____ L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial iOssuary, at least remains of 20 skeletons, all probably EM (Younger 1976). Faure reported [skeletal remains of infants.

Others

Mirtos Pargos

Name Mirtos Pargos ID 310
 Nearest village Mirtos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area lerapetra Excavated
 Reference Catling 1972:24-5; 1974: 37-8. Soles 1973:218-20; 1992b: 176-9. Davis 1977. Cadogan 1978: 70-4; 1980. Hankey 1980; 1986.

Architecture

Width approx. 5 j Entrance orientation jNE Number of spaces |4 |
 Length approx. 7 Associated buildings
 Other Central room has a central pillar, probably supporting a second floor. One room considered the
 Features main tomb, the other two ossuaries. Second floor considered a cult area.

Chronology

Construction/ EM I MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM [Yes] Disturbed G
 First use date EM H MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [P j MM II [Yes]

Dating Cadogan 1980: 58 EM III/MM IA - LM IB.

Material

Ceramic [Yes] Bone Ceramic vases {Yes} Figurines
 Stone [29] Copper Stone vases [29] Tools j
 Ivory [Gold [| Seals Beads [|
 Crystal [Silver/Lead (| T Daggers Amulets [|
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments T
 Other f i Other

Burial

Burial 65 individuals estimated, all of them male. Lamax Pithos G

others Material and interments inside the tomb date mostly to MM II - LM IB. Settlement right next to the tomb.

Mirsini

Name [Mtraln] [Galana Charakla ID 309
 Nearest village Mirsini | Type jTholos i Dubious
 Area jMirabello | Excavated
 Reference iPlaton 1959: 373-4; Daux 1960:821. Hood 1960a. Warren 1969:195 n. 2. Pelon 1976:31-2. Belli j 11984: Pl. XXXII. Petit 1990: 54. Branigan 1993:148.

Architecture

Diameter |4.5 | Entrance orientation jNE } Doorway type [Trilithon
 Wall thickness 11.2 | Annex j No Vestibule | No Vaulted |Perhaps
 Other Platon suggested that had a stone dome due to the large amount of stones found inside the tomb
 Features and the corbelling of the walls.

Chronology

Construction/ EM I d j MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM |Z D Disturbed
 First use date EM II [EH MM IB S is]
 em iii S ii] mm ii [* |

Dating iPlaton 1959:374 Last Prepalatial phases. Warren 1969:195 n. 2 EM II - MM IB. Branigan 1993: {149 EM III - MM IA.


Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | Ceramic vases {Yes} Figurines
 Stone {Yes} Copper {Yes} { Stone vases [Yes] Tools [Yes] {
 Ivory | j G W [| Seals [| Beads [[|
 Crystal ! Silver/Lead { T Daggers : Amulets
 Obsidian Yes L Daggers { Ornaments Yes
 Other j Other j

Burial

Burial {Reported at least 25 Lamakes and pithoi. Interments also made in the ground; more than 60 bodies were estimated. Lamax E Pithos E

Mochlos

Name Mochlos  ID 312
 Nearest village Mochlos Type JRectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 53
 Reference Seager 1912:17-40. Zois 1968a: 81-6. Platon 1969a: no 472-3,478. Soles 1973:58-68; 1992b: 43-51. Pini 1975: no 25. Platon et al. 1977: no 249. Pini 1982. Aruz 1984. Davaras & Papadakis 1984:376-8. Wilson 1985:273-4. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990: 259-60,262-3. Phillips 1991:680-2. Branigan 1991b. Sbonias 1995:87. Karantzali 1996:48. Davaras & Soles 1997: 57. Watrous 2005.

Architecture

Width 4.5 Entrance orientation S Number of spaces |T
 Length 18 Associated buildings j
 Other Room III was a later addition.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM IIA EMI [Z] MMIA Ses] MM III • LM jYes] Disturbed E
 First use date EM II jYes] MM IB jYes]
 EM III jYes] MM II i |
 Dating Seager 1912:23-4,37 EM II - III and MM III. Zois 1968a: 81-6 EM IIA -. Soles 1973:68; 1992b: 49 EM IIA - MM I and MM III. Wilson 1985:273 EM II. Sbonias 1995: 87 EM III/MM IA. Karantzali 1996:48 EM II - III and MM in Room III. Watrous 2005:110-2 -MM I.

Material

Ceramic	j8	Bone	|	J	Ceramic vases	j6	j	Figurines	|	i
Stone	31	Copper	|14	J	Stone vases	29	!	Tools	!»	!
Ivory	B		j103	J	Seals	|5	j	Beads	jYes	1
Crystal	1	Silver/Lead	6	J ;	T Daggers	4		Amulets	jYes	i
Obsidian	(Yes	|			L Daggers		☞	☞	[108	j
Other	i				Other	shell				

Burial

Burial 30 skulls found in Room I; bones found in Room II but not in Room III
 Lamax Pithos

Others

Mirtos Pargos

Name Mirtos Pargos (Pavement outside tomb j ID j 311
 Nearest village Mirtos Type Open area Dubious
 Area lerapetra Excavated gj
 Reference Catling 1972: 24-5; 1974:37-8. Soles 1973:218-20; 1992b: 176-9. Davis 1977. Cadogan 1978: 70-4; 1980. Hankey 1980; 1986.

Architecture

Width 4 j Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces |
 Length |4 Associated buildings
 Other {Paved road from the settlement leading to the tomb and an open court. One of the stones of the
 Features pavement is a kermos. Dimensions given only for the court.

Chronology

Construction/ EM III EMI ___j MMIA (Yes] MM III-LM jYes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB jYes]
 EM III P j MM II d |
 Dating iCadogan 1978:71-3 EM II/MM IA MM IB.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	j Gold j	Seals [	| Beads j'
Crystal	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other		j Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax j Pithos

Others Paved area covered in MM IB.

Mochlos

Name Mochlos j Pavement outside IV/VI j id j 314
 Nearest village [Mochlos] j Type [Open area] | Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Seager 1912:40. Soles 1973: 77-80; 1992b: 56-7,62. Davaras 1974; 1975.

ATChte9tIW

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [3]
 Length Associated buildings [Tomb IV/VI]
 Other Paved area and a raised paved terrace with a platform/altar on it. There may have existed steps
 Features approaching this pavement from the area S of it. Different colour stone slabs used in the construction of the pavement.

Chronology

Construction/ [EM II?] EMI MMIA [Yes] MM III - LM I i Disturbed
 First use date EM II EJ MM IB [Yes I]
 EM III IO MM II
 Dating Seager 1912:40 Reported EM I underneath the pavement and gold scraps. The pavement may have been constructed in EM II.

Maisdal

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines [L]
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools Q
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads H
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets [III]
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments T
 Other Other jshell
 Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial

Other! Stone vase fragments were found on top of the platform/altar. 6 gold pieces, 3 stone ones and a bronze one reported by Davaras in 1975 coming from Seager's soil heap in this area, and have been included in Tomb's IV/VI material.

Mochlos

Name Mochlos | IV/VI j ID j 313
 Nearest village [Mochlos] Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Seager 1912:40-56. Platon 1948: 589. Zois 1968a: 86-7,149,160; 1973:101-4. Platon 1969a: no 471. Davaras 1973a; 1974; 1975. Soles 1973:68-86; 1992b: 51-62. Pini 1975: no 24,26. Davis 1977:67-8. Walberg 1983:129. Betancourt 1984:17. Wilson 1985:246, 273-4. Lambrou-Phillipson 1990; 261-4. Phillips 1991:683-6. Branigan 1991. Sbonias 1995:85. Karantzali 1996: 48-9. Watrous 2005.

Width 5.5 j Entrance orientation [W] Number of spaces [3]
 Length 8 i Associated buildings [Pavement outside tomb]
 Other WabEs lined with upright slabs. Room V was a later addition. FN/EM I deposit underneath Room V.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM IIA] [EMI MMIA E d MM III - LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM fl Yes~ MM IB d J
 EM III Yes! MM II I j
 Dating Seager 1912:40: EM I, EM II - MM III. Zois 1968a: 86-7,149,160 EM IIA, EM III; 1973:104 FN - j EM III. Soles 1973: 84-6; 1992b: 57-9 EM IIA - III and MM III. Walberg 1983:128 Late EM III. Betancourt 1984:17 EM III. Wilson 1985:246 Deposit underneath tomb FNEM I, 273-4 EM II. Sbonias 1995: 85 EM III - MM IA. Karantzali 1996:48 EM IIA-. Watrous 2005:112 -MM I and MM

Material

Ceramic 17 Bone | Ceramic vases 17 Figurines
 Stone [29 Copper 6 Stone vases 28 Tools [4
 Ivory <Gold [86 | Seals 1 [Beads [Yes j
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [5 j T Daggers 1 Amulets Yes
 Obsidian L Daggers [Ornaments [65
 Other Other [shell
 Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Human remains found in all three rooms.

Mochlos

Name Mochlos VIII ID j 316
 Nearest village [Mochlos] I Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated E
 Reference Seager 1912: 57. Soles 1992b: 100,104. Karantzali 1996:49.

Architecture

Width 2 Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces | 1
 Length 3 [Associated buildings |
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM II EM I | MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB
 EM III [Yes] MM II
 Dating Seager 1912: 57 EM II - III. Soles 1992b: 104 EM II (late?) - III.

Mifeds

Ceramic	W	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	if	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory	|	Gold	Seals	Beads
Crystal	D	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian	[]		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other	D		Other	

Burial

Burial f~ Lamax Pithos

Mochlos

Name Mochlos jVII j © [315
 Nearest village jMochlos j Type [Rectangular tomb] 1 Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated H
 Reference Seager 1912:56-7. Soles 1992b: 98-9,104. Karantzali 1996:49. I

Architecture

Width j2 Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces |1
 Length j3 Associated buildings
 Other Walled rock shelter.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM If | EM I [] MM IA [P_] MM III - LM j [] Disturbed u
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB E D
 EM III [Yes] MM II | |
 Dating [Seager 1912:56 EM III/MM I. Soles 1992b: 104 EM II EM III/MM I.

Material

Ceramic		Bone	[	Ceramic vases	|	Figurines
Stone	3	Copper	1	Stone vases	[2]	Tools []
Ivory	|	Gold		Seals		Beads 1
Crystal		Silver/Lead	[	T Daggers		[Amulets
Obsidian	j		|	L Daggers	|	Ornaments | ]
Other			[	Other		copper bowl

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Q M S

Mochlos

Name Mochlos ID [318
 Nearest village Mochlos Type ;Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated £
 Reference Seager 1912:57-8. Platon et al. 1977: no 250-1. Phillips 1991:686-7. Soles 1992b: 79-84.
 Sbonias 1995:99 n. 142.

Architecture

Width 2.5 Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces [1
 Length 2 Associated buildings jX
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM II EM I i MMIA iYesj MM III - LM iYes! Disturbed
 First use date EM II SesJ MM IB [Yes]
 EM III SesI MM II i j
 Dating Seager 1912:58 EM II - MM I, MM III. Soles 1992b: 82 EM II - MM III. Sbonias 1995:99 n. 142
 EM III/MM IA.

Material

Ceramic i j Bone] Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone 5 Copper | Stone vases [1 ; Tools |
 Ivory [[Gold [| Seals 4 J Beads [|
 Crystal [] Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [" | L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other [; Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos j IX ID [317
 Nearest village Mochlos Type {Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated £
 Reference Seager 1912:57. Soles 1992b: 79-84.

Architecture

Width 2.5 Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces [1
 Length 5 Associated buildings jX
 Other L shaped room
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM II j EM I i MMIA SoT] MM III-LM SoT] Disturbed
 First use date EM II Yesj MM IB SoT]
 EM III SeTl MM II i i
 Dating iSeager 1912:57 MM I and MM III. Soles 1992b: 82 EM II - MM III

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone 3 j Copper | Stone vases 3 Tools
 Ivory | ! Gold [1 | Seals j ! Beads j
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian SoT L Daggers Ornaments [1]
 Other | ; Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XII ID I 320;
 Nearest village (Mochlos) Type (Rectangular tomb) Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated E
 Reference Seager 1912:61-3. Zois 1968a: 161. Davis 1977:68. Walberg 1983:129. Karantzali 1996:49.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [T
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Seager defined the tomb as a 'cist grave' but reported a doorway (Seager 1912:41-2,61) so it is probably a rectangular tomb.
 Features

CtF9H9I9fIV

Construction/ EM I IZ J MM IA] MM III - LM I j Disturbed
 First use date EM II d j MM IB
 EM III Yes~ MM II
 Dating Seager 1912: 61 EM - MM III. Zois 1968a: 161 EM III.

Material

Ceramic [3- Bone Ceramic vases Figurines [L
 Stone (F[Copper Stone vases Tools d
 Ivory d Gold Beads d
 Crystal I Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets T
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments 2 I
 Other ! [Other Two copper vases

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos G

Other*

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XI ID j 319
 Nearest village Mochlos Type (Rectangular tomb) Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated E
 Reference Seager 1912: 58-61. Zois 1968a: 214. Andreou 1978:80-1. Walberg 1983:129. Miller 1984:36. Soles 1992b: 94-7. Karantzali 1996:49.

Architecture

Width [3 Entrance orientation j [Number of spaces [T
 Length [4 j Associated buildings j
 Other [Paved floor in the east side of the room.
 Features |

Chronology_____

Construction/ EM II i EM I I] MM IA [Yes I MM III - LM I ! Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB d j
 EM III [Yes] MM II E d
 Dating [Seager 1912:59 EM II - MM I. Zois 1968a: 214 MM I. Andreou 1978:80-1 EM II • MM I. Walberg [1983:129 EM II and EM III/MM IA. Soles 1992b: 96 EM II • MM IA.

Material

Ceramic Bone [L Ceramic vases [8 Figurines [T
 Stone 19 Copper T Stone vases 18 Tools d
 Ivory Gid [r Seals Beads [L
 Crystal Silver/Lead E T Daggers Amulets [L
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments !
 Other Other stone weight

Burial

Burial Lamax Pitthos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XIV 10 I 322
 Nearest village [Mochlos] Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated S
 Reference Seager 1912:65.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation i | Number of spaces [
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown) MMIA MM I + LM Disturbed
 First use date EM III MM IB MM II
 Unknown.

Material

Ceramic [	Bone !	Ceramic vases	Figurines [
Stone f	Copper [	Stone vases	Tools]
Ivory P	Gold [	Seals	Beads L
Crystal	Silver/Lead [	T Daggers	Amulets H
Obsidian L		L Daggers	Ornaments (F-
Other		Other	

Burial

Burial f Lamax Pithos

Sibsa

Mochlos

Name (Mochloe) j XIII j ID 321
 Nearest village; Mochtos J Type (Rectangular tomb) Dubious
 Area Mirabello | Excavated E
 Reference iSeager 1912:63-5. Warren 1977:138-9. Walberg 1983:129-30. Miller 1984: 35-6. Soles 1992b: 87-8, 91-2.

Architecture

Width 3 (Entrance orientation j | Number of spaces [1
 Length 4 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM II) EM 1 1 MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM I I Disturbed
 First use date EM II (Yes) MM IB
 EM III (Yes) MM II i I
 Dating iSeager 1912: EM II - MM I. Walberg 1983:129-30 EM II + EM III/MM I. Soles 1992b: 91 EM II - MM IA.

Material

Ceramic 10	Bone |	Ceramic vases [9	Figurines j] |
Stone 3	Copper 2	Stone vases (3	Tools 1 |
Ivory	(Gold ( |	Seals (	( Beads {
Crystal	Silver/Lead (]	T Daggers	Amulets :
Obsidian |	|	L Daggers	Ornaments []
Other |	|	Other	

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XVI ID | 324
 Nearest village | Mochlos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated
 Reference Seager 1912: 66-8. Zois 1968a: 87,164. Platon et al. 1977: no 253. Walberg 1983:130. Soles 1992b: 89-3. Wilson & Day 1994:18. Karantzali 1996:49.

Architecture

Width 3 | Entrance orientation W | Number of spaces | 1
 Length 4.5 Associated buildings XV, XVII
 Other Narrow spur wall at E side of tomb.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II EMI MMIA Yes i MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II 3

Dating Seager 1912: EM II, MM I. Zois 1968a: 87,164 EM II - EM III/MM I. Walberg 1983:130 EM II - EM I III. Soles 1992b: 91 EM II - MM IA. Wilson & Day 1994:18 EM IIA.

Material

Ceramic	jT	Bone	[	Ceramic vases	4	Figurines	
Stone	[T	Copper	r	Stone vases	(8	Tools	
Ivory	Q	Gold	[T	Seals	jT	Beads	
Crystal	Q	Silver/Lead	j	T Daggers	L	Amulets	
Obsidian				L Daggers	T	Ornaments	
Other	Q			Other			

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos]XV ID j 323
 Nearest village Mochlos Type]Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello i Excavated S3
 Reference |Seager 1912:65-6. Soles 1973:90-1; 1992b: 88-93. Platon et al. 1977: no 252. Karantzali 1996: 49.

Architecture

Width 1.7 | Entrance orientation |W | Number of spaces [1_ 1
 Length 2.5 | Associated buildings |XVI, XVII |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II | EMI |___| MMIA jYesJ MM III-LM [VosJ Disturbed S3
 First use date EM II jYes| MM IB r m
 EM III jYes| MM II | |

Dating Seager 1912:65-6 EM II/III, MM III/LM I. Soles 1973:91; 1992b: 92 EM II - MMIA, MM III.

Material

Ceramic	j2	Bone	|	Ceramic vases	2	Figurines	j |
Stone		Copper	!	Stone vases	[7 -j	Tools	| |
Ivory	___	Gold	j	Seals	R	Beads	il |
Crystal		Silver/Lead	!	T Daggers		Amulets	| |
Obsidian				L Daggers		Ornaments	j |
Other				Other			| |

Burial

Burial Lamax j Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XVIII ID 326
 Nearest village Mochlos I Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Seager 1912:69-70. Platon 1969a: no 477. Soles 1992b: 105-6.

Architecture

Width 0.6 Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces 1
 Length 0.6 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM II EM I MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [>te] MM IB
 EM III [Yes] MM II
 Dating Seager 1912:69 EM II • III. Soles 1992b: 106 EM II -

Material

Ceramic 7 Bone Ceramic vases 7 Figurines
 Stone 1 Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [J Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other L Other

Burial

Burial Room for only one burial. Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XVII id 325
 Nearest village Mochlos Type (Rectangular tomb) Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 6S
 Reference Seager 1912:68-9. Soles 1973:87-91; 1992b: 90-4. Karantzali 1996:49.

Architecture

Width 2 Entrance orientation W Number of spaces 1
 Length 3.2 Associated buildings XV, XVI
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM II EM I MM IA Yes I MM lit - LM 1 Disturbed Hi
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB 1 1
 EM III [Yes] MM II 1
 Dating Seager 1912: 68-9 EM II/III. Soles 1973:91; 1992b: 92 EM II - MM IA

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases 1 Figurines
 Stone 3 Copper Stone vases 3 Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XX/XXI j ID j 328
 Nearest village j Mochlos Type [Rectangular tomb j Dubious
 Area Mirabello | Excavated H
 Reference Seager 1912:74-8. Zois 1968a: 164-5. Soles 1973:103-9,113.1992b: 73-7,82. Wilson 1985: 274. Lambrou-Phillipson 1991:260. Karantzali 1996:50. Watrous 2005.

Architecture

Width 4.3 Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces |2 |
 Length 3.3 Associated buildings XXII
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM II MMIA IP MM III - LM Disturbed Si
 First use date MM B

Dating Seager 1912:74 Room XX is MM I, MM III, 76 Room XXI EM II - III. Zois 1968a: 164-5 Room XXI EM III. Soles 1973:113; 1992b: 82 XX/XXI EM II - III, MM III (Only in Room XXI). Wilson 1985: 274 Room XX EM II. Watrous 2005:113 Room XXI -MM I.

Material

Ceramic |9 | Bone j Ceramic vases is j Figurines
 Stone |9 Copper |8 | Stone vases 12 ___ | Tools |7 j
 Ivory | [Gold |51 j Seals ! j Beads |51
 Crystal | Silver/Lead 1 T Daggers 2 Amulets | j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments 9
 Other Other Sword pommel

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial Large amount of bones reported by Seager. Many objects found in a crevice in the rock in Room XXI.

2\$hsa

Mochlos

Name j Mochlos | XIX j ID j 327;
 Nearest vi Hage j Mochlos j Type j Rectangular tomb j Dubious
 Area Mirabello | Excavated 53
 Reference Seager 1912:70-4. Soles 1973: 92-3,101; 1992b: 64-5, 71. Pini 1981:422 n. 4. Wilson 1985: 274. Karantzali 1996:49. Watrous 2005.

Architecture

Width 3 Entrance orientation SW j Number of spaces |2
 Length 4.5 Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM II I EMI MMIA E H MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB H H I
 EM III [Veal MMH n

Dating Seager 1912: 70 EM II - III. Soles 1973:101; 1992b: 71 EM II - III. Wilson 1985:274 EM II. Watrous 2005:112-3-MM I.

Material

Ceramic % Bone Ceramic vases 4 Figurines
 Stone |6 Copper |11 | Stone vases |6_] Tools |9]
 Ivory Gold |20 j Seals Beads j Yes
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers 1 Amulets j j
 Obsidian j L Daggers 1 Ornaments >19
 Other j Other |

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Burial

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XXIII ID 330
 Nearest village [Mochlos] Type [Rectangular tomb] Dubious
 Area iMirabello Excavated
 Reference Seager 1912: 79-80. Soles 1973:93-6; 1992b: 65-8. Karantzali 1996:50.

Architecture

Width 2.5 ! Entrance orientation |SW Number of spaces |1
 Length 4 | Associated buildings (A, B)
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ |EM II EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Seager 1912: 79 EM II-III.

Material

Ceramic Bone |____ Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [3] Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Q Gold [100T Seals Beads 100
 Crystal Q Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets [1
 Obsidian Q | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Q Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos XXII [ID | 329
 Nearest village[Mochlos] Type [Rectangular tomb] j Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 63
 Reference Seager 1912:78-9. Soles 1973:109-10,113-5; 1992b: 76-7,82-6.

Architecture

Width |2 Entrance orientation SW Number of spaces |1
 Length 2.7 Associated buildings [XX/XXI]
 Other
 Features

Chronolpfly

Construction/ |EM II j EMI |____ MMIA [Yes] MM III-LM [Yes] Disturbed B
 First use date EM II [Ses] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Yes] MM II m
 Dating Seager 1912:78 LM I. Soles 1973:113-5; 1992b: 82 EM II/III, MM I, MM III.

Material

Ceramic |2 j Bone [| Ceramic vases 2 Figurines
 Stone |3 j Copper [2 | Stone vases | | Tools |1
 Ivory | Gold [14 [Seals [2] Beads 12
 Crystal fas Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments [3
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others !

Mochlos

Name Mochlos ID 332
 Nearest village [Mochlos] Type [Rectangular tomb] Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Soles 1992b: 69-71.

Architecture

Width 2.7 Entrance orientation [SW] Number of spaces [1]
 Length 3.5 [Associated buildings [XXIII, A.]
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown] EM I [] J MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III [] MM II

Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos ID 331
 Nearest village [Mochlos] Type [Rectangular tomb] Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference [Soles 1992b: 69, 71.]

Architecture

Width [4] Entrance orientation Number of spaces [1]
 Length [2.2] Associated buildings [XXIII, B]
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown] EM I MM IA 1 1 MM III - LM [] Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB []
 EM III [] MM II []

Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone 2 1 Copper [~] Stone vases [~] Tools [2]
 Ivory [] Gold [~] Seals [] Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead [] T Daggers Amulets []
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments []
 Other [] Other saddle quern and rubber.

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name [Mochloa] j A _____ | id j 334
 Nearest village j Mochlos Type Rectangular tomb j Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated £
 Reference Soles 1992b: 100-3.

Architecture

Width 4.1 Entrance orientation NW Number of spaces (2
 Length 4.2 Associated buildings E
 Other North room paved.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ (Unknown) EM I L J MMIA :_ MM III - LM I j Disturbed
 First use date EM II [j^ j MM IB L I J
 EM III I ! MM II I I

Dating Unknown.

Materials

Ceramic [	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone [n	Copper I	Stone vases	Tools r
Ivory r	(Gold [	Seals	Beads j
Crystal (	| Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets !
Obsidian		L Daggers	Ornaments !
Other [		Other |	

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name (Mochlos .7....) r ID (333
 Nearest village j Mochlos Type j Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello j Excavated B
 Reference Soles 1992b: 77,83-4.

Architecture

Width A J Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |1
 Length j22 Associated buildings
 Other j~
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM I I EM I I I MM IA N ω Disturbed
 First use date EM II I ! MM IB jYes I
 EM III [MM II

Dating [Soles 1992b: 83 MM I.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases 1	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	Tools 1
Ivory j	Gold [	Seals	Beads
Crystal	Silver/Lead	T Daggers	Amulets
Obsidian i		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other !		Other |	

Burial

Burial Fragments of a pithos were found, possibly a pithos burial. Lamax Pithos B

Others

Mochlos

Name [Mochlos] | jZ | 336
 Nearest village|Mochb8] Type [Rock shelter | Dubious G
 Area Mirabello Excavated &
 Reference Soles 1992b: 106-6.

Architecture

Width [2 Entrance orientation |SW Number of spaces
 Length [3 Associated buildings J
 Other I
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown MMIA MM MM Disturbed
 First use date MM IB MM II
 Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Q Bone Ceramic vases Figurines _
 Stone [T Copper Stone vases Tools |
 Ivory r Gold Seals Beads f
 Crystal Q Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian Q L Daggers Ornaments f
 Other [~ Other pivot stone
 Burial
 Burial Lamax □ Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos IN ID 335
 Nearest villageMochlos I Type Rectangular tomb Dubious □
 Area Mirabetto I Excavated SE
 Reference Soles 1992b: 103-4.

Architecture

Width 1.3 J Entrance orientation Number of spaces |1
 Length 2.5 Associated buildings [A
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EMI [MMIA □ MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB □
 EM III | i MM II | |
 Dating jUnknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone | j Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold | Seals ; Beads [i
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other ! [Other [~
 Burial
 Burial Lamax Pithos

Mochlos

Name Mochlos i@ i ID 338
 Nearest village jMochlos Type {Rectangular tomb J Dubious □
 Area Mirabello Excavated 5?
 Reference Soles 1992b: 110.

Architecture

Width 2.5 Entrance orientation S j Number of spaces |2~ 1
 Length 4 Associated buildings |N
 Other i
 Features i

Chronotoov

Construction/ EM II EM I ! j MMIA MM III • LM | Disturbed □
 First use date EM H jYes 1 MM IB ___j
 EM III i___j MM II i___j
 Dating Soles 1992b: 110 EM II.

Material

Ceramic [- Bone Ceramic vases Figurines j j
 Stone [| Copper j Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [j Gold L | Seals Beads
 Crystal [- H Silver/Lead j i T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments j |
 Other j | Other i j

Buriat

Burial

Lamax □ Pithos □

Mochlos

Name jMochlos j [H j ID j 337;
 Nearest vi-lagejMochlos j Type jRock shelter j Dubious □
 Area Mirabello -j Excavated @
 Reference iSoles 1992b: 108-10.

Arehtttvrf

Width |21 | Entrance orientation |NW | Number of spaces [T
 Length |21 | Associated buildings [
 Other j
 Features i

£hr2Q2l2flY.

Construction/ Unknown EM 1 □ MM IA (Z J MM III - LM □ Disturbed □
 First use date gM II n MM IB n m
 EM III n MM II j j
 Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone i Ceramic vases Figurines j j
 Stone 1 | Copper | | Stone vases | Tools r 1
 Ivory Gold j | Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 1 T Daggers Amulets 1
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments i
 Other Other

Burial

Burial i

Lamax □ Pithos U

Others 1

Mochlos

Name Mochlos { | K _____ j ID | 340
 Nearest village | Mochlos | Type j Rock shelter j Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Soles 1992b: 112-3.

Architecture

Width [1.7 | Entrance orientation | SW j Number of spaces (T
 Length 2.5 | Associated buildings [_____
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name j Mochloe | I | ID | 339
 Nearest village | Mochlos | Type { Rectangular tomb 1 Dubious
 Area { Mirabello j Excavated 5E
 Reference | Soles 1992b: 112.

Architecture

Width [2_ Entrance orientation | S' Number of spaces [1
 Length fZ Associated buildings {
 Other Walled rock shelter
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown ~ | EMI I | MM IA | MM III - LM | ! Disturbed
 First use date EM II d j MM IB d J
 EM III i | MM II [1

Dating Unknown.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools [|
 Ivory | Gold { Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos LJ

Others

Mochlos

Name Mochlos ID I 342
 Nearest village [Mochlos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Soles & Davaras 1992:424.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [
 Length | Associated buildings | _____
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [Unknown EM I L.Z] MM IA MM III • LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II d j MM IB
 EM III L d MM II

Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone [[Ceramic vases Figurines [
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools [
 Ivory [[Gold | | Seals Beads
 Crystal 1 Silver/Lead ["h T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian | u L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [! Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Mochlos

Name [Mochlos _____] j [A ID | 3411
 Nearest village [Mochlos Type [Rectangular tomb j Dubious
 Area [Mirabello ~j Excavated Si
 Reference Soles & Davaras 1992:422-3. Davaras & Soles 1997.

Architecture

Width [7 [Entrance orientation [S] Number of spaces R'
 Length [3 | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM IIA i EM I MMIA S is] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II Yes I MM IB S ii]
 EM III [Yes [MM II d j

Dating [Soles & Davaras 1992:423 EM II - MM IB.

Material

Ceramic 33 j Bone | Ceramic vases 33 Figurines
 Stone 34 | Copper Stone vases |d. | Tools [46
 Ivory Gold | Seals [1 [Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead Z T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian 16 ! L Daggers [j Ornaments i [
 Other | Other iron nail, 30 stone tools.

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Earlier EM IIA burials with one cremation found underneath the tomb.

Qhrg

Mochlos

Name Mochlos = ID 344
 Nearest village Mochlos Type {Associated building [Dubious B
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Soles & Davaras 1992:424.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation ISW j Number of spaces |]
 Length Associated buildings j
 Other Entrance has four steps, tomb floor lower than the ground level.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EM I P MMIA EU MM III - LM EU Disturbed
 First use date EM II p MM IB
 EM III 1 MM II

Dating Soles & Davaras 1992:424 Dark burnished wares (EM II?).

Material

Ceramic Bone | [Ceramic vases Figurines j
 Stone { Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory r | Gold | Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial

Larnax Pithos

Other Excavator suggested it was not a tomb, although is probably associated with the cemetery.

Mochlos

Name Mochlos j N ID 343
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Associated building j Dubious B
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Soles & Davaras 1992:424.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation { Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings 0
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EM I EZH MMIA E U MM III - LM | | Disturbed
 First use date gM II | MM IB
 EM III | | MM II | |

Dating

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone 13 \ Copper | [Stone vases [] Tools [11901 J
 Ivory {Gold | j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead (T Daggers [Amulets
 Obsidian 11888 L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other Other |

Burial

Burial

Larnax Pithos

Others Unclear context, probably associated with the cemetery, but it is not a tomb.

Pseira

Name Pseira j|III | ID [348
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Cist Dubious
 Area Mirabello i Excavated 0
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:35-8.

Width 2 Entrance orientation SE Number of spaces |
 Length 2.5 Associated buildings .
 Other |
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ [EM 1? | EM 1 [PZ] MM IA ftesj MM III - LM Z IJ Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III LZ] MM II [Yes]
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003:38 EM I or IIA - MM IIB.

Material

Ceramic [9 Bone Ceramic vases 9 Figurines
 Stone [1 J Copper [] Stone vases Tools [3
 Ivory [Gold [j] Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead _____ T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [2 L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other [shell [Other animal bones, quartz scraper

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name [Pseira — iw~ j ID j 347
 Nearest village]Mochlos | Type Cist j Dubious
 Area IMirabello | Excavated 0
 Reference {Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:19-34.

Architecture

Width [2.5 Entrance orientation jSE Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ IFNEM I EMI [Yes] MMIA [Yesj MMIII-LM Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Yes] MM II [Yes]
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 33 FNEM I - MM II.

Material

Ceramic 40 _____]Bone Ceramic vases 40 j Figurines
 Stone [29 _____]Copper Stone vases 20 } Tools
 Ivory [_____]Gold Seals j Beads
 Crystal _____| Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian [_____ { L Daggers } Ornaments
 Other istone pebbles, shell Other animal bone, no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira ID 350
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Cist Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated E
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003: 51-5.

Architecture

Width 1.7 Entrance orientation Number of spaces []
 Length 2 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ FNEM 1 j EMI [Yes] MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM [] Disturbed B
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III [Yes] MM II [Yes]
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 55 FNEM 1 - MM II.

Material

Ceramic [23 Bone Ceramic vases [23 Figurines
 Stone 3 Copper Stone vases [1 Tools [1]
 Ivory [Gold [Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets []
 Obsidian 1 L Daggers [j Ornaments j
 Other Stone pebbles Other no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial f Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name [Pseira ID 349
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated S?
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003: 39-49.

Architecture

Width [26] Entrance orientation [NE 1 Number of spaces []
 Length [35] Associated buildings
 Other Walled exterior enclosing the shelter.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [FNEM 1 [EMI [Yes] MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM [] Disturbed E
 First use date EM II S is] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III S ii] MM II [Yes]
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003:48-9 FNEM 1- MM II.

Material

Ceramic 59 j Bone [Ceramic vases 59 Figurines
 Stone 13 Copper Stone vases 8 Tools 5
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 5 L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Stone pebbles Other [no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name (Pseira) j MH ID j 352
 Nearest village i Mochlos j Type Cist | Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003: 63-6.

Architecture

Width 1.3 Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length 2 | Associated buildings |
 Other |
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ FN j EM I Yes] MM IA j_] MM III - LM j_] Disturbed G
 First use date EM II Yes] MM IB IZ j
 EM III MM II []
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 68 FN - EM IIB.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases 22 Figurines
 Stone |] Copper | Stone vases Tools 6
 Ivory | Gold |1| Seals Beads ;
 Crystal | | Silver/Lead j | T Daggers Amulets 1
 Obsidian [6 L Daggers j Ornaments
 Other Shells j Other no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira K 1 ID 351
 Nearest village i Mochlos j Type Cist Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003: 57-61.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length 2.5 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ FNEM I EM I E S MM IA S fi] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II K MM IB
 EM III Yes] MM II
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 61 FNEM I - MM IIB.

Material

Ceramic [16 Bone Ceramic vases 16 Figurines
 Stone 2 Copper | Stone vases |2 Tools 3
 Ivory ; Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal i Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 3 L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira |ix | ID | 354
 Nearest village|Mochlos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:73-81.

Architecture

Width 1.6 | Entrance orientation E i Number of spaces (|
 Length 2.3 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ |FNEM I EMI IYesj MM IA IYes j MM III - LM ____ Disturbed
 First use date EM H Yes MM IB Yes!
 EM III Vas MM II IYes
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 81 FNEM I - MM IIB.

Material

Ceramic |58 Bone Ceramic vases 58 Figurines
 Stone |10 | Copper |3 | Stone vases 10 J Tools 15 |
 Ivory | | Gold [| Seals | | Beads j
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian 15 | L Daggers Ornaments 2
 Other jshell, Rock crystal [Other bronze vessel, no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name jPeelra |jivIII | id | 353!
 Nearest viHage Mochlos | Type jCist j Dubious
 Area jMirabello] Excavated SI
 Reference jBetancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003: 69-72.

Architecture

Width |j1.7 j Entrance orientation |S | Number of spaces [|
 Length |2 j Associated buildings |
 Other j
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ {EM IIA } EMI |____! MM IA fcesj MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II IYes i MM IB Ses]
 EM III MM II Yes]
 Dating {Betancourt & Davaras 2003:72 EM IIA - MM IIB.

Material

Ceramic |5 Bone j | Ceramic vases |5 | Figurines { ;
 Stone |5 Copper j3 | Stone vases |5 | Tools |4_ {
 Ivory | | Gold | Seals !| Beads |
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets |
 Obsidian 1 { L Daggers ! | Ornaments ! ;
 Other Shell Other no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Pseira

Name Pseira XI j io j 356
 Nearest village j Mochlos Type j Cist j Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:93-4.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation j Number of spaces |
 Length 2 Associated buildings
 Other i
 Features

SftrpnglPfiY

Construction/ j MM 1 EM 1 1 MM IA Yes MM III - LM 1 i Disturbed H
 First use date EM II ! MM IB Yes !
 EM III j MM II Yes 1
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003:94 MM 1- II, probably constructed earlier.

Material

Ceramic 2 | Bone Ceramic vases j2 Figurines
 Stone 1 Copper | Stone vases 1 Tools
 Ivory [j Gold j j Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers 1 Ornaments j
 Other Other jno ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial — — Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira H* ID j 355
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello j Excavated B
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003: 83-91.

Architecture

Width 1.8 Entrance orientation |SE Number of spaces |
 Length 2 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ EM ? j EMI teLJ MM IA f(esj MM III - LM j j Disturbed B
 First use date EM II Yes ! MM IB [Yes]
 EM III n MM II [YesJ
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003:90-1 EM I/IIA - MM II

Material

Ceramic 119 Bone | Ceramic vases 19 Figurines
 Stone 14 Copper 5 | Stone vases j14 J Tools 11 |
 Ivory Gold | Seals Beads !
 Crystal Silver/Lead | | T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian ! L Daggers j | Ornaments j2 |
 Other rock Crystal, shell Other two bronze vases, no ceramic whole vesse

Burial

Burial — — Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira XIII J ID ! 358
 Nearest village Mochlos i Type Cist J Dubious D
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:99-102.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003:102 EM I - MM II

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases j Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases I Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals 1 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers -j Ornaments
 Other Other ibronze vase, no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira XII i ID | 357
 Nearest village (Mochlos Type Cist Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:95-7.

Architecture

Width |2.3 | Entrance orientation j] Number of spaces [
 Length |3 | Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM IIB | EMI I [MM IA Yes i MM III - LM j | Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 EM III I I MM II Yes
 Dating {Betancourt & Davaras 2003: 97 EM IIB - MM II.

Material

Ceramic j8 Bone Ceramic vases 8 Figurines
 Stone j3 Copper { Stone vases 2 Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads 1
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other stone pebble Other [no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira pcv j ID j 360
 Nearest village Mochlos Type jRock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated B
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:105-6.

Architecture

Width 0.4 Entrance orientation SE Number of spaces f" |
 Length 0.6 | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

ghJ9h9j9fiY

Construction/ EMI? EMI [Yes] MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM j j Disturbed
 First use date EM II ges] MM IB SesJ
 EM III [Yes] MM II

Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2002:131,133,134 EM I/IIA MM II pottery found near this rock shelter, j
 Betancourt & Davaras 2003: Unknown.

Material

Ceramic (Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone | Copper j j Stone vases i Tools j
 Ivory j Gold j j Seals Beads j
 Crystal [Silver/Lead j j T Daggers | Amulets [
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial

Larnax Pithos

Other* No material discovered in this rock shelter.

Pseira

Name Pseira jxiv j ID 359
 Nearest village Mochlos I Type jRock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello i Excavated B
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:103-4.

Architecture

Width 0.5 j Entrance orientation E Number of spaces [
 Length 2.4 j Associated buildings j
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM I | EMI d] MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM Disturbed S
 First use date EM II MM IB [Yea]

Dating jBetancourt & Davaras 2003:104 MM I - II

Material

Ceramic 1 Bone Ceramic vases 1 Figurines
 Stone ! Copper | Stone vases j j Tools j
 Ivory j Gold j j Seals | Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other no ceramic whole vessels

Burial

Burial

Larnax Pithos

Others [

Pseira

Name Pseira i^CVII ID j 362
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated H
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:111.

Architecture

Width 7.5 Entrance orientation Number of spaces []
 Length 1 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

g,hJ9np|ffffY

Construction/ iUnknown EMI MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating Unknown.

MslsrW

Ceramic Bone [Ceramic vases j Figurines [
 Stone [Copper L Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [Gold [Seals ! Beads j
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets [
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Lamax U Pithos

Others No material discovered in this rock shelter.

Pseira

Name [Pseira [XVI ID 361
 Nearest village]Mochlos Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated 0
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:107-9.

Architecture

Width 2.7 Entrance orientation SE Number of spaces |
 Length 0.7 Associated buildings [
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ iFN j EMI [Yes] MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM [H j Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Yes] MM IB [Yes]
 ___EM III I ! MM II [Yes]

Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2003: FN - MM IIB.

Material

Ceramic 7 Bone [Ceramic vases [7 j Figurines [
 Stone Copper j Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals [j Beads [I
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets [
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other I

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira | XIX] jD | 364
 Nearest village Mochlos | Type [Rock shelter j Dubious D
 Area Mirabello (Excavated SI
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:115.

Architecture

Width 0.8 j Entrance orientation ; j Number of spaces |
 Length 1 Associated buildings | j
 Other |
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown EM I : MM IA [] MM III - LM d j Disturbed □
 First use date EM II | MM IB d j
 EM III ! i MM II j j
 Dating Unknown. j

Material

Ceramic | Bone | j Ceramic vases Figurines j
 Stone T | Copper | Stone vases Tools |
 Ivory r j Gold j j Seals j Beads j
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets j
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other Other []

Burial

Burial " " ~ , Lamax □ Pithos □

Others No material discovered in this rock shelter.

! Pseira j

Name jPseira ~ XVIII | id | 363
 Nearest village Mochlos j Type jRock shelter j Dubious □
 Area jMirabello j Excavated 5?
 Reference jBetancourt & Davaras 2002; 2003:113. ~

Architecture

Width 2.2 Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length 0.8 Associated buildings (|
 Other |
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ jUnknown 1 EM I ! i MM IA | " i MM III - LM | i Disturbed □
 First use date EM II d U MM IB d U
 EM III | i MM II | j
 Dating Unknown. |

Material

Ceramic ! Bone | Ceramic vases j j Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases Tools j
 Ivory (Gold j | Seals j j Beads | j
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers j Ornaments
 Other | Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pithos □

fitters No material discovered in this rock shelter.

Pseira

Name Pseira East area, Q31 ID 366
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Open area j Dubious
 Area Mirabello Excavated
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002:115-7.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation j Number of spaces j
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Betancourt and Davaras 2002:115-7 EM - LM I.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date [F]EM I j EM I HU MMIA HU MMIII-LM HU Disturbed
 EM II jp | MM IB E H
 EM III HU MM II HU
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2002:115-7 EM - LM Earlier than sites Q27-30.

Material

Ceramic j Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines j !
 Stone [Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [Gold j [Seals j Beads [
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets j
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other [Other j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Pseira

Name Pseira North West area, 027-30 j id j 365
 Nearest village Mochlos Type Open area j Dubious
 Area Mirabello j Excavated
 Reference Betancourt & Davaras 2002:115-7.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [
 Length j Associated buildings j
 Other ~
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date emi HU mmia [pH] mm iii-lm HU Disturbed
 EM II [HU MM IB HU
 EM III HU MM II HU
 Dating Betancourt & Davaras 2002:115-7 EM - LM I. j

Material

Ceramic Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone j Copper I [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal ; Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

OSMS.

Vardoiani

Name Vardoiani Kritsa j id [368
 Nearest village |Kritsa Type |Cave Dubious 0
 Area Mirabello Excavated
 Reference Faure 1956:100; 1964: 60, 70. j

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II EM I MMIA ! MMIII-LM ! Disturbed H!
 First use date EM II Yes 1 MM IB i i
 EM III MM II
 Dating Faure 1956:100 EM IIB (Vasiliki ware).

Material

Ceramic i | Bone [j Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [| Gold j j Seals Beads
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers ; Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other | !

Burial

Burial Reported as a possible tomb. Lamax Pithos

Schisma

Name Schisma || ID ! 367
 Nearest village Schisma Type (Unknown) Dubious 0
 Area Mirabello I Excavated
 Reference Lemerie 1937:474.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |~
 Length Associated buildings
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM | EM I MM IA m,u M M III-LM m is Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB g
 EM III MM II

Dating

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals (Beads [|
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other | Other f

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others An EM cemetery in this location was just mentioned.

Vasiliki

Rock shelter

370i

Type {Rock shelter

Dubious 0

Area Mirabello

Excavated 0

Reference Zois 1974:282-3; 1993:103.

ArchiteffMf

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other Rock cavity under W wall of Room 39.
 Features !

Chronology

Construction/ (EM IIA | EMI | MMIA | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date | EM II | MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Zois 1993:103 Koumasa ware.

Material

Ceramic Yes | Bone | Ceramic vases Yes | Figurines Possible
 Stone _j Copper | Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory Gold | Seals | Beads
 Crystal ! Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

The fragment of a cycladic figurine was found in the area (Zois 1974:282-3) and may be associated with this context.

Vasiliki

Kephala

Nearest village Vasiliki

Rectangular tomb

Dubious

Area Mirabello

Reference Seager 1907:114-5; 1916:20. Hall 1912:73. Zois 1974:274; 1976:24. Soles 1992b: 194-5.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |2 min.
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other |
 Features !

Chronology

Construction/ | MM 1 | EM 1 1 1 MM IA Yes | MM IIf - LM j | Disturbed
 First use date | EM H [^] MM IB Sis]
 EM III I | MM II I j
 Dating Hall 1912:73 MM 1 Seager 1916:20 MM 1 {

Material

Ceramic 1 | Bone | Ceramic vases 1 | Figurines
 Stone 1 | Copper | Stone vases { | Tools
 Ivory Gold | Seals | Beads 1
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian j | L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Four lamakes. Lamax 0 Pithos

Others

Agia Photia Sitias Kouphota

Name Agla Photia Sitias Koupho | Kouphota | ID | 372
 Nearest village(A. Photia Siteia Type jCave] Dubious H
 Area Siteia] Excavated B
 Reference Platon 1959:390-1. Faure 1960:193; 1964:67. Tsipopoulou 1989:33, Site 9.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length 75 Associated buildings
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ |N EM I [U MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [PZ] MM IB
 EM III H Z] MM II
 Dating Platon 1959: 391 MM. Faure 1960:193 EM and MM. Tsipopoulou 1989: 33 N - MM II.

Material

Ceramic Yes | Bone | Ceramic vases Yes | Figurines
 Stone | | Copper |Yes j Stone vases Tools | I
 Ivory | H Gold [| Seals Beads
 Crystal | ~\ Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers j Ornaments
 Other [| Other

Burial

Burial Human remains reported by Platon without clear dating. Lamax Pithos

Others A second small rock shelter found near the main entrance also contained archaeological material.

Agia Photia Sitias cemetery

Name Agia Photia Sitias cemetery | ID | 371
 Nearest village(A. Photia Sitia Type Rock-cut tombs Dubious
 Area Siteia Excavated 53
 Reference Davaras 1971:392-7; 1977a: 648-50. Orlandou 1972:266-7. Stucynski 1982: 55. Karagianni 1984:69, 82-3,85. Miller 1984:556. Wilson 1984:247-8. Tsipopoulou 1989; 1992:66-9. Karantzali 1995; 1996:46-8; 238-9; forthcoming. Day et al. 1998. Betancourt 2003; forthcoming. Stos-Gale & Gale 2003. Davaras & Betancourt 2004. Shank 2005.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j] Number of spaces |260 min.
 Length Associated buildings |
 Other Features 210 rock-cut tombs, 38 pit tombs, 12 Uncertain, 1 cave like. All of them around 0.5 -1 m deep and small in size.

Chronology

Construction/ EM I EM I Yes MMIA MMIII-LM [! Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II S is] MM IB c m
 EM III r m MM II I !
 Dating Davaras 1971: 396 EM I/II. Wilson 1984:247-8 EM IB. Karantzali 1996:48 EM I - IIA. Day et al. 1998:136-7 EM I. Davaras & Betancourt 2004:232 EM I • IIA.

Material

Ceramic 1528 Bone Ceramic vases 1528 Figurines
 Stone |8 | Copper |32 Stone vases 8 Tools 965
 Ivory | Gold | | Seals | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead 2 T Daggers Amulets 2
 Obsidian 933 L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other Other |

Burial

Burial Around 260 tombs found, around 300 estimated. Interments varied from no human remains found j in tombs to tombs with 10 interments. Normally one or two individuals were found in each tomb. Lamax Pithos

Others Cycladic ceramic overwhelming in the assemblage.

Agia Photia Sitias tholos

Name [Agia Photia Sitias tholos j Tholos II | ID 374
 Nearest village [A. Photia Siteia Type Tholos Dubious 0
 Area Siteia Excavated 0
 Reference Tsipopoulou 1988; 1989:98; 1990:307-9. Catling 1989:102. Belli 2003.

Architecture

Diameter [4.5 - 5 Entrance orientation [E i Doorway type [Built
 Wall thickness [1.1 Annex | Noj Vestibule | Noj Vaulted |
 Other Architecture resembles EM - MM burial tholoi.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM IIA EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II *lvtal*
 Dating Tsipopoulou 1989: 98; 1990: 308 MM IIA

Material

Ceramic [Ye Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines j____
 Stone d Copper Yes Stone vases j____ Tools |
 Ivory [Gold Seals j Beads jYes
 Crystal d | Silver/Lead T Daggers j____ Amulets j
 Obsidian d L Daggers j Ornaments j
 Other i Other

Burial

Burial No human bones found. Lamax Pithos

Others structure built south of Tholos I and the MM IA complex.

Agia Photia Sitias tholos

Name [Agia Photia Sitias tholos |[Tholos I | ID [373
 Nearest village [A. Photia Siteia | Type [Tholos | Dubious 0
 Area Siteia Excavated £
 Reference Tsipopoulou 1988; 1989:98; 1990:307-9. Catling 1989:102. Belli 2003.

Architecture

Diameter [7.8 - 8.3 j Entrance orientation [e | Doorway type [Built
 Wall thickness [1.4 { Annex | Noj Vestibule | Noj Vaulted |
 Other Architecture resembles EM - MM burial tholoi
 Features j

Chronology

Construction/ jMM IIA -j EM I I i MM IA I j MM III - LM I j Disturbed
 First use date EM II d U MM IB d U
 EM III I i MM II [Yes]
 Dating Tsipopoulou 1989: 98; 1990: 308 MM IIA.

Material

Ceramic jYes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone ! Copper (Yes Stone vases | | Tools j
 Ivory ! Gold j j Seals Beads
 Crystal i Silver/Lead j T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers j Ornaments jYes
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial No human bones found. Lamax Pithos u

Others Structure built on top of a MM IA building.

Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou

Name [Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou] ID | 376j
 Nearest village [Spiliara] Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated £
 Reference Tod 1903. Faure 1964: 67.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation j Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings |
 Other West of the chapel of Agios Nikolaos. i
 Features {

Chronology

Construction/ Unknown EMI j MMIA j MMIII-LM Disturbed £
 First use date EM II d j MM IB
 EM III d J MM II

Dating No pottery found.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper 1 Stone vases Tools | j
 Ivory | Gold | Seals | j Beads j
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments 1
 Other | Other j

Burial

Burial One skull. Lamax Pithos
 !

Others Probable Byzantine bronze objects.

Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou

Name Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou ID | 375
 Nearest village [SW Palaikastrou] ; Type (Rock shelter) Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Tod 1903. Faure 1964:67.

Architecture

Width 2 | Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length 4 Associated buildings ()
 Other Low wall at the entrance.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown) EMI I MM IA j MM III - LM ((Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II d U MM IB
 EM III d U MM II I I

Dating jOnly two small sherds discovered, no dating given.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold j | Seals | Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets | j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other [

Burial

Burial Seven or eight skulls. Lamax Pithos

Others !
 |

Karidi

Name Karidi | Peristeras | ID 378!
 Nearest village|karydi | Type Cave | Dubious £
 Area Siteia | Excavated
 Reference Faure 1964:67.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length 135 | Associated buildings |
 Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ | E MM [A MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date MM IB

Dating Faure 1964: 67 EM I.

Material

Ceramic | Bone Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone | Copper Stone vases | 1 Tools
 Ivory 2 | Gold Seals | Beads
 Crystal | Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers | *1 Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial One burial reported.

Others

Agios Nikolaos Palaikastrou

Name Agios Nikolaos Palalkastr HI | ID | 377!
 Nearest village|Spiliara | Type Rock shelter | Dubious
 Area East Crete | Excavated B|
 Reference Duckworth 1903a. Tod 1903. Evans 1921:60. Faure 1964:67 Karvoulakkos. Charles 1965:41-2. Mortzos 1972. Zois 1972:427-30; 1973: 92-7. Vagnetti & Betti 1978:137.

Architecture

Width 5 | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length 1.5 | Associated buildings |
 Other A natural terrace is found outside the shelter.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ FN EM I | Yes MMIA MMIII-LM [Yes] Disturbed B
 First use date EM II MM IB []
 EM III | | MM II | |

Dating Evans 1921: 60 EM I. Mortzos 1972: 400,402 LN - EM I. Zois 1972:430; 1973: 95 Transition LN - EM I. Vagnetti & Belli 1978:137 EM I. Papadatos pers. comm. Published material is Early EM I. LM I pithos.

Material

Ceramic ,13 Bone |1 { Ceramic vases |13 | Figurines | |
 Stone Copper | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory | Gold | Seals [Beads |1
 Crystal [H Silver/Lead 1 | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other bone artefact

Burial

Burial Many bones and 10 skulls were found. The pithos found dates probably to LM (contemporary to the main settlement of Palaikastro, Tod 1903:340).

Kephala - Petras

Name Kephala - Petras : ti' _ | ID 380!
 Nearest village Sitia ! Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Crete i Excavated E
 Reference Papadatos pers. comm.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ MM IB ; EM i i MMIA j ; MM III - LM ! Disturbed
 First use date EM II 1 1 MM IB (Yes
 EM III j 1 MM II pYes 1
 Dating Papadatos pers. comm. MM IB-IA.

Material

Ceramic |Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines j J
 Stone 1 Copper Stone vases ! ; Tools
 Ivory f i Gold | Seals i Beads !
 Crystal [1 Silver/Lead | T Daggers i i Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers j j Ornaments
 Other [Other j ■

Burial

Burial — ~ Lamax Pithos

Others

Katelionas

Name Katelionas KS3 J ID | 379
 Nearest village|Katak-nias Type |Rock shelter J Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated
 Reference Branigan 1998:63, 73-4.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation | j Number of spaces [28
 Length Associated buildings
 Other 28 niches in the rock identified. Two of them were built cists. One of them had a bench and it may
 Features date to post-minoan times.

Chronoloov

Construction/ FN EM 1 MM IA Ftas] MM III - LM [Ye8 | Disturbed
 First use date II MM IB [Yes]
 EM III 1 j MM II
 Dating Branigan 1998: 73-4 FN and MM I LM III

Material

Ceramic j j Bone | | Ceramic vases | Figurines j
 Stone j Copper | | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory | Gold j | Seals Beads i
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers j Ornaments |
 Other f i Other f

Burial

Burial Human bones were not found in the area. Lamax r Pithos

Others

Kephala - Petras

Name **Kephala - Petras** in ID j 382
 Nearest village Sitia Type Rectangular tomb I Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated S3
 Reference Papadatos pers. comm.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces 1
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM IB EM I [] MM IA I j MM III-LM [] Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB jYes]
 EM III [] MM II iYes j
 Dating Papadatos pers. comm. MM IB-IIA.

Material

Ceramic jYes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases | Tools
 Ivory | Gold | Seals Beads |
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments |
 Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

I
f

Kephala - Petras

Name **Kephala - Petras** II ~] ID | 381
 Nearest village Sitia 1Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Crete i Excavated 53
 Reference jPapadatos pers. comm.

Width Entrance orientation ([Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM IB] EM I I j MM IA I MM III - LM j j Disturbed
 First use date EM II 1 i MMIB iYes!
 EM III I | MMII iYes!
 Dating jPapadatos pers. comm. MM IB-IIA.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Copper j Stone vases j Tools
 Ivory j Gold j j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead | | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments j j
 Other J j Other f

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Burial j

OthsB

Mandalia

Name Mandalia | (Agios Georgios) j ID | 384
 Nearest village Agios Georgios Type Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area Siteia Excavated 0
 Reference Platon 1959:372. Soles 1973:152-6; 1992b: 127-9 Agios Georgios. Georgoulaki 1996b: 147-50.

Architecture

Width 0.9-2.5 Entrance orientation [Number of spaces |2-3
 Length 4.13 Associated buildings
 Other Entrance from above. Three deposits outside the tomb, one in a niche in the SE corner.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ |EM III j EMI G H MM IA Yes MM III - LM Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II GH MM IB Yes]
 EM III [Yes] MM II Yes]
 Dating Platon 1959: 372 Last phases of the Prepalatial period. Georgoulaki 1996b: 148 EM III • MM III.

Material

Ceramic 50 | Bone Ceramic vases 50 Figurines
 Stone (1 [Copper [j Stone vases | Tools [1 |
 Ivory [Gold j Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [yes [L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other j Other amphora, stone weight [

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Platon suggested that vases outside the tomb were offerings to the dead (Platon 1959: 372) perhaps in libation rituals (Georgoulaki 1996b: 148). Undisturbed burials found.

Others

Lamnoni

Name jLamnoni L44 ID 383
 Nearest village [Lamnoni Rock shelter Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated
 Reference Branigan 1998:57,60,65.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other One rock shelter and several niches in the rocks.
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ FN | EMI | MM IA | MM III - LM | Disturbed
 First use date EMM G H MM IB G H
 EM III | MM II |
 Dating Branigan 1998:60,65 FN - LM III.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone] Copper (Stone vases (| Tools | j
 Ivory [Gold ! | Seals Beads
 Crystal] Silver/Lead | T Daggers [| Amulets
 Obsidian i L Daggers } | Ornaments | j
 Other (Other !

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Human bones and teeth found in the area.

Others Not clear the history of use of the cemetery between FN and LM III.

Maronia

Name Maronia Spiliara I ID | 386|
 Nearest village Maronia Type jRock shelter Dubious
 Area Siteia Excavated 0
 Reference Marinates 1937:224,228. Warren 1965:8.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j j Number of spaces [
 Length j Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date | EM I EM II EM III MM IA MM IB MM II MM III - LM Disturbed

Dating Marinates 1937:224,228 EM I - II, Pigos and Partira ware. Warren 1965:8 EM II(A) for the incised pyxis.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone 1 Copper ~ Stone vases 1 Tools
 Ivory Gold [Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead f T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other

Burial
 Burial Lamax Pithos

Others This rock shelter may have been the same investigated by Sakellarakis (Maronia Kolybos; Sakellarakis 1968b: 418) and Platon (Spiliara III; Platon 1954: 511; 1957: 364-5).

Maronia

Name [Maronia jKollboa ID 385|
 Nearest village [Maronia Type Cave Dubious
 Area [Siteia Excavated
 Reference [Sakellarakis 1968b: 418.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ First use date | EM I [P H MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 EM II [P H] MM IB
 EM III H H MM II

Dating [Sakellarakis 1968b: 418 EM.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases | Tools j
 Ivory [Gold [j Seals Beads
 Crystal H Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets [
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other | | Other j

Burial
 Burial Lamax Pithos

Others It is possible that this cave is the same investigated by Marinates (Spiliara I; Marinates 1937:224, 228) and Platon (Spiliara III; Platon 1954: 511; 1957: 364-5).

Maronia

Name Maronia Spiliara III Di 388
 Nearest village|Maronia Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area Siteia Excavated £
 Reference Platon 1954:511; 1957: 364-5. Faure 1964:67. Platon 1969a: no 421-2. Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 191. Vasilakis 1996:189.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloov

Construction/ |EM II EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating Platon 1957: 364-5, EM II (Vasiliki and Mochlos types of vessels). Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 191 EM II.

Material

Ceramic |9~ Bone Ceramic vases Figurines [_
 Stone f~ Copper Stone vases Tools Q
 Ivory ET Gold Seals Beads [1_
 Crystal Q Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets Q
 Obsidian P'' L Daggers Ornaments [~
 Other I Other

Burial

Burial Three burials found here.

Others

Lamax Pithos

Maronia

Name Maronia [(Spiliara II J ID [387
 Nearest village|Maronia Type [Rock shelter J Dubious
 Area Siteia ! Excavated 0
 Reference Platon 1954: 511; 1957:364-5. Faure 1964:67.

AESbtetiyr?

Width J Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

ghrpno|9fiY

Construction/ jEM III] EMI I i MM IA I ' MM III - LM i i Disturbed
 First use date EM|| d] MM IB d U
 EM III Ses] MM II d U

Dating [Platon 1957: 364-5, EM III. Faure 1964:67 EM II - III.

Material

Ceramic 1 Bone Ceramic vases [! [Figurines
 Stone ! Copper j [Stone vases I Tools I i
 Ivory [Gold j [Seals [Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead [T Daggers [Amulets [
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial One EM III burial.

Lamax Pithos

Qfilgrs This might be the same rock shelter as Maronia Kolybos and Maronia Spiliara I.

Palaikastro Gravel Ridge

Name [Palalkaatro Gravel Ridge [Tomb i j ID j 390
 Nearest village [Palalkastro j Type jRectangular tomb | Dubious
 Area East Crete j Excavated 52
 Reference Bosanquet 1902a: 290-2; Dawkins 1903:307 Fig. 7.1; 1905:272-3. Warren 1965:10-4. Soles 1973:118-9; 1992b: 179-80. McGillivray & Driessen 1990:398. Zois 1998a: 48-9.

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other NW end of the gravel ridge. It may have had parallel subdivisions as Tomb VII but no architecture i
 Features survived.

Chronology

Construction/ EM IIA | EM I [] MM IA [] MM III - LM [] Disturbed
 First use date EMU MMIB d j
 EM III C d MM II []
 Dating Dawkins 1905:273: EM I. Warren 1965: 8 EM IIA. Soles 1973:118 EM IIA-B; 1992b: EM II. MacGillivray & Driessen 1990:398 EM IIA. A Vasilike jug was found in the area, Dawkins 1903: 307 Fig. 7.1. Zois 1998a: 48-9 EM IIA - EM III.

Material

Ceramic 4 | Bone Ceramic vases 4 Figurines |
 Stone 5 j Copper j | Stone vases |5 Tools j
 Ivory j j Gold j | Seals j Beads
 Crystal (Silver/Lead | T Daggers j Amulets j
 Obsidian Yes L Daggers Omaments |
 Other [other i

Burial

Burial Bones heaped together and decomposed. Lamax Pithos

Othera Some of the material was found in the area and not inside the tomb.

Mertidia

Name iMertidia ID 3891
 Nearest village jMertidia Type Rock shelter Dubious 0
 Area IEast Crete Excavated
 Reference jFaure 1964:67 Myrtidia.

Architecture

Width j Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length l Associated buildings
 Other l
 Features !

Chronology

Construction/ jEM I EM I [Yes] MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II d J MM IB
 EM III [Z] MM II
 Dating lFaure 1964:67 EM I.

Material

Ceramic j Bone Ceramic vases Figurines t_
 Stone j Copper Stone vases Tools L
 Ivory j Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets f
 Obsidian L Daggers Omaments !
 Other Other

Burial

Burial jInhumation reported. Lamax H Pithos

Others

Palaikastro Gravel Ridge

Name [Palaikastro Gravel Ridge j] Tomb VII bis j ID [3921
 Nearest village] Palaikastro j Type Rectangular tomb 1 Dubious B
 Area [East Crete ~] Excavated B
 Reference Bosanquet 1902a: 294; Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923:12, n. 2,118. Soles 1973: 234-5; 1992b: 191-2.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Ashlar wall (contra Soles 1992:192 n. 190), three courses high.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IB | EM I EH MM IA | MM III - LM EH Disturbed B
 First use date EM II E H MM IB YeE
 EM III E H! MM II E H
 Dating Soles 1973: 235 MM IA; 1992b: 192: MMIB.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases [2 Figurines
 Stone | Copper 8 Stone vases E Tools \$!
 Ivory | Gold j [Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian | L Daggers j | Ornaments |
 Other] Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos U

Others

Eight single axes reported from the gravel ridge area near the sea, thus probably around this area (Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923:118). Ashlar blocks are unusual in the building of tombs and the wall may not represent a tomb.

Palaikastro Gravel Ridge

Name Palaikastro Gravel Ridge (Tomb VII | ID 391j
 Nearest village] Palaikastro Type [Rectangular tomb j Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated E
 Reference Bosanquet 1902a: 290-7. Duckworth 1903b: 350-4. Dawkins 1905:269. Soles 1973:227-34; 1992b: 188-91. Platon 1977: no 257-8. Walberg 1983:131. MacGillivray & Driessen 1990:399. Phillips 1991: 707-8. Zois 1998a: 58.

Architecture

Width 7.5 Entrance orientation [Number of spaces [5
 Length 8.5 | Associated buildings |
 Other Five parallel rooms subdivided in cells, no doorway discovered. Partially destroyed.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IA EM I MM IA [Yes] MM III-LM [Yes] Disturbed B
 First use date | MM IB [Yes]
 EM III EH MM II [Yes!
 Dating Dawkins 1905: 269 MM I. Soles 1973: 230-4; 1992b: 191 MM IA-B. Walberg 1983: 131 MM IA - III. MacGillivray & Driessen 1990:399 MM IB/IIA - MM IIB/IIIA. Zois 1998a: 58 EM IIB? - MM III.

Material

Ceramic 140 Bone Ceramic vases [140 Figurines j
 Stone 9 Copper 1 Stone vases 8 Tools [1 j
 Ivory 1 Gold | Seals 2 Beads
 Crystal | j Silver/Lead [T Daggers [Amulets
 Obsidian i j L Daggers j Ornaments { j
 Other Other L

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Burial Many disturbed, secondaryly deposited, human bones. Skulls piled together in each room, 97 in total. The remains of an infant were found inside a tall vase. SE corner of the tomb contained a [primary interment. Many cups and dishes found upside-down.

Others

Palaikastro Sarantari

Name Palaikastro Sarantari Tomb IV b i ID | 396
 Nearest village Palaikastro Type jRectangular tomb [Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Dawkins 1905:269. Hawes 1905:293. Soles 1973:220-1; 1992b: 184.

Architecture

Width 5 | Entrance orientation NE? Number of spaces |2 |
 Length 6 | Associated buildings | !
 Other Poorly preserved.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM 1 EM 1 MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM j ___] Disturbed
 First use date EM II i MMIB [Yes] EM III i 1 MM II i j

Dating Dawkins 1905:269 MM I. Hawes 1905:293 Same period as ossuaries at the Gravel Ridge and Ta Elenika.

Material

Ceramic [Yes | Bone | Ceramic vases [Yes] Figurines [|
 Stone (Yes | Copper | j Stone vases [Yes] Tools j |
 Ivory f | Gold [| Seals ! Beads [|
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets j |
 Obsidian f | L Daggers j |
 Other | Other [| j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Palaikastro Sarantari

Name Palaikastro Sarantari [Tomb IV a j ID j 395
 Nearest village Palaikastro Type jRectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Dawkins 1905:269. Hawes 1905:293. Soles 1973:220-1; 1992b: 184.

Architecture

Width 5 Entrance orientation S? Number of spaces |3
 Length 5 [Associated buildings |
 Other Poorly preserved. Walls and stairs found south of the ossuary. It may indicate another building or more rooms.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM 1 j EM 1 1 ___] MM IA [Yes i MM III - LM i | | Disturbed
 First use date EM n [MMIB Si?] EM III i 1 MM II ! i

Dating Dawkins 1905:269 MM I. Hawes 1905:293 Same period as ossuaries at the Gravel Ridge and Ta Elenika.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone [Ceramic vases [Yes] Figurines [|
 Stone Yes Copper [Stone vases Yes Tools |
 Ivory [j Gold j [Seals [[Beads [|
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [T Daggers [[Amulets
 Obsidian [Silver/Lead [L Daggers [|
 Other j | Other [| j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos

Others

Palaikastro Ta Ellenika

Name Palaikastro Ta Ellenika [Tomb III] ID | 398
 Nearest village [Palaikastro Type {Rectangular tomb { Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated
 Reference Dawkins 1905:268-72. Warren 1965:24. Soles 1973:124-7; 1992b: 183-4. Andreou 1978:60.
 Walberg 1983:133-4. Betancourt 1984:15-6, 36. MacGillivray & Driessen 1990:398. Zois 1998a:
 72.

Architecture

Width 4 | Entrance orientation |SE | Number of spaces |6 |
 Length 9 Associated buildings [|
 Other Entrance by the east part. Rooms 1 and 2 may be later additions. Other wall remains east of the
 Features ossuary. Most of the material in Rooms 3 and 4. i

Chronology

Construction/ [EM III EMI MM IA Yes] MM III - LM C C] Disturbed
 First use date EM II [p MMIB L Z J
 EM III [Yes] MM II I i
 Dating Dawkins 1905:269 EM III. Warren 1965:24 EM III. Andreou 1978:60 EM III. Walberg 1983: EM I
 III - MM IA. Betancourt 1984:36 EM III. MacGillivray & Driessen 1990:398 EM IIB -. Soles 1992b:
 184: EM III. Zois 1998a: 72 EM II - MM IA.

Miscell

Ceramic {42 { Bone | { Ceramic vases 42 Figurines {
 Stone 3 j Copper 1 | Stone vases 3 Tools [|
 Ivory [J Gold [| Seals Beads j
 Crystal [I Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian [Yes L Daggers |1] Ornaments [|
 Other | Other | j

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Bones mainly found disturbed with the material in Rooms 3 and 4.

Others

Palaikastro Ta Ellenika

Name Palaikastro Ta Ellenika [Tomb II [ID [397
 Nearest village {Palaikastro { Type {Rectangular tomb | Dubious
 Area East Crete i Excavated
 Reference Dawkins 1904:196-202; 1905:272. Bosanquet & Dawkins 1923:5-7. Soles 1973:119-23; 1992b:
 181-3. Betancourt 1979: 34,43-4,46-7,49; 1985:51. MacGillivray & Driessen 1990: 398. Zois
 1998a: 63.

Architecture

Width 6 [Entrance orientation [Number of spaces |2
 Length 7 Associated buildings Tomb III and VI
 Other No doorway discovered. Badly preserved.
 Features

ShfnpflpflY

Construction/ [EM II EMI d U MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM d j Disturbed
 First use date EM II [Sis] MM IB [Sis]
 EM III MM II I I
 Dating Dawkins 1905:272 EM II and MM I. Soles 1973:122-3; 1992b: 182-3 EM IIB and MM I.
 MacGillivray & Driessen 1990:398 EM IIA -. Zois 1998a: 63 EM IIA - MM.

Material

Ceramic |25 Bone [Ceramic vases 25 Figurines { j
 Stone Copper [Stone vases 1 | Tools {1 |
 Ivory | Gold | | Seals | Beads i
 Crystal r { Silver/Lead { T Daggers | | Amulets (!
 Obsidian [L Daggers 1 Ornaments |
 Other | Other boat model

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial No burials in large room, small number of bones in small room, maybe only one burial intended in
 this tomb (Dawkins 1904:197).

Material found only in the large room, Dawkins suggested that it represents cult activities
 (Dawkins 1904:197).

Pedino

Name Pedino | ID [400
 Nearest village {Lithines | Type | Tholos Dubious 0
 Area Siteia | Excavated
 Reference Pendlebury et al. 1934:96. Branigan 1993:91.

Architecture

Diameter | Entrance orientation [] Doorway type
 Wall thickness (← Annex [No { Vestibule | No { Vaulted
 Other Round structure
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown EMI MM IA [p Z MM III-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II IP 1 MM IB ZZ
 EM III [PZ] MM II
 Dating Pendlebury et al. 1934: 96 All the pottery was hand-made (Pre MM IB?).

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases j Figurines {
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases () Tools | |
 Ivory | Gold Seals Beads { j
 Crystal | Silver/Lead { { T Daggers | | Amulets { j
 Obsidian [] L Daggers { Ornaments j |
 Other | | Other r

Burial

Burial

Lamax Pithos

Others

Palaikastro Ta Ellenika

Name Palaikastro Ta Ellenika | Tomb VI ID [399
 Nearest village {Palaikastro | Type {Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Crete { Excavated S3
 Reference Dawkins 1904:202. Branigan 1965. Soles 1973:225-7; 1992b: 188. Platon 1977: no 259.
 MacGillivray & Driessen 1990: 399. Zois 1998a: 67.

Architecture

Width 2.8 | Entrance orientation {SE Number of spaces {2
 Length 6 { Associated buildings {
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IA EMI Z D MM IA Yes! MM III-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II ZZ MM IB
 em iii lp | MM II ZZ
 Dating Soles 1992:188 MM IA and at least one MM IB wheel-made jug. MacGillivray & Driessen 1990:
 399 EM III/MM IA -. Zois 1998a: 67 MM IA - B.

Material

Ceramic {23 Bone | Ceramic vases {23 Figurines
 Stone 2 Copper {4 { Stone vases [1 Z Tools {3 {
 Ivory |] Gold [1 | Seals 1 Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead { T Daggers | Amulets |
 Obsidian i L Daggers | Ornaments 1
 Other {Quartz | Other two bronze 'sickles'

Burial

Burial {One body deposited on a layer of pebbles in the small room, large number of scattered bones in
 the larger room and two contracted bodies, heads oriented to the east. Around 15 skulls found.

Perivolakia

Name Perivolakia

Nearest village Perivolakia

Area East Crete

Reference Touchais 1985: 845.

Type Cave

ID ! 402

Dubious

Excavated

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces

Length Associated buildings

Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM

First use date

MM IA

MM IB

MM II

MM

Disturbed

Dating Touchais 1985:845 Early EM - MM.

Material

Ceramic

Copper

Silver/Lead

Ceramic vases

Stone vases

T Daggers

L Daggers

Other

Figurines

Tools

Beads

Amulets

Ornaments

Burial

Burial One lamax found.

Lamax Pithos

Others

Pedino

Name Pedino

Nearest village Lithines

Area Siteia

Reference Pendlebury et al. 1934:96. Branigan 1993: 91.

B

Type Tholos

[

ID j 401

Dubious 0

Excavated

Architecture

Diameter Entrance orientation Doorway type

Wall thickness Annex No; Vestibule Vaulted

Other Round structure.

Features

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown

First use date

EM I

EM II

EM III

P

FZ

FZ

MM IA

MM IB

MM II

p

ZH

r

MM III

LM

[

Disturbed

Dating Pendlebury et al. 1934:96 All the pottery was hand-made (Pre MM IB?).

Material

Ceramic

Stone

Ivory

Crystal

Obsidian :

Other

Bone

[Copper

[Gold

Silver/Lead

Ceramic vases

Stone vases

Seals

T Daggers

L Daggers

Other

Figurines

Tools

Beads

Amulets

Ornaments

Burial !

Lamax Pithos

Others

Skalais

Name Skalais jj J ID | 404
 Nearest village Praisos I Type Cave Dubious B
 Area Siteia i Excavated B
 Reference Bosanquet 1902b: 235-6. Schachermeyr 1938:474. Faure 1964:60, 67 Skates. Tyree 1974: 7-9. j
 Papadakis & Rutkowski 1985. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 71-2.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length 20 Associated buildings j
 Other Features |

Chronoloav

Construction/ (N) EM I Yes 1 MM IA j j MM III - LM Yes" Disturbed B
 First use date EM II j p T j IB | |
 EM III ! i MM II [Yes] _____

Dating Bosanquet 1902b: 236 N, EM, Kamares and Postminoan. Schachermeyr 1938:474 EM and
 geometric. Faure 1964:60 N, EM I, LM III, Proto- and Geometric. Papadakis and Rutkowski 1985: j
 134 N, EM, MM II, LM and Postminoan.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases i | Figurines | |
 Stone I Copper | | Stone vases | Tools | |
 Ivory Gold | | Seals | | Beads | |
 Crystal Silver/Lead | | T Daggers j Amulets j
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments j j
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Bosanquet reported scattered human bones (Bosanquet 1902b: 236). Papadakis and Rutkowski !
 suggested that the burial use of the cave only started in Proto-Geometric times (1985:134). j

Others

Sitia

Name Sitla Iero Piskokefalo ID | 403
 Nearest village (Siteia Type | Rock shelter Dubious B
 Area Siteia Excavated B
 Reference Platon 1953:484; 1956a: 290-1.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces | |
 Length 2.5 Associated buildings | |
 Other Features |

Chronoloav

Construction/ MM I or MA EM I MM IA IP j MM III - LM IP j Disturbed
 First use date EM H | j MM IB [p U j
 EM III | | MM II j |

Dating Platon 1953:484 MM IIIA; 1956a: 291 MM I.

Material

Ceramic !Yes Bone Ceramic vases |Yes| Figurines |
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools | !
 Ivory [| Gold j | Seals Beads T
 Crystal [Silver/Lead T Daggers | Amulets [|
 Obsidian | j L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax B Pithos Sg
 Burial One pithos and one lamax were found with bones inside.

Others

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name Zakros, Gorge of the Dead [Cave I id 406
 Nearest village Kato Zakros Type jRock shelter ~| Dubious 0
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Hogarth 1901:142-3. Charles 1965:45. Zois 1997:42. !

Architecture

Width 2 | Entrance orientation j | Number of spaces |
 Length approx. 5.5 Associated buildings j
 Other Mycenaean structures found outside the cave.
 Features i

Chronology

Construction/ EM IIA | EM I | MMIA | MMIII-LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM II Yes MM IB
 EM III Yes MM II
 Dating Zois 1997:42 Fine Grey Ware, Koumasa Ware, White-on-dark Ware, EM IIA - III.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases] Figurines
 Stone j Copper | Stone vases Tools j
 Ivory [Gold | Seals Beads j
 Crystal [- Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers j Ornaments [
 Other [Other [

Burial

Burial No human bones found. Lamax Pithos

Zakros, Acherotripa

Name Zakros, Acherotripa 11 | ID | 405
 Nearest village Kato Zakros Type (Rock shelter) Dubious 0
 Area East Crete 1 Excavated 0
 Reference Platon 1973: 274.

Architecture

Width [Entrance orientation j | Number of spaces Q
 Length i Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM II | EM I | MMIA | MMIII-LM | Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB E !
 EM III MM II E H
 Dating jPlaton 1973:274 Old Palace period and Mochlos type ceramic (EM II-III?). Geometric, Late Roman, Byzantine.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines j
 Stone Copper { Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold | Seals | Beads | j
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other {Animal Bones }

Burial

Burial No human bones reported. Lamax Pithos

Others

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name Zakros, Gorge of the Dead | [Cave III ~] ID I 408
 Nearest village | Kato Zakros Type | Rock shelter i Dubious 0
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Platon 1974:190-1.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces []
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Walls outside the tomb.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM EMI [1 MMIA {P ! MM III-LM Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II [H] MM IB IE Z J
 EM III [] MM II E U

Dating Platon 1974:191 MM.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines []
 Stone E Copper Stone vases Yes Tools E
 Ivory 3 Gold Seals Beads Q
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments I
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Pithoi reported. Lamax [] Pithos 0

Others

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name [Zakros, Gorge of the Dead | [Cave II j ID j 407]
 Nearest village | Kato Zakros j Type | Rock shelter j Dubious []
 Area j East Crete j Excavated 0
 Reference Hogarth 1901:143-4. Faure 1964:66 Trakhila. Charles 1965:45. Karantzali 1996:46. Zois 1997:43.

Architecture

Width [] Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length [4] Associated buildings
 Other j
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM IIA EMI [] MMIA [] MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [] MM IB []
 EM III [] MM II []

Dating Zois 1997:43 EM IIA -IIB.

Material

Ceramic [23] [Bone [] Ceramic vases [23] Figurines
 Stone H Copper [] Stone vases [] Tools [3]
 Ivory H Gold j [] Seals [] Beads []
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers [] Amulets
 Obsidian 2 [] L Daggers [] Ornaments
 Other [] Other []

Burial

Burial Five burials reported in an ash layer, perhaps cist graves. One skeleton found flexed laying in its [left side with a probable Fine Grey Ware vase. Lamax Pithos []

Others

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name Zakros, Gorge of the Dead j Marmaras J ID I 410
 Nearest village (kato Zakros) ! Type pave | Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated E
 Reference Platon 1966a: 187. Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 183.

Architecture

Width 7 Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length 10 Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ MM EMI MMIA [P, J MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB IO
 EM III MM II HII
 Dating Platon 1966a: 187 MM Wares.

Material

Ceramic | Bone [Ceramic vases J Figurines
 Stone [Yes] Copper [Stone vases "I Tools Yes
 Ivory j Gold [Seals J Beads [
 Crystal [Silver/Lead f T Daggers j Amulets f
 Obsidian | L Daggers j Ornaments [
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial It may be a habitational context, not funerary (Georgoulaki 1996a: Catalogue 183).

Others

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name Zakros, Gorge of the Dead | {Cave IV ID L 409
 Nearest village Kato Zakros ! Type Cave Dubious
 Area East Crete | Excavated E
 Reference Oriandou 1964:176. Faure 1965: 30 n. 2 Kouloukiou. Platon 1966a: 187-8; 1971:66-8, 235.
 Warren 1969:82. Branigan 1971:77.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (EM II EMI {P_ { MMIA { I MM III-LM }_ { Disturbed
 First use date EM II {Yes} MM IB n
 EM III MM II
 Dating Oriandou 1964:176 EM II. Platon 1966a: 88 Vasiliki Ware; 1971:68-9 Probable Grey Fine Ware i
 {and Vasiliki Ware, 235 EM I - II.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
 Stone Yes Copper | Stone vases Yes Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal j Silver/Lead j { T Daggers { Amulets j
 Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments
 Other j Other Dog pyxis.

Burial

Burial Lamax Pithos
 Burial Six burials reported.

Others {Possible Cycladic influences in the material (Platon 1971:68-9).

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name |Zakros, Gorge of the Dead |Pharanx 412!
 Nearest village(Kato Zakros ' Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated Si
 Reference Oriandou 1977:195. Touchais 1977:644.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces [
 Length | Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown EM I [] MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II □ MM IB
 EM III □ MM II
 Dating Oriandou 1977:196 Perhaps Minoan.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases Tools
 Ivory | Gold | Seals | Beads [
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments |
 Other f | Other

Burial

Burial 2 skulls found. Lamax □ Pithos □
 |
 |

Others

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name Zakros, Gorge of the Dead | Ouranias j ID 411
 Nearest village(Kato Zakros Type Cave Dubious □
 Area East Crete Excavated Si
 Reference Platon 1966b: 165-6.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other A wall was found at the entrance.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM ~] EM I |P | MM IA (P | MM III - LM |P |] Disturbed □
 First use date EM II fEU MM IB |p |
 EM III (P | MM II |p |
 Dating iPlaton 1966b: 165-6 EM and MM pottery.

Material

Ceramic (Yes Bone | Ceramic vases |Yes Figurines |
 Stone 1 Copper 1 | Stone vases Tools 2
 Ivory | Gold | Seals Beads |
 Crystal Silver/Lead (T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other |

Burial

Burial Pithoi found. Lamax □ Pithos Si
 |

Others

Zakros, Karaviadaina

Name [Zakros, Karaviadaina] j ID j 414
 Nearest village |Kato Zakros] Type jRock shelter | Dubious
 Area East Crete j Excavated 0
 Reference Touchais et al. 2001:1018.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jMM II EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III MM II
 Dating Touchais et al. 2001:1018 MM II.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines |
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory ↓ Gold | Seals | Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | L Daggers Ornaments
 Other { Other j |

Burial

Burial Seven burials reported.

Others

Zakros, Gorge of the Dead

Name Zakros, Gorge of the Dead | Spliara | ID | 413
 Nearest village:Kato Zakros Type Cave Dubious
 Area East Crete | Excavated 0
 Reference Platon 1966b: 165; Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 184.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j | Number of spaces
 Length | Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EM EMI |P_| MMIA |P_| MMIII-LM |P_| Disturbed
 First use date EM II : : MM IB : :
 EM III : : MM II : :
 Dating jPlaton 1966b: 165 MM pithoi, EM pottery.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone [Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines 1 |
 Stone Yes Copper Stone vases [Tools Yes |
 Ivory Gold | Seals Beads |
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other f

Burial {Three pithoi found. It may be a habitational context (Georgoulaki 1996a: catalogue 184).

Others

Zakros, Pezoules Kephalas

Name [Zakroe, Pezoules Kephala j][Tomb A 416]
 Nearest village [Kato Zakros Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Oriandou 1968a: 113-5. Platon 1969b: 190-4. Soles 1973:167-73; 1992b: 195-6. Becker 1975.
 Pomerance 1977:22 n. 6. Andreou 1978:101-2. Walberg 1983:134. Philips 1991: 713-4.
 Georgoulaki 1996a: 185-6. Zois 1997:62-8. Platon 1999a: 674,676.

Architecture

Width 3 Entrance orientation SE Number of spaces |3

Length 4 Associated buildings

Other Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IA [EM I ZZ MM IA [Yes] MM III - LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II [ZD MM IB [Yes]
 EM III ZZ MM II Yes]

Dating Platon 1969b: 194 MM IA. Soles 1973:173 MM IA; 1992b: 198 MMIA - II. Andreou 1978:101-2: i
 MM II - III. Walberg 1983:134 MM IA - III/LM I. Zois 1997:68 MM IA. Platon 1999a: 674,676 MM
 IA - III.

Material

Ceramic 100 Bone Ceramic vases 100 Figurines
 Stone |4 Copper [Stone vases 4 Tools j
 Ivory [| Gold j [Seals j | Beads |3 [|
 Crystal | j Silver/Lead j | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian | | L Daggers [j Ornaments Z
 Other [| Other

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos 0

600 burials suggested by excavator, 45 skulls found. Lamakes found in all rooms. Intact interment found in a lamax. Bones found outside the enclosure.

Others

Zakros, Mavro Avlaki

Name Zakros, Mavro Avlaki Cave ID 1 415
 Nearest village [Kato Zakros Type Rock shelter Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Faure 1962: 39; 1964:166. Platon 1964:224; 1966b: 167-8; 1971: 235. Petrakos 1992:116.
 Platon 1999a: 674-6. Touchais et al. 2001:1016-7.

Architecture

Width 5 Entrance orientation E Number of spaces |

Length 19 Associated buildings

Other There was a building in front of the cave of the same chronology as the material from the cave
 Features (Platon 1966b: 168).

Chronology

Construction/ jEM II? EM I MMIA [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II p MM IB Z Z
 EM III p | MM II | j

Dating Faure 1962: 39 EM I - II. Platon 1966b: 167-8 EM; 1971:235 EM II - III. Petrakos 1992:116 EM
 III? - MM IA. Platon 1999a: 674-6 -MM III.

Material

Ceramic [Yes Bone | Ceramic vases Yes Figurines !
 Stone Copper | Stone vases [| Tools [] j
 Ivory | Gold | J Seals [[Beads !
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian fes | L Daggers j j Ornaments |
 Other Other [

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos S3

Burial Pithos and lamax fragments. The cave may have been used for habitation (Petrakos 1992:116).

Others

Zakros, Rizes

Name Zakros, Rizes ~| Tomb i | ID | 418
 Nearest village Kato Zakros Type JRectangular tomb | Dubious
 Area East Crete i Excavated 0
 Reference Platon 1973:274.

Width j Entrance orientation | j Number of spaces [
 Length [Associated buildings | _____
 Other
 Features

Chronoloav

Construction/ (Unknown EM I [! MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III r n MM II
 Dating It may be of a similar chronology to Rizes II.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines j
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools [sT
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads Q
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets Q
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments I
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Human bones and teeth reported. Lamax Pithos

Others

j

Zakros, Pezoules Kephala

Name Zakros, Pezoules Kephala | Tomb B | ID | 417
 Nearest village Kato Zakros Type JRectangular tomb | Dubious
 Area East Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Oriandou 1968a: 113-5. Platon 1969b: 190-4. Soles 1973:173-6.1992b: 198-201. Becker 1975. Pomerance 1977:22 n. 6. Andreou 1978:101-2. Yule 1980:16. Phillips 1991:714-5. Georgoulaki 1996a: 185-6. Zois 1997: 62-8. Platon 1999a: 674, 676.

Architecture

Width 2.4 [Entrance orientation [Number of spaces |
 Length 3.2 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [MM IA EM I d U MMIA £ g] MMIII-LM [Yes] Disturbed
 First use date EM II d] MM IB
 EM III d] MM II
 Dating Platon 1969b: 194 MM IA. Soles 1973:176; 1992b: 201 MMIA. Andreou 1978:101-2: MM II - III. Yule 1980: 16 MM II. Zois 1997: 68 MM IA. Platon 1999a: 674, 676 MM IA - III.

Material

Ceramic 70 Bone Ceramic vases [70 Figurines
 Stone 14 Copper 3 Stone vases 4] Tools [2
 Ivory | Gold [| Seals 1 Beads 1
 Crystal] Silver/Lead |I ~] T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments 1
 Other Other

Burial Lamax 0 Pithos
 Burial [20 complete skulls. Three undisturbed burials, contracted, head oriented north. Two of them {marked off by small stones, the other found in a lamax.

Others

Ziros

Name Ziros Fonias | ID j 420
Nearest village [Ziros [Type Nea Roumata Dubious 0
Area East Crete | Excavated 0
Reference Papadakis 1988:523.

Architecture

Width 2.5 diameter Entrance orientation NE [Number of spaces |
Length 1.35 high | Associated buildings
Other It has a 2.4 m long corridor (a feature typical of LM tholos). Tholos construction and its dimensions
Features resemble the case of Nea Roumata.

Chronology

Construction/ [Unknown j EMI i i MM IA [i MM III - LM i i Disturbed S
First use date II [! □ MM IB L Z j
EM III □ MM II i j
Dating Papadakis 1988:523 Minoan.

Material

Ceramic Bone [Ceramic vases j Figurines
Stone Copper Stone vases] Tools [j
Ivory Gold [Seals [Beads
Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers j Amulets
Obsidian j L Daggers Ornaments [
Other [Other [

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pitthos □

Others

Zakros, Rizes

Name [Zakros, Rizes j Tomb II | ID | 419
Nearest village [Kato Zakros [Type [Rectangular tomb Dubious □
Area East Crete Excavated 0
Reference Platon 1973: 274-5.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
Length Associated buildings
Other
Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EMI EMI d j MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM Disturbed H
First use date EM II d j MM IB d]
EM III d] MM II i j
Dating Platon 1973:275 Final Prepalatial period (EM III?) MM IA.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone [Ceramic vases Yes Figurines
Stone Copper j Stone vases Tools [Yes |
Ivory Gold Seals [Beads j
Crystal ~ \ Silver/Lead [] T Daggers [Amulets
Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
Other Other |

Burial

Burial Lamax □ Pitthos □
Few human bones reported.

Others

Chania

Name Chania Chalepas | ID | 422
 Nearest village|Chania Type Pitthoi | Dubious
 Area West Crete | Excavated 0
 Reference Theofaneides 1940:484.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | { Number of spaces |
 Length | Associated buildings | _____
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ |MM I EMI [| MMIA |Yes] MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EMIi CM MM IB
 EM III ! | MM II

Dating Theofaneides 1940:484 MM I.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases | Tools f]
 Ivory | Gold | Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets
 Obsidian 1 L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other [!

Burial

Burial One MM 1pithos reported.

Others

Lamax Pithos 0

Agios Ioannis

Name Agios Ioannis | ID [421
 Nearest village|Chania Type [Cave Dubious 0
 Area West Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Faure 1962:45; 1964:69. Treuil 1970:19-20. Moody 1987a: catalogue AIG. Tzedakis 1988a: 395-6. Godart and Tzedakis 1992:44.

Architecture

Width 4 Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length 17 Associated buildings |
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ |EN EMI [F j MM IA MM III - LM Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II 1/2 3 MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating Moody 1987a: catalogue EN I - FN.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone ; Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [Gold [| Seals Beads [|
 Crystal i Silver/Lead [| T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other [!

Burial

Burial FN burials documented, but the exact nature of the possible EM stratum is not clear due to disturbances.

Others

Lamax Pithos

Gerospilía

Name Gerospilía | ID | 424
 Nearest village (Agia Marina) Type JRock shelter | Dubious
 Area West Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Pendlebury 1939:103,123. Faure 1958:501; 1964:69. Moody 1987a: catalogue AMR1. Godart and Tzedakis 1992:46.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length 5 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jEM III? [EMI MMIA |Yes] MMIII-LM Z d Disturbed
 First use date EM H d Z MM IB d j
 EM III |Yes] MM II | |
 Dating Faure 1958:501, Late EM, early MM I. Pendlebury 1939:103 burials late EM.

Material

Ceramic	Bone |	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone |1	j Copper |	Stone vases 1	Tools
Ivory	| Gold |	Seals	| Beads | j
Crystal [	Silver/Lead (	T Daggers	Amulets | |
Obsidian |		L Daggers j	Ornaments [ | j
Other [		Other	|

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial Burials reported from this cave, probably late EM, MM I.

Ellinospiláio

Name Ellinospiláio | ID j 423
 Nearest village Afrata Type Cave | Dubious 0
 Area West Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Faure 1956:99; 1964: passim; 1969: 215. Hood 1965:105. Tyree 1974:62. Moody 1987a: catalogue DKT1. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:70.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |2
 Length approx. 198 Associated buildings
 Other Long corridor and large chamber.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jFN j EMI [£ MM IA d J MM III - LM Z d Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II Z d MM IB d U
 EM III | | MM II | |
 Dating jFaure 1964:62 Subneolithic.

Material

Ceramic	Bone |	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone |	j Copper |	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory j	| Gold |	Seals	| Beads j -†
Crystal	Silver/Lead |	T Daggers |	Amulets
Obsidian !		L Daggers	| Ornaments | j
Other	|	Other	|

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial Faure reported human bones and burials in this cave (1956:99), although they may be associated with Mycenaean material.

Others

Kalathas

Name Kalathas || J ID [42\$
 Nearest village Horafakia | Type Rock shelter | Dubious 0
 Area West Crete | Excavated
 Reference Moody 1987a: catalogue KL11.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces [|
 Length Associated buildings |
 Other |
 Features |

Phrenology

Construction/ [EM | EMI SE d MM IA d d MM III LM d J Disturbed
 First use date EM II j F j MM IB d Z
 EM III [FJ MM II L d

Dating Moody 1987a: catalogue EM.

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	Figurines
Stone	Copper	Stone vases	Tools
Ivory [	| Gold f	| Seals	| Beads j j
Crystal j	| Silver/Lead |	T Daggers	Amulets |
Obsidian		L Daggers	Ornaments
Other |		Other	

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial No bones were found, but the cave is too small for other use (Moody 1987a: catalogue KL11).

Others

Horafakia

Name Horafakia
 Nearest village|Horafakia Dubious
 Area West Crete
 Reference Tzedakis 1987:398. Catling 1988: 76.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation j | Number of spaces [|
 Length | Associated buildings |
 Other |
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ |MM | EMI | i MM IA |p | MM III - LM IP ; Disturbed
 First use date EM II d | MM IB |F j
 EM III dJ MM II |P |

Dating jTzedakis 1987:398 MM, an EM cup was found near the surface.

Material

Ceramic |2	Bone	(Ceramic vases 2	Figurines
Stone	| Copper	Stone vases	1 Tools i
Ivory	j Gold |	| Seals j	Beads j
Crystal j	Silver/Lead	T Daggers |	Amulets
Obsidian		L Daggers j	| Ornaments |
Other		Other	

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial One pithos with a cup and a brazier inside. No bones found, nevertheless the excavator suggested a funerary context.

Others Similar contexts have been suggested to be non-funerary (Moody 1987a: 204,206).

Kato Sarakina

Name Kato Sarakina [[Elleniko] ID | 428
 Nearest village|Therisso | Type Cave Dubious 0
 Area West Crete I Excavated 0
 Reference Faure 1960:214-5; 1964:69. Tyree 1974:59-60. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 55-6.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length 20 | Associated buildings
 Other Row of three rock shelters
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ EMI MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II C Z j MM IB
 EM III Z MM II
 Faure 1960: Subneolithic; 1964:63 EMI

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines j
 Stone Copper | Stone vases | Tools r !
 Ivory | Gold [[Seals Beads [:
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian ! L Daggers Ornaments [:
 Other i Other [!

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos 0
 Burial Faure reported one or more inhumations in this cave (Faure 1964:69). Tyree suggested Neolithic i and EMI I habitational use (1974:59-60).

Others

Kalogerospilio

Name Kalogerospilio ID 427
 Nearest village|Mesonisi Type Rock shelter Dubious 0
 Area West central Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Faure 1964:68. Hood et al. 1964: 75. Petit 1990: 52.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation [Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Row of three rock shelters
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ FN EMI FU MMIA FL MM III-LM FL Disturbed 0
 First use date EM II d J MM IB P Z
 EM III L d MM II P I
 Dating Faure 1964:68 Subneolithic. Hood et al. 1964: 75 MM

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases [Yes | Figurines
 Stone Copper [Stone vases [Tools
 Ivory Gold [| Seals [Beads [:
 Crystal Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian Yes L Daggers Ornaments
 Other | Other

Burial

Lamax 0 Pithos 0
 Burial MM pithos fragments were reported, and most probably the burials can be dated to this period.

Others

Korakia

Name Korakia | ID | 430
 Nearest village |Georgioupoli | Type |Cave Dubious 0
 Area West Crete | Excavated
 Reference Faure 1964:185-6. Tyree 1974:47-8.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |
 Length 13 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [N] EM I ! i MM IA jYes! MM III - LM | | Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB jYes]
 EM III d U MM II ! !
 Dating Faure 1964:185 MM I, MM III. Tyree 1974: N and MM I.

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases | Figurines
 Stone | Copper | Stone vases | Tools [
 Ivory {Gold [| Seals | Beads |
 Crystal | Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets j
 Obsidian | L Daggers | Ornaments |
 Other | Other

Burial

Burial Tyree reported human bones in this cave.
 Lamax Pithos

Others

Kera Spiliotisa

Name Kara Spiliotisa | ID | 429
 Nearest village |Mysses | Type |Cave Dubious 0
 Area West Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Faure 1958:500; 1962: 57; 1964:69. Hood 1965:106. Tzedakis & Davaras 1968: 500,506. Treuil 1970:18-9. Tyree 1974:60-2. Moody 1987a: catalogue VRS1b. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:56-7.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation jNW | Number of spaces |
 Length 15 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ jN EM I Yes MM IA E J MM III-LM IEH Disturbed
 First use date EM H P MM IB jED
 EM III P I MM II jP j
 Dating Faure 1964: 63 EM I. Tzedakis & Davaras 1968:506 Neolithic and Early Minoan, Pithos ware. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 55-6 EM • MM.

Material

Ceramic _ | Bone | Ceramic vases | Figurines L |
 Stone [| Copper | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory [ooC Seals | Beads | |
 Crystal [Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets T
 Obsidian j L Daggers | Ornaments L |
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Faure reported a possible funerary cave (1964:69). Moody and Tyree suggested habitational use [Moody 1987a: catalogue; Tyree 1974:62).
 Lamax Pithos

Others

Margieles

Name Margieles 432
 Nearest village | Elenais Type Cave Dubious
 Area West central Crete Excavated
 Reference Marinatos 1933a: 295-7. Pendlebury 1939: 55. Faure 1964: 68. Hood et al. 1964:73. Godart & Tzedakis 1992:75-6.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length 32 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ | EMI EMI MMIA E J MMIII-LM [P I Disturbed 5?
 First use date EM II MM IB E J
 EM III MM II E J
 Dating Marinatos 1933a: 295-6 EM I, Pirog ware. Pendlebury 1939: EM I. Faure 1964: EM I. Hood et al. 1964: EM, MM and LM.

Material

Ceramic [Yes [Bone | Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone [| Copper | | Stone vases | Tools |
 Ivory | | Gold | | Seals Beads
 Crystal [-] Silver/Lead [| T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [Yes Z I L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial An inhumation was found at the back of the cave, although it is not clear whether it was a deliberate burial or not (Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 75).

Others

Kumarospilio

Name [Kumarospilio Gouvernetou 431
 Nearest village [Koumares Type Cave Dubious S3
 Area [West Crete Excavated S3
 Reference [Jantzen 1951a. Faure 1964:62,68. Tyree 1974:53-4. Tzedakis & Davaras 1977:582-3. Moody j1987a: KMA. Godart & Tzedakis 1992:46. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:58-9.

Architecture

Width | Entrance orientation | Number of spaces |2
 Length 14 Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ Neolithic j EMI [] MMIA ED MM III - LM [Yes Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB ED
 EM III MM II E J
 Dating Jantzen 1951a: 4 Mainly Neolithic, only one MM shard. Godart & Tzedakis 1992:46 Neolithic, MM and LM IIIA2-B1. Karantzali 1996: 85-6 LN and LM IIIA2-B1.

Material

Ceramic [Yes j Bone [Ceramic vases [Yes Figurines
 Stone j | Copper | [Stone vases | Tools j
 Ivory | | Gold] [Seals Beads |
 Crystal [Silver/Lead [T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian 2 L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Lamax Pithos
 Burial Faure reported remains of five individuals, although they may not indicate interment and they do not have clear dating (Faure 1964:62). They have been suggested to be Neolithic (Godart & Tzedakis 1992:46; Moody 1987a: catalogue; Tyree 1974:54)

Others

NAMFI beach

Name NAMFI beach D ω
 Nearest village|Marathi Type [Rock shelter] Dubious 0
 Area West Crete Excavated
 Reference Moody 1987a: 205, MR6.

Architecture

Width [Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings
 Other 11 rock shelters, man-made, with small narrow entrance and single chamber.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ |EM EM I P MMIA IP ! MMIII-LM i I Disturbed H
 First use date EM II P J MM IB P i
 EM III P J MM II P J
 Dating Moody 1987a: catalogue EM, MM I-II.

Material

Ceramic | Bone | Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone [- Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [[Gold | Seals |] Beads [|
 Crystal [- | Silver/Lead [| T Daggers Amulets [|
 Obsidian | L Daggers] Ornaments [
 Other | Other]

Burial

Burial 11 man-made rock shelters. No human bones. Lamax Pitthos

Others The architecture description resembles Cycladic burials |

Melidoni Milopotamou

Name [Melidoni Milopotamou [Gerospillo [id j 433
 Nearest village|Melidoni] Type [Cave] Dubious 0
 Area West central Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Faure 1964:131-6. Tyree 1974:43-5. Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 79-80. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 63-5. Gavriaki 1997: 594. Blackman 1998: 127.

Architecture

Width [Entrance orientation |W] Number of spaces |
 Length 100 min. | Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ |N EMI P_ MMIA [F U MMIII-LM F I] Disturbed
 First use date EM II [& MM IB [F I
 EM III [P I MM II [P I
 Dating Faure 1964:135 Neolithic, LM. Godart & Tzedakis 1992:80 MM, LM. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996: 65: N and LM I onwards. Gavriaki 1997: 594: Neolithic, EM.

Material

Ceramic | Bone [Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone T | Copper [Stone vases Tools
 Ivory [| Gold [J Seals Beads
 Crystal [| Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers | Ornaments
 Other Other f

Burial

Burial Human remains found underneath an EM layer at the north chamber of the tomb (Gavriaki 1997; Blackman 1998). Lamax Pitthos

Others

Nopigeia

Name Nopigeia ~ || " j ID | 436
 Nearest village(Nopigeia | Type (Pithoi Dubious
 Area West Crete | Excavated 0
 Reference Karantzali 1996:89-90; 1997:66-7.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronoloav

Construction/ |EM II EMI MMIA MMIII-LM | | Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB
 EM III IEH MM II
 Dating Karantzali 1996: 91: EM IIA, little EM IIB-III

Material

Ceramic Bone | Ceramic vases { Figurines |
 Stone | Copper Stone vases [H Tools | |
 Ivory | Gold { | Seals | | Beads | |
 Crystal | Silver/Lead { T Daggers | j Amulets { |
 Obsidian | L Daggers Omaments | |
 Other | Other | | |

Burial

Burial Pithos Pitthos 0
 Burial Pithos burial of a three year old child. Probably EM II. It seems to have been buried inside a house!
 Lamax Pitthos 0

Others

Nea Roumata

Name Nea Roumata Tholos ID 435
 Nearest village(Nea Roumata Type Nea Roumata Dubious
 Area West Crete Excavated 0
 Reference Tzedakis 1984; 1988b: 508-9. Moody 1987a: NRM1. Godart & Tzedakis 1992: 58-9. Karantzali 1996: 89, 239.

Architecture

Width | i Entrance orientation | | Number of spaces |
 Length |1.1 | Associated buildings
 Other |1.1 m diameter, 0.61 m high. It has similarities to tombs from Syros (Karantzali 1996:239).
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ |EM I j EM I Yes i MM IA | | MM III - LM ! Disturbed
 First use date EM II | MM IB j '
 EM III MM II | |
 Dating iGodart & Tzedakis 1992: 59 EM I. Karantzali 1996:89 EM I.

Material

Ceramic 2 Bone Ceramic vases 2 Figurines
 Stone Copper | Stone vases Tools j
 Ivory j Gold | { Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead | T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Omaments
 Other | | Other

Burial

Burial One single burial.
 Lamax Pitthos

Qthgrs EM I - II settlement found 800-1000 m as the crow flies from the tomb (Tzedakis 1988b; Godart & Tzedakis 1992:59). {

Plates/Charakas

Name Plates/Charakas
 Nearest village Patsos Rock shelter
 Area West central Crete
 Reference Faure 1965: 53-4. Petit 1990:52.
 Dubious
 Excavated

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces |
 Length Associated buildings |
 Other Curved wall.
 Features |

Chronology

Construction/ | MM I MMIA MMIII-LM [P ! Disturbed
 First use date EM II MM IB KJ
 EM III MM II FJ
 Dating Faure 1965: 54 MM I based in parallels with other pithos cemeteries in East Crete.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Various pithos burials.
 Lamax Pithos

Others

Perivolitsa

Name Perivolitsa ! ID | 437
 Nearest village Rtzosklokos Type Tholos Dubious 63
 Area West Crete Excavated
 Reference Moody 1987a: 205, PR4.

Architecture

Diameter | Entrance orientation | Doorway type |
 Wall thickness Annex No Vestibule | No] Vaulted |
 Other Curved wall.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ | MM I-II EM I MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM | Disturbed n
 First use date EM II MM IB [Yes] i
 EM III [] MM II Yes i
 Dating Moody 1987a: 205, MM I-II.

Material

Ceramic [Bone | Ceramic vases | | Figurines |
 Stone r Copper | | Stone vases | | Tools |
 Ivory [| Gold | | Seals | | Beads |
 Crystal [Silver/Lead | T Daggers | Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers | Ornaments |
 Other ! | Other [

Burial

Burial No bones associated, funerary function suggested because the curved wall.
 Lamax Pithos

Others

Vrimbokainbos A

Name Vrimbokambos A ID 440!
 Nearest village Papadiana Tholos Dubious 0
 Area West Crete Excavated
 Reference Hood 1965:102 (Thrimbokambos). Belgiomo et al. 1984:76-7 (Thrimbokambos).

Architecture

Diameter Entrance orientation | Doorway type |
 Wall thickness Annex | No Vestibule | No Vaulted |
 Other Curved wall
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ [EM III - MM ij EMI j i MMIA [Yes] MMIII-LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II [I J MM IB [Yes] EM III E D MM II j Yes!

Dating Hood 1965:102 EM III - MM II. Belgiomo et al. 1984:76 MM I - II.

Material

Ceramic Bone Ceramic vases Figurines []
 Stone Copper Stone vases Tools
 Ivory Gold Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets |
 Obsidian L Daggers Ornaments j
 Other Other

Burial

Burial Possible tholos inside a settlement (Hood 1965:103). Lamax Pithos

Others

Plativola

Name Plativola Skourachlada ID 439!
 Nearest village plativola Type Cave Dubious 0
 Area West Crete Excavated
 Reference Tzedakis 1968:428-9; 1969:415-6. Tzedakis & Davaras 1968: 504-6. Branigan 1971:63. Warren & Tzedakis 1974. Masaki & Hallager 1995: 258, 267. Wilson 1984: 301-3. Moody 1987: PLV1. Godart & Tzedakis 1992:48-51. Karantzali 1996:84-5. Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996:67-8. Pieler 2004:116.

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces (4-
 Length Associated buildings
 Other Four different chambers were excavated.
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ JFN EMI [FLJ MM IA ED MMIII-LM P j Disturbed
 First use date EMM [F j MM IB ED EM III (FU MM II ED

Dating Tzedakis & Davaras 1968: FN, EM I - MM II. Tzedakis 1969: FN, EM I - MM II, LM. Godart & Tzedakis 1992: FN + LM.

Material

Ceramic Yes Bone Ceramic vases Yes Figurines 1
 Stone [! Copper Stone vases ! Tools
 Ivory [Gold j | Seals Beads
 Crystal Silver/Lead T Daggers Amulets
 Obsidian [L Daggers Ornaments
 Other [j Other

Burial

Burial Possible EM funerary cave. Bones were found mainly in Chamber IV. Lamax Pithos

Others Sauceboats and folded arms figurines indicate cycladic links.

Vrimbokambos B

Name **Vrimbokambos B** ID **441!**
 Nearest village(Papadiana) Type **Rectangular tomb** Dubious **8**
 Area **West Crete** Excavated
 Reference **Hood 1965:104 (Thrimbokambos 3E).**

Architecture

Width Entrance orientation Number of spaces **2**
 Length Associated buildings
 Other
 Features

Chronology

Construction/ (Unknown) EMI | | MMIA MM III - LM Disturbed
 First use date EM II | | MM IB
 EM III MM II

Dating **Hood 1965:104 Minoan.**

Material

Ceramic	Bone	Ceramic vases	j	Figurines	j	i
Stone |	Copper |	Stone vases		Tools		!
Ivory	[Gold]	Seals		Beads		!
Crystal	Silver/Lead	T Daggers		Amulets		j
Obsidian |		L Daggers		Ornaments		(
Other		[Other				i

Burial

Lamax Pitthos

Burial (Possible rectangular tomb (Hood 1965:105).

Others

Figures

Period		Start	End	
Prepalatial	EM I	3100-3000 BC	2700 - 2650 BC	
	EM IIA	2700 - 2650 BC	2450 - 2350 BC	
	EM IIB	2450 - 2350 BC	2200-2150 BC	
	EM III	2200 - 2150 BC	2050 - 2000 BC	
	MM IA	2050 - 2000 BC	1925-1900 BC	
Protopalatial	MM IB	1925-1900 BC	1900-1875 BC	First Palaces constructed
	MM II	1900-1875 BC	1750 - 1720 BC	First Palaces destroyed
Neopalatial	MM III	1750 - 1720 BC	1700-1680 BC	New Palaces constructed

Figure 1.1 Cretan Early and Middle Bronze Age absolute chronology after Manning 1995

300

I I Possible

© 100

EM I EM II EM III MM IA MM IB MM II Used
after MM
II

Figure 12 Funerary contexts in use by period

- # Sites well published in recent years or sites extensively published in earlier years that have been the subject of later analyses
- O Well published sites but without a large number of secondary analyses of their material
- O Sites known through extensive reports
- O Sites only known through short reports, although they may still include chronological information as well as some general information of the interment type and material found

Figure 11.1 Classification of cemeteries according to data quality

50 Km

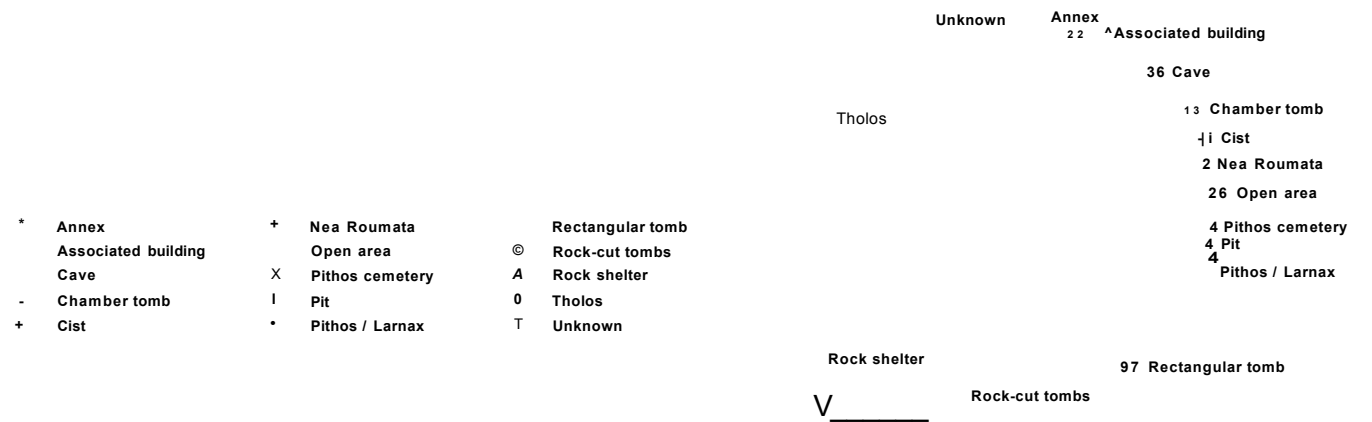


Figure 111.2 EM I - MM II funerary contexts by type

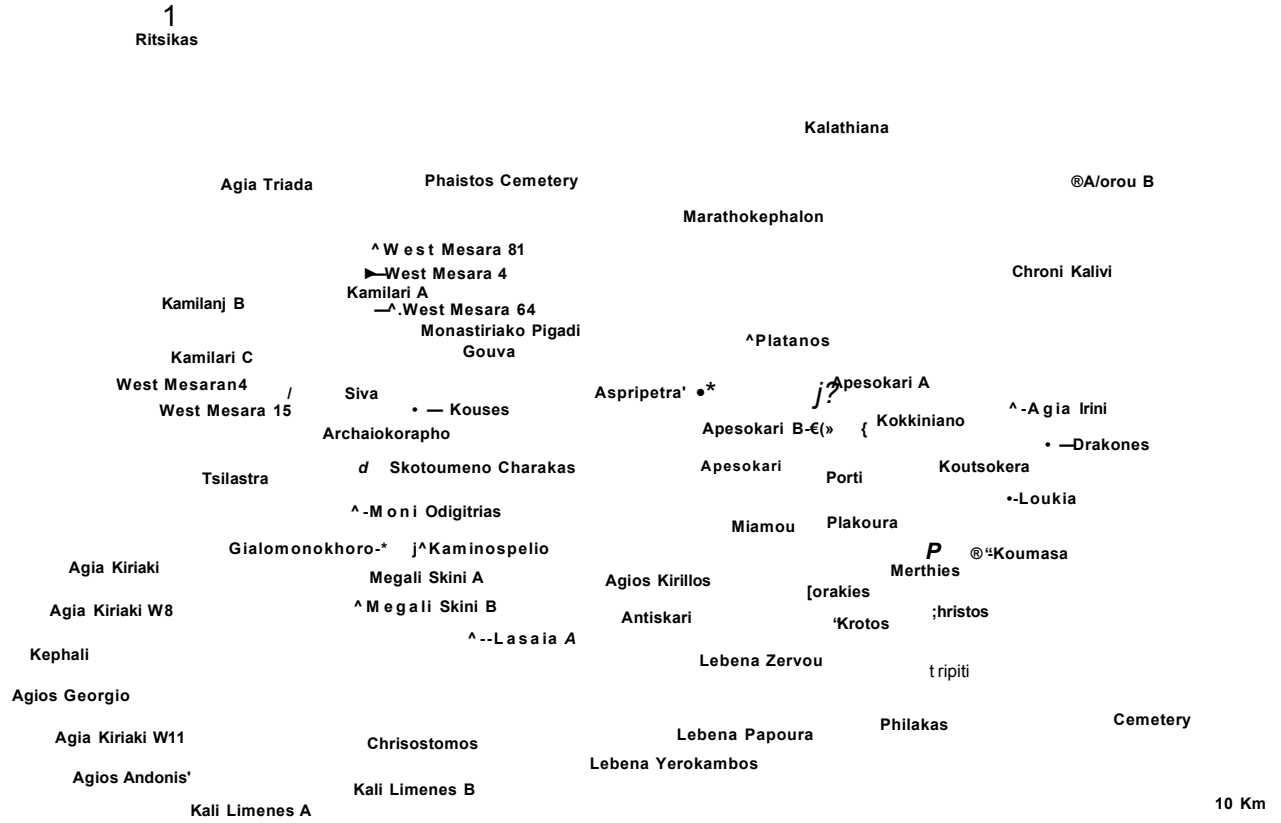


Figure IV.1 Cemeteries in the Mesara Valley, Asterousia Mountains and south coast

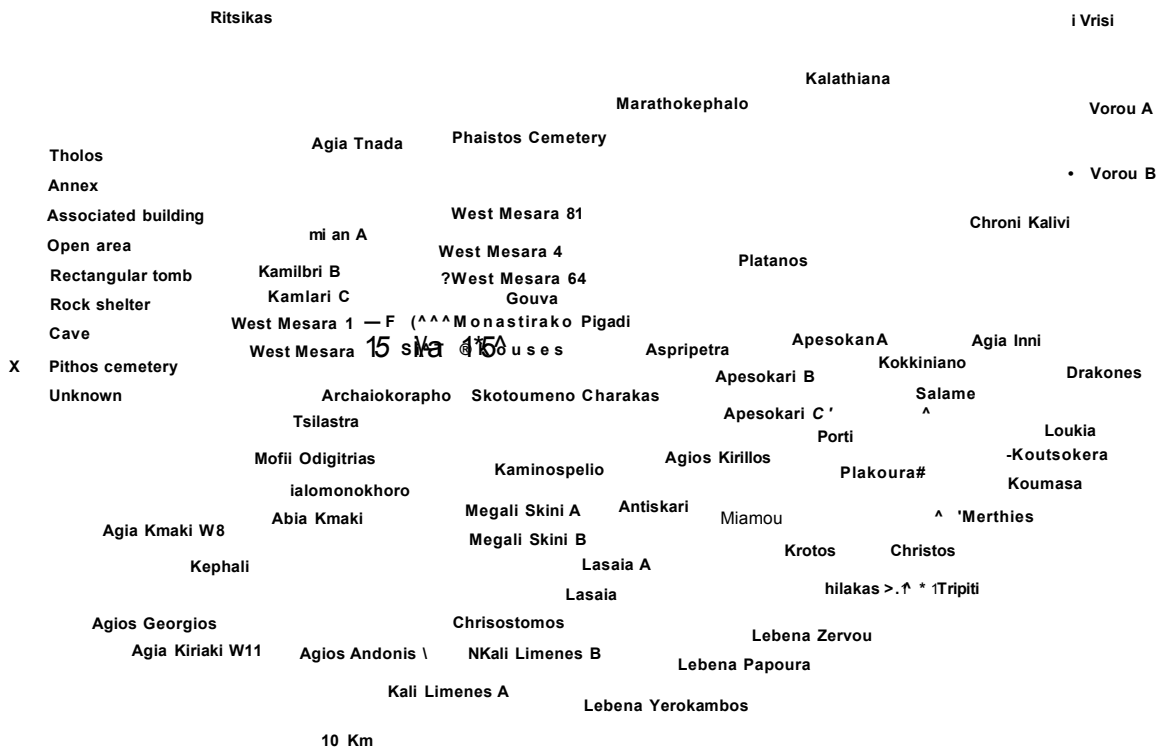


Figure IV.2 Funerary contexts in the Mesara Valley, Asterousia Mountains and south coast

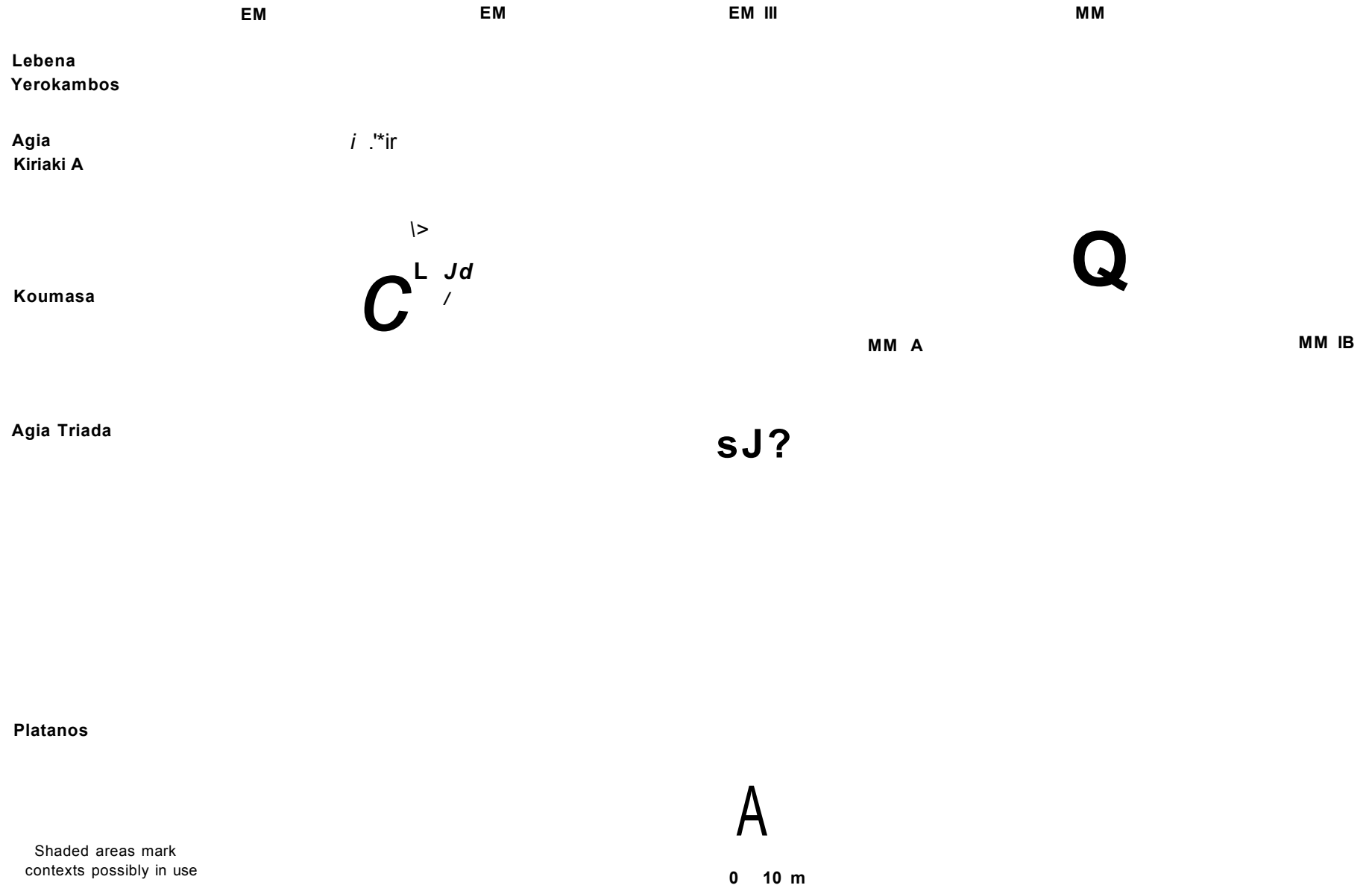


Figure IV.3 Development through time of selected cemeteries in south-central Crete

Figure IV.4 Number of cemeteries constructed by period in south-central Crete

Figure IV.5 Number of cemeteries in use by period in south-central Crete

Figure IV.6 Tholos / non-tholos balance by period (Phaistos cemetery excluded) in south-central Crete

Figure IV.7 Number of ceramic vessels in Kamilari A by period after Levi 1963

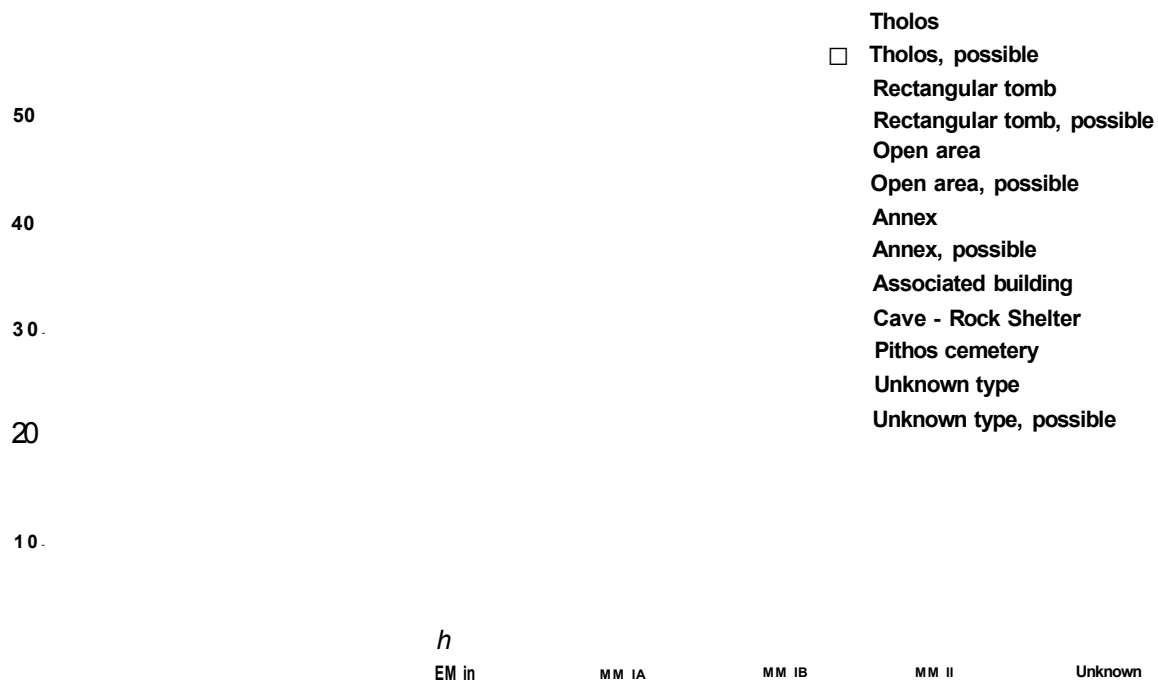


Figure IV.8 Use of different types of funerary contexts by period in south-central Crete

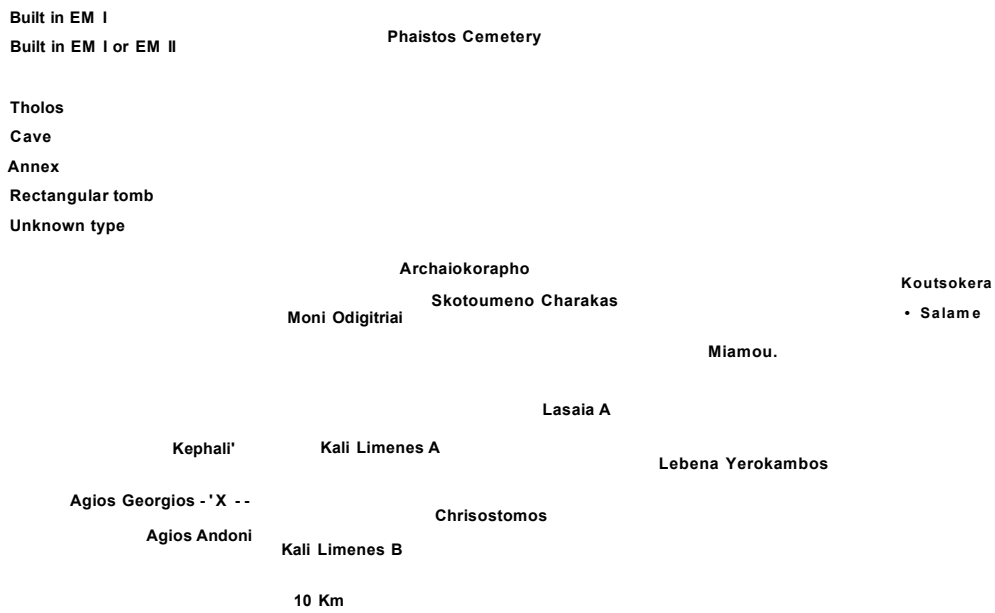


Figure IV.9 EM I funerary contexts in south-central Crete

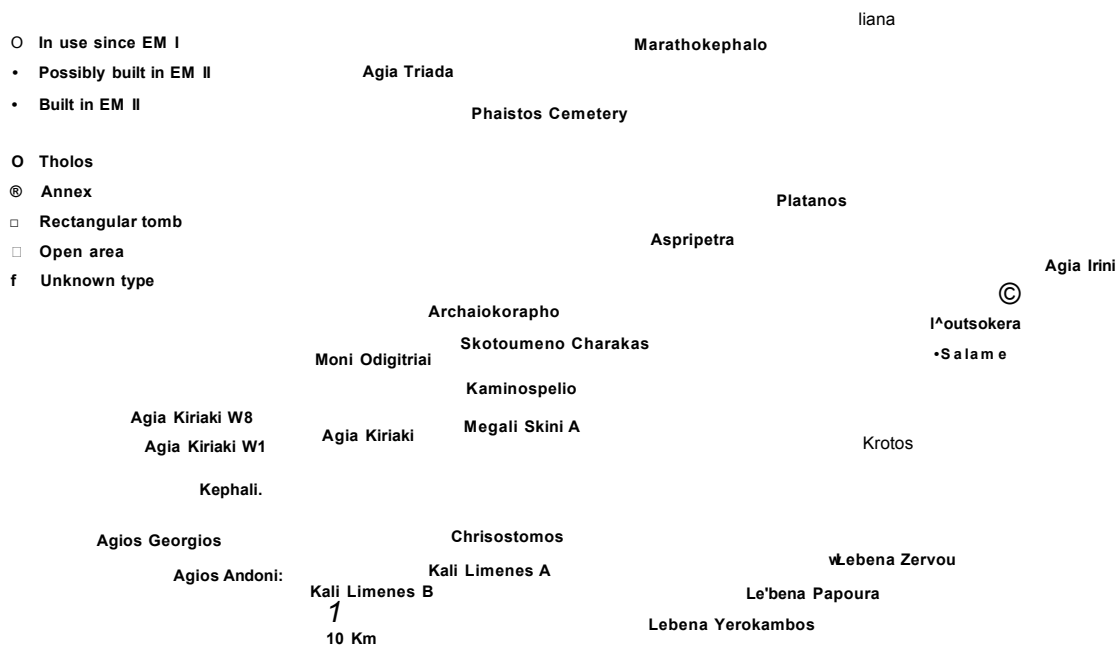


Figure IV.10 EM I and II funerary contexts in south-central Crete

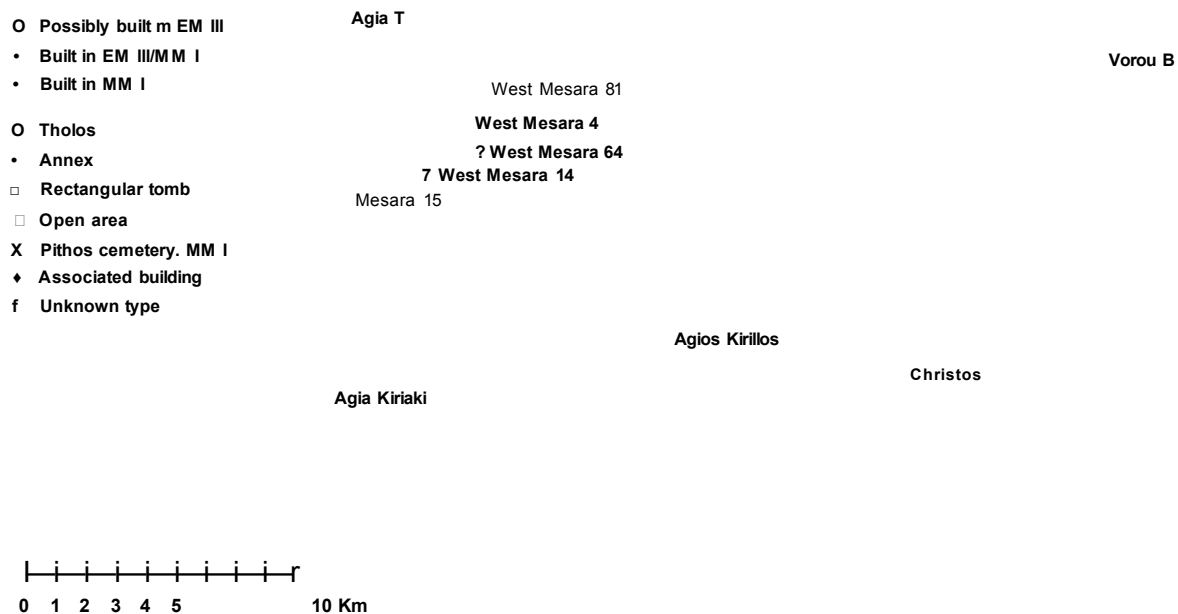


Figure IV.11 Funerary contexts built in the EM III and MM I periods in south-central Crete

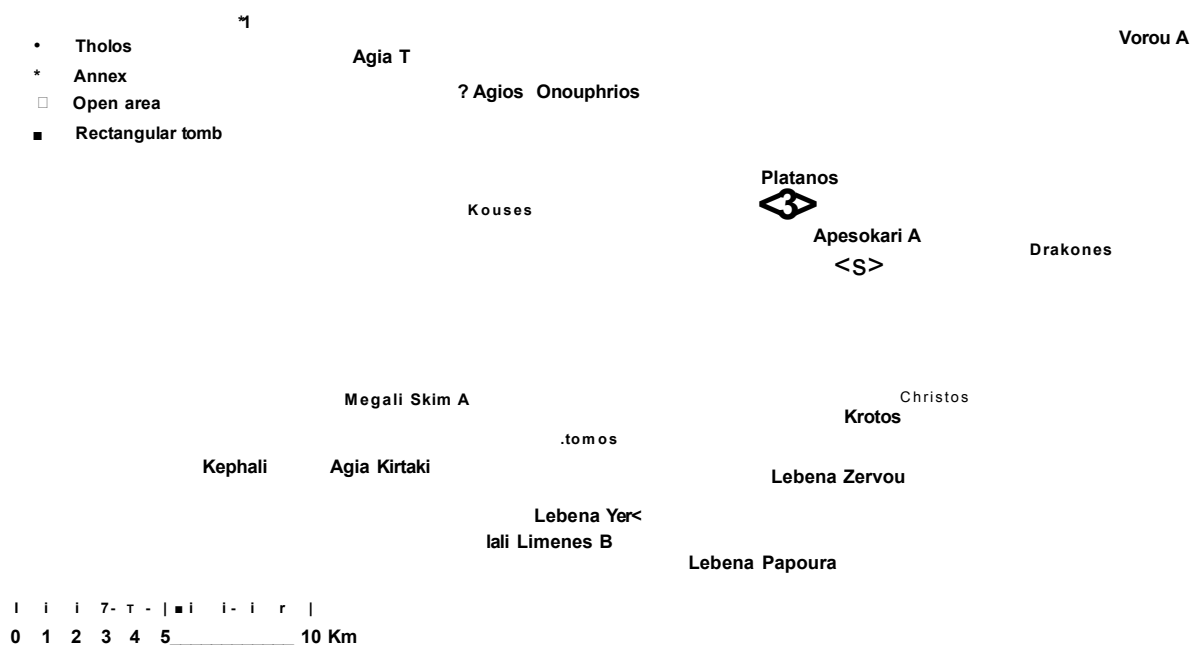


Figure IV.12 Funerary contexts in use in EM III in south-central Crete

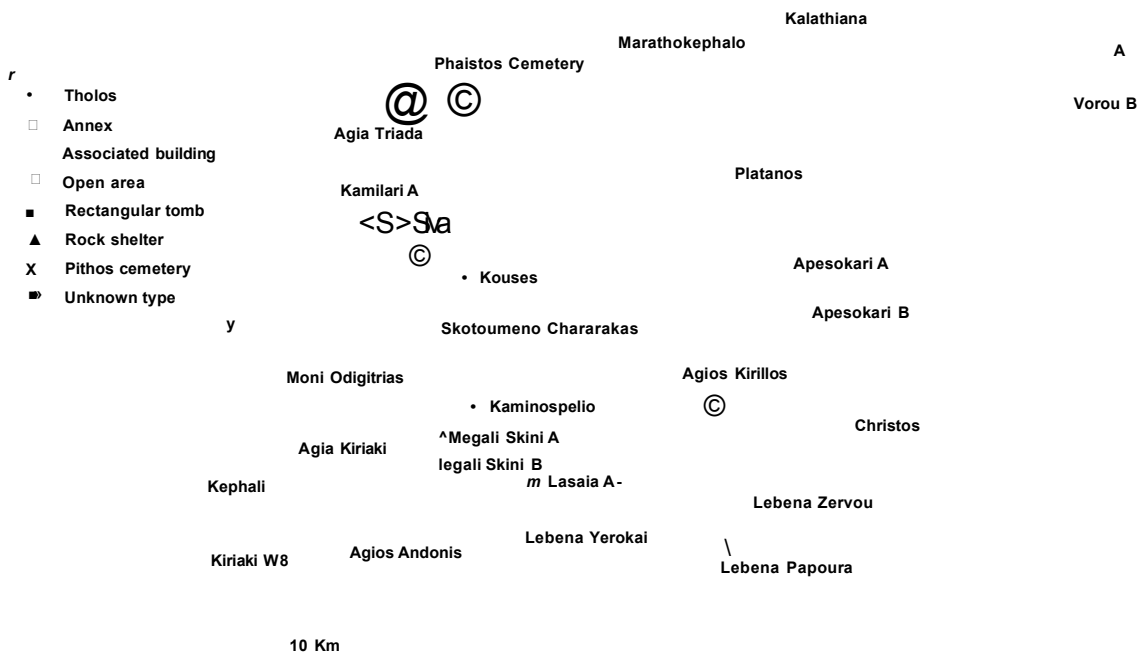


Figure IV.13 Funerary contexts in use in MM IA in south-central Crete

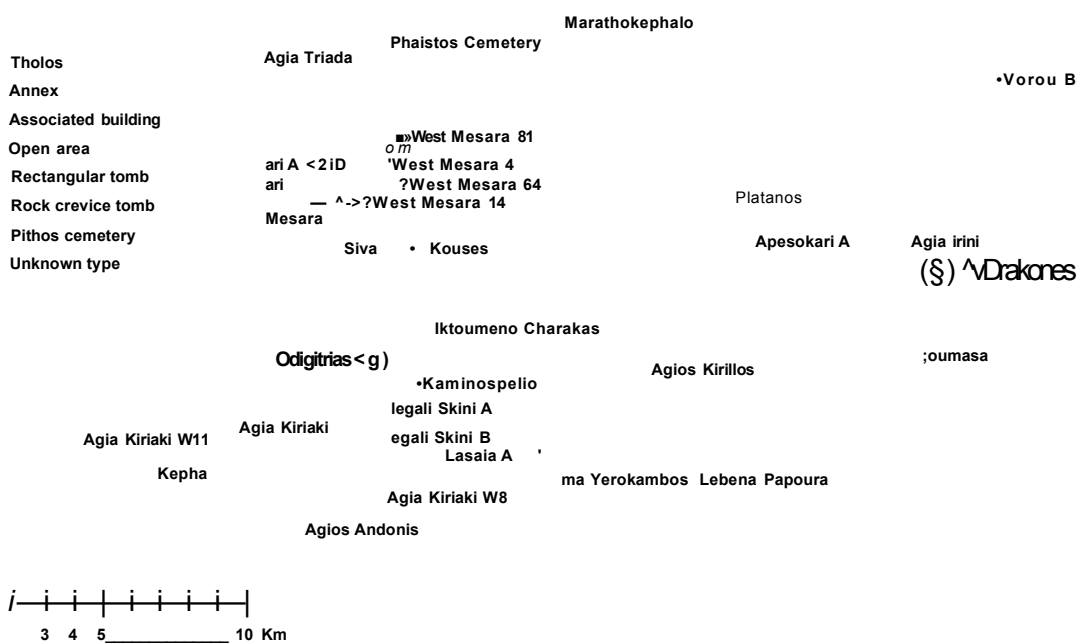


Figure IV.14 Funerary contexts in use in MM IB in south-central Crete

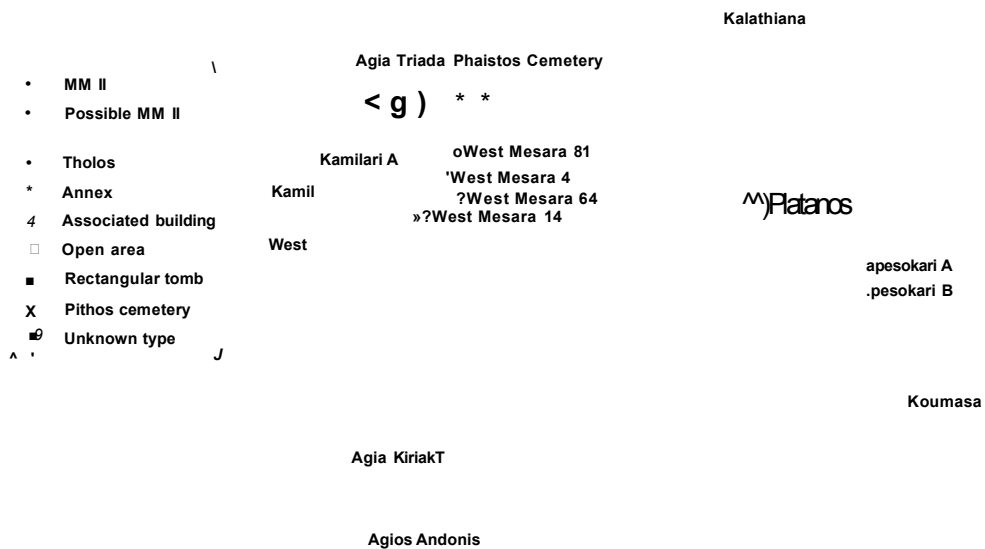


Figure IV.15 Funerary contexts in use in MM II in south-central Crete

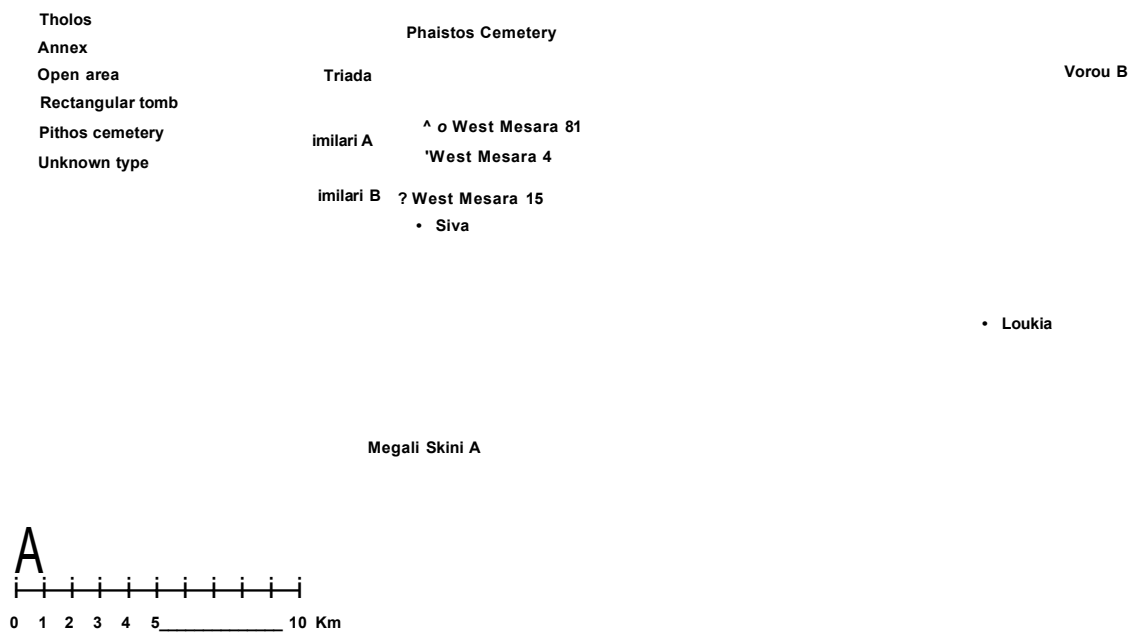


Figure IV.16 Funerary contexts from earlier periods in use in MM III and LM I in south-central Crete

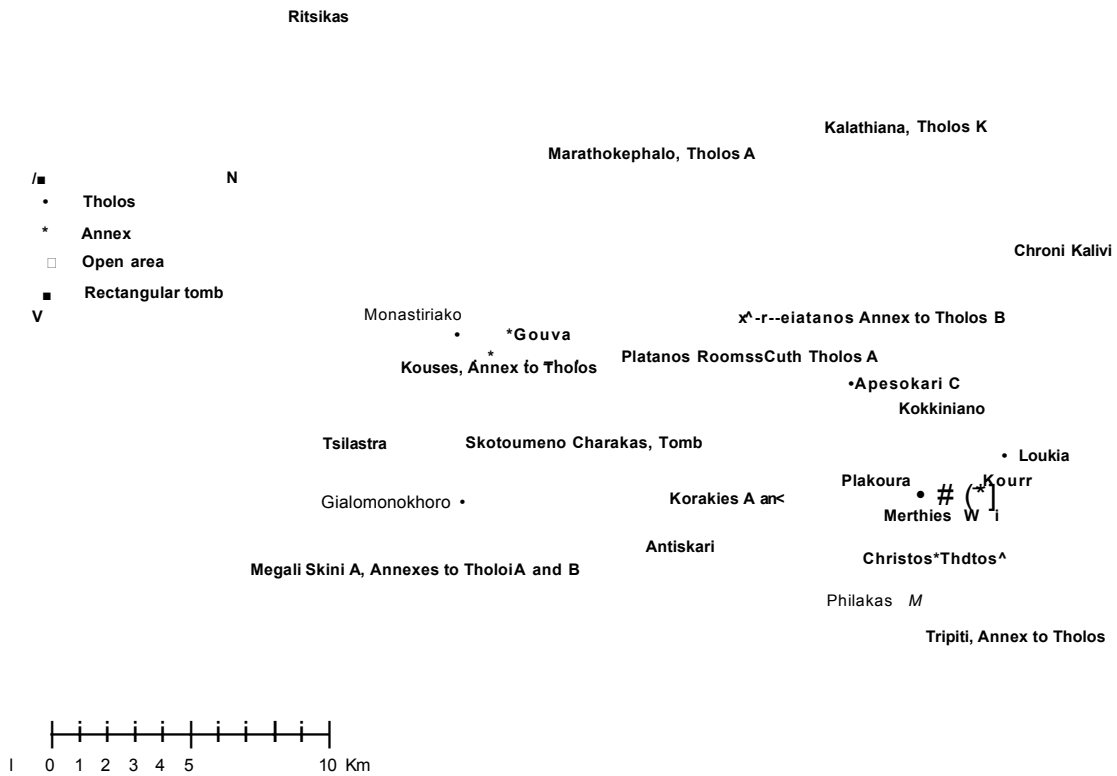


Figure IV.17 Funerary contexts of unknown date in south-central Crete

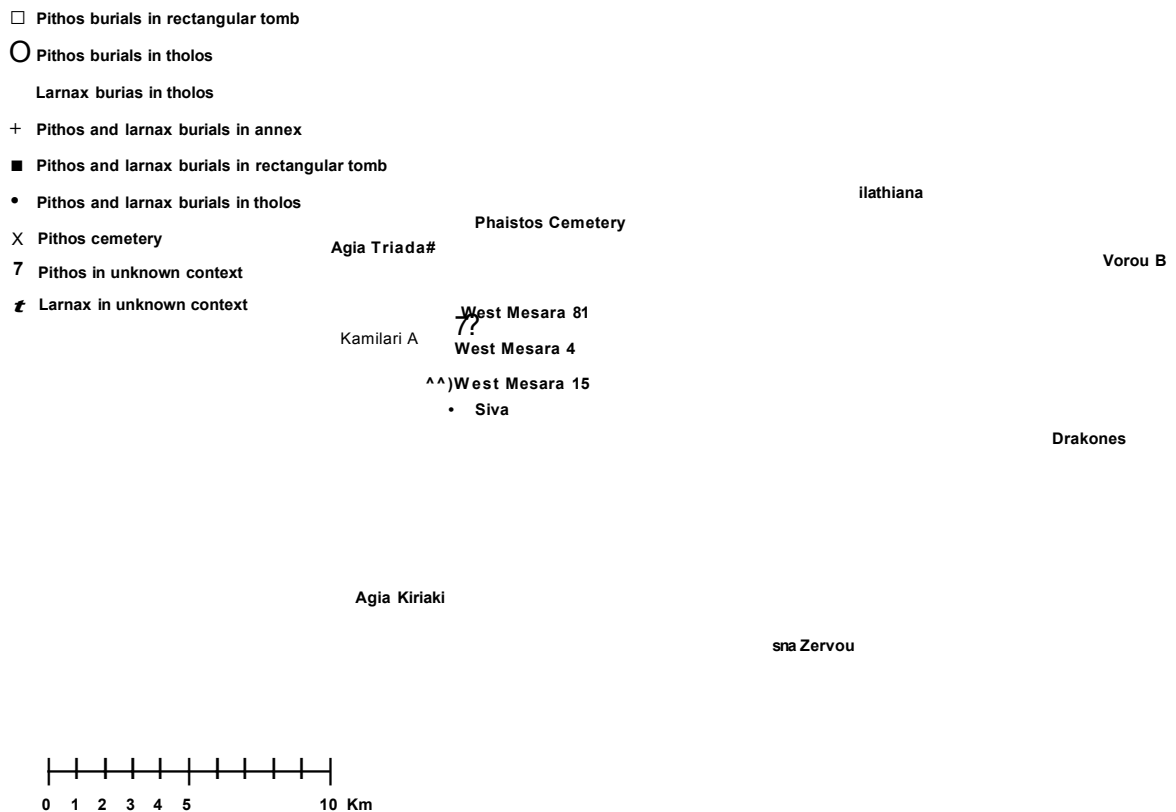


Figure IV.18 Larnax and pithos burials in south-central Crete

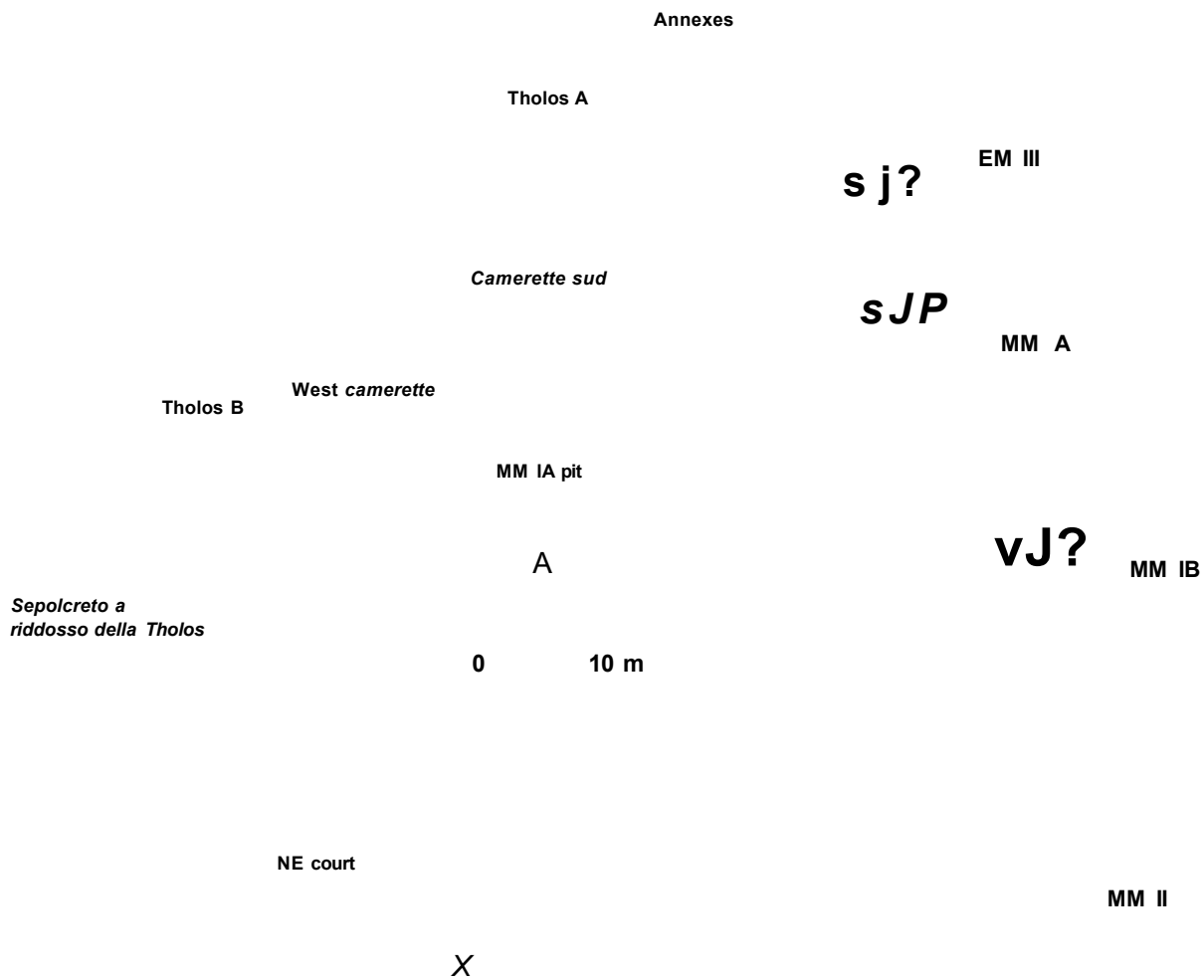


Figure IV.19 Agia Triada cemetery, after plan in Creta Antica 4

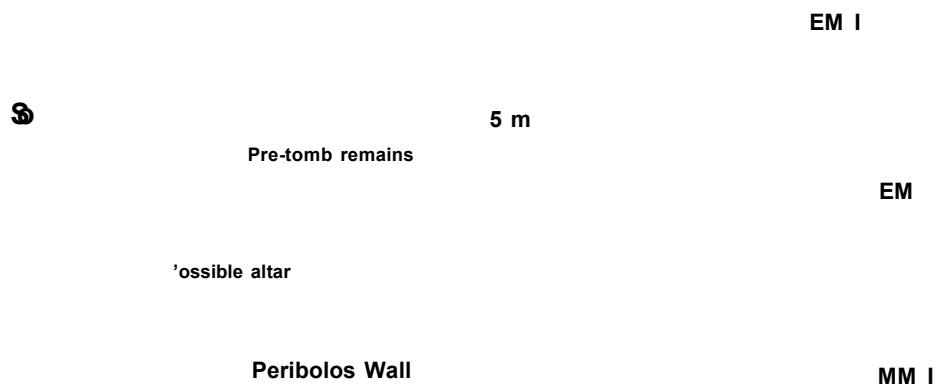


Figure IV.20 Agia Kiriaki A, after Blackman & Branigan 1982

fer|Kr|/Thiki
Tholos Y2
iTholos Y2aj
Room east of M
Room least of D

Figure IV.21 Lebena Yerokambos cemetery, after Alexiou 1992

Tomb T
Tholos A
Tholos E
Areas without clear date shaded
Tholos B czi

Figure IV.22 Koumasa cemetery, after Xanthoudides 1924

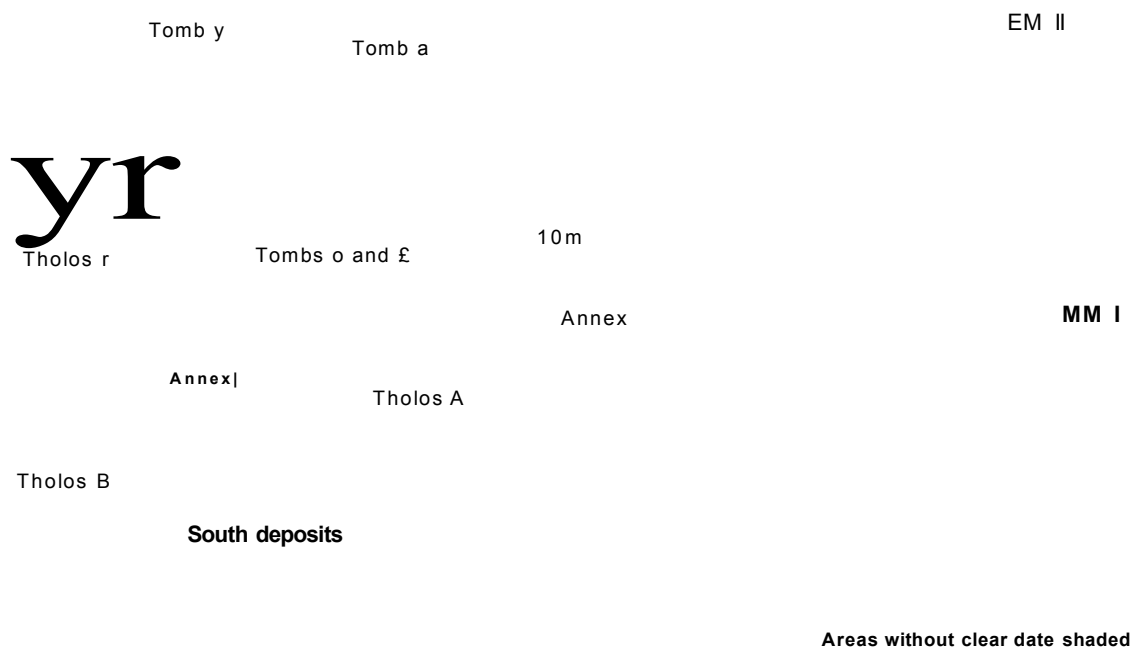


Figure IV.23 Platanos cemetery, after Branigan 1970b

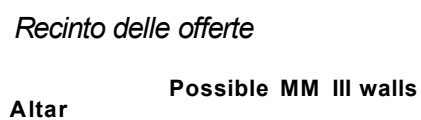


Figure IV.24 Kamilari A cemetery, after La Rosa 1992

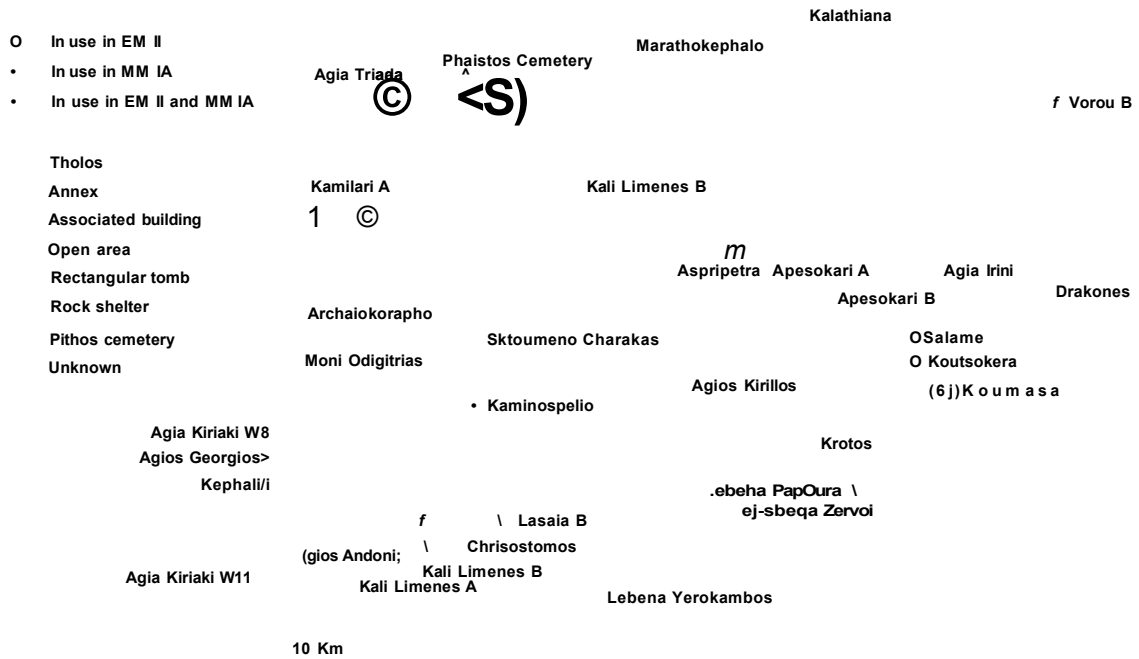


Figure IV.25 EM II - MM IA continuity in the use of funerary contexts in south-central Crete

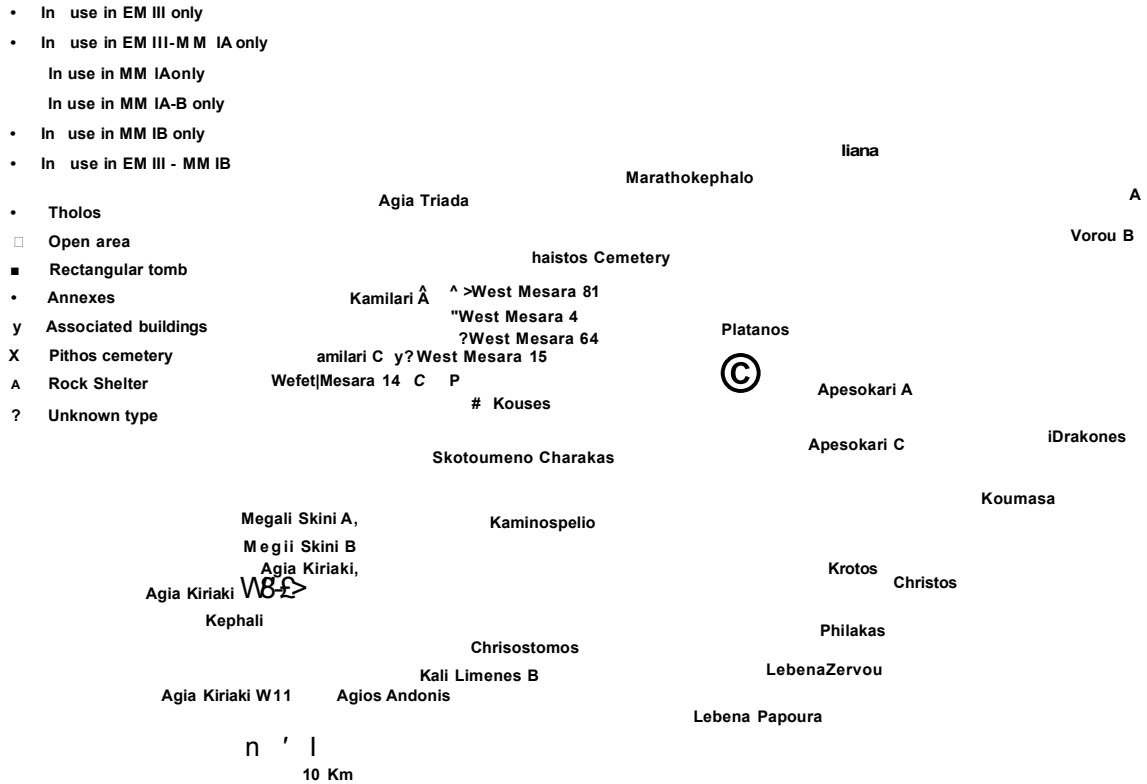


Figure IV.26 EM III - MM IB continuity in the use of funerary contexts in south-central Crete

EM I cemeteries with rooms

- I 1 Possible EM I cemeteries with rooms
- I H I EM I cemeteries without rooms
- 5 Possible EM I cemeteries without rooms

Vn

Figure IV.27 Annexes in EM I cemeteries

S'

One tholos

□ One or two tholoi

Two tholoi

Three tholoi

V.

Figure IV.28 Number of tholoi in EM II cemeteries

One tholos with annex

One tholos without annex

Two tholoi with annex

Two tholoi without annex



Figure IV.29 Annexes in EM II cemeteries

* « ! «				EM land						Sherds	
Kiriaki		LB b B M		Possible EM		EM II or		Accumulated		(minimum	
A	EM I-II	pWOMttMO	Y 2	1	Percentage	possible	Accumulated	Percentages	number of	Total	
Cuds	494	39.68	Cuds	18	5.33	8	26	5.19	32	58	
Jugs	325	26.10	Jugs	18	5.33	3	21	4.19	25	67	
Bowl*	150	12.05	Bcute	17	5.03	37	54	10.78	51	105	
Spherical			Spherical								
mixWe*	32	2.57	PWMW	107	31.66	85	192	38.32	156	502	
Ud*	53	4.26	Lids	66	19.53	6	72	14.37	48	168	
Jam	105	8.43	Jurists	13	3.85	15	28	5.59	2	30	
Pedestal			Fruit stands	2	0.59	2	4	0.80	5	9	
bow*	45	3.61	Amohoriskos	2	0.59		2	0.40		2	
Urn*			Bottles	16	4.73		16	3.19		16	
bowls	39	3.13	Tankards	69	20.41		69	13.77	110	179	
Doubt*			Others	10	2.96	7	17	3.39	9	26	
VMM	1	0.08	Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	1310	1310	
Crucltt*	1	0.08	ToW	338	100	163	501	100	1634	2472	
TOW	1245	100									

Figure IV.30 Comparison of Agia Kiriaki A and Lebena Yerokambos 2 EM I - II ceramic assemblages, after Alexiou & Warren 2004 and Blackman & Branigan 1982

Cemetery	Tomb	Whole ceramic vases	Beads	Tr Daggers	Long Daggers	Other CooDer items	Gold items	Silver-Lead	Stone vases	Figurines	Seals	Obsidian
Lebena Papoura	P1b	59	65			3			3	2	2	11
	P1	80	900	1	1	6	2		4		25	78
Lebena Yerokambos	Y2a	56	200	1		1			3		11	37
	Y2	52	1133		4	10	22		11	5	18	125
	Annex	178	22								1	
Lebena Zervou	Z3	42	1			1	1	1	3	1	5	9

a. Non-ceramic assemblage

Cemetery	Tomb	Stone vase	seri	Others	Obsidian	Beads
Lebena Papoura	P1	20	3.2	8	1.03	11.38
	P1b	19.67	29.5	6.56	5.36	1.1
Lebena Yerokambos	Y2a	18.67	5.09	5.09	1.51	3.57
	Y2	47.64	29.11	19.41	4.19	2.16
	Y2 without EM I	19.09	11.67	7.78	1.68	5.40

b. Ratios of ceramic/non-ceramic items: Number of Ceramic vessels/number in each category with the exception of last row which is EM I ceramic vessels/total in each category and last column which is number of beads/number of ceramic vessels

	Number of Catalogued vases in Alexiou & Warren 2004	Minimum number of vessels estimated from sherds
Y8	524	1738
Y8a	56	188
P1	80	114
P1b	59	718

c. Summary of the two ceramic assemblages

Figure IV.31 Lebena Yerokambos and Papoura assemblages, after Alexiou & Warren 2004

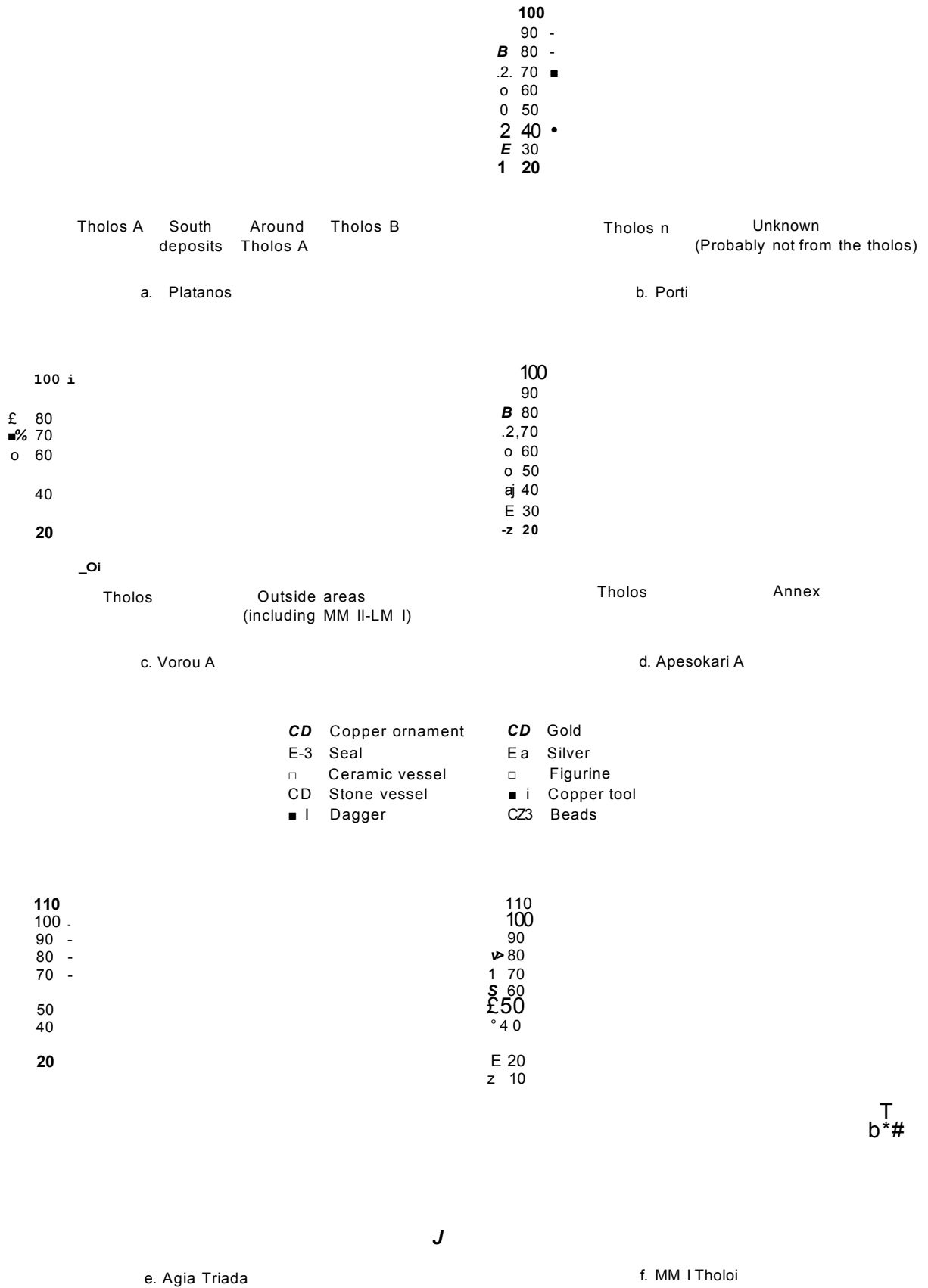


Figure IV.32 MM I assemblages in selected funerary contexts in south-central Crete

100%

- (m** Crucible
- Double vase
- Cooking pots
- n** Larnakes
- Pithoi
- Large bowls
- E3** Pedestal bowls
- Lids
- Pyxides
- Jars
- Bowls
- E3** Jugs
- V*** Cups **j**

EM I-II

EM III - MM

a. Agia Kiriaki A ceramic assemblage, after Blackman & Branigan 1982

100%

- Others **N**
- u** Pyxides
- Lids
- Juglets
- Jugs
- Goblets
- Cups
- Bowl-cups
- Bowls **J**

&

|| * |

**** // # • >**

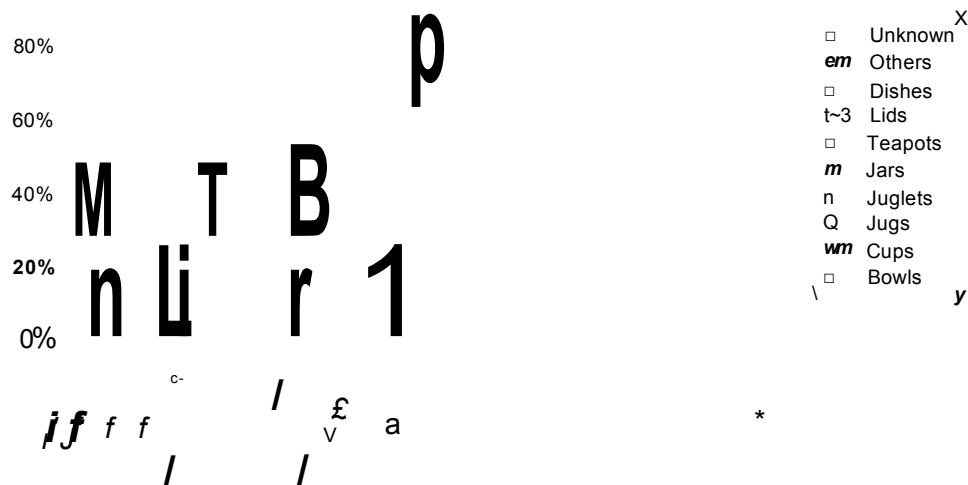
M / f

b. Lebena Yerokambos ceramic assemblage, after Alexiou & Warren 2004

EM III - MM I contexts

Agia Triada

100%



c. MM I ceramic assemblages

V*

Figure IV.33 Ceramic assemblages in selected funerary contexts in south-central Crete

Pavement and altar
Pillar
and rock 'idol'

Figure IV.34 Apesokari A cemetery, after Schorgendorfer 1951b

Perictofos wall
Tholos B
Paved yard?
Tholos AW

Figure IV.35 Moni Odigitrias cemetery, after Vasilakis 1992a

Tomb	BintlHf 1977			Bintliff 1989			WhHelaw 1983			Branigan 1993(1)		Branigan 1993(2)				This work			
	ENB	ELU	Nuclear Families	ENB	ELU	Nuclear Families	ENB	ELU	Nuclear Families	ENB	ELU	Nude ar Families	ENB	ELU	Nuclear Families	ENB	ELU (Manning 1995)	Nuclear Families (min and max)	
Koumasa B	Many Hundreds	900	3 - 4	Many Hundreds	860	2.9	150	860	0.87				420		2 - 5	Many hundreds	150 300	7.25 - 7.75	1 - 2
Marathokephalo B	Many Hundreds	900	3 - 4	Many Hundreds	735	4.5	100	735	0.84	230		1-2	180		1 - 2	Hundreds	100	7.50 - 7.75	0.6 - 2
Porti	Many Hundreds	900	3 - 4	Many Hundreds	285	8.8	100	285	1.75	200		1.5 - 2	180		1.5 - 2	Many hundreds	100	4.00 - 9.30	0.5 - 3.7
Agia Triada A	250	1400	1	250	1225	5.6	250	1225	1.02							250		6.00 - 9.30	1.3 - 2
Lebena P1	600	700	4	600	560	6.36	150	560	1.34							50		7.25 - 7.50	0.3
Kamilari A	400 - 500	500 800	4 - 6	400 - 500	525	4.29	200	525	1.9							Unknown	200 500	2.25 - 5.80	1.7 - 11
Vorou A	100	400	1	100	290	1.72	100	290	1.72							35 - 50	35	1.50 - 5.50	0.3 - 3.3
Koumasa A							50	600	0.42	175		1 - 1.5				Large number	50 200	7.25 - 7.75	0.3 - 1.4
Platanos A							300	785	1.91				550		4.5 - 6	Unknown	50 300	4.00 - 9.30	0.3 - 3.7
Platanos B							50	285	0.88	850		6.5 - 9				Plenty	50 300	1.50 - 4.30	0.6 - 10

ENB: Estimated number of burials
 ELU: Estimated length of use
 Nuclear Families: Estimated number of nuclear families per tomb

Figure IV.36 Estimated population in various tholos tombs in south-central Crete

Figure IV.37 Porti Tholos fl, after Xanthoudides 1924

A

3 m

Lamax

Figure IV.38 Vorou A,
after Marinatos 1993b

Figure IV.39 Vorou B,
after Marinatos 1933b

96V

Figure IV.40 Kouzes, after Hadzi-Vallianou 1989

Cemetery included in Chapter V
Cemetery included in other chapters

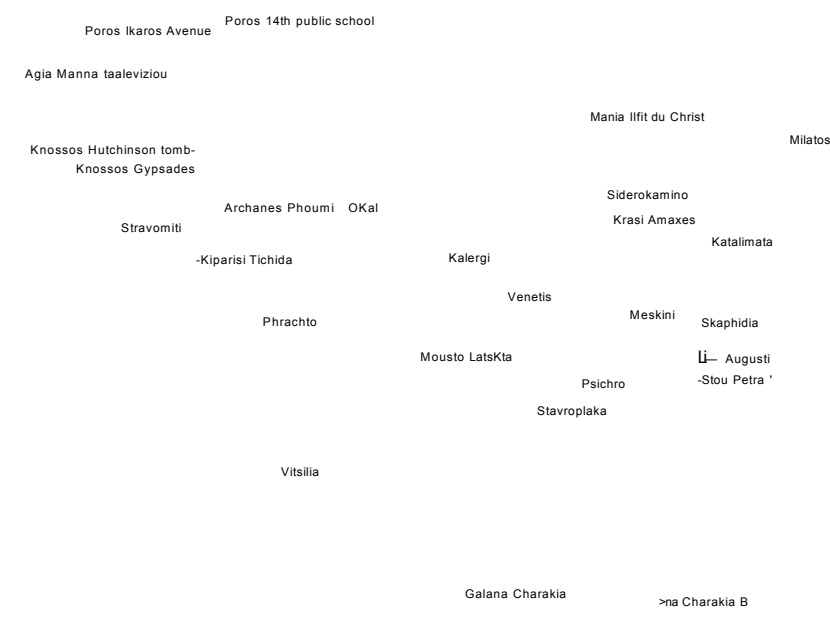


Figure V.1 Cemeteries in north-central and central Crete

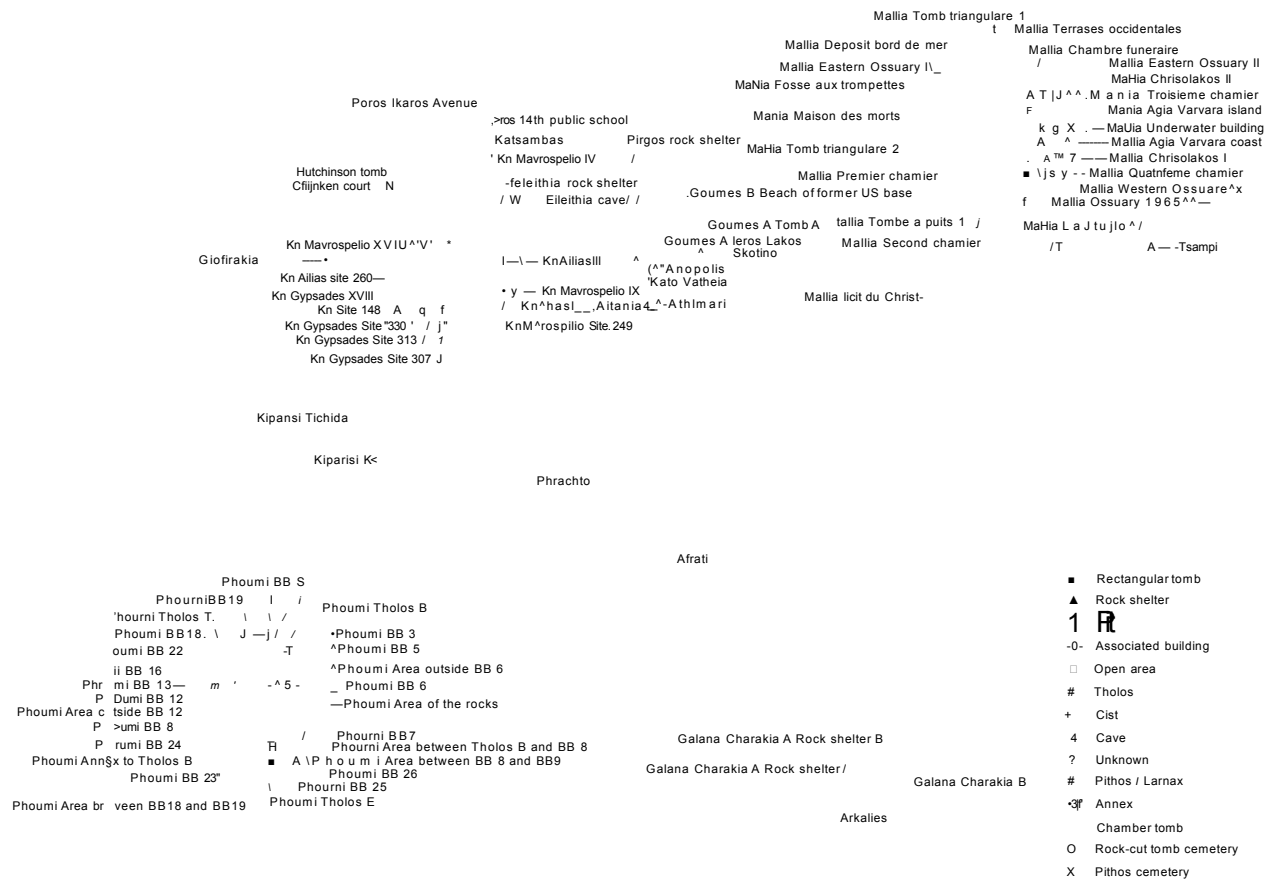


Figure V.2 Funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete



Figure V.3 EM I funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete

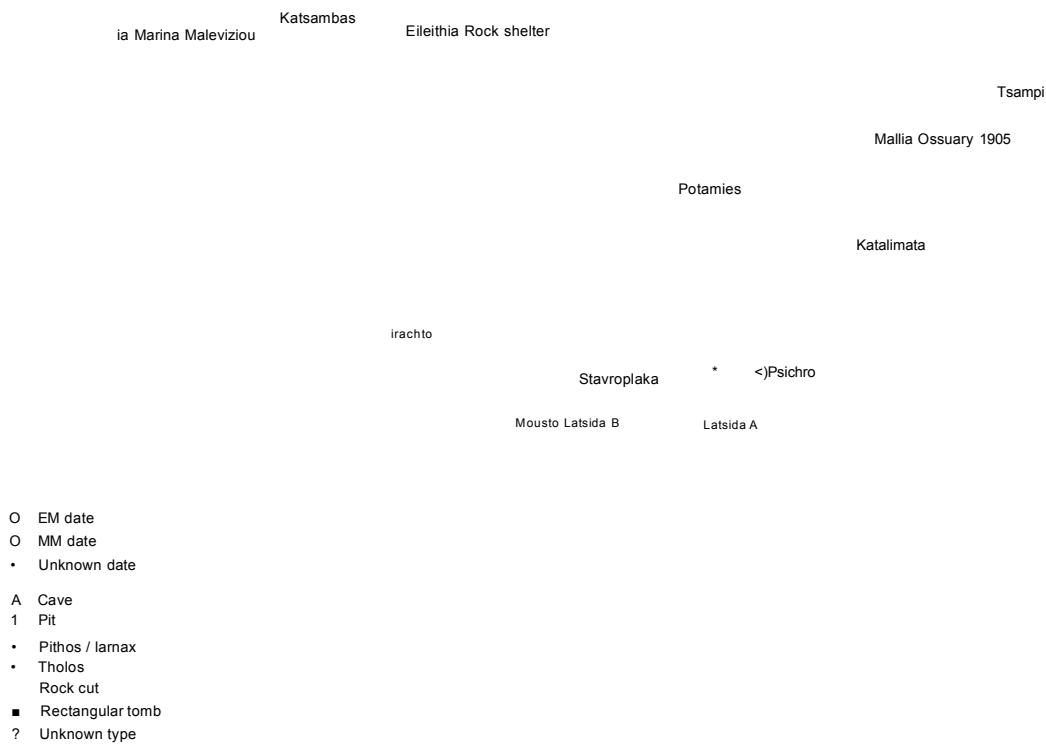


Figure V.4 Funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete of unclear dating

Paved area

Figure V.5 Kراسي Koprani tholos, after Marinatos 1932b



Iero Lakos

Tomb A

Figure V.6 Gournes A cemetery after, Hatzidakis 1921 and Soles 1992b

12 m

**Figure V.7 Milatos cave,
after Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996**

**Figure V.8 Psichro cave, after
Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996**

**Figure V.9 Stravomiti cave after,
Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997**

b. Skaphidia cave

Tzermiado Village

c. Tzermiado area

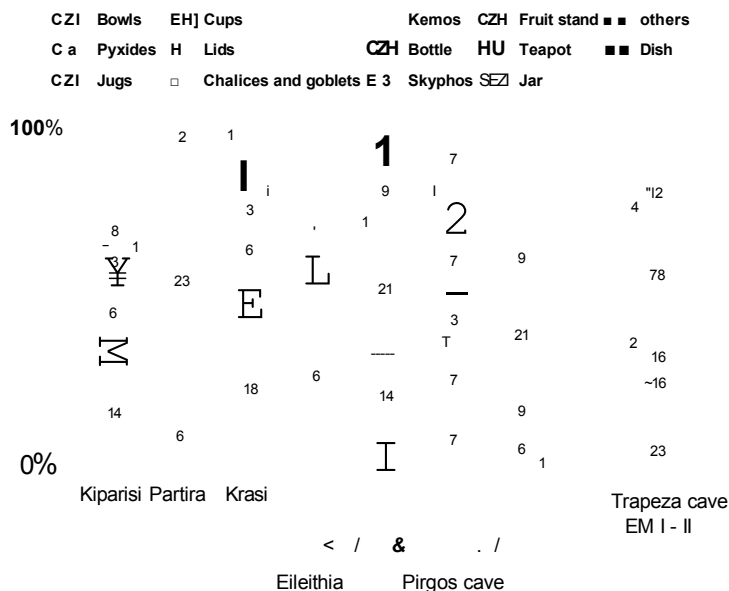
Figure V.10 Funerary contexts in the Trapeza area, after Pendlebury *et al.* 1939; 1940

Figure V.11 Skotino cave, after Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996

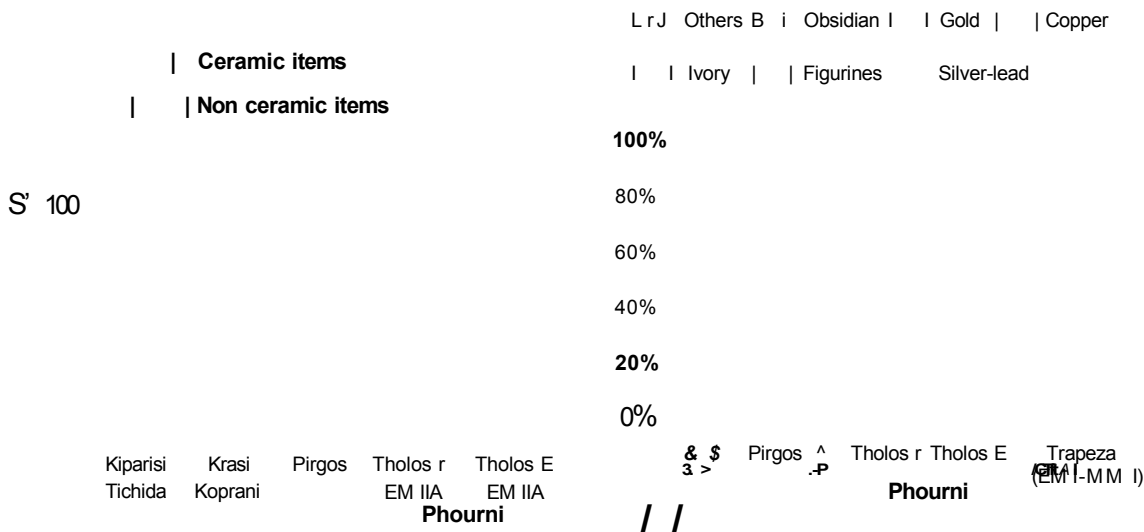
o

15 m

Figure V.12 Eileithia cave, after Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996



a. EM I wares by shape in the best known contexts in north-central and central Crete



b. Number of published objects in the best known EM I - IIA contexts in north-central and central Crete

c. Non-ceramic assemblages in EM I and EM IIA contexts in north-central and central Crete

		Krasi Koorani	Pargos	KiDarisi Tichida	Tholos T	Tholos E	Trapeza ^
Total Number	Non-ceramic	31	38	10	146	38	135
	Ceramic	39	107	44	101	64	522
Ratio	Non-ceramic	1	1	1	1.4	1	1
	Ceramic	1.2	2.8	4.4	1	1.7	3.9 J

d. Ratio of ceramic and non-ceramic objects in various EM I - IIA contexts north central and central Crete

Figure V.13 EM I and EM IIA assemblages in selected sites in north-central and central Crete

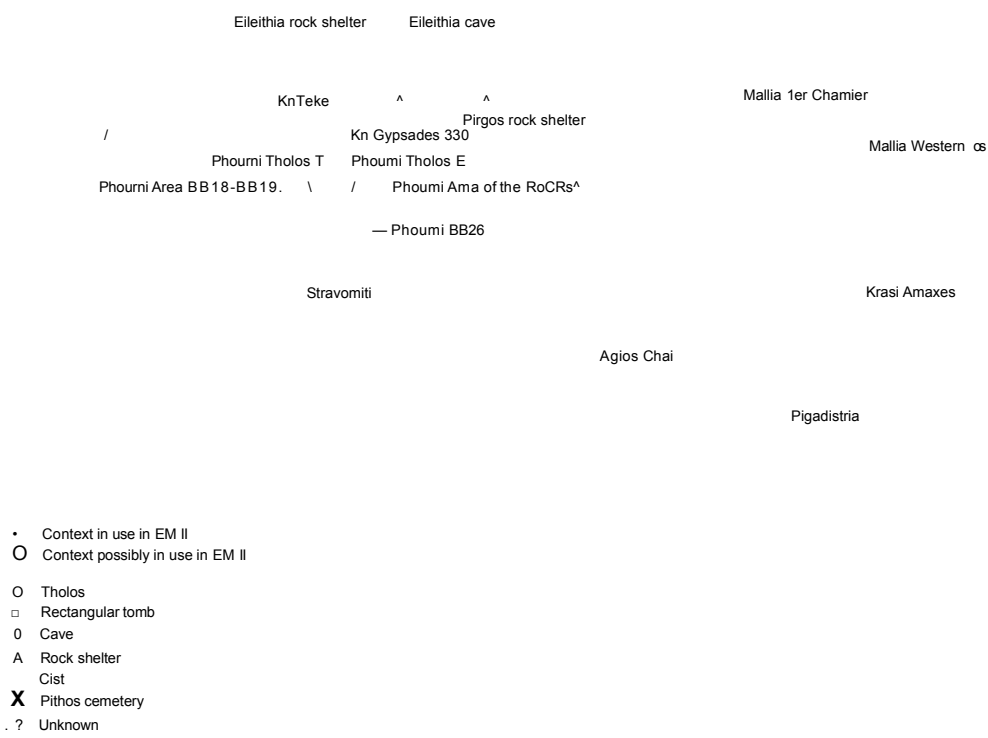


Figure V. 14 EM II funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete

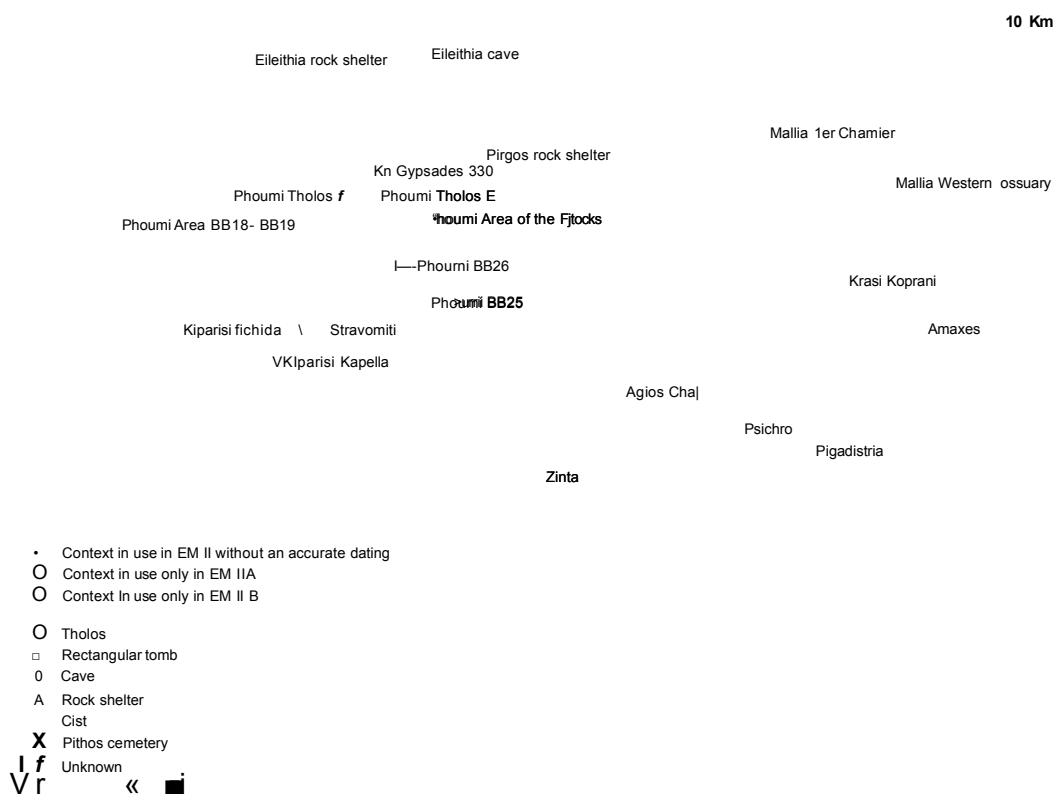


Figure V. 15 EM IIA - B funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete

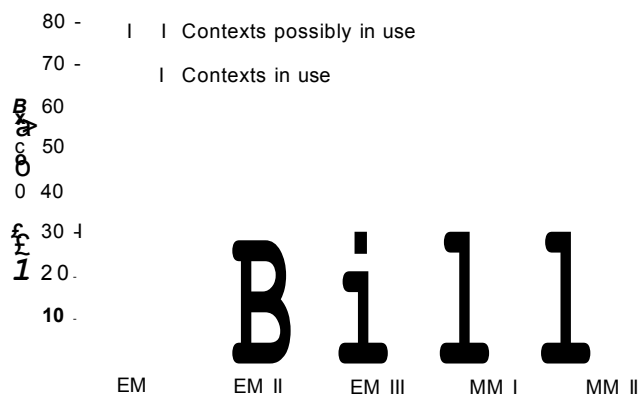


Figure V.16 Number of funerary contexts in use in north-central and central Crete by period

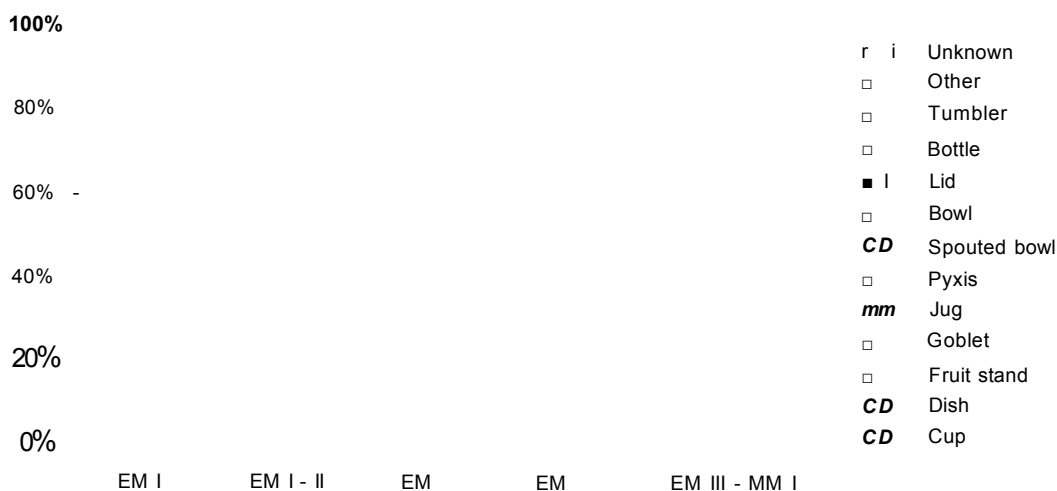


Figure V.17 Development of the ceramic assemblage at Trapeza cave through time

	Tholos E This study ¹	Tholos T Papadatos 1999	This study	BB19 Soles 1992b	Maggids 1994	This study Stratum I	This study Stratum II	BB6 Soles 1992b	This study East rooms	BB18 Soles 1992b	This study, Three south rooms
Period	MU IA-IIB	EM III - MM IA (early)	EM III - MM IA (early)	MM IA - IIA	MM IA - IIA	EM III-MM IA	MM IB - IIA	EM II - MM IA	EM III - MM IB	MM IA	EM III - MM IA
Number of years	325-250	200-150	225-175	450	450	300-225	125-100	700-1000	350-250	250	300-225
Number of bodies published	56	55	55	181	193	122	84	201	196	95	84
Number of bodies estimated (+30%)	70	69	69			159	109		255		109
Number of nuclear families	1-1.4	1.7-2.3	1.5-1.9	2	2.1	2.7 - 3.5	5.7 - 5.5	1-1.45	3.6 - 5.1	1.9	1.8 - 2.1

¹Based on the chronology published by Manning (Manning 1995) and the number of bodies has been estimated including the potential number of infant remains lost because preservation issues (Papadatos 1999: 99-100).

Figure V.18 Estimated population in various tombs in EM III - MM II Archanes Phourni

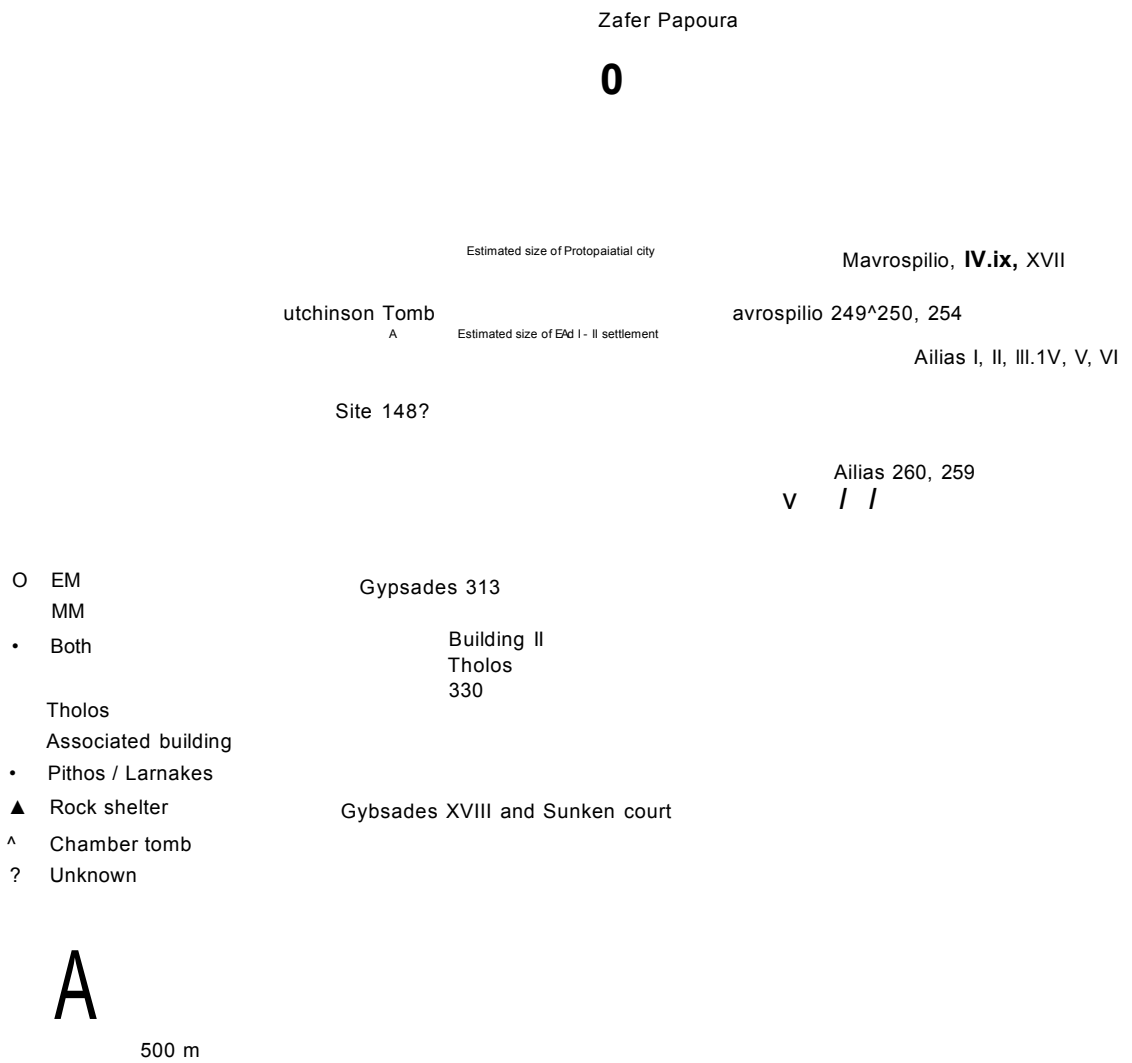


Figure V.19 Cemeteries in the Knossos area, after Hood & Smyth 1981 and Whitelaw 2004b

- I EM IIA
- EMM
- EM IIA and EM IIB

- Walls
- Walls underneath later building
- Paved areas
- Deposition of ceramics

Ip

J

rea of the rocks

b. EM II

i.

0 2 4 6 8 10

- EM III
- Paved area
- Possible EM

c. EM

a. Archanes Phourni cemetery

t

t

t

- MM IA
- Paved area
- Possible MM IA

- rn* MM IB
- Paved area
- CZ** Possible MM IB

d. MM IA

e. MM IB

f. MM II

Figure V.20 Archanes Phourni cemetery, after Sakellarakis & Sapouna-Sakellarakis 1997

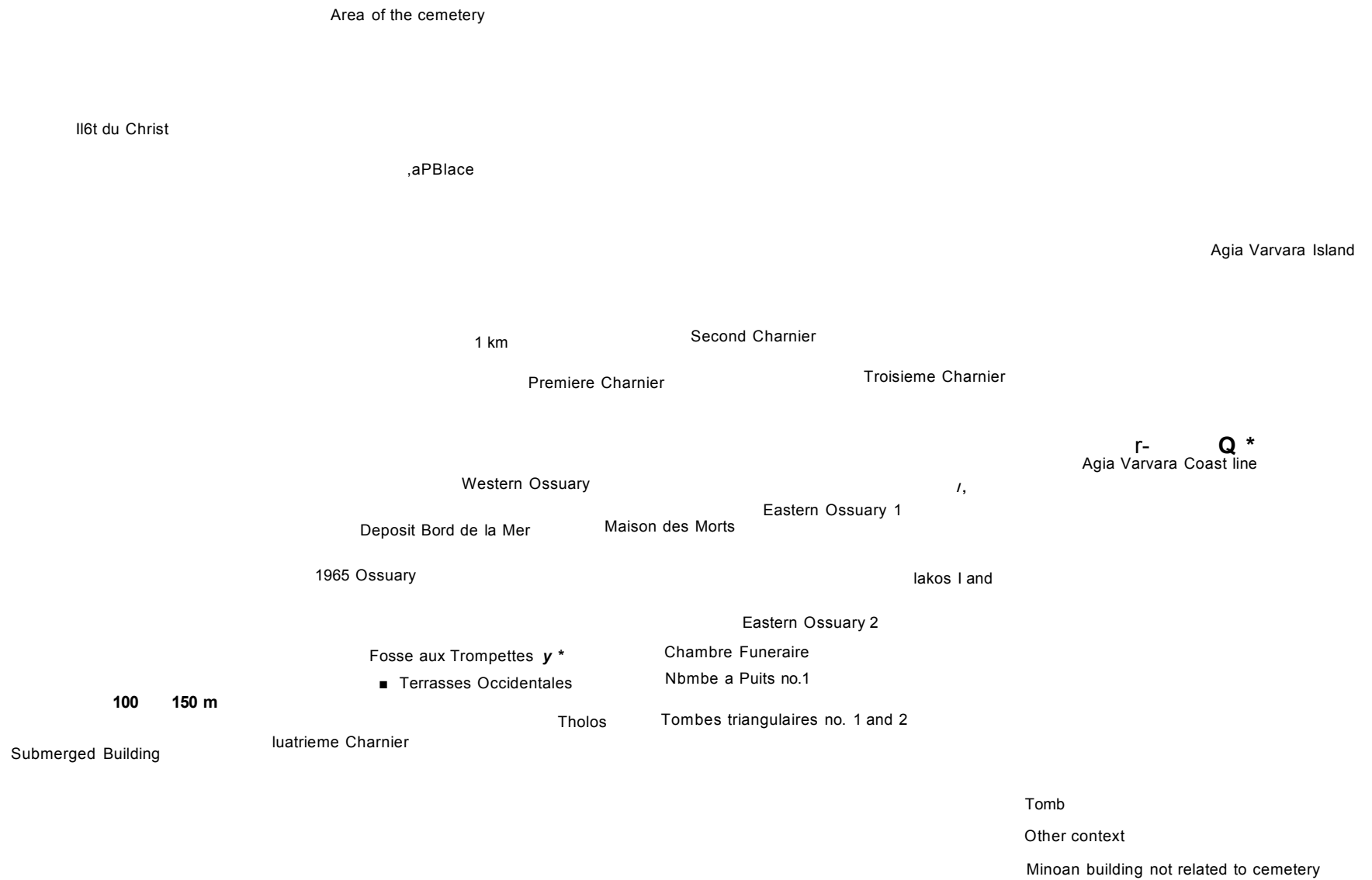
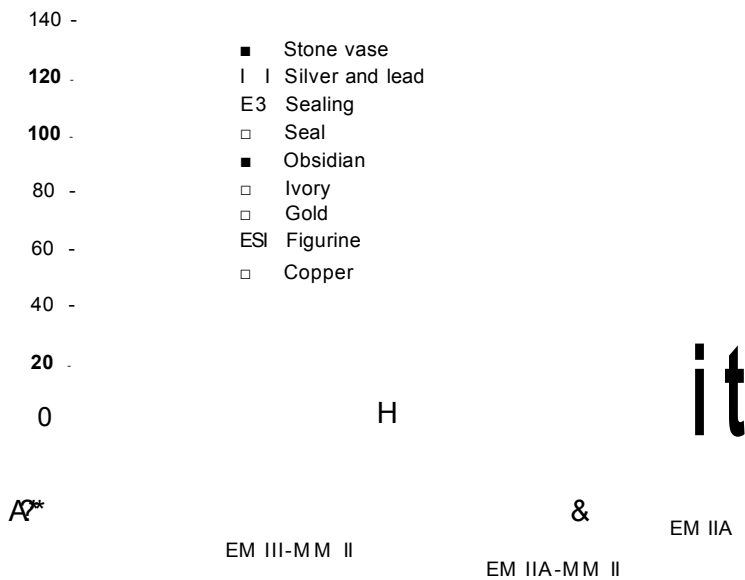
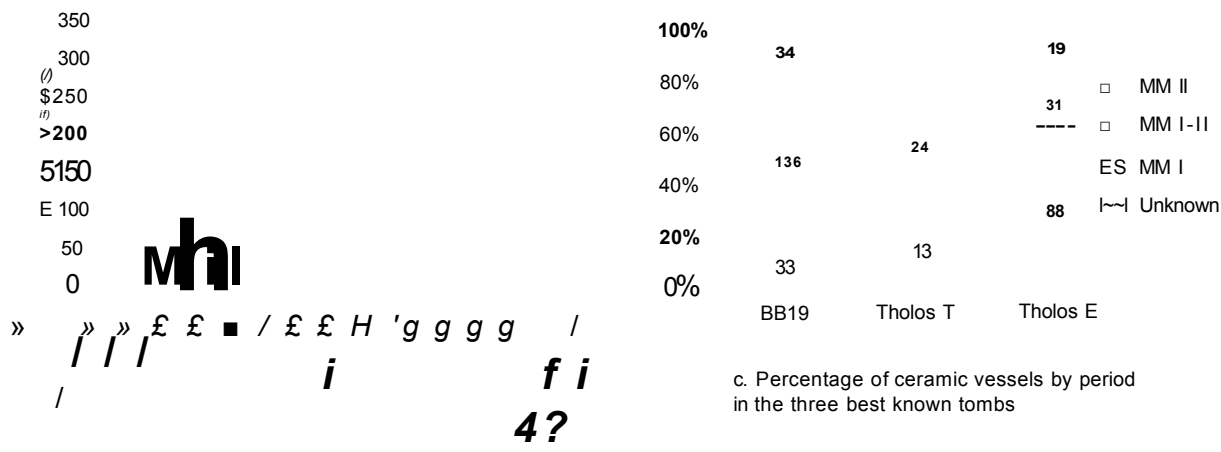


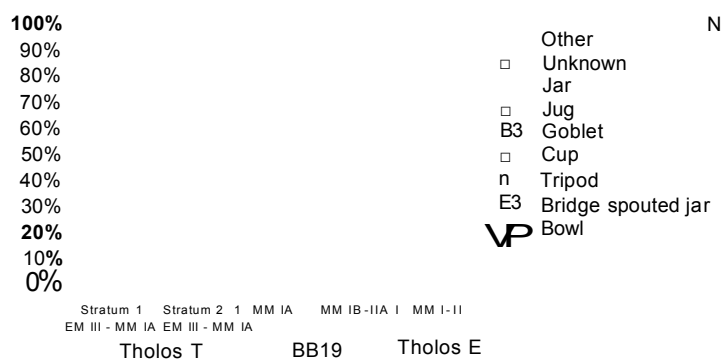
Figure V.21 Mallia Cemetery, after Van Effenterre & Van Effenterre 1963 and Ecole Frangaise d'Athenes 1974



a. Non-ceramic assemblage by period



b. Number of MM I - II ceramic vessels by tomb



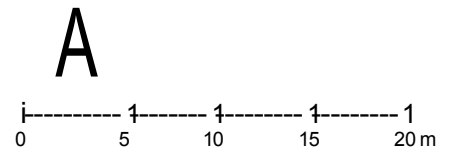
d. Ceramic shapes in EM III - MM II assemblages

V.

Figure V.22 Archanes Phourni assemblages

- Phase I wall
- Pavement from Phase I
- Kernos from Phase I
- Other Phase I features
- Possible Phase II walls
- Phase II walls
- Kernos from Phase II
- Other walls

a. Chrisolakos



- Walls
- Cist
- Burial Pithos

b. *Maison des morts*

Figure V.25 Chrisolakos and *Maison des morts*, after Demargne 1945

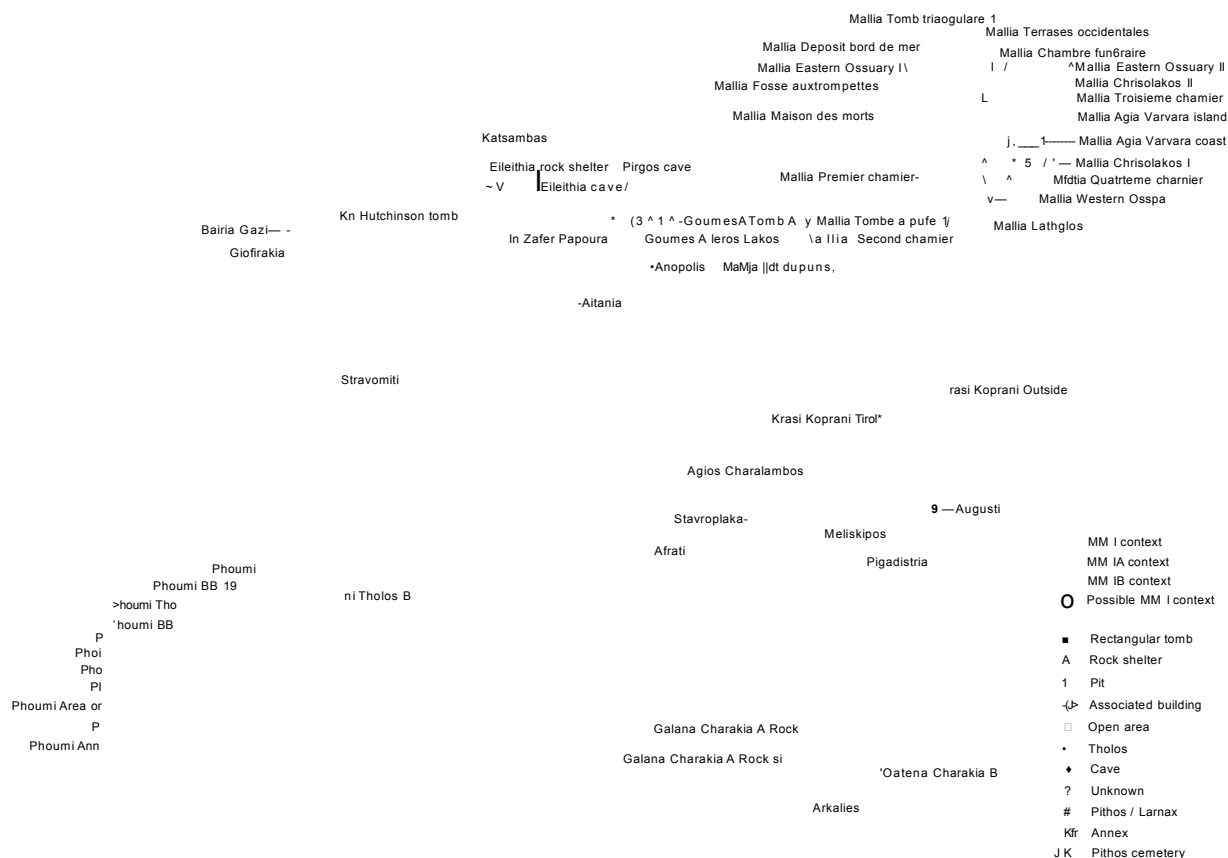


Figure V.26 MM I funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete

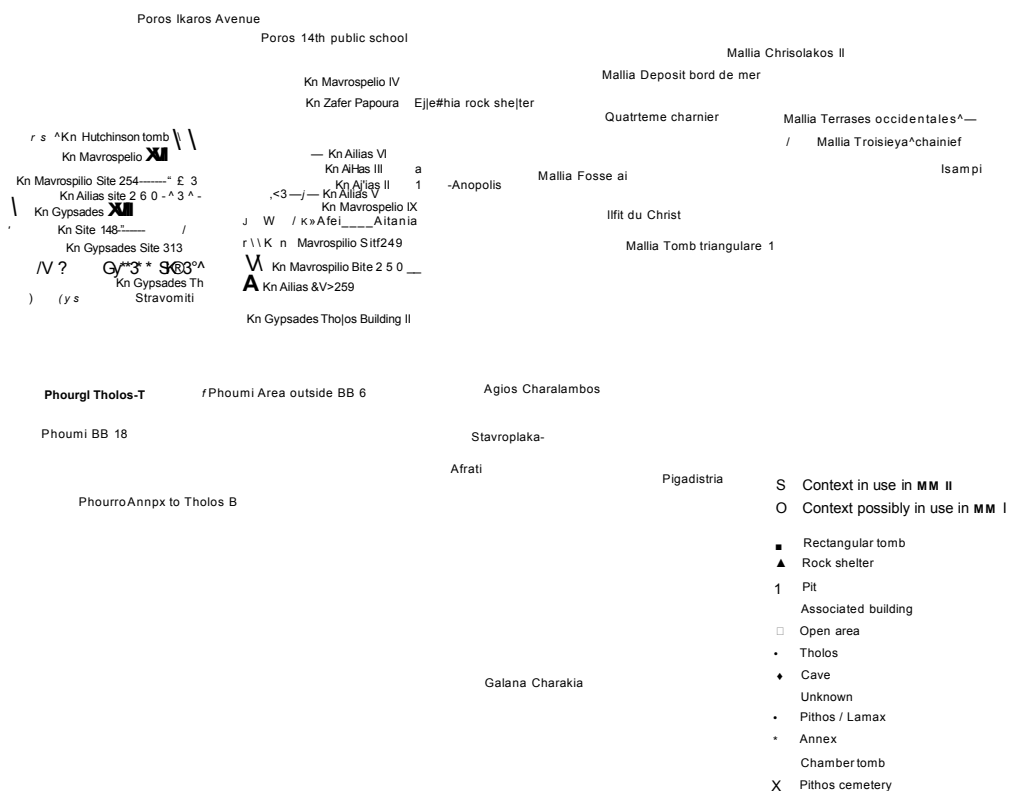
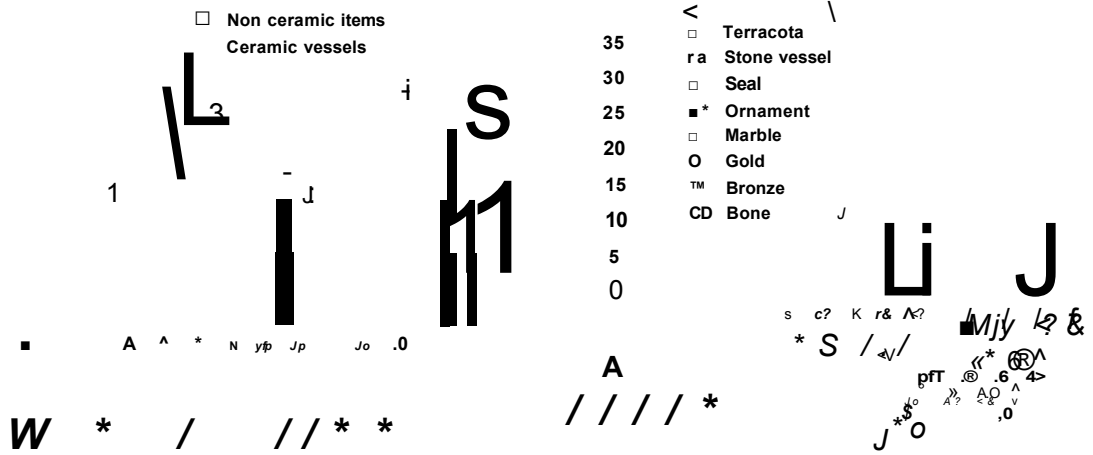
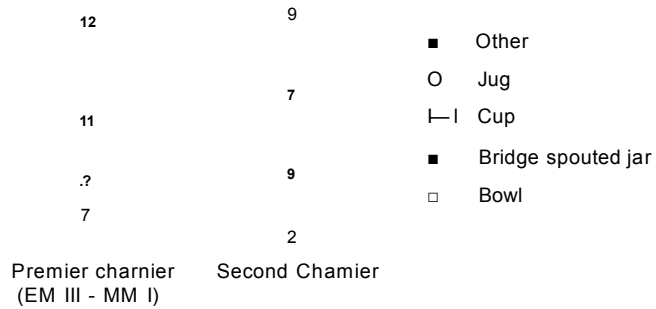


Figure V.27 MM II funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete



b. Non-ceramic assemblages at MM I - II Mallia

I - II assemblages



c. Percentage of vessel shapes in EM III - MM II ceramic assemblages

Figure V.28 Mallia assemblages

53 150

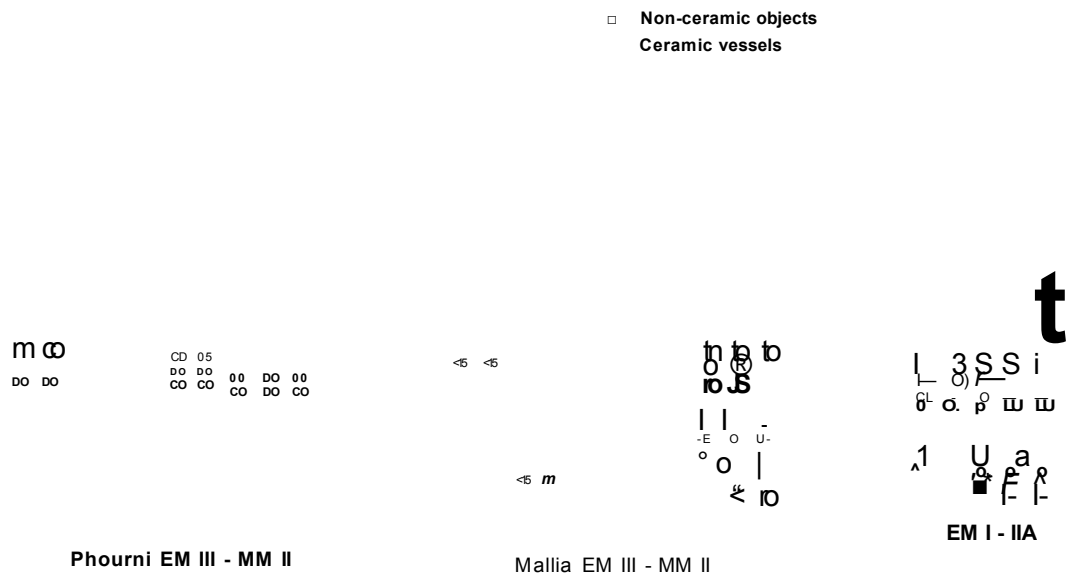


Figure V.29 EM I - MM II assemblages in various funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete

Sunken

a. Knossos Gypsades XVIII

c. Knossos Mavrospilio XVII

b. Knossos Mavrospilio IX

d. Knossos Mavrospilio area

Figure V.30 Tombs in the Knossos area, after Forsdyke 1927 and Hood *et al.* 1959

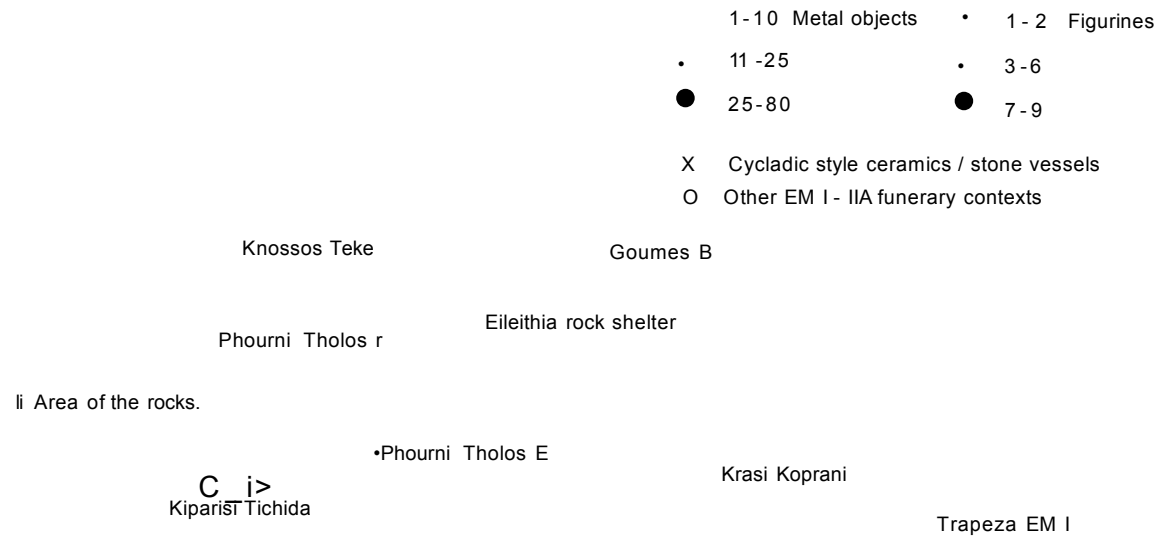


Figure V.31 Off-island materials in EM I - IIA funerary contexts in north-central and central Crete

- Cemeteries
 - Other site
- 2 Boundary of modern Lasithi Prefecture

Modern Ierapetra
Mirtos Phourni-Korifi

Figure VI.1 Mirabello Bay, Ierapetra area and east Crete

• Cemetery

Linares

Agios Nikolaos. Mochlos

Vardoiani Agios Antonios, Mirsini

Chrisokamino-

Kalo Horio

Gournia Sphoungaras-
Goumia North Cdmetl

Klisidi VasilikiXephala'y
Vasiliki Rock Shelter

Mirtos Pirgr Agia Photia Ierapetras

Figure VI.2 Cemeteries in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions

10-i

- Bronze
- BB Ceramic
- I=□ Ivory
- Silver
- Stone vases
- σ-J Stone necklace

EM I- EM III or later Unknown

a. Material assemblage

b. Number of ceramic vessels per period

Figure VI.5 Agios Antonios assemblage

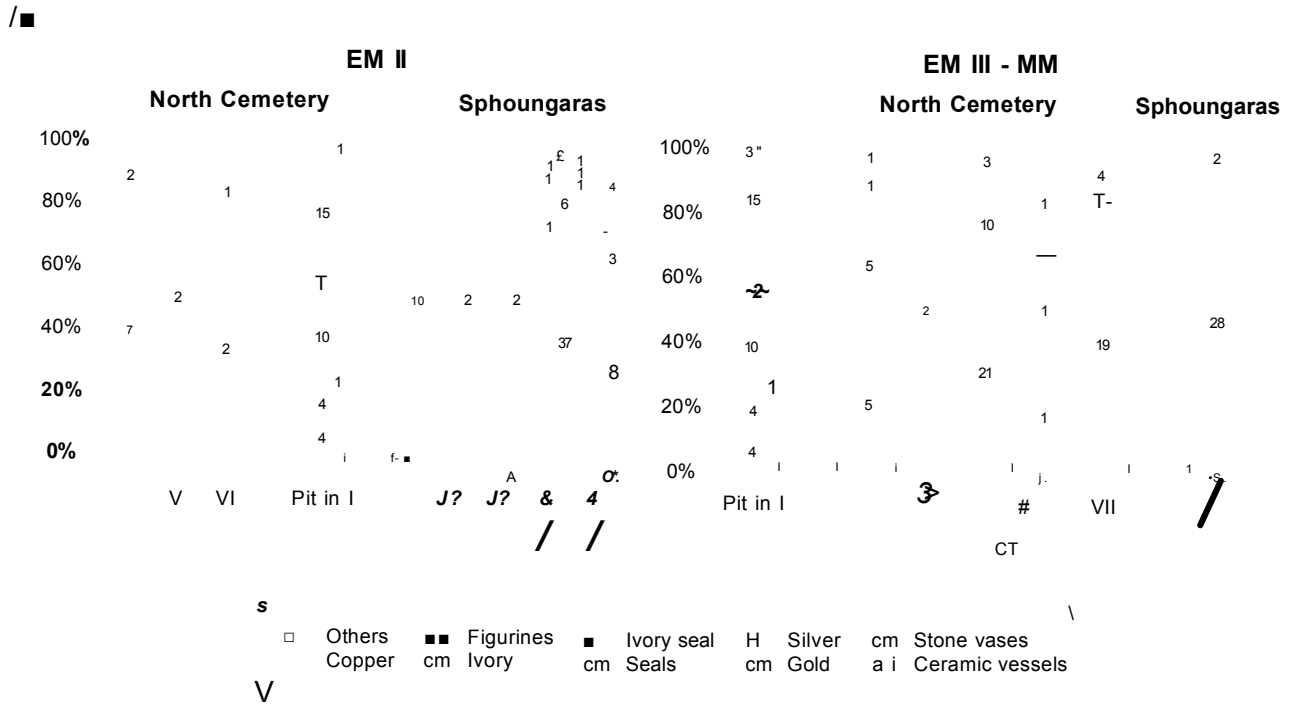
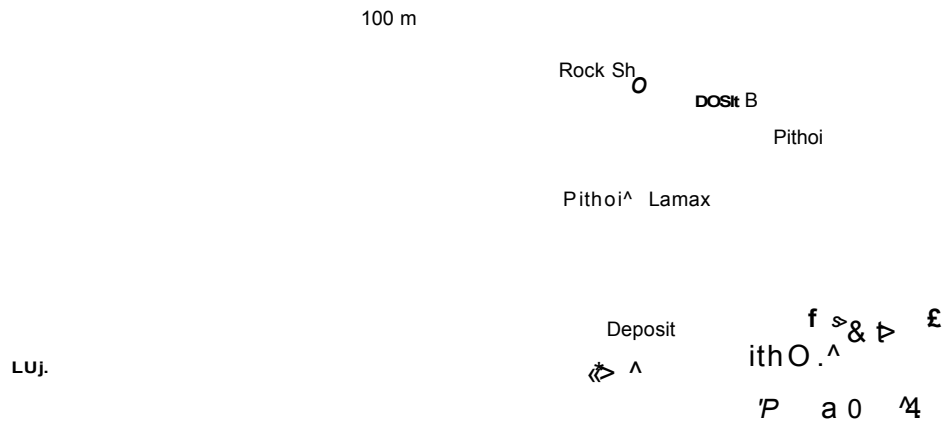
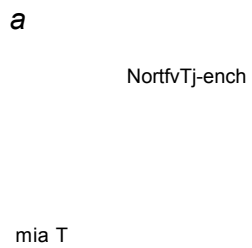


Figure VI.6 Gournia assemblages



b. Sphoungaras cemetery, after Hall 1912a with modifications



a. Goumia area, after Fotou 1991 with modifications

c. Goumia North Cemetery, after Soles 1992b with modifications

Figure VI.7 Cemeteries in the Gournia area



Figure VI.8 Pseira cemetery, after Betancourt & Davaras 2004

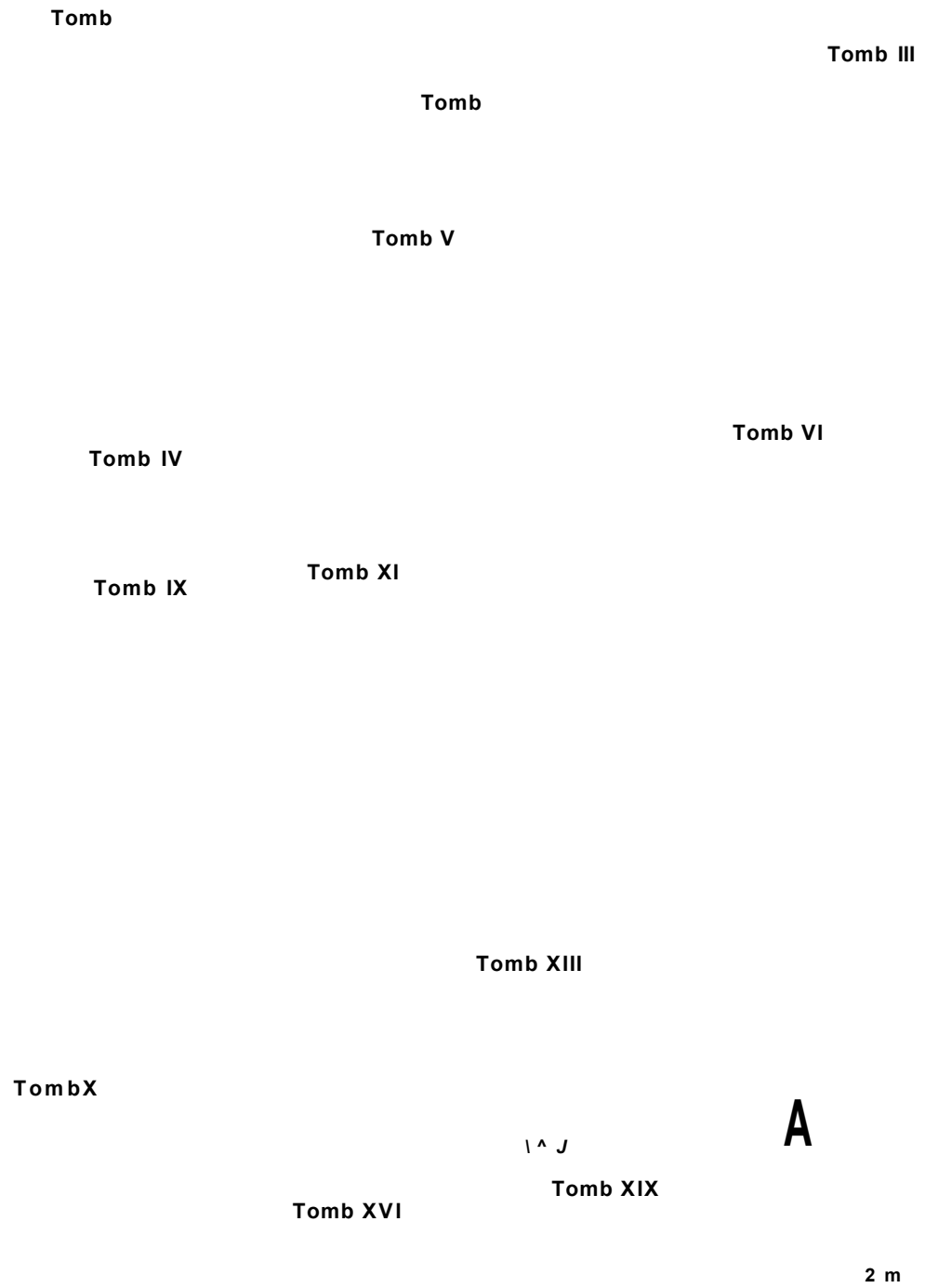


Figure VI.9 Various tombs from the Pseira cemetery, after Betancourt & Davaras 2003

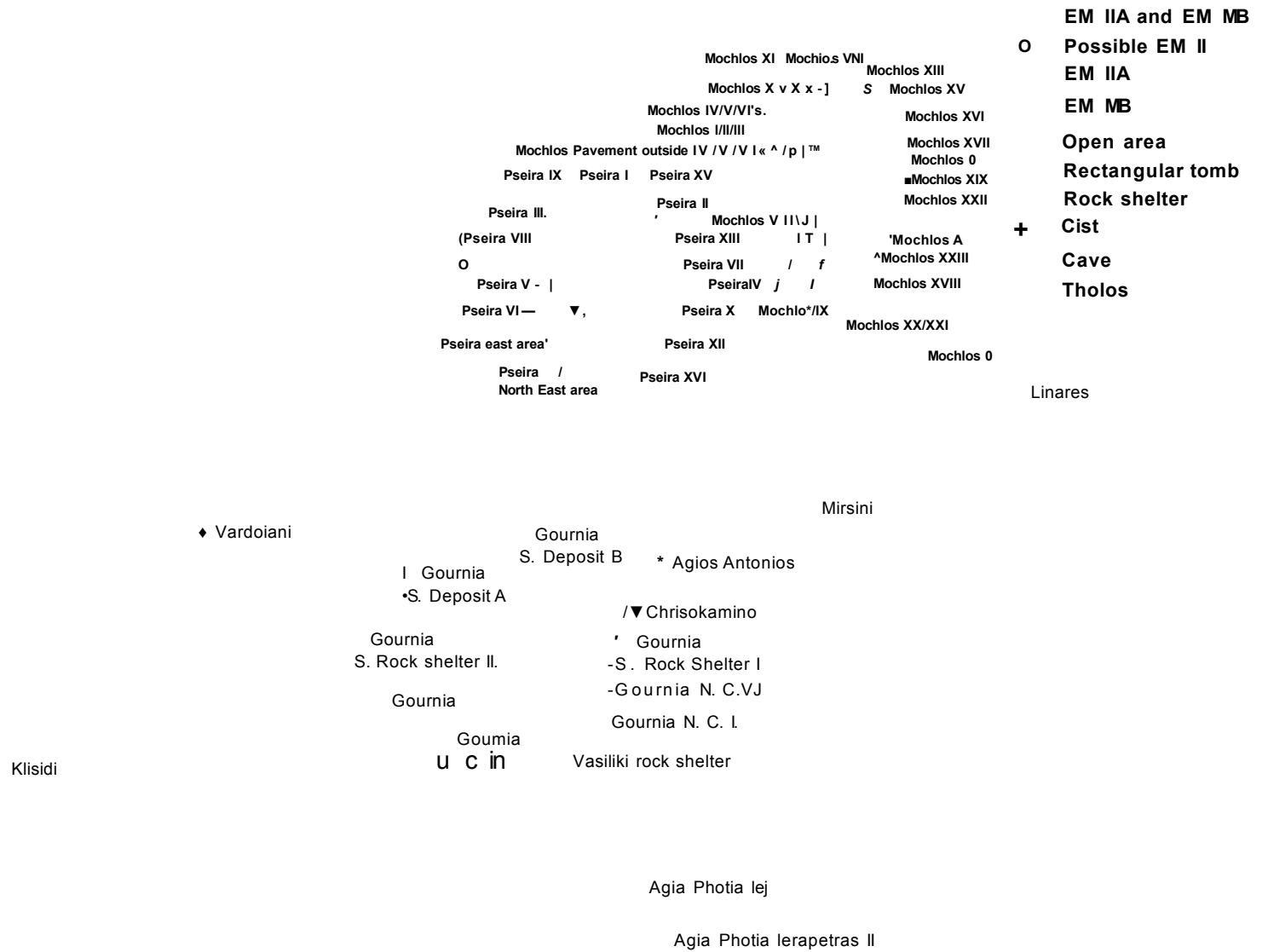


Figure VI.10 EM IIA - B funerary contexts in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions

Funerary contexts in use by period

- Possible
- Certain

Figure VI.11 Use of cemeteries and funerary contexts in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions by period

Goumia (Sphoungaras pithoi not included)

- Possible
- Certain

n 8 . a l i .
 FN EM I EM IIA EM IIB EM III MM I MM II MM III

Pseira

2 m

Bench /
 S t a l a g m i t e

FN EM I EM IIA EM IIB EM III MM I MM II MM III

Mochlos

Figure VI.13 Klisidi cave, after Younger 1976

12 .

FN EM I EM IIA EM IIB EM III MM I MM II MM III

Figure VI.12 Tombs in use in Gournia, Pseira and Mochlos by period

2m

Figure VI.14 Linares tomb, after Soles 1992b



Figure VI.15 Gournia cemeteries through time, after Hall 1912a and Soles 1992b

Tomb I

Bench
X5B

Tomb II

Kernos

Tomb III

Tomb IV

Tomb VI

Tomb V

Figure VI.16 Gournia North Cemetery tombs, after Soles 1992b

Cemetery

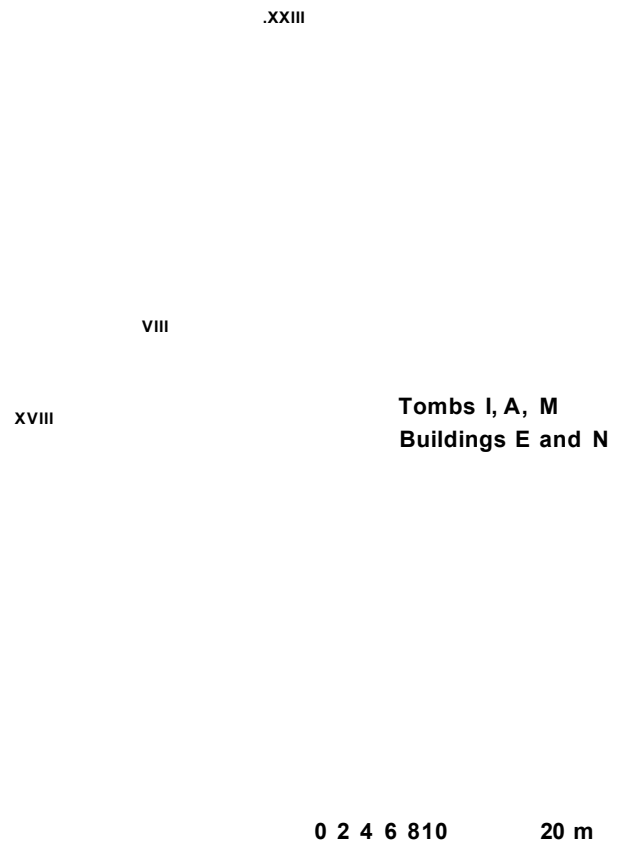


Figure VI.17 Mochlos cemetery plan, after Soles 1992b

- Constructed in EM IIA
- Constructed in EM IIB
- Other features of uncertain date

n i i i 1
0 2 4 6 8 10 20m

- Possibly used in MM I
- Certainly used in MM I
- Other features of uncertain date

Figure VI. 18 Mochlos cemetery through time, after Soles 1992b

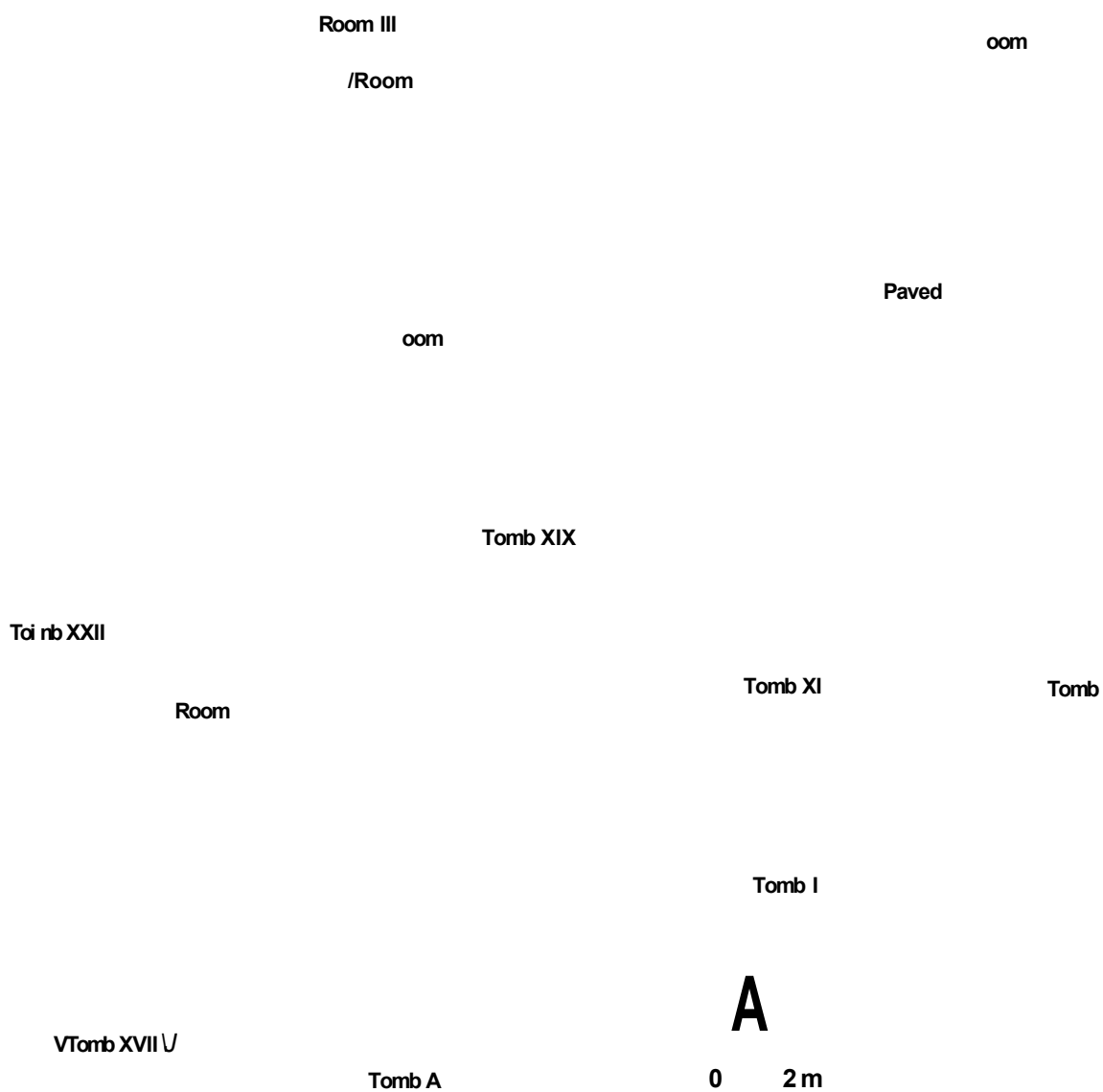


Figure VI. 19 Mochlos tombs, after Soles 1992b and Soles & Davaras 1992

Pseira

Mochlos

Tomb III (not to scale)

Tomb XIII (not to scale)

Tomb IX

Tomb XIII

Tomb T

Tomb IV

A

2 m

**Figure VI.20 Similarities between tombs in Pseira and Mochlos cemeteries,
after Betancourt & Davaras 2003 and Soles 1992b**

a. Number of published objects by tomb

b. Number of published objects by tomb not including gold

| Number of published objects by tomb

| | Number of published objects by tomb not including gold

BILBI U Q J tt 1

c. Number of published objects by tomb

Figure VI.21 Number of items deposited in Mochlos cemetery by tomb

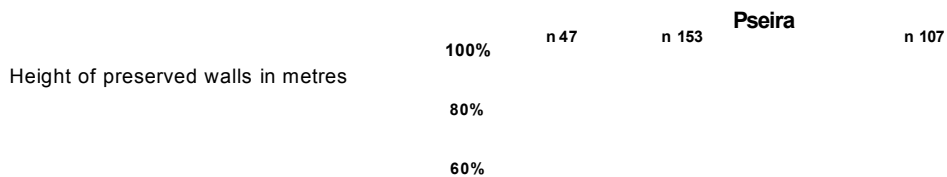
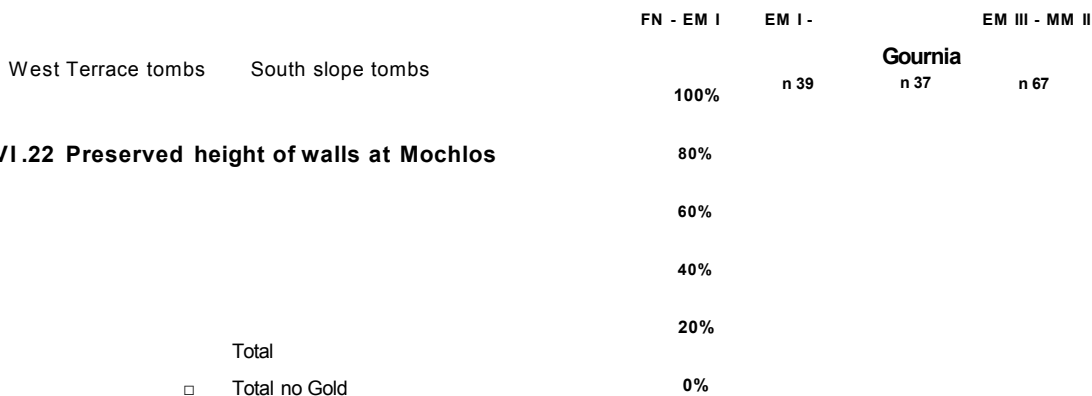


Figure VI.22 Preserved height of walls at Mochlos



v

Figure VI.23 Total number of objects by room in Mochlos West Terrace complexes

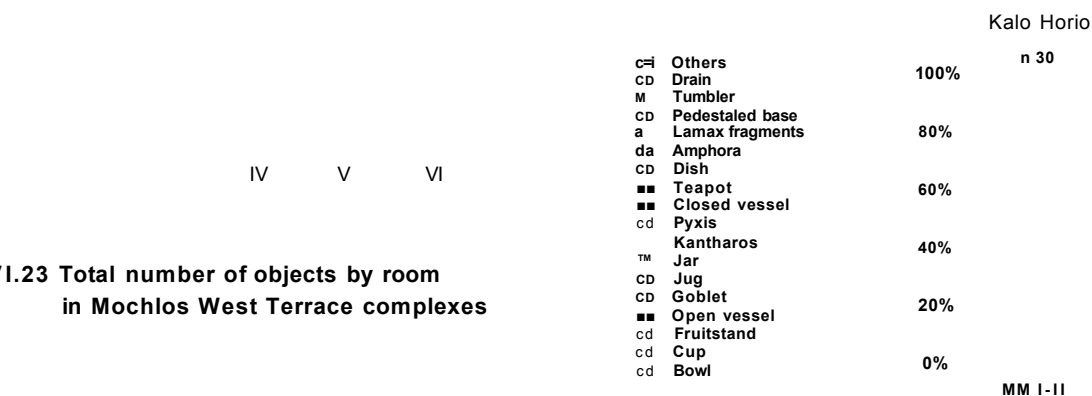


Figure VI.24 Number of published ceramics from Mochlos cemetery by period

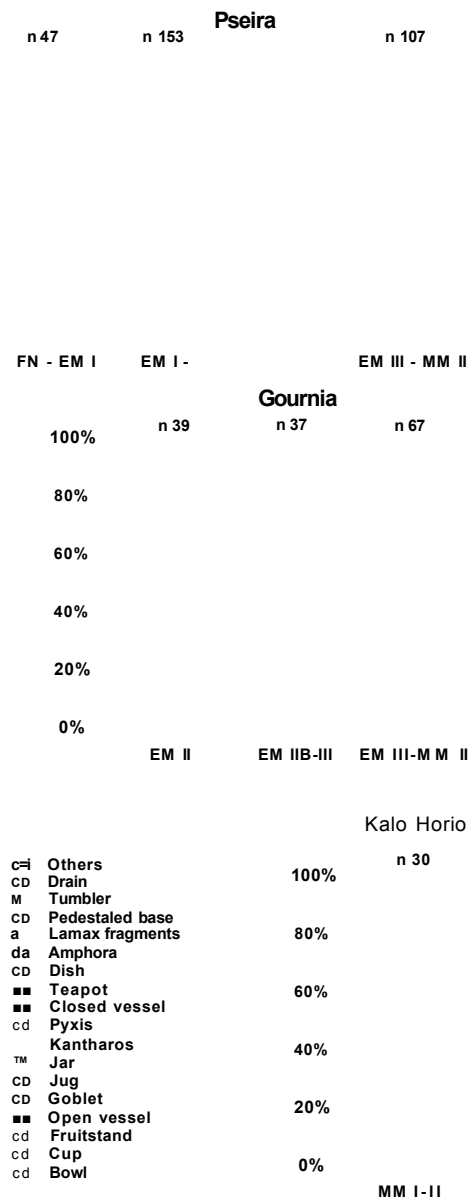
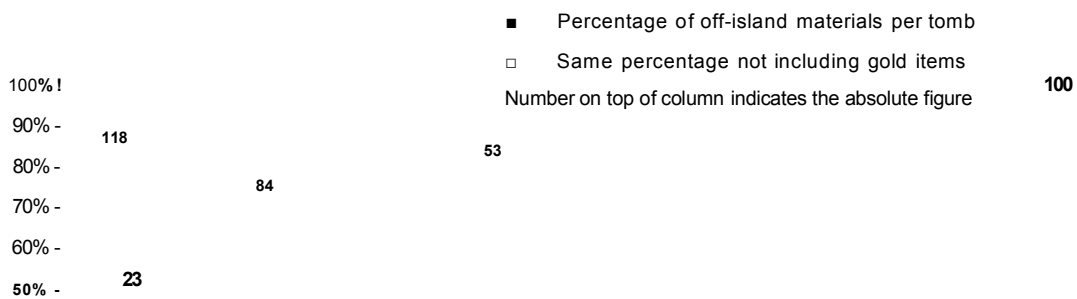
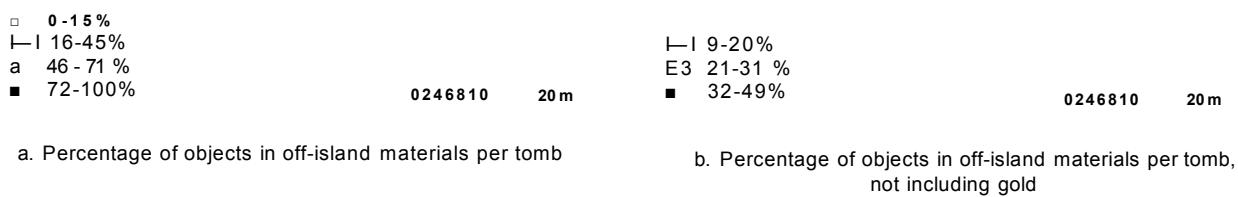


Figure VI.25 Ceramic shapes in dated burial deposits in the Mirabello Bay

- cd Others
- cd Drain
- M Tumbler
- cd Pedestaled base
- a Lamax fragments
- da Amphora
- cd Dish
- Teapot
- Closed vessel
- cd Pyxis
- Kantharos
- TM Jar
- cd Jug
- cd Goblet
- Open vessel
- cd Fruitstand
- cd Cup
- cd Bowl



c. Percentage of items in off-island material per tomb

Figure VI.26 Items in off-island materials in Mochlos cemetery by tomb

Tomb I

Tomb I

**Figure VI.27 Kalo Horio tombs, after
Haggis 1996**

Main chamber

Figure VI.28 Mirtos Pirgos tomb, after Cadogan 1980



Figure VI.29 EM III funerary contexts in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions

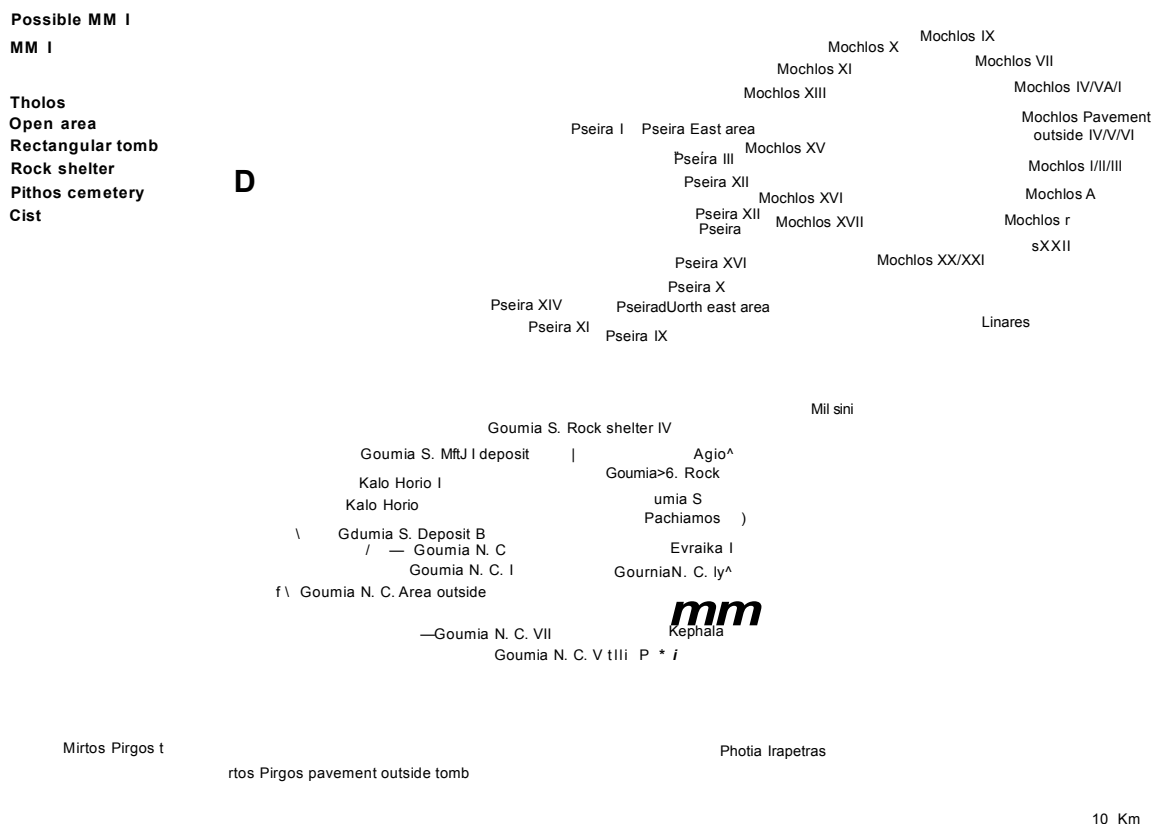


Figure VI.30 MM I funerary contexts in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions

O Possible MM I
MM I

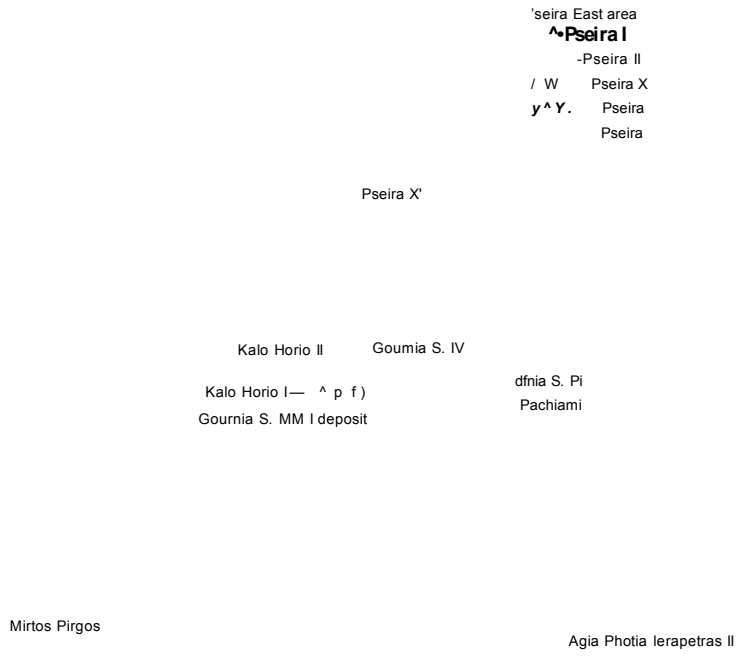


Figure VI.31 MM II funerary contexts in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions

□ Open area
 ■ Rectangular tomb
 X Pithos cemetery



10 Km

Figure VI.32 MM III - LM I use of earlier funerary contexts in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions

Only MM contexts
with off-islands materials

Goumia II 3 Items
Goumia VI 5 Items

A Published context
 Unpublished context
A Mixed EM - MM context

0 Items
 1-10
 11-31
• 32-132

Mochlos

v

Linares

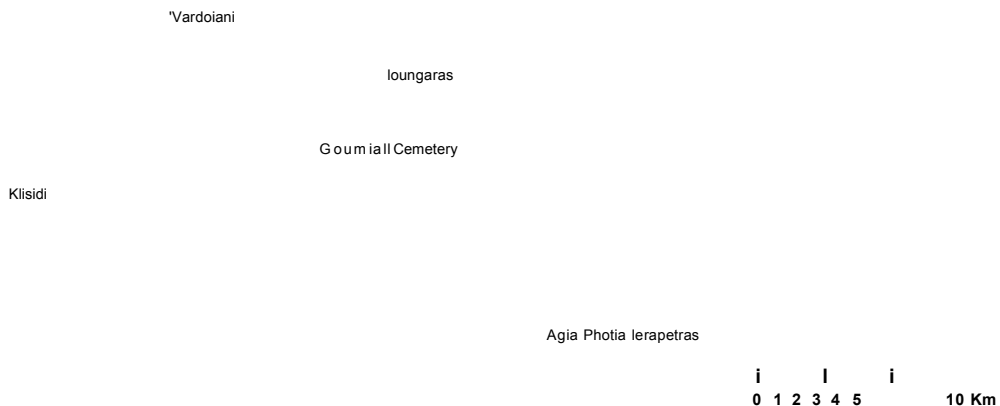


Figure VI.33 Deposition of items in off-island materials in EM I - II funerary contexts in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions

- Pithoi and larnakes
- Pithoi
- Larnakes
- Tholos
- Open area
- Rectangular tomb
- A Rock shelter
- X Pithos cemetery
- # Pithos and larnax reported

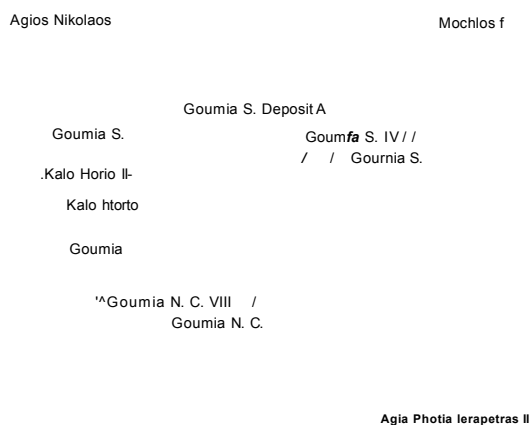


Figure VI.34 Pithoi and larnakes in the Mirabello and Ierapetra regions (EM III - MM II)

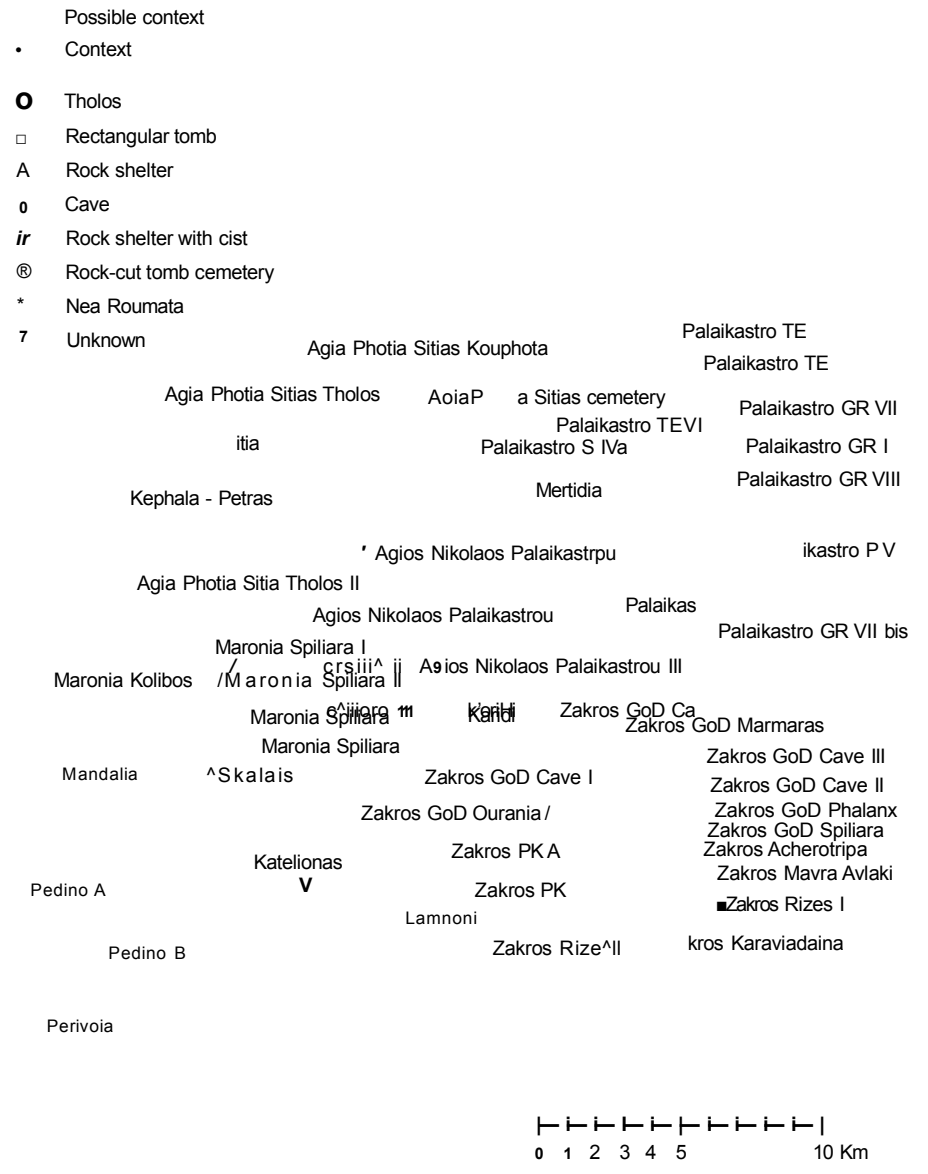


Figure VII.1 Cemeteries in east Crete

Figure VII.2 Funerary contexts in east Crete

r

- Unknown chronology
- EM pottery reported
- MM pottery reported
- EM and MM pottery reported
- Tholos
- A Rock shelter
- 0 Cave
- Q Nea Roumata
- Rectangular tomb

- Possible EM I context
- EM I context
- A Rock shelter
- 0 Cave
- © Rock-cut tombs cemetery



Figure VII.3 Funerary contexts with unclear date in east Crete

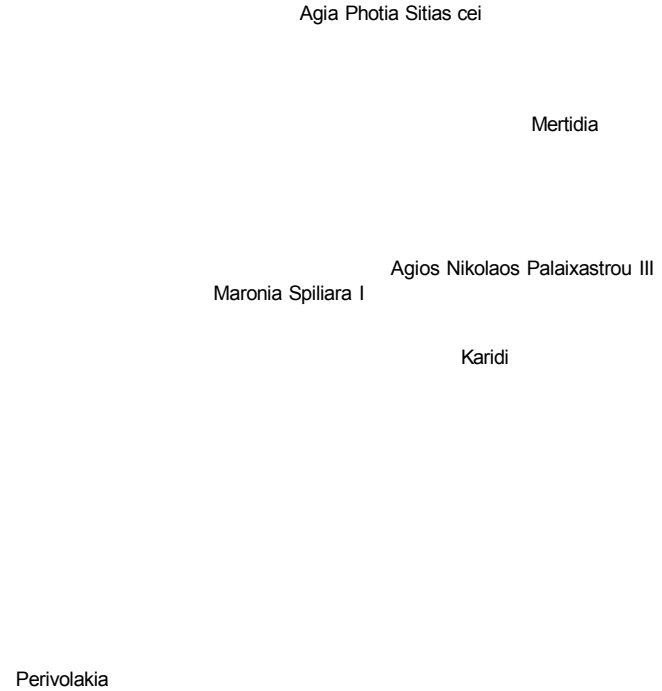


Figure VII.4 EM I funerary contexts in east Crete

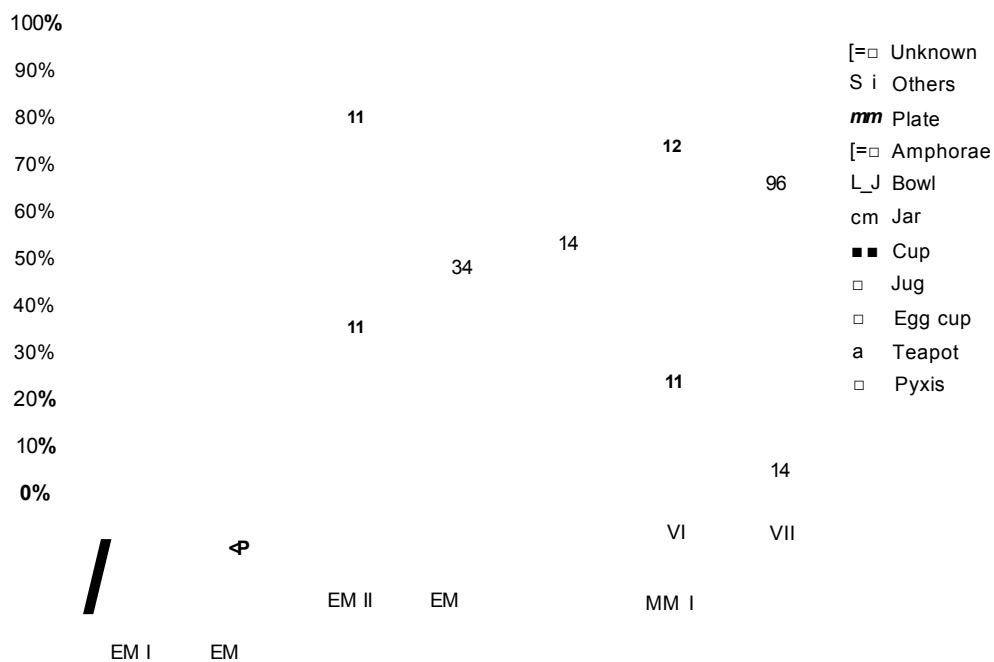


Figure VII.5 Ceramic assemblages in tombs in the Palaikastro area by shape



Figure VII.6 Agia Photia Sitas cemetery ceramic assemblage by type of ware, after Davaras & Betancourt 2004

2 m

- ~
- O Possible EM II context
- EM II context
- Rectangular tomb
- A Rock shelter
- 0 Cave
- ir* Rock shelter with cist
- ⊗ Rock-cut tombs cemetery

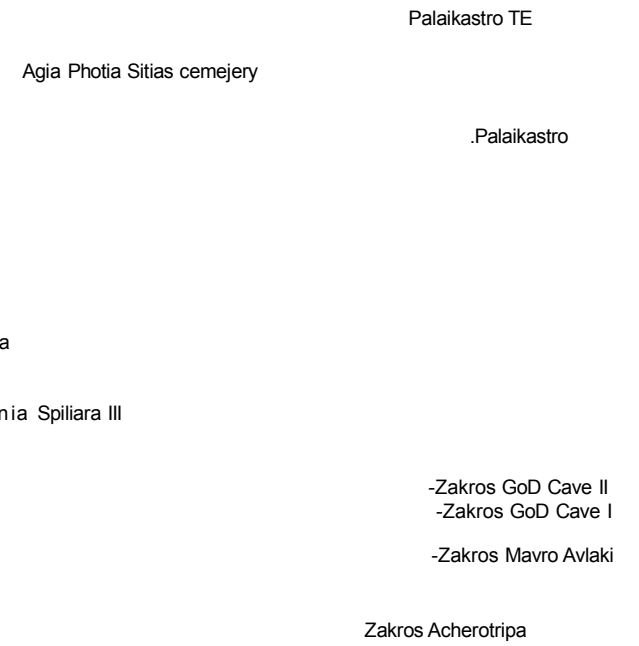


Figure VII.7 Mandalia tomb, after Soles 1992b

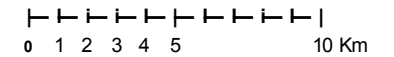


Figure VII.8 EM II funerary contexts in east Crete

- **Rectangular tomb**

EllenTk^-

J>arantari

**Area of current
excavations**

**Figure VII.9 Tombs in the area of
Palaikastro, after Sackett *et al.* 1965**

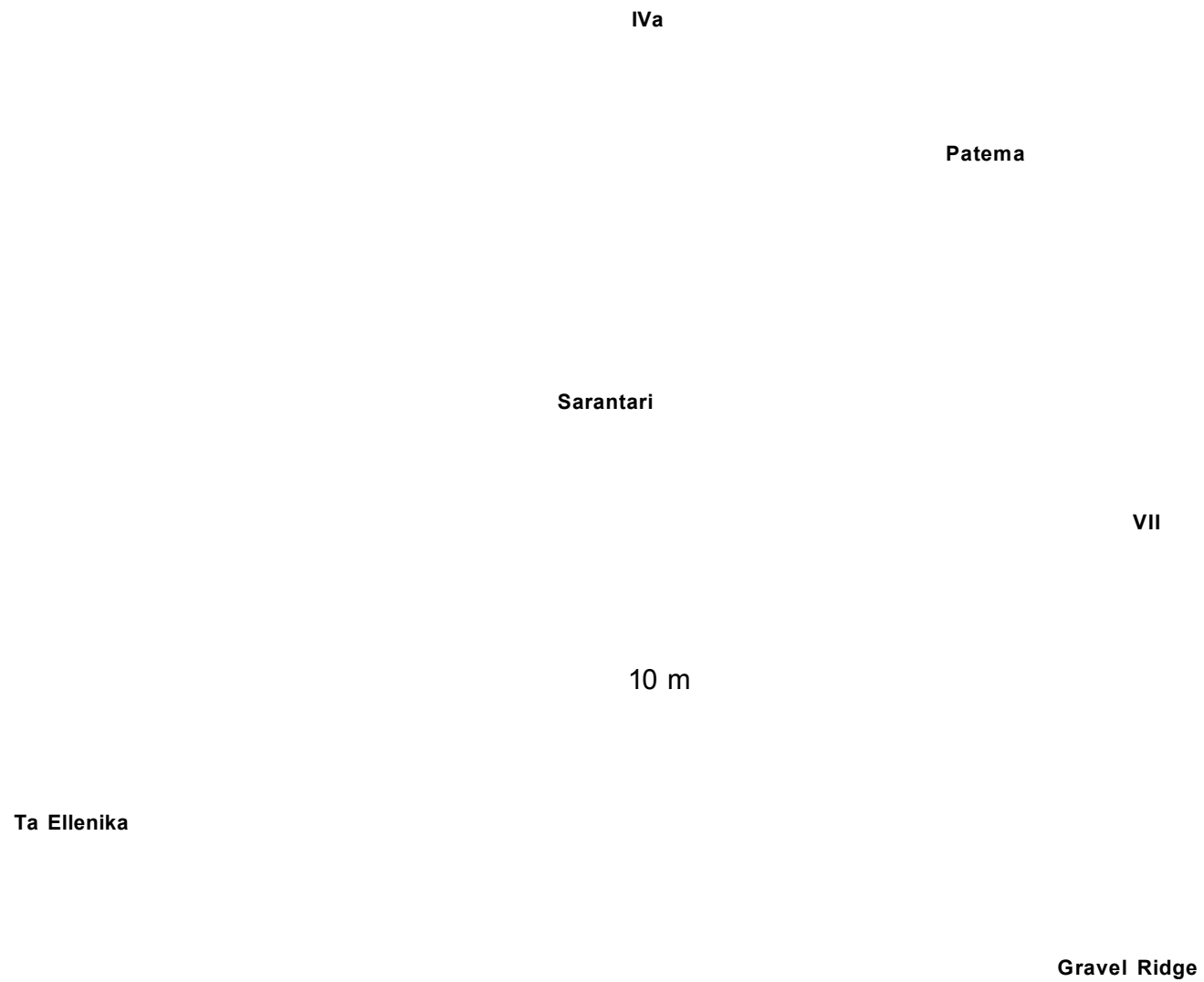


Figure VII. 10 Palaikastro tombs, after Bosanquet 1902a, Duckworth 1903b and Dawkins 1905

located beyond the extent of this ma

- Tomb in
- Tomb in
- Tomb wi

Iurania;

Acherotripa

Pezoules Kephala A

Pezoules Kephala B

Iraviadaina

Figure VII.11 Tombs in the area of Zakros

- Possible EM III context
- EM III context
- Rectangular tomb
- A Rock shelter

- Possible MM I context
- MM I context
- Rectangular tomb
- A Rock shelter
- ▣ Rock shelter with cist
- ? Unknown

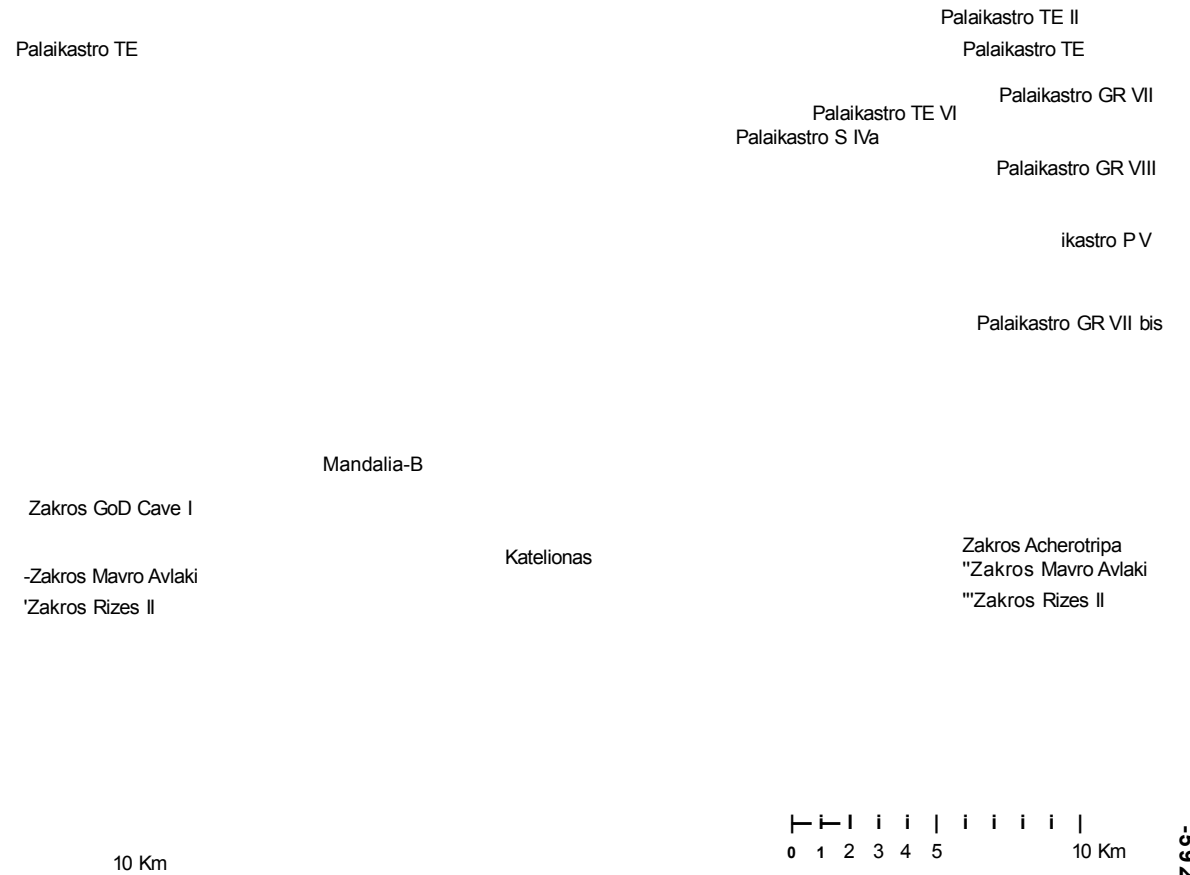


Figure VII.12 EM III funerary contexts in east Crete

Figure VII.13 MM I funerary contexts in east Crete

Tomb

EM EM MM IA MM IB MM MM III

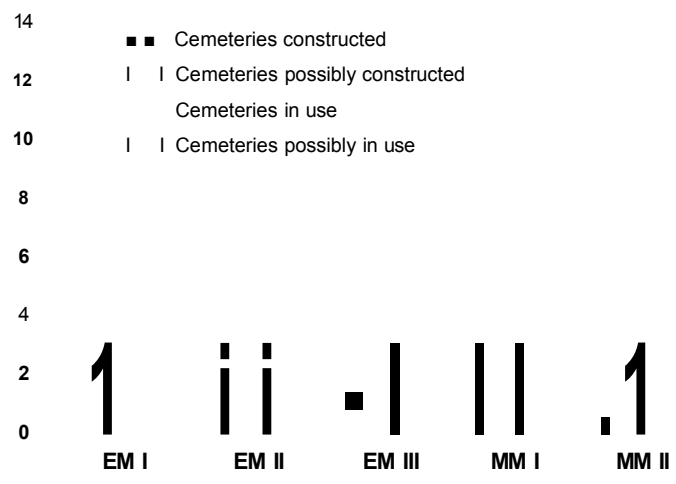
Tomb VII bis

Figure VII. 14 Use of tombs in Palaikastro through time

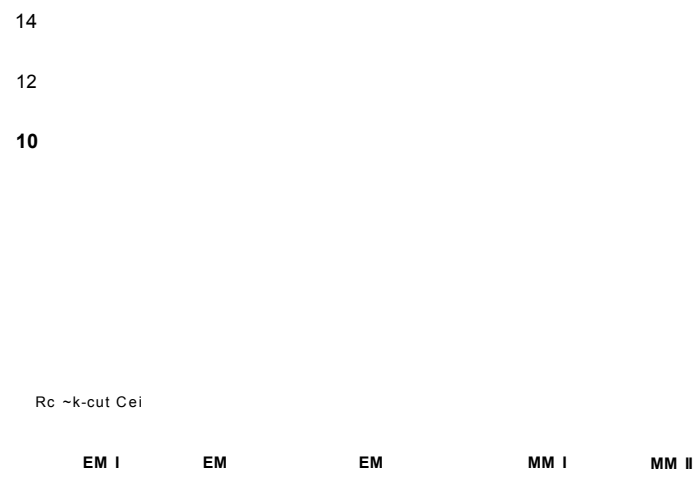
- S** **WM** Tombs constructed
- Tombs possibly constructed
- E£j** Tombs in use
- Tombs possibly in use

MM II

a. Number of tombs in east Crete by period



b. Number of cemeteries in east Crete by period



c. Number of tombs in east Crete by type and period

V,

Figure VII. 15 Number of tombs and cemeteries in east Crete by period

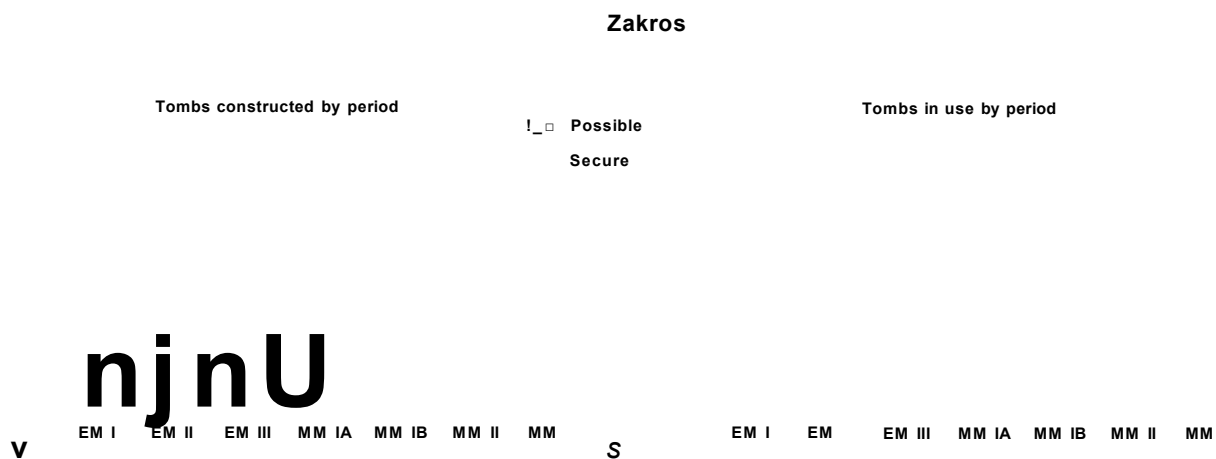
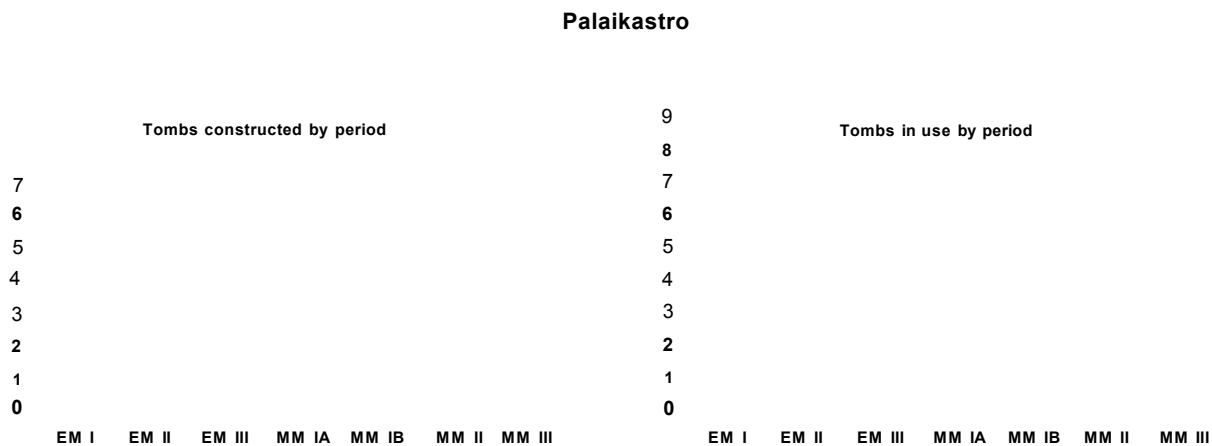


Figure VII. 16 Development of the number of tombs in Zakros and Palaikastro by period

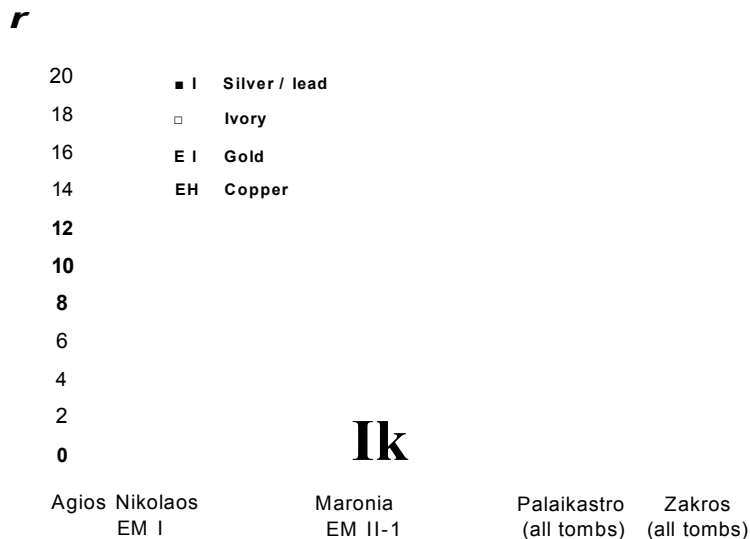
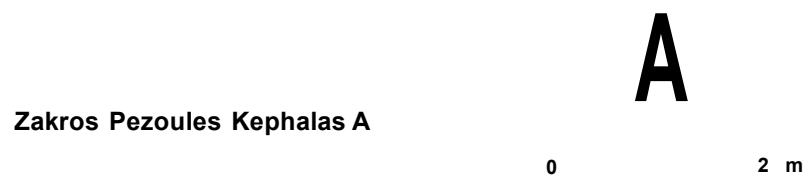


Figure VII. 17 Metal and ivory objects in selected cemeteries in east Crete



Zakros Pezoules Kephala B

Figure VII. 18 Zakros Pezoules Kephala tombs, after Soles 1992b

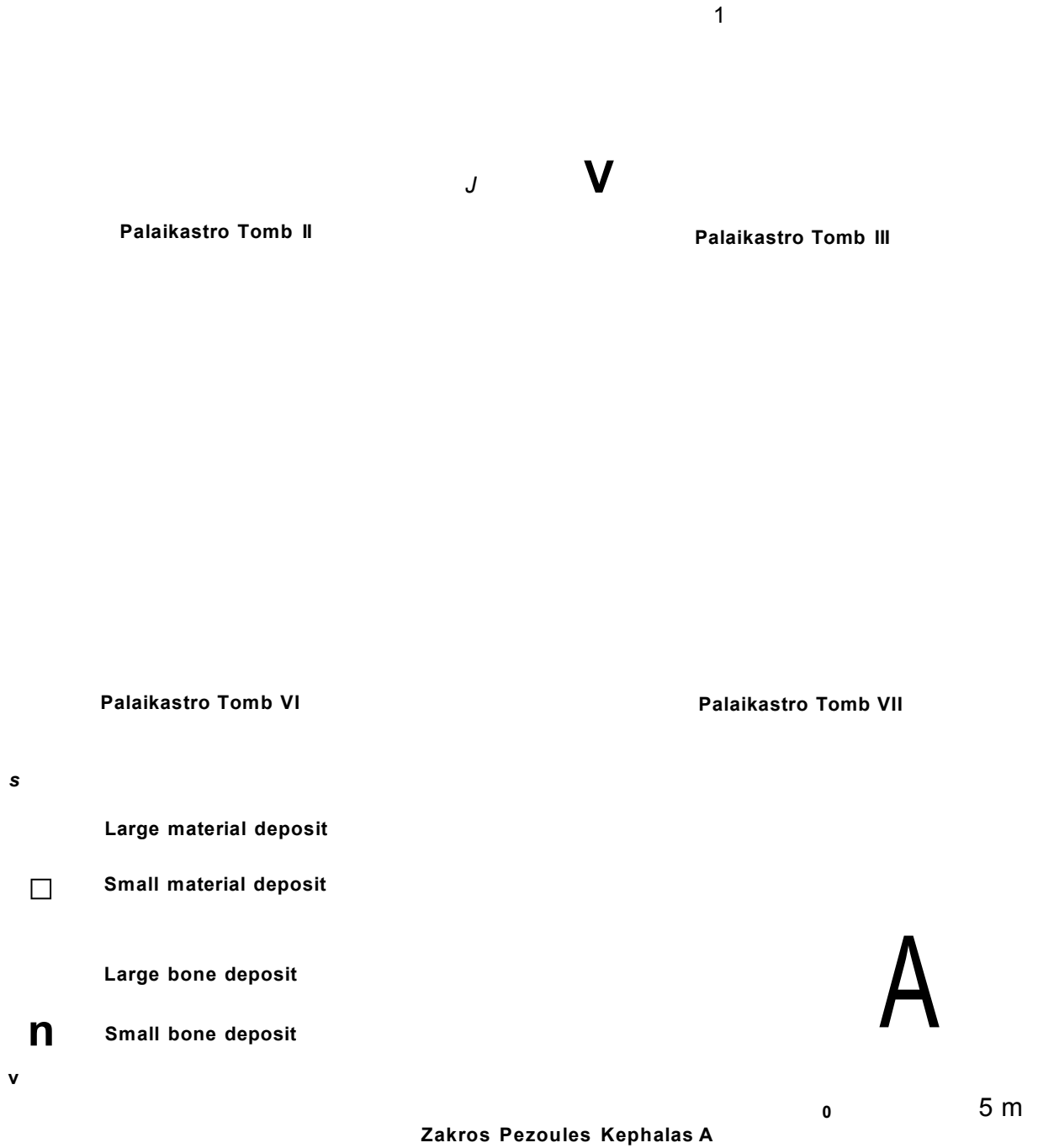


Figure VII. 19 Distribution of human bones and ceramic material in various rectangular tombs in east Crete

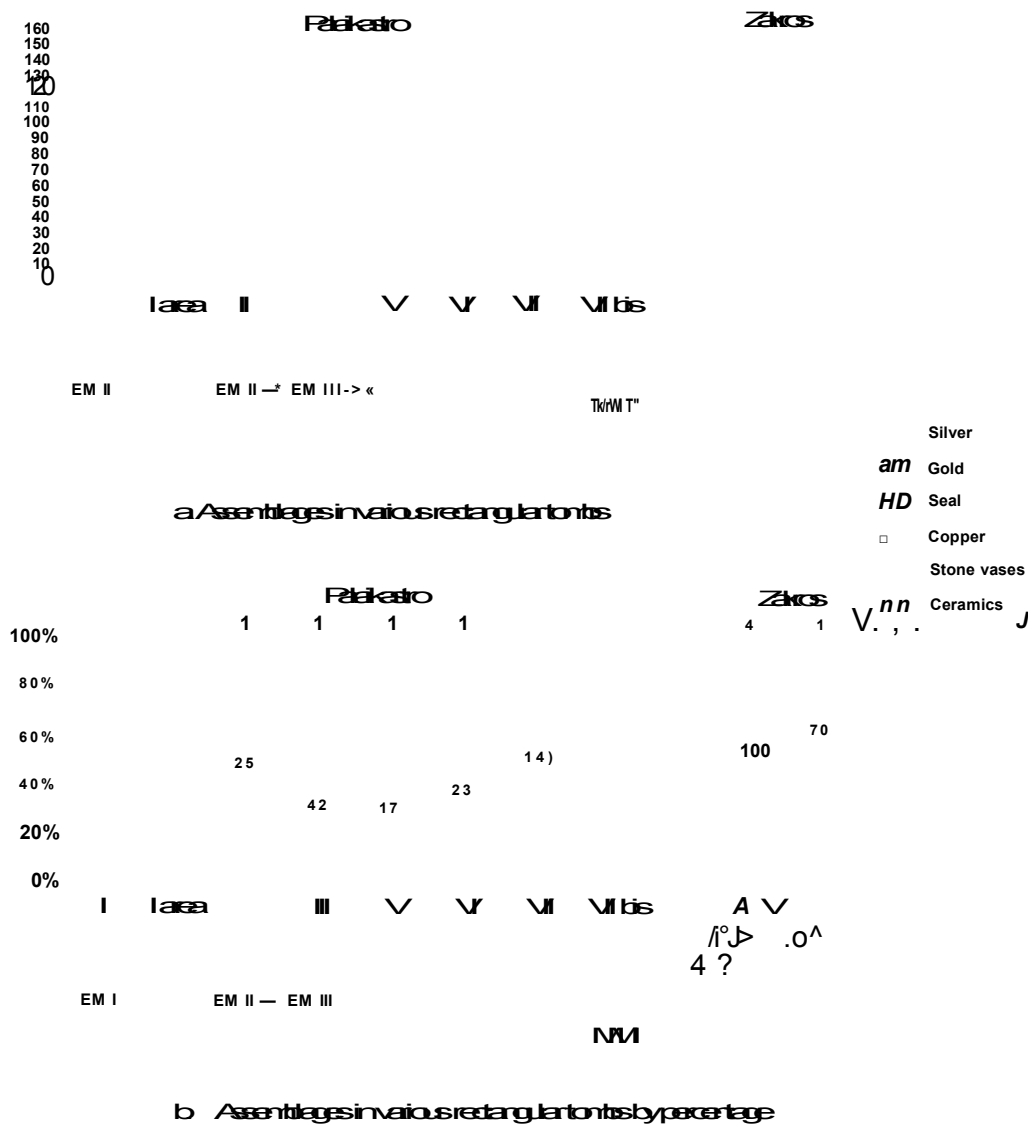


Figure VII.20 Material assemblage in various rectangular tombs in east Crete

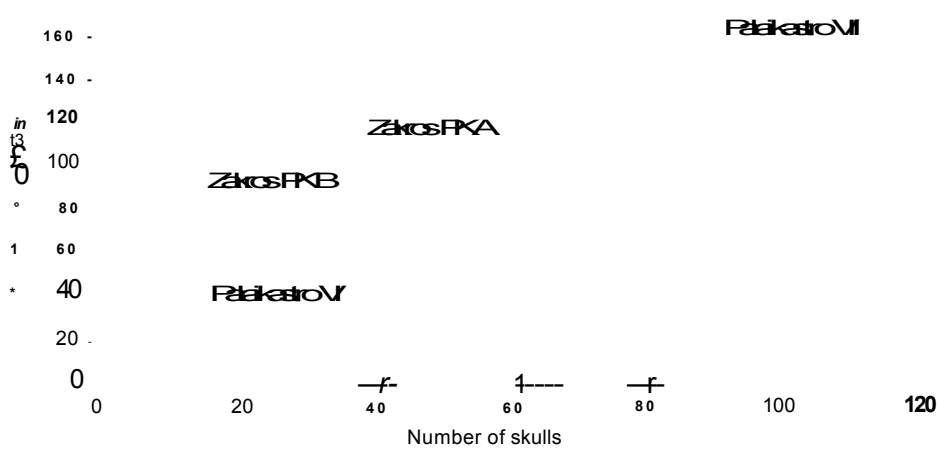


Figure VII.21 Scattergram of number of skulls and objects in best known rectangular tombs in east Crete

Tomb	Date	Skull Count	Chronology of Use	Maximum Length of Use	Burials per 100 years	Population Unit	Soles 1992b: 253 Fig. 81		This study		
							Skull Count	Estimated Burials (+30%)	Chronology of use	Length of use (after Manning 1995)	Population Unit
Zakros Pezoules Kephelas A	MM IA - B	45	2050-1700 BC	350	13	0.65	45	59	MM IA - III	370 - 300	0.8 - 1
Zakros Pezoules Kephelas B	MM IA - B	20	2050-1700 BC	350	6	0.3	20	26	MM IA - III	370 - 300	0.4
Palaikastro VI	MM IA - B	15	2050-1700 BC	350	4	0.2	15	20	MM IA - B	175-100	0.6 - 1
Palaikastro VII	MM IA - B	97	2050-1700 BC	350	28	1.4	97	126	MM IA—III	370 - 300	1.7-2.1

Figure VII.23 Estimated population in four MM I - II rectangular tombs in east Crete

- Cemetery included in Chapter VIII
- Cemetery included in other chapters



Figure V.1 ^

Figure VIII.1 Cemeteries in west and west-central Crete

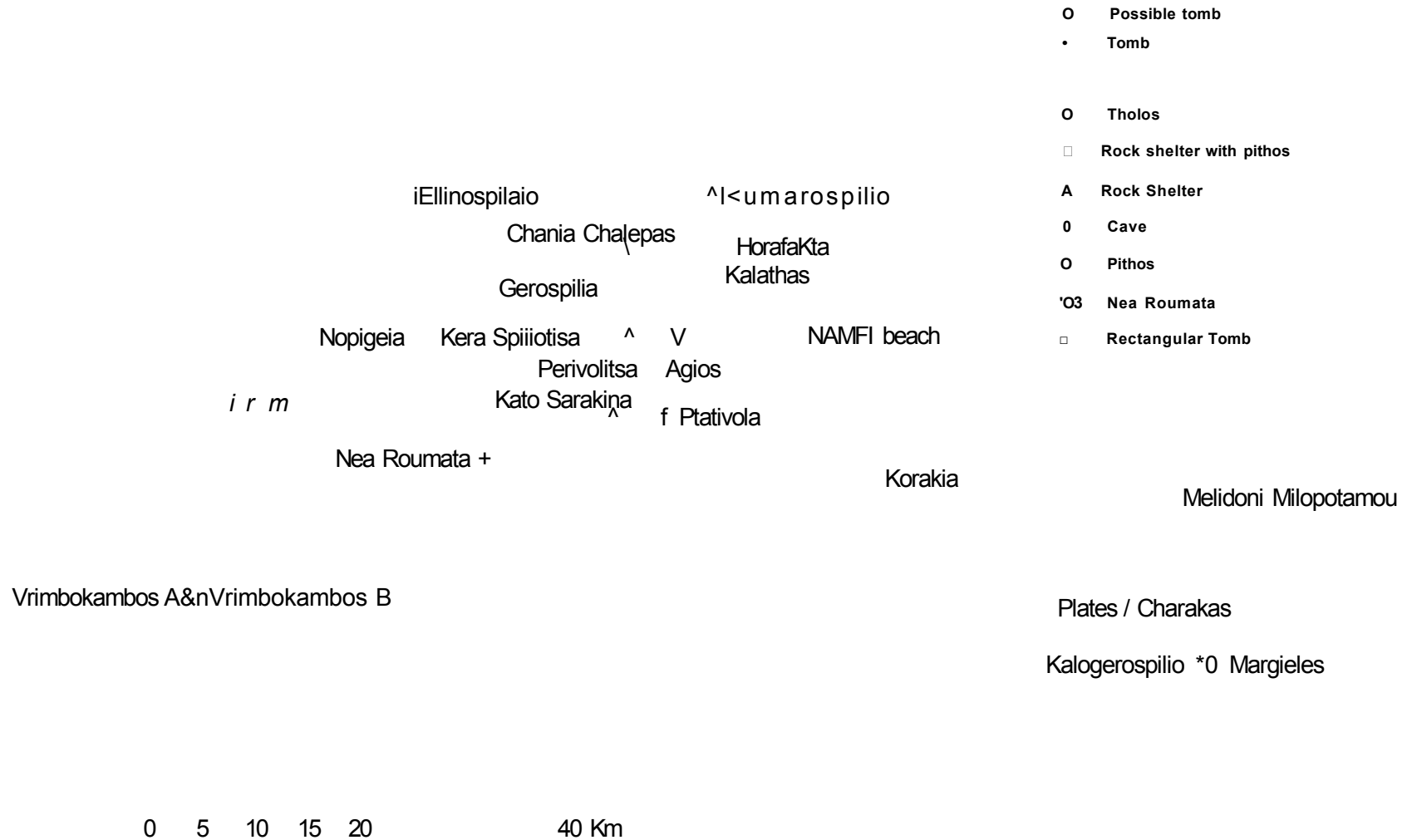


Figure VIII.2 Funerary contexts in west and west-central Crete

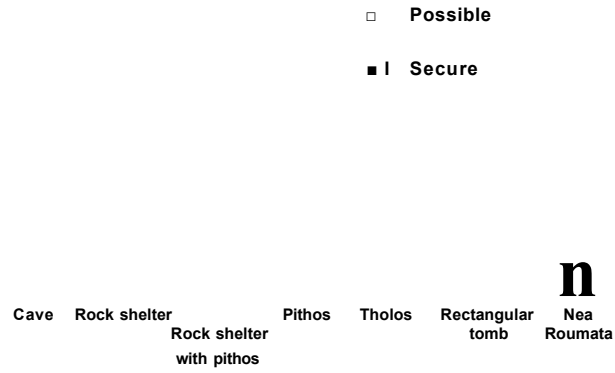


Figure VIII.3 Number of tombs in west and west-central Crete by type

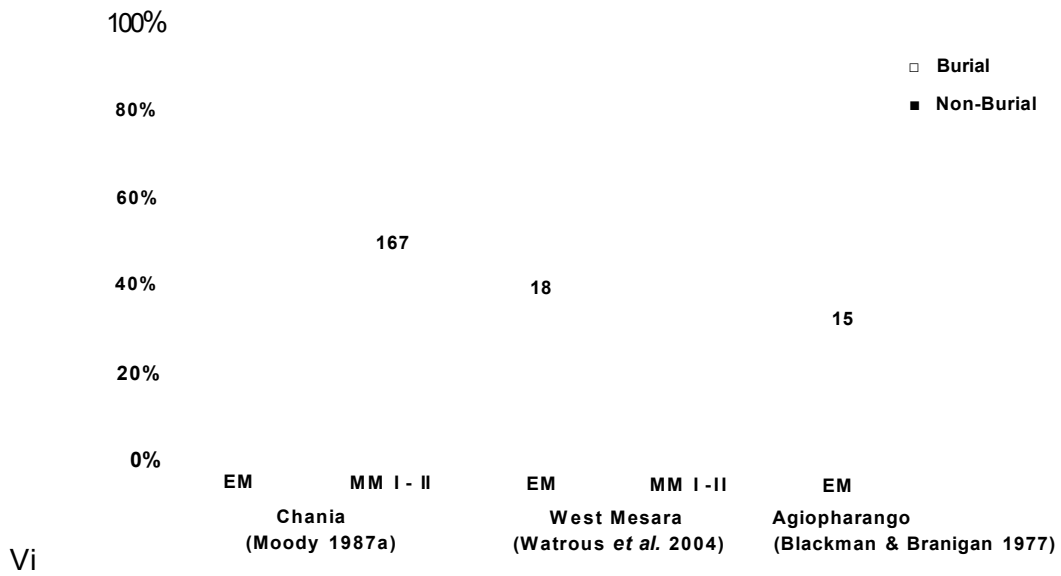


Figure VIII.4 Comparison of burial and non-burial sites found in diverse surveys

Figure VI11.5 Nea Roumata tomb

A

Figure VIII.6 Melidoni Milopotamou, after Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996

A

m

Figure VIII.7 Kera Spiliotisa, after Rutkowski & Nowicki 1996

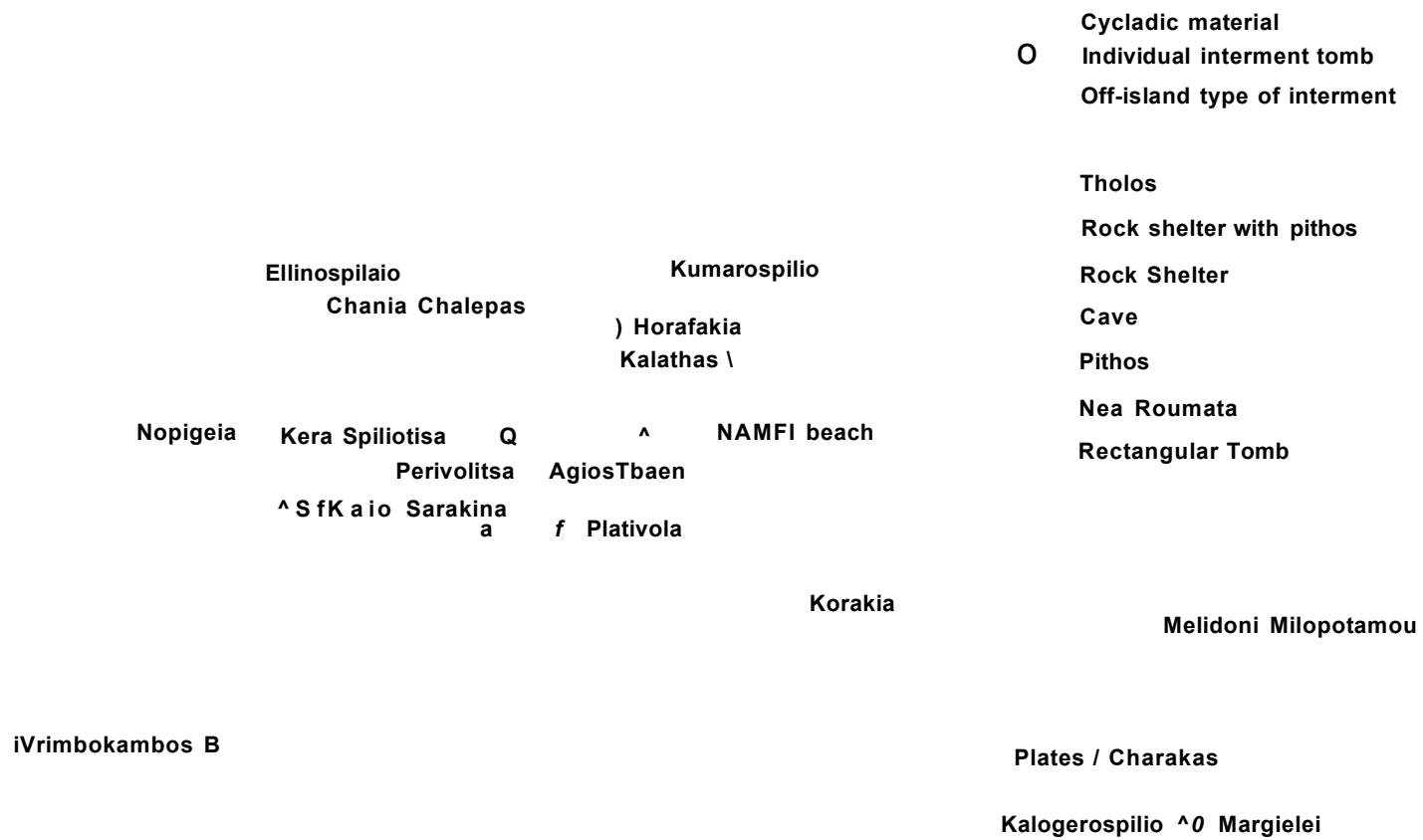


Figure VIII.8 Off-island influences in EM I - II tombs in west and west-central Crete

- EM I site
- Possible EM I site
- Neolithic tradition mortuary behaviour
- Asterousia Mountains mortuary behaviour
- North coast mortuary behaviour
- Unclear
- Tholos ■ Rectangular tomb
- Cave + Cist
- A Rock shelter ® Rock-cut tomb
- Annex □ Open area
- + Nea Roumata ? Unknown

Figure IX.1 EM I funerary contexts and mortuary behaviours

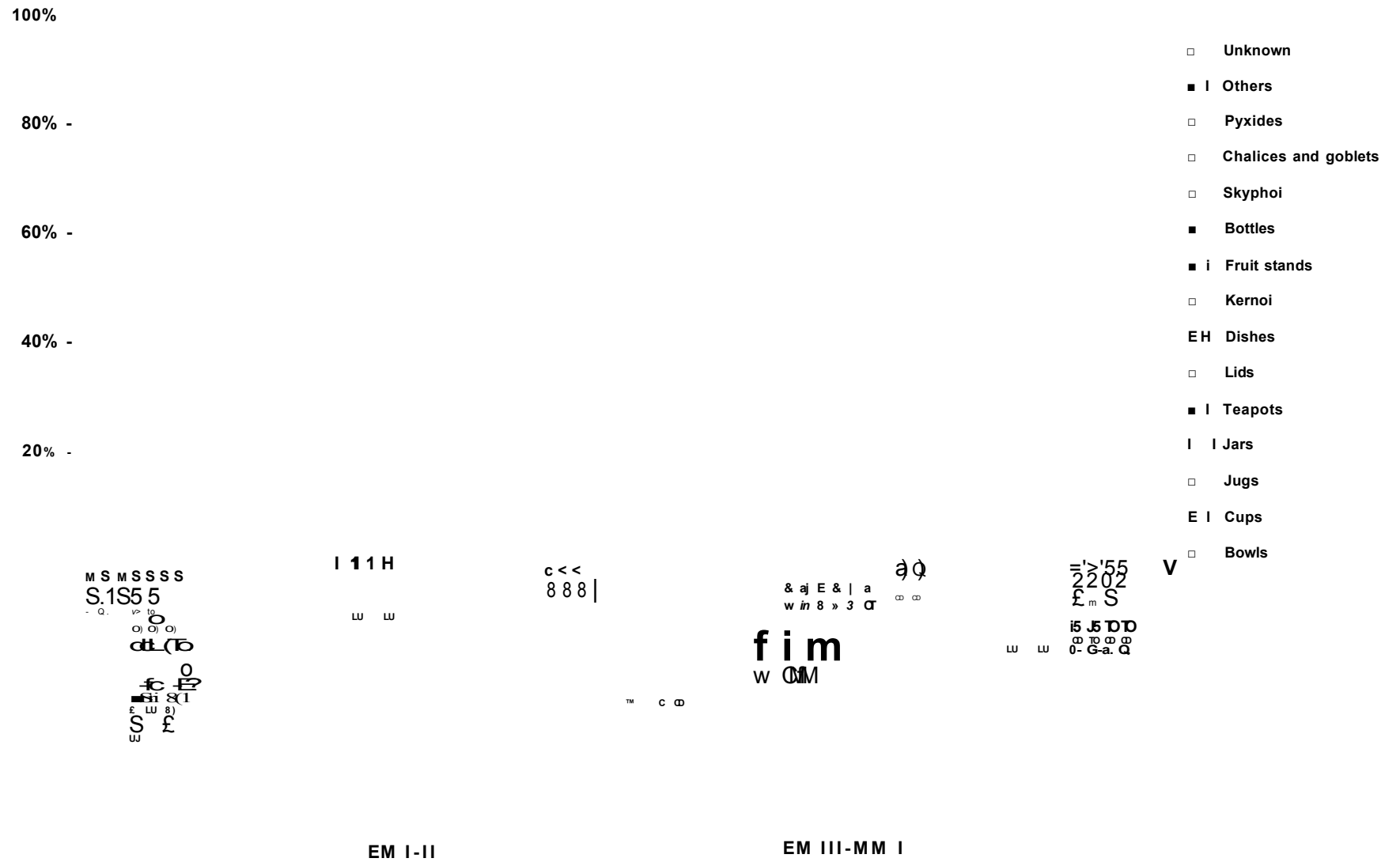


Figure IX.2 Ceramic assemblages in different funerary contexts by period

r

50 Km

• EM II context

○ Possible EM II context

• Tholos

■ Rectangular tomb

♦ Cave

+ Cist

▲ Rock shelter

@ Rock-cut tomb

* Annex

♦ Associated building

+ Nea Roumata

□ Open area

• Pithos / Larnax

7 Unknown

V

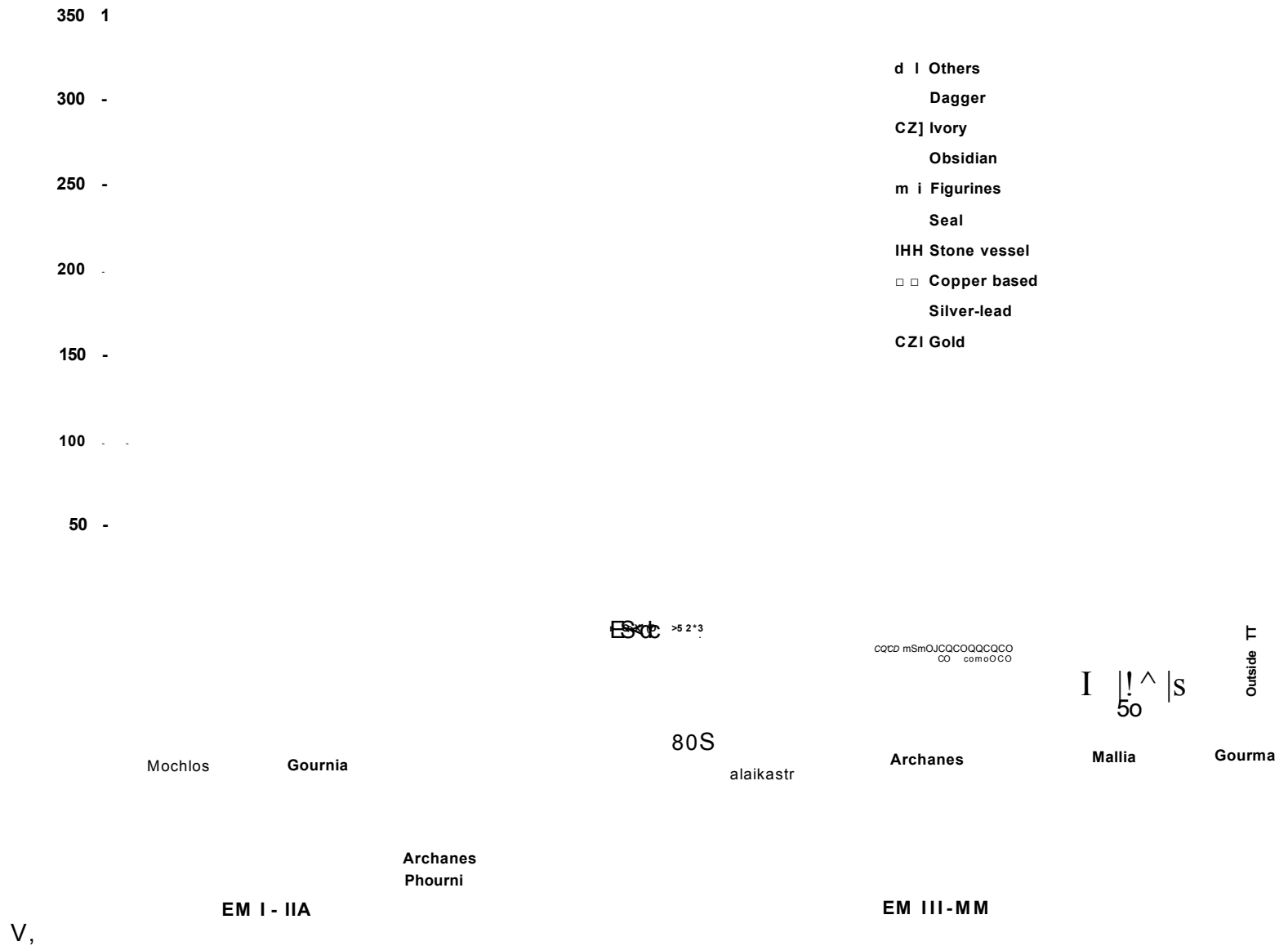


Figure IX.4 Non-ceramic assemblages in different funerary contexts by period

- 1 -2 Figurines
- © 3 -6
- # 7 -9

Figure IX.5 Distribution of Folded Arm Figurines in Crete

r

- /• \
- EM III context
 - Possible EM III context

 - Tholos ■ Rectangular tomb
 - ◆ Cave • Pithos / Larnax
 - ^ Rock shelter x Pithos cemetery
 - * Annex □ Open area
 - + Cist 9 Unknown

Figure IX.6 EM III funerary contexts

r

50 Km

- MM IA context
- Possible MM IA context

- Tholos ■ Rectangular tomb
- ♦ Cave • Pithos / Larnax
- A Rock shelter x Pithos cemetery
- * Annex * Open area
- 1 Pit - Chamber tomb
- + Cist ? Unknown
- 4- Associated building

Figure IX.7 MM IA funerary contexts

50 Km

- MM IB context
- Possible MM IB context

- Tholos ■ Rectangular tomb
- ◆ Cave * Pithos / Larnax
- A Rock shelter X Pithos cemetery
- * Annex □ Open area
- ◆ Cist - Chamber tomb
- 4 Associated building Unknown
- / Pit

Figure IX.8 MM IB funerary contexts

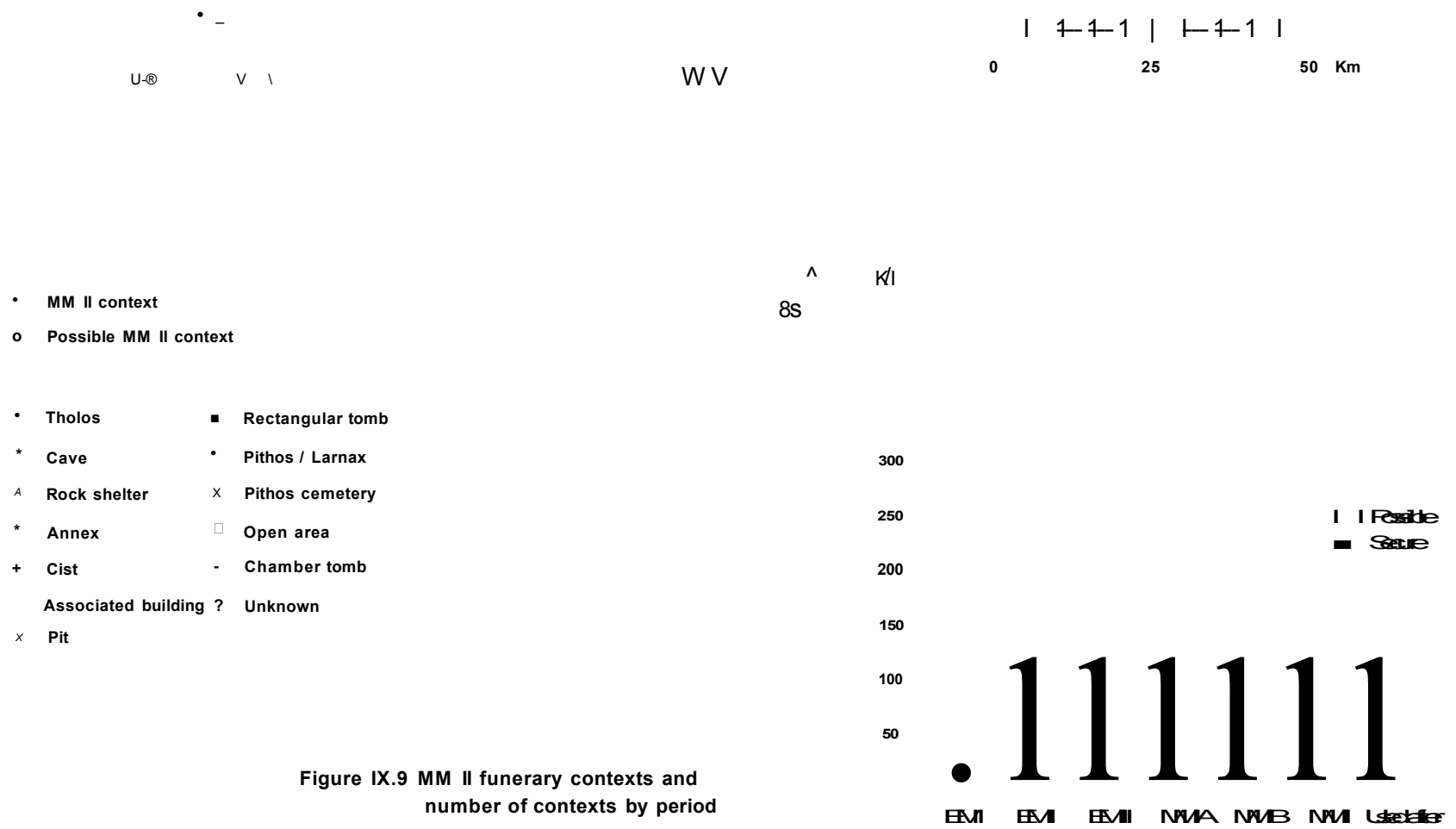


Figure IX.9 MM II funerary contexts and number of contexts by period

- Funerary context in use in MM III and later periods
- o Funerary context possibly in use in MM III and later periods

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| • Tholos | ■ Rectangular tomb |
| ◆ Cave | * Pithos / Larnax |
| ▲ Rock shelter | x Pithos cemetery |
| * Annex | □ Open area |
| + Cist | - Chamber tomb |
| 4 Associated building | 7 Unknown |
| i Pit | |

Figure IX.10 Funerary contexts re-used in MM III and later periods

- Funerary context in use in EM I and MM IA = 26 contexts, 6% of total contexts known
 - o Funerary context possibly in use in EM I and MM IA = 43 contexts, 10% of total number of contexts known
-
- Tholos ■ Rectangular tomb A Rock shelter Open area
 - ♦ Cave 4- Cist * Annex ? Unknown

Figure IX. 11 EM I - MM IA continuity in funerary contexts

EM

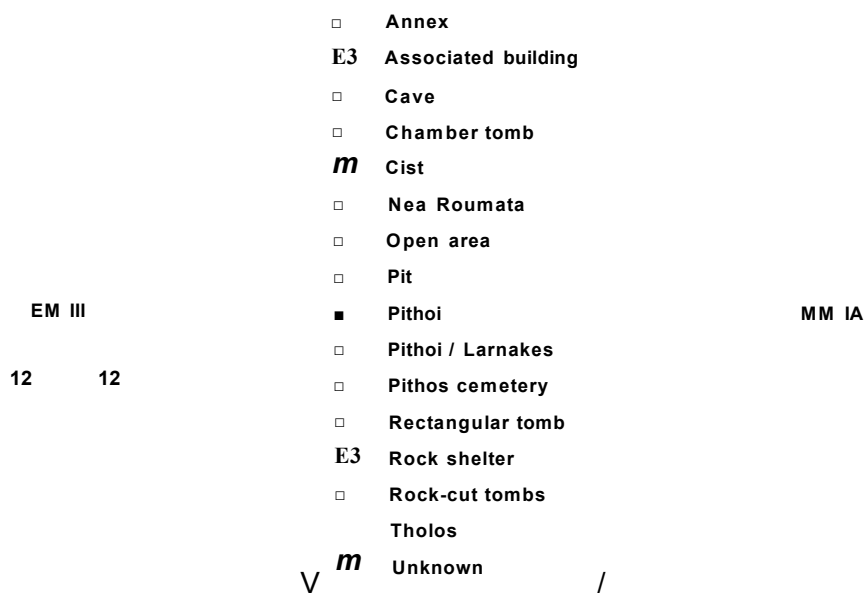


Figure IX.12 Types of funerary contexts by period